

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES  
OF THE AMERICAS

---

A GRAMMAR  
OF MISANTLA TOTONAC

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*Carolyn J. MacKay*

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# A Grammar of Misantla Totonac

Carolyn J. MacKay

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# Abbreviations

XIC	Xicotepec de Juárez
PAP	Papantla
ZAP	Zapotitlán de Mendez
COAT	Coatepec
MIS	Misantla
YEC	Yecuatla
SM	San Marcos Atexquilapan

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

AG	Agent
ARG	Argument
BPP	Body-Part Prefix
CAUS	Causative
CG	Constricted Glottis
CL	Clitic
COM	Comitative
COMP	Completive
CONT	Continuative
DES	Desiderative
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distributive
EM	Extrametrical
FUT	Future
IMPFV	Imperfective
INC	Inchoative
INS	Instrumental
INT	Intentional
INTER	Interrogative
I.O.	Indefinite Object
IRR	Irrealis
I.S.	Indefinite Subject
ITS	Intensifier
LAR	Laryngealization

LOC	Locative
MOM	Momentary
NC	Numeral Classifier
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominalizer
NP	Noun Phrase
OBJ	Object
+OBJ	+Object Argument
PAST	Past
PBASE	Pronominal Base
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
REFL	Reflexive
SUB	Subject
TRANS	Transitivizer
VCA	Valence-Changing Affix



# Diacritics

/ç/	voiceless alveo-palatal affricate
/ç̥/	voiceless alveolar affricate
/ʎ/	voiceless alveolar lateral affricate
/ʎ̥/	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative
/ʃ/	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
/ʔ/	glottal stop
/ɛ̠/	mid lax front unrounded vowel
/ɪ̠/	high lax front unrounded vowel
/ə̠/	mid-central unrounded vowel
/ɔ̠/	mid lax back rounded vowel
/ ̰ /	laryngealized segment

## Chapter 1

# Introduction

### 1.1. Misantla Totonac

Misantla Totonac is a Totonacan language spoken in the state of Veracruz in Mexico. The Totonacan language family is made up of two branches: Totonac, consisting of four languages, and Tepehua, consisting of three languages. Misantla Totonac is the southernmost variety of Totonac and is spoken in the area between Xalapa, the capital of Veracruz, and Misantla, Veracruz. Although it is known as Misantla Totonac, there are no longer any Totonac speakers in the town of that name. Misantla is simply the largest town in this region and thus serves as a convenient epicenter for the entire area.

Misantla Totonac is quickly being replaced by Spanish. Xalapa and Misantla are connected by a paved road which was completed in 1974. The road brought a relatively isolated geographic area into contact with mainstream Mexican language and culture. One result is that Totonac is no longer acquired as a first language by children, and the existing speakers are rapidly growing older. This phenomenon manifests itself most clearly in the roughly thirty kilometers between Xalapa and Naolinco. This section of the road was completed early in the 1940s. In Jilotepec, the Totonac-speaking town closest to Xalapa, there remain only a few octogenarians who speak Totonac. In the town of Naolinco, Totonac is no longer used, although in surrounding small communities there are still a few speakers. For example, in San Marcos Atexquilapan, a community less than ten kilometers from Naolinco, some elderly inhabitants still use Totonac. According to the 1980 and 1990 censuses, the township of Naolinco, which includes San Marcos Atexquilapan, had 45 Totonac speakers in 1980 and 36 in 1990 (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto 1984, 1992). The section of road that connects Naolinco and Misantla was not completed until the 1970s and the communities of Landero y Coss, Chiconquiaco, and Yecuatla thus have relatively more speakers of Totonac (although their numbers are rapidly diminishing). In 1980, there were 105 Totonac speakers in Landero y Coss, while in 1990, there were 51. There were 174 in Chiconquiaco in 1980, and only 24 in 1990. In the township of Yecuatla, there were 486 Totonac speakers in 1980, and 293 in 1990 (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto 1984, 1992). The only town with a viable speech community is Yecuatla, and here, too, the aging of the Totonac-speaking population is taking its toll. Most of the current speakers are over forty-five years old, and virtually all but the oldest women in Yecuatla are bilingual.

Increased contact with Mexican culture, through schools, trade, and mass communication has made for an abrupt break with Totonac. Indigenous languages and cultures of Mexico are often stigmatized, and the pressure is strong to abandon them. Indicative of this stigma is the Totonac word /č̣iṭ/ translated into Spanish as *gente de razon* ‘people of reason,’ which refers to persons who do not speak Totonac (i.e., monolingual Spanish speakers).<sup>1</sup> In all of the Totonac communities, economic advancement is perceived as being linked to Spanish fluency and thus there is a strong incentive for not passing on Totonac to future generations. The effect of this pressure is seen in numerous Totonac families in which older brothers and sisters learned Totonac as their first language, while younger siblings did not. As a rule, Totonac is used with family (although usually not with children), friends, and “compadres.” In education, government business, religion, medical care, and frequently the workplace, Spanish is used. If within the work situation the opportunity to speak Totonac arises, Totonac is used. However, since fewer and fewer speakers of Totonac exist, the opportunities for speaking Totonac, in all settings, are increasingly rare.

Traditional Totonac culture has mostly been abandoned in the Misantla area in favor of Mexican traditions. Western dress has been adopted, and traditional festivals such as the *béṣ̌ti*, a Day of the Dead celebration, have been abandoned. Oral tradition has for the most part been lost. No one remembers songs or traditional myths, although a few stories and jokes are still told by older speakers. There are only a few remaining traditional healers, and they work in Spanish, not in Totonac.

The Misantla Totonac area begins in the highlands around Xalapa and continues northeastward to the coastal plains. The elevation around Xalapa is 1500 meters and descends to 300 meters in Misantla. It is a rainy area, very green and fertile. The elevation, which affects the temperature, restricts the kinds of crops that can be successfully grown. Much of the lowland area is planted in coffee, and almost everyone participates in harvesting the beans, either working their own land or as paid laborers. Coffee was, until recently, a relatively lucrative crop which brought many non-Totonac immigrants into the area.<sup>2</sup> The lowland areas also grow citrus fruits, bananas, and mangos. As a result of the varied agricultural production, towns at lower elevations are substantially better off than their counterparts in the highlands. Yecuatla has paved roads, electricity (which has been available since the 1960s), and a basic water and sewage system.

<sup>1</sup> Watters (1988:8) found the expression *gente de razón* in the Tepehua-speaking area, meaning ‘Spanish-only speakers.’ I don’t know if the concept originated in Spanish or Totonac.

<sup>2</sup> Coffee prices are determined in the global marketplace and fluctuate a great deal. As a result, coffee production is sometimes very profitable and other times not profitable at all.

In highland towns, such as San Marcos Atexquilapan, it is too cold to grow coffee, and the population relies on growing corn, beans and some fruits (such as apples, pears, and peaches). In Naolinco, the manufacture of shoes and boots has lately become a major industry. Small-scale agriculture has not been sufficient to maintain families, and inhabitants of the towns surrounding Naolinco are increasingly participating in the boot industry doing piecework, putting soles and heels on the boots and returning them to the factories for finishing. The piecework and the cultivation of small plots of corn and beans are only marginally profitable, and highland towns in general are extremely poor. San Marcos, for example, has no paved streets and electricity is not available in many of the homes. A drainage system was just begun in 1990.

This grammar is based primarily on data collected in the towns of San Marcos Atexquilapan and Yecuatla. According to a municipal census, Yecuatla had a population of 2,106 in 1989; while, according to the national census of 1990, San Marcos Atexquilapan had a population of roughly 400. As stated earlier, the number of Totonac speakers in the township of Yecuatla is listed in the 1980 census as 486 and in the 1990 census as 293. This number includes the roughly twenty surrounding *delegaciones* where many of the Totonac speakers live. The Totonac speakers in Yecuatla itself descend from approximately fifteen families that founded the town. However, coffee production and its relative prosperity have brought many outsiders into the community, and the Totonacs who founded the town are now a minority.

Fieldwork on Totonac began with a survey of the Totonac area in the summer of 1985, and is ongoing. The most extended field periods were in 1986, 1988–1991 and 1994. The data presented here were obtained either through elicitation or through the analysis of oral texts. One of my goals has been to provide numerous examples of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic processes. There are few remaining speakers of Misantla Totonac, and I want to document as much of the language as possible. As I stated in the acknowledgments, I would like to express my appreciation for the interest, enthusiasm, and friendship that the Totonac speakers of Yecuatla and San Marcos extended to me. They have been more than generous with their time and have patiently helped me along the long road to understanding their language.

## 1.2. Characteristics of Totonacan

Although many aspects of Misantla Totonac grammar are discussed in detail in the following chapters, I would like to list some of the more salient features of Totonacan. Phonologically, the most distinctive property of Totonacan is the presence of phonemically laryngealized vowels. Like their oral counterparts, these can be either long or short. In Tepehua there are no laryngealized vowels, but there is a glottalized series of stops. Given that laryngealized

vowels occur following all kinds of consonants in most Totonac varieties, it has been assumed that the ancestral language contained laryngealized vowels and that in Tepehua this laryngealization has been reanalyzed as part of a preceding noncontinuant (Arana 1953).

The phonology of both Totonac and Tepehua is characterized by simplification of adjacent identical segments and numerous processes of assimilation, including both consonant and vowel harmony. All Totonacan varieties show high vowels lowering in contact with postvelars and a tendency to neutralize sonorants syllable finally. The phonological word may also contain cliticized morphemes which are subject to late phonological processes, such as nasal assimilation and vowel deletion.

Totonacan languages are agglutinating, with very productive and robust processes of word formation. Morphemes (including many roots) normally consist of one syllable, and there is a great deal of homophony, particularly among prefixes and suffixes. Morphological evidence establishes three main word classes, verbs, nominals,<sup>3</sup> and statives and a rather heterogeneous mix of minor word classes, most of which are uninflected lexemes. Inflection and derivation are accomplished primarily through prefixation and suffixation, although in several Totonacan varieties (including Misantla Totonac) second person inflection is marked suprasegmentally by laryngealization. The inflectional categories marked on verbs are person, number, tense, aspect, and mood. Verbs agree with both their subject and object arguments. There are few prepositions, but extensive derivational processes often permit formal marking of oblique arguments on the verb.

The syntactic relationships among sentential constituents are primarily encoded on the verb. Consequently, word order is quite free and most alternate orders are acceptable. There is no case marking; so, although syntactic relationships are often recoverable through the morphology, there is considerable ambiguity. The word order within the noun phrase and the verb phrase is also quite variable. Subordinate clauses are unmarked morphologically and depend heavily on context for interpretation.

In spite of the many options available with respect to word order, the unmarked order in Misantla Totonac is verb-initial. Not surprisingly, pragmatic and contextual factors affect word order; in particular, topicalization or focus can result in non-verb-initial word order. In addition, sentences elicited from Spanish are likely to manifest the SVO word order of Spanish. Word order is not affected by the argument structure (transitivity) of the verb or by subordination. Independent subject pronouns are not obligatory since subject inflection on the verb clearly indicates the person and number of the subject. Like-

<sup>3</sup> Adjective-like lexemes can be posited for Papantla Totonac and perhaps for other dialects (Levy 1992a).

wise, pronominal objects are often indicated by object inflection on the verb rather than by independent object pronouns. One consequence of the frequent omission of independent pronouns is that the word order of sentences with pronominals is often indeterminate. The following textual examples illustrate the variable word order of Misantla Totonac:

*Verb-Subject-Object:*

- (1) [kíilíinikóhɔʔ hón ʔún ʔkák]  
 /kii-lijn-ni-kuhu-laʔ hun un ʔkək/  
 INT-take X-+OBJ-COMP-PFV DET wind ashes  
 ‘the wind took all the ashes’

*Verb-Object-Subject:*

- (2) [náh ʔamáχtún mátčú waní ʔísináat hómptéɛnʔ]  
 /na(ʔ) ʔ-maq-tun mat-ču wan-ni iš-sinaat hun-paa-nʔ>/  
 FUT other-NC-one thus-CL say X-+OBJ 3POSS-woman  
 DET-poor-NOM  
 ‘once again the poor man will tell it to his wife’

*Verb/Predicate-Subject:*

- (3) [wáaʔ mátčú hášwán ʔístɔχɔnɔʔ]  
 /waaʔ mat-ču hašwan iš-stɔqu-nʔ>/  
 and thus-CL happy 3POSS-old woman-NOM  
 ‘and thus his wife was pleased/happy’
- (4) [kíitéεhtanáanánštán hón pavoreál]  
 /kii-tiiʔ-tanaa-nan-štɔn hun pavoreal/  
 INT-path-walk-I.O.-PAST DET peacock  
 ‘the peacock intends to go walking around’
- (5) [sɔχɔnáa ʔíʔáqaat]  
 /suqunaa iš-ʔaqaat/  
 pretty 3POSS-clothes  
 ‘his clothes are beautiful’
- (6) [čáačumáawiníi qéεʔúkaʔ ʔíʔáqaat čipéχ]  
 /čaa-ču-maa=winií qii-ɔka-laʔ iš-ʔaqaat čipaχ/  
 only-CL-few/little back rel.-above-PFV 3POSS-clothes rotted  
 ‘his rotting clothes just barely cover him’

- (7) [láaláqčáaɬ níñčún tamáanaɬ hón qaɬanán]
   
/laa-laq-čan-la(ɬ) ninčun ta-maa-nan-la(ɬ) hun qaɬan-nY>-VVn/
   
3OBJ-DIST-arrive there-PFV where 3SUB.PL-supine-PL-PFV DET
   
steal X-NOM-PL
   
'he caught up with them where the thieves were lying down'
- (8) [nəhóćú kíwániɬ kíñkómpála]
   
/nuhu-ćú kin-wan-ni-la(ɬ) kin-kompala/
   
thus-CL 1OBJ-say X-+OBJ-PFV 1POSS-compadre
   
'in this way my *compadre* told it to me'

*Subject-Verb-Object:*

- (9) [hón káakčíin máaqéetíi ʔsináat]
   
/hun kaak-číin maa=qitii iš-sinaat/
   
DET head rel.-strong send X 3POSS-woman
   
'the man sends his wife'

*Object-Verb:*

- (10) [hón ɬkák zuku ʔiklíin]
   
/hun ɬkák zuku ik-liin/
   
DET ashes begin 1SUB-take X
   
'I begin to take ashes'
- (11) [ʔiɬáqaat ʔiškiɬ]
   
/iš-ɬaqaat iški-la(ɬ)/
   
3POSS-clothes give X to Y-PFV
   
'he gave him his clothes'

### 1.3. Objectives

The aim of this linguistic description is to introduce the reader to Misantla Totonac grammar. It presents the phonological structure of the language and the most productive morphological processes. Inflection and derivation of all major word classes (verbs, nominals, and statives) are described in detail. Grammatical agreement and word order phenomena are introduced. Although this description is by no means exhaustive, the most salient and significant aspects of Misantla Totonac grammar are presented.

This introductory chapter discussed the goals and organization of the grammar, provided background information about the Misantla Totonac area, and described the most salient characteristics of Totonacan.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction to Misantla Totonac in the wider context of the Totonacan language family. An overview of research on varieties of

Totonac and Tepehua and on the Totonacan language family as a whole is presented. An extensive bibliography on Totonac and Tepehua languages is also included.

Chapter 3 presents the phonemic inventory, allophonic variation, syllable structure constraints, and stress assignment of Misantla Totonac. The automatic phonological processes such as stress assignment, assimilation, simplification, neutralization, and changes in vowel quality are illustrated and discussed. Morphophonemic processes are described in chapter 4, and morphophonemic rules that affect inflectional processes (such as CV-suffix simplification) and derivational processes (such as vowel harmony) are included.

Chapter 5 looks at verb inflection in detail, introducing the markers of tense, aspect, mood, person, and number. Person marking is complex, with certain affixes indicating both subject and object agreement. Verbal negation and its interaction with aspect and mood morphology are described. Chapter 6 presents stative predicates, which exploit an inflectional pattern that is neither verbal nor nominal. Chapter 7 discusses verb derivation and the effect of body-part prefixes and valence-changing affixes on the argument structure of verbs. These affixes are extremely productive and crucial to understanding the agglutinating character of Totonac morphology. Chapter 8 presents processes of verbal morphology which do not affect the valence of the verb, but which are common and productive.

Chapter 9 introduces categories of nominal inflection, possession, and pluralization, as well as the primary processes of nominal derivation, including the role of body-part prefixes and deverbal nominalization. Characteristics of the noun phrase and of comparative constructions are also discussed.

Chapter 10 describes uninflected lexemes, with particular emphasis on adverbial particles and pronominals. Chapter 11 consists of a sample Totonac text, *The Peacock and the Roadrunner*. This text is presented in an interlinear format so that the phonological and morphological processes outlined in the preceding chapters are illustrated and exemplified.

I hope that this grammar will stimulate further work on Totonac and the Totonacan language family. Many questions remain to be answered. The role of the body-part prefixes in word derivation has not been fully analyzed. The argument structure of the comitative is not entirely understood. The effects on the grammar of an apparent weakening of phonological and morphological laryngealization remain to be analyzed. Syntactic features such as subordination, topicalization, and textual cohesion have not been fully investigated. The highly variable word order of the verb phrase and the sentence is not fully understood. A historical reconstruction of the Totonacan language family would lead to an understanding of its relationship to other Mesoamerican languages. This grammar represents a preliminary step toward answering some of the many interesting and outstanding questions.



# Totonacan

## 2.1 Totonacan Languages

Totonac and the related language Tepehua are thought to make up a linguistic isolate, Totonacan, in the classification of Mesoamerican indigenous languages (Campbell and Mithun 1979; Kaufman 1974; Suárez 1983:xvi).<sup>1</sup> The two languages are spoken in central Mexico, in a region that includes parts of three states: southern Hidalgo, northern Puebla, and northwestern Veracruz (see Map 1). Although Totonac and Tepehua are mutually unintelligible today, they share a great deal of their vocabulary and are structurally very similar, indicating that, historically, the two languages are quite closely related.<sup>2</sup>

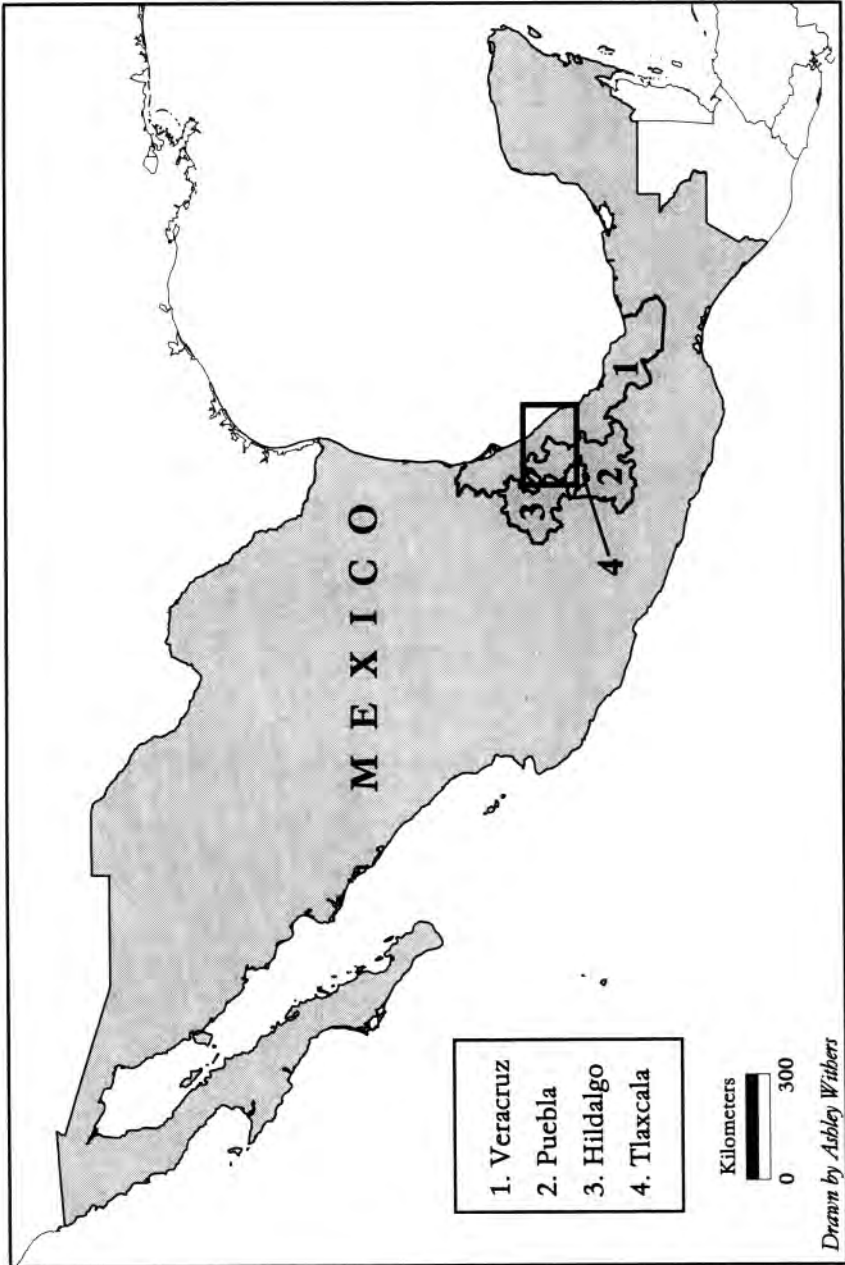
Totonacan is not known to be related to any other language family in Mesoamerica, and lack of documentation on Totonac and Tepehua has thus far prevented definitive establishment of any long-range linguistic affiliation between Totonacan and other language families in Mesoamerica or elsewhere in the Americas.

It is difficult to estimate the number of native speakers of Totonac and Tepehua. The 1980 National Census of Mexico reported that there were 186,058 speakers of Totonac and 8,325 speakers of Tepehua over five years old. The 1990 census reported that there were 198,302 speakers of Totonac and 8,120 speakers of Tepehua over five years old. According to the 1990 census, the distribution of speakers by state was as follows: in Hidalgo, 209 Totonac speakers and 2,001 Tepehua speakers; in Puebla, 86,788 Totonac speakers and 377 Tepehua speakers; and in Veracruz, 111,305 Totonac speakers and 5,742 Tepehua speakers (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1991a, 1991b, 1992). The highest concentrations of speakers are found along the Gulf Coast of Mexico and in the adjacent Sierra Norte.

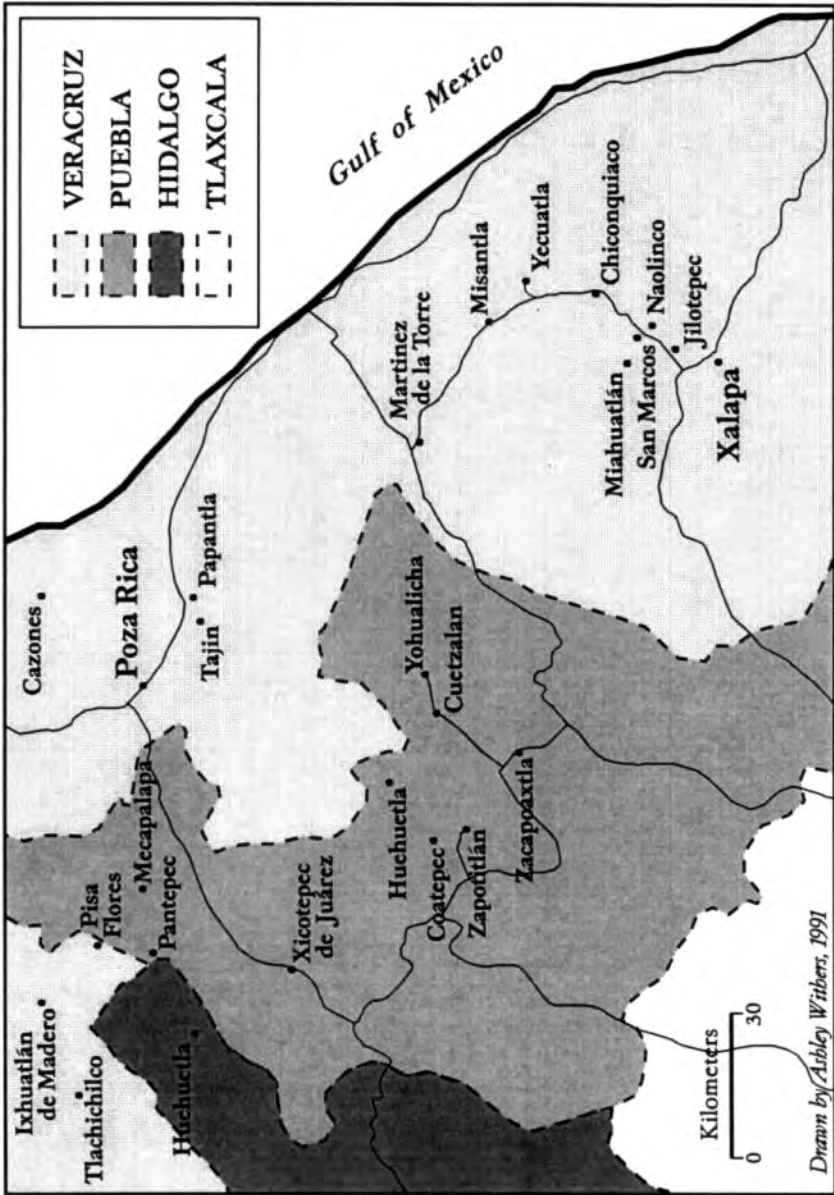
As is the case elsewhere in Mexico, in many communities the indigenous languages (in this case Totonac and Tepehua) are being replaced by Spanish. Nevertheless, there still exist communities in which children acquire Totonac or Tepehua as a first language. Of the extant varieties of Totonac, only one—

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared as MacKay 1994b.

<sup>2</sup> Based on lexicostatistic calculations, Swadesh (1967) has proposed that separation of the two languages occurred twenty-six centuries ago.



Map 1. Totonacan Language Area



Map 2 Totonacan Language Area (detail)

Misantla Totonac—has been almost entirely replaced by Spanish. All the Tepehua languages are apparently still spoken in viable speech communities (Watters 1988).

There is considerable linguistic variation within both Totonac and Tepehua. Although the different varieties of Totonac and Tepehua have traditionally been referred to as “dialects,” it is apparent that they are not all mutually intelligible. One of the tasks that remains to be accomplished in Totonacan research is to determine the exact nature and relationship of these varieties.

The Totonac branch is composed of four distinct varieties, while Tepehua is made up of three. The four varieties of Totonac are referred to as Papantla, North-Central, South-Central, and Misantla Totonac (see Map 2).

1. *Papantla Totonac* is spoken along the Gulf Coast of Veracruz, with the greatest concentration of speakers in and around the city of Papantla. Its geographic spread includes the towns of El Escolín, Papantla, Cazonas, Tajín, and Espinal—among others.

2. *North-Central Totonac* is spoken roughly between Poza Rica, Veracruz, and Mecapalapa, Pantepec, and Xicotepec de Juárez, Puebla.<sup>3</sup>

3. *South-Central Totonac* is spoken primarily in the Sierra Norte de Puebla, and includes the towns of Zapotitlán de Méndez, Coatepec, Huehuetla (Puebla), and many others.

4. *Misantla Totonac* is the southernmost variety of Totonac, spoken in an area which extends roughly between the cities of Xalapa and Misantla, Veracruz. Although this variant is referred to as Misantla Totonac, it is now rarely spoken in the city of Misantla itself. Totonac speakers generally reside in outlying communities, including Yecuatla (293 speakers), San Marcos Atexquilapan (36 speakers), Landero y Cos (51 speakers), Jilotepec (9 speakers), Chiconquiaco (24 speakers), and Miahuatlan (2 speakers) (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto 1992).

The three varieties of Tepehua are all spoken in a small area where the states of Hidalgo, Veracruz, and Puebla meet (see Map 2). Watters (1988:5) hypothesizes that the three languages were already separated at the time of the Conquest. This hypothesis is based on evidence from glottochronology as well as on the fact that names for nonnative concepts, introduced by the Spanish, are different in the three varieties. The Tepehua languages center around the following communities and their townships:

<sup>3</sup>In 1978, García Rojas proposed that a single Central Totonac area consisted of two distinct subdialects which she referred to as the North-Central and South-Central subdialects. It is clear that the difference between these two varieties is sufficient to classify them as separate Totonac languages (e.g., Smith-Stark 1983).

1. *Tlachichilco Tepehua* is spoken in Tlachichilco, Veracruz, and in the surrounding communities of Chintipán, Tierra Colorada, and Tecomajapa. According to Watters, there are roughly 4,000 speakers (1988:5).<sup>4</sup>

2. *Huehuetla Tepehua* is spoken in and around the town of Huehuetla, Hidalgo. The number of speakers is approximately 3,000 (Watters 1988:5).

3. *Pisa Flores Tepehua* is spoken in Pisa Flores, Veracruz, in the municipality of Ixhuatlán de Madero. Watters estimates that there are between five and six thousand speakers (1988:5).

## 2.2 Totonacan Linguistic Research

As is the case with many other indigenous languages of Mexico, the linguistic study of Totonac and Tepehua began in earnest in the 1940s. The principal investigators during this period were Norman McQuown (1940, 1990b) and several linguists working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL): Herman P. Aschmann (1962, 1973), Bethel Bower (1948), Aileen Reid (1991), and Aileen Reid and Ruth G. Bishop (1974). These linguists have produced two grammars of Totonac and several bilingual dictionaries as well as numerous books and pamphlets designed for scholastic and religious instruction. Although much of this material is published and readily available, much more remains either in the personal possession of the investigators or in the archives of SIL. It is anticipated that additional grammars, dictionaries, texts, and other publications based on this material will be forthcoming.

In recent years, research on Totonac and Tepehua has received new impetus from scholars in both Mexico and the United States. Detailed research has been undertaken by Paulette Levy (1987, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1996), Carolyn J. MacKay (1991, 1992b, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c), James K. Watters (1986, 1987, 1988, 1994, 1996), and others.

Most of the linguistic research focuses on specific varieties of Totonacan, but there are a few articles that attempt cross-dialectal comparison. Blanca García Rojas's 1978 ENAH thesis, *Dialectología de la Zona Totonaco-Tepehua*, defines the Totonacan areas based on lexical data from twenty-four towns. Evangelina Arana's preliminary reconstruction (1953) of proto-Totonacan is based on forms from four communities (Zapotitlán de Méndez, Coatepec, San Pedro Petlacotla, all in Puebla, and Huehuetla, in Hidalgo).

<sup>4</sup>The estimated number of Tepehua speakers given by Watters for the three varieties differs slightly from the census data. The 1990 census records 2,081 Tepehua speakers in the municipality of Tlachichilco, Veracruz; 1,935 speakers of Tepehua in the municipality of Huehuetla, Hidalgo; and 3,180 Tepehua speakers in the municipality of Ixhuatlán de Madero, Veracruz (Secretaría de Programación y Presupuesto 1991a, 1992).

Smith-Stark (1983) offers a lexicostatistic analysis of three Totonac varieties (Zapotitlán de Méndez, Papantla, and Xicotepec de Juárez). Hasler (1966) discusses the relationship between Totonac and Tepehua.

Descriptions of the Totonacan languages are uneven both in quality and in scope. However, over the years the amount of data is increasing and the gaps in that data are diminishing. In the following sections I discuss the data available for each of the varieties of Totonac and Tepehua.

### 2.2.1. Totonac

*Papantla Totonac.* Papantla Totonac is best represented in the work of Herman Aschmann, Paulette Levy, and a small group of native Totonac speakers who have been researching their language (Crescencio García Ramos, Epifanio Hernández García, Cirilo Juárez Pérez, Pablo de Luna García, and Eleuterio Olarte Tiburcio).

Several dictionaries from the Papantla area have been published. In 1973, Herman Aschmann published an extensive Totonac-Spanish, Spanish-Totonac dictionary based on data from El Escolín, Veracruz. He is currently working on a revised and expanded version of it. In 1907, a small lexicon from Papantla was published by Patiño. In 1984, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista published a short *Vocabolario totonaca-castellano*. In addition, the *Manual del dialecto totonaco* (García Vidal and García García 1972) contains a short lexicon. These last two publications do not indicate laryngealization on vowels, and the *Manual del dialecto totonaco* does not indicate vowel length.

In 1987, Paulette Levy published a phonological analysis, *Fonología del totonaco de Papantla, Veracruz*. In 1990, she published a short grammar and lexicon (which also includes a phrase list and analyzed text) as Volume 15 of the *Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas de México* entitled *Totonaco de Papantla, Veracruz*. Levy has also produced a description of Papantla Totonac adjectives (1992a), of body-part prefixes (1992b), and of verbal derivation (1994, 1996). A collection of Papantla Totonac texts is forthcoming.

The phonemic inventory of Tajín Totonac is presented by Crescencio García Ramos (1979). Narratives from Tajín are published in *Qoló Aktzín* (García Ramos 1985) and *Tradición oral en Tajín* (Williams García and García Ramos 1980). Herman Aschmann facilitated the publication of the narratives in *Tu lichihuinan "zamanixna" o Narraciones de "el soñador" en el totonaco de Papantla y en español* (1974).

In 1982, the Secretaría de Educación Pública and the Instituto Nacional Indigenista published the professional theses of students participating in a project designed to train native speakers of Mexican Indian Languages for a *Licenciatura en Etnolingüística*. Seven of these theses discuss Totonac, and four of them describe aspects of Papantla Totonac: Hernández García examines Totonac syntax in *Descripción de la sintaxis del totonaco de Papantla, Vera-*

cruz; Juárez Pérez describes the noun phrase in *El sustantivo totonaco de la región de Papantla, Veracruz*; Olarte Tiburcio examines the verb in *Análisis del verbo en el totonaco de Papantla, Veracruz*; and de Luna García describes diversification within Papantla Totonac in *Reflexiones sobre las causas de la diversificación dialectal y comparación de las variantes del totonaco que se dan en la costa y sierra de Papantla, Veracruz*.

*Misantla Totonac.* The only published work on Misantla Totonac is an eighteenth-century grammar *Arte de la lengua totonaca* by Zambrano Bonilla (1752) based on data from Naolinco, Veracruz. In the same volume there appears *Una doctrina en la lengua de Naolingó* by D. Francisco Domínguez, which includes a Totonac version of the Manual de los Sacramentos, Un Confesionario Breve, and Los Diez Mandamientos among other texts.

In the 1970s, Carlo Antonio Castro compiled a list of Totonac lexical items from the town of Misantla. He also collected a preliminary vocabulary list from Yecuatla, which represents the largest extant community of speakers of Misantla Totonac.

My 1991 dissertation, *A Grammar of Misantla Totonac*, is a preliminary description of the phonology and morphology of Misantla Totonac as spoken in San Marcos Atexquilapan and in Yecuatla, Veracruz. In 1992, I published an analysis of primary stress in Misantla Totonac, and am working on an analysis of the comitative construction. My article, *A Sketch of Misantla Totonac Phonology*, appeared in 1994. Trechsel and Faber (1992) analyzed the phonetic properties of laryngealized vowels in Misantla Totonac.

*North-Central Totonac.* Almost all the information on North-Central Totonac comes from Aileen Reid and Ruth G. Bishop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. They are responsible for the extensive Totonac-Spanish dictionary from Xicotepec de Juárez, Puebla (Reid and Bishop 1974), and they participated in a tagmemic analysis of Totonac in *Totonac from clause to discourse* (Reid, Bishop, Button, and Longacre 1968). Bishop (1984) discusses consonant play in Xicotepec Totonac, and Reid (1979) analyzes some Totonac discourse strategies in *Dynamics of Reported Speech in Totonac*. In 1991, Reid published a grammar of Xicotepec Totonac. Reid and Bishop were instrumental in facilitating the publication of narratives in Totonac which include: *Cuentos de los antiguos totonacos* (1972), *Huan ca'tani' takaman: La fiesta de carnaval* (1973), and *Frases totonaco-español* (1975) (in References under Instituto Lingüístico de Verano).

*South-Central Totonac.* For South-Central Totonac, Norman McQuown's 1940 dissertation, translated into Spanish and published with new appendices and indices (1990b), describes the grammar of Coatepec Totonac. Narratives from Coatepec have also been published by Oropeza Castro (1947, 1971). A thesis on the phonemic inventory of Huehuetla, Puebla (Troiani 1980),

is available in manuscript form. Herman Aschmann published a Totonac-Spanish dictionary based on data from Zapotitlán de Méndez, Puebla, in 1956 and expanded it in 1962. In 1946, Aschmann published a description of the phonemic system of Zapotitlán Totonac, and an article by Aschmann and William Wonderly, *Affixes and Implicit Categories in Totonac Verb Inflection*, was published in 1952.

A sixteenth- (or perhaps seventeenth-) century grammar from San Andres Hueytlalpan has recently been published (McQuown 1990a). An analysis of Totonac nominal constituency in Coxhuacan, Puebla (Hernández Carmona), and a description of the Totonac noun phrase of Zongozotla, Puebla (Gaona Simón), were published in 1982. Both were theses in the INI/SEP program for a *Licenciatura en Etnolingüística*. Antonio Espinosa Morales presented a preliminary grammar of the Totonac of San Andrés Tlayehualancingo (part of the municipio of Ahuacatlán, Puebla) as his ENAH thesis in 1978.

### 2.2.2. Tepehua

*Tlachichilco Tepehua*. James K. Watters discusses the morpho-syntax of Tlachichilco Tepehua in his dissertation, *Topics in Tepehua Grammar* (1988). He has also applied various linguistic theories to his Tepehua data resulting in papers which examine phonology (1987), aspect (1984b), verbal semantics (1986), the syntax and semantics of applicatives (1996), verb-verb constructions (1993), and morphological laryngealization (1994). Although there is as yet no lexicon or descriptive grammar of Tlachichilco Tepehua, it is the best documented of the Tepehua varieties.

*Huehuetla Tepehua*. For years the only published work on Huehuetla Tepehua was a short sketch of Tepehua sentences (Bower and Erickson 1967), and a description of Tepehua numerals (Bower 1948). Since then, Herzog (1974) has presented a preliminary sketch of Huehuetla Tepehua verbal inflection. Based primarily on Herzog and Bower's work on Tepehua, in 1976, the Liga Bíblica Mundial del Hogar published the New Testament in Huehuetla Tepehua.<sup>5</sup> A work of this kind presupposes an extensive knowledge of Tepehua. Unfortunately little of this linguistic information has been published. In 1987, Nancy Kryder's M.A. thesis, *A Phonological and Morphological Sketch of Tepehua*, was based on data gathered in Mecapalapa, Puebla, and Huehuetla, Hidalgo.

*Pisa Flores Tepehua*. The only data available on Pisa Flores Tepehua is the ENAH thesis of Hernández Sierra (1986), which includes a short lexicon and phonemic sketch of the Tepehua of Pisa Flores, Veracruz.

<sup>5</sup>I have been unable to obtain a copy of this work.



General ethnographies of the Totonac and Tepehua area are limited to two publications on the Totonac by Roberto Williams García (1953, 1962) and two by him on the Tepehua (1963, 1972). The Tajin Totonac are described by Isabel Kelly (1953), Kelly and Palerm (1952), and H. R. Harvey and Kelly (1969). Alain Ichon (1973) describes the religion of the highland Totonac, and Carlo Antonio Castro (1986) describes *compadrazgo* among the highland Totonac. Although numerous article-length descriptions of specific aspects of Totonac and Tepehua culture have been published, I have not included a comprehensive list of these sources.

### 2.3. Totonacan Bibliography

In the following bibliography I have included all the references I know of that deal with Totonac and Tepehua linguistics, including obscure and dated publications and some historical sources which were known to exist but which may not now be available.<sup>6</sup>

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# Phonology

This phonological description is based on data from the towns of Yecuatla (YEC) and San Marcos Atexquilapan (SM), Veracruz.<sup>1</sup> Where there are differences of pronunciation between the two towns, I describe the variation. In the following sections I discuss the phonemic inventory, the syllable structure constraints, and the rules of stress assignment of Misantla Totonac. I also propose formulations of the most important automatic phonological processes such as assimilation, simplification, neutralization, and changes in vowel quality.

Throughout this book, I have chosen to present the Totonac data in a broad phonetic transcription together with the underlying forms and English glosses. The motivation for this choice is that a presentation of data limited to the underlying forms reflects only my analysis of the data. I hope that documentation of the surface forms will allow for alternate analyses of variation and of phonological or morphological processes.

## 3.1. Segmental Inventory

### 3.1.1. Phonological Framework

The goal of any phonological description is to accurately present the phonemic inventory, the phonotactic constraints, and the phonological processes of a language in a clear and relatively simple way. The naturalness of the phonological processes should be reflected in the simplicity of the rules. Although I have attempted to keep my description as theory neutral as possible, I have found it convenient to adopt the nonlinear framework of CV phonology (Clements and Keyser 1983; Hayes 1986; and others) in order to describe common Totonac phonological processes, such as assimilation. In proposing a distinctive feature representation of Totonac phonology, I exploit the theory of feature geometry, which sets up a hierarchical classification of features. The hierarchy I adopt is that established by McCarthy (1988, 1989), who draws on earlier work by Clements (1985) and Sagey (1986). I have adopted a metrical theory of stress (Hayes 1985) to formulate the stress rules.

### 3.1.2. Consonants

There are sixteen consonants in Misantla Totonac. Table 1 presents these consonants according to their place and manner of articulation.

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared as MacKay 1994c.

Table 1. Misantla Totonac Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	t			k	q	
Affricate		ʧ	č				
Fricative		s, ʃ	š				
Lateral		l					
Nasal	m	n					
Glides	w			y			h, ʔ

### 3.1.3. Vowels

There are three vowel qualities in Misantla Totonac, /a/, /i/, and /u/. In addition, there are a length distinction and a distinction between plain and laryngealized variants of both short and long vowels. Thus, all possible combinations add up to twelve phonemic vowels in Misantla Totonac.

### 3.1.4. Feature Hierarchy

For Misantla Totonac, I adopt a feature hierarchy that begins with a root node immediately dominating the following binary features: [consonantal], [sonorant], [continuant], [strident], and [nasal]. In addition, the root node dominates a laryngeal node, characterizing the state of the glottis, and a place node. The place node dominates the features [labial], [coronal], and [dorsal], which are privative (i.e., either present or absent). The feature [labial] dominates the feature [+/-round]. The feature [coronal] dominates the binary features [+/-anterior] and [+/-lateral]<sup>2</sup>; [dorsal] dominates the binary features [+/-high], [+/-low], and [+/-back]. The laryngeal node dominates the features of [spread glottis], [constricted glottis], and [voice]. Table 2 schematizes the proposed feature hierarchy.

The root node is associated with the CV skeleton consisting of timing slots in which C refers to nonsyllabic segments and V to syllabic segments.

- (1)
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| root | root |
|      |      |
| C    | V    |

Length distinctions are represented at the root level.

- (2)
- |      |      |
|------|------|
| root | root |
| ∧    | ∧    |
| CC   | VV   |

<sup>2</sup> See Blevins (1994) for justification of this placement of the feature [lateral].

Table 2. Feature Hierarchy

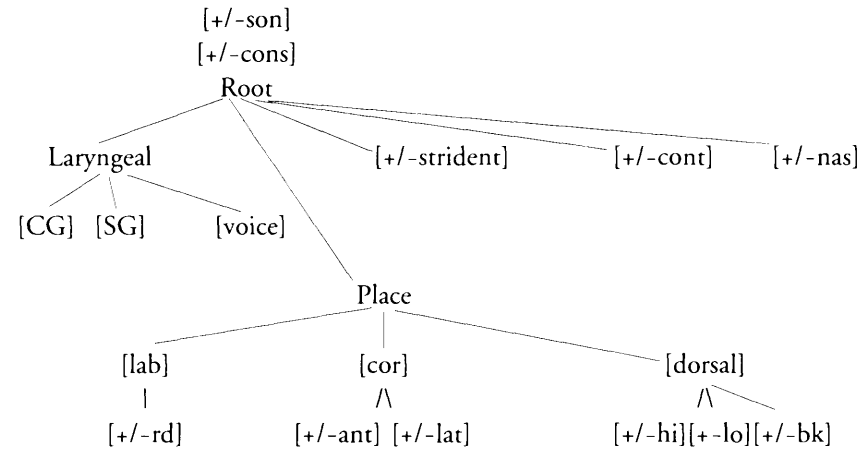


Table 3. Consonant Features

	p	t	ɸ	s	ʃ	š	č	k	q	l	m	n	w	y	h	ʔ
ROOT																
Consonant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Continuant	-	-	-/+ <sup>a</sup>	+	+	+	-/+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+ <sup>b</sup>
Strident				+	+	+	+									
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
PLACE																
Labial	+										+		+			
Coronal		+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+				
Anterior		+	+	+	+	-	-			+		+				
Lateral		-	-	-	+	-	-			+		-				
Dorsal								+	+				+	+		
High								+	-				+	+		
Back								+	+				+	-		
LARYNGEAL																
Spread glottis															+	
Constricted glottis																+

<sup>a</sup> Following Sagey (1986), affricates are assumed to have two values for the feature [continuant]. That is, they are contour segments with branching values for continuancy. See section 3.2.3 for discussion of this representation of affricates.

root  
 ∧  
 [-cont][+cont]

<sup>b</sup> Following Halle and Clements (1983), [-cont] segments are assumed to be those where there is a major obstruction within the oral cavity. Since /ʔ/ does not involve obstruction of the supralaryngeal cavity, it is [+cont].

<sup>c</sup> Voicing is nondistinctive in Misantla Totonac. Sonorants which lack laryngeal features are assigned the feature [+voice] by a late redundancy rule.

### 3.1.4.1. Consonants

Tables 3 and 4 present an analysis of the underlying phonemes of Misantla Totonac in terms of distinctive features. I have included only the features necessary to make the phonemes of the language distinct. Default features are assigned by redundancy rules and are not specified here.

### 3.1.4.2. Vowels

The same feature hierarchy is used for vowels as for consonants. The distinctive features of vowel phonemes are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Vowel Features

	i	a	u	ĩ	ã	u'
ROOT						
Consonant	-	-	-	-	-	-
PLACE						
Dorsal	+	+	+	+	+	+
High	+	-	+	+	-	+
Back	-	+	+	-	+	+
Labial			+			+
Round			+			+
LARYNGEAL						
Constricted glottis				+	+	+

<sup>4</sup>Following Ladefoged (1982) I use the symbol [ ̣ ] under the vowel to indicate laryngealization.

As noted earlier, all of the vowels listed in Table 4 can be either short or long. Instead of introducing a feature [+/-long] to account for the length distinction, I have chosen the alternative within nonlinear phonology of associating long and short vowels with distinct skeletal slots. Long vowels are associated with two vowel slots on the CV-tier; short vowels with one.

(3) short vowel	long vowel
root	root
	^
V	VV

## 3.2. Consonants

In the following sections, I describe the allophonic variants of the phonemes. Allophonic rules affecting all members of a class (e.g., stops) are



presented first, followed by a description of the individual phonemes. Allophonic rules affecting only specific phonemes follow the description of that phoneme. Other common phonological processes are presented in section 3.4.

### 3.2.1. Phonological Processes Affecting Obstruents

#### 3.2.1.1. Obstruent Voicing

Noncontinuant obstruents (stops and affricates) are optionally voiced between voiced segments. Voicing assimilation occurs most often following a nasal. Nasals always assimilate to the place of articulation of following noncontinuant obstruents (3.4.2.3), and it appears that shared features facilitate the application of voicing assimilation. Voicing of [-cont] obstruents in these environments is more pronounced in San Marcos than in Yecuatla. The rule is always optional.

(4)  $\begin{bmatrix} \text{cont} \\ \text{son} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+voice] / [+voice] \_ [+voice]$  (optional)

(5)	root	root	root	(optional)
		[-son]		
		[-cont]		
	LAR	LAR	LAR	
	[+voice]		[+voice]	

(6)	[táŋgwinĩ <sup>3</sup> ]	/tankwi-nY <sup>3</sup> /	‘money’
	[čĩñjú]	/čĩñ-nĩ-ču/	‘very’

(7)	[láakáayáagé <sup>3</sup> ]	/laa-kaa-yaa-wa-kĩw/	‘we chop wood’
-----	-----------------------------	----------------------	----------------

#### 3.2.1.2. Word-Final Stops

In San Marcos, word-final stops are released following a vowel; in Yecuatla they are not. /q/ is not affected because the rule that spirantizes /q/ following a vowel (3.2.2.1) applies before the “word-final” rule. Thus, a word-final /q/ is [+cont] and the rule, accordingly, does not apply. Throughout this description, I provide examples that occur in both San Marcos and Yecuatla. To avoid redundancy, I do not transcribe this word-final variation of stops, except when it is specifically discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Both secondary and primary stress are marked by an acute accent in the Totonac transcription. Secondary stress falls on all heavy syllables (i.e., CVV or CVC) and primary stress is the right-most stress in a word.

- (8) 

-cont
-son

}
> [+spread glottis] /V\_\_\_# (SM)
- (9) [snapáɸʔ] (YEC) /snapap/ 'white'  
 [snapáɸ<sup>h</sup>] (SM)
- [kílúkʉʔ] (YEC) /kin-lukut/ 'my bone'  
 [kílúkʉ<sup>h</sup>] (SM)
- [káǵkčulúkʔ] (YEC) /kǵǵk-čulúk/ 'curly haired'  
 [káǵkčulúk<sup>h</sup>] (SM)

### 3.2.2. Stops

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop found in both syllable-initial and syllable-final position. /p/ can be the second element of a syllable-initial consonant cluster following the fricatives /s/, /š/, and /ʎ/. It is optionally voiced [b] between voiced segments.

- (10) [kíŋkíʎpáan] /kin-kiʎ-paa-ni/ 'my lip'  
 [páapɸɸœún] /paa-puhu-œun/ 'wide'  
 [spúun] /spuun/ 'bird'  
 [špáapíinán] /špaapii-nan/ 's/he sprays'  
 [ʎpímpih] /ʎpimpiʎ/ 'without feathers'  
 [štámbis] /iš-tan-pis/ 'her/his navel'  
 [láazǵp] /laa-ǵap/ 'needle'

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop found both syllable initially and syllable finally. It can be the second element of a syllable-initial consonant cluster following /s/, /š/, and /ʎ/. It is optionally voiced [d] between voiced segments.

- (11) [tanúu] /ta-nuu/ 's/he enters'  
 [stáχnǵ] /staq-ni/ 'green'  
 [máaláχštú] /maa-laq-štu/ 's/he takes apart X'  
 [máqʎtíiʎ] /maq=ʎtíi-la(ʎ)/ 's/he took X from Y'  
 [míndǵǵh] (YEC) /min-tíi<sup>h</sup>/ 'your brother-in-law'  
 [míndǵh] (SM)  
 [qát] /qat/ 'big'

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop found in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. In syllable-initial consonant clusters it can follow /s/, /š/, and /ʎ/. In syllable-final clusters, it can follow /n/ or precede the fricatives /s/, /š/, and /ʎ/. /k/ is optionally voiced [g] between voiced segments.

(12)	[kúkat]	/kukat/	‘oak’
	[mínkúk]	/min-kuk/	‘your uncle’
	[skukóhɔʔ]	/sku-kuhu-la(ʔ)/	‘it was all smoked’
	[škáp]	/škap/	‘tick’
	[ʔkáa]	/ʔkaa/	‘s/he measures X’
	[tíks]	/tiks/	‘good, well’
	[múusiŋgna]	/muu-siink-na/	‘caves’

/q/ is a voiceless uvular stop found in both syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. In syllable-initial consonant clusters it follows the fricatives /s/, /š/, and /ʔ/. In syllable-final clusters it can precede these fricatives or follow /n/.<sup>4</sup>

(13)	[qačéŋqéet]	/qačanqii-ta/	‘muddy place’
	[šqóχ, sqóχ]	/šquq, squq/	‘salty’
	[ʔtuχóχ]	/ʔtuquq/	‘dusty/stirred up’ (YEC)
	[ɔʔkláχčáχʔ]	/ik-lak-čaχʔ/	‘I splash myself’
	[láχčánχš]	/lak-čanqš/	‘s/he chops (bones)’
	[čutóχš]	/čutuqš/	‘lame’

/q/ is optionally voiced [G] following a nasal and preceding a voiced segment. In contrast with other stops, voicing between vowels rarely occurs with /q/, possibly because spirantization of /q/ yields a [+cont] segment.

(14)	[číŋGóʔ]	/číŋ-ní-quŋ/	‘very fat’
	[mínŋáaχštúun]	/min-qaaq-iš-tuu-ní/	‘your thigh’
	[ʔišláaʔquŋna]	/iš-laa-ʔquunq-na/	‘her/his snores’

### 3.2.2.1. Spirantization of /q/

/q/ is optionally realized as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ] following a vowel.

(15)	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td>cont</td></tr> <tr><td>high</td></tr> <tr><td>+back</td></tr> </table>	cont	high	+back	→	[+cont] / V__	
cont							
high							
+back							
(16)	[ʔtuχóχláʔ]	/ʔtuququ-laʔ/	‘s/he/it is muddy’				
	[štóχɛ]	/štuqí/	‘green bean’ (YEC)				
	[kíláχstápu]	/kin-laq-stapu/	‘my pupil’				
	[tóχtóχ]	/tuq-tuq/	‘robin’				
	[laχapút]	/laqaput/	‘chokecherry ( <i>capulin</i> )’				

<sup>4</sup> In Papantla Totonac and in Tlachichilco Tepehua, /q/ becomes [ʔ] in specific phonological contexts (Levy 1987; Watters 1988). In Misantla Totonac, there is no evidence of this variation.

## 3.2.3. Affricates

/ɸ/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate which occurs only syllable initially. It does not occur as part of a tautosyllabic consonant cluster. Between voiced segments, I expect optional voicing, but I have no attested cases.

(17)	[ɸaʔán]	/ɸaʔan/	‘hot’
	[ʔút ɸuɸunán]	/ut ɸuɸu-nan/	‘s/he smokes’
	[ɸít]	/ɸít/	‘black’
	[kɸeíiniʔ]	/kɸeíi-nYʔ/	‘wise person’

In some words, /ɸ/ alternates with /t/ with no apparent change in meaning.

(18)	[máqkítis]	/maq-kitis/	‘five’
	[máqkíeis]	/maq-kieis/	
	[mínɸeʔlɸat]	/min-ɸeʔa-lɸat/	‘your tooth’
	[míntɸeʔlɸat]	/min-taʔa-lɸat/	

/č/ is a voiceless alveopalatal affricate found only in syllable-initial position. It does not occur as part of a tautosyllabic consonant cluster. /č/ is optionally voiced [j] between voiced segments.

(19)	[káqkčíin]	/kaqk-čii-ni/	‘gentleman’
	[mínčfwiš]	/min-čiwíš/	‘your stone’
	[míñjfwíš]		
	[čučú]	/čuču/	‘s/he toasts X’
	[ʔút čaʔanán]	/ut čaʔa-nan/	‘s/he folds (corn)’

/ɸ/ alternates with /č/ in some lexemes, as seen in (20). In some Totonacan languages, this alternation correlates with semantic intensity, with /č/ indicating greater intensity than /ɸ/ (21). In Misantla Totonac, the correlation is rather tenuous.<sup>5</sup>

(20)	[ɸisɪt]	/ɸisit/	‘hair’
	[čisɪt]	/čisít/	‘hair’
	[ɸamáχ]	/ɸamaq/	‘scar’
	[čamáχ]	/čamaq/	‘scar’

<sup>5</sup>The use of contrasting sounds to mark intensity in the north-central Totonac of Apantilla, Puebla, is described in detail in Bishop (1984).

(21)	[ʔukúŋkɨ]	/ʔukɨnkɨ/	‘cool’
	[čukúŋkɨ]	/čukɨnkɨ/	‘cold’
	[ʔɨʔú]	/ʔɨʔɨ/	‘s/he smokes X’
	[čɨčú]	/čɨčɨ/	‘s/he sucks X’
	[ʔasás]	/ʔasas/	‘white (color)’
	[čaśás]	/čaśas/	‘light-skinned person( <i>güero</i> )’

Sagey (1986) proposes that affricates /č/ and /ʔ/ are contour segments with sequential [-cont][+cont] specifications.<sup>6</sup> Evidence for this analysis comes from rules that treat affricates the same as stops when the context refers to their left [-cont] edge and as fricatives when the context refers to their right [+cont] edge. In Misantra Totonac, there are four rules that treat the left edge of an affricate as [-cont]:

1. Noncontinuant obstruents are voiced between voiced segments (3.2.1.1). This rule applies to stops and affricates, but does not affect fricatives.

2. Adjacent fricative/fricative segments (which share the feature [+cont]) simplify, while adjacent fricative/affricate segments (which do not share the feature [+cont]) do not (see simplification of adjacent identical segments in 3.4.1).

3. Nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of immediately following stops and affricates (3.4.2.3).

4. Nasals delete preceding a continuant segment (3.4.5). Nasals do not delete preceding stops or affricates.

/ʎ/, a voiceless lateral affricate, does not occur in Misantra Totonac, but is found in other Totonac languages. It is found in the Totonac spoken in Zapotitlán de Méndez (ZAP), Papantla (PAP), Coatepec (COAT), Xicotepec de Juárez (XIC), and Tlayehualancingo (TLA) (Aschmann 1962, 1973; McQuown 1940; Reid and Bishop 1974; Espinosa Morales 1978, respectively). It is not found in Tepehua (Watters 1980). In most cases, the words that have /ʎ/ in other varieties do not have a cognate in Misantra Totonac. However, where cognates exist, /ʎ/ most often corresponds to /t/:

[púutaqé]	(YEC)	vs.	[puuʎeqé]	(XIC)	‘s/he counts’
[patán]	(YEC)	vs.	[paʎanan]	(XIC)	‘s/he vomits’

<sup>6</sup> See Lombardi (1990) for an alternative (nonsequential) representation of affricates.

[tanáanán]	(YEC)	vs.	[λ <sub>aa</sub> wan]	(XIC)	‘s/he walks’
[tíj]	(YEC)	vs.	[tanλ <sub>ijj</sub> ]	(ZAP)	‘s/he dances’
[qat]		vs.	[q <sub>a</sub> λa]	(XIC)	‘big’
[ʔíštáata]	(SM)	vs.	[λ <sub>aat</sub> i]	(ZAP)	‘father’
			/λ <sub>aat</sub> /	(COAT)	
[támiŋ]	(YEC)	vs.	[λ <sub>am</sub> ank]	(ZAP)	‘pot’
			/λ <sub>im</sub> inki/	(COAT)	
			[λ <sub>am</sub> ank]	(XIC)	
			[λ <sub>am</sub> ank]	(PAP)	

### 3.2.4. Fricatives

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar sibilant which occurs both syllable initially and syllable finally. In syllable-initial consonant clusters, it precedes all consonants except stridents and laryngeals. As part of a coda, it follows /k/ or /q/.

(22)	[síksi]	/síksi/	‘sweet’
	[tálaas]	/talaas/	‘peach’
	[misiin]	/misiin/	‘tiger’ (YEC)
	[spíjʔ]	/spíj/	‘worm’
	[stɔχɔnɔʔ]	/stɔɔn-ɔnʔ/	‘old woman’
	[skitinít]	/skitinii-Vt/	‘kind of insect ( <i>salsahuate</i> )’
	[sqɔtnɪ]	/sqɔt-ni/	‘corn meal tamales ( <i>chocos</i> )’
	[mísmáaxnɛ]	/min-smaaɔ-ni/	‘your infant’ (YEC)
	[láqsɔχ]	/lak-snuq/	‘s/he straightens X’
	[ʔíštúuslah]	/iš-tuu-slaʔ/	‘her/his toe’ (YEC)
	[máahalíkswáanán]	/maa-haliks-waa-nan/	‘s/he hiccoughs’
	[kíʔɛúksyáan]	/kiʔ-ɛúksa-yaa-na/	‘s/he kisses you’
	[tíks]	/tiks/	‘good, well’
	[ɛáqs]	/ɛáqs/	‘almost/about to’

/š/ is a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative which occurs syllable initially and syllable finally. It cannot precede fricatives, affricates, or laryngeals in syllable-initial clusters. In codas, it can follow /k/ or /q/. There are no attested cases of /š/ in syllable-final consonant clusters following /k/, but I regard this as an accidental gap.

(23)	[šáawat]	/šaawat/	‘cornfield’
	[kúš]	/kuš/	‘corn cob’
	[lakašáalɔh]	/laka-šaaluh/	‘in the pot’
	[kaákšpulúk]	/kaák-špuluk/	‘curly haired’
	[štɔχɛ]	/štɔqi/	‘green bean’
	[škámšwáat]	/iš-kam-šwáat/	‘the mortar’s pestle’

[šqɔɔɾán]	/šquutan/	'yesterday'
[šmutú]	/šmutu/	's/he scrapes X'
[šnéχlah]	/šnaq-la(ʎ)/	's/he deflated/lost weight'
[šlápun]	/šlapun/	'file'
[šyáastáʔ]	/iš-yáastáʔ/	'her/his <i>concuño</i> ' <sup>7</sup>
[čutóχš]	/čutuqš/	'lame'

/ʎ/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative which occurs in both syllable-initial and syllable-final position. In syllable-initial clusters, it may precede all consonants except fricatives, affricates, and laryngeals. It may be preceded in syllable-final clusters by /k/ or /q/. I have no examples of /kʎ/ syllable finally, but I assume that this is an accidental gap. In Yecuatla, /ʎ/ optionally becomes [h] syllable finally (see 3.4.3.2).

(24) [máaʎɔɔʎiínán]	/maa-ʎuuʎ-ii-nan/	's/he plows X'
[páaʎɔ]	/paaʎtu/	'skin'
[páahtɔ]		
[míʎ]	/min-la(ʎ)/	's/he came'
[míh]		
[ʎpilʎ]	/ʎpilʎ/	'spotted (snake)'
[ʎtaχáʎ]	/ʎtaqal/	'flat'
[ʎkáʎk]	/ʎkák/	'ash'
[ʎqáanán]	/ʎqaa-nan/	's/he furrows, plows'
[ʎmáan]	/ʎmāa-ni/	'long'
[čáχʎnán]	/čaqʎ-nan/	's/he splashes'
[páqʎča]	/paqʎča/	'tomato'

The fricatives /s/, /š/, and /ʎ/ can be used interchangeably in certain words (25). As in the case of the affricates, fricative variation is sometimes correlated with differences of semantic intensity; /s/ indicates the least intensity and /ʎ/ the most (26).

(25) [stɔχɔ]	/stuqu/	's/he sews X'
[šɔχɔ]	/štuqu/	's/he sews X'
[lákʎnúun]	/lak-ʎnuun/	's/he stretches X'
[lákšnúun]	/lak-šnuun/	's/he stretches X'
[staχáʎ]	/staqal/	'flat'
[ʎtaχáʎ]	/ʎtaqal/	'flat'

<sup>7</sup>The husbands of two sisters are *concuños*.

(26)	[skúkóhɔɬ]	/sku-kuhu-la(ɬ)/	‘it was all smoked’
	[ɬkúkóhɔɬ]	/ɬku-kuhu-la(ɬ)/	‘it all burned’
	[hómpúusukúk]	/hun-puu-sukúk/	‘there is a small hole’
	[hómpúúšukúk]	/hun-puu-šukúk/	‘there is a medium hole’
	[hómpúuɬukúk]	/hun-puu-ɬukúk/	‘there is a big hole’

### 3.2.5. Liquids

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant which occurs syllable initially and syllable finally. /l/ can be preceded in syllable-initial clusters by /s/ or /š/. In San Marcos, /l/ may appear as either [l] or [ɬ] syllable finally; but in Yecuatla, /l/ is always neutralized to [ɬ] in syllable-final position (3.4.3.1). Since the main distinction between /l/ and /ɬ/ is one of sonority, the neutralization to [ɬ] satisfies a constraint in Yecuatla against nonnasal sonorants in the coda.

(27)	[mímpéχšulúl]	/min-paq-šulul/ (SM)	‘your forearm’
	[mímpéχšulúɬ]	/min-paq-šulul/ (YEC)	‘your forearm’
	[mímpéχšululún]	/min-paq-šulul-Vn/	‘your forearms’
	[slapóχ]	/slapuq/	‘soft’
	[šlíilúu]	/iš-líi-luu/	‘her/his intestinal worms’

### 3.2.6. Nasals

/m/ is a bilabial nasal found in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. It may be preceded in syllable-initial clusters by /s/, /š/, or /ɬ/. Word-final /m/ occurs in San Marcos, but in Yecuatla word-final /m/ normally becomes [n]. In Yecuatla, word-final /m/ is pronounced as [m] only in very careful speech.

(28)	[máatɔʔ]	/maa-tuʔ/	‘two’
	[kíŋkám]	/kin-kam/	‘my child’
	[kíŋkán] (YEC)		
	[smaháʔ]	/smahaʔ/	‘weasel’
	[šmúk]	/šmuk/	‘s/he/it stings’
	[ɬmúuŋku]	/ɬmuunku/	‘guinea hen’

In certain lexemes, /m/ alternates with /w/.

(29)	[čimáχ]	/čamaq/	‘scar’
	[čiwáχ]	/čawaq/	‘scar’

/n/ is an alveolar nasal which occurs syllable initially and finally. In syllable-initial consonant clusters it can be preceded by /s/, /š/, or /ɬ/; in syllable-final clusters it can be followed by /k/ or /q/. /n/ assimilates to the



place of articulation of the following consonant and is thus realized as [m] preceding a labial, [ɲ] preceding an alveo-palatal, [ŋ] preceding a velar, and [ɳ] preceding a uvular. In word-final position, /n/ is realized as [ŋ] in San Marcos. In Yecuatla, word-final /n/ is often dropped after a long vowel and optionally realized as [ʔ] after a short laryngealized vowel (see 3.4.4.1).

(30)	[mímpúučqáɛ́ɛ́n]	/min-puu-čqaa-ni/	'your washbasin'
	[míntáaqátat]	/min-taa=qata-Vt/	'your sibling'
	[míñčíškúʔ]	/min-číškuʔ/	'your man'
	[míŋkíʔ]	/min-kíŋ/	'your nose'
	[wíŋqáʔáanáʔ]	/wíŋ-qáʔaan-nVʔ/	'this thief'
	[čutuqšán]	/čutuqš-nan/	's/he limps'
	[snápɯ]	/snapɯ/	'gnat'
	[lákʔnúun]	/lak-ʔnuun/	's/he stretches X'
	[kít qʔʔ, qʔŋkít]	/kit qʔn, qʔŋ-kit/	'I am fat'
	[míŋgáakčíŋ] (SM)	/min-kaak-číŋ-ni/	'your man'
	[míŋkáakčíŋ] (YEC)		

### 3.2.7. Glides

/w/ is a voiced labiovelar glide which occurs only in syllable-initial position.<sup>8</sup> It must be followed by a vowel and, in syllable-initial consonant clusters, may be preceded by /s/, /š/, or /ʔ/. There are no cases of \*/wu/ sequences.

(31)	[wíŋ eáqat]	/wíŋ eáqat/	'this gum ( <i>chicle</i> )'
	[kíʔkəwíʔ]	/kiʔ-ʔkəwíʔ/	'crooked mouth'
	[mílaχáwat]	/min-laqawat/	'your soul/heart'
	[míŋqéšwáat]	/min-kiʔ-šwáat/	'your molar'
	[líiwátat]	/lii-wátat/	'food'
	[láawáa]	/laawaa/	'meat'
	[kímpuwíit]	/kin-puwíit/	'my in-law'

/y/ is a voiced palatal glide which only occurs syllable initially. It too must be followed by a vowel and, in syllable-initial consonant clusters, may be preceded by /s/, /š/, or /ʔ/. There are no \*/yi/ sequences.

<sup>8</sup> Alternatively, the glides /w/ and /y/ can be treated as underlying /i/ and /u/. Their interpretation as glides can be predicted from their position within a syllable. If they precede a vowel, they are glides; if they do not, they are vowel nuclei. When there are two-vowel sequences, /a/ is attached to the nucleus first. A preceding high vowel will then be realized as a glide. As expected, since a single root vowel can be associated with one or two skeletal slots, there are no cases of \*[wu] or \*[yi] because these would be interpreted as [uu] and [ii]. This generalization concerning the distribution of glide-vowel sequences in Misantla Totonac holds in other Totonacan languages as well (Watters 1988).

(32)	[míyáastáʔ]	/mín-yaastaʔ/	'your sister-in-law'
	[ʔíqatáayáawá]	/ik-qataayaawa/	'I believe X'
	[tatíyáawá]	/ta-tii-yaa-wan/	's/he kicks up rear legs'
	[šyáahkuš]	/iš-yaaʔ-kuš/	'hair of an ear of corn'

/h/ is a voiceless glottal continuant found in syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. It does not occur in tautosyllabic consonant clusters.

(33)	[hóʔtúʔ]	/huutuʔ/	'squash ( <i>chilacayote</i> )'
	[lahéet, lɛhéet]	/lahiit/	's/he loosens X'
	[kíhukáak]	/kin-hukaaʔk/	'my liver'

In syllable-final position, /h/ is neutralized to [ʔ] (see 3.4.3.1).

(34)	[sqɔnáʔ]	/squnah/	'warm'
	[sqɔnahán]	/squnah-Vn/	'warm (pl)'
	*[sqɔnaʔán]		

In Yecuatla, there is an optional phonological rule, applying late in the derivation, which replaces [ʔ] with [h] syllable finally. Therefore, although there are many surface examples of [h] in syllable-final position, these are either underlyingly /ʔ/ or the reflex of the variant [ʔ] of /h/ (see 3.4.3 for discussion).

(35)	[čáhkáatnán]	/čaaʔkaat-nan/	's/he works'
	[čáʔkáatnán]		
	[káah] [káaʔ]	/kaaʔ/	'there is/are'
	[ʔút čóʔnán, čóhnán]	/ut čuh-nan/	's/he spits'
	[ʔiščóhɔt]	/iš-čuh-Vt/	'her/his saliva'
	*[ʔiščóʔɔt]		

/ʔ/ has a distribution unlike that of other consonantal segments in that (a) it never occurs in tautosyllabic consonant clusters, (b) it only occurs syllable finally when that syllable is word final, (c) it only occurs word finally on nominals (on verbs, /ʔ/ only surfaces when triggered by second person subject morphology), and (d) it never occurs word finally after a long vowel.<sup>9</sup>

I interpret all cases of syllable-initial /ʔ/ as epenthetic. In Misantla Totonac, all syllables must have an onset (3.5.1). /ʔ/ appears initially on all syllables that would otherwise lack one (see glottal insertion in 3.2.7.1). /ʔ/ is inserted at the

<sup>9</sup> Because the distribution of /ʔ/ is completely different from that of the other consonants, Aschmann (1946) does not treat it as a separate phoneme. McQuown (1940) lists /ʔ/ as a phoneme in Coatepec Totonac. His examples suggest that its distribution is similar to the distribution of /ʔ/ in Misantla Totonac (i.e., it occurs in the onset of a vowel-initial syllable, between vowels, and word finally).

beginning of a vowel-initial word or between vowels if morpheme concatenation results in adjacent vowels.

- |      |                    |                       |                                |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (36) | [ʔút ʔhó]          | /ut uhu/              | 's/he coughs'                  |
|      | [náaʔutún]         | /naa-utun/            | 'also they/them'               |
|      | [ʔút lakaʔán]      | /ut laka-ʔan/         | 's/he faces in that direction' |
|      | [láamáaʔʔχstáʔnii] | /laa-maa-uqstaaʔn-ii/ | 's/he chats with them'         |

When preceded by a consonant-final syllable, a vowel-initial stem will make the prefix-final C a syllable onset.<sup>10</sup>

- |      |            |                |                 |
|------|------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (37) | [ʔíkúkaʔ]  | /ik-uká-la(ʔ)/ | 'I am above'    |
|      | [ʔíkán]    | /ik-ʔan/       | 'I go'          |
|      | [qátʔqšáʔ] | /qat-uqšaʔ/    | 'big young man' |

When a nasal-final affix is prefixed to a glottal-initial stem (i.e., where /ʔ/ has been inserted syllable initially), the rule of n-deletion (3.4.5) applies. Resyllabification, which could reanalyze the prefix-final /n/ as part of the following syllable onset, is blocked in this case.

- |      |              |               |                   |
|------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (38) | [kíʔʃki]     | /kin-iʃki/    | 's/he gives me X' |
|      | [míʔasiwíit] | /min-asiwíit/ | 'your guava'      |

There are two possible analyses of final /ʔ/ on nominals:

1. /ʔ/ can be analyzed as word final in the underlying representation of nominals. It only surfaces in absolute final position; it never occurs before a suffix.

- |      |             |                |                 |
|------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (39) | [ʔqšáʔ]     | /uqšaʔ/        | 'young man'     |
|      | [ʔqšaaqát]  | /uqšaʔ-qat/    | 'big young man' |
|      | [míntáʔliʔ] | /min-tʔaliʔ/   | 'your wife'     |
|      | [míntáʔlín] | /min-tʔaliʔ-n/ | 'your wives'    |

Support of this analysis comes from the pattern of primary stress placement on nominals. Final CV or CVC [-son +cor] syllables are not stressed on nouns, but final syllables closed by a consonant other than a coronal obstruent are. Thus, stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the forms in (40), where the

<sup>10</sup> Although I interpret /ʔ/ as inserted syllable initially, an alternative analysis is that /ʔ/ is part of the underlying representation. The main evidence against this analysis is the deviant distribution of /ʔ/ when compared with other consonants.

final syllable is light. In contrast, stress falls on the ultimate syllable of the forms in (41). This stress is predictable only if /ʔ/ is present underlyingly (i.e., the final syllable is heavy).<sup>11</sup>

(40)	[póχʔu]	/puχʔu/	‘faded, whitish’
	[púksa]	/pʊksa/	‘smelly’
(41)	[piyúʔ]	/piyuʔ/	‘chicken’
	[míntráǵhóʔ]	/min-tǵa-huʔ/	‘your brother’
	[špúnkǵʔ]	/iš-pun-kijw/	‘forest’
	[hónǵǵnǵʔ]	/hun-ǵuq-nYʔ/	‘DET writer’

2. An alternative analysis assumes that the words in (41) are lexically stressed and that lexical stress on a final light syllable results in insertion of a word-final glottal. There is no evidence against this analysis except that a very regular stress rule, stressing final syllables on both nominals and verbs, makes postulation of lexical stress unnecessary in almost all cases (see 3.6.1 and 3.6.2).

### 3.2.7.1. Glottal Insertion

Syllable structure constraints in Totonac require that all syllables have an onset. As noted in the previous discussion, if a vowel is not preceded by a consonant, then /ʔ/ is inserted to serve as an onset.

(42)	σ		σ	
	N		N	
	u t	→	ʔ u t	/ut/ ‘s/he/it, her/him/it’

(43)	[ʔút taʔǵkaʔ]	/ut ta-ǵka-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he mounted’
	[ʔút ʔǵǵiniʔ]	/ut ǵ-ǵi-ni-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he obtained X for Y’
	[kíʔǵhɔt]	/kin-ǵhu-Vt/	‘my cough’

<sup>11</sup> On verbs, [ʔ] appears only when triggered by the morphology as a reflex of the laryngealization that marks second person (see 5.4.1.1.2). In contrast with nominals, word-final CV syllables can be stressed on verbs.

(a)	[kít ʔkštǵʔ]	/kit ik-štuqu/	‘I sew X’
	[ʔút ǵǵkú]	/ut ǵǵku/	‘s/he/it cuts X’
(b)	[wiš ʔtuqʔ]	/wiš ʔtuqu/	‘you stir X’
	[wiš qǵwǵʔ]	/wiš qǵwǵ/	‘you talk’

## 3.3. Vowels

The Totonac and Tepehua vowel inventories are generally analyzed as having three vowel qualities, /i/, /a/, and /u/. Each of these may be either short or long, and each may be either plain or laryngealized. The resulting system is one in which there are twelve phonemic vowels. Given the relative paucity of laryngealized vowels cross-linguistically, their occurrence in Misantla Totonac is of considerable interest. For a discussion of the acoustic properties of laryngealized vowels in Misantla Totonac, see Trechsel and Faber (1992).

The contrasts between long and short vowels and between plain and laryngealized vowels are established by numerous minimal pairs in Misantla Totonac:<sup>12</sup>

- (44) **a/aa**
- |         |          |                 |
|---------|----------|-----------------|
| [škáan] | /iš-kam/ | 'her/his child' |
| [škáan] | /škaan/  | 'water'         |
- (45) **a/ạ**
- |       |       |                            |
|-------|-------|----------------------------|
| [páš] | /paš/ | 's/he bathes'              |
| [pás] | /pas/ | 's/he degrades/threshes X' |
- (46) **aa/ạa**
- |           |                  |                     |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------|
| [stáaniɸ] | /staa-ni-la(ɸ)/  | 's/he looked at X'  |
| [stáaniɸ] | /stạa-ni-la(ɸ)/ | 's/he sold X for Y' |
- (47) **i/ị**
- |        |            |                 |
|--------|------------|-----------------|
| [tíɸ]  | /ti-la(ɸ)/ | 's/he/it dried' |
| [tíiɸ] | /tiiɸ/     | 'path'          |
- (48) **i/ị**
- |              |                 |                  |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| [kíliɸtiyat] | /kin-lii-tiyat/ | 'my girl friend' |
| [kíntiyat]   | /kin-tiyat/     | 'my land'        |
- (49) **ii/ịị**
- |         |           |                |
|---------|-----------|----------------|
| [číin]  | /čii-ni/  | 'pus'          |
| [číịn] | /čiị-ni/ | 'strong, very' |

<sup>12</sup>I want to stress that although laryngealized vowels occur most frequently following obstruents, they also occur following sonorants: [tétmáan] /tan-ɸmáa-ni/ 'tall'; [láawáa] /laawáa/ 'meat'; [ʔút máašanán] /ut maa=šanán/ 's/he is ashamed'; [šiwíit] /šiwíit/ 'green corn'; [qɔniin] /qun-Ỵn/ 'fat (pl)'; [kɛwíin] /kiw-Ỵn/ 'trees'; [spilíɸ] /spilíɸ/ 'spot'; [kíɸtunúun] /kiɸ-tun-Ỵn/ 'full (pl)'; etc.

- (50) **u/uu**  
 [kišúun] /kin-šuuun/ 'my great-grandchild'  
 [kišún] /kišun/ 'narrow hole'
- (51) **u/ɥ**  
 [čɥčú] /čɥčɥ/ 's/he sucks X'  
 [čuču] /čuču/ 's/he toasts X'
- (52) **uu/ɥɥ**  
 [míntatúunúɥt] /min-ta-tuu-nɥu-Vt/ 'your shoe'  
 [tanúu] /ta-nuu/ 's/he enters'  
 [míšúun] /min-šuuun/ 'your great-grandchild'

All vowels do not occur with equal frequency in the language. /a/ and its variants are by far the most common vowels, while /uu/, and particularly laryngealized /ɥɥ/, are the least exploited.<sup>13</sup>

As in other Totonacan languages (McQuown 1940), there is a great deal of variation in the pronunciation of vowels. Some of this variation I do not attempt to account for. The same word may be pronounced several ways, for example:

- (53) [lákčawá] /lak-čawa/ 'X is closed'  
 [lákčuwá] /lak-čuwa/  
 [lákčiwí] /lak-čiwí/
- (54) [čimáχ] /čimaq/ 'scar'  
 [čamáχ] /čamaq/
- (55) [káštalančá] /kaštalan-ča/ 'bread (Castillian tortilla)'  
 [kištalančá] /kištalan-ča/
- (56) [páqšúutih] /paq-šuuutiɥ/ 'left-handed'  
 [páqšúutah] /paq-šuuutaɥ/

There are at least seven predictable surface variants of the short vowels: [a], [i], [u], [ə], [ɛ], [ɪ], and [ɔ].<sup>14</sup> Surface variants of the long vowels include [aa], [ii], [uu], [ɛɛ], [ɔɔ], and [ɪɪ]. Any of these can also be laryngealized. The surface manifestations of the vowels are the following:

<sup>13</sup>Trechsel and Faber (1992) have noted that laryngealization is lost when /u/ precedes a nasal (i.e., when /u/ is nasalized, laryngealization is neutralized).

<sup>14</sup>I do not attempt to integrate all Spanish loans into the Totonac phonological system. Many of the loans are recently acquired and do not conform to Totonac phonology.

(57)	/i/	→	[i] [ĩ] [ə] [ɛ]
	/ii/	→	[ii] [ĩĩ] [ɛɛ] or [ɛ̃ɛ̃] , [ɛə], [iə]
	/u/	→	[u] [ɔ] (optionally [o] in unstressed open syllable)
	/uu/	→	[uu] [ɔɔ]
	/a/	→	[a] [ɛ] (optionally [e] in unstressed open syllable) [ə]
	/aa/	→	[aa] [ɛɛ]

### 3.3.1. Phonological Processes Affecting Vowels

#### 3.3.1.1. Nasalization of Vowels

In San Marcos, all vowels are nasalized before a word-final nasal.

- (58) V(V) → [+nasal] / \_\_\_[+nasal]#
- (59) [hónkɛ́wĩĩŋ] /hun-kɪw-ɪj̃n/ 'DET trees' (SM)  
 [tɔq̃tɔq̃wǎŋ] /tuq̃t̃-tuq̃t̃-wan/ 's/he has the hiccoughs' (SM)

In Yecuatla, only long vowels and short laryngealized vowels are nasalized preceding a word-final nasal.

- (60) VV → [+nasal] / \_\_\_[+nasal]#
- (61) [šiĩpũũn] /šiĩpuu-n/ 'feathers'  
 [mímipúuč̣aqãn̄] /min-puu-č̣aqãn̄-ɲi/ 'your washbasin'  
 [kíŋkí̃p̣áan̄] /kin-kí̃t̃-paa-ɲi/ 'my lip'

*but*

- (62) [láasɔq̃náa] /laa-suq̃naa/ 'pretty (pl)'
- (63) Y → [+nasal] / \_\_\_[+nasal]#

- |      |                           |                  |                    |
|------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| (64) | [kíjksúnt̃án]             | /kíj̥k-sun-t̃an/ | ‘small/young (pl)’ |
|      | [ɛat̃at̃áʔ] <sup>15</sup> | /ɛat̃at̃-Vn/     | ‘soft (pl)’        |

but

- |      |                 |                 |                   |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (65) | [ʔíkláat̃éhwán] | /ik-laa-tíhwan/ | ‘I look for them’ |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|

### 3.3.1.2. Vowel Lowering

In all Totonacan languages there is a phonological process which lowers high vowels both preceding and following postvelar /q/ and /h/ (Watters 1987; Levy 1987; McQuown 1940, 1990b). This rule is very productive in Misantla Totonac, and lowers /u, uu/ → [ɔ, ɔɔ] and /i, ii/ → [ɛ, ɛɛ].

- |      |              |                |   |                     |
|------|--------------|----------------|---|---------------------|
| (66) | V(V)         | →              | $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{-high} \\ \text{-tense} \end{array} \right]$ | % q/h <sup>16</sup> |
|      | [+high]      |                |   |                     |
| (67) | [qéĩñšéɛhn̩] | /qiin-šiih-n̩/ | ‘roots’   |                     |
|      | [sɔχɔnáa]    | /suqunaa/      | ‘pretty’  |                     |
|      | [páapɔhɔún]  | /paa-puhu-ɔun/ | ‘wide’  |                     |

Vowel lowering is not triggered by [h] derived from /ʔ/.<sup>17</sup>

- |      |              |                  |                        |
|------|--------------|------------------|------------------------|
| (68) | [kúçih]      | /kuçiʔ/          | ‘knife’                |
|      | [hónlíminiʔ] | /hun-lii-min-nʔ/ | ‘the one who brings X’ |

### 3.3.1.3. Vowel Tensing

Short lax [ɛ] and [ɔ] become tense [e] and [o] in nonfinal open syllable. The lax vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] are derived from /a/ and /u/, respectively.<sup>18</sup>

- |      |   |   |                   |            |
|------|---|---|-------------------|------------|
| (69) | V   | → | [+tense] / ___]oC | (optional) |
|      | $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{-high} \\ \text{-tense} \end{array} \right]$ |   |                   |            |

<sup>15</sup> Nasalization precedes the rule 3.4.4.1 in which word final /n/ becomes /ʔ/ following a short laryngealized vowel.

<sup>16</sup> It is possible to characterize this vowel lowering as assimilation—that is, the spreading of the feature [+RTR] ‘Retracted Tongue Root’ (Broselow 1979) to adjacent high vowels, resulting in the lowering of these vowels (for more details see MacKay 1994c).

<sup>17</sup> Thus, vowel lowering precedes the late rule changing [ʔ] → [h] (3.4.3.2).

<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence I know of that would preclude stating the rule as tense vowels becoming lax in closed syllables. However, since the tense variants only occur optionally and are never the result of an obligatory rule, I assume that they are derived by the vowel-tensing rule.



(70)	[ʔikračočʰ]	/ik-ta-čuqu/	'I stay'
	[ʔištiyenáʔ]	/iš-tiya-nŷʔ/	'her/his ox'

### 3.3.2. High Front Vowel

/i/ is a tense high front vowel which can be short or long, plain or laryngealized. It has the following allophones:

1. [i] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a tense high front vowel.

(71)	[ɛit̪in]	/ɛit̪-ŷŷn/	'black (pl)'
	[mísináat]	/min-sinaat/	'your woman/wife'
	[hašáani]	/hašaa-nii/	's/he breathes hard/sighs'
	[mílaakæfín]	/min-laa-kæfii-ni/	'your heart'
	[náhtaqəʔɔni]	/na(ʔ)-ta-quʔa-nŷʔ-ii/	's/he will improve'

2. [ɪ] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a lax high front vowel which alternates with [i]. [ɪ] appears most often in the context of coronal segments /ɕ, ʧ, t, ʂ, n, l, ʎ, s/. That is, optionally /i/ → [ɪ] in contact with coronals. For cases in which the rule has not applied, see the examples in (71) above.<sup>19</sup>

(72)	V(V)		
	[+high]	→	[-tense] % [cor] (optional)

(73)	[hón skf̪it̪]	/hun skiti-Vt/	'DET cornmeal'
	[ʔišt̪úmpit̪]	/iš-tun-pit/	'alone'
	[čf̪wiš]	/čiwíš/	'stone'
	[mímpúl̪it̪]	/min-pul̪i-Vt/	'your sweat'
	[mínɕk̪it̪]	/min-ɕik̪i-Vt/	'your breast'
	[mínk̪áakskf̪it̪]	/min-k̪áak-skiti-Vt/	'your brains'
	[mímp̪iʂ]	/min-piʂ/	'your wart'
	[mímp̪úšnfm̪it̪]	/min-pušnimit/	'your niece/nephew'

3. [ə] is a mid central vowel which never occurs long \*[əə]. It sometimes alternates with [ɪ] and [a].

(74)	[mílaχɕésət/ɕf̪it̪]	/min-laɕ-ɕisit/	'your eyelashes'
	[mínk̪áakɕésət/t̪f̪it̪/tásat]	/min-k̪áak-ɕisit/	'your white hairs'

4. Short [ɛ] (plain or laryngealized) is a lax mid front vowel. [ɛ] occurs in word-final position after a coronal. In this position it is in free variation with the lax variant [ɪ] of /i/.

<sup>19</sup> Trechsel and Faber have spectrographic documentation of this vowel laxing process, which affects both /i/ and /u/ (personal communication).

- (75) 
$$\begin{array}{|c} \text{V} \\ \hline \text{+high} \\ \hline \text{-tense} \end{array} \rightarrow [-\text{high}] / \_\_\# \quad (\text{optional})$$
- (76) 
$$\begin{array}{lll} [\text{šláaqé} \text{†} \text{ni}] & /i\text{š-} \text{laa-} \text{q} \text{†} \text{-ni}/ & \text{'her/his blood'} \\ [\text{s} \text{fksi}] & /s \text{iksi}/ & \text{'sweet'} \\ [\text{ʔ} \text{špúulákni}] & /i\text{š-} \text{puu-} \text{lak-} \text{ni}/ & \text{'her/his stomach'}$$
- (77) 
$$\begin{array}{lll} [\text{sáaste}] & /saasti/ & \text{'new'} \\ [\text{stáχnε}] & /staq-ni/ & \text{'green'} \\ [\text{hékwaáate}] & /hikwaŋ-ti/ & \text{'scared'} \\ [\text{kíntáa} \text{†} \text{tatáate}] & /kin-taa- \text{†} \text{tata-} \text{ti}/ & \text{'my co-in-law (consuegro)'}\end{array}$$

5. [ε], [εε] (plain or laryngealized) are triggered by the vowel-lowering rule when in contact with /q/ or /h/ (3.3.1.2).

- (78) 
$$\begin{array}{lll} [\text{†} \text{éhn}] & /† \text{ih-ni}/ & \text{'yellow'} \\ [\text{túñč} \text{é} \text{ε} \text{χ}] & /tun-č \text{ii} \text{q}/ & \text{'one banana' (YEC)} \\ & & \text{'one banana leaf' (SM)}\end{array}$$

There are some differences in the productivity of the lowering rule depending on the vowel involved. With respect to the variants of /i/ which result from the vowel-lowering rule, the allophones are:

a. [ε] (plain/laryngealized) is derived from short /i/ when in contact with the pharyngeal segment /h/. I have no examples of short /i/ adjacent to /q/.<sup>20</sup>

- (79) 
$$[\text{ʔ} \text{†} \text{kéhn}] \quad /i\text{š-} \text{†} \text{k} \text{ih-} \text{ni}/ \quad \text{'her/his goosefoot (epazote)'}\end{array}$$

Short high front vowel /i/ (plain or laryngealized) receives a centralized off-glide when immediately preceding a pharyngeal segment which is underlyingly nonadjacent.

- (80) 
$$\begin{array}{lll} [\text{ʔ} \text{é} \text{q} \text{á} \text{†} \text{i} \text{ih}] & /ik- \text{q} \text{á} \text{†} \text{i} \text{-} \text{la} (\text{†})/ & \text{'I have'} \\ [\text{ʔ} \text{é} \text{q} \text{á} \text{†} \text{án}] & /ik- \text{q} \text{á} \text{†} \text{an}/ & \text{'I steal X'}\end{array}$$

b. [εε] or [εi]<sup>21</sup> (plain/laryngealized) are derived from /ii/ following /q/ or /h/. [εε] and [εi] are a long mid front vowel and rising diphthong, respectively. Vowel lowering in the context of postvelars affects the adjacent vowel

<sup>20</sup> Levy (1987) and Watters (1988), however, include examples of /i/ adjacent to /q/ in Papantla Totonac and Tlachichilco Tepehua.

<sup>21</sup> [i, u] are used to indicate nonsyllabic vowels that are part of the syllable nucleus.

most strongly and only marginally affects the second vowel. Thus, the second vowel does not always lower and can remain high, particularly preceding a palatal consonant. This results in a diphthong [ɛi] which goes from a mid to a high vowel.

(81)	[ʔút qéεšún]	/ut qii-šun/	‘s/he is thin’
	[mínd(ə)hɛɛn]	/min-tijh-ŸŸn/	‘your brothers-in-law’
	[mínqéĩñšlɪt]	/min-qiin-šilɪ-Vt/	‘your mucus’
	[hón máaxéεtáanáʔ]	/hun maa-qiitaa-nŸʔ/	‘DET bossy one’
	[hón máaxéĩtáanáʔ]	/hun maa-qiitaa-nŸʔ/	
	[qéĩñč[č]	/qiin-čiči/	‘firebrand ( <i>tizón</i> )’

c. [εε], [εə], and [iə] (plain/laryngealized) are derived from /ii/ when preceding the pharyngeals /q/ and /h/. /ii/ lowers to a long mid vowel or a mid vowel with a low centralized off-glide. [iə] and [εə] are long front centralizing diphthongs.

(82)	[ʔíklíəqáwəʔ]	/ik-lii-qawə-la(ʔ)/	‘I spoke for/of X’
	[lakasapíəh] (SM)	/laka-sapiih/	‘in mountains’
	[malíəh]	/maliih/	‘girl’
	[ʔút taεéεχ]	/ut ta-εiɪq/	‘s/he hides’

### 3.3.3. High Back Vowel

/u/ is a high back vowel which can be short or long and plain or laryngealized. /u/ has the following allophones:

- [u] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a high back rounded vowel.

(83)	[ʔút pulí]	/ut puli/	‘s/he sweats’
	[mímúučáan]	/min-muu-čaa-ni/	‘your forehead’
	[čunún]	/čunun/	‘wrinkled’
	[ʔtukúɸun]	/ʔtuk-ŸŸn/	‘thorns’
	[špáalúu]	/iš-paa-luu/	‘her/his intestines’

2. [ɔ] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a lax mid back vowel which surfaces in the following cases:

- In contact with /q/ and /h/, high back vowels /u/ and /uu/ lower.<sup>22</sup> See the rule of vowel-lowering (3.3.1.2).

<sup>22</sup> [ɔɔ] is expected, but not yet attested.

- (84) [ʔiʃmáaʔɔ́χʃuut] /iʃ-maa-ɯqʃuu-Vt/ 'her/his name'  
 [tihóɔ] /tihuu/ 'little'  
 [mínɔɔχósnɪ] /min-ɔuqus-ni/ 'your knee'
- (85) [qɔ́ʃqɔ] /quʃqu/ 'shell, skin'  
 [mílaáʃtɔ́χón] /min-laa-ʃtuqu-ni/ 'your needle'  
 [míʔɔ́hɔt] /min-ɯhu-Vt/ 'your cough'  
 [tamaχáʃtɔ́χnɪ] /ta-maqa-stuq-ni/ 'married person'

In contrast with:

- (86) [ʔtúkuʔ] /ʔtuku-la(ʔ)/ 's/he stabbed X'

An /n/ which assimilates to a following uvular can also trigger vowel lowering in /u/.

- (87) [ʔúʔ lónqa] /ut lunqa/ 's/he is cold'

b. High back vowel /u/ lowers and laxes to [ɔ] word finally (back-vowel laxing).

- (88) 
$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ \boxed{\begin{array}{c} +\text{high} \\ +\text{bk} \end{array}} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \boxed{\begin{array}{c} -\text{high} \\ -\text{tense} \end{array}} \end{array} / \_\_\_\# \quad (\text{optional})$$

- (89) [stáɔ] /stapu/ 'beans'  
 [mímpáaʔtɔ] /min-paaʔtu/ 'your skin'

3. [o]—in nonfinal open unstressed syllable, short [ɔ] is optionally pronounced [o] (see vowel-tensing rule 3.3.1.3).

- (90) [míntohólɔt] /min-tuhu-lɔt/ 'your foot'

### 3.3.4. Low Vowel

/a/ is a low central vowel which can be long or short and plain or laryngealized. The allophones of /a/ are the following:

1. [a] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a low back unrounded vowel.

- (91) [ʔiʃtáata] /iʃ-taata/ 'her/his father' (SM)  
 'grandfather' (YEC)  
 [mílakpáaʃkáan] /min-lak-paa-ʃkaan/ 'your temple'  
 [mínqɔ́ʃáʔ] /min-quʃaʔ/ 'your lung/back'

[č̣iʃkuʃkán]	/č̣iʃku-iʃ-kam/	'her/his son'
[míláqčaxáan]	/min-laq-čaqaa-ni/	'your eye'

2. [ɛ] (short/long, plain/laryngealized) is a lax mid front vowel derived from /a/. /a/ optionally fronts to [ɛ] when in contact with coronal segments.

(92)	V(V) [-high]	→	V [-bk]	% [cor]	(optional)
(93)	[péʃmā] [téhwén]		/paʃ-mā/ /ṭihwan/		'garbage' 's/he looks for X'
(94)	[ʔéntiwíʔ] [ʔántiwíʔ]		/ʔan-tiwíʔ/ /ʔántiwíʔ/		'here'
(95)	[šéεqeʃ] [šáaqeʃ]		/šaaqiʃ/ /šáaqeʃ/		'buzzard'
(96)	[stépu] [stápu]		/stapu/ /stápu/		'beans'
(97)	[šáawat] [šáawat]		/šaawat/ /šáawat/		'cornfield'

3. [e] is a short tense mid front vowel which occurs only in nonfinal open unstressed syllables (see vowel-tensing rule 3.3.1.3).

(98)	[tečán] [ʔikmáášənán]		/ta-čan-ni/ /ik-maa=šanán/		'planted field' 'I am embarrassed'
------	--------------------------	--	-------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

4. [ə] (plain/laryngealized) is a low central vowel which alternates with the short low vowel /a/. It is never long \*[əə].

(99)	[ləkəspát] [šónəʔ] [səpáp]		/laka-spat/ /šanə-Vt/ /sapap/		'in the ground' 'flower' 'warm'
------	----------------------------------	--	-------------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

### 3.4. Phonological Rules

#### 3.4.1. Simplification of Adjacent Identical Segments

In Misantla Totonac, sequences of identical consonantal segments are prohibited within the word. Adjacent identical segments fall into two classes:

1. True geminates, which are never found.

(100)            \*root  
                  /\  
                  C C

2. False geminates, which are always simplified.

(101)            \*root        root  
                  |            |  
                  C<sub>i</sub>        C<sub>i</sub>

As stated above, there are no true geminate consonants in Misantla Totonac. There are, however, cases in which morpheme concatenation results in identical adjacent consonants.

(102) [ʔikáá]            /ik-kaa/            'I cut X'  
      [ʔišápša]        /iš-šapša/        'her/his hog plum tree (*jobo*)'

These identical segment sequences are prohibited and are simplified.

(103)        \*[root        root]            root  
                  |            |                    |  
                  |            |                    |  
                  C<sub>i</sub>        C<sub>i</sub>                    C<sub>i</sub>

Stress assignment precedes simplification of adjacent identical segments. Evidence for this ordering is provided by the secondary stress rule, which assigns secondary stress to all heavy syllables (CVC or CVV). In the following example the first syllable is stressed in spite of the fact that after simplification it is an open syllable (i.e., light) and is not expected to receive secondary stress.

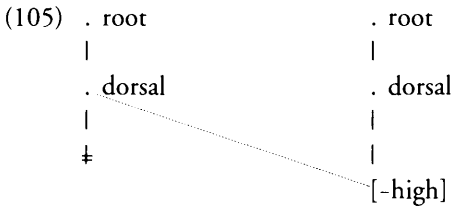
(104) [mínáp]            /min-nap/            'your aunt'

### 3.4.2. Assimilation Processes

In cases of adjacent consonant segments that differ primarily with respect to the point of articulation, the left-most consonant assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant. These assimilation processes may be described in terms of three rules: uvular assimilation (3.4.2.1), strident assimilation (3.4.2.2), and nasal assimilation (3.4.2.3). In adjacent segments, assimilation often results in identical segments which are then simplified.

## 3.4.2.1. Uvular Assimilation

Uvular assimilation applies to both adjacent and nonadjacent segments within a word. In adjacent /k/+/q/ sequences, the /k/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the following /q/, becoming a uvular. The resulting /q/+/q/ sequence is then subject to simplification. The derivation is as follows:



- (106) [ʔiəqawá] /ik-qawá/ 'I talk'  
 [ʔiəqásmát] /ik-qašmat/ 'I hear X'

Assimilation is unidirectional since /q/+/k/ does not yield /q/.

- (107) [mímpáχkáanaa] /min-paq-kaanaa/ 'your right arm'  
 [sqɔkóhɔʔ] /squ-kuhu-la(ʔ)/ 'it was smoked'

Uvular assimilation also applies to nonadjacent segments within a stem. If a root has a /q/ in it, a prefix which normally includes /k/ will assimilate and become [q].<sup>23</sup> This assimilation is limited to derivational prefixes, (e.g., body-part prefixes and valence-changing prefixes).

- (108) [ʔút maqášqét] /ut maka-šqat/ 's/he scratches X (with hand)'  
 [ʔút makapáš] /ut maka-páš/ 's/he bathes her/his hand'  
 [mínqáaqpaχéʔ] /min-kaak-paqáʔ/ 'your shoulder'  
 [mínkákčáan] /min-kaak-čáa-ni/ 'your shoulder'  
 [maqáʔóqwaʔ] /maka-ʔuqwan-la(ʔ)/ 's/he tired X'

Inflectional prefixes, such as /kin-/ 'IOBJ' and /ik-/ 'ISUB,' never assimilate across intervening segments.

- (109) [kísqyúniʔ] /kin-squ-yan-ni-la(ʔ)/ 's/he smokes X for me'  
 \* [qísqyúniʔ]  
 [ʔíkláqzaqá]<sup>24</sup> /ik-lak-zaqa/ 'I chew X'  
 \* [ʔíqláqzaqá]

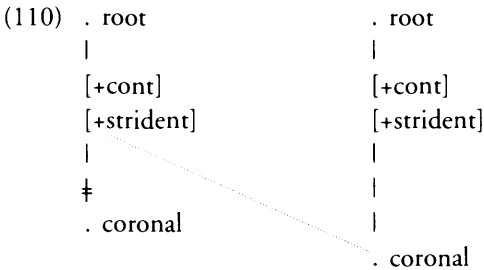
<sup>23</sup> A similar phenomenon is described by Watters (1988) for Tlachichilco Tepehua.

<sup>24</sup> Recall that the /k/ in /ik-/ does assimilate to /q/ when it is adjacent to the uvular (see example 106).

## 3.4.2.2 Strident Assimilation

Misantla Totonac has two assimilation processes which affect strident sequences across a syllable boundary (for constraints on stridents tautosyllabically see 3.5.1.1).

1. Strident assimilation in adjacent fricative segments spreads the terminal features under the articulator node to the preceding consonant.



This results in identical adjacent segments which are simplified according to the rule described in 3.4.1:

š+s	→ s	s+s	→ s	‡+s	→ s
š+‡	→ ‡	s+‡	→ ‡	‡+‡	→ ‡
š+š	→ š	s+š	→ š	‡+š	→ š

(111)	š+s	[wíštáa]	/wiš-staa/	‘you sell X’
		[ʔispát]	/iš-spat/	‘her/his land’
	š+‡	[ʔiʔtúk]	/iš-ʔtuk/	‘her/his thorn’
		[ʔiʔáχaat]	/iš-ʔaqaat/	‘her/his clothes’
	š+š	[ʔišiila]	/iš-šiila/	‘her/his chair’
		[ʔiškáp]	/iš-škáp/	‘her/his tick’
	s+‡	[eáχʔtatá] <sup>25</sup>	/eáqs-ʔtata/	‘s/he is about to sleep’
	s+š	[ʔikɔqɔšwéεχ]	/ik-ɔuqus-šwaaq/	‘I scratch X’s knee’
	s+s	[eáχstáaštán]	/eáqs-staa-štán/	‘s/he was about to sell X’
	‡+s	[ʔíkístáknán]	/ik-kiʔ-stak-nan/	‘my mouth is healing’
	‡+š	[ʔút wílaštán]	/ut wíla-la(ʔ)-štán/	‘s/he was seated’
	‡+‡	[kiʔqɔɔŋnán]	/kiʔ-ʔquunq-nan/	‘s/he (mouth) snores’

<sup>25</sup>Assimilation applies only within the phonological word. /eáqs/ is an independent morpheme and is only optionally included in the phonological word. When it is not included in the phonological word, there is no assimilation [eáχs ʔtatá] ‘s/he is about to sleep.’



2. Strident assimilation also applies to fricative/affricate and affricate/fricative sequences. However, it differs from the rule affecting adjacent fricatives in that (a) it may apply across intervening segments; (b) it only involves spreading of the feature [+/-ant] as opposed to the entire coronal node as above; (c) /ʃ/ is not affected by the assimilation rule (perhaps because the feature [-/+ant] is not distinctive for /ʃ/); and (d) the resulting adjacent segments are not identical (they differ with respect to continuancy) and therefore do not simplify.

In heterosyllabic adjacent segments, the fricatives /ʃ/ and /s/ assimilate to the point of articulation of an immediately following affricate. There are no cases of adjacent affricate+fricative sequences because affricates cannot close a syllable (see 3.5.1.2). The feature [+/-ant] spreads from right to left. /ʃ/ preceding /z/ becomes [s]; /s/ preceding /č/ becomes [š].

- (112) [š] → [s] / \_\_\_\_ [z]  
 [s] → [š] / \_\_\_\_ [č]

- (113) .root .root  
 [+strid] [+strid]  
 | |  
 [cor] [cor]  
 | |  
 | |  
 [+/-ant]

- (114) š+č [wíščáʔ] /wíš-čān/ 'you sow X'  
 [ʔiščáap] /iš-čāap/ 'her/his father'  
 š+z [wíszāláʔ] /wíš-zālan/ 'you sprout'  
 [ʔíszéhzih] /iš-zihziʔ/ 'her/his squirrel'  
 [ʔíszān] /iš-zān/ 'her/his tail'
- s+č [zāχščānštān]<sup>26</sup> /zāqs-čān-štān/ 's/he was about to sow X'  
 s+z [zāχszēʔχ] /zāqs-zūq/ 's/he is about to write X'

Strident assimilation also applies optionally across intervening segments within a stem. As in the case of nonadjacent uvular assimilation, only derivational prefixes are affected. When a stem contains two strident segments, /č/ or /z/ and /s/ or /ʃ/, the feature [anterior] spreads from right to left, as in the examples below.

<sup>26</sup> /zāqs/ is not part of the derived stem. Therefore, nonadjacent strident assimilation does not apply (i.e., /z/ does not assimilate to /č/ as in example 115).

- (115) [ɛ́áastáɓléh] /čáá-stalah/ 'clean bodied'  
 [ɛ́áaspɓt] /čáá-spit/ 's/he peels X (trunk-like object)'  
 [mínčáán] /min-čáá-ni/ 'your body'

In some cases, it doesn't seem to matter which sibilant pair occurs, as long as both segments match in point of articulation.

- (116) [mílaqɛ́sit, mílaqč́šit] /min-laq-č́šit/ 'your eyelashes'  
 [mínɛ́sit, mínč́šit] /min-č́šit/ 'your hairs'  
 [mínkíɓɛ́sit, mínkíɓč́šit] /min-kiɓ-č́šit/ 'your mustache'  
 [mílakapúuɛ́sit, mílakapúuč́šit] /min-laka-puu-č́šit/ 'your beard'  
 [kíɓɛ́sitláʔ, kíɓč́šitláʔ] /kiɓ-č́šit-láʔ/ 's/he is bearded/hairy'

### 3.4.2.3. Nasal Assimilation

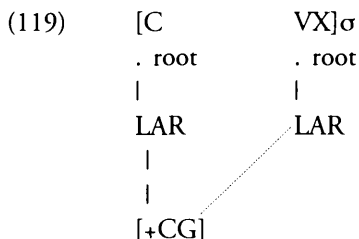
The nasal /n/ lacks place features in underlying representation, and receives these features from an immediately following [-cont] segment. The place of articulation spreads from right to left onto the /n/. If nasal assimilation results in two identical segments, they are simplified.

- (117)
- |          |         |
|----------|---------|
| . root   | . root  |
| [+nasal] | [+cons] |
|          | [-cont] |
|          |         |
|          | . place |
- 

- (118) [mímpášn] /min-páš-ni/ 'your pig'  
 [mínkúšmúun] /min-kuš-muu-ni/ 'your chest'  
 [mínqáštaɓ] /min-qaštal/ 'your lime (mineral)'  
 [mínɛ́ʔ] /min-ɛ́ʔ/ 'your older sister'  
 [mínč́ík] /min-č́ík/ 'your house'  
 [mínáan] /min-naan/ 'your mother'  
 [mímúkskut] /min-mukskut/ 'your fire'

### 3.4.2.4. Laryngeal Spreading

As a result of glottal insertion (3.2.7.1), /ʔ/ precedes any vowel that would otherwise be syllable initial. In syllables of the form [ʔVX]σ laryngealization spreads rightward onto the following vowel.



- (120) [ʔáʃni] /aʃni/ 'when, then'  
 [ʔišliiɛzχna] /iš-lii-ɛuq-na/ 'her/his pen/pencil'

Evidence that the vowel is not underlyingly laryngealized comes from cases in which a vowel is laryngealized following /ʔ/, but not otherwise.

- (121) [níkčǎnlaɸ] /ni-ik-čǎn-la(ɸ)/ 'that I sow X'  
 [ʔikčǎnlaɸ] /ik-čǎn-la(ɸ)/ 'I sowed X'
- (122) [nákmin] /na(ɸ)-ik-min/ 'I will come'  
 [ʔikmín] /ik-min/ 'I come'

### 3.4.3. Syllable-Final Variation

#### 3.4.3.1. Syllable-Final Sonorants

Generally in Misantla Totonac there is a constraint against nonnasal sonorants in syllable-final position. The segments affected are /w/, /y/, /l/, and /h/. /w/ and /y/ are constrained by syllabification rules (see section 3.5.1.2); /l/ and /h/ are neutralized to nonsonorant [ɸ] syllable finally.<sup>27</sup>

The glides /w/ and /y/ are only licensed when followed by a vowel (3.5.1.2); that is, they must be part of an onset. Otherwise, they cannot be syllabified, and are eliminated by stray erasure.

- (123) /y/, /w/ → ∅ / \_\_\_\_]σ (by stray erasure)

- (124) [kinǎn ní] /kinǎn nii-wa/<sup>28</sup> 'we died'  
 [kinǎn tanúu] /kinǎn ta-nuu-wa/ 'we entered'

<sup>27</sup> Please note that if /ʔ/ is assumed to be underlying on nominals, then as a sonorant it violates the constraints against nonnasal sonorants syllable finally.

<sup>28</sup> The rule of CV-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1) (which deletes the final V of a CV-suffix following a V-final stem) applies and the remaining [-w] cannot syllabify. I have found no /-CV/ suffixes which begin with /y/, nor any other examples which would lead to a word-final /y/. In addition, there are no roots which end in /y/.

The treatment of /l/ and /h/ in Yecuatla differs from that in San Marcos. In Yecuatla, neutralization of /l/ and /h/ to nonsonorant /ʎ/ is obligatory in syllable-final position. In San Marcos, however, it is optional.

The general rule is:

$$(125) \begin{bmatrix} +\text{son} \\ +\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{son}] / \_\_\_\_\_\_ ]_\sigma$$

Specifically:

$$(126) /l/ \rightarrow [\ʎ] / \_\_\_\_\_\_ ]_\sigma$$

(127) [špíʎ]	/špiʎ/	'worm'
[staqáʎ]	/staqal/	'flat'
[staqaláʎn]	/staqal-Vn/	'flat (pl)'

$$(128) /h/ \rightarrow [\ʎ] / \_\_\_\_\_\_ ]_\sigma$$

(129) [ʎút yóʎ]	/ut yuh/	's/he falls'
[ʎút stáʎ]	/ut stah/	's/he is wet'
[ʎút máastéheéʎ]	/ut maa-stah-ii-la(ʎ)/	's/he wet X'

Stress assignment precedes syllable-final neutralization. Nominals are stressed on the final syllable unless the final syllable has the form CV or CVC [-son, +cor], in which case stress falls on the penultimate syllable. Thus, stress falls on the last syllable of a noun ending in underlying /l/ [+son] and on the penultimate syllable of a noun ending in underlying /ʎ/ [-son].

(130) [páχšúutiʎ]	/paq-šuuʎ/	'left-handed'
[spilʎ]	/spilʎ/	'spotted'
[spilʎín]	/spilʎ-Vn/	'spotted (pl)'

### 3.4.3.2. /ʎ/-Weakening Syllable Finally

In Yecuatla, syllable-final [ʎ] (whether derived or underlying) is optionally replaced by [h] after a vowel. This is a very late rule which applies after the rule lowering high vowels in contact with /q/ and /h/ (3.3.1.2). This is the only case in which [h], a sonorant, is allowed in syllable-final position, perhaps because the constraint against syllable-final nonnasal sonorants is no longer in force at this late stage in the derivation.

$$(131) [\ʎ] \rightarrow [h] / V\_\_\_\_\_\_ ]_\sigma$$

(132)	[yáah]	/yaa-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he is standing’
	[kúlaah]	/kulaaʔ/	‘orchard ( <i>huerta</i> )’

The rule of “/ʔ/ weakening” follows the rule of sonorant neutralization (3.4.3.1), which changes both /h/ and /l/ to nonsonorant [ʔ] in syllable-final position. In the following examples /l/ and /h/ are neutralized to [ʔ] syllable finally; the segment [ʔ] is then weakened to [h].

(133)	[sulúhkéʔ]	/sulul-kíw/	‘straight twig’
	[kukutáh]	/kukut-al/	‘oak grove’
	[ʔút ʔʃkíh]	/ut ʃki-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he gave X to Y’
	[sqonáh]	/squnah/	‘warm’

### 3.4.4. Word-Final Variation

#### 3.4.4.1. Word-Final Nasals

Word-final nasals undergo several changes in Misantla Totonac. In San Marcos, coronal /n/ becomes velar [ŋ] word finally.

(134) /n/ → [ŋ] / \_\_\_# (obligatory)

(135)	[mílaáčíŋ]	/min-laa-čij-ni/	‘your tendon/nerve’
	[ʃkáan]	/ʃkaan/	‘water’
	[kíksún]	/kíik-sun/	‘small/young’

In Yecuatla, word-final /m/ normally loses its place of articulation and neutralizes to [n].

(136) /m/ → [n] / \_\_\_# (optional)

(137)	[pušúm]	/pušum/	‘twenty’
	[pušún]		

Word-final /n/ in Yecuatla is optionally replaced by [ʔ] following a short laryngealized vowel and is optionally deleted following a long vowel. The rules are the following:

(138) /n/ → [ʔ] / V\_\_\_# (optional)

(139)	[mímpáχɛáʔ]	/min-paq-ɛan/	‘your elbow’
	[kíksúntáʔ]	/kíik-sun-tan/	‘small/young (pl)’

(140) /n/ → ∅ / VV\_\_\_# (optional)

(141) [maχáa]	/maqaaŋ/	‘old’
[háa]	/haan/	‘yes’

### 3.4.4.2. Word-Final Glottal

/ʔ/ only appears word finally. If /ʔ/ is not word final (e.g., a suffix follows), then it is lost. This rule of /ʔ/-loss precedes stress assignment.

(142) /ʔ/ → ∅ / \_\_\_ X

(143) [kaʒíniʔ]	/kaʒii-nYʔ/	‘wise person’
[kaʒíniíŋ]	/kaʒii-nYʔ-VVn/	‘wise persons’
[číʃkúʔ]	/číʃkuʔ/	‘man’
[číʃkukít]	/číʃkuʔ-kit/	‘I am a man’
[číʃkún]	/číʃkuʔ-n/	‘men’

### 3.4.5. /n/-Deletion

/n/ is deleted preceding continuants.

(144) /n/ → ∅ / \_\_\_ C  
[+cont]

The clearest examples of this rule involve the possessive prefixes /min-/ ‘2POSS’ and /kin-/ ‘1POSS, 1OBJ’ on nouns. /n/-deletion follows stress assignment.

(145) [mílúu]	/min-luu/	‘your stomach worm’
[míʔánat]	/min-aŋ-Vt/	‘your departure’
[míʃepúhŋa]	/min-ʃapu-nə/	‘your soaps’
[mískitiʔ]	/min-skiti-ni/	‘your wife/grinder’
[míʔtátat]	/min-ʔtata-Vt/	‘your sleep’
[míwáaʔ]	/min-waa-Vt/	‘your tamale’
[míyáaʔ]	/min-yaaʔ/	‘your hair’

When /n/ precedes a [-cont] stop or an affricate, the rule of nasal assimilation applies. Thus, /n/-deletion applies everywhere that nasal assimilation does not.

- (146) [mínk<sup>aa</sup>kč<sup>aa</sup>n] /min-kaak-čaa-ni/ 'your nape'  
 [mínq<sup>šá</sup>] /min-qušá/ 'your lung/back'  
 [mímpištúun] /min-piš-tuu-ni/ 'your neck'  
 [mínz<sup>ya</sup>t] /min-ziyan-Vt/ 'your laugh'

As noted earlier (3.4.2.3), nasal assimilation preceding a noncontinuant is followed by simplification of the resulting identical adjacent segments.

- (147) [mímakapš<sup>ni</sup>] /min-maka-piš-ni/ 'your wrist'

An alternate analysis deletes /n/ preceding all consonants, unless the /n/ is linked to a following noncontinuant by nasal assimilation. The effect of this rule is to delete /n/ preceding all continuants, but it is achieved through a more general rule. At this point there is no evidence supporting one formulation over the other.

There are a few cases in which /n/-deletion does not apply (and thus /n/ precedes a continuant on the surface). These cases involve free morphemes like /w<sup>in</sup>/ 'this' and /h<sup>un</sup>/ 'DET', which may optionally be incorporated into the phonological word, and the clitic /š<sup>ta</sup>n/ 'PAST', which is added to the already formed phonological word. Such incorporations occur late in the derivation, following the rule of /n/-deletion, but preceding the rule of nasal assimilation.

- (148) [w<sup>in</sup>š<sup>i</sup>ila] /w<sup>in</sup>-šiila / 'this chair'  
 [w<sup>in</sup> šiila]

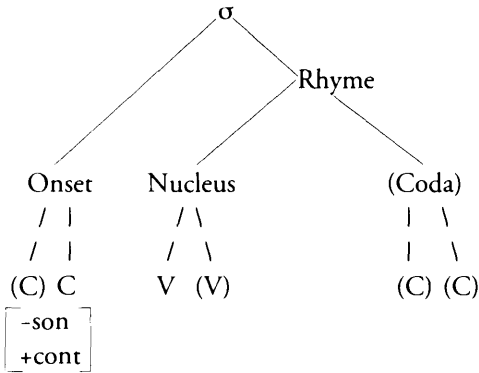
- (149) [kít k<sup>ij</sup>k<sup>sú</sup>št<sup>an</sup>] /kit k<sup>ij</sup>k-sun-št<sup>an</sup>/ 'I was young'

### 3.5. Structural Constraints

#### 3.5.1. Syllable Structure

The syllable in Totonac consists minimally of a vocalic nucleus and at least one preceding consonant (i.e., CV). If there is no underlying consonant preceding the nucleus, /ʔ/ is inserted obligatorily (see 3.2.7.1). The nucleus itself may be branching (long vowel) or nonbranching (short vowel). It may be followed by a maximum of two consonants. The general constraints on syllable structure are (a) all syllables must begin with a consonant; (b) any consonant may appear syllable initially; (c) syllable-final affricates and glides do not occur; and (d) consonant clusters, whether syllable initial or syllable final, are extremely limited in their composition. The syllable in Misantla Totonac may thus be schematically represented as (C)CV(V)(C)(C). This structure is analyzed in Table 5.

Table 5. Totonac Syllable Structure



Evidence for the structure in Table 5 is found in phonological rules that refer specifically to syllable boundaries. Rules that determine syllable boundaries are listed in section 3.5.1.5.

The possible syllable configurations are illustrated below:

(150) CV	[ʔɔ.qɔ.qɔ.láʔ]	/ʔuququ-láʔ/	's/he/it is muddy'
CVV	[láa.túu]	/laa-tuu/	'there are none'
CCV	[šqá.tat]	/šqatát/	'basket'
CCVV	[šqáa.nán]	/šqaa-nan/	's/he harvests'
CVC	[čín̄.kat]	/čín̄kat/	'sugarcane'
CVVC	[qáaχ.ʔú.waat]	/qaaq-ʔu-waat/	'egg'
CCVC	[ʔtáχ.naat]	/ʔtaq-na-Vt/	'herb'
CCVVC	[smáaχ.nɛ]	/smaaχ-ni/	'infant' (YEC)
CVCC <sup>29</sup>	[tíks wí.laʔ]	/tiks wíla-la(ʔ)/	's/he is well seated'
CVVCC	[kíʔ.ɔúuks]	/kiʔ-ɔúuks/	's/he kisses X on the mouth'
CCVVCC	[ʔqɔŋG.nán]	/ʔquunq-nan/	's/he snores'

There is at least one word which exhibits three consonants in a coda:

(151)	[náhláχčánqš]	/na(ʔ)-lak-čanqš/	's/he will chop X'
-------	---------------	-------------------	--------------------

I suggest that the consonant cluster in this example is the result of final-vowel deletion (see 4.1.1). It should be noted, however, that CCC clusters are attested word finally in Coatepec Totonac (McQuown 1940:39, 1990b:64).

<sup>29</sup> I have found no CCVCC syllables in my data, but I assume this is an accidental gap.



## 3.5.1.1. Syllable-Initial Consonants

Any single consonant may appear in syllable-initial position. Syllable-initial consonant clusters are limited to two segments. The first must be a nonsonorant continuant, /s/, /š/, or /ʎ/, and the second cannot be a fricative, an affricate, or a laryngeal (e.g., \*sš, \*sʎ, \*sʑ, \*sč, \*sh, \*sɤ).<sup>30</sup>

The consonant clusters found in syllable initial position are the following:

(152)	sp	šp	ʎp
	st	št	ʎt
	sk	šk	ʎk
	sq	šq	ʎq
	sm	šm	ʎm
	sn	šn	ʎn
	sl	šl	*ʎl <sup>31</sup>
	sw	šw	ʎw
	sy	šy	(ʎy) <sup>32</sup>

## (153) Examples:

sp	[spát]	/spat/	‘soil/earth’
st	[stá.ku]	/staku/	‘star’
sk	[ské.ha]	/skiha/	‘tasty’
sq	[sqɔ.náh]	/squnah/	‘warm’
sm	[smáaχ.smáaχ.wán]	/smaaq-smaaq-wan/	‘s/he cries’
sn	[hók.snúu]	/huk-snuu/	‘s/he drowns’
sl	[sla.póχ]	/slapuq/	‘soft’
sw	[ha.lík.swán]	/haliks-wan/	‘s/he hiccoughs’ (YEC)
sy	[ʎík.ɔúyuk.syáan]	/ik-ɔuyuks(a)-yaa-na/	‘I kiss you’
šp	[špi.píi.nán]	/špipii-nan/	‘s/he sprays’
št	[ʎík.sa.kán.štán]	/ik-sakan-štán/	‘I was sick’
šk	[škáʎ]	/ška-la(ʎ)/	‘s/he bit X’
šq	[ʎík.šqát]	/ik-šqat/	‘I scratch X’
šm	[šmu.tú]	/šmutu/	‘s/he scrapes X’
šn	[lák.šnuún]	/lak-šnuun/	‘s/he stretches X’

<sup>30</sup> There are cases of coronal fricatives followed by affricates, but these cases involve word-initial heteromorphemic sequences and a late vowel deletion rule which creates the irregular clusters after syllabification rules have applied: /iš/ ‘3POSS’ + /čik/ ‘house’ is [ščík] ‘his/her house’ (see 4.3.1.4).

<sup>31</sup> There is a constraint against tautosyllabic [\*[+lat][+lat]]<sub>o</sub> sequences.

<sup>32</sup> Cluster in parentheses is not yet attested in the data, but is expected.

šl [šlíi]	/iš-lii/	'a while ago'
šw [ʔík.šwéεχ]	/ik-šwāaq/	'I scratch X'
šy [šyáaʔ]	/iš-yāaʔ/	'her/his hair'
ʔp [ʔík.ʔpa.pa.nán]	/ik-ʔpapa-nan/	'I fly'
ʔt [ʔta.tá]	/ʔtata/	's/he sleeps'
ʔk [ʔkí.tit]	/ʔkitit/	'lazy'
ʔq [ʔqó.yu.nán]	/ʔquyu-nan/	's/he fires (clay)'
ʔm [ʔmáan]	/ʔmāa-ni/	'long'
ʔn [tóq.ʔnúʔ]	/tuqʔnVʔ/	'a hen that doesn't lay'
ʔw [tóq.ʔwán]	/tuqʔ-wan/	's/he hiccoughs' (SM)

I propose that nonoccurring clusters, \*ss, \*sš, \*sʔ, \*sč, and \*sz, are ruled out by a constraint which prohibits tautosyllabic adjacency of stridents.

(154) \* $[+strident][+strident]_{\sigma}$

(155)	* $[_{\sigma} \dots C$	$C \dots]_{\sigma}$
	. root	. root
	:	:
	[+strident]	[+strident]

I further propose that stridents have the feature [spread glottis] and that the sequences \*sh and \*sʔ are ruled out by a constraint prohibiting two adjacent laryngeal specifications tautosyllabically.<sup>33</sup>

(156) \* $[LAR][LAR]_{\sigma}$

(157)	* $[_{\sigma} \dots C$	$C \dots]_{\sigma}$
	. root	. root
	:	:
	[LAR]	[LAR]

Note that /ʔ/ is analyzed as [+cont, +strident]<sup>34</sup> and patterns just like the other nonsonorant continuants. It appears as the first element of a syllable-initial consonant cluster or as the last element of a syllable-final cluster, and it can occur alone syllable finally.

<sup>33</sup> This analysis was suggested by Juliette Blevins.

<sup>34</sup> See Blevins (1994) for discussion of lateral fricatives and the feature 'strident.'

## 3.5.1.2. Syllable-Final Consonants

All consonants except affricates and nonnasal sonorants may occur alone in syllable-final position. Consonant clusters in this position are limited to a nasal followed by a velar or uvular stop, /k/ and /q/,<sup>35</sup> and to a dorsal stop followed by a nonsonorant continuant. The occurrence of a nonsonorant continuant as the final element of a syllable-final consonant cluster parallels its occurrence as the first element of a syllable-initial cluster. There are no cases of nondorsal nasal/stop clusters, such as \*/mp/ and \*/nt/, nor of nondorsal stop/continuant clusters such as \*/p/ or \*/t/ + /s/, /š/, /ʃ/.<sup>36</sup> In other words, only syllable-final clusters of a nasal and a postvelar stop are permitted, as are clusters of a post-velar stop and a coronal continuant.

(158) /nq/	[páɴq.šwáʔ]	/panqšwáʔ/	'smallpox' (SM)
	[lónq.štán]	/lunq-štán/	's/he was cold'
/nk/	[múu.siɴk]	/muu-siɴk/	'cave'
	[táɴg.wi.níʔ]	/tankwi-nYʔ/	'money'
/qs/	[záqs]	/zəqs/	'almost/about to'
/qš/	[túu.ču.tóqš]	/tuu-čutuqš/	's/he is lame'
/qʃ/	[páqʃ.ča]	/paqʃča/	'tomato'
/ks/ <sup>37</sup>	[ʔút páks]	/ut paks/	'X is covered with dew'
	[zə.lə.lúuks]	/zəlaluuks/	'sedge ( <i>tule</i> )' (SM)

In Misantla Totonac, glides must be syllabified with a following vowel (i.e., they occur only in onsets). I assume that nonsyllabified glides are deleted via stray erasure of unsyllabified feature matrices. This constraint is formalized below.

(159) [<sub>σ</sub>...\*w,\*y]<sub>σ</sub>

(160) .\*[-cons, +high]  
 |  
 C  
 |  
 coda

<sup>35</sup> In Tlachichilco Tepehua, single consonants in the coda are limited to nonanterior noncontinuant (i.e., /k/, /q/) (Watters 1988:493).

<sup>36</sup> /p/+/s/, /š/, /ʃ/ clusters are found in Papantla Totonac (Levy 1987:93).

<sup>37</sup> The sequences /kš/ and /kʃ/ are expected, but not attested.

### 3.5.1.3. Syllable Formation

The rules of syllable formation in Misantla Totonac may be stated informally as follows:

- (a) Create a CV string;
- (b) create a coda—CVC;
- (c) add any [-son, +cont] segment which is left unsyllabified to the following (onset—CVC.CCVC);
- (d) add any left over segments to the preceding coda—CCVCC.

These rules contradict the principle of onset maximization, which requires the creation of complex onsets before the creation of a coda (Selkirk 1982; Kahn 1976; and others). In Misantla Totonac, coda formation must precede formation of complex onsets. Evidence for this is found in the assignment of secondary stress, which falls on all syllables with a branching rhyme (CVV or CVC). Following the above rules, the word /min-kuš-muu-ni/ 'your chest' is syllabified [mín.kúš.múun] *not* \*[mín.ku.šmúun]. Note that maximizing the onset results in the second syllable being light and not receiving secondary stress, which is the wrong surface form.

The syllabification rules discussed here and the phonological rules discussed in 3.4.2.2 (strident assimilation) conspire against a fricative as the second element of a word-internal coda cluster. A fricative is either syllabified as the first element of a syllable onset cluster or simplified adjacent to another fricative. In either case, the fricative will not appear as the final segment of a syllable coda cluster unless the coda is word final. Word internally, a fricative can only appear as the final element of a coda cluster if the following syllable begins with an affricate, which cannot be preceded by a strident tautosyllabically (e.g., [páqʧ.ča] /paqʧča/ 'tomato').

### 3.5.1.4. Fricative Adjunction

In the above description of syllable structure constraints, fricatives were considered part of the onset in syllable-initial consonant clusters and part of the rhyme in syllable-final consonant clusters. It is possible to simplify the syllable structure constraints given above by proposing that fricatives which occur at the right and left edges of the syllable are added late in the syllabification process. Following Halle and Vergnaud (1980) and others, I propose that coronal fricatives may be attached to the left or right edge of a syllable via adjunction to the syllable node.

A well-known generalization regarding syllable structure is that segments get more sonorous the closer they are to the syllable nucleus. The general principle governing the relative sonority of segments within the syllable is expressed

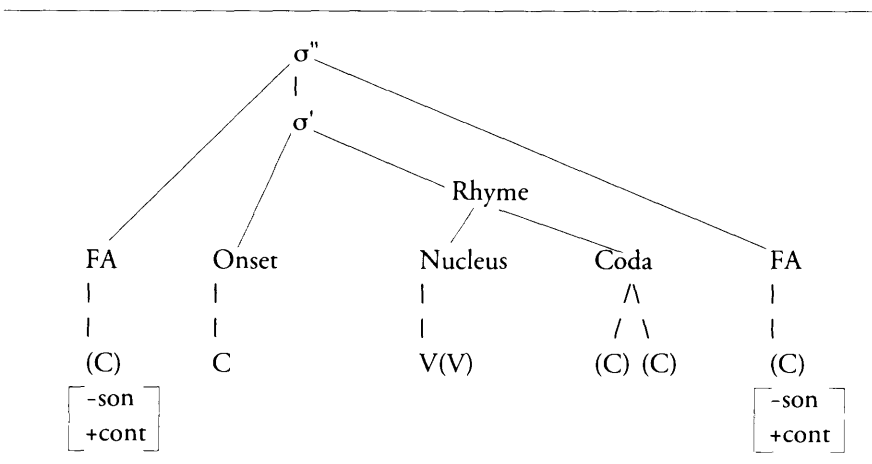
by Selkirk's Sonority Sequencing Generalization: "In any syllable there is a segment constituting a sonority peak which is preceded and/or followed by a sequence of segments with progressively decreasing sonority values" (1984:116). Thus, syllables are normally structured with their most sonorous elements at the center and the least sonorous elements at the edges. The relative sonority of segments in a language is determined on the basis of universal sonority hierarchies combined with language-specific evidence for sonority. In many languages, such as English, fricatives can appear to the left of stops syllable initially even though such sequencing violates the universal sonority hierarchy, which treats fricatives as more sonorous than stops.

By appealing to fricative adjunction, the generalizations regarding the structure of syllables in Misantla Totonac can be restated as follows:

- (a) A syllable is minimally made up of a consonant and a vowel;
- (b) any consonant can be an onset;
- (c) there are no branching onsets;
- (d) affricates and glides may not close a syllable;
- (e) syllable-final consonant clusters are limited to a nasal followed by a postvelar stop [ŋk], [ŋq];
- (f) following onset and coda formation, fricative adjunction adds a non-sonorant continuant to the left or right edge of a syllable.

Syllables which conform to the generalizations (a) through (e) obey the Sonority Sequencing Generalization (Selkirk 1984). After adjunction, such syllables have the structure shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Fricative Adjunction



Although this approach makes the syllable structure constraints easier to state and captures what appears to be a significant generalization regarding the distribution of coronal fricatives, it is difficult to motivate independently. Phonological evidence for adjunction might include examples of reduplication that fail to affect the adjoined segment or language games that treat the adjoined element as separate from other consonantal onsets. In Totonac, the norm is morpheme and word reduplication rather than syllable reduplication (see 9.3.2.3). Thus, reduplicated elements generally include the adjoined segment as well as the rest of the syllable.

- (161) [čáqʔčáqʔ wílah škáan]  
 /čáqʔ-čáqʔ wíla-la(ʔ) škaan/  
 container/hole-container/hole seated-PFV water  
 'there are many puddles'

The main arguments for fricative adjunction are that (a) it refers to a natural class of segments that plays an important role elsewhere in the phonology (see simplification, strident assimilation, and adjacent strident constraint, sections 3.4.1, 3.4.2.2, and 3.5.1.1); (b) it captures the generalization that the same consonant cluster constraint is at work both syllable initially and finally; (c) it reduces the idiosyncrasy of syllabification rules that must move from onset to coda and back again to onset; and (d) there is no violation of the sonority hierarchy by fricatives.

### 3.5.1.5. Syllable-Sensitive Rules

The following phonological rules have the syllable as their domain. They are discussed elsewhere, so I will merely list them here.

1. Derived short lax vowels optionally become tense in open syllables.  
 $[\varepsilon], [\text{ɔ}] \rightarrow [e], [o] / \_\_\text{ɔ}$  (3.3.1.3)
2. Adjacent stridents are prohibited tautosyllabically.  
 $*[[+\text{strid}][+\text{strid}]]_{\text{ɔ}}$  (3.5.1.1)
3. /ʔ/ is inserted if a syllable has no onset.  
 $\emptyset \rightarrow [ʔ] / [\_\_\text{V}\dots]_{\text{ɔ}}$  (3.2.7.1)
4. Non-nasal sonorants do not surface syllable finally. (3.4.3.1 and 3.5.1.2)
5. In Yecuatla, a late rule weakens [ʔ] to [h] syllable finally. (3.4.3.2)
6. All syllables with a branching rhyme receive stress. (3.6)

### 3.5.2. Morpheme Structure

There is a minimal root template for nouns and verbs in Misantla Totonac. The minimal root has a branching rhyme, so it must be CVC or CVV

(i.e., CVX). An example of a minimal nominal root is /kuk/ 'uncle,' and examples of minimal verb roots are /min/ 'come' and /nii/ 'die.'

The morpheme structure constraints invoke some of the same constraints that are found in the phonology and the syllable structure. Hence, many of them can be seen as general constraints of the language which hold in the lexicon as well as in the phonology. The following is a list of some of the phonological constraints discussed above that are obeyed tautomorphemically:

- (a) No geminates are found.
- (b) No adjacent identical segments occur.
- (c) No fricative/affricate sequences occur.
- (d) All dorsals match in place of articulation.
- (e) All stridents match in place of articulation.
- (f) There are no affricate-final morphemes.
- (g) There are no /y/-final morphemes.

### 3.5.3. Phonological Word

Totonac is an agglutinating language with extremely rich morphology. The phonological word and the morphological word are not always identical. Although some morphemes are strictly bound or free, others can act as independent words or be optionally incorporated into a larger word. When free morphemes are incorporated into the phonological word, they are subject to late word-internal phonological processes. For example, pronouns are independent morphemes, but they are often attached to verbs to form a single phonological word. Likewise, determiners are free morphemes which can be incorporated into the following noun. When a determiner such as /hun/ 'DET' is not incorporated into the following word, it does not undergo such late phonological processes as nasal assimilation. If it is part of the phonological word, then it is subject to nasal assimilation (see the examples below).

There are certain phonological processes which characterize the phonological word. Most of these processes are discussed elsewhere; however, a few illustrative examples are given here. The following phonological rules apply within the phonological word but not across phonological word boundaries:

1. Lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable of a word.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> In these examples, parentheses are used to indicate the lengthened vowel because this automatic lengthening is not transcribed elsewhere. Note that this lengthening is independent of whether the syllable is open or closed. Paulette Levy (personal communication) notes that in Papantla Totonac the first syllable of a word receives a "very strong secondary stress."

(162)	[ska(a)nanáat]	/skananaa-Vt/	'flat'
	[mí(i)sináat]	/min-sinaat/	'your wife'

2. Nasal assimilation (3.4.2.3). As stated above, determiners are optionally incorporated into the phonological word. When they are incorporated, late phonological rules such as nasal assimilation apply.

(163)	[hóñšáalɔʔ]	/hun šaaluh/	'DET pot'
	[hóŋkukutáʔ]	/hun kukut-al/	'DET oak grove'

If the determiner is not incorporated into the phonological word, then nasal assimilation does not apply.

(164)	[hón šáalɔʔ]	/hun šaaluh/	'DET pot'
	*[hóñ šáalɔʔ]		
	[hón kukutáʔ]	/hun kukut-al/	'DET oak grove'
	*[hóŋ kukutáʔ]		

### 3. Simplification of adjacent identical segments (3.4.1).

(165)	[ʔišťáan]	/iš-šťáan/	'her/his armadillo'
	[wíš stáat]	/wiš stáa-ti/	'you sold X'

### 4. word-final variation of /n/ (3.4.4.1).

a. In San Marcos, /n/ becomes a velar [ŋ] word finally.

(166)	[míŋkamáŋ]	/min-kam-an/	'your children'
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b. In Yecuatla:

i. an /n/ is often dropped following a long vowel,

(167)	[mínáaní]	/min-naan-ŷŷn/	'your mother'
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ii. is replaced by [ʔ] following a short laryngealized vowel.

(168)	[ʔút pášťáʔ]	/ut paš-šťan/	's/he bathed'
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### 5. word-final variation of stops (3.2.1.2).

a. In San Marcos, a stop is released word finally.

(169)	[páp <sup>h</sup> ]	/pap/	'moon'
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b. In Yecuatla, a word-final stop is unreleased.



(170) [kíntáánatʻ] /kin-táá-na-Vt/ 'my grandchild'

6. /ʔ/ only appears in syllable-final position at the end of a word. When /ʔ/ is followed by an affix, it is lost (3.4.4.2).

(171) [ʔut papáksnáʔ] /ut papaks-nYʔ/ 'he is old (man)'  
 [kinan papáksnáan] /kinan papaks-nYʔ-VVn/ 'we are old'

### 3.6. Stress

There are two degrees of stress in Misantla Totonac: primary and secondary. Secondary stress falls on all heavy syllables. Heavy syllables are defined as having a branching rhyme (i.e., either a final consonant or a long vowel nucleus). Primary stress is the right-most stress in a word and may fall on either the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Primary stress is stronger than other stresses and affects both the duration and loudness of a stressed vowel.<sup>39</sup>

(172) [mínkáákskʻtʻtʻ] /min-kaak-skiti-Vt/ 'your brains'  
 [kílaaqéʻnikáʔ] /kin-laa-qiʻ-ni-kān/ 'our blood'

(173) [ʔut kímáqʻtʻiiʻ hón čá]  
 /ut kin-maq=ʻtʻii-la(ʻ) hun ča/  
 s/he 1OBJ-take X from Y-PFV DET tortilla  
 's/he took the tortillas away from me'

The domain of primary stress assignment is the word. Clitics are not affected by word-level stress assignment. Clitics attach to the (already stressed) word and are themselves lexically stressed (e.g., /štán/ 'PAST' and /-čú/ 'already'). They never affect the assignment of primary stress.

(174) [wišín stáayáatatštán] [wišín stáayáatat]  
 /wišín staa-yaa-tat-štān/ /wišín staa-yaa-tat/  
 y'all sell X-IMPV-2SUB.PL-PAST y'all sell X-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all were selling X' 'y'all are selling X'

(175) [kít ʔ[kčáŋkóhóčú] [kít ʔ[kčáŋkóhóʻ]  
 /kit ik-čan-kuhu-la(ʻ)-ču/ /kit ik-čan-kuhu-la(ʻ)/  
 I 1SUB-sow X-COMP-PFV-CL I 1SUB-sow X-COMP-PFV  
 'I (already) finished sowing X' 'I finished sowing X'

<sup>39</sup>The interaction of stress and pitch is left for future research.

## 3.6.1. Nominal Stress

The generalizations regarding the assignment of primary stress are as follows:

1. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable when a word-final syllable is light.

(176)	[mín̥kʰɛni]	/min-kiʰ-ni/	'your mouth'
	[mís(ksɪ)]	/min-siksi/	'your bile'
	[páaʰkə]	/paaʰkə/	'comal'
	[kíʂpə]	/kiʂpə/	'corn kernel'
	[snápɯ]	/snapɯ/	'gnat'
	[táku]	/taku/	'woman'
	[čukúŋky]	/čukɯŋky/	'cold'

2. Stress falls on the final syllable when a word-final syllable is heavy.

(177)	[mímpáalu]	/min-paa-luu/	'your intestines'
	[štiniitáa]	/štiniitaa/	'ugly'
	[mílaaqapín]	/min-laa-qa-pin/	'your ribbons'
	[ʰukúk]	/ʰukuk/	'pierced'

However, in contrast to the examples presented above, there are cases of stress falling on a light syllable that is followed by a word-final closed syllable with a short vowel nucleus (CV.CVC#). In these cases, stress assignment is determined by the nature of the closing consonant of the final CVC syllable. Word-final syllables closed by a coronal obstruent [-son, +cor] are not stressed (178). Final syllables closed by any other segment are stressed (179).

(178)	[múkskut]	/mukskut/	'fire'
	[máakíʒis]	/maa-kiʒis/	'five'
	[máʒat]	/maʒat/	'salt'
	[páakiš]	/paakiš/	'beef, steer'
	[kúčiʰ]	/kučiʰ/	'knife'
(179)	[qéɛʰtún]	/qiiʰ-tun/	'moonshine'
	[səpáp]	/sapap/	'warm'
	[slapóχ]	/slapuq/	'soft'

A final syllable containing a long vowel is stressed even if it is closed by a coronal obstruent.

(180)	[qɔʰayaáat]	/quʰayaat/	'weeded (field)'
	[číjínít]	/čijí-ni-Vt/	'water current'

It is possible to simplify the formulation of the stress rules for Misantla Totonac by invoking the notion of extrametricality. Extrametricality refers to the principle that certain elements that appear at the edges of a domain are ignored in the assigning of metrical structure (Hayes 1985; Halle and Vergnaud 1987; and others). Thus, with respect to the stress rule, an extrametrical syllable will not be a part of a foot, and that syllable will be ignored in the assignment of stress. Appealing to the concept of extrametricality in Misantla Totonac permits the formulation of a single primary stress rule that stresses the final syllable of both nominals and verbs.

On nominals, word-final syllables of the form CV or CVC[-son, +cor] are analyzed as extrametrical [+EM]. By interpreting all such word-final syllables as extrametrical, the rule of primary stress assignment on nominals can be simply stated as follows: stress the final syllable. There is no need to appeal to a complicated statement to account for the cases of penultimate stress in examples like (176) and (178), since, in all of these cases, the final syllable is light (i.e., either CV or CVC[-son, +cor]) and therefore extrametrical. The rules regarding nominal stress assignment may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Assign the feature [+EM] to all word-final light syllables—a syllable is light when it is CV(C[-son, +cor]);
- (b) build right-dominant quantity-sensitive feet (i.e., stress all heavy syllables);
- (c) build a right-dominant word tree (i.e., stress the final foot of the word).

There are some exceptions to this formulation of the stress rule:

1. Some final syllables with a long vowel closed by a [-son, +cor] are unstressed. I interpret these examples as having lexically specified extrametrical syllables. If these words take an additional suffix, the stem-final syllable is no longer in absolute final position, and the long vowel does attract stress.

- |       |               |                   |                |
|-------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (181) | [mínɛ k ɪt]   | /min-ɛ k ɪ-Vt/    | ‘your breast’  |
|       | [mínɛ k ɪtn̩] | /min-ɛ k ɪ-Vt-n̩/ | ‘your breasts’ |
| (182) | [páχ taat]    | /paq taa-Vt/      | ‘board’        |
|       | [páχ taatn̩]  | /paq taa-Vt-n̩/   | ‘boards’       |

2. Some word-final CVC syllables ending in a voiceless coronal are stressed. I propose that these cases are either lexically stressed or underlyingly vowel final (see final-vowel deletion 4.1.1). It is interesting to note that in other varieties of Totonac, these words are vowel final (cf., /ɛ|ta|ta/ ‘soft’ in Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac, Zapotitlán de Méndez Totonac, and Papantla Totonac).

(183)	[ɛʔatát]	/ɛʔatát/	‘soft’
	[ɛasás]	/ɛasas/	‘white’

3. A handful of examples of a final closed syllable ending in a nasal or nasal+velar cluster are not stressed. I must assume that the final syllable is marked as extrametrical in the lexicon.

(184)	[ʂlápun]	/ʂlapun/	‘file’
	[múusiiŋk]	/muu-siink/	‘cave’

### 3.6.2. Verbal Stress

Primary stress assignment on verbs differs from that on nominals. On verbs, primary stress falls on the last syllable of the word, whether that syllable is light or heavy.

(185)	[ɣút waní]	/ut wan-ni/	‘s/he tells X to Y’
	[wiʂ laqéŋ]	/wiʂ laqan/	‘you see X’
	[ɣút čúulá]	/ut čuula/	‘s/he does X’
	[ɣutún táskinií]	/utun ta-skinii/	‘they ask for X’
	[wiʂ paqazáŋqáa]	/wiʂ maka-ɛanqaa/	‘you lose X’
	[kít ɣiktamáa]	/kit ik-ta-maa/	‘I lie down’

However, word-final inflectional suffixes on verbs are exceptional in that they never receive stress in word-final position. The following suffixes of verb inflection are never stressed word finally: /-tat/ ‘2SUB.PL’; /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’; /-na/<sup>40</sup> ‘2OBJ’; /-la(ɣ)/<sup>41</sup> ‘PFV’; and /-ti/ ‘2PFV’.

(186)	[wiʂín stáayáʔat]	/wiʂin staa-yaa-tat/	‘y’all sell X’
(187)	[ɣút páastéklaɣ]	/ut paa=stak-la(ɣ)/	‘s/he remembered X’
(188)	[wiʂ šnéɣti]	/wiʂ šnaq-ti/	‘you deflated/lost weight’
(189)	[ɣút páastékna]	/ut paa=stak-na/	‘s/he remembered you’
(190)	[kinán pášwa]	/kinan paš-wa/	‘we bathed’ (SM) <sup>42</sup>

The only inflectional suffix that does receive stress word finally is the aspect marker /-yaa/ ‘IMPFV’. However, this suffix is always underlyingly followed

<sup>40</sup> The suffix indicating second person object is /-ni/ in San Marcos Atexquilapan.

<sup>41</sup> The perfective suffix has the full form [-laɣ] in Yecuatla and [-li] in San Marcos Atexquilapan and all other Totonacan languages. I assume that this suffix has an underlying /-CV/ structure and have therefore placed the final (ɣ) in parentheses.

<sup>42</sup> The full form of the suffix /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’ only appears in the San Marcos Atexquilapan variant of Misantla Totonac.

by another inflectional suffix. Thus, it never occurs in underlying word-final position; it is always word medial.

- |       |                  |                              |               |
|-------|------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| (191) | [kinán pašáa]    | /kinán paš- <b>yaa-wa</b> /  | 'we bathe'    |
|       | [wĩšín pašáatat] | /wĩšín paš- <b>yaa-tat</b> / | 'y'all bathe' |

In the first example in (191), the suffix */-wa/* is simplified to [-w] following a vowel-final stem (see the rule of CV-suffix simplification, 4.3.1.1). Since [-w] cannot be syllabified syllable finally, it is eliminated by stray erasure (3.5.1.2). Although the suffix */-wa/* never surfaces, its underlying presence is confirmed by the overt appearance of */-yaa/*. For further justification of this analysis, see 5.4.1.

To explain the fact that none of the word-final inflectional suffixes on verbs receives stress, I propose that all such suffixes are lexically characterized by the feature [+extrametrical] (+EM).<sup>43</sup> They are overlooked by the rules of stress assignment and, accordingly, are not stressed.<sup>44</sup> Following Hayes (1985) and others, I assume that extrametrical elements, whether segments, syllables, or affixes, are treated as extrametrical only at the edges of the stress domain. Thus, the imperfective suffix */yaa/*, which is never underlyingly word final, is never extrametrical.

Although the full forms of the inflectional suffixes all pattern uniformly, the reduced forms of these suffixes do not. I propose that all word final verbal suffixes except */-tat/*<sup>45</sup> '2SUB.PL' are segmentally */-CV/*. They are therefore subject to the regular rule of CV-suffix simplification (192), which deletes the final vowel of the suffix when preceded by a vowel-final stem. A stem is made up of either a monomorphemic root or a root with one or more derivational affixes.

- (192)  $V \rightarrow \emptyset / V]_{\text{stem}} C \_ \#$ <sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup>This analysis is presented in MacKay (1992b).

<sup>44</sup>Hayes (1985), Halle and Vergnaud (1987), and others make use of the notion of morphological extrametricality in assigning the feature [extrametrical] to certain classes of affixes. One such example is the class of English adjectival suffixes.

<sup>45</sup>*/-tat/* '2SUB.PL' always occurs in its full form and is always unstressed.

<sup>46</sup>It is possible to posit that the */-CV/* inflectional suffixes are underlyingly */-C/* and that a rule of epenthesis adds the final vowel following a consonant-final stem. To maintain this analysis it is necessary to posit different epenthetic vowels to account for the surface forms [-wa] '1SUB.PL', [-na] '2OBJ', [-ti] '2PFV', and [-la(ʔ)]. As noted below, the ordering of stress assignment before affixation (or epenthesis) does not predict the correct stress pattern; so, even if the epenthesis solution were adopted, it would not resolve the question of how stress is assigned.

Given the rule of CV-suffix simplification, an inflectional suffix only occurs in its full form on consonant-final stems.

(193) [ɣ̥t̥ ɛ̃ɣ̥laɬ] /ut ɛ̃ɣ̥-la(ɬ)/ 's/he wrote X'

In all other cases, these suffixes appear in their reduced form [-C] word finally. The reduced variants conform to the syllable structure constraint which prohibits nonnasal sonorants in syllable-final position. Thus, /l/ becomes [ɬ] word finally, and [w], which cannot appear syllable finally, does not surface at all.

(194) [ɣ̥t̥ tapahánuuɬ] /ut ta-paha=nuu-la(ɬ)/ 's/he passed by'  
 [kinán čináa] /kinán čin-yaa-wa/ 'we arrive here'

In contrast to the stress pattern found with the full forms of the inflectional suffixes, the stress patterns found with the reduced [-C] forms are not homogeneous:

1. Stress falls on the penultimate syllable of words that include the reduced variants of the perfective suffixes /-la(ɬ)/ 'PFV' and /-ti/ '2PFV'.

a. The reduced variant of the perfective suffix /-la(ɬ)/ is [-ɬ].

(195) [ɣ̥t̥ kíɬzúkuɬ] /ut kiɬ-zuku-la(ɬ)/ 's/he began'

(196) [ɣ̥t̥ táštuɬ] /ut ta-štu-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left'

b. The reduced form of the perfective suffix /-ti/ '2PFV' is generally [-t]. However, the application of morphophonemic rules sometimes results in the complete loss of the suffix (5.4.1.1). Regardless of whether the reduced suffix is overtly present on the verb or not, stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

(197) [wĩʃ tapahánuut] /wĩʃ ta-paha=nuu-ti/ 'you passed by'

(198) [wĩʃ štɔqɔ] /wĩʃ štuqu-ti/ 'you sewed X'  
 [wĩʃ ɬtáta] /wĩʃ ɬtata-ti/ 'you slept'

Penultimate stress in such cases may be accounted for by assuming that all verbal inflectional suffixes have the feature [+EM]. Syllabification of the [-C] variant to the rhyme of the final syllable transfers the feature [+EM] to that syllable. The feature [+EM] associated with the [-C] variant percolates upward to the syllable node, rendering the entire syllable extrametrical. The above cases provide the clearest evidence that it is the morpheme itself which is extrametrical, and not its constituent phonological segments. In cases where the

perfective suffix is phonologically null, primary stress still falls on the penultimate syllable. In order to account for this pattern of stress assignment, I propose that the suffix is extrametrical and that if any part of such a suffix is syllabified with a word-final syllable, then that syllable carries the feature [+EM].

- (199) [ʔút máasúunaɸ] /ut maa=suu-nan-la(ɸ)/ 's/he showed X'  
 (200) [wĩš tánuut] /wĩš ta-nuu-ti/ 'you entered'  
 (201) [wĩš ɛíya] /wĩš ɛíyan-ti/ 'you laughed'

Working with similar facts in Papantla Totonac, Levy (1991) proposes that stress assignment precedes affixation of inflectional suffixes and that stress falls on the final syllable in the imperfective (her 'incompletive') and on the penultimate syllable in the perfective (her 'completive'). Although this analysis correctly predicts the distribution of stress in Papantla Totonac, it will not work for Misantla Totonac, for it predicts the perfective form \*[páazĩislaɸ] /paa=ɛíis-la(ɸ)/ 's/he forgot,' which is stressed [páazĩislaɸ] in Misantla Totonac.

2. In contrast to the above generalizations, stress falls on the final syllable of words that include the reduced variant of /-wa/ '1SUB.PL'.

- (202) [kinán ʔikmáqskĩníi] /kinán ik-maq-skĩnii-wa/ 'we asked Y for X'  
 (203) [kinán ʔikmáqskĩníiyáa] /kinán ik-maq-skĩnii-yaa-wa/ 'we ask Y for X'

As stated earlier, syllabification constraints prohibit glides in syllable-final position. In the perfective cases, syllabification of a reduced C-variant triggers percolation of [+EM], and stress falls on the penultimate syllable, not the ultima. If, however, neither the glide nor the [+EM] feature it bears is attached to the word-final syllable, that syllable does not receive the feature [+EM] and stress is assigned on the ultima.

- (204) [kinán líjíní] /kinán líjín-ni-wa/ 'we took X to Y'  
 [kinán líjíníyáa] /kinán líjín-ni-yaa-wa/ 'we take X to Y'

This case contrasts with the other inflectional suffixes whose reduced variants are the result of phonological and morphophonemic processes, and not the rules of syllabification.

3. Stress also falls on the final syllable of a word that contains the reduced variant [-n] of /-na/ '2OBJ'.

- (205) [kít ɣ[ktáatɛhwanáan] /kit ik-taa-tihwan-yaa-na/ 'I look for y'all'  
 [ɣút laχén] /ut laqan-na/ 's/he saw you'

The suffix /-na/ '2OBJ' is unstressed in its full form, but when the reduced variant [-n] is part of a word-final syllable, that syllable is stressed. I propose that when the [-n] variant of /-na/ appears on a vowel-final stem, the feature [+EM] is transferred to that syllable, but is overridden by the inherent heaviness of a syllable that ends in a nasal. In essence, the transfer of extrametricality is constrained by the quantity sensitivity of the language. On nominals, the final consonant of a syllable is decisive in determining the weight of a syllable. As noted earlier, nasals are the only sonorants licensed to appear syllable finally in Yecuatla, and word-final syllables that end in /n/ are always stressed.

- (206) [ɬqaqán] /ɬqaqan/ 'shiny'

On the basis of this parallelism with the nominal stress pattern, I posit that the heaviness of syllables ending in the reduced [-n] variant of /-na/ '2OBJ' overrides extrametricality of the suffix.

To recapitulate, I propose that extrametricality is a lexical feature of all verb-final inflectional suffixes whether reduced or not. If the nucleus of the morpheme is present, the final syllable of the word is extrametrical and stress falls on the penultimate syllable. If the nucleus of the morpheme is deleted and the remaining consonant is syllabified with the preceding vowel, the feature [+EM] percolates upward and renders the entire syllable extrametrical. Thus, any syllable that contains an extrametrical suffix, whether in whole or in part, is extrametrical.

Since there are no unstressed words in Totonac, a syllable constituting the entire stress domain cannot be considered extrametrical. Thus, if an [+EM] affix appears on a monosyllabic root, stress falls on the root.

- (207) [wíʃ stáaɾ] /wíʃ staa-ti/ 'you sold X'  
 [ɣút stáaɾɬ] /ut staa-la(ɬ)/ 's/he sold X'

but

- (208) [ɣutún tástaaɾɬ] /utun ta-staa-la(ɬ)/ 'they sold X'

Verb stress is governed by the following generalizations:

(a) Assign the extrametrical feature [+EM] to all verbal inflectional suffixes in the lexicon. Associate the feature [+EM] with a word-final syllable if and only if the [+EM] morpheme is in absolute final position;



- (b) build right-dominant quantity-sensitive feet (i.e., stress all heavy syllables);
- (c) build a right-dominant word tree (i.e., stress the final foot of the word).

In summary, although the stress patterns on nominals and verbs differ, they can both be accounted for in terms of a single unified stress rule by appealing to the notion of extrametricality. On nominals, all final light syllables are extrametrical. On verbs, all inflectional suffixes are extrametrical. Misantla Totonac thus provides evidence for two distinct types of extrametricality. The first is phonological, specifically quantity sensitive (i.e., the extrametricality of final light syllables on nominals). The second is lexical, specifically morphological (i.e., the extrametricality of inflectional suffixes on verbs).

# Morphophonemics

The three main word classes in Misantla Totonac, verbs, statives, and nominals, are distinguished by unique inflectional patterns (see chapters 5, 6, and 9). In Totonac, a word is composed of a basic or derived stem and its associated inflectional affixes. A *stem* is a word that has not been inflected in any way. A *root* is a monomorphemic stem. Derivational affixes attach to the root to create a stem. Roots and stems are treated identically by inflection.

Morphophonemic rules are phonologically conditioned rules which also require access to morphological information in the structural description. The following rules have been organized according to whether the morphological process is lexical, inflectional, or derivational.

## 4.1. Rules Affecting the Verb Stem

### 4.1.1. Final /a/-Deletion

Following voiceless consonants, the final /a/ of a verb stem is deleted and the verb is reanalyzed as being consonant final.

- (1) /a/ → ∅ / C \_\_\_\_\_]<sub>verb stem</sub>  
           [-voice]

Once the verb has been reanalyzed as consonant final, the final vowel does not surface. It is only by comparing the Misantla Totonac stems with the same stems in other Totonacan languages that /a/-deletion becomes apparent (i.e., in other Totonacan languages, there are examples of cognate /a/-final verb stems, which in Misantla Totonac have lost the final vowel).

#### *Misantla Totonac*

(2) /ɛʌs/	vs.	[čʌša] (XIC) <sup>1</sup>	‘lift X’
/paa=stak/	vs.	[paastaka] (XIC)	‘remember X’
/škut/	vs.	[škuta] (XIC)	‘untie X’
/yuh/	vs.	[yuha] (XIC)	‘fall’

<sup>1</sup> Cognate forms are taken from Aschmann (1962, for Zapotitlán de Mendez; 1973, for Papantla) and Reid and Bishop (1974, for Xicotepéc de Juárez).

/paš/	vs.	[paša] (XIC)	‘bathe’
/ɛuq/	vs.	[ɛoqa] (XIC)	‘write X’
/ta-maqa=stuq/	vs.	[tamaqastoqa] (PAP)	‘marry’
/ɛuɣks/	vs.	[ɛuɣka] (ZAP)	‘kiss X’
/stah/	vs.	[staha] (ZAP)	‘get wet’

Although in most instances the stem in Misantla Totonac has been reanalyzed as consonant final, some verbs are interpreted as being alternately consonant final and vowel final with respect to how they interact with the imperfective aspect marker /-yaa/ ‘IMPFV’. This indicates that final /a/-deletion is an ongoing change which is not yet complete. The morphophonological process that interprets these stems as being both vowel final and consonant final is ‘imperfective /y/-deletion’ (4.3.3.1). Imperfective /y/-deletion deletes the morpheme initial /y/ of the imperfective suffix /-yaa/ ‘IMPFV’ before a consonant.

(3) /y/ → ∅ / C] <sub>verb stem</sub> — ...] <sub>IMPFV</sub>

When /-yaa/ ‘IMPFV’ is added to some of the above listed verbs, they are interpreted as being both /a/-final and consonant final, so that either surface form of the imperfective suffix /-yaa/ is considered grammatical, although the consonant-final variant [-aa] is the most common. Note, however, that even when y-deletion does not occur, stem-final /a/ does not normally surface.

(4) [wišín pašyáat] ~ [wišín pašáat]

/wišín paš-yaa-tat/

y’all bathe-IMPFV-2SUB.PL

‘y’all bathe’

(5) [kinán tamaqástóqyáa] ~ [kinán tamaqástoqáa]

/kinán ta-maqa=stuq-yaa-wa/

we INC-CAUS=join-IMPFV-1SUB.PL

‘we get married’

(6) [ʔút kíɬɛuɣksyáan] ~ [ʔút kíɬɛuɣksáan]

/ut kíɬ-ɛuɣks-yaa-na/

s/he mouth rel.-kiss X-IMPFV-2OBJ

‘s/he kisses you on the mouth’

(7) [kinán ɛasýáa] ~ [kinán ɛasáa]

/kinán ɛas-yaa-wa/

we lift X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL

‘we lift X’

- (8) [kinán škútyáa] ~ [kinán škutáa]  
 /kinan škut-yaa-wa/  
 we untie X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we untie X'
- (9) [kinán yóhyáa] ~ [kinán yoháa]  
 /kinan yuh-yaa-wa/  
 we fall-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we fall'
- (10) [kinán páač[is]yáa] ~ [kinán páač[is]áa]  
 /kinan paa=č[is]-yaa-wa/  
 we forget X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we forget X'

In the above cases, the only evidence for stem-final /a/ is the alternation of the surface form of the imperfective suffix /-yaa/.

Another small group of verbs has not lost the final /a/.

- (11) /ʔtata/ 'sleep'  
 /zaqa/ 'chew X'  
 /staqa/ 'throw/put out X'  
 /lunqa/ 'be cold'  
 /čapa/ 'grab X'  
 /qawa/ 'speak, talk'

With this group of verbs, the /a/ appears word finally, but only optionally surfaces when followed by the imperfective suffix /-yaa/.

- (12) [kinán ʔtatayáa] ~ [kinán ʔtatáa]  
 /kinan ʔtata-yaa-wa/  
 we sleep-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we sleep'
- (13) [kinán zaqayáa] ~ [kinán zaqáa]  
 /kinan zaqa-yaa-wa/  
 we chew X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we chew X'
- (14) [wišín staqayáat] ~ [wišín staqáat]  
 /wišin staqa-yaa-tat/  
 y'all throw X-IMPFV-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all throw X'

- (15) [kinán lɔŋqayáa] ~ [kinán lɔŋqáa]  
 /kinán lunqa-yaa-wa/  
 we cold-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 'we are cold'

An exception to final /a/-deletion is /-qatá-/ 'grow,' which is never analyzed as being consonant final (i.e., it always appears in the imperfective as [qatayáa] /qatá-yaa/ 'we grow'). /a/-deletion may be blocked in this case because /a/-deletion applied to /qatá/ 'grow' would result in a form homophonous with the related nominal /qat/ 'big.'

## 4.2. Rules Affecting Verb Derivation

### 4.2.1. Vowel Harmony

#### 4.2.1.1. Inchoative Vowel Harmony

The vowel of the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC' sometimes harmonizes with the vowel in the following syllable. Supralaryngeal features spread from right to left (from the root vowel to the prefix vowel). Inchoative vowel harmony is not a very productive process.

- (16)
- |                |                  |     |
|----------------|------------------|-----|
|                |                  | .SL |
|                | .....            |     |
| ‡              | .....            |     |
| V <sup>+</sup> | C <sub>0</sub> V |     |

- (17) [ʔút tawí|a‡] ~ [ʔút tiwí|a‡]  
 /ut ta-wí|a-la(‡)/  
 s/he INC-seated-PFV  
 's/he sat down'
- (18) [kít ʔíktakí|ksúntí] ~ [kít ʔíktikí|ksúntí]<sup>3</sup>  
 /kit ik-ta-kí|ksun-ti-ii/  
 I 1SUB-INC-young-NOM-TRANS  
 'I become young'
- (19) [kít ʔíkmúutaʔúka‡] ~ [kít ʔíkmúutuʔúka‡]  
 /kit ik-muu-ta-uka-la(‡)/  
 I 1SUB-forehead rel.-INC-be above-PFV  
 'I put X on my forehead'

<sup>3</sup>'+' indicates a morpheme boundary.

<sup>4</sup>The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' is sometimes paired with the feature [+CG] but the rules for association are complex and have not yet been fully formulated.

- (20) [kít ʔklíituʔúkaʔlíimiʔ] ~ [ʔklíitaʔúkaʔlíimiʔ]  
 /kit ik-líi-ta-ɯka-líi=min-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-INS-INC-be above-bring X-PFV  
 'I came mounted on X'
- (21) [ʔút tučukúŋkuʔ] ~ [ʔút tačukúŋkuʔ]  
 /ut ta-čukunku-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he INC-cold-PFV  
 's/he became cold'
- (22) [ʔút taqúntíi] ~ [ʔút taqúntíi]  
 /ut ta-qun-ti-ii/  
 s/he INC-fat-NOM-TRANS  
 's/he becomes fat'

#### 4.2.1.2. Transitivity Vowel Harmony

The transitivizing suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' optionally harmonizes with the final vowel of the stem it follows. The harmonizing process is from left to right. The root vowel optionally spreads its vowel quality to the suffix. The spreading of supralaryngeal features is schematized below.

- (23)
- |      |   |
|------|---|
| .SL  |   |
|      |   |
|      | ‡ |
| V+Co | V |

*With nominals:*

- (24) [stɔqɔnúʔ] /stɯqu-nʔ/ 'old (woman)'  
 [tástɔqɔnúʔ] /ta-stɯqu-nʔ-ii/ 'X becomes old (woman)'  
 [tástɔqɔníi]
- (25) [čǰškúʔ] /čǰškuʔ/ 'man'  
 [tačǰškúu] /ta-čǰškuʔ-ii/ 'X becomes a man'
- (26) [čukúŋku] /čukunku/ 'cold'  
 [tačukúŋkúu] /ta-čukunku-ii/ 'X becomes cold'
- (27) [čɯnún] /čɯnun(u)/ 'wrinkled'  
 [tačɯnunúu] /ta-čɯnun(u)-ii/ 'X becomes wrinkled'

With intransitive verbs:

The transitivizing suffix /-ii/ is added to intransitive verbs as part of causative formation (7.2.9).

- (28) [kít ʔ[kmáazukúu]  
/kit ik-maa-zuku-ii/  
I 1SUB-CAUS-begin-TRANS  
'I make X begin'
- (29) [ʔút máaʔtatáa] ~ [máaʔtatíi]  
/ut maa-ʔtata-ii/  
s/he CAUS-sleep-TRANS  
's/he makes X sleep'
- (30) [kít ʔ[kmáapupúu] \* [ʔík máapupíi]  
/kit ik-maa-pupu-ii/  
I 1SUB-CAUS-boil-TRANS  
'I boil X'

#### 4.2.2. Causative Lengthening of Applicative /-ni/

When the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' is added to a transitive verb, the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ' must also be added (7.2.9). The vowel of the suffix /-ni/ always lengthens in this combination.<sup>4</sup>

- (31) /-ni/ → [nii] / maa- ... ]<sub>TV stem</sub>—
- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| /čaqqa/        | 'wash X'        |
| /maa-čaqqa-ni/ | 'make Y wash X' |
- (32) [šwáan máačaqqéɛníi hónʔáχaat hómPedro]  
/Juan maa-čaqqa-ni hun-ʔaqaat hun-Pedro/  
Juan CAUS-wash X-+OBJ DET-clothes DET-Pedro  
'Juan makes Pedro wash the clothes'
- |               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| /šqaa/        | 'break X/harvest X'        |
| /maa-šqaa-ni/ | 'make Y break X/harvest X' |

<sup>4</sup>It is possible that the resulting form [-nii] is underlyingly or historically /-ni + -ii/ '+OBJ + TRANS'. At this time, I have no evidence that disambiguates the underlying form.

- (33) [šwáan máašqáaniiϕ hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-šqaa-ni-la(ϕ) hun-Pedro/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-break X-+OBJ-PFV DET-Pedro  
 'Juan made Pedro break X/harvest X'

/ϕtuqu/                    'stir X'  
 /maa-ϕtuqu-ni/        'make Y stir X'

- (34) [šwáan máaϕtoqóniiϕ]  
 /Juan maa-ϕtuqu-ni-la(ϕ)/  
 Juan CAUS-stir X-+OBJ-PFV  
 'Juan made Y stir X'

/paš-ii/                    'bathe X'  
 /maa-paš-ii-ni/        'make Y bathe X'

- (35) [šwáan kímáapašiiñiyáan hómPedro]<sup>5</sup>  
 /Juan kin-maa-paš-ii-ni-yaa-na hun-Pedro/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-bathe-TRANS-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes us bathe Pedro'

### 4.3. Rules Affecting Verb Inflection

#### 4.3.1. General Rules Affecting Verb Inflection

##### 4.3.1.1. CV-Suffix Simplification

The inflectional suffixes /-ti/ '2PFV', /-li/ 'PFV' [/-la(ϕ)/ 'PFV' in Yecuatla],<sup>6</sup> /-na/ '2OBJ', and /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' all lose their final vowel following a vowel-final stem, becoming [-t], [-l], [-n], and [-w], respectively. These are the only verbal suffixes of inflection that have the shape /-CV/.

- (36) /-ti/                    → [-t]                    / V \_\_\_\_  
 /-li/la(ϕ)/                → [-l]                    / V \_\_\_\_  
 /-na/                      → [-n]                    / V \_\_\_\_  
 /-wa/                      → [-w]                    / V \_\_\_\_

<sup>5</sup>Note that vowel lengthening of applicative /-ni/ '+OBJ' precedes suffixation of the imperfective marker /-yaa/. The resulting sequence is [ñiyáa]. As discussed in 4.3.3.1, short /i/ followed by /-yaa/ 'IMPV' results in the sequence [nyaa], which is ungrammatical in the causative \*[kímáapašiiñiyáan].

<sup>6</sup>As discussed in 4.3.1.3, the suffix /-la(ϕ)/ 'PFV' in Yecuatla is also subject to CV-suffix simplification.



The rule of vowel deletion in CV-suffixes is:

(37)  $V \rightarrow \emptyset / V]_{\text{verb stem}} C \_\_\_ ]$

If the morpheme-final vowel is deleted, the remaining consonantal segment is subject to syllable structure constraints. In the case of /-li/ 'PFV', [-l] becomes [-ʎ] syllable finally because there is a constraint against nonnasal sonorants in syllable-final position (3.4.3.1). In the case of /-wa/ '1SUB.PL', [-w] is deleted syllable finally because it cannot be syllabified in that position.

(38) /-ti/  $\rightarrow$  [-t]

(39) [wʃ̣ tapahánuʉt]  
/wʃ̣ ta-paha=nuu-ti/  
you pass-2PFV  
'you passed (by)'

(40) /-li/  $\rightarrow$  [-l]  
/-la(ʎ)  $\rightarrow$  [-l]  
/-l/  $\rightarrow$  [ʎ] /  $\_\_\_ ]_{\sigma}$  (3.4.3.1)

(41) [ʎút tapahánuʉt]  
/ut ta-paha=nuu-la(ʎ)/  
s/he pass-PFV  
's/he passed (by)'

(42) /-na/  $\rightarrow$  [-n]

(43) [kít ʎ[ktáatɛ́hwanáan]  
/kít ik-taa-tɛ́hwan-yaa-na/  
I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
'I look for y'all'

When there is a nasal-final stem, the two adjacent nasals simplify (3.4.1) and the stem is treated as though it were vowel final, triggering CV-suffix simplification.

(44) [kítktáatɛ́hwén]  
/kit-ik-taa-tɛ́hwan-na/  
I-1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
'I looked for y'all'

(45) /-wa/  $\rightarrow$  [-w]  
[w]  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$  /  $\_\_\_ ]_{\sigma}$  (3.5.1.2)

- (46) [kinán čináa]  
 /kinan čin-yaa-wa/  
 we arrive here-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 'we arrive here'

#### 4.3.1.2. Vowel Coalescence

Vowel coalescence affects the first person marker /ik-/ '1SUB' when combined with the future morpheme /na(ɸ)/ 'FUT' or the irrealis prefix /ni-/ '1IRR'.<sup>2</sup> In addition, it affects vowels that precede the transitivizing suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS'. I assume that vowel coalescence is morpheme specific, since there are many cases of adjacent vowels in which there is no coalescence and a glottal stop is inserted instead. For example:

- (47) [ɔʉtún taʉʉʃkiɸ]  
 /ɔʉtun ta-a-ʉʃki-la(ɸ)/  
 they 3SUB.PL-MOM-give X to Y-PFV  
 'they loaned her/him X'

In the following examples, when vowel coalescence occurs, two short vowels coalesce to form one short vowel, while a short vowel and a long vowel result in a long vowel.

##### 4.3.1.2.1. Future

In the first person future, the morpheme sequences /na(ɸ)-/ 'FUT' + /ik-/ '1SUB' result in distinct forms in Yecuatla and in San Marcos.

- (48) /na(ɸ)-/ 'FUT' + /ik-/ '1SUB' → [nik-] in San Marcos (optionally in Yecuatla)  
 /na(ɸ)-/ 'FUT' + /ik-/ '1SUB' → [nak] in Yecuatla

- |      |              |                    |                      |
|------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| (49) | [kít níkčán] | /kit na(ɸ)-ik-čán/ | 'I will sow X' (SM)  |
|      | [kít nákčán] | /kit na(ɸ)-ik-čán/ | 'I will sow X' (YEC) |
|      | [kít níkčán] | /kit na(ɸ)-ik-čán/ | 'I will sow X' (YEC) |

- (50) [kít nakíʉúuksyáan] ~ [kít níkíʉúuksyáan]  
 /kit na(ɸ)-ik-kiʉ-ʉuks(a)-yaa-na/  
 I FUT-1SUB-mouth rel.-kiss X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 'I will kiss you on the mouth'

<sup>2</sup> See section 5.3.1.3.1 for discussion of the future morpheme /na(ɸ)/ 'FUT' and section 5.3.2.4.3 for a discussion of /ni-/ '1IRR' suppletion in the irrealis.

## 4.3.1.2.2. Irrealis

With the irrealis prefix /ni-/ '1IRR', the coalescence of two identical short vowels results in a single short vowel, with no change in vowel quality.

- (51) /ni-/ '1IRR' + /ik-/ '1SUB'      >      [nik]
- (52) [kít níkpášla(ʔ)]      /kit ni-ik-paš-la(ʔ)/      'that I bathe'  
       [kít níkstáa(ʔ)]      /kit ni-ik-staa-la(ʔ)/      'that I sell X'

## 4.3.1.2.3. Transitivity /-ii/

The transitivity suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS', undergoes vowel coalescence with a preceding vowel-final stem. The resulting form can take its vowel quality either from the preceding vowel or from the suffix.

*With nominals:*

- (53) [papáksnáʔ]      /papaks-nYʔ/      'old (man)'  
       [papáksníi]      /papaks-nYʔ-ii/      'he ages'
- (54) [stɔqɔnúʔ]      /stɔqu-nYʔ/      'old (woman)'  
       [stɔqɔnúu]      /stɔqu-nYʔ-ii/      'she ages'
- (55) [ʔéʔni]      /ʔih-ni/      'yellow'  
       [ʔéʔníi]      /ʔih-ni-ii/      'X makes Y yellow'
- (56) [čunún]      /čunun(u)/      'wrinkled'  
       [čununúu]      /čunun(u)-ii/      'X wrinkles Y'
- (57) [čukúŋku]      /čukunku/      'cold'  
       [čukúŋkúu]      /čukunku-ii/      'X chills Y'

*With intransitive verbs:*

- (58) [kít ʔikmáaʔukúu]  
       /kit ik-maa-ʔuku-ii/  
       I 1SUB-CAUS-begin-TRANS  
       'I make X begin'
- (59) [ʔút máaqawíi]  
       /ut maa-qawa-ii/  
       s/he CAUS-talk-TRANS  
       's/he makes X talk'

- (60) [kinán máapupúuyáa hǒńškáan]  
 /kinan maa-pupu-ii-yaa-wa hun-škaan/  
 we CAUS-boil-TRANS-IMPFV-1SUB.PL DET-water  
 'we boil the water'

#### 4.3.1.2.4. Diachronic Vowel Coalescence

A limited number of cases show diachronic vowel coalescence. All involve the verb roots /aŋ/ 'go' and /min/ 'come.' The resulting forms are lexicalized. Below is a list of the derived forms that historically involved vowel coalescence.

- |      |         |            |                |
|------|---------|------------|----------------|
| (61) | /liŋn/  | /lii=aŋ/   | 'take X'       |
|      | /maqan/ | /maqaa=aŋ/ | 'throw X'      |
|      | /čin/   | /či=min/   | 'arrive here'  |
|      | /čan/   | /či=aŋ/    | 'arrive there' |

#### 4.3.1.3. Morpheme Final /-ʔ/

There are two morphemes in the Yecuatla variety of Misantra Totonac that differ slightly from the other Totonacan languages. /na(ʔ)/ 'FUT' in Yecuatla corresponds to /na-/ 'FUT' in all other Totonacan languages and in other communities that speak Misantra Totonac. /-la(ʔ)/ 'PFV' in Yecuatla corresponds to /-li/ elsewhere in Misantra Totonac and Totonacan in general.

- (62) [kít náʔ ʔikʷukú]  
 /kit na(ʔ) ik-ʷuku/  
 I FUT 1SUB-begin  
 'I will begin'
- (63) [ʔút páastéklaʔ]  
 /ut paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he remember X-PFV  
 's/he remembered X'

When it comes to interacting with phonological and morphophonemic rules, these two Yecuatla morphemes /na(ʔ)/ 'FUT' and /-la(ʔ)/ 'PFV' act as though they were vowel final. /na(ʔ)/ undergoes the rule of vowel coalescence when it comes in contact with /ik/ '1SUB', which results in the surface forms of [nik-] or [nak-]. See 4.3.1.2 above for discussion of the rule.

- (64) [níkʷukú] ~ [nákʷukú]  
 /na(ʔ)-ik-ʷuku/  
 FUT-1SUB-begin  
 'I will begin'

In San Marcos and in other Totonacan languages CV-suffix simplification deletes the final vowel of a CV-suffix when it follows a stem-final vowel (see 4.3.1.1 above). In Yecuatla, the perfective suffix /-la(ɸ)/, in spite of not fitting the structural description of a CV-suffix, also becomes [-l] (and then [-ɸ]) following a vowel.

- (65) [ɣút zúkuɸ]  
 /ut zuku-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he begin-PFV  
 's/he began'

Since phonological and morphological processes treat these two morphemes as if they were structurally /CV/, I assume that the two morphemes /na(ɸ)/ 'FUT' and /-la(ɸ)/ 'PFV' have an underlying form which is /CV/. I assume that a final C-slot is inserted by rule only if the vowel has not been deleted by phonological or morphophonemic processes. The final consonant slot is inserted after most rules have applied, including those of vowel coalescence and CV-suffix simplification. With this formulation, the morphemes undergo most processes with an underlying /CV/ form, but if unaltered by the phonological and morphophonemic processes, the morpheme inserts a final C resulting in a [CVC] surface structure.<sup>8</sup> Below is a diagram of the underlying representation of the suffix /la(ɸ)/ 'PFV'.

- (66)
- |       |   |   |   |
|-------|---|---|---|
|       | l | a | ɸ |
|       |   |   |   |
| roots | . | . | . |
|       |   |   |   |
|       | C | V |   |

#### 4.3.1.4. /i/-Deletion

There is a late rule which optionally deletes /i/ in the following prefixes: /ik-/ '1SUB', /iš-/ 'PAST', and /iš-/ '3POSS'. These are the only /i/-initial prefixes that I am aware of.

- (67) [škámšwáat] ~ [ɣškámšwáat]  
 /iš-kam-šwáat/  
 3POSS-offspring-grinder  
 'the (mortar's) pestle'

<sup>8</sup>This analysis was suggested by Juliette Blevins.

- (68) [ɔ́ʉt štéhwén] ~ [ɔ́ʉt ʔíštéhwén] (SM)  
 /ut iš-tíhwan/  
 s/he PAST-look for X  
 's/he looked for X (IMPFV)'

The rule can be formulated as follows:

- (69) /i/ → ∅ / [\_\_\_C<sub>stem</sub> {

Note that in the case of /ik-/ '1SUB', /i/-deletion can occur preceding any stem, vowel or consonant initial, while in the case of /iš-/ '3POSS', 'PAST', /i/-deletion cannot apply if the stem is vowel initial.

- (70) [ɔ́ʉkʔán]                    /ik-án/                    'I go'  
 [kán]
- (71) [ɔ́ʉʃʔíškuyut]            /iš-iškuy-Vt/            'her/his tobacco/cigar'  
 \*[šíškuyut]

/i/-deletion sometimes produces clusters that do not conform to the syllable structure constraints discussed in section 3.5.1. I assume that word initially, one extrasyllabic consonant<sup>9</sup> is permitted by the syllable structure constraints. Once /i/-deletion has applied, the word is still subject to syllabification, /i/-insertion, and phonological constraints, such as simplification of identical adjacent strings. The unusual word-initial strings that result include /k/ followed by a consonant or consonant cluster and /š/ followed by an affricate. However, if word-initial /k/ and /š/ are extrasyllabic, the string is not ruled out by the syllable constraints.<sup>10</sup> The following words illustrate clusters arising from /i/-deletion that do not conform to the syllable structure constraints.

- (72) [kít kpáš] ~ [kít ʔíkpaš]  
 /kit ik-páš/  
 I 1SUB-bathe  
 'I bathe'
- (73) [kít kláatéhwán] ~ [kít ʔíkláatéhwán]  
 /kit ik-laa-tíhwan/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 'I look for them'

<sup>9</sup>An extrasyllabic segment is one which is outside the domain of the syllabification constraints.

<sup>10</sup>This analysis was suggested by Juliette Blevins.

- (74) [kít kɬpapanán] ~ [kít ɣkɬpapanán]  
 /kit ik-ɬpapa-nan/  
 I 1SUB-fly-I.O.  
 'I fly'
- (75) [ščáan] ~ [ɣščáan]  
 /iš-čaan/  
 3POSS-body  
 'her/his body'
- (76) [ščáNqat piyúʔ] ~ [ɣščáNqat piyúʔ]  
 /iš-čānqat piyuʔ/  
 3POSS-down chicken  
 'the chicken's down'

If, as the result of /i/-deletion, there are adjacent identical fricatives, these clusters simplify. This simplification follows the regular phonological processes set out in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.2. Strident assimilation causes the first segment of two adjacent fricatives to assimilate to the place of articulation of the second. Resulting adjacent identical segments simplify. Thus, for example, /š//š/ → [š] and /š//s/ → [s].

- (77) [wíšpáš] ~ [wíš ɣíšpáš] ~ [wíš špáš]<sup>11</sup>  
 /wíš-iš-paš/  
 you-PAST-bathe  
 'you were bathing' (SM)
- (78) [wístáa] ~ [wíš ɣístáa]  
 /wíš-iš-staa/  
 you-PAST-sell X  
 'you were selling X' (SM)

#### 4.3.1.5. /i/-Insertion

If the result of /i/-deletion in the morpheme /iš-/ 'PAST' (4.3.1.4), is two adjacent word-medial fricatives, the phonology steps in to correct the situation. Recall that there is a constraint throughout the phonology prohibiting tautosyllabic \*[+cont][+cont]<sub>σ</sub> sequences. These sequences can simplify, as detailed in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.2, or, alternatively, /i/-insertion can break up the sequence. In either case, the phonological constraint is upheld, and both approaches result in a grammatical string. I assume that /i/-insertion is specific to

<sup>11</sup> Pronouns can optionally be incorporated into the phonological word and are then subject to all word-internal phonological processes.

the morpheme /iš-/ since there are no other cases of insertion in other parts of the grammar. The rule can be formalized as follows:

- (79)  $\emptyset \rightarrow [i] / [+cont]]_{PAST} \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } [+cont]$
- (80) [kít níksístaaʔ]  
/kit ni-ik-iš-staa-la(ʔ)/  
I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-sell X-PFV  
'that I would sell X'
- (81) [wíʃ kástaaʔ, wíʃ kašístaaʔ]  
/wíʃ ka-iš-staa-ti/  
you IRR-PAST-sell X-2PFV  
'that you would sell X'

### 4.3.2. Rules Affecting Person Inflection

#### 4.3.2.1. Second Person Morphophonemics

The second person plural subject marker, /-tat/ '2SUB.PL', and the second person perfective marker, /-ti/ '2PFV', lose a final [-t] when preceding /ʃtaŋ/ 'PAST' in Yecuatla.

- (82) [páʃyáatáʃtán]  
/paʃ-yaa-tat-ʃtaŋ/  
bathe-IMPFV-2SUB.PL-PAST  
'y'all bathed (IMPFV)'
- (83) [káayáatáʃtán]  
/kaa-yaa-tat-ʃtaŋ/  
cut X-IMPFV-2SUB.PL-PAST  
'y'all cut X (IMPFV)'

Recall that CV-suffix simplification reduces /-ti/ '2PFV' to [-t] following a vowel-final stem. This final [-t] deletes before /ʃtaŋ/.

- (84) [wíʃ yáaʃtán]  
/wíʃ yaa-ti-ʃtaŋ/  
you vertical-2PFV-PAST  
'you were standing'
- (85) [wíʃ páaʃtán]  
/wíʃ maa-ti-ʃtaŋ/  
you supine-2PFV-PAST  
'you were lying down/supine'



### 4.3.3. Rules Affecting the Imperfective

#### 4.3.3.1. Imperfective /y/-Deletion

When the imperfective aspect marker /-yaa/ is suffixed to a verb ending in a consonant, the /y/ is deleted (i.e., [yaa] → [aa]).

(86) /y/ → ∅ / C] <sub>stem</sub> — ...] <sub>IMPFV</sub>

(87) [kinán ɔ̃ktíjyáa]  
/kinán ik-tíj-yaa-wa/  
we 1SUB-dance-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
'we dance'

(88) [kinán ɔ̃kčínáa]  
/kinán ik-čín-yaa-wa/  
we 1SUB-arrive here-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
'we arrive here'

The rule is restricted to the imperfective marker because [C + y] sequences are allowed elsewhere, as shown below.

(89) [ɔ̃íšyáaɬ]  
/íš-yaaɬ/  
3POSS-hair  
'her/his hair'

On verbs that have two lexical entries, one that is vowel final and one that is consonant final (section 4.1.1), either suffix is accepted.

(90) [kinán ɔ̃kɛaqaáa] /kinán ik-ɛaqa-yaa-wa/ 'we chew X'  
[kinán ɔ̃kɛaqaɣáa] /kinán ik-ɛaqa-yaa-wa/

The combination of the derivational suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ' and /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' results not in the expected string \*[niyaa], but in [nyaa].

(91) [wišín kístáanyáarat] /kin-staa-ni-yaa-tat/ 'y'all sell X for me'  
[ɔ̃út kíwányáan] /kin-wan-ni-yaa-na/ 's/he tells us X'

Note that imperfective /y/-deletion precedes /n/-deletion before continuants (3.4.5). Thus, stem-final /n/ is not deleted in the following example.

- (92) [kinán ʔ[ksɔχɔnáa]  
 /kinán ik-suqun-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-like-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we like X’

#### 4.3.4. Rules Affecting the Perfective

##### 4.3.4.1. First Person Singular and Third Person Perfective

The perfective marker for first person singular and third persons is /-la(ʔ)/ in Yecuatla and /-li/ in San Marcos. The variants of the perfective marker are (a) [-laʔ] or [-li] and (b) [-ʔ].<sup>12</sup> Rules accounting for these allomorphs are discussed in 4.3.1.1, but are repeated below for the sake of clarity.

The full form /-la(ʔ)/ only occurs on verb stems that end in a consonant.

- |      |                   |                      |                     |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (93) | [ʔút ɔ́ʔχlaʔ]     | /ut ɔ́ʔχ-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he wrote X’      |
|      | [ʔút páaɛ́ʔislaʔ] | /ut paa=ɛ́ʔis-la(ʔ)/ | ‘s/he forgot X’     |
|      | [ʔút páastáklaʔ]  | /ut paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  | ‘s/he remembered X’ |
|      | [ʔút šnáqlaʔ]     | /ut šnaq-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he deflated’     |
|      | [ʔút sqátlaʔ]     | /ut sqat-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he served X’     |
|      | [ʔút yóhlaʔ]      | /ut yuh-la(ʔ)/       | ‘s/he fell’         |

On a verb stem that ends in a vowel, the form [-ʔ] occurs. The variant [-ʔ] is the result of two processes, CV-suffix simplification and syllable structure constraints. As seen in section 4.3.1.1, a final suffix vowel is lost when a CV-suffix follows a vowel. Syllable structure rules include a constraint against nonnasal sonorants in syllable-final position. The rules are the following:

- (94)  $V \rightarrow \emptyset / V]_{\text{verb stem}} C \_\_\_ ]$  (4.3.1.1)

- (95)  $/l/ \rightarrow [ʔ] / \_\_\_ ]_{\sigma}$  (3.4.3.1)

- (96)  $[ʔ] \rightarrow [h] / \_\_\_ ]_{\sigma}$  (3.4.3.2)

- |      |             |                 |                 |
|------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (97) | [ʔút šqáaʔ] | /ut šqaa-la(ʔ)/ | ‘s/he broke X’  |
|      | [ʔút šqáa]  | /ut šqaa/       | ‘s/he breaks X’ |

- |      |              |                   |                |
|------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (98) | [ʔút tánuuʔ] | /ut ta-nuu-la(ʔ)/ | ‘s/he entered’ |
|      | [ʔút tánúu]  | /ut ta-nuu/       | ‘s/he enters’  |

<sup>12</sup> For consistency, I will always use the variant [-ʔ] in the following examples, but recall that [-ʔ] optionally weakens to [-h] syllable finally (section 3.4.3.2).

- |       |                 |                       |                        |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (99)  | [ʔút hašántiiʔ] | /ut hašántii-la(ʔ)/   | 's/he rested'          |
|       | [ʔút hašántii]  | /ut hašántii/         | 's/he rests'           |
| (100) | [ʔút máasúuniʔ] | /ut maa=suu-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he showed X to Y'   |
|       | [ʔút líimíniʔ]  | /ut lii-min-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he brought X for Y' |
|       | [ʔút ʔúkwániʔ]  | /ut ukš-wan-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he advised X'       |

Polysyllabic verb stems that end in a nasal delete the final /n/ before a continuant (3.4.5). The stem now ends in a vowel and takes the suffix [-ʔ].

- (101) (a) /n/ → ∅ / \_\_\_\_ C (/n/-deletion, 3.4.5)  
[+cont]
- (b) V → ∅ / V<sub>verb stem</sub> C \_\_\_\_ # (CV-suffix simplification, 4.3.1.1)
- (c) // → [ʔ] / \_\_\_\_<sub>o</sub> (syllable structure constraints, 3.4.3.1)

- |       |                  |                         |                     |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (102) | [ʔút wáayaʔ]     | /ut waa-yan-la(ʔ)/      | 's/he ate'          |
|       | [ʔút sóχʔ]       | /ut suqun-la(ʔ)/        | 's/he liked X'      |
|       | [ʔút qáʔaʔ]      | /ut qaʔan-la(ʔ)/        | 's/he stole X'      |
|       | [ʔút páastáanaʔ] | /ut paa=staa-nan-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he thought'      |
|       | [ʔút máasúunaʔ]  | /ut maa=suu-nan-la(ʔ)/  | 's/he showed X'     |
|       | [ʔút líimiʔ]     | /ut lii=min-la(ʔ)/      | 's/he brought X'    |
|       | [ʔút tēhwaʔ]     | /ut tihwan-la(ʔ)/       | 's/he looked for X' |

Monosyllabic verb stems that end in a nasal generally do not undergo nasal deletion preceding a continuant and take the full form [-la(ʔ)]. A constraint on what constitutes a minimal verb stem prevents nasal deletion in these forms from applying (3.5.2). The minimal verb stem is /CVX/, so any process that does not conform to this minimal string cannot apply.

- |       |               |                 |                  |
|-------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (103) | [ʔút čánlaʔ]  | /ut čan-la(ʔ)/  | 's/he planted X' |
|       | [ʔút wánlaʔ]  | /ut wan-la(ʔ)/  | 's/he said X'    |
|       | [ʔút skínlaʔ] | /ut skɪn-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he wanted X'  |

Systematic exceptions to the minimal verb-stem constraint are the irregular verbs /an/ 'go' and /min/ 'come' and verbs derived from them. These verbs do undergo stem-final nasal deletion.

- |       |           |                |             |
|-------|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| (104) | [ʔút ʔáʔ] | /ut an-la(ʔ)/  | 's/he went' |
|       | [ʔút míʔ] | /ut min-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he came' |

## 4.3.4.2. Second Person Singular Perfective

The second person singular perfective marker is /-ti/ '2PFV'. This suffix is inherently unstressed (i.e., extrametrical), and it causes stress to fall on the penultimate syllable regardless of whether the suffix is overtly present on the verb or not. Stress only falls on the syllable containing /-ti/ or its variants if the verb stem is monosyllabic (3.6.2).

- (105) [wĩš pášti]  
 /wĩš paš-ti/  
 you bathe-2PFV  
 'you bathed'
- (106) [wĩš qáwə, qáʔ]  
 /wĩš qəwə-ti/  
 you talk-2PFV  
 'you talked'
- (107) [wĩš stáat]  
 /wĩš staa-ti/  
 you sell X-2PFV  
 'you sold X'

The second person perfective marker has the variants [-ti], [-t], and [∅] depending on what kind of stem it is attached to. Some of the rules affecting its variation are identical to those that apply to the first and third persons perfective marker /la(ʔ)/ 'PFV'.

The full form, [-ti] '2PFV', only occurs on verb stems that end in a consonant.

- |       |                 |                    |                    |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (108) | [wĩš ɛʒχti]     | /wĩš ɛuq-ti/       | 'you wrote X'      |
|       | [wĩš páaɛĩjsti] | /wĩš paa=ɛĩj-s-ti/ | 'you forgot X'     |
|       | [wĩš páastákti] | /wĩš paa=stak-ti/  | 'you remembered X' |

The most common alternation is that /-ti/ becomes [-t] following a vowel. The rule of CV-suffix simplification deletes a suffix-final vowel if the verb stem ends in a vowel (4.3.1.1).

- |       |                  |                      |                 |
|-------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| (109) | [wĩš tapahánuut] | /wĩš ta-paha=nuu-ti/ | 'you passed by' |
|       | [wĩš káat]       | /wĩš kaa-ti/         | 'you cut X'     |
|       | [wĩš níit]       | /wĩš nii-ti/         | 'you died'      |
|       | [wĩš tánuut]     | /wĩš ta-nuu-ti/      | 'you entered'   |
|       | [wĩš hašántiit]  | /wĩš hašantii-ti/    | 'you rested'    |

However, verb stems that end in a short vowel do not overtly show the perfective marker [-t]. [-t] does not surface following a *nonbranching* nucleus. Stress nevertheless falls on the penultimate syllable. It is the penultimate stress that differentiates these forms from their imperfective counterparts. The rule of [-t]-deletion following a short vowel is the following:

(110) Perfective [-t]-deletion

$$[t] \rightarrow \emptyset / V ]_{\text{stem}} \text{ ___ } ]_{\text{PFV}}$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \neq$$

$$\quad \quad \quad N$$

- |       |              |                 |                   |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (111) | [wĩʂ ʔĩʂki]  | /wĩʂ iʂki-ti/   | 'you gave X to Y' |
|       | [wĩʂ ʔĩʂkiʔ] | /wĩʂ iʂki/      | 'you give X to Y' |
| (112) | [wĩʂ tɛʂtu]  | /wĩʂ ta-ʂtu-ti/ | 'you left'        |
|       | [wĩʂ tɛʂtúʔ] | /wĩʂ ta-ʂtu/    | 'you leave'       |
| (113) | [wĩʂ ʔtata]  | /wĩʂ ʔtata-ti/  | 'you slept'       |
|       | [wĩʂ ʔtatáʔ] | /wĩʂ ʔtata/     | 'you sleep'       |

In addition, a stem-final /n/ deletes before the suffix /-ti/ '2PFV'.

(114) /n/  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$  / \_\_\_ ]<sub>stem</sub> ]<sub>2PFV</sub>

The rule of /n/-deletion before /-ti/ '2PFV' feeds CV-suffix simplification and the rule deleting [-t] following a nonbranching nucleus.

- |       |   |                                     |
|-------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (115) | (a) /n/ $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ___ ] <sub>stem</sub> ] <sub>2PFV</sub>   | (2PFV stem-final /n/-deletion)      |
|       | (b) V $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / V ] <sub>verb stem</sub> C ___ ]            | (CV-suffix simplification, 4.3.1.1) |
|       | (c) [t] $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / V ] <sub>stem</sub> ___ ] <sub>2PFV</sub> | (2PFV [-t]-deletion)                |
|       |   | $\neq$                              |
|       |   | N                                   |

- (116) [wĩʂ tɛhwa]
- /wĩʂ tɛhwan-ti/
- you look for X-PFV
- 'you looked for X'

Thus, verb stems that end in a short vowel followed by a nasal delete the /n/ and do not show any surface remnants of the suffix /-ti/ '2PFV' except the stress assignment.

- |       |                |                       |                |
|-------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| (117) | [wĩʃ pɛ́ɫna]   | /wĩʃ pɛ́ɫ-nan-ti/     | ‘you swept’    |
|       | [wĩʃ páastáan] | /wĩʃ paa=staa-nan-ti/ | ‘you thought’  |
|       | [wĩʃ páásúun]  | /wĩʃ maa=suu-nan-ti/  | ‘you showed X’ |

Following second person perfective /n/-deletion and [-t]-deletion, if the surface string is V-final, the final vowel is optionally deleted. This rule of perfective final-vowel deletion also applies to underived vowel-final stems. In these cases, there are often two surface forms of the second person singular perfective. When a glide is left in word-final position, laryngealization [+CG] spreads rightward to fill the consonant slot and surfaces as a glottal stop.

- |       |                  |                  |               |
|-------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| (118) | [wĩʃ ɛ́iyá/ɛ́ɾʔ] | /wĩʃ ɛ́iyá-n-ti/ | ‘you laughed’ |
|       | [wĩʃ láqɛ́, léq] | /wĩʃ láqan-ti/   | ‘you saw X’   |
| (119) | [wĩʃ sóχ]        | /wĩʃ suqun-ti/   | ‘you like X’  |
| (120) | [wĩʃ qáwá/qáʔ]   | /wĩʃ qáwá-ti/    | ‘you talked’  |
|       | [wĩʃ ɬtáta/ɬtát] | /wĩʃ ɬtata-ti/   | ‘you slept’   |

Stem-final vowels are deleted only when the preceding consonant is licensed by the syllable structure (i.e., the consonant has to be a permitted syllable coda). For example, the rule does not apply to /-tɪhwan-/ ‘look for X’ because the result would be an illicit syllable coda \*[ɬw]₀.

- |       |              |                 |                    |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (121) | [wĩʃ tɛ́hwá] | /wĩʃ tɪhwan-ti/ | ‘you looked for X’ |
|-------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|

Monosyllabic stems that end in a nasal do not lose the stem-final /n/, and take the full perfective form [-ti]. As discussed above, the minimal verb stem is a heavy syllable, so deleting the final /n/ would violate the constraint that a minimal verb stem be /CVX/.

- |       |              |               |                 |
|-------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (122) | [wĩʃ čánti]  | /wĩʃ čán-ti/  | ‘you planted X’ |
|       | [wĩʃ wánti]  | /wĩʃ wan-ti/  | ‘you said X’    |
|       | [wĩʃ skínti] | /wĩʃ skɪn-ti/ | ‘you wanted X’  |

An idiosyncratic form occurs when a verb stem ending in the applicative /-ni/ ‘+OBJ’ is in the second person singular perfective. As can be seen below, the morpheme sequence /ni-ti/ results in the surface form [niin]. I have no straightforward analysis of this variation.

- |       |                |                      |                   |
|-------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| (123) | [wĩʃ líipinín] | /wĩʃ líi=an-ni-ti/   | ‘you took X to Y’ |
|       | [kinán lííní]  | /kinán líi=an-ni-wa/ | ‘we took X to Y’  |

- |       |                   |                       |                        |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (124) | [wĩʂ čúulaníin]   | /wĩʂ čuula-ni-ti/     | ‘you did/made X for Y’ |
|       | [kinán čúulaní]   | /kinan čuula-ni-wa/   | ‘we did/made X for Y’  |
| (125) | [wĩʂ laqəníin]    | /wĩʂ laqan-ni-ti/     | ‘you saw X for Y’      |
|       | [kinán laqəní]    | /kinan laqan-ni-wa/   | ‘we saw X for Y’       |
| (126) | [wĩʂ páʂasúuníin] | /wĩʂ maa=suu-ni-ti/   | ‘you showed X to Y’    |
|       | [kinán máʂasúuní] | /kinan maa=suu-ni-wa/ | ‘we showed X to Y’     |
| (127) | [wĩʂ líitaníin]   | /wĩʂ lii=min-ni-ti/   | ‘you brought X for Y’  |
|       | [kinán líiminí]   | /kinan lii=min-ni-wa/ | ‘we brought X for Y’   |

#### 4.3.4.3. First Person Plural Perfective

The first person plural perfective is unmarked except for person. The first person plural marker /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’ has a very limited distribution. It does not surface after vowels because ‘CV-suffix simplification’ reduces it to [-w], and since /w/ cannot be syllabified word finally, it is deleted.

- |       |               |                   |              |
|-------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (128) | [kinán kaʒii] | /kinan kaʒii-wa/  | ‘we knew’    |
|       | [kinán níi]   | /kinan nii-wa/    | ‘we died’    |
|       | [kinán tanúu] | /kinan ta-nuu-wa/ | ‘we entered’ |

If the verb stem ends in /n/, the phonological rule of /n/-deletion preceding continuants (3.4.5) deletes the stem-final /n/ before /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’.

- (129) /n/ → ∅ / \_\_\_\_ C (3.4.5)  
[+cont]

When /n/-deletion before continuants (in this case [-w] from /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’) results in a short laryngealized vowel in word-final position, a word-final glottal stop surfaces. The consonant slot left by the nasal is filled by rightward spreading of the feature ‘constricted glottis,’ [+CG], which surfaces as a glottal stop.

- |       |             |                 |               |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| (130) | [kinán skʔ] | /kinan skin-wa/ | ‘we wanted X’ |
|       | [kinán čáʔ] | /kinan čan-wa/  | ‘we sowed X’  |
|       | [kinán ʔáʔ] | /kinan an-wa/   | ‘we went’     |

Spreading of the feature [+CG] in first person plural perfective forms is formulated as follows:

- (131)      [+CG] [+nasal]  
               |                   |  
               |                   |  
               V                   C

The prediction is that a laryngealized stem-final vowel (i.e., not derived by /n/-deletion) will not be followed by a glottal stop because there is no empty C-slot for the feature [+CG] to spread to. This appears to be the case.

- (132) [kinán ʔíškí]      kinán iškí-wa<sup>13</sup>      ‘we gave X to Y’

Nonlaryngealized vowels which become stem final through n-deletion do not trigger /ʔ/ insertion.

- (133) [kinán tɛ́hwá]      /kinán tɪhwan-wa/      ‘we looked for X’  
           [kinán waní]      /kinán wan-ni-wa/      ‘we said X to Y’  
           [kinán mí]      /kinán min-wa/      ‘we came’  
           [kinán sɔχó]      /kinán suqun-wa/      ‘we liked X’  
           [kinán ʔáʔíškáaná] /kinán á-iškáan-nan-wa/      ‘we loaned X to Y’  
           [kinán lííní]      /kinán lii=an-ni-wa/      ‘we took X to Y’

#### 4.4. Morphophonemic Rules Affecting Nominals

##### 4.4.1. /h/ in Body-Part Prefixes

Body-part lexemes that include a sequence of two identical vowels separated by an /h/, lose the /h/ when forming a body part prefix. The result is a single syllable with a long-vowel nucleus. Body-part prefixes tend to have the morpheme structure /CVV-/ or /CVC-/. Loss of /h/ between two identical vowels is a common phonological process, and in this case allows the prefix to conform to the morpheme structure of other body-part prefixes.

- (134) /h/ → ∅ / V<sub>1</sub> \_\_\_ V<sub>1</sub> ]<sub>BPP</sub>

/paha/ ‘half’      →      [paa] ‘middle related’

- (135) [ʔíštámpaháʔ]  
           /iš-tan-pahaʔ/  
           3POSS-posterior rel.-half  
           ‘her/his waist’

<sup>13</sup>Recall that syllable-final [-w] cannot be syllabified, so there is no skeletal slot associated with it.



- (136) [kímpáan]  
/kin-paa-ni/  
1POSS-middle rel.-NOM  
'my belly'
- (137) [pahasyéntɔ]  
/paha-syɛntu/  
half-hundred  
'fifty'
- (138) [ɔ́t tapahanúu]  
/ut ta-paha=nuu/  
s/he INC-half-inside  
's/he crosses X'
- (139) [ɔ́t támpáayaaɬ t́nkúçíɬ]  
/ut tan-paa-yaa-la(ɬ) tun-kuçil/  
s/he posterior rel.-middle rel.-standing-PFV one-knife  
's/he wears a knife at the waist'
- /tuhu/ 'foot'      ➔      [tuu] 'foot related'
- (140) [míntɔ́hɔ́ɬɔ]  
/min-tuhu-ɬɔ/  
2POSS-foot-NOM  
'your foot'
- (141) [ɔ́t túuçaqéékán]  
/ut tuu-çaqaa-kan/  
s/he foot rel.-wash X-REFL  
's/he washes his/her feet'
- (142) [ɔ́t kintúuɬtúkuɬ]  
/ut kin-tuu-ɬtuku-la(ɬ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-foot rel.-poke X-PFV  
's/he poked me in the foot'
- /puhu/      ➔      [puu] 'inner related'
- (143) [páapɔ́hɔ́zún]      /paa-puhu-zun/      'wide'
- (144) [páapɔ́qát]      /paa-puu-qat/      'wide'

## 4.4.2. Nominal Final-Vowel Deletion

Monomorphemic nominals have lost stem-final short vowels following an obstruent. These stems are reanalyzed as consonant final.

- (145)  $V \rightarrow \emptyset / C \_ \#$   
 [-son]

Cognates from other Totonacan languages show the change most clearly.<sup>14</sup>

Misantla Totonac:

(146)	[káat]	/kaat/	vs.	[kaata]	'year' (XIC)
	[čáqɸ] <sup>15</sup>	/čaqɸ/	vs.	[čaqɸa]	'splash' (PAP)
	[támĩŋ] (YEC)	/tāmĩnk/	vs.	/łimĩnki/	'pot' (COAT)
	[səpáp]	/sapap/	vs.	[sapapə]	'warm' (PAP)
	[šqǝχ]	/šquq/	vs.	[šququ]	'salty' (XIC)
				[šququ]	'salty' (PAP)
	[škáp]	/škap/	vs.	[škapa]	'tick' (PAP)
	[čik]	/čik/	vs.	[čiki]	'house' (PAP)
	[qát]	/qat/	vs.	[qatla]	'big' (XIC)

Nominal-final vowel deletion has progressed further in San Marcos than in Yecuatla. In Yecuatla some short vowels are still found word finally following obstruents.

- (147) [stɛp] (SM) vs. [stɛpu] (YEC) /stap(u)/ 'bean'

In contrast to nominal-final vowel deletion, which affects all vowels, verbs only undergo final /a/-deletion (4.1.1). In some cases, verbs retain the final vowel, while the noun has lost it.

- (148) [ɸtúk] /ɸtuk/ 'thorn'  
 [ɸtúkuɸ] /ɸtuku-la(ɸ)/ 's/he poked X'

Short final vowels are found in words that would end in consonants or consonant clusters that are not licensed syllable finally if the final vowel were deleted.

<sup>14</sup>Cognate forms are taken from Aschmann (1962, for Zapotitlán de Mendez; 1973, for Papantla), Levy (1990, for Papantla), and Reid and Bishop (1974, for Xicotepec de Juárez).

<sup>15</sup>This example and the following one are the only examples of vowel deletion following a consonant cluster, but note that they are licensed syllable-final clusters.

(149)	[páaʔkə]	/paaʔkə/	‘comal’
	[šápša]	/šapša/	‘hog plum tree ( <i>jobo</i> )’
	[kíʃpə]	/kiʃpə/	‘corn kernel’
	[sáaste]	/saasti/	‘new’
	[póqʔu]	/puqʔu/	‘faded’
	[púksa]	/puksa/	‘smelly’

Bimorphemic words are not affected by final-vowel deletion.

(150)	[stáqnɛ]	/staq-ni/	‘green’
	[pəšni]	/paš-ni/	‘pig’
	[máśni]	/mas-ni/	‘rotten’

Nominals that end in a glottal stop do not fit the structural description and do not undergo final-vowel deletion.

(151)	[čičiʔ]	/čičiʔ/	‘dog’
	[čičkúʔ]	/čiʃkuʔ/	‘man’
	[piyúʔ]	/piyuʔ/	‘chicken’

Exceptions to final short-vowel deletion include:

(152)	[rāku]	/raku/	‘woman’
	[skɛha]	/skiha/	‘tasty’
	[kākə]	/kəkə/	‘edible green of the bean plant’
	[šépu]	/šapu/	‘soap’
	[snápɨ]	/snapɨ/	‘gnat’

#### 4.4.3. /-lɔt/—‘Nominalizer’

The vowel of the nominalizing suffix /-lɔt/ ‘NOM’ lengthens when the pluralizing suffix /-nɔ/ is added. /-nɔ/ ‘PL’ is one of the most productive plural markers. It is suffixed to consonant-final nominals with penultimate stress.

(153) /lɔt/ → [lɔ:t]/ \_\_\_\_<sub>nominal stem</sub> /-nɔ/ ‘PL’

(154)	[mínzəʔlɔt]	/min-zəʔ-lɔt/	‘your tooth’
	[mínzəʔlɔ:tɔnɔ]	/min-zəʔ-lɔt-nɔ/	‘your teeth’

(155)	[mímakálɔt]	/min-maká-lɔt/	‘your hand’
	[mímakálɔ:tɔnɔ]	/min-maká-lɔt-nɔ/	‘your hands’

(156)	[míntɔhólɔt]	/min-tuhú-lɔt/	‘your foot’
	[míntɔhólɔ:tɔnɔ]	/min-tuhú-lɔt-nɔ/	‘your feet’

- (157) [ʔišpaqálat] /iš-paqa-lat/ 'her/his leaf'  
 [ʔišpaqaláatna] /iš-paqa-lat-na/ 'her/his leaves'

Evidence that the rule is not phonologically motivated is provided by phonetically similar cases in which there is no lengthening:

- (158) [šánaʔ] → [šánaʔna]  
 /šana-Vt/ /šana-Vt-na/  
 'flower' 'flowers'

#### 4.4.4. Loss of Laryngealization

The nominal suffix /-ni/ 'NOM' and the plural suffix /-na/ 'PL' lose their laryngealization in nonfinal position.

- (159) [léʔni] /ʔih-ni/ 'yellow'  
 [léʔništán] /lih-ni-štán/ 'X was yellow'

- (160) [eʔni] /eih-ni/ 'red'  
 [eʔnipín] /eih-ni-pín/ 'red chile'

- (161) [ʔišqaqalbqóʔna]  
 /iš-qaqa-lukut-na/  
 3POSS-ear rel.-bone-PL  
 'her/his horns'

- (162) [ʔišqaqalbqóʔnakán]  
 /iš-qaqa-lukut-na-kán/  
 3POSS-ear rel.-bone-PL-POSS.PL  
 'their horns'

#### 4.4.5. Nominal Vowel Harmony

All vowel harmony in nominals involves suffixes. The root vowel spreads its vowel quality to the suffix (i.e., from left to right). Harmony is usually optional. The spreading of supralaryngeal features is schematized below.

- (163)
- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| .SL                |   |
|                    |   |
|                    | ≠ |
| V+C <sub>o</sub> V |   |

Below are examples of the suffixes that undergo vowel harmony:

1. The agent nominalizer /-nYʔ/ 'NOM' optionally harmonizes with the preceding vowel. The default suffix is [-nəʔ], but matching of vowel quality is quite common.

(164)	[hónlaqənáʔ]	/hun-laqan-nYʔ/	'the seer'
	[hónskíníiníʔ]	/hun-skíni-nYʔ/	'the asker'
	[hónkaəíiníʔ]	/hun-kaəii-nYʔ/	'the wise person'
	[ɛʔhɔnɨʔ]	/ɛuhu-nYʔ/	'one who asks for the girl in marriage'

2. The nominal plural suffix /-(V)(V)n/ 'PL' optionally harmonizes with the preceding vowel. Although there are many exceptions, the harmonizing process is at its most productive here. See section 9.2.2.2.2 for a detailed description of this pluralizing suffix.

a. The variant [-Vn] 'PL'.

(165)	[mínáp]	/min-nap/	'your aunt'
	[mínapán]	/min-nap-Vn/	'your aunts'
(166)	[ʔpilíʔ]	/ʔpilí/	'spotted snake'
	[ʔpilíin]	/ʔpilí-Vn/	'spotted snakes'
(167)	[ɛətát]	/ɛətət/	'soft'
	[ɛətátán]	/ɛətət-Vn/	'soft (pl)'
(168)	[ɛasás]	/ɛasas/	'white'
	[ɛasasán]	/ɛasas-Vn/	'white (pl)'
(169)	[slapóχ]	/slapuq/	'soft'
	[slapóχón]	/slapuq-Vn/	'soft (pl)'
(170)	[káəkčulúk]	/kaək-čuluk/	'curly'
	[káəkčulúkún]	/kaək-čuluk-Vn/	'curly (pl)'
(171)	[lákʔukúk]	/lak-ʔukuk/	'pierced'
	[lákʔukúkún]	/lak-ʔukuk-Vn/	'pierced (pl)'

b. The variant [-YVn] (the default form of the suffix is [-i:n] 'PL').

(172)	[kiʎtún]	/kiʎ-tun/	‘full’
	[kiʎtunúun]	/kiʎ-tun-VVn/	‘full (pl)’
(173)	[lakapúučynún]	/laka-puu-čynun/	‘wrinkled face’
	[lakapúučynuníin]	/laka-puu-čynun-VVn/	‘wrinkled face (pl)’
	[lakapúučynunúun]	/laka-puu-čynun-VVn/	‘wrinkled face (pl)’
(174)	[zaʎán]	/zaʎan/	‘hot’
	[zaʎanáan]	/zaʎan-VVn/	‘hot (pl)’
(175)	[škáp]	/škap/	‘tick’
	[škápáan]	/škap-VVn/	‘ticks’
	[škápíin]	/škap-VVn/	‘ticks’
(176)	[kɛʎ]	/kiw/	‘tree’
	[kɛwíin]	/kiw-VVn/	‘trees’
(177)	[ʎtúk]	/ʎtuk/	‘thorn’
	[ʎtukúun]	/ʎtuk-VVn/	‘thorns’
(178)	[stáh]	/stah/	‘wet’
	[stáháan]	/stah-VVn/	‘wet (pl)’
(179)	[mínáan]	/min-naan/	‘your mother’
	[mínáaníin]	/min-naan-VVn/	‘your mothers’
	[mínáanáan]	/min-naan-VVn/	‘your mothers’

## c. The variant [-VVn].

(180)	[póqʎu]	/puqʎu/	‘faded’
	[póqʎúun]	/puqʎu-VVn/	‘faded (pl)’
(181)	[šápša]	/šapša/	‘hog plum tree ( <i>jobo</i> )’
	[šápšáan]	/šapša-VVn/	‘hog plum trees ( <i>jobos</i> )’
(182)	[púksa]	/puksa/	‘smelly’
	[púksáan]	/puksa-VVn/	‘smelly (pl)’
(183)	[síksi]	/siksi/	‘sweet’
	[síksiin]	/siksi-VVn/	‘sweet (pl)’

When the stem-final vowel is laryngealized, the laryngealization spreads rightward onto the pluralizing suffix /-VVn/.

(184)	[čukúŋku]	/čukunku/	‘cold’
	[čukúŋkúun]	/čukunku-VVn/	‘cold (pl)’
(185)	[sanínki]	/saninki/	‘blue’
	[sanínkíin]	/saninki-VVn/	‘blue (pl)’
(186)	[paaŋka]	/paaŋka/	‘comal’
	[paaŋkáan]	/paaŋka-VVn/	‘comals’
(187)	[qoŋanáʔ]	/quŋa-nYʔ/	‘good’
	[qoŋanáan]	/quŋa-nYʔ-VVn/	‘good (pl)’
(188)	[stɔχɔnúʔ]	/stɔqu-nYʔ/	‘old (woman)’
	[stɔχɔnúun]	/stɔqu-nYʔ-VVn/	‘old (women)’
(189)	[téŋmáan]	/tan-ŋmaa-ni/	‘tall’
	[téŋmáaníin]	/tan-ŋmaa-ni-VVn/	‘tall (pl)’

3. The nominalizing suffix /-Vt/ harmonizes with the final vowel of the stem.

(190)	[mímpášat]	/min-paš-Vt/	‘your bath’
	[míliičánat]	/min-lii-čan-Vt/	‘your seed’
	[kíyɔhɔt]	/kin-yuh-Vt/	‘my fall’
	[ʔiščɔhɔt]	/iš-čuh-Vt/	‘her/his saliva’
	[kímpáastékat]	/kin-paa=stak-Vt/	‘my memory’

#### 4.4.6. /-ni/ and /-nə/—‘Nominalizer’

In a pattern similar to that of verbal CV-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1), the suffixes /-ni/ and /-nə/ ‘NOM’ reduce to [-n] following a vowel-final stem. On some stems ending in a short vowel, the suffix surfaces as a glottal stop [-ʔ]. In the case of nasal-final roots, the two adjacent nasals simplify and the stem is treated as though it were vowel-final; and the form [-n] appears.

(191)  $V \rightarrow \emptyset /V]_{\text{root}} C \text{ \_\_\_\_}]_{\text{NOM}}$

(192)	[páksni]	/paks-ni/	‘dew’
	[stáqni]	/staq-ni/	‘green’
	[míntazɔqni]	/min-ta-ɔuq-ni/	‘your writing’
(193)	[kíliiŋkáan]	/kin-lii-ŋkaa-ni/	‘my tape measure’

[čáan]	/čaa-ni/	'ripened'
[skún]	/sku-ni/	'smoked'
[míntečán]	/min-ta-čān-ni/	'your sown field'
[líimáašanán]	/lii-maa=šanān-ni/	'that which causes shame'
[mímpúulaqén]	/min-puu-laqān-ni/	'your sight'
(194) [míntaɷuɷúʔ]	/min-ta-ɷuɷu-ni/	'your cigarette'
[míntačučuʔ]	/min-ta-čuču-ni/	'your toasted X'
[míntáskitiʔ]	/min-ta-skiti-ni/	'your ground X'

#### 4.5. Sound Symbolism

The use of contrasting sounds to mark intensity in Totonacan was first described in detail by Ruth Bishop for Northern Totonac of Apapantilla, Puebla (1984). She notes the variation in meaning between the sets of sounds  $\underline{t}/s/\underline{s}$  and  $\underline{q}/k$ , with  $\underline{t}$  and  $\underline{q}$  being the most intense and  $\underline{k}$  and  $\underline{s}$  being the least intense. Levy (1987) describes phonetic symbolism in Papantla Totonac that also includes the set of affricates  $\underline{t}/\underline{č}/\underline{\lambda}$ . In Misantla Totonac, this process is not nearly as productive as that described by Bishop and Levy. Most of the variation is found in affricates  $\underline{t}/\underline{č}$  and fricatives  $\underline{s}/\underline{s}/\underline{t}$ , with only a few examples of variation between  $\underline{k}/\underline{q}$ . Furthermore, the variation does not always coincide with a corresponding change in meaning. Recall that fricatives and affricates can sometimes vary their point of articulation (i.e., [-ant] and [+ant]) without a salient change in the meaning of the word (e.g., /šquq/ or /squq/ 'salty'; /čašaš/ or /zasas/ 'white').

(195) [sqóksóhɔʔ]	/squ-kuhu-la(ʔ)/	'it was all smoked'
[šqóksóhɔʔ]	/šqu-kuhu-la(ʔ)/	'it was blackened' or 'it 'burned' (as in a skin irritation)
(196) [skúkóhɔʔ]	/sku-kuhu-la(ʔ)/	'it was all smoked'
[ʔkúkóhɔʔ]	/ʔku-kuhu-la(ʔ)/	'it all burned'
(197) [hómpúusukýk]	/hun-puu-sukýk/	'there is a small hole'
[hómpúušukýk]	/hun-puu-šukýk/	'there is a medium hole'
[hómpúuʔukýk]	/hun-puu-ʔukýk/	'there is a big hole'
(198) [spilíʔ]	/spilíʔ/	'spotted (hen, horse, person, or rabbit)'
[ʔpilíʔ]	/ʔpilíʔ/	'spotted (snake)'



- (199) [ɔ́yt staláNqah] /ut staláŋqah-la(ɬ)/ 'it is naked' (like a chicken/plucked)  
 [ɔ́yt štaláNqah] /ut štaláŋqah-la(ɬ)/ 'it is naked' (plucked)  
 [ɔ́yt ɬtaláNqah] /ut ɬtaláŋqah-la(ɬ)/ 's/he is naked'
- (200) [šqáanán] /šqaa-nan/ 's/he breaks, harvests'  
 [ɬqáanán] /ɬqaa-nan/ 's/he plows'
- (201) [staqáɬ] /staqal/ 'flat'  
 [ɬtaqáɬ] /ɬtaqal/ 'flat'
- (202) [stɔqɔ́] /stuqu/ 's/he pokes/darns X'  
 [štɔqɔ́] /štuqu/ 's/he darns/nails X'  
 [ɬtɔqɔ́] /ɬtuqu/ 's/he stirs X'
- (203) [stɔqɔ́n] /stuqu-ni/ 'afternoon'  
 [štɔqɔ́n] /štuqu-ni/ 'needle'  
 [ɬtɔqɔ́n] /ɬtuqu-ni/ 'stirrer, paddle for stirring'
- (204) [pɔ́qɬu] /puqɬu/ 'faded, whitish'  
 [pɔ́qsu] /puqsu/ 'white (person)'
- (205) [stáqnɪ] /staq-ni/ 'green'  
 [stáknɪ] /stak-ni/ 'flower that just bloomed'
- (206) [ɛukúŋku] /ɛukɪŋku/ 'cool'  
 [čukúŋku] /čukɪŋku/ 'cold'
- (207) [ɛuɛú] /ɛuɛu/ 's/he smokes'  
 [čyčú] /čyču/ 's/he sucks'
- (208) [kijksún] /kijik-sun/ 'small, youngster'  
 [kájaksún] /kájak-sun/ 'little, small, short'  
 [kijikčún] /kijik-čun/ 'small, baby'
- (209) [múkɛún] /mukɛun/ 'everyone, all'  
 [múkšún] /mukšun/ 'a few (handful)'  
 [múksún] /muksun/ 'little, few'

## Verb Inflection

The Totonac verb is characterized by a layering of affixes. The innermost affixes are derivational, and create a verb *stem* from a verb *root*. A verb root is a monomorphemic verb, while a verb stem is a derived form consisting of a verb root and derivational morphemes. The most common derivational morphemes are *valence-changing affixes* 'VCA' and body-part prefixes 'BPP'. Complex verbs derived by these affixes interact with the grammar in the same way as any underived item of the same class. Verb derivation is described in detail in chapters 7 and 8.

Totonac verbal inflection indicates categories of tense, aspect, and mood, as well as categories of person. Inflectional affixes are located on the periphery of the verb stem.<sup>1</sup> They can be added to any item of a given word class and are not restricted to individual lexical items.

A distinction is made between verbs and morphological statives. Morphological statives use a subset of the inflectional categories available to verbs and also use some elements of nominal inflection. Verbal inflection is described below; stative inflection is described in chapter 6.

### 5.1. Inflectional Categories

The verbal inflectional affixes in Misantla Totonac distinguish categories of tense, aspect, and mood and the person and number of subjects and objects.

Table 7 schematically represents the interaction of tense, aspect, and mood. The categories described are based on the formal morphological patterning of the affixes. I interpret the aspectual distinction of imperfective vs. perfective as primary. Periphrastic future and progressive constructions are based on the imperfective aspect.

#### 5.1.1. Tense

Tense “has to do with time-relations in so far as these are expressed by systematic grammatical contrasts” (Lyons 1968:304). Tense is the inflectional category that locates in time the situation denoted by the verb. It is a deictic

<sup>1</sup>Exceptions include second person suppletion and laryngealization, which are stem internal. A detailed discussion of second person morphology is found in section 5.4.1.1.

Table 7. Tense-Aspect-Mood

Imperfective / -yaa/		Perfective / -la(ɬ), -ti/	
Realis ∅		Realis ∅	Irrealis /ka- / ~ /ni-/
-past ∅	+past /iʃ- / ~ /ʃtaŋ/	-past ∅	(+past) <sup>a</sup> -past ∅
			+past /iʃ- /
Progressive /aŋ/ <sup>b</sup>			
-past ∅	+past /iʃ- / ~ /ʃtaŋ/		
Future /na(ɬ)/			
-past ∅			

<sup>a</sup> This category exists in all other Totonacan languages, but is not found in Misantla Totonac.

<sup>b</sup> The future and the progressive are periphrastic constructions based on the imperfective aspect that use the independent morphemes /aŋ/ 'go' and /na(ɬ)/ 'FUT' in their formulation.

category which relates the time of that situation to a reference point. In Totonac, the reference point is often the moment of speaking. However, it can also be some other temporal reference point present in the discourse. In this sense, Totonac tenses are relative, not absolute.

There are two tense categories: past and nonpast. In Misantla Totonac, these two categories are distinguished in all aspects and moods except the perfective realis. However, the past/nonpast distinction does exist in the perfective realis in other Totonacan languages. Nonpast forms have a future, present or simultaneous reading in the imperfective aspect, and a completive meaning in the perfective aspect. The past tense always refers to "anteriority of an event to a reference point on the temporal dimension" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:203).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The nonpast perfective realis has a completive meaning, which is often interpreted as occurring in the past, though without referring to a specific past time. I want to stress that this past meaning is the result of the aspect marking on the verb and is not related to a strictly temporal reference.

## Nonpast

## Past

*Imperfective:*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) [kinán ʔikčúulayáa]<br>/kinán ik-čuula-yaa-wa/<br>we 1SUB-make X-IMPV-1SUB.PL<br>'we make X' | (2) [kinán ʔikčúulayáaštán] (YEC) <sup>3</sup><br>/kinán ik-čuula-yaa-wa-štán/<br>we 1SUB-make X-IMPV-1SUB.PL-PAST<br>'we made X (IMPV)' |
|--|--|

*Perfective (Irrealis):*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (3) [ʔút katačóqɔʔ]<br>/ut ka-ta-čuqu-la(ʔ)/<br>s/he IRR-INC-stay-PFV<br>'that s/he remains' | (4) [ʔút káštáčóqɔʔ]<br>/ut ka-iš-ta-čuqu-la(ʔ)/<br>s/he IRR-PAST-INC-stay-PFV<br>'that s/he remained' |
|--|--|

Future time is indicated by a periphrastic construction; the future morpheme /na(ʔ)/ precedes a verb inflected in the imperfective.

- (5) [kinán náh ʔikčúulayáa]  
/kinán na(ʔ) ik-čuula-yaa-wa/  
we FUT 1SUB-make X-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
'we will make X'

## 5.1.2. Aspect

Aspect differs from tense in that it does not locate a situation in time, but rather indicates the "internal temporal constituency of the situation" (Comrie 1976:5). "Aspect characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:213). That is, aspect is meant to characterize a situation that can either change or remain the same over some specific period of time. In Misantra Totonac, there are two aspectual categories: the imperfective and the perfective.

The imperfective indicates habitual, durative, or characteristic situations. Situations referred to by imperfective verbs have an internal temporal structure which can be compartmentalized or interrupted. The imperfective aspect in Misantra Totonac indicates a series of temporal events that create a continuum of activity. These forms can have habitual or durative interpretations.

The progressive and the future are periphrastic constructions which have an imperfective verb as their base. The present and past progressives have an internal temporal structure that can be viewed as a series of phases. The future indicates an incomplete action which can have internal temporal constituency.

<sup>3</sup> In Yecuatla, the past tense marker in the imperfective is a suffixal clitic /štán/ which is added very late in the derivation. In San Marcos, the past tense prefix is a bound prefix /iš-/ which is identical to the past tense marker in other Totonacan languages.

Below are some examples of the imperfective aspect in Misantla Totonac:

*Nonpast**Past*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (6) [kinán wáayanáa]<br>/kinán waa=yan-yaa-wa/<br>we eat-IMPFV-1SUB.PL<br>'we eat' | (7) [kinán wáayanáaštán] (YEC)<br>/kinán waa=yan-yaa-wa-štán/<br>we eat-IMPFV-1SUB.PL-PAST<br>'we ate (IMPFV)' |
|--|--|

*Future:*

- (8) [kinán náh wáayanáa]  
/kinán na(†) waa=yan-yaa-wa/  
we FUT eat-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
'we will eat'

*Progressive:**Nonpast**Past*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (9) [kinán ʔán wáayanáa] (YEC)<br>/kinán an waa=yan-yaa-wa/<br>we go eat-IMPFV-1SUB.PL<br>'we are eating' | (10) [kinán ʔán wáayanáaštán] (YEC)<br>/kinán an waa=yan-yaa-wa-štán/<br>we go eat-IMPFV-1SUB.PL-PAST<br>'we were eating' |
|---|---|

The perfective describes “a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (Comrie 1976:16). The perfective generally denotes a single unanalyzable event with no reference to internal temporal constituency. In Misantla Totonac, the forms based on the perfective are (a) the nonpast realis, which refers to a completed event that cannot be broken down into constituent temporal parts; and (b) the nonpast and past irrealis, which include the imperative and the counterfactual.

*Realis:**Irrealis:**Irrealis:*

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| (11) <i>Nonpast</i><br>[ʔút wáaya†]<br>/ut waa=yan-la(†)/<br>s/he eat-PFV<br>'s/he ate' | (12) <i>Nonpast</i><br>[kawáaya†]<br>/ka-waa=yan-la(†)/<br>IRR-eat-PFV<br>'that s/he eats'<br>'that s/he would eat' | (13) <i>Past</i><br>[kášwáaya†]<br>/ka-iš-waa=yan-la(†)/<br>IRR-PAST-eat-PFV<br>'that s/he ate'<br>'that s/he would have eaten' |
|---|---|---|

**5.1.3. Mood**

There are two categories of mood in Misantla Totonac: the realis (unmarked) and the irrealis (marked). Mood characterizes the difference between

actual or realized events (realis mood) and nonrealized/nonactual events (irrealis mood). The realis indicates an event that has been, is, or will be realized and is generally equivalent to the indicative. It can occur in any aspect. The realis can appear in main clauses and in subordinate clauses.

Watters (1986, 1988) first proposed that the prefix /ka-/ indicated a mood distinction rather than a tense distinction. I follow him in calling this mood “irrealis.” The irrealis mood indicates unrealized or counterfactual events often described as subjunctive, conditional, or hypothetical. In Misantla Totonac, the irrealis generally appears in subordinate clauses in contexts similar to what is often called the “subjunctive” in Indo-European languages. Depending on context, the nonpast irrealis can be translated into English using simple present, subjunctive, or conditional (would), and the past irrealis can be translated using the simple past or past conditional (would have). The irrealis in main clauses constitutes the imperative or the conditional. The irrealis is restricted to the perfective aspect.

*Imperative/Nonpast irrealis:*

- (14) [kallíɛúk kačáʔkaatnə]  
 /ka-líi-ɛuku-ti ka-ɛʔkaat-nan-ti/  
 IRR-INS-begin-2PFV IRR-work-I.O.-2PFV  
 ‘begin working!, that you begin working’

*Nonpast irrealis:*

- (15) [číníkləqén níkmáqskínín hónkúčiʔ]  
 /čín-ni-ik-ləqan-la(ʔ)-na ni-ik-maq-skínii-la(ʔ)-na hun-kučiʔ/  
 if-1IRR-1SUB-see X-PFV-2OBJ 1IRR-1SUB-CAUS-ask for  
 X-PFV-2OBJ DET-knife  
 ‘if I were to see you, I would ask you for the knife’

*Past irrealis:*

- (16) [číníksləqɛʔ níksmáqskíniiʔ hónkúčiʔ]  
 /čín-ni-ik-iš-ləqan-la(ʔ) ni-ik-iš-maq-skínii-la(ʔ) hun-kučiʔ/  
 if-1IRR-1SUB-PAST-see X-PFV 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-CAUS-ask for  
 X-PFV DET-knife  
 ‘if I had seen X, I would have asked X for the knife’

#### 5.1.4. Person Marking

The Totonac verb obligatorily agrees in person and number with its subject. The object is also indicated by verbal inflection. Objects are obligatorily marked on the verb when there is no overt object noun phrase and optionally marked when there is one. The subject and object person categories are first,

second, and third person, singular and plural, the indefinite subject, and the reflexive.

Indicating objects, singular person marking generally involves only one inflectional affix, while plural marking of the first and second person requires a combination of the singular affix with at least one other affix. The third person plural object is indicated by a single prefix. There is no specifically “plural” morpheme that indicates plural persons. However, certain combinations of object affixes indicate plurality. In the example below, it is the combination of /kin-/ ‘1OBJ’ and /-na/ ‘2OBJ’ that marks ‘us,’ first person plural object ‘1OBJ.PL’.

- (17) [ʔút kíñčúulanyáan čá]  
 /ut kin-čuula-ni-yaa-na ča/  
 s/he 1OBJ-make X-+OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ tortilla  
 ‘s/he makes us tortillas’

## 5.2. Inflectional Morphology

The grammatical processes involved in verbal inflection in Totonac include affixation, suppletion, and cliticization.

Inflection occurs on the verb stem, and allomorphic variation is determined by the phonological makeup of the stem. There are three types of regular verb stems: (a) nasal-final stems, (b) vowel-final stems, and (c) consonant-final stems.

The following verbs represent the three classes: /čān/ ‘sow or plant X’, /stāā/ ‘sell X’, /paš/ ‘bathe.’ They will illustrate tense and aspect marking in the following sections. Other examples of the three verb classes are:

### (a) Nasal-final:

- |      |          |              |
|------|----------|--------------|
| (18) | /tíhwan/ | ‘look for X’ |
|      | /wan/    | ‘say X’      |
|      | /laqān/  | ‘see X’      |
|      | /ān/     | ‘go’         |
|      | /min/    | ‘come’       |
|      | /qaʔan/  | ‘steal X’    |
|      | /suqun/  | ‘like X’     |
|      | /ziyān/  | ‘laugh’      |
|      | /maqān/  | ‘throw X’    |
|      | /sapuun/ | ‘move’       |
|      | /skīn/   | ‘want X’     |

(b) *Vowel-final:*

(19)	/kaḡii/	‘know X’
	/iṣki/	‘give X to Y’
	/kaḡa/	‘cut X’
	/nii/	‘die’
	/ta-nuu/	‘enter’
	/ta-štu/	‘leave’
	/ijwa/	‘buy X’
	/ta-paha=nuu/	‘pass (by) X, cross X’
	/čuula/	‘do or make X’
	/šqaa/	‘break X’
	/qawa/	‘speak, talk’
	/ti/	‘dance’
	/štuqu/	‘sew, darn X’
	/ṫtuqu/	‘stir X’
	/ṫtata/	‘sleep’
	/ɛuku/	‘begin’
	/čaqa/	‘wash X’
	/čuču/	‘toast X’
	/puu-ṫkaa/	‘weigh X’
	/čapa/	‘grab X’

(c) *Consonant-final:*

(20)	/paa=stak/	‘remember X’
	/ɛuq/	‘write X’
	/paa=ɛijs/	‘forget X’
	/ɛas/	‘lift X’
	/ta-maqa=stuq/ <sup>4</sup>	‘marry’
	/ɛuqs/	‘kiss X’
	/qašmat/	‘hear X’
	/wah/	‘bark’
	/yuh/	‘fall’
	/stah/	‘get wet’
	/čuh(u)/ <sup>5</sup>	‘spit’

Person inflection will be described in detail in section 5.4, but a brief outline of subject inflection is presented here to facilitate understanding of the

<sup>4</sup> Final /a/-deletion is still optional in this case and the underlying form is sometimes /ta-maqa-stuq(a)-/ ‘to marry’. See section 4.1.1 for a description of verb-final /a/-deletion.

<sup>5</sup> /čuh(u)/ can be inflected either as vowel final or as /h/ final (e.g., [ʔýt čšhnán] and [ʔýt čšhnán] ‘s/he spits’).



examples given below. (See Table 8.) Independent subject pronouns are *not* obligatory in Totonac, but have been listed in almost all examples to clarify the paradigms. In the following examples, the independent pronouns have generally been presented as separate words. However, these independent pronouns can optionally be made part of the phonological word. When they are part of the word, they are affected by word-internal phonological processes, such as assimilation (3.4.2), vowel coalescence (4.3.1.2), and stress assignment (3.6.2). Subject inflection is obligatory.

Table 8. Subject Inflection

[ɔ̃ik-]	/ik-/	1SUB
[ _ -ɔ̃]	/ _ -ɔ̃/ <sup>a</sup>	2SUB
∅		3SUB
[(ɔ̃ik-)...-wa]	/((ik-)...-wa/ <sup>b</sup>	1SUB.PL
[ _ -tat]	/ _ -tat/	2SUB.PL
[ta-]	/ta-/	3SUB.PL
[-kan]	/-kan/	Indefinite Subject (I.S.)

<sup>a</sup>The implementation of laryngealization as an indicator of a second person subject is rather complex. See section 5.4.1.1.2 for full discussion of morphological laryngealization. I will use the notation 'CG' (constricted glottis) to designate second person laryngealization.

<sup>b</sup>To designate first person plural subject, the prefix /ik-/ is used optionally and the suffix /-wa/ occurs overtly only in the San Marcos variant of Misantla Totonac.

### 5.2.1. Morpheme Order

The order of the inflectional morphemes in the Totonac verb is set out in Table 9. Morphemes listed in the same column do not co-occur.

Table 9. Inflectional Affixes

<i>Prefixes</i>					
IRR-	1SUB-	PAST-	3SUB.PL-	3OBJ.PL-	-STEM-
ka/ni-	ik-	iš-	ta-	laa-	
	1OBJ-		2OBJ.PL-		
	kin-		taa-		
<i>Suffixes</i>					
STEM-	I.S./REFL	IMPV	1SUB.PL	2SUB.PL	PAST
	-kan	-yaa	-wa	-tat	št̃an
			PFV	2OBJ	
			-la(ɬ)/-ti	-na	

## 5.2.2. Cliticization and Affixation

In Misantla Totonac, there are two very productive clitics: the past tense morpheme /ʃtaŋ/ 'PAST' and /-ču/ 'already.' These clitics always occur at the edge of a word. They can attach to any word—verbs, nominals, statives, or particles. They are independently stressed and are added after word stress has been assigned.<sup>6</sup>

/ʃtaŋ/ 'PAST' is the past tense marker in Yecuatla. It only occurs at the end of a word. It can be added to verbs, statives, or nominals, and is always stressed. It does not affect the normal stress pattern of the word.

- (21) [ʔút zukuʃtaŋ] /ut zuku-ʃtaŋ/ 's/he began (IMPFV)'
- (22) [ʒéħniʃtaŋ] /ʒih-ni-ʃtaŋ/ 'X was red'
- (23) [qáčuʃtaŋ] /qat-ču-ʃtaŋ/ 'X was big'
- (24) [Pifányuʃtaŋ] /Pifanyu-ʃtaŋ/ 'the late Epifanio'
- (25) [hónakačik láatíiʃtaŋ kristyanúhna]  
/hun-naka-čik laa-tii-ʃtaŋ kristyanuh-na/  
DET-PREP-house NEG-who-PAST people-PL  
'in the house there were no people'

/-ču/ 'CL, already' occurs at the end of a word. Although /-ču/ does not affect morphophonemic processes, it does trigger phonological processes, such as nasal assimilation (3.4.2.3) and simplification (3.4.1). /-ču/ does not always have transparent semantic content, and seems to be primarily a marker of the end of a word or phrase. It is unstressed word internally and stressed word finally and phrase finally.

- (26) [ʔút náhcú zuku]  
/ut na(ʔ)-ču zuku/  
s/he FUT-CL begin  
's/he will begin'
- (27) [ʔút náhcúzuku]  
/ut na(ʔ)-ču-zuku/  
s/he FUT-CL-begin  
's/he will begin'

<sup>6</sup> The domain of primary stress in Misantla Totonac is the constituent made up of stem and affixes (without clitics).

- (28) [mátčú waní]  
 /mat-ču wan-ni/  
 thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 'thus s/he says X to her/him'
- (29) [púuskuyúhčú]  
 /puu-sku-yan-ču/  
 inner rel.-smoke-I.O.-CL  
 'it is already smoked'

There are two verbal affixes which are added late in word formation; as a result, they do not undergo all of the morphophonemic and phonological processes.

1. /ik-/ '1SUB'—The distribution of /ik-/ and its interaction with morphological and phonological rules indicates that it is added late in the word formation.

a. /ik-/ does not occupy the same position as other subject prefixes. /ik-/ precedes /iš-/ 'PAST', while /ta-/ '3SUB.PL', the other subject prefix, follows /iš-/ 'PAST'.

- (30) [kít níkslájqɛʔ]  
 /kit ni-ik-iš-láqan-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-see X-PFV  
 'that I would see X'
- (31) [ʔutún káštálájqɛʔ]  
 /utun ka-iš-ta-láqan-la(ʔ)/  
 they IRR-PAST-3SUB.PL-see X-PFV  
 'that they would see X'

b. /ik-/ '1SUB' precedes the desiderative /saa-/ 'DES', in contrast to the other subject prefix, /ta-/ '3SUB.PL', which follows it.

- (32) [kít ʔ[ksáawáayán] /ik-saa-waa-yan/ 'I want to eat'  
 [ʔutún sáatapúuʔkáa] /saa-ta-puu-ʔkaa/ 'they want to weigh X'

c. Primary stress assignment precedes the affixation of /ik-/. Recall that word-final perfective suffixes are extrametrical and stress falls on the penultimate syllable (3.6.2). When the verb is monosyllabic and there is no penultimate syllable, stress falls on the final (and only) syllable. When /ik-/ is prefixed to a monosyllabic verb it is not stressed even though it constitutes the penultimate syllable.

- (33) [kít ʔ{kstáaʔ}]  
 /kit ik-stáa-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 'I sold X'
- \*[kít ʔ{kstáaʔ}]  
 /kit ik-stáa-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 'I sold X'

This pattern contrasts with other prefixes, like /ta-/ '3SUB.PL'.

- (34) [ʔutún rástáaʔ]  
 /utun ta-stáa-la(ʔ)/  
 they 3SUB.PL-sell X-PFV  
 'they sold X'

2. /ka-/ 'IRR' is also added late in the derivation, in fact, it precedes /ik-/ '1SUB'. Like /ik-/, irrealis /ka-/ 'IRR' does not receive primary stress when in penultimate position.

- (35) [ʔút kástáaʔ]  
 \*[ʔút kástáaʔ]  
 /ut ka-stáa-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he IRR-sell X-PFV  
 'that s/he sells X'
- (36) [wíʃ kástáat]  
 /wíʃ ka-stáa-ti/  
 you IRR-sell X-PFV  
 'sell X!'

### 5.3. Aspect/Tense/Mood

As stated earlier, in Misantla Totonac there are two aspectual categories, imperfective and perfective. Either aspect can occur on any verb.

#### 5.3.1. Imperfective

The imperfective aspect marker is the suffix /-yaa/, which only appears word medially. Since it occurs only when followed by a suffix, in the basic subject/verb paradigm the imperfective aspect marker appears only with first and

second person plural subjects. In the first person plural, there is no overt suffix on the surface. However, the underlying 1SUB.PL person marker /-wa/ licenses the appearance of the imperfective aspect marker.

[-yaa] alternates systematically with [-aa] as the surface form of the imperfective suffix. The morphophonemic rule responsible for the alternation is described in section 4.3.3.1. Generally, the rule is the following:

(37) /-yaa/ → [aa] / C]<sub>stem</sub> \_\_\_\_]<sub>IMPFV</sub>

The distribution of the imperfective suffix when only the subject is indicated on the verb is the following:

(38) 1sg.  
2sg.  
3sg.  
1pl.        -yaa<sup>7</sup>  
2pl.        -yaa  
3pl.

/-yaa/ only surfaces word medially. Therefore, it also appears when followed by the second person object suffix /-na/ '2OBJ'.<sup>8</sup>

(39) [ɔ́yt kintɛ́hwanáan]  
/ut kin-tɛ́hwan-yaa-na/  
s/he 1OBJ-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
's/he looks for us'

<sup>7</sup>Other Totonacan languages have the imperfective suffix /-ya/ 'IMPFV' surfacing in all persons. While it is probable that, historically, Misantra Totonac had a similar distribution of this suffix, in order to posit an underlying morpheme /-ya/ for all persons in a synchronic grammar, the following rules are needed to account for its appearance in only the first and second person plural:

- (a) ya → y / ]<sub>stem</sub> \_\_\_\_#  
(b) y → Ø/ \_\_\_\_ by erasure of unsyllabified final consonants  
(c) ya → yaa/ \_\_\_\_C

Given the complexity of these rules I have opted for an analysis that includes only the constraint that the suffix appear word medially.

<sup>8</sup>There is one case in which the IMPFV marker /-yaa/ appears word finally: when a second person singular subject takes a first person plural object. In spite of the fact that there is no suffix and the imperfective aspect marker is word-final, /-yaa/ nevertheless appears:

[wɨ́ʃ kiláalaqɛ́náa]  
/wɨ́ʃ kin-laa-laqan-yaa/  
you 1OBJ-3OBJ.PL-see X-IMPFV  
'you see us'

This exception is discussed in more detail in section 5.4.2.4 on object inflection.

## 5.3.1.1. Nonpast Imperfective

The nonpast imperfective consists only of the imperfective marking and person inflection.

## a. /č̣an/ ‘sow X’

(40)	[kít ɤ̣kč̣án]	/kit ik-č̣an/ I 1SUB-sow X	‘I sow X’
	[wĩš č̣án]	/wĩš č̣an/ you sow X-CG	‘you sow X’
	[ɤ̣út č̣án]	/ut č̣an/ s/he sow X	‘s/he sows X’
	[kinán ɤ̣kč̣ánaá]	/kinán ik-č̣an-yaa-wa/ we 1SUB-sow X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL	‘we sow X’
	[wĩšin č̣ánaáat]	/wĩšin č̣an-yaa-tat/ y'all sow X-CG-IMPFV-2SUB.PL	‘y'all sow X’
	[ɤ̣utún teč̣án]	/utun ta-č̣an/ they 3SUB.PL-sow X	‘they sow X’

## b. /staa/ ‘sell X’

(41)	[kít ɤ̣kstáa]	/kit ik-staa/ I 1SUB-sell X	‘I sell X’
	[wĩš stáa]	/wĩš staa/ you sell X-CG	‘you sell X’
	[ɤ̣út stáa]	/ut staa/ s/he sell X	‘s/he sells X’
	[kinán ɤ̣kstáayáa]	/kinán ik-staa-yaa-wa/ we 1SUB-sell X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL	‘we sell X’
	[wĩšin stáayáat]	/wĩšin staa-yaa-tat/ y'all sell X-CG-IMPFV-2SUB.PL	‘y'all sell X’
	[ɤ̣utún tástáa]	/utun ta-staa/ they 3SUB.PL-sell X	‘they sell X’

## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

(42)	[kít ʔ[kpáš]	/kit-ik-paš/ I 1SUB-bathe	'I bathe'
	[wíš páš]	/wiš paš/ you bathe-CG	'you bathe'
	[ʔút páš]	/ut paš/ s/he bathe	's/he bathes'
	[kinán ʔ[kpašáa] <sup>9</sup>	/kinan ik-paš-yaa-wa/ we 1SUB-bathe-IMPFV-1SUB.PL	'we bathe'
	[wišín pašáatat]	/wišin paš-yaa-tat/ y'all bathe-CG-IMPFV-2SUB.PL	'y'all bathe'
	[ʔutún tapáš]	/utun ta-paš/ they 3SUB.PL-bathe	'they bathe'

## 5.3.1.2. Past Imperfective

The past imperfective is formed by adding the past tense marker to a verb stem inflected for imperfective aspect.

## 5.3.1.2.1. San Marcos Atexquilapan

In San Marcos Atexquilapan /iš-/ 'PAST' is the past tense marker and can occur in both aspects. /iš-/ follows the first person subject marker /ik-/ and precedes the third person plural subject marker /ta-/. The past tense marker /iš-/ is found in all the Totonacan languages.

## a. /čan/ 'sow X'

(43)	[kít ʔ[kšččňj]ú] <sup>10</sup>		
	/kit ik-iš-čan-ču/		
	I 1SUB-PAST-sow X-CL		
	'I was sowing X'		

<sup>9</sup> In Yecuatla, underlyingly, the verb 'bathe' can be either /paš/ or /paša/. Verb-final /a/-deletion (4.1.1) has not been completed as a diachronic change and the verb stem can be treated as either vowel or consonant final. As a result, either variant of the imperfective morpheme can be used (i.e., either [-yaa] or [-aa]: e.g., [kinán ʔ[kpášyáa] and [wišín pášyáatat]).

<sup>10</sup> Subject pronouns can optionally be incorporated into the phonological word. In the following examples, I have chosen to include forms where such incorporation has occurred because the phonological processes that apply are readily apparent and may be of interest to the reader.

[wĩščĕňjú]	/wĩš-iš-čĕn-ču/	'you were sowing X'
[ʔútščĕňjú]	/ut-iš-čĕn-ču/	's/he were sowing X'
[kināňščĕnāačú]	/kinān-iš-čĕn-yaa-wa-ču/	'we were sowing X'
[wĩšĩňščĕnāatačú]	/wĩšin-iš-čĕn-yaa-tat-ču/	'y'all were sowing X'
[ʔutúňštačĕňjú]	/utun-iš-ta-čĕn-ču/	'they were sowing X'

## b. /staḡ/ 'sell X'

- (44) [kít ʔikšístáḡčú]  
/kit ik-iš-staḡ-ču/  
I 1SUB-PAST-sell X-CL  
'I was selling X'

[wĩšístáḡčú]	/wĩš iš-staḡ-ču/	'you were selling X'
[ʔútšístáḡčú]	/ut iš-staḡ-ču/	's/he was selling X'
[kināňšístáḡyaačú]	/kinān-iš-staḡ-yaa-wa-ču/	'we were selling X'
[wĩšĩňšístáḡyāatačú]	/wĩšin-iš-staa-yaa-tat-ču/	'y'all were selling X'
[ʔutúňstastáḡčú]	/utun-iš-ta-staḡ-ču/	'they were selling X'

## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (45) [kít ʔikšpóščú]  
/kit ik-iš-paš-ču/  
I 1SUB-PAST-bathe-CL  
'I was bathing'

[wĩšĩšpóščú]	/wĩš-iš-paš-ču/	'you were bathing'
[ʔútšpóščú]	/ut-iš-paš-ču/	's/he was bathing'
[kināňšpašáačú]	/kinān-iš-paš-yaa-wa-ču/	'we were bathing'
[wĩšĩňšpašáatačú]	/wĩšin-iš-paš-yaa-tat-ču/	'y'all were bathing'
[ʔutúňštapéščú]	/utun-iš-ta-paš-ču/	'they were bathing'

## 5.3.1.2.2. Yecuatla

In Yecuatla, the past imperfective is indicated not by prefixation of /iš-/, but by the suffixation of the clitic /štān/ 'PAST'. No other Totonacan language marks past tense in this way. Recall that /štān/ is a clitic and can be added to verbs, statives, particles, or nominals.

- (46) [Sebástyaňštān]  
/Sebastyān-štān/  
Sebastian-PAST  
'the late Sebastian'



- (47) [ʔút ʔéʔništán]  
 /ut ʔih-ni-štán/  
 s/he/it yellow-NOM-PAST  
 'it was yellow'

Unlike the other Totonac languages that have one past marker which appears in all aspects, in Yecuatla, /štán/ occurs primarily in the imperfective and is not normally found in the perfective aspect.<sup>11</sup> In the perfective the pan-Totonacan past tense marker /iš-/ 'PAST' occurs.

Since the clitic /štán/ 'PAST' follows the imperfective marker /-yaa/, it places the imperfective marker in word-medial position, a position in which /-yaa/ should surface. However, /-yaa/ only appears in the first and second persons plural, just as in the nonpast imperfective. This pattern further motivates the analysis of /štán/ as a clitic added at the word level, since otherwise its suffixation would license the appearance of /-yaa/ throughout the paradigm.

- (48) \*[ʔút čanáaštán]  
 /ut čan-yaa-štán/  
 s/he sow X-IMPFV-PAST  
 's/he sowed X'

The clitic /štán/ 'PAST' is inherently stressed and does not affect primary stress assignment. Thus, primary stress is assigned prior to the cliticization of /štán/.

a. /čán/ 'sow X'

- (49) [kít ʔ[kčánštán]  
 /kit ik-čan-štán/  
 I 1SUB-sow X-PAST  
 'I was sowing X'

[wiš čánštán]	/wiš čan-štán/	'you were sowing X'
[ʔút čánštán]	/ut čan-štán/	's/he were sowing X'
[kinán čanáaštán]	/čan-yaa-wa-štán/ <sup>12</sup>	'we were sowing X'
[wišin čanáataštán]	/čan-yaa-tat-štán/	'y'all were sowing X'
[ʔutún tečánštán]	/utun ta-čan-štán/	'they were sowing X'

<sup>11</sup> However, note that /štán/ can appear on stative verbs, which inflect using perfective morphology: [ʔút wiłáštán] /ut wiła-la(ʔ)-štán/ 's/he was seated' (6.2).

<sup>12</sup> As mentioned earlier, independent subject pronouns are not obligatory. They are sometimes omitted in the morphemic breakdown because of lack of space. No significance should be attached to their absence.

## b. /staʔ/ 'sell X'

- (50) [kít ʔ[kstáʔstán]  
 /kit ik-staʔ-štán/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-PAST  
 'I was selling X'

[wíʃ stáʔstán]	/wíʃ staʔ-štán/	'you were selling X'
[ʔút stáʔstán]	/ut staʔ-štán/	's/he was selling X'
[kinán stáʔyáastán]	/staʔ-yaa-wa-štán/	'we were selling X'
[wíʃín stáʔyáatastán]	/staʔ-yaa-tat-štán/	'y'all were selling X'
[ʔutún tástáʔstán]	/utun ta-staʔ-štán/	'they were selling X'

## c. /paʃ/ 'bathe'

- (51) [kít ʔ[kpástán]  
 /kit ik-paʃ-štán/  
 I 1SUB-bathe-PAST  
 'I was bathing'

[wíʃ pástán]	/wíʃ paʃ-štán/	'you were bathing'
[ʔút pástán]	/ut paʃ-štán/	's/he was bathing'
[kinán paʃáastán]	/paʃ-yaa-wa-štán/	'we were bathing'
[wíʃín paʃáatastán]	/paʃ-yaa-tat-štán/	'y'all were bathing'
[ʔutún tapástán]	/utun ta-paʃ-štán/	'they were bathing'

## 5.3.1.3. Periphrastic Constructions Based on the Imperfective

## 5.3.1.3.1. Future

The future morpheme /na(ʔ)/ is a free morpheme and combines with the nonpast imperfective paradigm to designate the future. Evidence for its status as an independent morpheme is (a) that /na(ʔ)/ precedes all subject and object inflection and (b) that /na(ʔ)/ can optionally be separated from the verb by the clitic /-ču/ 'already,' which attaches at the word level (5.2.2).

- (52) [kít náhčú ʔ[kčán]  
 /kit na(ʔ)-ču ik-čán/  
 I will-CL 1SUB-sow X  
 'I will sow X'

The future marker varies slightly within Misantla Totonac: in San Marcos it is [na], while in Yecuatla it is [naʔ]. The future marker may be incorporated

into the verb, and in these cases it is affected by the rules of vowel coalescence described in section 4.3.1.2.1. In San Marcos, /na(ɸ)/ 'FUT' + /ik-/ '1SUB' -> [nik-]. In Yecuatla, vowel coalescence in the first person usually results in [nak-], although [nik-] is also acceptable.

*San Marcos Atexquilapan**Yecuatla*

- |      |  |      |  |
|------|--|------|--|
| (53) | [kít níkčǎn]<br>/kít na(ɸ)-ik-čǎn/<br>I FUT-1SUB-sow X<br>'I will sow X' | (54) | [kít nákčǎn, kít níkčǎn]<br>/kít na(ɸ)-ik-čǎn/<br>I FUT-1SUB-sow X<br>'I will sow X' |
|------|--|------|--|

## 5.3.1.3.1.1. San Marcos Atexquilapan

## a. /čǎn/ 'sow X'

- (55) [kít níkčǎhjú]  
/kít na(ɸ)-ik-čǎn-čú/  
I FUT-1SUB-sow X-CL  
'I will sow X'

[wíš načǎhjú]	/wíš na(ɸ)-čǎn-čú/	'you will sow X'
[ɖút načǎhjú]	/ut na(ɸ)-čǎn-čú/	's/he will sow X'
[kinǎn načǎháačú]	/na(ɸ)-čǎn-yaa-wa-čú/	'we will sow X'
[wíšín načǎháatačú]	/na(ɸ)-čǎn-yaa-tat-čú/	'y'all will sow X'
[ɖútún natečǎhjú]	/utun na(ɸ)-ta-čǎn-čú/	'they will sow X'

## b. /stǎǎ/ 'sell X'

- (56) [kít níkstǎǎčú]  
/kít na(ɸ)-ik-stǎǎ-čú/  
I FUT-1SUB-sell X-CL  
'I will sell X'

[wíš nástǎǎčú]	/wíš na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-čú/	'you will sell X'
[ɖút nástǎǎčú]	/ut na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-čú/	's/he will sell X'
[kinǎn nástǎǎyáačú]	/na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-yaa-wa-čú/	'we will sell X'
[wíšín nástǎǎyáatačú]	/na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-yaa-tat-čú/	'y'all will sell X'
[ɖútún natástǎǎčú]	/utun na(ɸ)-ta-stǎǎ-čú/	'they will sell X'

## c. /paš/ ‘bathe’

- (57) [kít níkpáščú]  
/kit na(ɸ)-ik-paš-ču/  
I FUT-1SUB-bathe-CL  
‘I will bathe’

[wǐš napáščú]	/wǐš na(ɸ)-paš-ču/	‘you will bathe’
[ɣút napáščú]	/ut na(ɸ)-paš-ču/	‘s/he will bathe’
[kinán napáščú]	/na(ɸ)-paš-yaa-wa-ču/	‘we will bathe’
[wǐšín napáščú]	/na(ɸ)-paš-yaa-tat-ču/	‘y’all will bathe’
[ɣútún natapáščú]	/utun na(ɸ)-ta-paš-ču/	‘they will bathe’

## 5.3.1.3.1.2. Yecuatla

## a. /čǎn/ ‘sow X’

- (58) [kít nákcǎn, kít níkcǎn]  
/kit na(ɸ)-ik-čǎn/  
I FUT-1SUB-sow X  
‘I will sow X’

[wǐš náhcǎn]	/wǐš na(ɸ)-čǎn/	‘you will sow X’
[ɣút náhcǎn]	/ut na(ɸ)-čǎn/	‘s/he will sow X’
[kinán náhcǎn]	/na(ɸ)-čǎn-yaa-wa/	‘we will sow X’
[wǐšín náhcǎntat]	/na(ɸ)-čǎn-yaa-tat/	‘y’all will sow X’
[ɣútún náhtcǎn]	/utun na(ɸ)-ta-čǎn/	‘they will sow X’

## b. /stǎǎ/ ‘sell X’

- (59) [kít nákstǎǎ, kít níkstǎǎ]  
/kit na(ɸ)-ik-stǎǎ/  
I FUT-1SUB-sell X  
‘I will sell X’

[wǐš náhstǎǎ]	/wǐš na(ɸ)-stǎǎ/	‘you will sell X’
[ɣút náhstǎǎ]	/ut na(ɸ)-stǎǎ/	‘s/he will sell X’
[kinán náhstǎǎ]	/na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-yaa-wa/	‘we will sell X’
[wǐšín náhstǎǎtat]	/na(ɸ)-stǎǎ-yaa-tat/	‘y’all will sell X’
[ɣútún náhtstǎǎ]	/utun na(ɸ)-ta-stǎǎ/	‘they will sell X’

## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (60) [kít nákpáš, kít níkpáš]  
 /kit na(ʔ)-ik-paš/  
 I FUT-1SUB-bathe  
 'I will bathe'

[wíʃ náhpáš]	/wíʃ na(ʔ)-paš/	'you will bathe'
[ɔ́út náhpáš]	/ut na(ʔ)-paš/	's/he will bathe'
[kinán náhpášáa]	/na(ʔ)-paš-yaa-wa/	'we will bathe'
[wíʃín náhpášáatat]	/na(ʔ)-paš-yaa-tat/	'y'all will bathe'
[ɔ́utún náhtapáš]	/utun na(ʔ)-ta-paš/	'they will bathe'

## 5.3.1.3.2. Progressive

In San Marcos Atexquilapan and Yecuatla, the progressive is a periphrastic construction. In Yecuatla, it is formed by the uninflected form of the verb /an/ 'go' followed by an inflected main verb in the imperfective aspect. In San Marcos, the form is /tʌn/ rather than /an/. This progressive form, /tʌn/, also occurs optionally in Yecuatla, but not as frequently.

*San Marcos Atexquilapan**Yecuatla*

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| (61) [ɔ́út tʌn púuʔkaa]      | (62) [ɔ́út ʌn púuʔkaa, ɔ́út tʌn púuʔkaa] |
| /ut tʌn puu-ʔkaa/            | /ut ʌn puu-ʔkaa/                         |
| s/he go inner rel.-measure X | s/he go inner rel.-measure X             |
| 's/he is weighing X'         | 's/he is weighing X'                     |

The independent morpheme /(t)ʌn/ can be incorporated into the main verb. In that case, it is subject to word-level phonological rules. The clearest evidence of this is the application of nasal assimilation rules:

- |                        |                  |                      |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| (63) [ɔ́út ʌn púuʔkaa] | /ut ʌn puu-ʔkaa/ | 's/he is weighing X' |
| [ɔ́út ʌmpúuʔkaa]       | /ut ʌn-puu-ʔkaa/ | 's/he is weighing X' |

## 5.3.1.3.2.1. Nonpast Progressive

## 5.3.1.3.2.1.1. San Marcos Atexquilapan

## a. /č̣an/ 'sow X'

- (64) [kít ṭan ʔ[kč̣án]  
/kit ṭan ik-č̣an/  
I go 1SUB-sow X  
'I am sowing X'

[wĩš ṭánč̣án]	/wĩš ṭan-č̣an/	'you are sowing X'
[ʔút ṭánč̣án]	/ut ṭan-č̣an/	's/he is sowing X'
[kinán ṭan ʔ[kč̣anáa]	/ṭan ik-č̣an-yaa-wa/	'we are sowing X'
[wĩšin ṭánč̣anáaṭat]	/ṭan-č̣an-yaa-tat/	'y'all are sowing X'
[ʔútún ṭántēč̣án]	/utun ṭan-ta-č̣an/	'they are sowing X'

## b. /sṭaa/ 'sell X'

- (65) [kít ṭan ʔ[ksṭáa]  
/kit ṭan ik-sṭaa/  
I go 1SUB-sell X  
'I am selling X'

[wĩš ṭánsṭáa]	/wĩš ṭan-sṭaa/	'you are selling X'
[ʔút ṭánsṭáa]	/ut ṭan-sṭaa/	's/he is selling X'
[kinán ṭánksṭáyáa]	/ṭan-ik-sṭaa-yaa-wa/	'we are selling X'
[wĩšin ṭánsṭáyáaṭat]	/ṭan-sṭaa-yaa-tat/	'y'all are selling X'
[ʔútún ṭántásṭáa]	/utun ṭan-ta-sṭaa/	'they are selling X'

## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (66) [kít ṭan ʔ[kpáš]  
/kit ṭan ik-páš/  
I go 1SUB-bathe  
'I am bathing'

[wĩš ṭámpáš]	/wĩš ṭan-páš/	'you are bathing'
[ʔút ṭámpáš]	/ut ṭan-páš/	's/he is bathing'
[kinán ṭánkpášáa]	/ṭan-ik-páš-yaa-wa/	'we are bathing'
[wĩšin ṭámpášáaṭat]	/ṭan-páš-yaa-tat/	'y'all are bathing'
[ʔútún ṭántapáš]	/utun ṭan-ta-páš/	'they are bathing'

## 5.3.1.3.2.1.2. Yecuatla

## a. /č̣an/ ‘sow X’

- (67) [kít ʔán ʔikč̣án]  
 /kit ʔn ik-č̣an/  
 I go 1SUB-sow X  
 ‘I am sowing X’

[wiš ʔáñč̣án]	/wiš ʔn-č̣an/	‘you are sowing X’
[ʔút ʔáñč̣án]	/ut ʔn-č̣an/	‘s/he is sowing X’
[kinán ʔán ʔikč̣anáa]	/ʔn ik-č̣an-yaa-wa/	‘we are sowing X’
[wišín ʔáñč̣anáat]	/ʔn-č̣an-yaa-tat/	‘y’all are sowing X’
[ʔutún ʔántéč̣án]	/utun ʔn-ta-č̣an/	‘they are sowing X’

## b. /staa/ ‘sell X’

- (68) [kít ʔán ʔikstaa]  
 /kit ʔn ik-staa/  
 I go 1SUB-sell X  
 ‘I am selling X’

[wiš ʔánstaa]	/wiš ʔn-staa/	‘you are selling X’
[ʔút ʔánstaa]	/ut ʔn-staa/	‘s/he is selling X’
[kinán ʔán ʔikstaaáa]	/ʔn ik-staa-yaa-wa/	‘we are selling X’
[wišín ʔánstaaáat]	/ʔn-staa-yaa-tat/	‘y’all are selling X’
[ʔutún ʔántéstaa]	/utun ʔn-ta-staa/	‘they are selling X’

## c. /paš/ ‘bathe’

- (69) [kít ʔán ʔikpaš]  
 /kit ʔn ik-paš/  
 I go 1SUB-bathe  
 ‘I am bathing’

[wiš ʔámpaš]	/wiš ʔn-paš/	‘you are bathing’
[ʔút ʔámpaš]	/ut ʔn-paš/	‘s/he is bathing’
[kinán ʔán ʔikpašáa]	/ʔn ik-paš-yaa-wa/	‘we are bathing’
[wišín ʔámpašáat]	/ʔn-paš-yaa-tat/	‘y’all are bathing’
[ʔutún ʔántapaš]	/utun ʔn-ta-paš/	‘they are bathing’

## 5.3.1.3.2.2. Past Progressive

In the nonpast progressive, the inflected verb carries person agreement and imperfective aspect marking. In the past progressive, in addition, the inflected verb carries past tense inflection 'PAST' (i.e., in San Marcos, /t̪ən/+/iʃ-/ + verb imperfective; in Yecuatla, /ʌn/+verb imperfective+ /ʃt̪ən/).

*San Marcos Atexquilapan**Yecuatla*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (70) [ɣút t̪ən ʃpúuʔk̪áa]<br>/ut t̪ən iʃ-puu-ʔk̪aa/<br>s/he go PAST-inner rel.-measure X<br>'s/he was weighing X' | (71)[ɣút ʌn púuʔk̪áaʃt̪ən, ɣút t̪ən púuʔk̪áaʃt̪ən]<br>/ut ʌn puu-ʔk̪aa-ʃt̪ən/<br>s/he go inner rel.-measure X-PAST<br>'s/he was weighing X' |
|---|---|

## 5.3.1.3.2.2.1. San Marcos Atexquilapan

## a. /č̪ən/ 'sow X'

- (72) [kít t̪ən ɣik̪ʃč̪ɛ̃h̃jú]  
/kit t̪ən ik-iʃ-č̪ən-č̪u/  
I go 1SUB-PAST-sow X-CL  
'I was sowing'

[wíʃ t̪ən ʃč̪ɛ̃h̃jú]	/wíʃ t̪ən iʃ-č̪ən-č̪u/	'you were sowing X'
[ɣút t̪ən ʃč̪ɛ̃h̃jú]	/ut t̪ən iʃ-č̪ən-č̪u/	's/he was sowing X'
[kin̪án t̪ən ʃč̪enáač̪ú]	/t̪ən iʃ-č̪ən-yaa-wa-č̪u/	'we were sowing X'
[wíʃín t̪ən ʃč̪enáatač̪ú]	/t̪ən iʃ-č̪ən-yaa-tat-č̪u/	'y'all were sowing X'
[ɣut̪ún t̪ən ʃtač̪ɛ̃h̃jú]	/utun t̪ən iʃ-ta-č̪ən-č̪u/	'they were sowing X'

## b. /st̪aʌ/ 'sell X'

- (73) [kít t̪ən ɣik̪ʃíst̪áač̪ú]  
/kit t̪ən ik-iʃ-st̪aʌ-č̪u/  
I go 1SUB-PAST-sell X-CL  
'I was selling X'

[wíʃ t̪ən ʃíst̪áač̪ú]	/wíʃ t̪ən iʃ-st̪aʌ-č̪u/	'you were selling X'
[ɣút t̪ən ʃíst̪áač̪ú]	/ut t̪ən iʃ-st̪aʌ-č̪u/	's/he was selling X'
[kin̪án t̪ən ʃíst̪áayáač̪ú]	/t̪ən iʃ-st̪aʌ-yaa-wa-č̪u/	'we were selling X'
[wíʃín t̪ən ʃíst̪áayáatač̪ú]	/t̪ən iʃ-st̪aʌ-yaa-tat-č̪u/	'y'all were selling X'
[ɣut̪ún t̪ən ʃíst̪áač̪ú]	/utun t̪ən iʃ-ta-st̪aʌ-č̪u/	'they were selling X'



## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (74) [kít t̄an ʔik̄šp̄áščú]  
 /kit t̄an ik-iš-paš-ču/  
 I go 1SUB-PAST-bathe-CL  
 'I was bathing'

[wiš t̄an šp̄áščú]	/wiš t̄an iš-paš-ču/	'you were bathing'
[ʔút t̄an šp̄áščú]	/ut t̄an iš-paš-ču/	's/he was bathing'
[kinán t̄an špašáačú]	/t̄an iš-paš-yaa-wa-ču/	'we were bathing'
[wišín t̄an špašáatačú]	/t̄an iš-paš-yaa-tat-ču/	'y'all were bathing'
[ʔutún t̄an štap̄éščú]	/t̄an iš-ta-paš-ču/	'they were bathing'

## 5.3.1.3.2.2.2. Yecuatla

## a. /č̄an/ 'sow X'

- (75) [kít ʔán ʔik̄č̄áňšt̄án]  
 /kit ʔan ik-č̄an-št̄an/  
 I go 1SUB-sow X-PAST  
 'I was sowing X'

[wiš ʔán č̄áňšt̄án]	/wiš ʔan-č̄an-št̄an/	'you were sowing X'
[ʔút ʔán č̄áňšt̄án]	/ut ʔan-č̄an-št̄an/	's/he was sowing X'
[kinán ʔán č̄anáašt̄án]	/ʔan č̄an-yaa-wa-št̄an/	'we were sowing X'
[wišín ʔán č̄anáatašt̄án]	/ʔan č̄an-yaa-tat-št̄an/	'y'all were sowing X'
[ʔutún ʔán teč̄áňšt̄án]	/utun ʔan-ta-č̄an-št̄an/	'they were sowing X'

## b. /st̄aa/ 'sell X'

- (76) [kít ʔán ʔik̄st̄áašt̄án]  
 /kit ʔan ik-st̄aa-št̄an/  
 I go 1SUB-sell X-PAST  
 'I was selling X'

[wiš ʔán st̄áašt̄án]	/wiš ʔan-st̄aa-št̄an/	'you were selling X'
[ʔút ʔán st̄áašt̄án]	/ut ʔan-st̄aa-št̄an/	's/he was selling X'
[kinán ʔán st̄áayaašt̄án]	/ʔan st̄aa-yaa-wa-št̄an/	'we were selling X'
[wišín ʔán st̄áayáatašt̄án]	/ʔan st̄aa-yaa-tat-št̄an/	'y'all were selling X'
[ʔutún ʔán tást̄áašt̄án]	/ʔan-ta-st̄aa-št̄an/	'they were selling X'

## c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (77) [kít ʔán ʔíkpaštán]  
 /kit ʔn ik-paš-štán/  
 I go 1SUB-bathe-PAST  
 'I was bathing'

[wíš ʔán páštán]	/wíš ʔn-paš-štán/	'you were bathing'
[ʔút ʔán páštán]	/ut ʔn-paš-štán/	's/he was bathing'
[kinán ʔán pašáaštán]	/ʔn paš-yaa-wa-štán/	'we were bathing'
[wíšín ʔán pašáataštán]	/ʔn paš-yaa-tat-štán/	'y'all were bathing'
[ʔutún ʔán tapáštán]	/utun ʔn-ta-paš-štán/	'they were bathing'

## 5.3.2. Perfective

The perfective aspect is morphologically marked by the suffixes /-li/ 'PFV' (in San Marcos) and /-la(ʔ)/<sup>13</sup> 'PFV' (in Yecuatla) in the first person singular and the third persons and by the suffix /-ti/ '2PFV' in the second person singular. There is no overt perfective marking on the first and second person plural. Note that these are the only persons (1SUB.PL and 2SUB.PL) that show overt imperfective marking.

The inflectional suffixes /-li, -la(ʔ)/ 'PFV', /-ti/ '2PFV', and /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' do not co-occur with the second person object marker /-na/ '2OBJ'. In cases where both should logically be present, only /-na/ '2OBJ' surfaces. Essentially, each of these suffixes (/la(ʔ)/ 'PFV', /-ti/ '2PFV', /-na/ '2OBJ', /-wa/ '1SUB.PL') is overt only in word-final position and does not otherwise surface.

The productive rule of CV-suffix simplification reduces a CV-suffix to [-C] following a vowel-final verb stem. See section 4.3.1.1 for a description of this morphophonemic rule. Variation relevant to the perfective is presented below:

- (78) /-li, -la(ʔ)/ -> [-ʔ] / V<sub>verb stem</sub>\_\_\_\_#  
 /-ti/ -> [-t] / V<sub>verb stem</sub>\_\_\_\_#

The perfective morphemes do not carry stress, so stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the verb, provided the verb is polysyllabic. This stress pattern occurs even if the perfective aspect marker is not overt (3.6.2).

<sup>13</sup>The morphophonemic rules are the same whether the form /-li/ or /-la(ʔ)/ is used. These rules are described in detail in section 4.3.4.

- (79) [wʃ̣ tɛ́hwǎ]  
 /wʃ̣ tɛ́hwǎ-ti/  
 you look for X-CG-PFV  
 'you looked for X'

The previous paragraphs understate a problem with perfective morphology. It has been proposed for other Totonacan languages (Aschmann and Wonderly 1952) that /-ti/ is a person marker rather than an aspect marker. I have chosen to analyze it as a perfective marker because (a) it only appears in the perfective (it never co-occurs with the imperfective aspect); and (b) stress falls on the penultimate syllable just as it does in the case of the other perfective aspect marker /-la(ɸ)/. I interpret this stress pattern to be peculiar to perfective markers, and, as such, evidence that /-ti/ is an aspect marker.

Primary stress on the penultimate syllable helps differentiate the imperfective from the perfective. Since the perfective marker [-ɸ] is often pronounced almost imperceptibly as [h] (3.4.3.2), the most salient difference between the two aspects is the placement of stress.

- |      |              |                   |                     |
|------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (80) | [ɣút ɣʃ̣kɪh] | /ut ɪʃ̣ki-la(ɸ)/  | 's/he gave X to Y'  |
|      | [ɣút ɣʃ̣kɪ]  | /ut ɪʃ̣ki/        | 's/he gives X to Y' |
| (81) | [ɣút tástuh] | /ut ta-ʃtu-la(ɸ)/ | 's/he left'         |
|      | [ɣút tástú]  | /ut ta-ʃtu/       | 's/he leaves'       |
| (82) | [ɣút qáwǎh]  | /ut qǎwǎ-la(ɸ)/   | 's/he talked'       |
|      | [ɣút qǎwǎ]   | /ut qǎwǎ/         | 's/he talks'        |
| (83) | [ɣút čúulǎh] | /ut čuula-la(ɸ)/  | 's/he made/did X'   |
|      | [ɣút čúulǎ]  | /ut čuula/        | 's/he makes/does X' |

### 5.3.2.1. San Marcos Perfective

In San Marcos Atexquilapan, the perfective aspect is formed by adding the suffix /-li/ to the first person singular and the third person singular and plural and /-ti/ to the second person singular. Following a vowel-final stem, the variants [-ɸ] and [-t] occur.

#### a. /čǎn/ 'sow X'

- (84) [kít ɣkčɛ́nli]  
 /kit ik-čǎn-li/  
 I 1SUB-sow X-PFV  
 'I sowed X'

[wĩʃ čɛnti]	/wĩʃ čaŋ-ti/	'you sowed X'
[ɣút čɛnli]	/ut čaŋ-li/	's/he sowed X'
[kináŋ čɛnwa]	/kináŋ čaŋ-wa/	'we sowed X'
[wĩʃín čɛntat]	/wĩʃín čaŋ-tat/	'y'all sowed X'
[ɣutún tačɛnli]	/utun ta-čaŋ-li/	'they sowed X'

## b. /staʒa/ 'sell X'

- (85) [kít ɣ[ktáʒaɸ]  
 /kit ik-staʒa-li/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 'I sold X'

[wĩʃ stáʒat]	/wĩʃ staʒa-ti/	'you sold X'
[ɣút stáʒaɸ]	/ut staʒa-li/	's/he sold X'
[kináŋ stáʒa]	/kináŋ staʒa-wa/	'we sold X'
[wĩʃín stáʒatat]	/wĩʃín staʒa-tat/	'y'all sold X'
[ɣutún tástaʒaɸ]	/utun ta-staʒa-li/	'they sold X'

## c. /paʃ/ 'bathe'

- (86) [kít ɣ[kpáʃli]  
 /kit ik-paʃ-li/  
 I 1SUB-bathe-PFV  
 'I bathed'

[wĩʃ páʃti]	/wĩʃ paʃ-ti/	'you bathed'
[ɣút páʃli]	/ut paʃ-li/	's/he bathed'
[kináŋ páʃwa]	/kináŋ paʃ-wa/	'we bathed'
[wĩʃín páʃtat]	/wĩʃín paʃ-tat/	'y'all bathed'
[ɣutún tapáʃli]	/utun ta-paʃ-li/	'they bathed'

## 5.3.2.2. Yecuatla perfective

In Yecuatla, the perfective is formed by adding the suffix /-la(ɸ)/ to the first person singular and the third person singular and plural. The suffix has the variant [-ɸ] when added to a vowel-final stem; and [ɸ] weakens to [h] syllable finally.<sup>14</sup> In the second person singular, the suffix /-ti/ reduces to [-t] following a vowel as in San Marcos.

<sup>14</sup> For Zapotitlan Totonac, Aschmann and Wonderly (1952) find that [-h] varies freely with [-ɸ] directly preceding suffixes (i.e., syllable finally).

- (87) /-la(ʔ)/ → [ʔ] / V<sub>verb stem</sub> \_\_\_\_] (4.3.1.1)  
 [ʔ] → [h] / \_\_\_\_]<sub>o</sub> (3.4.3.2)  
 /-ti/ → [t] / V<sub>verb stem</sub> \_\_\_\_]<sup>15</sup> (4.3.1.1)

a. /č̣aŋ/ ‘sow X’

- (88) [kít ɔ̣{kč̣ánlaʔ]  
 /kit ik-č̣aŋ-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-sow X-PFV  
 ‘I sowed X’
- |                   |                      |                 |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| [wĩš č̣ánti]      | /wĩš č̣aŋ-ti/        | ‘you sowed X’   |
| [ɔ̣út č̣ánlaʔ]    | /ut č̣aŋ-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he sowed X’  |
| [kinán ɔ̣{kč̣áɔ̣] | /kinán ik-č̣aŋ-wa/   | ‘we sowed X’    |
| [wĩšin č̣ántat]   | /wĩšin č̣aŋ-tat/     | ‘y’all sowed X’ |
| [ɔ̣utún tecánlaʔ] | /utun ta-č̣aŋ-la(ʔ)/ | ‘they sowed X’  |

b. /sṭaa/ ‘sell X’

- (89) [kít ɔ̣{ksṭáaʔ]  
 /kit ik-sṭaa-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 ‘I sold X’
- |                   |                       |                |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| [wĩš sṭáat]      | /wĩš sṭaa-ti/        | ‘you sold X’   |
| [ɔ̣út sṭáaʔ]     | /ut sṭaa-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he sold X’  |
| [kinán ɔ̣{ksṭáa] | /kinán ik-sṭaa-wa/   | ‘we sold X’    |
| [wĩšin sṭáatat]  | /wĩšin sṭaa-tat/     | ‘y’all sold X’ |
| [ɔ̣utún rásṭaaʔ] | /utun ta-sṭaa-la(ʔ)/ | ‘they sold X’  |

c. /paš/ ‘bathe’

- (90) [kít ɔ̣{kpašlaʔ]  
 /kit ik-paš-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-bathe-PFV  
 ‘I bathed’
- |                   |                     |                |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| [wĩš pášti]       | /wĩš paš-ti/        | ‘you bathed’   |
| [ɔ̣út pášlaʔ]     | /ut paš-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he bathed’  |
| [kinán páš]       | /kinán paš-wa/      | ‘we bathed’    |
| [wĩšin páštat]    | /wĩšin paš-tat/     | ‘y’all bathed’ |
| [ɔ̣utún tapášlaʔ] | /utun ta-paš-la(ʔ)/ | ‘they bathed’  |

<sup>15</sup> The morphophonemic rules affecting the second person singular perfective are rather complex and are described in section 4.3.4.2. Crucial to the following examples (88, 89, 90) is the fact that [-t] is deleted following a short vowel, but does surface following a long vowel.

### 5.3.2.3. Past Perfective

In the Totonac varieties of Xicotepec de Juárez, Zapotitlán de Mendez, El Escolín, Papantla, and Coatepec, a conditional-like form is created by adding the past tense prefix /iš-/ to the perfective realis. There is no evidence in my corpus that this combination occurs in Misantla Totonac.

### 5.3.2.4. Irrealis

The irrealis mood is marked by prefixing /ka-/ 'IRR' to the perfective. As indicated above, in the perfective, /ka-/ 'IRR' does not receive the primary stress that normally falls on the penultimate syllable. Thus, it must be assumed that primary stress is assigned prior to the affixation of /ka-/ 'IRR'.

- |      |                  |                      |                     |
|------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (91) | [ɔ́út kástáaɸ]   | /ut ka-staa-la(ɸ)/   | 'that s/he sells X' |
|      | *[ɔ́út kástáaɸ]  |                      |                     |
|      | [ɔ́utún tástáaɸ] | /utun ta-staa-la(ɸ)/ | 'they sold X'       |

Note that in the first person singular, /ni-/ '1IRR', rather than /ka-/ 'IRR', indicates irrealis mood. This suppletion occurs in other instances as well. These are discussed below in 5.3.2.4.3.

#### 5.3.2.4.1. Nonpast Irrealis

##### a. /č̣an/ 'sow X'

- (92) [kít níkč̣ánlaɸ]<sup>16</sup>  
 /kit ni-ik-č̣an-la(ɸ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-sow X-PFV  
 'that I sow X'

[wĩš kač̣ánti]	/wĩš ka-č̣an-ti/	'that you sow X'
[ɔ́út kač̣ánlaɸ]	/ut ka-č̣an-la(ɸ)/	'that s/he sows X'
[kiṇan kač̣áʔ, kač̣ánwa (SM)]	/kiṇan ka-č̣an-wa/	'that we sow X'
[wĩšin kač̣ántat]	/wĩšin ka-č̣an-tat/	'that y'all sow X'
[ɔ́utún kateč̣ánlaɸ]	/utun ka-ta-č̣an-la(ɸ)/	'that they sow X'

##### b. /staa/ 'sell X'

- (93) [kít níkstáaɸ]  
 /kit ni-ik-staa-la(ɸ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 'that I sell X'

<sup>16</sup> Recall that in San Marcos the perfective suffix is /-li/ 'PFV'.

[wĩʃ kástáʔat]	/wĩʃ ka-stáʔ-ti/	‘that you sell X’
[ʔút kástáʔaʔ]	/ut ka-stáʔ-la(ʔ)/	‘that s/he sells X’
[kinān kástáʔa]	/kinān ka-stáʔ-wa/	‘that we sell X’
[wĩʃin kástáʔtat]	/wĩʃin ka-stáʔ-tat/	‘that y’all sell X’
[ʔútun katástáʔaʔ]	/utun ka-ta-stáʔ-la(ʔ)/	‘that they sell X’

c. /paš/ ‘bathe’

- (94) [kít níkpášlaʔ]  
 /kit ni-ik-paş-la(ʔ)/  
 I IIRR-1SUB-bathe-PFV  
 ‘that I bathe’

[wĩʃ kapášti]	/wĩʃ ka-paş-ti/	‘that you bathe’
[ʔút kapášlaʔ]	/ut ka-paş-la(ʔ)/	‘that s/he bathes’
[kinān kapáš, kapášwa (SM)]	/kinān ka-paş-wa/	‘that we bathe’
[wĩʃin kapáštat]	/wĩʃin ka-paş-tat/	‘that y’all bathe’
[ʔútun katapášlaʔ]	/utun ka-ta-paş-la(ʔ)/	‘that they bathe’

### 5.3.2.4.2. Imperative

The second person singular or plural and the first person plural of the non-past irrealis are interpreted as the imperative when they occur in a main clause.

- |                            |                              |                  |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| (95) [kačánti]             | /ka-čān-ti/                  | ‘sow X!’         |
| [kastáʔat]                 | /ka-stáʔ-ti/                 | ‘sell X!’        |
| [kapášii-t]                | /ka-paş-ii-ti/ <sup>17</sup> | ‘bathe X!’       |
| [kapášti]                  | /ka-paş-ti/                  | ‘bathe!’         |
| (96) [kačántat]            | /ka-čān-tat/                 | ‘y’all sow X!’   |
| [kastáʔtat]                | /ka-stáʔ-tat/                | ‘y’all sell X!’  |
| [kapašii-tat]              | /ka-paş-ii-tat/              | ‘y’all bathe X!’ |
| [kapáštat]                 | /ka-paş-tat/                 | ‘y’all bathe!’   |
| (97) [kačáʔ, kačānwa (SM)] | /ka-čān-wa/                  | ‘let’s sow X!’   |
| [kastáʔa]                  | /ka-stáʔ-wa/                 | ‘let’s sell X!’  |
| [kapašii]                  | /ka-paş-ii-wa/               | ‘let’s bathe X!’ |
| [kapáš, kapášwa (SM)]      | /ka-paş-wa/                  | ‘let’s bathe!’   |

<sup>17</sup>The suffix /-ii/ ‘TRANS’ transitivity the intransitive verb /paš/ ‘bathe.’

## 5.3.2.4.3. First Person Suppletion

There is suppletion of /ka-/ 'IRR' by /ni-/ '1IRR' under the following conditions: (a) when there is a first person singular subject; (b) when there is a first person object (sg. or pl.); and (c) when there is a first person plural subject with a second person object.

(a) With a first person singular subject, /ka-/ 'IRR' is replaced by /ni-/ '1IRR'.

(98) [kít níkčǎnla(ǂ)]  
 /kit ni-ik-čǎn-la(ǂ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-sow X-PFV  
 'that I sow X'

(99) [kít níkstǎǎ(ǂ)]  
 /kit ni-ik-stǎǎ-la(ǂ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-sell X-PFV  
 'that I sell X'

(100) [kít níkpášla(ǂ)]  
 /kit ni-ik-páš-la(ǂ)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-bathe-PFV  
 'that I bathe'

(b) /ni-/ rather than /ka-/ also appears when the first person object prefix /kin-/ '1OBJ' occurs (i.e., with singular and plural first person objects). Refer to section 5.4.2 for a detailed discussion of object inflection.

(101) [ǂút níkístǎǎni(ǂ)]  
 /ut ni-kin-stǎǎ-ni-la(ǂ)/  
 s/he 1IRR-1OBJ-sell X-+OBJ-PFV  
 'that s/he sells X for me'

(102) [ǂút kástǎǎnín]  
 /ut ka-stǎǎ-ni-na/<sup>18</sup>  
 s/he IRR-sell X-+OBJ-2OBJ  
 'that s/he sells X for you'

<sup>18</sup> The perfective suffixes only appear word finally, and never co-occur with /-na/ '2OBJ' (5.4.2).



- (103) [ɣút nikístáǵanín]  
 /ut ni-kin-stáǵ-ni-na/  
 s/he 1IRR-1OBJ-sell X-+OBJ-2OBJ  
 'that s/he sells X for us'
- (104) [ɣút katáastáǵanín]  
 /ut ka-taa-stáǵ-ni-na/  
 s/he IRR-2OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-2OBJ  
 'that s/he sells X for y'all'
- (105) [ɣút kaláastáǵaniɸ]  
 /ut ka-laa-stáǵ-ni-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he IRR-3OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-PFV  
 'that s/he sells X for them'
- (106) [nikíñčánti] /ni-kin-čǵan-ti/ 'bury me!'  
 [nikiláačǵ] /ni-kin=laa-čǵan-ti/ 'bury us!'<sup>19</sup>  
 [kaláačǵanti] /ka-laa-čǵan-ti/ 'bury them!'
- (107) [nikístáǵanín] /ni-kin-stáǵ-ni-ti/ 'sell it for me!'  
 [nikiláastáǵaní] /ni-kin=laa-stáǵ-ni-ti/ 'sell it for us!'  
 [kaláastáǵanín] /ka-laa-stáǵ-ni-ti/ 'sell it for them!'
- (108) [nikímpášiit] /ni-kin-paš-ii-ti/ 'bathe me!'  
 [nikiláapašii] /ni-kin=laa-paš-ii-ti/ 'bathe us!'  
 [kaláapašiiit] /ka-laa-paš-ii-ti/ 'bathe them!'
- (109) [nikiláačǵ] /ni-kin=laa-čǵan-tat/ 'y'all bury me!'  
 [nikiláačǵ] /ni-kin=laa-čǵan-tat/ 'y'all bury us!'  
 [kaláačǵantat] /ka-laa-čǵan-tat/ 'y'all bury them!'
- (110) [nikiláastáǵaní] /ni-kin=laa-stáǵ-ni-tat/ 'y'all sell it for me!'  
 [nikiláastáǵaní] /ni-kin=laa-stáǵ-ni-tat/ 'y'all sell it for us!'  
 [kaláastáǵanítat] /ka-laa-stáǵ-ni-tat/ 'y'all sell it for them!'
- (111) [nikiláapašii] /ni-kin=laa-paš-ii-tat/ 'y'all bathe me!'  
 [nikiláapašii] /ni-kin=laa-paš-ii-tat/ 'y'all bathe us!'  
 [kaláapašiiit] /ka-laa-paš-ii-tat/ 'y'all bathe them!'

<sup>19</sup> Note that the forms for 'you VERB us' and 'y'all VERB me' and 'y'all VERB us' are homophonous. The sequence /kin=laa/ '1OBJ=3OBJ.PL' precludes overt marking of a second person subject (i.e., there is no second person subject laryngealization, suppletion, or affixation). See 5.4.2.4 for details. I include the second person morphemes in underlying representations although they never surface in combination with /kin=laa/.

(c) A first person plural subject with a second person object (singular or plural) occurs with /ni-/ '1IRR'.

- (112) [kinán níktáastáánín]  
 /kinán ni-ik-taa-stáa-ni-na/<sup>20</sup>  
 we 1IRR-1SUB-2OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-2OBJ  
 'that we sell X for you/y'all'
- (113) [kinán kástáání]  
 /ka-stáa-ni-wa/  
 IRR-sell X-+OBJ-1SUB.PL  
 'that we sell X for him/her'
- (114) [kinán kaláastáání]  
 /ka-laa-stáa-ni-wa/  
 IRR-3OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-1SUB.PL  
 'that we sell X for them'

In the imperative, the same pattern occurs (i.e., a first person plural subject with a second person object requires /ni-/ '1IRR').

- |       |                 |                        |                                 |
|-------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (115) | [níktááčán]     | /ni-ik-taa-čán-na/     | 'let's bury you!' <sup>21</sup> |
|       | [níktááčán]     | /ni-ik-taa-čán-na/     | 'let's bury y'all!'             |
|       | [kalááčá?]      | /ka-laa-čán-wa/        | 'let's bury them!'              |
| (116) | [níktáastáánín] | /ni-ik-taa-stáa-ni-na/ | 'let's sell X for you!'         |
|       | [níktáastáánín] | /ni-ik-taa-stáa-ni-na/ | 'let's sell X for y'all!'       |
|       | [kaláastáání]   | /ka-laa-stáa-ni-wa/    | 'let's sell X for them!'        |
| (117) | [níktáapašíín]  | /ni-ik-taa-páš-ii-na/  | 'let's bathe you!'              |
|       | [níktáapašíín]  | /ni-ik-taa-páš-ii-na/  | 'let's bathe y'all!'            |
|       | [kaláapašíí]    | /ka-laa-páš-ii-wa/     | 'let's bathe them!'             |

#### 5.3.2.4.4. Past Irrealis

The past irrealis is marked by the 'PAST' marker /iš-/ , which is added to the nonpast irrealis form. The past marker /iš-/ follows the irrealis mood markers /ka-/ and /ni-/. /iš-/ 'PAST' also follows the first person marker /ik-/ '1SUB', but precedes the third person plural subject marker /ta-/ '3SUB.PL'. The past irrealis does not occur in any other Totonacan language.

<sup>20</sup> Recall that the first person plural subject suffix /-wa/ only appears word finally, and never co-occurs with /-na/ '2 OBJ'.

<sup>21</sup>Note that 'we VERB you' and 'we VERB y'all' are homophonous. See 5.4.2.2 for details.

- (118) [čínkít níksláqε†]  
 /čín-kit ni-ik-iš-laqan-la(†)/  
 if-I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-see X-PFV  
 'if I had seen X'

a. /čǎn/ 'sow X'

- (119) [kít níksčǎnla†]  
 /kit ni-ik-iš-čǎn-la(†)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-sow X-PFV  
 'that I sowed X'

[wǐš káščǎnti]	/wǐš ka-iš-čǎn-ti/	'that you sowed X'
[ɔ́t káščǎnla†]	/ut ka-iš-čǎn-la(†)/	'that s/he sowed X'
[kinǎn káščǎʔ]	/kinǎn ka-iš-čǎn-wa/	'that we sowed X'
[wǐšín káščǎntat]	/wǐšin ka-iš-čǎn-tat/	'that y'all sowed X'
[ɔ́tún káštacǎnla†]	/ka-iš-ta-čǎn-la(†)/	'that they sowed X'

b. /stǎǎ/ 'sell X'

- (120) [kít níksístǎǎ†, níksístǎǎ†]<sup>22</sup>  
 /kit ni-ik-iš-stǎǎ-la(†)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-sell X-PFV  
 'that I sold X'

[wǐš kašístǎǎt]	/wǐš ka-iš-stǎǎ-ti/	'that you sold X'
[ɔ́t kašístǎǎ†]	/ut ka-iš-stǎǎ-la(†)/	'that s/he sold X'
[kinǎn kákšístǎǎ]	/ka-(ik)-iš-stǎǎ-wa/	'that we sold X'
[wǐšín kašístǎǎtat]	/ka-iš-stǎǎ-tat/	'that y'all sold X'
[ɔ́tún káštástǎǎ†]	/ka-iš-ta-stǎǎ-la(†)/	'that they sold X'

c. /paš/ 'bathe'

- (121) [kít níkspášla†]  
 /kit ni-ik-iš-páš-la(†)/  
 I 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-bathe-PFV  
 'that I bathed'

[wǐš káspášti]	/wǐš ka-iš-páš-ti/	'that you bathed'
[ɔ́t káspášla†]	/ut ka-iš-páš-la(†)/	'that s/he bathed'
[kinǎn káspáš]	/kinǎn ka-iš-páš-wa/	'that we bathed'
[wǐšín káspáštat]	/wǐšin ka-iš-páš-tat/	'that y'all bathed'
[ɔ́tún káštapášla†]	/ka-iš-ta-páš-la(†)/	'that they bathed'

<sup>22</sup> Note that sibilant assimilation has applied.

### 5.3.3. Perfect Aspect

In Misantla Totonac, I have been unable to find any examples of the perfect aspect which appears in other Totonacan languages as variations of the suffix /-nii'tan/ 'PERF'. Below is an example of the perfect from Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac (Reid and Bishop 1974:394):

- (122) [taštunii'ta'ntit]  
 /ta-štu-nii'tan-tit/  
 INC-be outside-PERF-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all have left'

## 5.4. Person Inflection

### 5.4.1. Subject Inflection

Person inflection for subjects is presented in Table 10. Unlike the appearance of independent subject pronouns, which is optional, subject inflection is obligatory.<sup>23</sup>

Table 10. Subject Inflection

/ik-/	1SUB
/-?/	2SUB
∅	3SUB
/((ik-)...-wa/	1SUB.PL
/-tat/	2SUB.PL
/ta-/	3SUB.PL
/-kan/	Indefinite Subject (I.S.)

/ik-/

/ik-/ '1SUB' marks a first person subject and is found on all verbs, in all tenses and aspects. It is obligatory in the singular, optional in the plural.

/-?/

Laryngealization, represented by the feature [+CG], often marks the second person subject of a verb. The rules concerning the distribution of the feature 'constricted glottis,' [+CG], are described in section 5.4.1.1.2. Glottal stop, as a marker of second person, appears only on imperfective verbs after a short stem-final vowel (5.4.1.1.2).

<sup>23</sup> Subject inflection is not affected by the transitivity of the verb.

Second person subject is marked by suppletion in those verbs that are based on the roots /a<sub>n</sub>/ 'go' and /mi<sub>n</sub>/ 'come.' In the second person, there is also substitution of /m/ by /p/ in verb stems that include the causative prefixes /maa-/ , /maqa-/ , or /maq-/ 'CAUS'; the body-part prefix /maka-/ 'hand rel.'; any verb stem that includes the root /maa/ 'be lying down'; and the verb /qaš-mat/ 'hear X, listen to X.' See 5.4.1.1.1 for a more detailed description.

∅

There is no overt marker for the third person singular subject.

/ik-)...-wa/

/ik-/ is optional in the marking of a first person plural subject. In most other Totonacan languages, /ik-/ occurs with /-wa/ to mark the first person plural exclusive. However, in the Misantla area none of the speakers interviewed made an inclusive/exclusive distinction.

Although a first person plural subject suffix, usually /-w/, is attested in most of the other Totonacan languages, its cognate, /-wa/ '1SUB.PL', appears only rarely in Misantla Totonac. In San Marcos, /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' surfaces on stems ending in a voiceless consonant or on monosyllabic roots ending in a nasal. In Yecuatla, /-wa/ never surfaces and the only evidence for its existence is its interaction with /n/-deletion in first person plural perfective (4.3.4.3) and with the imperfective marker /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' (5.3.1).

- |       |                   |                     |                        |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| (123) | [kinán čénwa]     | /kinan čan-wa/      | 'we sowed X' (SM)      |
|       | [kinán pášwa]     | /kinan paš-wa/      | 'we bathed' (SM)       |
|       | [kinán páastékwá] | /kinan paa=stak-wa/ | 'we remembered X' (SM) |

Two rules are responsible for constraining the surface occurrences of the first person plural morpheme in San Marcos and Yecuatla: (a) the rule of CV-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1) deletes the final vowel of the inflectional suffix /-wa/ after a stem-final vowel; and (b) syllable structure constraints prohibit glides syllable finally and there is erasure of unsyllabified final segments (3.5.1.2 and 3.4.3.1).

- (124) CV-suffix simplification: /-wa/ → [w]/ V]<sub>stem</sub>—

- (125) σ-final glide constraint: [σ...\*w,\*y]<sub>σ</sub>

In both Yecuatla and San Marcos, evidence for positing an underlying first person plural suffix /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' comes primarily from the interaction of the suffix with other morphemes.

In the imperfective, /-wa/ triggers the appearance of the imperfective suffix

/-yaa/, which only shows up word medially (5.3.1). If no suffix is posited for the first person plural, the imperfective suffix would occur in word-final position, in contrast with all other cases of overt marking of the imperfective. As stated above, in most cases /-wa/ does not overtly appear because it is deleted by the rule simplifying inflectional CV-suffixes (4.3.1.1) and by syllable structure constraints which delete unsyllabified stray consonants syllable finally.

- (126) [kinán qawayáa]  
 /kinán qawa-yaa-wa/  
 we talk-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we talk'
- (127) [kinán ʔiksəχɔnáa]  
 /kinán ik-suqun-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-like X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we like X'
- (128) [kinán ʔikazíiyáa]      /kinán ik-kazii-yaa-wa/      'we know X'  
 [kinán ʔikíiwayáa]      /kinán ik-iiwá-yaa-wa/      'we buy X'

In the perfective, /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' triggers deletion of a preceding /n/. Recall that /n/ deletes preceding a continuant (3.4.5).

- (129) [kinán tɛ́hwá]  
 /kinán tɛ́hwan-wa/  
 we look for X-1SUB.PL  
 'we looked for X'
- (130) [kinán səχɔ́]  
 /kinán suqun-wa/  
 we like X-1SUB.PL  
 'we liked X'
- (131) [kinán ʔiəqáʔá]  
 /kinán ik-qáʔan-wa/  
 we 1SUB-steal X-1SUB.PL  
 'we stole X'

/-tat/

~ Second person plural subjects are marked by laryngealization and the second person plural suffix /-tat/ '2SUB.PL'. /-tat/ carries no stress. In addition, suppletion and the replacement of /m/ by /p/ mark second person plural.

/ta-/

/ta-/ '3SUB.PL' marks a third person plural subject.

/-kan/

/-kan/ indicates an indefinite subject (5.4.4).

(132)	[páškán]	'someone bathes'
	[čáŋkán]	'someone sows'
	[stáákán]	'someone sells'

### 5.4.1.1. Second Person Subject Inflection

To recapitulate, second person subject marking in Totonac is indicated in the following ways:

- (a) by laryngealization—verbs are often laryngealized with second person subjects;
- (b) by suppletion—some verbs manifest suppletion with second person subjects;
- (c) by glottal stop in the second person singular imperfective following short stem-final vowels; and
- d) by /-tat/ with second person plural subjects.

#### 5.4.1.1.1. Suppletion

Most verbs do not manifest any stem alternation when conjugated, while a handful of verbs undergo suppletion in the second persons. Suppletion is limited to two easily defined groups of verbs. Suppletion of the entire verb root affects all verb stems that include the roots /aŋ/ 'go' and /min/ 'come.' A more limited kind of segmental suppletion involves the alternation between /m/ and /p/ found in verb stems that include (a) the stative root /maǰ/ 'supine'; (b) the causative prefixes /maa-/ , /maq-/ , or /maq-/ 'CAUS'; and (c) the body-part prefix /maka-/ 'hand rel.'. In the case of /maa-/ 'CAUS', an alternation between /m/ and /p/ is accompanied by a modification of the quality of the following vowel (i.e., in the second persons, /maa-/ becomes [paǰ]). The cases described above involve either productive affixes of verbal derivation, such as causatives or verb stems that frequently combine with other affixes to form new stems (e.g., /aŋ/ 'go' and /min/ 'come'). An idiosyncratic example of the /m/ ~ /p/ alternation is found in the verb /qašmat/ 'hear X, listen to X,' which becomes [qāšpaṭ] in the second persons. This verb does not normally combine with other affixes to form new stems. Examples of the suppletive patterns are given below:

1. Suppletion of the entire verb root. As noted, this process affects all verb stems which include the roots /aŋ/ 'go' and /min/ 'come.'

## /aŋ/ 'go'

*Imperfective:*

(133)	[kít ɔ̃[káŋ]	/kit ik-aŋ/ <sup>24</sup>	'I go'
	[wiʃ pín]	/wiʃ aŋ/	'you go'
	[ɔ̃út ɔ̃áŋ]	/ut aŋ/	's/he goes'
	[kináŋ ɔ̃[kánaa]	/kináŋ ik-aŋ-yaa-wa/	'we go'
	[wiʃín pinááat]	/wiʃín aŋ-yaa-tat/	'y'all go'
	[ɔ̃útún taɔ̃áŋ]	/utun ta-aŋ/	'they go'

*Perfective:*

(134)	[kít ɔ̃[káɕ]	/kit ik aŋ-la(ɕ)/	'I went'
	[wiʃ pít]	/wiʃ aŋ-ti/	'you went'
	[ɔ̃út ɔ̃áɕ]	/ut aŋ-la(ɕ)/	's/he went'
	[kináŋ káɔ̃]	/kináŋ ik-aŋ-wa/	'we went'
	[wiʃín pítat]	/wiʃín aŋ-tat/	'y'all went'
	[ɔ̃útún táɔ̃áɕ]	/utun ta-aŋ-la(ɕ)/	'they went'

## /min/ 'come'

*Imperfective:*

(135)	[kít ɔ̃[kmín]	/kit ik-min/	'I come'
	[wiʃ tán]	/wiʃ min/	'you come'
	[ɔ̃út mín]	/ut min/	's/he comes'
	[kináŋ ɔ̃[kmináa]	/kináŋ ik-min-yaa-wa/	'we come'
	[wiʃín tánááat]	/wiʃín min-yaa-tat/	'y'all come'
	[ɔ̃útún tamín]	/utun ta-min/	'they come'

*Perfective:*

(136)	[kít ɔ̃[kmíɕ]	/kit ik-min-la(ɕ)/	'I came'
	[wiʃ táɕ]	/wiʃ min-ti/	'you came'
	[ɔ̃út míɕ]	/ut min-la(ɕ)/	's/he came'
	[kináŋ ɔ̃[kmí]	/kináŋ ik-min-wa/	'we came'
	[wiʃín táɕat]	/wiʃín min-tat/	'y'all came'
	[ɔ̃útún támiɕ]	/utun ta-min-la(ɕ)/	'they came'

<sup>24</sup>The nonsuppletive form is used in the underlying representation.



Verbs based on /aŋ/ and /min/ include:

- |             |                             |
|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (137) /čan/ | ‘arrive there’ from /ča=aŋ/ |
| /čin/       | ‘arrive here’ from /či=min/ |
| /lijn/      | ‘take X’ from /lii=aŋ/      |
| /liimin/    | ‘bring X’ from /lii=min/    |
| /maqan/     | ‘throw X’ from /maq=aŋ/     |

2. Segmental suppletion involving the alternation between /m/ and /p/. This is found in verb stems that include:

- a. The root /maʔ/ ‘supine’ and /qašmat/ ‘hear X, listen to X.’

**/ta-maʔ/ ‘lie down’**

*Imperfective:*

- |                       |                    |                  |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| (138) [kít ʔiktamáʔa] | /kit ik-ta-maʔ/    | ‘I lie down’     |
| [wiš tapáʔa]          | /wiš ta-maʔ/       | ‘you lie down’   |
| [ʔút tamáʔa]          | /ut ta-maʔ/        | ‘s/he lies down’ |
| [kinán ʔiktamáʔaya]   | /ik-ta-maʔ-yaa-wa/ | ‘we lie down’    |
| [wišín tapáʔayáʔat]   | /ta-maʔ-yaa-tat/   | ‘y’all lie down’ |
| [ʔutún tatamáʔa]      | /ta-ta-maʔ/        | ‘they lie down’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                        |                        |                  |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (139) [kít ʔiktámáʔaʔ] | /kit ik-ta-maʔ-la(ʔ)/  | ‘I lay down’     |
| [wiš tápaʔat]          | /wiš ta-maʔ-ti/        | ‘you lay down’   |
| [ʔút támáʔaʔ]          | /ut ta-maʔ-la(ʔ)/      | ‘s/he lay down’  |
| [kinán tamáʔa]         | /kinán ta-maʔ-wa/      | ‘we lay down’    |
| [wišín tapáʔat]        | /wišín ta-maʔ-tat/     | ‘y’all lay down’ |
| [ʔutún tatámáʔaʔ]      | /utún ta-ta-maʔ-la(ʔ)/ | ‘they lay down’  |

**/qašmat/ ‘hear X, listen to X’**

*Imperfective:*

- |                       |                  |                |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (140) [kít ʔiəqášmát] | /kit ik-qašmat/  | ‘I hear X’     |
| [wiš qášpát]          | /wiš qašmat/     | ‘you hear X’   |
| [ʔút qášmát]          | /ut qašmat/      | ‘s/he hears X’ |
| [kinán qášmátáa]      | /qašmat-yaa-wa/  | ‘we hear X’    |
| [wišín qášpátáʔat]    | /qašmat-yaa-tat/ | ‘y’all hear X’ |
| [ʔutún taqášmát]      | /ta-qašmat/      | ‘they hear X’  |

*Perfective:*

(141) [kít ʔiqášmátlaʔ]	/kit ik-qašmat-la(ʔ)/	'I heard X'
[wĩš qášpáti]	/wĩš qašmat-ti/	'you heard X'
[ʔút qášmátlaʔ]	/ut qašmat-la(ʔ)/	's/he heard X'
[kinán qášmát]	/kinan qašmat-wa/	'we heard X'
[wĩšin qášpátat]	/wĩšin qašmat-tat/	'y'all heard X'
[ʔutún taqášmátlaʔ]	/utun ta-qašmat-la(ʔ)/	'they heard X'

b. The causative prefixes /maa-/, /maqa-/, and /maq-/ 'CAUS'.

*/maa=suu-ni/ 'show X to Y'**Imperfective:*

(142) [kít ʔik máasúuní]	/kit ik-maa=suu-ni/	'I show X to Y'
[wĩš páásúuníʔ]	/wĩš maa=suu-ni/	'you show X to Y'
[ʔút máasúuní]	/ut maa=suu-ni/	's/he shows X to Y'
[kinán máasúunyáa]	/maa=suu-ni-yaa-wa/	'we show X to Y'
[wĩšin páásúunyáatát]	/maa=suu-ni-yaa-tat/	'y'all show X to Y'
[ʔutún tamáasúuní]	/ta-maa=suu-ni/	'they show X to Y'

*Perfective:*

(143) [kít ʔikmáasúuníʔ]	/ik-maa=suu-ni-la(ʔ)/	'I showed X to Y'
[wĩš páásúuníin]	/wĩš maa=suu-ni-ti/	'you showed X to Y'
[ʔút máasúuníʔ]	/ut maa=suu-ni-la(ʔ)/	's/he showed X to Y'
[kinán máasúuní]	/maa=suu-ni-wa/	'we showed X to Y'
[wĩšin páásúuníítat]	/maa=suu-ni-tat/	'y'all showed X to Y'
[ʔutún tamáasúuníʔ]	ta-maa=suu-ni-la(ʔ)/	'they showed X to Y'

*/maqa-ɛanqaa/ 'lose X'**Imperfective:*

(144) [kít ʔikmaqaɛánqáa]	/ik-maqa-ɛanqaa/	'I lose X'
[wĩš paqaɛánqáa]	/maqa-ɛanqaa/	'you lose X'
[ʔút maqaɛánqáa]	/maqa-ɛanqaa/	's/he loses X'
[kinán maqaɛánqáayáa]	/maqa-ɛanqaa-yaa-wa/	'we lose X'
[wĩšin paqaɛánqáayáatát]	/maqa-ɛanqaa-yaa-tat/	'y'all lose X'
[ʔutún tamaqaɛánqáa]	/ta-maqa-ɛanqaa/	'they lose X'

## Perfective:

(145)	[kít ʔíkmaqazáNqaaʔ]	/ik-maqa-ɛʌnqaa-la(ʔ)/	'I lost X'
	[wĩš paqazáNqaat]	/maqa-ɛʌnqaa-ti/	'you lost X'
	[ʔút maqazáNqaaʔ]	/maqa-ɛʌnqaa-la(ʔ)/	's/he lost X'
	[kinán maqazáNqáa]	/maqa-ɛʌnqaa-wa/	'we lost X'
	[wĩšin paqazáNqáatat]	/maqa-ɛʌnqaa-tat/	'y'all lost X'
	[ʔútún tamaqazáNqaaʔ]	/ta-maqa-ɛʌnqaa-la(ʔ)/	'they lost X'

c. The body part-prefix /maka-/ 'hand related.'

## /maka-lijn/ 'throw X'

- (146) [ʔút makalijníʔ túhčíwiš hónčíčíʔ]  
 /ut maka-lijn-ni-la(ʔ) tun-číwiš hun-číčíʔ/  
 s/he hand rel.-take X-+OBJ-PFV one-stone DET dog  
 's/he threw a stone at the dog'
- (147) [wĩšin pakalijpinítat túhčíwiš hónčíčíʔ]<sup>25</sup>  
 /wĩšin maka-lijn-ni-tat tun-číwiš hun-číčíʔ/  
 y'all hand rel.-take X-+OBJ-2SUB.PL one-stone DET-dog  
 'y'all threw a stone at the dog'

## 5.4.1.1.2. Laryngealization

Laryngealization of certain vowels of a verb is the usual mark of second person subject. Laryngealization appears in both the perfective and the imperfective aspects. In the imperfective aspect, laryngealization is sometimes the only marker that differentiates second person singular from third person singular verb forms.

(148)	[wĩš níj]	/wĩš nii/	'you die'
	[ʔút ní]	/ut nii/	's/he dies'
	[wĩš kəzi]	/wĩš kəzii/	'you know X'
	[ʔút kəzi]	/ut kəzii/	's/he knows X'
	[wĩš tɛhwán]	/wĩš tɛhwan/	'you look for X'
	[ʔút tɛhwán]	/ut tɛhwan/	's/he looks for X'

<sup>25</sup> Note that in this case there is double suppletion /m/ → [p] and /lijn/ → [lijpin].

As expected, verbs with underlying laryngealized vowels show no distinction between the second and third person singular in the imperfective.

(149)	[wĩš káá]	/wĩš káa/	'you cut X'
	[ʔút káá]	/ut káa/	's/he cuts X'
(150)	[wĩš ɛʔχ]	/wĩš ɛyq/	'you write X'
	[ʔút ɛʔχ]	/ut ɛyq/	's/he writes X'
(151)	[wĩš laqén]	/wĩš laqan/	'you see X'
	[ʔút laqén]	/ut laqan/	's/he sees X'

The distribution of laryngealization is dependent on the aspect of the verb, the number of the subject, and the phonological context. In the imperfective, laryngealization appears in the following cases: (a) as a marker of second person plural, when the vowel [aa] of the inflectional suffix /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' is preceded by a sonorant; (b) as a marker of second person singular when (i) the verb stem ends in a long vowel, (ii) when the verb stem ends in a nasal, and (iii) when the verb stem ends in a short vowel preceded by a sonorant. In the perfective, the stem-final vowel of a second person singular verb is laryngealized only following a sonorant. The second person plural forms of perfective verbs are never laryngealized. The distribution of second person laryngealization is illustrated below.

1. In the *imperfective*, the second person is indicated by laryngealization in the following cases:

a. When the vowel [aa] of the inflectional suffix /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' is preceded by a sonorant. Since this suffix does not appear word finally, this process can only be observed with a second person plural subject marked by /-tat/ '2SUB.PL'. With /-tat/ '2SUB.PL', the vowel of the inflectional suffix /-yaa/ is always laryngealized in its full form (i.e., following a vowel-final stem). If the suffix appears after a consonant, however, the /y/ is lost (4.3.3.1) and laryngealization appears on the allomorph [-aa] only after a sonorant. To recapitulate, in the second person plural, the imperfective suffix /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' is always laryngealized in its full form and its allomorph [-aa] is laryngealized only when following a sonorant.

(152)	[kinán káayáa]	/kinan kaa-yaa-wa/	'we cut X'
	[wĩšin káayáatát]	/wĩšin kaa-yaa-tat/	'y'all cut X'
	[kinán čanáa]	/čan-yaa-wa/	'we sow X'
	[wĩšin čanáatát]	/čan-yaa-tat/	'y'all sow X'

[kinán yoháa]	/kinan yuh-yaa-wa/	'we fall'
[wišín yoháa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/wišin yuh-yaa-tat/	'y'all fall'
[kinán tapahanúyáa]	/ta-paha=nuu-yaa-wa/	'we pass by'
[wišín tapahanúyáa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/ta-paha=nuu-yaa-tat/	'y'all pass by'
[kinán staháa]	/kinan stah-yaa-wa/	'we are wet'
[wišín staháa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/wišin stah-yaa-tat/	'y'all are wet'
[kinán †tatayáa]	/kinan †tata-yaa-wa/	'we sleep'
[wišín †tatayáa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/wišin †tata-yaa-tat/	'y'all sleep'
[kinán kažiíyáa]	/kinan kažii-yaa-wa/	'we know X'
[wišín kažiíyáa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/wišin kažii-yaa-tat/	'y'all know X'
[kinán zुकuyáa]	/kinan zuku-yaa-wa/	'we begin X'
[wišín zुकuyáa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/wišin zuku-yaa-tat/	'y'all begin X'
[kinán †tuqyáa]	/†tuqu-yaa-wa/	'we stir X'
[wišín †tuqyáa <sup>á</sup> tat]	/†tuqu-yaa-tat/	'y'all stir X'

Note that there is no laryngealization on the imperfective marker /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' when the allomorph [-aa] follows an obstruent.

- (153) [kinán ʔ[kpáažísáa] /kinan ik-paa=žiis-yaa-wa/ 'we forget X'  
 [wišín páažísáa<sup>á</sup>tat] /wišin paa=žiis-yaa-tat/ 'y'all forget X'

b. Laryngealization appears as a marker of second person singular in the following cases:

i. When the verb stem ends in a long vowel.

- (154) [wiš zánqáa] /wiš zanqaa/ 'you lose yourself'  
 [ʔút zánqáa] /ut zanqaa/ 's/he loses him/herself'
- [wiš tapahanúu] /wiš ta-paha=nuu/ 'you pass by'  
 [ʔút tapahanúu] /ut ta-paha=nuu/ 's/he passes by'
- [wiš tanúu] /wiš ta-nuu/ 'you enter'  
 [ʔút tanúu] /ut ta-nuu/ 's/he enters'
- [wiš hašántii] /wiš hašantii/ 'you rest'  
 [ʔút hašántii] /ut hašantii/ 's/he rests'

[wɨʃ páahóɔ]	/wɨʃ maa-huu/	'you put, store X'
[ʔút máahóɔ]	/ut maa-huu/	's/he puts, stores X'

[wɨʃ čáa]	/wɨʃ čaa/	'you are hot'
[ʔút čáa]	/ut čaa/	's/he is hot'

## ii. When the verb stem ends in a nasal.

- |                    |                    |                |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| (155) [wɨʃ wáayán] | /wɨʃ waa-yan/      | 'you eat'      |
| [ʔút wáayán]       | /ut waa-yan/       | 's/he eats'    |
| [wɨʃ sɔχón]        | /wɨʃ suqun/        | 'you like X'   |
| [ʔút sɔχón]        | /ut suqun/         | 's/he likes X' |
| [wɨʃ páastáanán]   | /wɨʃ paa=staa-nan/ | 'you think'    |
| [ʔút páastáanán]   | /ut paas=taa-nan/  | 's/he thinks'  |
| [wɨʃ zɨyán]        | /wɨʃ zɨyan/        | 'you laugh'    |
| [ʔút zɨyán]        | /ut zɨyan/         | 's/he laughs'  |

iii. When the verb stem ends in a short vowel preceded by a sonorant. Following a short stem-final vowel, a glottal stop always marks second person. Note that the glottal stop is added even if the stem-final vowel itself is not laryngealized (e.g., when following an obstruent).

- |                       |                  |                     |
|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (156) [wɨʃ páásúunɨʔ] | /wɨʃ maa=suu-ni/ | 'you show X to Y'   |
| [ʔút máásúunɨʔ]       | /ut maa=suu-ni/  | 's/he shows X to Y' |
| [wɨʃ čúuláʔ]          | /wɨʃ čuula/      | 'you do/make X'     |
| [ʔút čúulá]           | /ut čuula/       | 's/he does/makes X' |
| [wɨʃ qawáʔ]           | /wɨʃ qawa/       | 'you talk'          |
| [ʔút qawá]            | /ut qawa/        | 's/he talks'        |
| [wɨʃ ʔɨʃkɨʔ]          | /wɨʃ ɨʃki/       | 'you give X to Y'   |
| [ʔút ʔɨʃkɨ]           | /ut ɨʃki/        | 's/he gives X to Y' |
| [wɨʃ ʔɨwáʔ]           | /wɨʃ ɨwə/        | 'you buy X'         |
| [ʔút ʔɨwá]            | /ut ɨwə/         | 's/he buys X'       |
| [wɨʃ táštúʔ]          | /wɨʃ ta-štu/     | 'you leave'         |
| [ʔút táštú]           | /ut ta-štu/      | 's/he leaves'       |

[wĩʃ ʒukúʔ]	/wĩʃ ʒuku/	'you begin'
[ʔút ʒukú]	/ut ʒuku/	's/he begins'
[wĩʃ †tatáʔ]	/wĩʃ †tata/	'you sleep'
[ʔút †tatá]	/ut †tata/	's/he sleeps'
[wĩʃ †tɔqóʔ]	wĩʃ †tuqu/	'you stir X'
[ʔút †tɔqó]	/ut †tuqu/	's/he stirs X'

Laryngealization as a marker of second person never occurs on verb stems that end in an obstruent.

(157) [wĩʃ páasték]	/wĩʃ paa=stak/	'you remember X'
[ʔút páasték]	/ut paa=stak/	's/he remembers X'
[wĩʃ tapaqastóq]	/wĩʃ ta-maqa=stuq/	'you marry'
[ʔút tamaqastóq]	/ut ta-maqa=stuq/	's/he marries'
[wĩʃ páš]	/wĩʃ paš/	'you bathe'
[ʔút páš]	/ut paš/	's/he bathes'

2. In the *perfective*, the stem-final vowel of the second person singular form of the verb is laryngealized if it follows a sonorant.

(158) [wĩʃ níit]	/wĩʃ nii-ti/	'you died'
[wĩʃ tapahánuyt]	/wĩʃ ta-paha=nuu-ti/	'you passed by'
[wĩʃ tánuyt]	/wĩʃ ta-nuu-ti/	'you entered'
[wĩʃ lípiníin]	/wĩʃ líin-ni-ti/	'you took X to Y'
[wĩʃ páasúuníin]	/wĩʃ maa=suu-ni-ti/ <sup>26</sup>	'you showed X to Y'
[wĩʃ ʔíwǎníin]	/wĩʃ íwǎ-ni-ti/	'you bought X for Y'
[wĩʃ wǎn]	/wĩʃ wan-ni-ti/	'you said X to Y'
[wĩʃ téhwa]	/wĩʃ tíhwan-ti/	'you looked for X'

There is no laryngealization in second person if the stem-final vowel follows an obstruent.

(159) [wĩʃ hašántiit]	/wĩʃ hašantii-ti/	'you rested'
[wĩʃ čáǎšuu]	/wĩʃ čǎǎ-šuu-ti/	'you peeled X'
[wĩʃ kǎziit]	/wĩʃ kǎzi-ti/	'you knew X'
[wĩʃ ʒúk]	/wĩʃ ʒuku-ti/	'you began'

<sup>26</sup> The morphophonemics of the combination /-ni/ '+OBJ' + /-ti/ '2PFV' need to be examined more closely.

[wĩʂ ʔtáta, ʔtát]	/wĩʂ ʔtata-ti/	'you slept'
[wĩʂ ʔtɔχ]	/wĩʂ ʔtuqu-ti/	'you stirred X'
[wĩʂ sɔχ, sɔχɔ]	/wĩʂ suqun-ti/	'you liked X'
[wĩʂ páastékti]	/wĩʂ paa=stak-ti/	'you remembered X'
[wĩʂ tapaqástɔqti]	/wĩʂ ta-maqa=stuq-ti/	'you married'

The second person plural forms of perfective verbs are never laryngealized.

(160) [wĩʂín níitat]	/wĩʂín nii-tat/	'y'all died'
[wĩʂín tapahanúutat]	/ta-paha=nuu-tat/	'y'all passed by'
[wĩʂín tanúutat]	/wĩʂín ta-nuu-tat/	'y'all entered'
[wĩʂín ʔtatátat]	/wĩʂín ʔtata-tat/	'y'all slept'
[wĩʂín wááyántat]	/wáá-yan-tat/	'y'all ate'
[wĩʂín sɔχɔntat]	/suqun-tat/	'y'all liked X'
[wĩʂín éiyántat]	/éiyān-tat/	'y'all laughed'
[wĩʂín káziítat]	/wĩʂín kázi-i-tat/	'y'all knew X'
[wĩʂín hašántíitat]	/hašántii-tat/	'y'all rested'
[wĩʂín pááhɔtat]	/maa-huu-tat/	'y'all put/stored X'

Laryngealization optionally spreads leftward across sonorants onto vowels that are themselves preceded by the most sonorous phonemes, /w/, /y/, and //.

(161) [wĩʂ waníʔ]	/wĩʂ wan-ni/	'you tell X to Y'
[ʔút waníʔ]	/ut wan-ni/	's/he tells X to Y'
[wĩʂín wááyɛnáat]	/wáá-yan-yaa-tat/	'y'all eat'
[kinán wááyɛnáa]	/wáá-yan-yaa-wa/	'we eat'
[wĩʂ láawaníʔ]	/wĩʂ laa-wan-ni/	'you tell them to Y'
[wĩʂ láawaníʔ]		
[ʔút láawaníʔ]	/ut laa-wan-ni/	's/he tells them to Y'
[wĩʂ láawáa]	/wĩʂ laa-wáa/	'you eat them'
[wĩʂ láawáa]		
[ʔút láawáa]	/ut laa-wáa/	's/he eats them'

#### 5.4.2. Object Inflection

Object inflection is obligatory only if there is no overt object noun phrase. When there is an overt object noun phrase, then object inflection is optional. Thus, it is possible to have only object inflection, only an overt noun phrase, or both inflection and a noun phrase.



A schematic list of the object affixes is presented in Table 11.<sup>27</sup>

**Table 11. Object Inflection**

1OBJ	/kin-/ (optionally [kilaa-] /kin=laa <sup>a</sup> -/ with 2SUB.PL)
2OBJ	/-na/ (1SUB.PL /taa-...-na/)
3OBJ	∅
1OBJ.PL	/kin-...- na/ 3SUB [kilaa-] /kin=laa-/ 2SUB (2SUB inflection suspended)
2OBJ.PL	/taa-...-na/
3OBJ.PL	/laa-/
REFL	/-kan/ (/kan/ precedes all person and aspect suffixes)

<sup>a</sup>Although the prefix /kin=laa-/ is historically bimorphemic, it is now a lexicalized form. Evidence of its reanalyzed status is the lack of secondary stress on the first syllable of [kiláa]. Secondary stress assignment precedes n-deletion and the first syllable would be stressed if the prefix were bimorphemic.

The list in Table 11 is over-simplified in certain respects because object inflection interacts with both subject and aspect inflection. These interactions result in ambiguities such as the following:

1. The object prefix /kin=laa-/ 'us, (me)' does not co-occur with any second person subject inflection (i.e., laryngealization, suppletion or /-tat/ '2SUB.PL'). Second person subject inflection is suspended when the first person object is [kilaa-] /kin=laa-/ '1OBJ.(PL)'. As a result, 'y'all see me', 'y'all see us', and 'you see us' are all morphologically identical.

(162) [(wĩśín) kiláalaqɛnáa]  
/wĩśín kin=laa-láqan-yaa-tat/  
y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-see X-IMPFV-2SUB.PL  
'y'all see me/us'

(163) [(wĩś) kiláalaqɛnáa]  
/wĩś kin=laa-láqan-yaa/  
you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-see X-IMPFV  
'you see us'

2. The 3SUB.PL prefix /ta-/ cannot co-occur with the 2OBJ.PL prefix /taa-/. Specifically, a verb with a third person singular subject and a second person plural object is indistinguishable from a verb with a third person plural subject and a second person plural object (e.g., 's/he sees y'all' and 'they see

<sup>27</sup>Object inflection is not affected by the transitivity of the verb.

y'all' are identical). Thus, third person subject marking is suspended with a second person plural object.

(164) [(ʔút) táaləqənáan]  
 /ut taa-ləqən-yaa-na/  
 s/he 2OBJ.PL-see X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 's/he sees y'all'

(165) [(ʔútún) táaləqənáan]  
 /utun ta-taa-ləqən-yaa-na/  
 they 3SUB.PL-2OBJ.PL-see X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 'they see y'all'

Table 12 illustrates the interaction of subject and object inflection.

Table 12. Subject and Object Inflection

OBJECTS							
S	1OBJ.SG	1OBJ.PL	2OBJ.SG	2OBJ.PL	3OBJ.SG	3OBJ.PL	
U	1SUB.SG		ik-...-na	ik-taa-...-na	ik-	ik-laa-	
B	1SUB.PL		(ik)taa-...-na	(ik)taa-...-na	(ik)...-wa	(ik)laa-...-wa	
J	2SUB.SG	kin-... _	kin=laa-		... _	laa-... _	
E	2SUB.PL	kin- _ -tat kin=laa-	kin=laa-		... _ -tat	laa-... _ -tat	
C	3SUB.SG	kin-	kin-...-na	-na	taa-...-na	∅	laa-
T	3SUB.PL	kin-ta-	kin-ta-...-na	ta-...-na	taa-...-na	ta-	ta-laa-

#### 5.4.2.1. First Person Singular Object

The first person singular object marker is /kin-/ '1OBJ'. When the subject is second person plural, [kilaa] /kin=laa-/ '1OBJ + 'OBJ.PL' can optionally be used. When /kin=laa/ occurs, all second person inflection (i.e., laryngealization, suppletion, and /-tat/) is suspended.

##### a. /tjəwan/ 'look for X'<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> I have included examples of object inflection on verb stems that are nasal final, obstruent final, short-vowel final, long-vowel final, and nasal final preceded by a laryngealized vowel. If the paradigm is not complex, I do not always provide a full morpheme by morpheme gloss.

*Imperfective:*

- (166) [wĩʃ kintéħwán]  
 /wĩʃ kin-tĩħwan/  
 you 1OBJ-look for X  
 'you look for me'
- (167) [ʔút kintéħwán]  
 /ut kin-tĩħwan/  
 s/he 1OBJ-look for X  
 's/he looks for me'
- (168) [wĩʃín kintéħwánáat]                      [wĩʃín kiláatéħwanáa]  
 /wĩʃín kin-tĩħwan-yaa-tat/                      /wĩʃín kin=laa-tĩħwan-yaa/  
 y'all 1OBJ-look for X-IMPFV-2SUB.PL y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV  
 'y'all look for me'                      'y'all look for me'
- (169) [ʔutún kintatéħwán]  
 /utun kin-ta-tĩħwan/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-look for X  
 'they look for me'

*Perfective:*

- (170) [wĩʃ kintéħwá]  
 /wĩʃ kin-tĩħwan-ti/  
 you 1OBJ-look for X-PFV  
 'you looked for me'
- (171) [ʔút kintéħwáʔ]  
 /ut kin-tĩħwan-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-look for X-PFV  
 's/he looked for me'
- (172) [wĩʃín kintéħwántat]                      [wĩʃín kiláatéħwá]  
 /wĩʃín kin-tĩħwan-tat/                      /wĩʃín kin=laa-tĩħwan/  
 y'all 1OBJ-look for X-2SUB.PL                      y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 'y'all looked for me'                      'y'all looked for me'
- (173) [ʔutún kintetéħwáʔ]  
 /utun kín-ta-tĩħwan-la(ʔ)/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-look for X-PFV  
 'they looked for me'

## b. /paa=stak/ 'remember X'

*Imperfective:*

- (174) [wĩʂ kímpáasték]  
 /wĩʂ kin-paa=stak/  
 you 1OBJ-remember X  
 'you remember me'
- (175) [ʔút kímpáasték]  
 /ut kin-paa=stak/  
 s/he 1OBJ-remember X  
 's/he remembers me'
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (176) [wĩʂín kímpáastakáatat]<br>/wĩʂín kin-paa=stak-yaa-tat/<br>y'all 1OBJ-remember X-<br>IMPFV-2SUB.PL<br>'y'all remember me' | [wĩʂín kiláapáastakáa]<br>/wĩʂín kin=laa-paa=stak-yaa/<br>y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X-<br>IMPFV<br>'y'all remember me' |
|---|--|
- (177) [ʔutún kintapaasték]  
 /utun kin-ta-paa=sték/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-remember X  
 'they remember me'

*Perfective:*

- (178) [wĩʂ kímpáastékti]  
 /wĩʂ kin-paa=stak-ti/  
 you 1OBJ-remember X-2PFV  
 'you remembered me'
- (179) [ʔút kímpáastéklɔ]  
 /ut kin-paa=stak-la(ɔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-remember X-PFV  
 's/he remembered me'
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (180) [wĩʂín kímpáastáktat]<br>/wĩʂín kin-paa=stak-tat/<br>y'all 1OBJ-remember X-2SUB.PL<br>'y'all remembered me' | [wĩʂín kiláapáasték]<br>/wĩʂín kin=laa-paa=stak/<br>y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X<br>'y'all remembered me' |
|---|--|

- (181) [ʔutún kintapáastéklaʔ]  
 /utun kin-ta-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-remember X-PFV  
 ‘they remembered me’

c. /staa-ni/ ‘sell X for Y’

*Imperfective :*

- |                        |                       |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (182) [wiš kístáaniʔ]  | /wiš kin-staa-ni/     | ‘you sell X for me’   |
| [ʔut kístáani]         | /ut kin-staa-ni/      | ‘s/he sells X for me’ |
| [wišin kístáaniyáʔat]  | /kin-staa-ni-yaa-tat/ | ‘y’all sell X for me’ |
| [wišin kiláastáaniyaa] | /kin=laa-staa-ni-yaa/ |                       |
| [ʔutún kintástáaniʔ]   | /kin-ta-staa-ni/      | ‘they sell X for me’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                         |                        |                       |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (183) [wiš kístáaniʔin] | /wiš kin-staa-ni-ti/   | ‘you sold X for me’   |
| [ʔut kístáaniʔ]         | /ut kin-staa-ni-la(ʔ)/ | ‘s/he sold X for me’  |
| [wišin kístáaniʔat]     | /kin-staa-ni-tat/      | ‘y’all sold X for me’ |
| [wišin kiláastáaniʔ]    | /kin=laa-staa-ni/      |                       |
| [ʔutún kintástáaniʔ]    | /kin-ta-staa-ni-la(ʔ)/ | ‘they sold X for me’  |

d. /maq-skinii/ ‘ask Y for X’

*Imperfective:*

- |                                   |   |  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| (184) [wiš kimpáqskini čá]        | /wiš kin-maq-skinii ča/                   |  |
| you 1OBJ-CAUS-ask for X tortilla  |   |  |
| ‘you ask me for tortillas’        |   |  |
| (185) [ʔut kimpáqskini čá]        | /ut kin-maq-skinii ča/                    |  |
| s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-ask for X tortilla |   |  |
| ‘s/he asks me for tortillas’      |   |  |
| (186) [wišin kimpáqskiniyáʔat čá] | [wišin kiláamáqskiniyaa čá] <sup>29</sup> |  |
| /wišin kin-maq-skinii-yaa-tat ča/ | /wišin kin=laa-maq-skinii-yaa ča/         |  |
| y’all 1OBJ-CAUS-ask               | y’all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask               |  |
| for X-IMPV-2SUB.PL tortilla       | for X-IMPV tortilla                       |  |
| ‘y’all ask for tortillas’         | ‘y’all ask for tortillas’                 |  |

<sup>29</sup> Recall that second person inflection is suspended when [kiláa] ‘1OBJ.PL’ is used, resulting in [maq-] rather than [paq-].

- (187) [ʔutún kintamáqskini čá]  
 /utun kin-ra-maq-skinii ča/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-CAUS-ask for X tortilla  
 ‘they ask me for tortillas’

*Perfective:*

- (188) [wiš kimpáqskini čá]  
 /wiš kin-maq-skinii-ti ča/  
 you 1OBJ-CAUS-ask for X-2PFV tortilla  
 ‘you asked me for tortillas’
- (189) [ʔút kímáqskini čá]  
 /ut kin-maq-skinii-la(ʔ) ča/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-ask for X-PFV tortilla  
 ‘s/he asked me for tortillas’
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (190) [wišin kimpáqskini čá]<br>/wišin kin-maq-skinii-tat ča/<br>y'all 1OBJ-CAUS-ask<br>for X-2SUB.PL tortilla<br>‘y'all asked me for tortillas’ | [wišin kiláamáqskini čá]<br>/wišin kin=laa-maq-skinii ča/<br>y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask<br>for X tortilla<br>‘y'all asked me for tortillas’ |
|--|--|
- (191) [ʔutún kintamáqskini čá]  
 /utun kin-ta-maq-skinii-la(ʔ) ča/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-CAUS-ask for X-PFV tortilla  
 ‘they asked me for tortillas’

**e. /laqan/ ‘see’ X***Imperfective:*

- |                      |                     |                |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (192) [wiš kilaqén]  | /wiš kin-laqan/     | ‘you see me’   |
| [ʔút kilaqén]        | /ut kin-laqan/      | ‘s/he sees me’ |
| [wišin kilaqénáat]   | /kin-laqan-yaa-tat/ | ‘y'all see me’ |
| [wišin kiláalaqénáa] | /kin=laa-laqan-yaa/ |                |
| [ʔutún kintalaqén]   | /utun kin-ta-laqan/ | ‘they see me’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                   |                      |               |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| (193) [wiš kiláq] | /wiš kin-laqan-ti/   | ‘you saw me’  |
| [ʔút kiláqéʔ]     | /ut kin-laqan-la(ʔ)/ | ‘s/he saw me’ |

[wĩʃin kílaqé̃ntat]	/wĩʃin kin-laqãn-tat/	'y'all saw me'
[wĩʃin kiláalaqé̃]	/wĩʃin kin=laa-laqãn/	
[ʔũtún kíntaláqé̃ʔ]	/kin-ta-laqãn-la(ʔ)/	'they saw me'

#### 5.4.2.2. Second Person Singular Object

*/-na/* '2OBJ' marks the second person object in Yecuatla. However, with a first person plural subject, in addition to the suffix */-na/* '2OBJ', the prefix */taa-/* '2OBJ.PL' is needed. In San Marcos, the second person object is marked by */-ni/* '2OBJ' as it is in other Totonacan languages. The full forms of the suffixes */-na/* or */-ni/* '2OBJ' appear only following a consonant. After a vowel, the rule of CV-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1) results in [-n]. When following a nasal, the two adjacent nasals simplify and the stem is treated as though it were vowel final, triggering CV-suffix simplification.

*/-na/* occurs word finally, and thus triggers the appearance of the imperfective aspect marker */-yaa/*. */-na/* does not co-occur with the perfective marker */-la(ʔ)/* 'PFV'. In cases where both should logically be present, only the */-na/* '2OBJ' surfaces. No ambiguity results because the imperfective is always marked by the imperfective marker */-yaa/*, triggered by */-na/* '2OBJ', and the perfective is always unmarked. In addition, */-na/* does not co-occur with the first person plural subject marker */-wa/* '1SUB.PL'. The absence of */-wa/* '1SUB.PL' in the perfective could potentially result in an ambiguity between the first person singular subject and the first person plural subject in both the imperfective and perfective. However, since */taa-/* is obligatory in marking a second person singular object with a first person plural subject, no ambiguity results.

##### a. */tĩhwan/* 'look for X'

*Imperfective:*

- (194) [kít ʔíkté̃hwanáan]  
 /kit ik-tĩhwan-yaa-na/  
 I 1SUB-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 'I look for you'
- (195) [ʔú̃t té̃hwanáan]  
 /ut tĩhwan-yaa-na/  
 s/he-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he looks for you'

- (196) [kinán ɣiktáatɛ́hwanáan]  
 /kinán ik-taa-tɪhwan-yaa-na/<sup>30</sup>  
 we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 ‘we look for you’
- (197) [ɣutún tatɛ́hwanáan]  
 /utun ta-tɪhwan-yaa-na/  
 they 3SUB.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 ‘they look for you’

*Perfective:*

- (198) [kítktɛ́hwán]<sup>31</sup>  
 /kit-ik-tɪhwan-na/  
 I-1SUB-look for X-2OBJ  
 ‘I looked for you’
- (199) [ɣút tɛ́hwán]  
 /ut tɪhwan-na/  
 s/he-look for X-2OBJ  
 ‘s/he looked for you’
- (200) [kinán ɣiktáatɛ́hwán]  
 /kinán ik-taa-tɪhwan-na/  
 we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 ‘we looked for you’
- (201) [ɣutún tatɛ́hwán]  
 /utun ta-tɪhwan-na/  
 they 3SUB.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 ‘they looked for you’

**b. /paa=stak/ ‘remember X’***Imperfective:*

- (202) [kít ɣikpáastɛ́káan]  
 /kit ik-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 I 1SUB-remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 ‘I remember you’

<sup>30</sup> /-na/ ‘2OBJ’ does not co-occur with /-wa/ ‘1SUB.PL’, so I have not included /-wa/ in the underlying representation.

<sup>31</sup> -na/ ‘2OBJ’ does not co-occur with the perfective marker /-la(ɬ)/ ‘PFV’, so I have not included /-la(ɬ)/ in the underlying representation.



- (203) [ʔút páastekáan]  
/ut paa=stak-yaa-na/  
s/he remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
's/he remembers you'
- (204) [kinán ʔ[ktáapáastakáan]  
/kinán ik-taa-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
'we remember you'
- (205) [ʔutún tapáastakáan]  
/utun ta-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
they 3SUB.PL-remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
'they remember you'

*Perfective:*

- (206) [kít ʔ[kpáastékna (YEC), kít ʔ[kpáastékni (SM)]  
/kit ik-paa=stak-na/  
I 1SUB-remember X-2OBJ  
'I remembered you'
- (207) [ʔút páastékna (YEC), ʔút páastékni (SM)]  
/ut paa=stak-na/  
s/he remember X-2OBJ  
's/he remembered you'
- (208) [kinán ʔ[ktáapáastékna (YEC), kinán ʔ[ktáapáastékni (SM)]  
/kinán ik-taa-paa=stak-na/  
we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
'we remembered you'
- (209) [ʔutún tapáastékna (YEC), ʔutún tapáastékni (SM)]  
/utun ta-paa=stak-na/  
they 3SUB.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
'they remembered you'

## c. /stáa-ni/ 'sell X for Y'

*Imperfective:*

- |                         |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (210) [kít ʔ[ktáányáan] | /ik-stáa-ni-yaa-na/     | 'I sell X for you'     |
| [ʔút stáányáan]         | /stáa-ni-yaa-na/        | 's/he sells X for you' |
| [ʔ[ktáastáányáan]       | /ik-taa-stáa-ni-yaa-na/ | 'we sell X for you'    |
| [ʔutún tastáányáan]     | /ta-stáa-ni-yaa-na/     | 'they sell X for you'  |

*Perfective:*

- |       |                       |                     |                       |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (211) | [kít ʔíkstáánín]      | /ik-staa-ni-na/     | ‘I sold X for you’    |
|       | [ʔút stáánín]         | /staa-ni-na/        | ‘s/he sold X for you’ |
|       | [kinán ʔíktáastáánín] | /ik-taa-staa-ni-na/ | ‘we sold X for you’   |
|       | [ʔutún tástáánín]     | /ta-staa-ni-na/     | ‘they sold X for you’ |

**d. /maq-skinii/ ‘ask Y for X’***Imperfective:*

- (212) [kít ʔíkmáqskiniyáan čá]  
/kit ik-maq-skinii-yaa-na ča/  
I 1SUB-CAUS-ask for X-IMPFV-2OBJ tortilla  
‘I ask you for tortillas’
- (213) [ʔút máqskiniyáan čá]  
/ut maq-skinii-yaa-na ča/  
‘s/he asks you for tortillas’
- (214) [kinán ʔíktámáqskiniyáan čá]  
/kinán ik-taa-maq-skinii-yaa-na ča/  
‘we ask you for tortillas’
- (215) [ʔutún tamáqskiniyáan čá]  
/utun ta-maq-skinii-yaa-na ča/  
‘they ask you for tortillas’

*Perfective:*

- (216) [kít ʔíkmáqskiniín čá]  
/kit ik-maq-skinii-na ča/  
‘I asked you for tortillas’
- (217) [ʔút máqskiniín čá]  
/ut maq-skinii-na ča/  
‘s/he asked you for tortillas’
- (218) [kinán ʔíktámáqskiniín čá]  
/kinán ik-taa-maq-skinii-na ča/  
‘we asked you for tortillas’

- (219) [ʔutún ramáqskjnín čá]  
 /utun ta-maq-skinii-na ča/  
 ‘they asked you for tortillas’

e. /laqan/ ‘see X’

*Imperfective:*

- |                         |                       |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (220) [kít ʔíkláqɛnáan] | /kit ik-laqan-yaa-na/ | ‘I see you’     |
| [ʔút láqɛnáan]          | /ut laqan-yaa-na/     | ‘s/he sees you’ |
| [kinán ʔíktáaláqɛnáan]  | /ik-taa-laqan-yaa-na/ | ‘we see you’    |
| [ʔutún taláqɛnáan]      | /ta-laqan-yaa-na/     | ‘they see you’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                       |                   |                |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (221) [kít ʔíkláqɛ́n] | /kit ik-laqan-na/ | ‘I saw you’    |
| [ʔút láqɛ́n]          | /ut laqan-na/     | ‘s/he saw you’ |
| [kinán táaláqɛ́n]     | /ik-taa-laqan-na/ | ‘we saw you’   |
| [ʔutún taláqɛ́n]      | /ta-laqan-na/     | ‘they saw you’ |

### 5.4.2.3. Third Person Singular Object

The third person singular object is unmarked. In the absence of any overt object inflection, the object is interpreted as being third person singular.

a. /tɨhwan/ ‘look for X’

*Imperfective:*

- |                       |                    |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (222) [kít ʔíktɨhwán] | /kit ik-tɨhwan/    | ‘I look for X’     |
| [wɨš tɨhwán]          | /wɨš tɨhwan/       | ‘you look for X’   |
| [ʔút tɨhwán]          | /ut tɨhwan/        | ‘s/he looks for X’ |
| [kinán ʔíktɨhwanáa]   | /ik-tɨhwan-yaa-wa/ | ‘we look for X’    |
| [wɨšin tɨhwanáat]     | /tɨhwan-yaa-tat/   | ‘y’all look for X’ |
| [ʔutún tatɨhwán]      | /utun ta-tɨhwan/   | ‘they look for X’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                       |                        |                      |
|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (223) [kít ʔíktɨhwaɰ] | /kit ik-tɨhwan-la(ɰ)/  | ‘I looked for X’     |
| [wɨš tɨhwaɰ]          | /wɨš tɨhwan-ti/        | ‘you looked for X’   |
| [ʔút tɨhwaɰ]          | /ut tɨhwan-la(ɰ)/      | ‘s/he looked for X’  |
| [kinán ʔíktɨhwa]      | /kinan ik-tɨhwan-wa/   | ‘we looked for X’    |
| [wɨšin tɨhwanát]      | /wɨšin tɨhwan-tat/     | ‘y’all looked for X’ |
| [ʔutún tatɨhwaɰ]      | /utun ta-tɨhwan-la(ɰ)/ | ‘they looked for X’  |

## b. /paa=stak/ 'remember X'

*Imperfective:*

(224) [kít ʔíkpaásték]	/kit ik-paa=stak/	'I remember X'
[wíʃ páásték]	/wiʃ paa=stak/	'you remember X'
[ʔút páásték]	/ut paa=stak/	's/he remembers X'
[kinán ʔíkpaástékáa]	/kinan ik-paa=stak-yaa-wa/	'we remember X'
[wiʃín páástékáatat]	/wiʃin paa=stak-yaa-tat/	'y'all remember X'
[ʔutún tapáásték]	/utun ta-paa=stak/	'they remember X'

*Perfective:*

(225) [kít ʔíkpaástéklaʔ]	/kit ik-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/	'I remembered X'
[wíʃ páástékti]	/wiʃ paa=stak-ti/	'you remembered X'
[ʔút páástéklaʔ]	/ut paa=stak-la(ʔ)/	's/he remembered X'
[kinán ʔíkpaástékwa] (SM)	/kinan ik-paa=stak-wa/	'we remembered X'
[wiʃín páástéktať]	/wiʃin paa=stak-tat/	'y'all remembered X'
[ʔutún tapáástéklaʔ]	/utun ta-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/	'they remembered X'

## c. /staa-ni/ 'sell X for Y'

*Imperfective:*

(226) [kít ʔíkstáani]	/kit ik-staa-ni/	'I sell X for Y'
[wíʃ stáaniʔ]	/wiʃ staa-ni/	'you sell X for Y'
[ʔút stáani]	/ut staa-ni/	's/he sells X for Y'
[kinán ʔíkstáanyáa]	/ik-staa-ni-yaa-wa/	'we sell X for Y'
[wiʃín stáanyáatat]	/wiʃin staa-ni-yaa-tat/	'y'all sell X for Y'
[ʔutún tastáani]	/utun ta-staa-ni/	'they sell X for Y'

*Perfective:*

(227) [kít ʔíkstáaniʔ]	/kit ik-staa-ni-la(ʔ)/	'I sold X for Y'
[wíʃ stáaniín]	/wiʃ staa-ni-ti/	'you sold X for Y'
[ʔút stáaniʔ]	/ut staa-ni-la(ʔ)/	's/he sold X for Y'
[kinán ʔíkstáani]	/kinan ik-staa-ni-wa/	'we sold X for Y'
[wiʃín stáanitát]	/wiʃin staa-ni-tat/	'y'all sold X for Y'
[ʔutún tástáaniʔ]	/utun ta-staa-ni-la(ʔ)/	'they sold X for Y'

## d. /maq-skɨnii/ 'ask Y for X'

*Imperfective:*

(228) [kít ɔ̃[kmáqskɨnii]	/kit ik-maq-skɨnii/	'I ask Y for X'
[wɨʃ páqskɨnii]	/wɨʃ maq-skɨnii/	'you ask Y for X'
[ɔ̃út máqskɨnii]	/ut maq-skɨnii/	's/he asks Y for X'
[kinán ɔ̃[kmáqskɨniiyáa]	/ik-maq-skɨnii-yaa-wa/	'we ask Y for X'
[wɨʃín páqskɨniiyáatát]	/maq-skɨnii-yaa-tat/	'y'all ask Y for X'
[ɔ̃útún tamáqskɨnii]	/utun ta-maq-skɨnii/	'they ask Y for X'

*Perfective:*

(229) [kít ɔ̃[kmáqskɨniiɸ]	/kit ik-maq-skɨnii-la(ɸ)/	'I asked Y for X'
[wɨʃ páqskɨniiɸ]	/wɨʃ maq-skɨnii-ti/	'you asked Y for X'
[ɔ̃út máqskɨniiɸ]	/ut maq-skɨnii-la(ɸ)/	's/he asked Y for X'
[kinán ɔ̃[kmáqskɨnii]	/ik-maq-skɨnii-wa/	'we asked Y for X'
[wɨʃín páqskɨniiɸtát]	/wɨʃín maq-skɨnii-tat/	'y'all asked Y for X'
[ɔ̃útún tamáqskɨniiɸ]	/ta-maq-skɨnii-la(ɸ)/	'they asked Y for X'

## e. /laqan/ 'see X'

*Imperfective:*

(230) [kít ɔ̃[klaqén]	/kit ik-laqan/	'I see X'
[wɨʃ laqén]	/wɨʃ laqan/	'you see X'
[ɔ̃út laqén]	/ut laqan/	's/he sees X'
[kinán laqénáa]	/ik-laqan-yaa-wa/	'we see X'
[wɨʃín laqénáatát]	/laqan-yaa-tat/	'y'all see X'
[ɔ̃útún taláqén]	/utun ta-laqan/	'they see X'

*Perfective:*

(231) [kít ɔ̃[kláqɛɸ]	/kit ik-laqan-la(ɸ)/	'I saw X'
[wɨʃ láq, léq]	/wɨʃ laqan-ti/	'you saw X'
[ɔ̃út láqɛɸ]	/ut laqan-la(ɸ)/	's/he saw X'
[kinán láqɛ]	/kinán ik-laqan-wa/	'we saw X'
[wɨʃín láqɛntát]	/wɨʃín laqan-tat/	'y'all saw X'
[ɔ̃útún taláqɛɸ]	/utun ta-laqan-la(ɸ)/	'they saw X'

#### 5.4.2.4. First Person Plural Object

Person and number of the subject determine the nature of first person plural object inflection. With a third person subject, the first person plural object is marked by /kin-/ '1OBJ' . . . /-na/ '2OBJ'.

With a second person subject (singular or plural), a first person plural object is marked by the sequence /kin=laa-/ '1OBJ=3OBJ.PL'.<sup>32</sup> As mentioned above, /kin=laa/ precludes overt marking of a second person subject (i.e., there is no laryngealization, suppletion, or affixation). As a result, the forms for 'you VERB us' and 'y'all VERB me'<sup>33</sup> and 'y'all VERB us' are homophonous.

##### a. /tɨhwan/ 'look for X'

*Imperfective:*

- (232) [wɨʂ kiláatɨhwanáa]<sup>34</sup>  
 /wɨʂ kin=laa-tɨhwan-yaa/  
 you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV  
 'you look for us'
- (233) [ʔút kɨntɨhwanáan]  
 /ut kin-tɨhwan-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he looks for us'
- (234) [wɨʂín kiláatɨhwanáa]  
 /wɨʂín kin=laa-tɨhwan-yaa/  
 y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV  
 'y'all look for us'
- (235) [ʔutún kɨntatɨhwanáan]  
 /utun kin-ta-tɨhwan-yaa-na/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 'they look for us'

<sup>32</sup>Note that the combination /kin-/ '1OBJ' . . . /-na/ '2OBJ' literally creates first person inclusive (I + you) while the combination /kin=laa-/ '1OBJ=3OBJ.PL' literally creates first person exclusive (I + them). Although there is no evidence that speakers using these forms today are making an inclusive/exclusive distinction, the distinction may have been salient historically.

<sup>33</sup>Recall that the combination 'y'all VERB me' can also be marked by /kin-/ '1OBJ', in which case second person subject marking appears.

<sup>34</sup>Note that the imperfective aspect marker /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' appears with a second person subject even though it is word final. Recall that /-yaa/ normally only occurs word medially. Although the appearance of /-yaa/ in this context suggests that historically a suffix may have followed the imperfective marker, I do not have a synchronic explanation for this form.

*Perfective:*

- (236) [wĩʂ kiláatɛ́hwá]  
 /wĩʂ kin=laa-tĩhwan-ti/  
 you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X-2PFV  
 'you looked for us'
- (237) [ʔút kintɛ́hwén]  
 /ut kin-tĩhwan-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-look for X-2OBJ  
 's/he looked for us'
- (238) [wĩʂin kiláatɛ́hwá]  
 /wĩʂin kin=laa-tĩhwan/  
 y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 'y'all looked for us'
- (239) [ʔutún kintatɛ́hwén]  
 /utun kin-ta-tĩhwan-na/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 'they looked for us'

**b. /paa=stak/ 'remember X'***Imperfective:*

- (240) [wĩʂ kiláapáastakáa]  
 /wĩʂ kin=laa-paa=stak-yaa/  
 you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPV  
 'you remember us'
- (241) [ʔút kimpáastakáan]  
 /ut kin-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-remember X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 's/he remembers X'
- (242) [wĩʂin kiláapáastakáa]  
 /wĩʂin kin=laa-paa=stak-yaa/  
 y'all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPV  
 'y'all remember us'

- (243) [ʔutún kintapáastakáan]  
 /utun kin-ta-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-remember X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 ‘they remember us’

*Perfective:*

- (244) [wĩš kiláapáasték]  
 /wĩš kin=laa-paa=stak-ti/  
 you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X-2PFV  
 ‘you remembered us’

- (245) [ʔút kimpáastékna]  
 /ut kin-paa=stak-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘s/he remembered us’

- (246) [wĩšín kiláapáasték]  
 /wĩšín kin=laa-paa=stak/  
 y’all 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-remember X  
 ‘y’all remembered us’

- (247) [ʔutún kintapáastékna]  
 /utun kin-ta-paa=stak-na/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘they remembered us’

## c. /staa-ni/ ‘sell X for Y’

*Imperfective:*

- |                           |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (248) [wĩš kiláastáanyáa] | /kin=laa-staa-ni-yaa/     | ‘you sell it for us’   |
| [ʔút kístáanyáan]         | /kin-staa-ni-yaa-na/      | ‘s/he sells it for us’ |
| [wĩšín kiláastáanyáa]     | /kin=laa-staa-ni-yaa-tat/ | ‘y’all sell it for us’ |
| [ʔutún kintástáanyáan]    | /kin-ta-staa-ni-yaa-na/   | ‘they sell it for us’  |

*Perfective:*

- |                         |                       |                        |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (249) [wĩš kiláastáaní] | /kin=laa-staa-ni-ti/  | ‘you sold it for us’   |
| [ʔút kístáanín]         | /kin-staa-ni-na/      | ‘s/he sold it for us’  |
| [wĩšín kiláastáaní]     | /kin=laa-staa-ni-tat/ | ‘y’all sold it for us’ |
| [ʔutún kintástáanín]    | /kin-ta-staa-ni-na/   | ‘they sold it for us’  |



## d. /maq-skɨnii/ 'ask Y for X'

*Imperfective:*

- (250) [wɨʃ kiláamáqskɨníiyáa čá]  
 /wɨʃ kin=laa-maq-skɨnii-yaa ča/  
 you 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask for X-IMPFV tortilla  
 'you ask us for tortillas'
- (251) [ʔút kímáqskɨníiyáan čá]  
 /ut kin-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 's/he asks us for tortillas'
- (252) [wɨʃín kiláamáqskɨníiyáa čá]  
 /wɨʃín kin=laa-maq-skɨnii-yaa ča/  
 'y'all ask us for tortillas'
- (253) [ʔutún kíntamáqskɨníiyáan čá]  
 /utun kin-ta-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 'they ask us for tortillas'

*Perfective:*

- (254) [wɨʃ kiláamáqskɨní čá]  
 /wɨʃ kin=laa-maq-skɨnii-ti ča/  
 'you asked us for tortillas'
- (255) [ʔút kímáqskɨníin čá]  
 /ut kin-maq-skɨnii-na ča/  
 's/he asked us for tortillas'
- (256) [wɨʃín kiláamáqskɨní čá]  
 /wɨʃín kin=laa-maq-skɨnii ča/  
 'y'all asked us for tortillas'
- (257) [ʔutún kíntamáqskɨníin čá]  
 /utun kin-ta-maq-skɨnii-na ča/  
 'they asked us for tortillas'

## e. /laqan/ 'see X'

*Imperfective:*

- |       |                      |                         |                |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| (258) | [wiʃ kiláalaqɛnáa]   | /wiʃ kin=laa-laqan-yaa/ | 'you see us'   |
|       | [ɣút kiláaqɛnán]     | /ut kin-laqan-yaa-na/   | 's/he sees us' |
|       | [wiʃín kiláalaqɛnáa] | /kin=laa-laqan-yaa-tat/ | 'y'all see us' |
|       | [ɣutún kintalaqɛnán] | /kin-ta-laqan-yaa-na/   | 'they see us'  |

*Perfective:*

- |       |                    |                        |                |
|-------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| (259) | [wiʃ kiláalaqɛ]    | /wiʃ kin=laa-laqan-ti/ | 'you saw us'   |
|       | [ɣút kiláaqɛn]     | /ut kin-laqan-na/      | 's/he saw us'  |
|       | [wiʃín kiláalaqɛ]  | /kin=laa-laqan-tat/    | 'y'all saw us' |
|       | [ɣutún kintalaqɛn] | /kin-ta-laqan-na/      | 'they saw us'  |

## 5.4.2.5. Second Person Plural Object

The second person plural object is marked by the affixes /taa-/ '2OBJ.PL' . . . /-na/ '2OBJ'. The prefix /taa-/ '2OBJ.PL' cannot co-occur with /ta-/ '3SUB.PL'. Essentially, third person plural subject marking is suspended with a second person plural object.

## a. /tɪhwan/ 'look for X'

*Imperfective:*

- |       |                                       |  |  |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| (260) | [kít ɣíktáatɛhwanán]                  |  |  |
|       | /kit ik-taa-tɪhwan-yaa-na/            |  |  |
|       | I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  |  |  |
|       | 'I look for y'all'                    |  |  |
| (261) | [ɣút táatɛhwanán]                     |  |  |
|       | /ut taa-tɪhwan-yaa-na/                |  |  |
|       | s/he 2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ    |  |  |
|       | 's/he looks for y'all'                |  |  |
| (262) | [kinán ɣíktáatɛhwanán]                |  |  |
|       | /kinán ik-taa-tɪhwan-yaa-na/          |  |  |
|       | we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ |  |  |
|       | 'we look for y'all'                   |  |  |

- (263) [ɣʉtún táatɛ́hwanáan]  
 /utun taa-tɪ́hwan-yaa-na/  
 they 2OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 'they look for y'all'

*Perfective:*

- (264) [kít ɣɪ́ktáatɛ́hwén]  
 /kit ik-taa-tɪ́hwan-na/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 'I looked for y'all'
- (265) [ɣút táatɛ́hwén]  
 /ut taa-tɪ́hwan-na/  
 s/he-2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 's/he looked for y'all'
- (266) [kinán ɣɪ́ktáatɛ́hwén]  
 /kinan ik-taa-tɪ́hwan-na/  
 we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 'we looked for y'all'
- (267) [ɣʉtún táatɛ́hwén]  
 /utun taa-tɪ́hwan-na/  
 they 2OBJ.PL-look for X-2OBJ  
 'they looked for y'all'

**b. /paa=stak/ 'remember X'**

*Imperfective:*

- (268) [kít ɣɪ́ktáapáastakáan]  
 /kit ik-taa-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 'I remember y'all'
- (269) [ɣút táapáastakáan]  
 /ut taa-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 s/he 2OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he remembers y'all'

- (270) [kinán ʔíktáapáastakáan]  
 /kinən ik-taa-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 ‘we remember y’all’
- (271) [ʔutún táapáastakáan]  
 /utun taa-paa=stak-yaa-na/  
 they 2OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 ‘they remember y’all’

*Perfective:*

- (272) [kít ʔíktáapáastákna]  
 /kit ik-taa-paa=stak-na/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘I remembered y’all’
- (273) [ʔút táapáastákna]  
 /ut taa-paa=stak-na/  
 s/he 2OBJ.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘s/he remembered y’all’
- (274) [kinán ʔíktáapáastákna]  
 /kinən ik-taa-paa=stak-na/  
 we 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘we remembered y’all’
- (275) [ʔutún táapáastákna]  
 /utun taa-paa=stak-na/  
 they 2OBJ.PL-remember X-2OBJ  
 ‘they remembered y’all’

## c. /staa-ni/ ‘sell X for Y’

*Imperfective:*

- (276) [kít ʔíktáastáanyáan]  
 /kit ik-taa-staa-ni-yaa-na/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ  
 ‘I sell X for y’all’

- (277) [ʔút táastáanyáan] /taa-stáa-ni-yaa-na/ 's/he sells X for y'all'  
 [ʔktáastáanyáan] /ik-taa-stáa-ni-yaa-na/ 'we sell X for y'all'  
 [ʔutún táastáanyáan] /taa-stáa-ni-yaa-na/ 'they sell X for y'all'

*Perfective:*

- (278) [kít ʔíktáastáanín] /kit ik-taa-stáa-ni-na/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-sell X-+OBJ-2OBJ  
 'I sold X for y'all'
- (279) [ʔút táastáanín] /taa-stáa-ni-na/ 's/he sold X for y'all'  
 [kinán ʔíktáastáanín] /ik-taa-stáa-ni-na/ 'we sold X for y'all'  
 [ʔutún táastáanín] /taa-stáa-ni-na/ 'they sold X for y'all'

**d. /maq-skɨnii/ 'ask Y for X'***Imperfective:*

- (280) [kít ʔíktáamáqskɨníiyáan čá] /kit ik-taa-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 I 1SUB-2OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask for X-IMPV-2OBJ-tortilla  
 'I ask y'all for tortillas'
- (281) [ʔút táamáqskɨníiyáan čá] /ut taa-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 's/he asks y'all for tortillas'
- (282) [kinán ʔíktáamáqskɨníiyáan čá] /kinán ik-taa-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 'we ask y'all for tortillas'
- (283) [ʔutún táamáqskɨníiyáan čá] /utun taa-maq-skɨnii-yaa-na ča/  
 'they ask y'all for tortillas'

*Perfective:*

- (284) [kít ʔíktáamáqskɨnín čá] /kit ik-taa-maq-skɨnii-na ča/  
 'I asked y'all for tortillas'

- (285) [ɔ́yt táamáqskɪnín čá]  
/ut taa-maq-skɪnii-na ča/  
's/he asked y'all for tortillas'
- (286) [kinán ɔ́iktáamáqskɪnín čá]  
/kinán ik-taa-maq-skɪnii-na ča/  
'we asked y'all for tortillas'
- (287) [ɔ́ytún táamáqskɪnín čá]  
/utun taa-maq-skɪnii-na ča/  
'they asked y'all for tortillas'

e. /laqan/ 'see X'

*Imperfective:*

- |                            |                       |                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (288) [kít ɔ́iktáalaqɛnán] | /ik-taa-laqan-yaa-na/ | 'I see y'all'     |
| [ɔ́yt táalaqɛnán]          | /taa-laqan-yaa-na/    | 's/he sees y'all' |
| [kinán ɔ́iktáalaqɛnán]     | /ik-taa-laqan-yaa-na/ | 'we see y'all'    |
| [ɔ́ytún táalaqɛnán]        | /taa-laqan-yaa-na/    | 'they see y'all'  |

*Perfective:*

- |                           |                       |                  |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (289) [kít ɔ́iktáalaqɛ́n] | /kit ik-taa-laqan-na/ | 'I saw y'all'    |
| [ɔ́yt táalaqɛ́n]          | /ut taa-laqan-na/     | 's/he saw y'all' |
| [kinán ɔ́iktáalaqɛ́n]     | /ik-taa-laqan-na/     | 'we saw y'all'   |
| [ɔ́ytún táalaqɛ́n]        | /taa-laqan-na/        | 'they saw y'all' |

#### 5.4.2.6. Third Person Plural Object

The third person plural object marker is the prefix /laa-/ '3OBJ.PL'. /laa-/ follows /ta-/ '3SUB.PL' and /ik-/ '1SUB'. With a third person plural subject, the sequence /ta-laa/ sometimes has a reciprocal meaning; however, this interpretation is marked. The reflexive/reciprocal suffix /-kan/ 'REFL' is required for an unambiguous reciprocal interpretation.

- (290) [taláatɛ́hwaɬ]  
/ta-laa-tɪhwan-la(ɬ)/  
3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-look for X-PFV  
'they<sub>i</sub> looked for them<sub>j</sub>/(each other)<sub>i</sub>'

- (291) [taláatɛ́hwánkaʔ]  
 /ta-laa-tɪ́hwan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-PFV  
 ‘they looked for each other’

a. /tɪ́hwan/ ‘look for X’

*Imperfective:*

- (292) [kít ɾikláatɛ́hwán]  
 /kit ik-laa-tɪ́hwan/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 ‘I look for them’
- (293) [wɪ́ʂ láatɛ́hwán]  
 /wɪ́ʂ laa-tɪ́hwan/  
 you 3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 ‘you look for them’
- (294) [ɾút láatɛ́hwán]  
 /ut laa-tɪ́hwan/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 ‘s/he looks for them’
- (295) [kinán ɾikláatɛ́hwanáa]  
 /kinán ik-laa-tɪ́hwan-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we look for them’
- (296) [wɪ́ʂín láatɛ́hwanáatát]  
 /wɪ́ʂín laa-tɪ́hwan-yaa-tat/  
 y’all 3OBJ.PL-look for X-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 ‘y’all look for them’
- (297) [ɾútún taláatɛ́hwán]  
 /utun ta-laa-tɪ́hwan/  
 they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-look for X  
 ‘they look for them’

*Perfective:*

- (298) [kít ʔ[kláatɛ́hwaɬ]  
 /kit ik-laa-tihwan-la(ɬ)/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-look for X-PFV  
 ‘I looked for them’
- (299) [wɨ́ʂ láatɛ́hwa]  
 /wɨ́ʂ laa-tihwan-ti/  
 you 3OBJ.PL-look for X-PFV  
 ‘you looked for them’
- (300) [ʔút láatɛ́hwaɬ]  
 /ut laa-tihwan-la(ɬ)/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-look for X-PFV  
 ‘s/he looked for them’
- (301) [kinán ʔ[kláatɛ́hwá]  
 /kinán ik-laa-tihwan-wa/  
 we 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-look for X-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we looked for them’
- (302) [wɨ́ʂín láatɛ́hwántat]  
 /wɨ́ʂín laa-tihwan-tat/  
 y’all 3OBJ.PL-look for X-2SUB.PL  
 ‘y’all looked for them’
- (303) [ʔutún taláatɛ́hwaɬ]  
 /utun ta-laa-tihwan-la(ɬ)/  
 they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-look.for-PFV  
 ‘they looked for them’

**b. /paa=stak/ ‘remember X’***Imperfective:*

- (304) [kít ʔ[kláapáasték]  
 /kit ik-laa-paa=stak/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-remember X  
 ‘I remember them’



- (305) [wĩʂ láapáasték]  
 /wĩʂ laa-paa=stak/  
 you 3OBJ.PL-remember X  
 'you remember them'
- (306) [ʔút láapáasték]  
 /ut laa-paa=stak/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-remember X  
 's/he remembers them'
- (307) [kinān ʔikláapáastakáa]  
 /kinān ik-laa-paa=stak-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we remember them'
- (308) [wĩʂín láapáastakáatat]  
 /wĩʂín laa-paa=stak-yaa-tat/  
 y'all 3OBJ.PL-remember X-IMPFV-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all remember them'
- (309) [ʔutún taláapáasték]  
 /utun ta-laa-paa=stak/  
 they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-remember X  
 'they remember them'

*Perfective:*

- (310) [kít ʔikláapáastéklaʔ]  
 /kít ik-laa-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  
 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-remember X-PFV  
 'I remembered them'
- (311) [wĩʂ láapáastékti]  
 /wĩʂ laa-paa=stak-ti/  
 you 3OBJ.PL-remember X-2PFV  
 'you remembered them'
- (312) [ʔút láapáastéklaʔ]  
 /ut laa-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-remember X-PFV  
 's/he remembered them'

- (313) [kinān ʔikláapáasték]  
/kinān ik-laa-paa=stak-wa/  
we 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-remember X-1SUB.PL  
'we remembered them'
- (314) [wišín láapáastéktat]  
/wišín laa-paa=stak-tat/  
y'all 3OBJ.PL-remember X-2SUB.PL  
'y'all remembered them'
- (315) [ʔutún taláapáastéklaʔ]  
/utun ta-laa-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/  
they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-remember X-PFV  
'they remembered them'

c. /stāa-ni/ 'sell X for Y'

*Imperfective:*

- |                          |                         |                         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (316) [kít ʔikláastāānī] | /ik-laa-stāa-ni/        | 'I sell X for them'     |
| [wiš láastāānīʔ]         | /laa-stāa-ni/           | 'you sell X for them'   |
| [ʔút láastāānī]          | /laa-stāa-ni/           | 's/he sells X for them' |
| [kinān ʔikláastāānyáa]   | /ik-laa-stāa-ni-yaa-wa/ | 'we sell X for them'    |
| [wišín láastāānyáatāt]   | /laa-stāa-ni-yaa-tat/   | 'y'all sell X for them' |
| [ʔutún taláastāānī]      | /ta-laa-stāa-ni/        | 'they sell X for them'  |

*Perfective:*

- |                           |                        |                         |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (317) [kít ʔikláastāāniʔ] | /ik-laa-stāa-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 'I sold X for them'     |
| [wiš láastāānīn]          | /wiš laa-stāa-ni-ti/   | 'you sold X for them'   |
| [ʔút láastāāniʔ]          | /ut laa-stāa-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 's/he sold X for them'  |
| [kinān ʔikláastāāni]      | /ik-laa-stāa-ni-wa/    | 'we sold X for them'    |
| [wišín láastāānitāt]      | /laa-stāa-ni-tat/      | 'y'all sold X for them' |
| [ʔutún taláastāāniʔ]      | /ta-laa-stāa-ni-la(ʔ)/ | 'they sold X for them'  |

d. /maq-skīnii/ 'ask Y for X'

*Imperfective:*

- (318) [kít ʔikláamaqskīnī čá]  
/kit ik-laa-maq-skīnii ča/  
I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask for X-tortilla  
'I ask them for tortillas'

- (319) [wĩʃ láapáqskĩní čá]  
/wĩʃ laa-maq-skĩnii ča/  
'you ask them for tortillas'
- (320) [ʔút láamáqskĩní čá]  
/ut laa-maq-skĩnii ča/  
's/he asks them for tortillas'
- (321) [kinān ʔikláamáqskĩniyáa čá]  
/kinān ik-laa-maq-skĩnii-yaa-wa ča/  
'we ask them for tortillas'
- (322) [wĩʃín láapáqskĩniyáatát čá]  
/wĩʃín laa-maq-skĩnii-yaa-tat ča/  
'y'all ask them for tortillas'
- (323) [ʔutún taláamáqskĩní čá]  
/utun ta-laa-maq-skĩnii ča/  
'they ask each other/them for tortillas'

*Perfective:*

- (324) [kít ʔikláamaqskĩniɸ čá]  
/kit ik-laa-maq-skĩnii-la(ɸ) ča/  
'I asked them for tortillas'
- (325) [wĩʃ láapáqskĩniit čá]  
/wĩʃ laa-maq-skĩnii-ti ča/  
'you asked them for tortillas'
- (326) [ʔút láamáqskĩniɸ čá]  
/ut laa-maq-skĩnii-la(ɸ) ča/  
's/he asked them for tortillas'
- (327) [kinān ʔikláamáqskĩní čá]  
/kinān ik-laa-maq-skĩnii-wa ča/  
'we asked them for tortillas'
- (328) [wĩʃín láapáqskĩnitát čá]  
/wĩʃín laa-maq-skĩnii-tat ča/  
'y'all asked them for tortillas'

- (329) [ʔutún taláamáqskíniiʔ čá]  
 /utun ta-laa-maq-skinii-la(ʔ) ča/  
 'they asked them for tortillas'

e. /laqan/ 'see X'

*Imperfective:*

- |                        |                       |                  |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (330) [kít ʔkláalaqén] | /kit ik-laa-laqan/    | 'I see them'     |
| [wĩš láalaqén]         | /wĩš laa-laqan/       | 'you see them'   |
| [ʔút láalaqén]         | /ut laa-laqan/        | 's/he sees them' |
| [kinán ʔkláalaqénáa]   | /ik-laa-laqan-yaa-wa/ | 'we see them'    |
| [wĩšin láalaqénátat]   | /laa-laqan-yaa-tat/   | 'y'all see them' |
| [ʔutún taláalaqén]     | /utun ta-laa-laqan/   | 'they see them'  |

*Perfective:*

- |                        |                           |                  |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (331) [kít ʔkláalaqéʔ] | /kit ik-laa-laqan-la(ʔ)/  | 'I saw them'     |
| [wĩš láaláq, láaléq]   | /wĩš laa-laqan-ti/        | 'you saw them'   |
| [ʔút láaláqéʔ]         | /ut laa-laqan-la(ʔ)/      | 's/he saw them'  |
| [kinán ʔkláalaqé]      | /kinan ik-laa-laqan-wa/   | 'we saw them'    |
| [wĩšin láalaqéntat]    | /wĩšin laa-laqan-tat/     | 'y'all saw them' |
| [ʔutún taláalaqéʔ]     | /utun ta-laa-laqan-la(ʔ)/ | 'they saw them'  |

### 5.4.3. Double Object Marking

Multiple objects can be marked on a verb if they are not cross-referenced by means of the same affix. Ambiguity can result if it is not clear which argument corresponds to which affix. (See chapter 7 for discussion of verbal argument structure.)

- (332) [ʔút láamáalaqéniiyáan]  
 /ut laa-maa-laqan-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ  
 's/he makes you see them, s/he makes them see you'

In addition, discontinuous object affixes can be interpreted either as two separate objects or as a single object. One example is the sequence /kin-. . .-na/ which can also be interpreted either as 'us, 1OBJ.PL' or as two separate objects /kin-/ 'me, 1OBJ' and /-na/ 'you, 2OBJ'.

- (333) [ɔ́ʉt kimáalaqɛniyáan]  
 /ut kin-maa-laqaŋ-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he makes you see me, s/he makes me see you,  
 s/he makes X see us, s/he makes us see X'

The following are some examples of double object marking:

- (334) [ɔ́ʉtún ʔán kintaláamakaɔ́ʃki]  
 /utun ʔn kin-ta-laa-maka-iʃki/  
 they go 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-hand rel.-give X to Y  
 'they are handing them to me, they are handing me to them'
- (335) [kinán ʔíkláamakaɔ́ʃki hónlíbru]<sup>35</sup>  
 /kinan ik-laa-maka-iʃki-wa hun-libru/  
 we 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-hand rel.-give X to Y-1SUB.PL DET-book  
 'we handed them the book, we handed him/her the books'
- (336) [ɔ́ʉt kíwanínyáan]  
 /ut kin-wan-ni-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-say X-+OBJ-+-OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he tells you X for me, s/he tells me X for you'

In most examples of double object marking, one of the objects is third person. This seems to be due to pragmatic accident rather than syntactic constraint. However, as can be seen in the causative examples, multiple object marking which involves first and second persons does occur. Below are listed a few of the possible combinations:

- (337) [ʃwáan kiláaɔ́ʃkiɬ (hónlíbru)]  
 /Juan kin=laa-iʃki-la(ɬ) (hun-libru)/  
 Juan 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-give X to Y-PFV (DET-book)  
 'Juan gave them to me (the books)'
- (338) [ɔ́ʉt kimáalaqɛnín]  
 /ut kin-maa-laqaŋ-ni-la(ɬ)-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-PFV-2OBJ  
 's/he made me see you, s/he made you see me,  
 she made us see X, she made X see us'

<sup>35</sup>Note that plural marking on a noun phrase is optional in Misantla Totonac.

- (339) [šwáan láaʔiškín (hónlíbru)]  
 /Juan laa-iški-la(ʔ)-na (hun-libru)/  
 Juan 3OBJ.PL-give X to Y-PFV-2OBJ (DET-book)  
 'Juan gave them to you (the books)'
- (340) [šwáan láaʔiškíʔ (hónlíbru)]  
 /Juan laa-iški-la(ʔ) (hun-libru)/  
 Juan 3OBJ.PL-give X to Y-PFV (DET-book),  
 'Juan gave them to him/her (the books)  
 Juan gave the book to them'
- (341) [šwáan kiláaʔiškín (hónlíbru)]  
 /Juan kin=laa-iški-na (hun-libru)/  
 Juan 1OBJ=3OBJ.PL-give X to Y-2OBJ (DET-book)  
 'Juan gave them to us (the books)'
- (342) [ʔutún kintaláamakaʔiškín hónlíbru]  
 /utun kin-ta-laa-maka-iški-na hun-libru/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-hand rel.-give X to Y-2OBJ DET-book  
 'they handed us the books'

There is at least one restriction on double object marking: /taa-/ '2OBJ.PL' cannot co-occur with /laa-/ '3OBJ.PL'.

- (343) \*[šwáan táaláamakaʔiškín (hónlíbru)]  
 /Juan taa-laa-hand rel.-iški-la(ʔ)-na (hun-libru)/  
 Juan 2OBJ.PL-3OBJ.PL-give X to Y-PFV-2OBJ (DET-book)  
 \*'Juan gave them to y'all (the books)'

#### 5.4.4. Indefinite Subject and Reflexive

The verbal suffix /-kan/ has two different functions in Misantra Totonac. In sentences that have no overtly specified subject, /-kan/ indicates that the subject of the verb is indefinite. In sentences that do contain overtly specified subjects, /-kan/ indicates that the verb is reflexive. In the following sections, the abbreviation 'REFL' refers to a reflexive construction and the abbreviation 'I.S.' refers to an indefinite subject. In both cases, /-kan/ is suffixed directly to the verb stem and all inflectional suffixes follow it.

##### 5.4.4.1. Indefinite Subject

In sentences which lack any overt indication of a subject, /-kan/ 'I.S.' serves to indicate that the subject of the verb is indefinite or unspecified. The

effect is rendered in English by means of active voice sentences with ‘someone’ or ‘something’ as the subject or by means of passive voice sentences with a deleted agent noun phrase. Although Watters (1988) analyzes /-kan/ as a passivizer in Tepehua, there is no indication in Misantla Totonac that a verb with /-kan/ is anything other than active. In particular, there is no apparent change in grammatical relations. Object inflection on transitive and ditransitive verbs with /-kan/ is unaffected. The indefinite subject is always marked by means of third person singular subject inflection, which means that it is often unmarked.

- (344) [čúulákaɬ hónsikulán]  
 /čuula-kan-la(ɬ) hun-sikulan/  
 do/make X-I.S. -PFV DET-church  
 ‘someone built the church, the church was built’
- (345) [púškán hónkaféɛ]  
 /puš-kan hun-kaféɛ/  
 cut/pick X-I.S. DET-coffee  
 ‘someone picks the coffee, the coffee is picked’

#### 5.4.4.1.1. Indefinite Subject with Different Verb Classes

The indefinite subject can occur with intransitive verbs:

- (346) [ɔ́ǎŋkaɬ]  
 /ǎŋ-kan-la(ɬ)/  
 go-I.S. -PFV  
 ‘someone went’
- (347) [qéɬtawáqákaɬ]  
 /kiɬ-ta-wáqá-kan-la(ɬ)/  
 mouth rel. -INC-read-I.S. -PFV  
 ‘someone prayed/read’
- (348) [níikán]  
 /nii-kan/  
 die-I.S.  
 ‘someone dies’

/-kan/ ‘I.S.’ with transitive verbs may take object arguments marked by regular object inflection on the verb. In Tepehua, Watters (1988) has found that when /-kan/ occurs on transitive verbs, the verb takes subject inflection to mark the notional object, as would be expected in a passive construction. In Misantla Totonac this never happens.

- (349) [hónskwéla čúulákaɸ]  
 /hun-skwɛla čuula-kan-la(ɸ)/  
 DET-school make X-I.S.-PFV  
 ‘someone built the school, the school was built’
- (350) [láaʔáʔiʃkiɸkaɸ hólníbru]<sup>36</sup>  
 /laa-ʔ-iʃki-kan-la(ɸ) hun-libru/  
 3OBJ.PL-MOM-give X to Y-I.S.-PFV DET-book  
 ‘someone loaned them the book(s), the book(s) was (were) loaned to them’
- (351) [kiʔiʃkiɸkaɸ]  
 /kin-iʃki-kan-la(ɸ)/  
 1OBJ-give X to Y/hit X-I.S.-PFV  
 ‘someone gave X to me, it was given to me’

There is potential for ambiguity when /-kan/ ‘I.S.’ appears on a verb with a third person subject and no overt object marking. In this case, verbs of certain semantic classes can be interpreted as either reflexive or impersonal.

- (352) [laqéŋkán]  
 /laqan-kan/  
 see X-I.S./REFL  
 ‘someone sees X, s/he sees herself/himself’

#### 5.4.4.1.2. Indefinite Subject and Derivational Affixes

/-kan/ ‘I.S.’ occurs with several derivational affixes that affect the argument structure of the verb. Since /-kan/ serves only to provide information about the subject argument and does not change the valence of the verb, there is no conflict with these derivational affixes. The affixes listed below are discussed in detail in chapter 7.

##### a. Instrumental

- (353) [hŋkáʃtaláňčá líikutúkaɸ hŋkíjksúŋkán]  
 /hun-kaʃtalanča lii-kutu-kan-la(ɸ) hun-kijksun-kam/  
 DET-bread INS-feed X-I.S.-PFV DET-small-offspring  
 ‘bread was fed to the child, someone fed the child bread’

<sup>36</sup>Note that this is a ditransitive verb.



- (354) [túulíičúulakán hōňčá]  
 /tuu-lii-čuula-kan hun-ča/  
 what-INS-make X-I.S. DET-tortilla  
 ‘what are tortillas made of, what does one make tortillas with?’

### b. Locative

- (355) [púumíηka† hōňkóči]  
 /puu-min-kan-la(†) hun-kóči/  
 LOC-come-I.S.-PFV DET-car  
 ‘someone came in a car’

### c. Causative

- (356) [máaláktíikán hōňkaféε]  
 /maa-lak-tii-kan hun-kaféε/  
 CAUS-DIS-dry-I.S. DET-coffee  
 ‘the coffee is dried, someone dries the coffee’

### d. Applicative

- (357) [hónswéter čúulaníka† hōň ʔqšáʔ]  
 /hun-swéter čuula-ni-kan-la(†) hun uqša/  
 DET-sweater make/do X-+OBJ-I.S.-PFV DET young man  
 ‘the sweater was made for the young man, someone made the sweater for the young man’
- (358) [hónswéter kíňčúulaníka†]  
 /hun-swéter kin-čuula-ni-kan-la(†)/  
 DET-sweater 1OBJ-make/do X-+OBJ-I.S.-PFV  
 ‘the sweater was made for me, someone made me the sweater’

### e. Indefinite object

The object argument of a transitive verb may be made indefinite by the suffix /-nan/ ‘I.O.’ (see section 7.2.10). Activity indicated by a derived verb is accomplished by the indefinite subject.

- (359) [čáηka† hōň kíspa]  
 /čān-kan-la(†) hun kíspa/  
 sow X-I.S.-PFV DET corn  
 ‘the corn was sown, someone sowed the corn’

- (360) [č̣anánkaʔ]  
/č̣an-nan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
sow X-I.O.-I.S.-PFV  
'someone planted (habitually), planting was done'
- (361) [stáākaʔ]  
/staā-kan-la(ʔ)/  
sell X-I.S.-PFV  
'someone sold X'
- (362) [stáānánkaʔ]  
/staā-nan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
sell X-I.O.-I.S.-PFV  
'someone sold (habitually), selling was done'

#### 5.4.4.2. Reflexive and Reciprocal

##### 5.4.4.2.1. Reflexive

In sentences containing an overt subject noun phrase, the suffix /-kan/ on a transitive or ditransitive verb makes that verb reflexive. On a transitive verb, /-kan/ 'REFL' indicates that the direct object is coreferential with the subject; on a ditransitive verb, it indicates coreference between the indirect object and the subject. When interpreted as reflexive, a verb with /-kan/ may not take any form of object marking, but must be inflected for person and number of the subject. The suffix /-kan/ may not occur on an intransitive verb.

##### *Transitive verbs*

- (363) /laqan/ 'see X'

##### *Imperfective:*

[kít ɣ̣iklaqé̄ɲkán]	/kit ik-laqan-kan/	'I see myself'
[wiṣ̌ laqé̄ɲkán]	/wiṣ̌ laqan-kan/	'you see yourself'
[ɣ̣út laqé̄ɲkán]	/ut laqan-kan/	's/he sees her/himself'
[kinán laqé̄ɲkanáa]	/laqan-kan-yaa-wa/	'we see ourselves'
[wiṣ̌ín laqé̄ɲkanáatát]	/laqan-kan-yaa-tat/	'y'all see yourselves'
[ɣ̣útún talaqé̄ɲkán]	/ta-laqan-kan/	'they see themselves'

*Perfective:*

[kít ʔiklaqéŋkaʔ]	/kit ik-laqan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘I saw myself’
[wiʃ laqéŋka]	/wiʃ laqan-kan-ti/	‘you saw yourself’
[ʔút laqéŋkaʔ]	/ut laqan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he saw her/himself’
[kinán laqéŋká]	/laqan-kan-wa/	‘we saw ourselves’
[wiʃín laqéŋkántat]	/laqan-kan-tat/	‘y’all saw yourselves’
[ʔutún talaqéŋkaʔ]	/ta-laqan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘they saw themselves’

(364) /tɪhwan/ ‘look for X’

*Imperfective:*

[kít ʔiktéhwéŋkán]	/kit ik-tɪhwan-kan/	‘I look for myself’
[wiʃ téhwáŋkán]	/wiʃ tɪhwan-kan/	‘you look for yourself’
[ʔút téhwáŋkán]	/ut tɪhwan-kan/	‘s/he looks for her/himself’
[kinán ʔiktéhwáŋkanáa]	/ik-tɪhwan-kan-yaa-wa/	‘we look for ourselves’
[wiʃín téhwáŋkanáat]	/tɪhwan-kan-yaa-tat/	‘y’all look for yourselves’
[ʔutún tetéhwéŋkán]	/ta-tɪhwan-kan/	‘they look for themselves’

*Perfective:*

[kít ʔiktéhwáŋkaʔ]	/ik-tɪhwan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘I looked for myself’
[wiʃ téhwáŋka]	/tɪhwan-kan-ti/	‘you looked for yourself’
[ʔút téhwáŋkaʔ]	/tɪhwan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he looked for her/himself’
[kinán ʔiktéhwáŋká]	/ik-tɪhwan-kan-wa/	‘we looked for ourselves’
[wiʃín téhwáŋkántat]	/tɪhwan-kan-tat/	‘y’all looked for yourselves’
[ʔutún tatéhwáŋkaʔ]	/ta-tɪhwan-kan-la(ʔ)/	‘they looked for themselves’

*Ditransitive verbs*

(365) [kít ʔikíjwánikán]  
 /kit ik-íjwá-ni-kan/  
 I 1SUB-buy X-+OBJ-REFL  
 ‘I buy myself X’

(366) [kít ʔikstáánikán]  
 /kit ik-stáá-ni-kan/  
 I 1SUB-sell X-+OBJ-REFL  
 ‘I sell myself X’

- (367) [kít ʔikʔiškiʔkán]  
 /kit ik-iškí-kan/  
 I 1SUB-give X to Y-REFL  
 'I give X to myself, I hit myself'
- (368) [kít ʔikmáqʔtíikán]  
 /kit ik-maq=ʔtii-kan/  
 I 1SUB-take X from Y-REFL  
 'I take X from myself, I receive X from myself'
- (369) /čuula-ni/ 'do, make X to Y'

*Imperfective:*

[kít ʔikčúulanikán]	/kit ik-čuula-ni-kan/	'I do X to myself'
[wiš čúulanikán]	/wiš čuula-ni-kan/	'you do X to yourself'
[ʔút čúulanikán]	/ut čuula-ni-kan/	's/he does X to her/himself'
[kinán ʔikčúulaniká]	/ik-čuula-ni-kan-yaa-wa/	'we do X to ourselves'
[wišín čúulaniká]	/čuula-ni-kan-yaa-tat/	'y'all do X to yourselves'
[ʔutún tačúulanikán]	/ta-čuula-ni-kan/	'they do X to themselves'

*Perfective:*

[kít ʔikčúulaníkaʔ]	/ik-čuula-ni-kan-la(ʔ)/	'I did X to myself'
[wiš čúulaníka]	/čuula-ni-kan-ti/	'you did X to yourself'
[ʔút čúulaníkaʔ]	/čuula-ni-kan-la(ʔ)/	's/he did X to her/himself'
[kinán ʔikčúulaníka]	/ik-čuula-ni-kan-wa/	'we did X to ourselves'
[wišín čúulaníkatat]	/čuula-ni-kan-tat/	'y'all did X to yourselves'
[ʔutún tačúulaníkaʔ]	/ta-čuula-ni-kan-la(ʔ)/	'they did X to themselves'

**5.4.4.2.2. Reciprocal**

/-kan/ 'REFL' in combination with the prefix sequence /ta-laa-/ indicates the reciprocal. The sequence /ta-laa-/ might be analyzed as /ta-/ '3SUB.PL' + /laa-/ '3OBJ.PL'.

- (370) [ʔutún taláalaqéŋkán]  
 /utun ta-laa-laqan-kan/  
 they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-see X-REFL  
 'they see each other'

However, the sequence /ta-laa-/ also co-occurs with the first and second person plural subjects.

- (371) [kinán ʔiktaláalaqéηkanáa]  
 /kinan ik-ta-laa-laqaŋ-kan-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-??-??-see X-REFL-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we see each other’
- (372) [wišín taláalaqéηkanáatát]  
 /wišin ta-laa-laqaŋ-kan-yaa-tat/  
 y’all ??-??-see X-REFL-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 ‘y’all see each other’

In the reciprocal, the sequence /ta-laa-/ is better analyzed as the comitative prefix /laa-/ ‘COM’ with /ta-/ ‘SUB.PL’ loosely interpreted as marking subject plurality. See 7.2.8 for a more detailed account of this analysis. Subject inflection follows the normal paradigm.

**/tiḥwan/ ‘look for X’**

*Imperfective:*

- (373) [kinán ʔiktaláatēhwáηkanáa]  
 /kinan ik-ta-laa-tiḥwan-kan-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we look for each other’
- (374) [wišín taláatēhwáηkanáatát]  
 /wišin ta-laa-tiḥwan-kan-yaa-tat/  
 y’all SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 ‘y’all look for each other’
- (375) [ʔutún taláatēhwéηkán]  
 /utun ta-laa-tiḥwan-kan/  
 they SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL  
 ‘they look for each other’

*Perfective:*

- (376) [kinán ʔiktaláatēhwáηká]  
 /kinan ik-ta-laa-tiḥwan-kan-wa/  
 we 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we looked for each other’

- (377) [wĩšín taláatǣhwáŋkántat]  
 /wĩšín ta-laa-tǣhwan-kan-tat/  
 y'all SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all looked for each other'
- (378) [ʔutún taláatǣhwáŋkaʔ]  
 /utun ta-laa-tǣhwan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 they SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-PFV  
 'they looked for each other'

## /čuula-ni/ 'do X to Y'

*Imperfective:*

- (379) [kinǎn ʔiktaláačuulanikanáa]  
 /kinǎn ik-ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan-yaa-wa/  
 'we do X to each other'
- (380) [wĩšín taláačuulanikanáǵtat]  
 /wĩšín ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan-yaa-tat/  
 'y'all do X to each other'
- (381) [ʔutún taláačuulanikán]  
 /utun ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan/  
 'they do X to each other'

*Perfective:*

- (382) [kinǎn ʔiktaláačuulaniká]  
 /kinǎn ik-ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan-wa/  
 'we did X to each other'
- (383) [wĩšín taláačuulanikántat]  
 /wĩšín ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan-tat/  
 'y'all did X to each other'
- (384) [ʔutún taláačuulaníkəʔ]  
 /utun ta-laa-čuula-ni-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 'they did X to each other'

## /laqan/ 'see X'

*Imperfective:*

- (385) [kinán ʔíktaláalaqéŋkanáa]  
/kinan ik-ta-laa-laqan-kan-yaa-wa/  
'we see each other'
- (386) [wišín taláalaqéŋkanáatát]  
/wišin ta-laa-laqan-kan-yaa-tat/  
'y'all see each other'
- (387) [ʔutún taláalaqéŋkán]  
/utun ta-laa-laqan-kan/  
'they see each other'

*Perfective:*

- (388) [kinán ʔíktaláalaqéŋká]  
kinan ik-ta-laa-laqan-kan-wa/  
'we saw each other'
- (389) [wišín taláalaqéŋkántat]  
/wišin ta-laa-laqan-kan-tat/  
'y'all saw each other'
- (390) [ʔutún taláalaqéŋkaʔ]  
/utun ta-laa-laqan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
'they saw each other'

**5.5. Verbal Negation**

Verbal negation is achieved in part through negative markers preceding the verb and in part through changes in the verbal morphology. In particular, negation interacts with aspect and mood inflection. In the imperfective, the negative marker /laka/ 'NEG' precedes the verb to indicate negation and the verb itself remains unchanged. In the perfective, however, negation can require corresponding changes in the verb.

**5.5.1. Negative Markers**

The negative markers are /laka/ 'NEG', /laa-tuu/ 'none,' and /laa-tii/ 'no one.' These morphemes either immediately precede the verb or they precede

the subject. They cannot come between the inflectional prefixes and the verb. /lakaa/ 'NEG' has a strictly negating function and is the most common negative marker.

- (391) [kít lakáa ᵛ{kʰtatá] /kit lakaa ik-ʰtata/ 'I don't sleep'
- (392) [lakáa kít ᵛ{kʰtatá] /lakaa kit ik-ʰtata/ 'I don't sleep'
- (393) \*[kít ᵛ{kʰlakáa ʰtatá] /kit ik-lakaa ʰtata/ 'I don't sleep'
- (394) [lakáa kinán ᵛačanáa] /lakaa kinan a-čan-yaa-wa/ 'we didn't plant X'
- (395) [ᵛawíʔ láačutuú nán čanáa]  
/awíʔ laa-ču-tuu nan čan-nan-yaa/  
now NEG-CL-what where sow X-I.O.-IMPFV  
'now there is nowhere to sow'
- (396) [láatíi ᵛalíiwalíikán]  
/laa-tii a-líi-walíi-kan/  
no-who NEG-INS-blame-I.S.  
'no one was blamed'

### 5.5.2. Negative Imperfective

In the imperfective, the independent negative markers precede the verb in order to negate it. There is no change in the imperfective verb form.

- (397) [ᵛút ʰtatá]  
/ut ʰtata/  
s/he sleep  
's/he sleeps'
- (398) [ᵛút lakáa ʰtatá]  
/ut lakaa ʰtata/  
s/he NEG sleep  
's/he doesn't sleep'
- (399) [ᵛán ʰtatá]  
/an ʰtata/  
go sleep  
's/he is sleeping'



- (400) [lakáa ᵀán †tatá]  
 /lakaa ᵀn †tatá/  
 NEG go sleep  
 's/he is not sleeping'
- (401) [kít ᵀᵀkmín] /kit ik-min/ 'I come'  
 [kít lakáa ᵀᵀkmín] /kit lakaa ik-min/ 'I don't come'
- (402) [ᵀút qášmát] /ut qašmat/ 's/he hears X'  
 [ᵀút lakáa qášmát] /ut lakaa qašmat/ 's/he doesn't hear X'
- (403) [ᵀút láamináan] /ut laa-min-yaa-na/ 's/he comes with Y'  
 [ᵀút lakáa láamináan] /ut lakaa laa-min-yaa-na/ 's/he doesn't come with Y'

### 5.5.3. Negative Perfective

Because negation in the perfective is somewhat complex, I will detail the negation process for each category of perfective verb. The pattern is schematically shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Perfective Negation

<i>Negative Perfective</i> / -la(†), -ti/			
<i>Realis</i>		<i>Irrealis</i>	
∅		/ni-, ka-/	
<i>-past</i>	( <i>+past</i> ) <sup>a</sup>	<i>-past</i>	<i>+past</i>
lakaa ᵀ+verb+IMPFV		lakaa ka-/ni-+verb+PFV	lakaa ka-/ni-+iš-+verb+PFV
		(lakaa) ᵀla-+verb+PFV	(lakaa) ᵀla-+iš-+verb+PFV
		imperative	
		(lakaa) ᵀla-+verb+IMPFV	

<sup>a</sup>This category exists in all other Totonac languages, but is not found in Misantra Totonac.

#### 5.5.3.1. Negative Realis

If negation in the perfective followed the pattern found in the imperfective, one would expect the negative marker /lakaa/ 'NEG' to precede a verb inflected in the perfective. However, such a sequence is ungrammatical.

(404)	[lakáa ᵛkč̣án]	/lakaa ik-č̣an/	'I don't sow X'
	*[lakáa ᵛkč̣ánlaᵛ]	/lakaa ik-č̣an-la(ᵛ)/	'I didn't sow X' <sup>37</sup>
(405)	[lakáa mín]	/lakaa min/	's/he doesn't come'
	*[lakáa míᵛ]	/lakaa-min-la(ᵛ)/	's/he didn't come'
(406)	[lakáa ᵛán]	/lakaa an/	's/he doesn't go'
	*[lakáa ᵛánᵛ]	/lakaa an-la(ᵛ)/	's/he didn't go'
(407)	[lakáa ḳæzi]	/lakaa ḳæzii/	's/he doesn't know X'
	*[lakáa ḳæziᵛ]	/lakaa ḳæzii-la(ᵛ)/	's/he didn't know X'

To negate a verb in the nonpast perfective realis, a negative prefix, /a-/ 'NEG', is added to a morphologically imperfective verb (i.e., one that takes the imperfective suffix /-yaa/ 'IMPFV' word medially). The prefix /a-/ 'NEG' precedes the subject and object prefixes with the exception of /ik-/ '1SUB' and /kin-/ '1OBJ'. In addition, the verb is preceded by the negative marker /lakaa/. The occurrence of imperfective morphology in the negative perfective may be related to the fact that the perfective realis verb form generally indicates completed action. A negative perfective verb, therefore, refers to an action which is unrealized or is not completed. An action or state which is incomplete or unrealized is imperfective by definition.

(408)	[ᵛút qášmát]	/ut qašmat/	's/he hears X'
	[lakáa aᵛqášmát]	/lakaa a-qašmat/	's/he didn't hear X'
(409)	[lakáa ᵛán]	/lakaa an/	's/he doesn't go'
	[lakáa aᵛán]	/lakaa a-an/	's/he didn't go'
(410)	[lakáa ᵛaṭiínán]	/lakaa aṭii-nan/	's/he doesn't sing'
	[lakáa aᵛaṭiínán]	/lakaa a-aṭii-nan/	's/he didn't sing'
(411)	[lakáa ṭii]	/lakaa ṭii/	's/he doesn't dance'
	[lakáa aᵛṭii]	/lakaa a-ṭii/	's/he didn't dance'

<sup>37</sup> The perfective realis (which refers to a completed action) is often translated into English by using the past tense. Recall, however, that in Misantla Totonac, there is no past-tense morphology associated with the perfective realis. Thus, although the perfective is translated into English using the past tense, in Totonac its meaning is 'completed' not 'past.'

## (412) /č̣an/ 'sow X'

[kít lakáa kač̣án]	/kit lakaa ik- <u>ə</u> -č̣an/	'I didn't sow it'
[wĩš lakáa ʔač̣án]	/wiš lakaa <u>ə</u> -č̣an/	'you didn't sow it'
[ʔút lakáa ʔač̣án]	/ut lakaa <u>ə</u> -č̣an/	's/he didn't sow it'
[kinán lakáa kač̣ánaa]	/kinan lakaa ik- <u>ə</u> -č̣an-yaa-wa/	'we didn't sow it'
[wišín lakáa ʔač̣ánaat]	/wišin lakaa <u>ə</u> -č̣an-yaa-tat/	'y'all didn't sow it'
[ʔutún lakáa ʔateč̣án]	/utun lakaa <u>ə</u> -ta-č̣an/	'they didn't sow it'

## (413) /stạa/ 'sell X'

[kít lakáa kaštáa]	/kit lakaa ik- <u>ə</u> -stạa/	'I didn't sell it'
[wĩš lakáa ʔáštáa]	/wiš lakaa <u>ə</u> -stạa/	'you didn't sell it'
[ʔút lakáa ʔáštáa]	/ut lakaa <u>ə</u> -stạa/	's/he didn't sell it'
[kinán lakáa kaštáayaa]	/kinan lakaa ik- <u>ə</u> -stạa-yaa-wa/	'we didn't sell it'
[wišín lakáa ʔáštáayat]	/wišin lakaa <u>ə</u> -stạa-yaa-tat/	'y'all didn't sell it'
[ʔutún lakáa ʔatáštáa]	/utun lakaa <u>ə</u> -ta-stạa/	'they didn't sell it'

## (414) /paš/ 'bathe'

[kít lakáa kapáš]	/kit lakaa ik- <u>ə</u> -paš/	'I didn't bathe'
[wĩš lakáa ʔapáš]	/wiš lakaa <u>ə</u> -paš/	'you didn't bathe'
[ʔút lakáa ʔapáš]	/ut lakaa <u>ə</u> -paš/	's/he didn't bathe'
[kinán lakáa kapašaa]	/kinan ik- <u>ə</u> -paš-yaa-wa/	'we didn't bathe'
[wišín lakáa ʔapašaat]	/wišin <u>ə</u> -paš-yaa-tat/	'y'all didn't bathe'
[ʔutún lakáa ʔatapáš]	/utun <u>ə</u> -ta-paš/	'they didn't bathe'

As noted above, the prefix /ə-/ 'NEG' precedes the subject and object prefixes with the exception of /ik-/ '1SUB' and /kin-/ '1OBJ'.

- (415) [lakáa ʔaláaqašmát] /lakaa ə-laa-qašmat/ 's/he didn't hear them'  
 [kít lakáa kaqašmát] /kit lakaa ik-ə-qašmat/ 'I didn't hear X'  
 [lakáa kíʔaqašmát] /lakaa kin-ə-qašmat/ 's/he didn't hear me'
- (416) [lakáa ṭəhwán] /lakaa ṭəhwan/ 's/he doesn't look for X'  
 [lakáa kíʔaṭəhwan] /lakaa kin-ə-ṭəhwan/ 's/he didn't look for me'
- (417) [lakáa č̣apá] /lakaa č̣apa/ 's/he doesn't grab X'  
 [lakáa ʔač̣apá] /lakaa ə-č̣apa/ 's/he didn't grab X'  
 [lakáa kíʔač̣apá] /lakaa kin-ə-č̣apa/ 's/he didn't grab me'  
 [lakáa ʔaláač̣apá] /lakaa ə-laa-č̣apa/ 's/he didn't grab them'

- (418) [kístɔqɔnɯyɯn lakáa kíʔatamáalaqazáqsí čiš níkʔat(ɪnán)]  
 /kin-stuqu-nʔ-VVn lakaa kin-a-ta-maa-laka-zaqsi-ii čiš na(ʔ)-ik-atij-nan/  
 1POSS-grandmother-PL NEG 1OBJ-NEG-3SUB.PL-CAUS-face  
 rel.-learn-TRANS how FUT-1SUB-sing-I.O.  
 'my grandmothers didn't teach me to sing'

### 5.5.3.2. Negative Nonpast Irrealis

In nonpast irrealis clauses, negation can be realized in two ways. In the first, the negative marker /lakaa/ 'NEG' precedes a normal perfective verb: /lakaa/ /ni-/ ~ /ka-/ + verb + PFV. There is no change in the pattern of irrealis perfective inflection.

- (419) [kít lakáa níkstáaʔ] /kit lakaa ni-ik-staa-la(ʔ)/ 'that I don't sell X'  
 [ʔút lakáa kastáaʔ] /ut lakaa ka-staa-la(ʔ)/ 'that he doesn't sell X'
- (420) [kít lakáa níkpášlaʔ]  
 /kit lakaa ni-ik-paš-la(ʔ)/  
 I NEG 1IRR-1SUB-bathe-PFV  
 'that I don't bathe'
- (421) [ʔút lakáa kapášlaʔ]  
 /ut lakaa ka-paš-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he NEG IRR-bathe-PFV  
 'that s/he doesn't bathe'

Nonpast irrealis verb forms may also be negated by means of the prefix /ala-/ 'NEG' in place of the irrealis prefixes /ni-/ or /ka-/ 'IRR'. This method does not affect the perfective inflection on the verb. When the prefix /ala-/ 'NEG' occurs in the nonpast irrealis, the negative marker /lakaa/ is optional. In the examples below, the two possible realizations of nonpast irrealis negation are presented.

- (422) [kaláqɛʔ] /ka-laqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he sees X'  
 [lakáa kaláqɛʔ] /lakaa ka-laqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't see X'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalaláqɛʔ] /lakaa ala-laqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't see X'
- (423) [kaqášmátlaʔ] /ka-qašmat-la(ʔ)/ 'that I hear X'  
 [lakáa kaqášmátlaʔ] /lakaa ka-qašmat-la(ʔ)/ 'that I don't hear X'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalaqášmátlaʔ] /lakaa ala-qašmat-la(ʔ)/ 'that I don't hear X'

- (424) [kapáastáklaʔ] /ka-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he remembers'  
 [lakáa kapáastáklaʔ] /lakaa ka-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't remember'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalapaastáklaʔ] /lakaa ʔala-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't remember'
- (425) [kít níkpáastáklaʔ] /kit ni-ik-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that I remember'  
 [lakáa níkpáastáklaʔ] /lakaa ni-ik-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that I don't remember'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalakpáastáklaʔ] /ʔala-ik-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that I don't remember'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalatapáastáklaʔ] /ʔala-ta-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that they don't remember'
- (426) [ʔút kamíʔ] /ka-min-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he comes'  
 [lakáa kamíʔ] /lakaa ka-min-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't come'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalamíʔ] /lakaa ʔala-min-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he doesn't come'

### 5.5.3.3. Negative Past Irrealis

Past irrealis verb forms are negated either by the negative marker /lakaa/ 'NEG' preceding a verb inflected in the past irrealis perfective or by the prefix /ʔala-/ 'NEG' to the verb, which is inflected in the past perfective. This pattern is similar to that of the subordinate-clause nonpast irrealis forms.

- (427) [kášpáastéklaʔ] /ka-iš-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he remembered'  
 [lakáa kášpáastéklaʔ] /ka-iš-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he did not remember'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalášpáastéklaʔ] /ʔala-iš-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he did not remember'
- (428) [kít lakáa níkšpáastéklaʔ] /ni-ik-iš-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not remember'  
 [kít (lakáa) ʔalákšpáastéklaʔ] /ʔala-ik-iš-paa=stak-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not remember'
- (429) [lakáa kášláqεʔ] /lakaa ka-iš-ʔaqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he did not see X'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalášláqεʔ] /lakaa ʔala-iš-ʔaqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that s/he did not see X'
- (430) [kít lakáa níkšláqεʔ] /lakaa ni-ik-iš-ʔaqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not see X'  
 [(lakáa) ʔalákšláqεʔ] /lakaa ʔala-ik-iš-ʔaqan-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not see X'
- (431) [kít lakáa níkšmiʔ] /lakaa ni-ik-iš-min-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not come'  
 [kít (lakáa) ʔalákšmiʔ] /lakaa ʔala-ik-iš-min-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not come'
- (432) [kít lakáa níkšqášmátlaʔ] /lakaa ni-ik-iš-qašmat-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not hear X'  
 [kít (lakáa) ʔalákšqášmátlaʔ] /lakaa ʔala-ik-iš-qašmat-la(ʔ)/ 'that I did not hear X'

### 5.5.3.4. Imperative Negation

In the affirmative, the imperative and the nonpast irrealis are morphologically identical. However, because the imperative is negated very differently

from the nonpast irrealis, I have elected to describe its negation pattern separately. The imperative is negated by prefixing /*ǎla-*/ 'NEG' to a verb inflected in the imperfective. This contrasts with negation in the nonpast irrealis, which is formed either by /*laka-*/ 'NEG' preceding an irrealis perfective verb or by prefixing /*ǎla-*/ 'NEG' to a perfective verb (without irrealis marking). Thus, the principal difference between negation of a nonpast irrealis verb and negation of an imperative is the aspect marking.

- (433) [n<sup>á</sup>aǎw[ǎ wíš ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lačuqawǎǎ]  
 /naa-ǎwǎǎ wíš ǎla-ču-qawǎ-ǎ/  
 also-now you NEG-CL-speak-2SUB  
 'even now don't speak'
- (434) [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lačǎn] /ǎla-čǎn/ 'don't sow it!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lačǎnǎǎtat] /ǎla-čǎn-yaa-tat/ 'y'all don't sow it!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lačǎnǎa] /ǎla-čǎn-yaa/ 'let's not sow it!'
- [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lástǎǎ] /ǎla-stǎǎ/ 'don't sell it!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lástǎǎyǎǎtat] /ǎla-stǎǎ-yaa-tat/ 'y'all don't sell it!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lástǎǎyǎa] /ǎla-stǎǎ-yaa/ 'let's not sell it'
- [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎš] /ǎla-pǎš/ 'don't bathe!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎšyǎǎtat] /ǎla-pǎš-yaa-tat/ 'y'all don't bathe!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎšǎa] /ǎla-pǎš-yaa/ 'let's not bathe!'
- [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎšii] /ǎla-pǎš-ii/ 'don't bathe X!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎšiiyǎǎtat] /ǎla-pǎš-ii-yaa-tat/ 'y'all don't bathe X!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lapǎšiiyǎa] /ǎla-pǎš-ii-yaa/ 'let's not bathe X!'
- (435) [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lasaqaǎii] /ǎla-saqaǎii/ 'don't bother X'
- (436) [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lasutǎn] /ǎla-su-min/ 'don't come'

#### 5.5.3.4.1. Object Inflection

In the negative imperative, the prefix /*ǎla-*/ precedes all of the object prefixes: /*kin-*/ '1OBJ', /*kin=laa-*/ '1OBJ.PL', /*laa-*/ '3OBJ.PL', and /*taa-*/ '2OBJ.PL'.

- (437) [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lakíhčǎn] /ǎla-kin-čǎn/ 'don't bury me!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lakilǎačǎnǎa] /ǎla-kin=laa-čǎn-yaa/ 'don't bury us!'  
 [ǎ<sup>ǎ</sup>lalǎačǎn] /ǎla-laa-čǎn/ 'don't bury them!'

[ʔalakinčanātat]	/ala-kin-čan-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bury me!'
[ʔalakilāačanáa]	/ala-kin=laa-čan-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bury us!'
[ʔalalāačanáatat]	/ala-laa-čan-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bury them!'
[ʔalatāačānāan]	/ala-taa-čan-yaa-na/	'let's not bury you/y'all!'
[ʔalalāačānāa]	/ala-laa-čan-yaa/	'let's not bury them!'
[ʔalakistāaníʔ]	/ala-kin-stāa-ni/	'don't sell it for me!'
[ʔalakilāastāanyāa]	/ala-kin=laa-stāa-ni-yaa/	'don't sell it for us!'
[ʔalalāastāaníʔ]	/ala-laa-stāa-ni/	'don't sell it for them!'
[ʔalakistāanyāatat]	/ala-kin-stāa-ni-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't sell it for me!'
[ʔalakilāastāanyāa]	/ala-kin=laa-stāa-ni-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't sell it for us!'
[ʔalalāastāanyāatat]	/ala-laa-stāa-ni-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't sell it for them!'
[ʔalatāastāanyāan]	/ala-taa-stāa-ni-yaa-na/	'let's not sell it for you/y'all!'
[ʔalalāastāanyāa]	/ala-laa-stāa-ni-yaa/	'let's not sell it for them!'
[ʔalakimpašii]	/ala-kin-paš-ii/	'don't bathe me!'
[ʔalakilāapašiiyāa]	/ala-kin=laa-paš-ii-yaa/	'don't bathe us!'
[ʔalalāapašii]	/ala-laa-paš-ii/	'don't bathe them!'
[ʔalakimpašiiyāatat]	/ala-kin-paš-ii-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bathe me!'
[ʔalakilāapašiiyāa]	/ala-kin=laa-paš-ii-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bathe us!'
[ʔalalāapašiiyāatat]	/ala-laa-paš-ii-yaa-tat/	'y'all don't bathe them!'
[ʔalatāapašiiyāan]	/ala-taa-paš-ii-yaa-na/	'let's not bathe you/y'all!'
[ʔalalāapašiiyāa]	/ala-laa-paš-ii-yaa/	'let's not bathe them!'

## Chapter 6

# Statives

In this chapter I describe the inflection of morphological statives and the interaction of these predicates with derivational processes. In Misantla Totonac, some statives are morphologically distinct from any other word class. A stative refers to a state or condition which is extended in time. This durative meaning implies that there is no change in the state referred to. States “are homogeneous throughout the period of their existence” (Lyons 1977:707). To maintain a dynamic or active situation requires an effort of some kind, whereas no effort is required to maintain a state; effort is only required to change it (Comrie 1976:49). Thus, statives often refer to intrinsic qualities and static situations. Adjectives are often stative in nature. Restrictions that apply to stative verbs also often apply to adjectival predicates. In English, for example, neither stative verbs nor stative adjectival predicates occur in the progressive.

There is a preliminary division that must be made for statives in Misantla Totonac. There are semantically stative verbs and morphological statives. The semantically stative verbs consist of verbs that are stative in meaning, but are not morphologically marked in any way as being stative (e.g., [ʔút sɔχʒn] /ut suqun/ ‘s/he likes X’). These verbs fall into one of the normal verb classes, such as intransitive or transitive. They are not inflected as morphological statives are, nor do they undergo the derivational processes that are common for morphological statives, such as inchoativization. Semantically stative verbs will not be discussed in detail since they pattern morphologically with other verbs.

In Misantla Totonac, morphological statives (hereafter, ‘statives’) are divided into two categories. The first is made up of verb-like lexemes that have inflectional paradigms which are similar, but not identical, to verbs. This is a very small class made up of the positional statives (/mɔ̃a/ ‘supine,’ /yaa/ ‘standing,’ /wɪ̃la/ ‘sitting,’ and /uk̃a/ ‘being above’) and two predicates with stative meanings (/qaʔii/ ‘have’ and /kaah/ ‘exist’). The second category is made up of a limited number of nominals which have a stative meaning and become verbs by the same processes that affect the morphological statives (e.g., inchoativization and causativization).

The most common derivational process applied to morphological statives is inchoativization.<sup>1</sup> Statives become active/dynamic verbs (usually indicating achievement) by adding the inchoative prefix /ta-/ ‘INC.’ The inchoative,

<sup>1</sup> See section 7.2.3 for a detailed description of inchoativization.



sometimes called the ‘ingressive’ (McQuown 1990b; Levy 1990), indicates “entry into the state the verb normally denotes” (Lyons 1977:713). The following examples illustrate the use of the inchoative prefix, first with a positional stative and second with a predicate nominal.

- |     |              |              |                                  |
|-----|--------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) | [mááʔ]       | /maa-la(ʔ)/  | ‘s/he is supine’                 |
|     | [ʔút tamáá]  | /ut ta-maa/  | ‘s/he lies down, becomes supine’ |
| (2) | [káks]       | /kaks/       | ‘s/he is quiet, silent’          |
|     | [ʔút takáks] | /ut ta-kaks/ | ‘s/he becomes quiet’             |

The causative prefix /maa-/ can be added to predicate nominals, but not positional statives, to derive active/dynamic verbs. For a detailed description of the causative, refer to section 7.2.9. Once statives become verbs, they use normal verbal inflection and occur in any aspect.

Morphological statives of Misantla Totonac cannot occur in the progressive—nor in any imperfective aspect. They are only inflected in the perfective. This pattern contrasts with stative inflection in Tepehua, where statives appear only in the imperfective and not in the perfective (Watters 1988). The following examples show that statives are ungrammatical in the progressive. However, once they have been converted into active verbs by the inchoative prefix /ta-‘INC’, they can be inflected in the progressive.

- |     |                  |                 |                          |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (3) | *[ʔút ʔán káks]  | /ut an kaks/    | ‘s/he is quiet’          |
|     | [ʔút ʔán takáks] | /ut an ta-kaks/ | ‘s/he is becoming quiet’ |
| (4) | *[ʔút ʔán máá]   | /ut an maa/     | ‘s/he is lying down’     |
|     | [ʔút ʔán tamáá]  | /ut an ta-maa/  | ‘s/he is lying down’     |

## 6.1. Semantically Stative Verbs

As stated above, semantically stative verbs are not morphologically distinguished from other verbs. They occur in all aspects, but are interpreted semantically as statives in the imperfective and as achievements in the perfective. One example is the verb /kaʔii/, which means ‘know X’ in the imperfective and ‘recognize or discover X’ in the perfective. Lexemes characterized as semantically stative verbs are generally verbs of cognition and perception.

## 6.2. Morphological Statives

### 6.2.1. Verb-Like Statives

Verb-like morphological statives have a slightly different inflectional pattern from either verbs or nominals. Verbs inflect for person and number of both

subject and object and for aspect, mood, and tense; when used predicatively, nominals inflect for number and for tense. Morphological statives are similar to verbs in that they inflect for person, aspect, and tense. They are similar to nominals in that they are marked for number. In contrast to verbs, statives occur only in the perfective aspect and indicate only past and nonpast tenses. In addition, the past tense marker /št̩an/ 'PAST' can co-occur with perfective morphology only on statives. On verbs, past tense inflection and perfective inflection co-occur only in the irrealis, never in the realis. When they do co-occur in the past irrealis, the past tense is always indicated by the prefix /iš-/ 'PAST,' never by the clitic /št̩an/ 'PAST.' Statives inflected in the nonpast perfective lack the completive interpretation commonly associated with other verbs in the perfective.

Number on morphological statives is redundantly marked by affixes of person inflection (a feature of verbs) and by plural marking (a feature of nominals). The inflectional paradigms of morphological statives are thus mixed in the sense that they partake of features of both verbs and nominals.

- |                    |                              |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) [ʔút yáaɬ]     | (6) [ʔutún tayáanaɬ]         |
| /ut yaa-la(ɬ)/     | /utun ta-yaa-nan-la(ɬ)/      |
| s/he standing-PFV  | they 3SUB.PL-standing-PL-PFV |
| 's/he is standing' | 'they are standing'          |

Since the paradigms are irregular, the full paradigms for the four positional stative verbs and for /qaʔii/ 'have' and /kaah/ 'exist' are given below:

**/yaa/ 'standing'**

- |                                      |                      |                      |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (7) [kít ʔikyaáɬ] <sup>2</sup>       | /kit ik-yaa-la(ɬ)/   | 'I am standing'      |
| [wiš yáat]                           | /wiš yaa-ti/         | 'you are standing'   |
| [ʔút yáaɬ]                           | /ut yaa-la(ɬ)/       | 's/he is standing'   |
| [kinán yáaná]                        | /kinan yaa-nan-wa/   | 'we are standing'    |
| [wišin yáanántat]                    | /wišin yaa-nan-tat/  | 'y'all are standing' |
| [ʔutún tayáanaɬ]                     | /ta-yaa-nan-la(ɬ)/   | 'they are standing'  |
| (8) [kít ʔikyaáɬ št̩an] <sup>3</sup> | /ik-yaa-la(ɬ) št̩an/ | 'I was standing'     |
| [wiš yáat št̩an]                     | /wiš yaa-ti št̩an/   | 'you were standing'  |
| [ʔút yáaɬ št̩an]                     | /ut yaa-la(ɬ) št̩an/ | 's/he was standing'  |

<sup>2</sup> Recall that /ik-/ 'ISUB' is added late in the derivation after stress assignment. Thus, the verb is stressed as though it were monosyllabic.

<sup>3</sup> The clitic /št̩an/ 'PAST' can optionally be incorporated into the phonological word (e.g., [ʔút yáašt̩an] /ut yaa-la(ɬ)-št̩an/ 's/he was standing'). Note that sibilant assimilation and degemination apply in this case. I have chosen not to incorporate the past tense marker into the phonological word in these examples so that the morphological processes are more transparent.

[kinán yáaná štán]	/yaa-nan-wa štán/	‘we were standing’
[wišín yáanántat štán]	/yaa-nan-tat štán/	‘y’all were standing’
[ʔutún tayáanaʔ štán]	/ta-yaa-nan-la(ʔ) štán/	‘they were standing’

**/wila/ ‘seated’**

(9) [kít ʔikwilaʔ]	/ik-wila-la(ʔ)/	‘I am seated’
[wiš wíʔ]	/wila-ti/	‘you are seated’
[ʔút wilaʔ]	/wila-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he is seated’
[kinán wilaaná]	/wila-nan-wa/	‘we are seated’
[wišín wilaánantat]	/wila-nan-tat/	‘y’all are seated’
[ʔutún tawilaánaʔ]	/ta-wila-nan-la(ʔ)/	‘they are seated’
(10) [kít ʔikwilaʔ štán]	/ik-wila-la(ʔ) štán/	‘I was seated’
[wiš wíʔ štán]	/wila-ti štán/	‘you were seated’
[ʔút wilaʔ štán]	/wila-la(ʔ) štán/	‘s/he was seated’
[kinán wilaána štán]	/wila-nan-wa štán/	‘we were seated’
[wišín wilaánantat štán]	/wila-nan-tat štán/	‘y’all were seated’
[ʔutún tawilaánaʔ štán]	/ta-wila-nan-la(ʔ) štán/	‘they were seated’

**/maʔ/ ‘supine’**

(11) [kít ʔikmaʔʔ]	/kit ik-maʔ-la(ʔ)/	‘I am lying down’
[wiš páʔʔ]	/wiš paʔ-ti/	‘you are lying down’
[ʔút máʔʔ]	/ut maʔ-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he is lying down’
[kinán máʔaná]	/kinan maʔ-nan-wa/	‘we are lying down’
[wišín páʔʔantat]	/wišin paʔ-nan-tat/	‘y’all are lying down’
[ʔutún tamáʔanaʔ]	/ta-maʔ-nan-la(ʔ)/	‘they are lying down’
(12) [kít ʔikmaʔʔ štán]	/ik-maʔ-la(ʔ) štán/	‘I was lying down’
[wiš páʔʔ štán]	/wiš paʔ-ti štán/	‘you were lying down’
[ʔút máʔʔ štán]	/maʔ-la(ʔ) štán/	‘s/he was lying down’
[kinán máʔaná štán]	/maʔ-nan-wa štán/	‘we were lying down’
[wišín páʔʔantat štán]	/paʔ-nan-tat štán/	‘y’all were lying down’
[ʔutún tamáʔanaʔ štán]	/ta-maʔ-nan-la(ʔ) štán/	‘they were lying down’

**/uka/ ‘be above’**

(13) [kít ʔikúkaʔ]	/kit ik-uka-la(ʔ)/	‘I am above’
[wiš ʔúk]	/wiš uka-ti/	‘you are above’
[ʔút ʔúkaʔ]	/ut uka-la(ʔ)/	‘s/he is above’
[kinán ʔukáʔaná]	/kinan uka-nan-wa/	‘we are above’
[wišín ʔukáʔánantat]	/wišin uka-nan-tat/	‘y’all are above’
[ʔutún taʔukáʔanaʔ]	/utun ta-uka-nan-la(ʔ)/	‘they are above’

(14)	[kít ɣíkúkaʃ štán]	/kit ik-ɣuka-la(ʃ) štán/	'I was above'
	[wĩš ɣúk štán]	/wĩš ɣuka-ti štán/	'you were above'
	[ɣút ɣúkaʃ štán]	/ut ɣuka-la(ʃ) štán/	's/he were above'
	[kinán ɣukáana štán]	/ɣuka-nan-wa štán/	'we were above'
	[wĩšin ɣukáanántat štán]	/ɣuka-nan-tat štán/	'y'all were above'
	[ɣútún taɣukáanaʃ štán]	/ta-ɣuka-nan-la(ʃ) štán/	'they were above'

The possessive stative /qaʃii/ 'have' is like the positional statives in that it takes stative inflection (i.e., it takes the pluralizing suffix /-nan/ 'PL' and the past tense marker /štán/ 'PAST'). The past tense marker never co-occurs with perfective inflection on realis nonstative verbs.

### /qaʃii/ 'have'

(15)	[kít ɣəqáʃiiʃ]	/kit ik-qaʃii-la(ʃ)/	'I have'
	[wĩš qáʃiit]	/wĩš qaʃii-ti/	'you have'
	[ɣút qáʃiiʃ]	/ut qaʃii-la(ʃ)/	's/he has'
	[kinán qaʃíiná]	/kinán qaʃii-nan-wa/	'we have'
	[wĩšin qaʃíinántat]	/wĩšin qaʃii-nan-tat/	'y'all have'
	[ɣútún taqaʃíinaʃ]	/ta-qaʃii-nan-la(ʃ)/	'they have'
(16)	[kít ɣəqáʃiiʃ štán]	/kit ik-qaʃii-la(ʃ) štán/	'I had'
	[wĩš qáʃiit štán]	/wĩš qaʃii-ti štán/	'you had'
	[ɣút qáʃiiʃ štán]	/ut qaʃii-la(ʃ) štán/	's/he had'
	[kinán qaʃíiná štán]	/kinán qaʃii-nan-wa štán/	'we had'
	[wĩšin qaʃíinántat štán]	/wĩšin qaʃii-nan-tat štán/	'y'all had'
	[ɣútún taqaʃíinaʃ štán]	/ta-qaʃii-nan-la(ʃ) štán/	'they had'

The verb /qaʃii/ 'have' is unlike other morphological statives, however, in that it can be inflected in the imperfective. In the imperfective it has a durative or habitual meaning. Note that in the imperfective there is no plural marking with /-nan/ 'PL'.

(17)	[kít ɣəqaʃíi]	/kit ik-qaʃii/	'I always have'
	[wĩš qaʃíi]	/wĩš qaʃii/	'you always have'
	[ɣút qaʃíi]	/ut qaʃii/	's/he always has'
	[kinán qaʃíiyáa]	/kinán qaʃii-yaa-wa/	'we always have'
	[wĩšin qaʃíiyáatat]	/wĩšin qaʃii-yaa-tat/	'y'all always have'
	[ɣútún taqaʃíi]	/ta-qaʃii/	'they always have'

**/kaah/ ‘there is, exist’**

The existential predicate /kaah/ has a defective paradigm; it occurs only with third person subject inflection, never with first or second person inflection.

- (18) \*[ʔik káaʔ]
- (19) [káaʔ šépu] /kaah/ ‘there is soap’  
[káaháan šépuníin] /kaah-VVn/ ‘there are soaps’
- (20) [káaʔ štán šépu] /kaah štán/ ‘there was soap’  
[káaháan štán šépuníin] /kaah-VVn štán/ ‘there were soaps’
- (21) [káah hón stépu lakašáalɔʔ ~ káah stépu lakašáalɔʔ]  
/kaah (hun) stapu laka-šaaluh/  
exist (DET) beans PREP-olla  
‘there are beans in the pot’

Note that it is also possible to express notions of existence and possession without using the statives /kaah/ ‘there is’ and /qaʔii/ ‘have.’ In the examples below, predicate nominals express these propositions.

- (22) [lakašáalɔh hón stápu]  
/laka-šaaluh hun stapu/  
PREP-olla DET beans  
‘in the pot there are beans’
- (23) [lakašáalɔh láatúu hón stápu]  
/laka-šaaluh laa-tuu hun stapu/  
PREP-olla NEG-what DET beans  
‘in the pot there are no beans’
- (24) [kíñčičiʔ ʔíʂǎn]  
/kin-čičiʔ iš-ǎn/  
1POSS-dog 3POSS-tail  
‘my dog has a tail, my dog’s tail’
- (25) [kíñčičiʔ láatúu ʔíʂǎn]  
/kin-čičiʔ laa-tuu iš-ǎn/  
1POSS-dog NEG-what 3POSS-tail  
‘my dog has no tail’

- (26) [hónakačik láatíštán kristyanúhna]  
/hun-naka-čik laa-tii-štán kristyanuɸ-na/  
DET-PREP-house NEG-who-PAST people-PL  
'there were no people in that house'
- (27) [hón čišku<sup>?</sup> láatúu ɸú ʔíɸáqaat]  
/hun čišku<sup>?</sup> laa-tuu ɸu iš-ɸaqaat-Vt/  
DET man NEG-what many 3POSS-clothes-NOM  
'the man doesn't have many clothes'

### 6.2.2. Nominal Statives

The very small group of nominal statives can be more easily identified by the interaction of these predicates with the derivational morphology than with the inflectional morphology. Most nominals that are used predicatively are inflected as nominals and are not regarded as morphological statives (see chapter 9 for more discussion). Specifically, nominal statives<sup>4</sup> become verbs through the addition of the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'. The inchoative prefix does not occur on other nominals (see 7.2.3). The result of prefixing /ta-/ 'INC' to a nominal stative is very similar to inchoativization of a positional stative.

- |                          |             |                            |  |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|--|
| /lak=čawa/               | 'be closed' |                            |  |
| /ta-lak=čawa/            | 'close'     |                            |  |
| (28) [hómpwérta lákčawá] |             | (29) [hómpwérta talákčawá] |  |
| /hun-pwérta lak=čawa/    |             | /hun-pwérta ta-lak=čawa/   |  |
| DET-door closed          |             | DET-door INC-closed        |  |
| 'the door is closed'     |             | 'the door closes'          |  |
| /ɛl̥l̥ijs/               | 'be shaken' |                            |  |
| /ta-ɛl̥l̥ijs/            | 'shake'     |                            |  |
| (30) [hónčik ɛl̥l̥ijs]   |             | (31) [ʔút tɛɛl̥l̥ijs]      |  |
| /hun-čik ɛl̥l̥ijs/       |             | /ut ta-ɛl̥l̥ijs/           |  |
| DET-house shaken         |             | /s/he/it INC-shaken        |  |
| 'the house is shaken'    |             | 's/he/it shakes'           |  |

### 6.3. Negation of Statives

Morphological statives are negated by the negative markers /lakaa/ 'NEG', /laa-tuu/ 'nothing, NEG nonhuman,' and /laa-tii/ 'no one, NEG human.' These negative markers immediately precede the stative.

<sup>4</sup>The differences between these idiosyncratic stative nominals and the paradigmatically regular nominals need to be described in more detail.

- (32) [hón čiškuʔ lakáa wílaʔ]  
 /hun čiškuʔ lakaa wíla-la(ʔ)/  
 DET man NEG seated-PFV  
 ‘the man is not seated’
- (33) [kít lakáa ʔikyáaʔ]  
 /kit lakaa ik-yaa-la(ʔ)/  
 I NEG 1SUB-standing-PFV  
 ‘I am not standing’
- (34) [kít lakáa ʔikmáaʔ]  
 /kit lakaa ik-maa-la(ʔ)/  
 I NEG 1SUB-supine-PFV  
 ‘I am not lying down’
- (35) [hón čiškuʔ lakáa ʔúkaʔ]  
 /hun čiškuʔ lakaa uká-la(ʔ)/  
 DET man NEG above-PFV  
 ‘the man is not up above’
- (36) [hónšaalɔh lakáa qáʔiiʔ škáan]  
 /hun-šaaluh lakaa qáʔii-la(ʔ) škaan/  
 DET-olla NEG have-PFV water  
 ‘the pot doesn’t have water’
- (37) [wɪnlíwátat láatúu qáʔiiʔ mázat]  
 /wɪn-lii-wátat laa-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) mazat/  
 this-PL-food no-what have-PFV salt  
 ‘this food doesn’t have salt’
- (38) [hónšaalɔh láatúu qáʔiiʔ škáan]  
 /hun-šaaluh laa-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) škaan/  
 DET-olla no-what have-PFV water  
 ‘the pot doesn’t have water’
- (39) [kínčičiʔ láatúu qáʔiiʔ štan ʔiszan]  
 /kin-čičiʔ laa-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) štan iš-zan/  
 1POSS-dog NEG-what have-PFV PAST 3POSS-tail  
 ‘my dog had no tail’
- (40) [hónčik láatúu qáʔiiʔ štan ʔšpwérta]  
 /hun-čik laa-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) štan iš-pwérta/  
 DET-house no-what have-PFV PAST 3POSS-door  
 ‘the house had no door’

- (41) [hón čišku<sup>?</sup> láatúu qáʔiiʔ tún čík]  
 /hun čišku<sup>?</sup> laa-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) tun čík/  
 DET man no-what have-PFV one house  
 ‘the man doesn’t have a house’

#### 6.4. Statives and Derivation

Semantically stative verbs are “verbs” and are derived as described in chapter 7. Nominal predicates are “nominals” and are derived as discussed in chapter 9. The positional statives (/ma̯a/ ‘supine,’ /yaa/ ‘standing,’ /wija/ ‘sitting,’ and /wika/ ‘above’) occur with all verbal derivational affixes except the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ ‘I.O.’ and the causative prefix /maa-/ ‘CAUS’ (e.g., /\*máa-wija/; see details in chapter 7). When added to positional statives, the following valence-changing affixes result in verbs that take regular verbal inflection: the inchoative /ta-/ ‘INC’; the applicative /-ni/ ‘+OBJ’; the transitive /-ii/ ‘TRANS’; and the unusual forms /-wan/ and /-yan/, which transitive the positional statives /yaa/ ‘standing’ and /ma̯a/ ‘supine,’ respectively.

Positional statives with the inchoative prefix /ta-/ ‘INC’ are intransitive verbs denoting achievement.

- |      |  |      |   |
|------|--|------|---|
| (42) | [kít ʔiktamáa]<br>/kit ik-ta-maa/<br>I 1SUB-INC-supine<br>‘I lie down’ | (43) | [kít ʔiktáayá] <sup>5</sup><br>/kit ik-ta-yaa/<br>I 1SUB-INC-standing<br>‘I stand up’ |
|------|--|------|---|

Positional statives with transitive suffixes have the following meanings:

/wija/	‘sitting’
/wija-ii/	‘sit X down’
/wija-ii-ni/	‘place/sit X down for Y’
/wija-ni/	‘sit down in place of X’

- (44) [kít ʔikwǎlí hónkijikčún lakamésa]<sup>6</sup>  
 /kit ik-wija-ii hun-kijik-čun laka-mesa/  
 ‘I 1SUB-seated-TRANS DET-small-NOM PREP-table  
 ‘I seat the child on the table’
- (45) [ʔút wǎliiniʔ]  
 /ut wija-ii-ni-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he seated-TRANS-+OBJ-PFV  
 ‘s/he placed X down for Y’

<sup>5</sup>Note the idiosyncratic change in vowel length in the surface form.

<sup>6</sup>Note the vowel change in the stative root [wǎlí] /wija-ii/ ‘sit X down’.



- (46) [kít ʔikwɪlániɸ hómPédro]  
 /kit ik-wɪla-ni-la(ɸ) hun-Pedro/  
 I seated-+OBJ-PFV DET-Pedro  
 'I am seated in place of Pedro'
- /yaa/ 'standing'  
 /yaa-wan/ 'stand X up'  
 /yaa-ni/ 'stand in place of X, support X'
- (47) [kít ʔikyáawaɸ hónkɪkčún]  
 /kit ik-yaa-wan-la(ɸ) hun-kɪk-čun/  
 I 1SUB-standing-TRANS-PFV DET-small-NOM  
 'I stood the child up'
- (48) [kít ʔikpáayáawaɸ kímakáslah]  
 /kit ik-paa-yaa-wan-la(ɸ) kin-maka=slaɸ  
 I 1SUB-belly rel.-standing-TRANS-PFV 1POSS-finger  
 'I poked my finger in her/his belly'
- (49) [kít ʔikyániɸ hónFrancisco]  
 /kit ik-yaa-ni-la(ɸ) hun-Francisco/  
 I 1SUB-standing-+OBJ-PFV DET-Francisco  
 'I stood in place/took the place of Francisco'
- /māa/ 'supine'  
 /māa-yan/ 'lie X down'  
 /māa-ni/ 'lie down in place of X'
- (50) [ʔút máayaɸ]  
 /ut māa-yan-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he supine-TRANS-PFV  
 's/he lay X down'
- (51) [kít ʔikmáayá]  
 /kit ik-māa-yan/  
 I supine-TRANS  
 'I lie X down'
- (52) [ʔút máaniɸ]  
 /ut māa-ni-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he supine-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he lies down in place of X/for X'

The derivational affixes which do not affect the status of morphological statives are body-part prefixes, the instrumental prefix /lii-/, the locative prefix /puu-/, and the comitative /laa-/.

Positional statives occur with body-part prefixes.

- (53) [wĩʃ kɪntámpúuwíʃ]  
 /wĩʃ kin-tan-puu-wɪla-ti/  
 you 1POSS-back rel.-LOC-seated-PFV  
 'you are seated on my back (shoulder)'

Positional statives occur with the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS'.

- (54) [ʔút líiwɪlaʃ hɔnʃíila]  
 /ut lii-wɪla-la(ʃ) hun-ʃiila/  
 s/he INS-seated-PFV DET-chair  
 's/he is seated in the chair'

Positional statives occur with the locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC'.

- (55) [ʔút púumáaʃ hɔnqɔʒɛi]  
 /ut puu-maa-la(ʃ) hun-quqɛi/  
 s/he LOC-supine-PFV DET-bed  
 's/he is lying on the bed'

Positional statives occur with the comitative /laa-/ 'COM'.

- (56) [kít ʔíkláawɪlan ʔút]  
 /kit ik-laa-wɪla-la(ʃ)-na/  
 I 1SUB-COM-seated-PFV-COM  
 'I am seated with her/him, I live with her/him, I am married to her/him'

## Verb Derivation

The Totonac verb is composed of a basic or derived verb stem and its associated inflectional affixes. A verb stem is a verb that has not been inflected. A verb root is a monomorphemic stem. Derived stems are formed by compounding and affixation. All stems act as a single unit to which inflectional affixes are added.

### 7.1. Root Classes of Verbs

Verb roots in Totonac are classified according to their transitivity. Roots are either intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive.

#### 7.1.1. Intransitive Roots

Intransitive verbs take a single argument which is always marked by subject inflection. Recall that there is no overt subject marker for third person singular subject arguments. Some examples of intransitive roots are:

(1) /min/		‘come’
/a <sub>n</sub> /		‘go’
/nii/		‘die’
/čin/		‘arrive here’
/ʔtata/		‘sleep’
/čan/		‘arrive there’
/qawa/		‘talk’
/tj/		‘dance’
/zuku/		‘begin’
/pupu/		‘boil’
/ziya <sub>n</sub> /		‘laugh’
/paš/		‘bathe’
/wah/		‘bark’
/yuh/		‘fall’
/sta <sub>h</sub> /		‘get wet’
(2) [ʔút tj]	/ut tj/	‘s/he dances’
[ʔút ʔtatá]	/ut ʔtata/	‘s/he sleeps’

[ʔút ʔukú]	/ut ʔuku/	‘s/he begins’
[ʔút qawá]	/ut qawá/	‘s/he talks’

A small set of intransitive inchoative verbs take predicate nominals as complements. These verbs are the closest approximation of a ‘copula’ that exists in Misantla Totonac. See 8.11 and 8.12 for more discussion of these verbs.

- |                             |                              |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| (3) /wan/                   | ‘become X’                   |                  |
| /la/                        | ‘become X’                   |                  |
| (4) [kinān štiniitáa wanáa] | /kinān štiniitaa wan-yaa-wa/ | ‘we become ugly’ |
| (5) [kít ʔikmaχáanílá]      | /kit ik-maqaā-ni-la/         | ‘I become old’   |
| [kít maχáan ʔiklá]          | /kit maqaā-ni ik-la/         | ‘I become old’   |

### 7.1.2. Transitive Roots

Transitive verbs take two nominal arguments marked by subject and object inflection, respectively. As described in chapter 5, there is no overt marker for third person singular object arguments in Totonac. Thus, if the object argument is not specified by an overt noun phrase or object marker, it is interpreted as third person singular (marked throughout as X). Some examples include:

- |                         |              |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| (6) /čan/               | ‘sow X’      |
| /staa/                  | ‘sell X’     |
| /ɛuq/                   | ‘write X’    |
| /tihwan/                | ‘look for X’ |
| /ʔkaa/                  | ‘measure X’  |
| /čuču/                  | ‘toasts X’   |
| /štuqu/                 | ‘sew X’      |
| /ɛaqa/                  | ‘chew X’     |
| /wan/                   | ‘say X’      |
| /skijn/                 | ‘want X’     |
| /kaɛii/                 | ‘know X’     |
| /laqan/                 | ‘see X’      |
| /suqun/                 | ‘like X’     |
| /qašmat/                | ‘hear X’     |
| /paa=stak/ <sup>1</sup> | ‘remember X’ |
| /paa=ɛijs/              | ‘forget X’   |
| /skijnii/               | ‘ask for X’  |

<sup>1</sup> The notation ‘=’ indicates that the historically derived form has been lexicalized as an unanalyzable root.

/šqaa/	'break X'
/waa/	'eat X'
/kaa/	'cut X'
/qaʕan/	'steal X'
/staqa/	'form X (tortillas)'
/čapa/	'grab X, hold X'

- (7) [ʔút qašmat/                    /ut qašmat/                    's/he hears X'  
 [ʔút ʕkaa/                        /ut ʕkaa/                        's/he measures X'  
 [ʔút štuχó]                        /ut štuqu/                        's/he sews X'

### 7.1.3. Ditransitive Roots

Ditransitive verbs take three nominal arguments. There are very few ditransitive roots.

/iškí/ 'give X to Y, hit Y'

- (8) [ʔút ʔiškí]  
 /ut iškí/  
 s/he give X to Y  
 's/he gives X to Y, s/he hits Y'

- (9) [ʔút kíʔiškí hónlíbru]  
 /ut kin-iškí hun-libru/  
 s/he 1OBJ-give X to Y DET-book  
 's/he gives me the book'

/maq=ʕtii/<sup>2</sup> 'take X away from Y, receive X from Y'

- (10) [ʔút kímáqʕtiiʕ]  
 /ut kin-maq=ʕtii-la(ʕ)/  
 s/he-1OBJ-take X from Y-PFV  
 's/he took X away from me, s/he received X from me'

### 7.2. Derived Verb Stems

The most common derivational processes affecting verbs are compounding and affixation. Compounding creates new verbs of the form: verb + verb, verb + stative, or stative + verb. Affixation creates a new verb stem and affects

<sup>2</sup> Although this is a causative, it is a lexicalized causative. There is no verb /\*ʕtii/.

meaning in predictable ways. Affixes which do not affect the number of arguments of a verb include the body-part prefixes 'BPP' and, in some cases, the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC' (with statives and intransitive verbs). Valence-changing affixes either increase or decrease the number of arguments of a verb. The valence-changing affixes include the inchoative /ta-/ 'INC' (with transitive verbs), the causative /maa-/ 'CAUS', the locative /puu-/ 'LOC', the instrumental /lii-/ 'INS', the comitative /laa-/ 'COM', the transitivizer /-ii/ 'TRANS', and the applicative /-ni/ '+OBJ'. The interaction of the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' and the argument structure of the verb is not yet completely understood (see 7.2.10 for discussion). Table 14 describes the order of the most common affixes relative to the root. Morphemes listed in the same column do not co-occur.

Table 14. Derivational Affixes

<i>Derivational Prefixes</i>							
COM-	(BPP-)	INS-	LOC-	CAUS-	INC-	(BPP-) <sup>a</sup>	root-(root)
laa-		lii-	puu-	maa-	ta-		
<i>Derivational Suffixes</i>							
-root-(root)	-TRANS	-+OBJ	(-+OBJ)				
	-ii	-ni	-ni				
		-I.O.					
		-nan					

<sup>a</sup>Body-part prefixes can either precede or follow the other derivational prefixes. There is usually a related change in meaning.

### 7.2.1. Verb Compounds

Verb compounds are distinguished from juxtaposed verbs (or statives) by their stress pattern and their agreement inflection. Compound verbs have only one set of inflectional affixes, which is added at the periphery of the compound. In cases where there is no overt inflection to indicate whether the verb is a compound or a sequence of juxtaposed verb-like elements, the location of primary stress disambiguates the situation (see section 3.6.2). Verbs have primary stress on the final (nonextrametrical) syllable. In compounds, there is primary stress only on the final syllable of the compound. Thus, the stress rule is treating the compound as a single phonological word.

- (11) [ɔ́út †tatatiwíłá]  
 /ut †tata-ta-wíła/  
 s/he sleep-INC-seated  
 ‘s/he sleeps sitting’
- (12) [kít ɔ́íkpuú†tatámi† laka káru]³  
 /kit ik-puu-†tata-min-la(†) laka karu/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-sleep-come-PFV PREP bus  
 ‘I came sleeping on the bus’
- (13) [ɔ́út čapatáaya†]  
 /ut čapa-ta-yaa-la(†)/  
 s/he grab X-INC-standing-PFV  
 ‘s/he detained X’
- (14) [hóhčíwiš tanúmmaa†]  
 /hun-čiwíš ta-nuu-maa-la(†)/  
 DET-stone INC-inside-supine-PFV  
 ‘the stone is inside’
- (15) [ɔ́út ɛ́ɛχ|l̥aχɛ́n]  
 /ut ɛ́ɛq-l̥aqa/ <sup>4</sup>  
 s/he hidden-see X  
 ‘s/he spies on X’

### 7.2.2. Body-Part Prefixes

All Totonacan languages use reduced forms of certain body-part lexemes as productive prefixes in word formation. Body-part prefixes (hereafter, BPPs) occur in nominals and in numeral classifiers, but they are found most frequently in verbs. BPPs refer either to the body part itself—for example, ‘head,’ ‘ear,’ or ‘face’—or to its position—for example, ‘the top of,’ ‘the handle to,’ or ‘facing X.’ Generally BPPs affect the meaning of a verb without affecting its valence.<sup>4</sup> They appear on all classes of verbs and on statives.

Independent words for body parts usually consist of a body-part segment combined with a nominalizing suffix. Independent lexemes for body parts must be possessed. Not all BPPs have corresponding free forms.

<sup>3</sup> Recall that primary stress is the right-most stress. All other stressed syllables receive secondary stress.

<sup>4</sup> The question of whether the use of BP segments involves compounding or affixation is left for future analysis.

- (16) [kímakálat]  
 /kin-maka-lat/  
 1POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'my hand'

A partial list of the BPPs and their uninflected independent forms follows. It is difficult to pin down exactly how many BPPs exist because (a) some have idiosyncratically alternating forms (kiʔ/qiʔ 'mouth related,' kaaq/qaq 'head related'); (b) some are not productive (i.e., occur only in lexicalized combinations); and (c) some combine with other BPPs to create complex prefixes—some of which are productive and some of which are fossilized.

(17) Prefix		Full form <sup>5</sup>	
/kaaak-/	'head rel.'	/kaaak-ni/	'head'
/qaaq-/	'head/round rel.'		
/qaqa-/	'ear rel.'	/qaqa-šquʔ/	'ear'
/laka-/	'face rel.'	/laka-puu-ni/	'face'
/kin-/	'nose rel.'	/kiʔ/	'nose'
/kiʔ-/	'mouth rel.'	/kiʔ-ni/	'mouth'
/qiʔ-/	'mouth rel.'		
/muu-/	'forehead rel.'	/muu-čaa-ni/	'forehead'
/piš-/	'neck rel.'		
/maka-/	'hand rel.'	/maka-lat/	'hand'
/paq-/	'arm rel.'	/paq-ni/	'arm'
/tuu-/	'foot rel.'	/tuhu-lat/	'foot'
/zuqus-/	'knee rel.'	/zuqus-ni/	'knee'
/puu-/	'inside rel.'		
/paa-/	'middle rel.'	/paa-ni/	'belly'
/tan-/	'buttocks rel.'	/tan/	'buttocks'
/tii-/	'posterior rel.'		
/qii-/	'back/behind rel.'	/qii-ni/	'back'
/quša-/	'back/shoulder rel.'	/quša-Vʔ/	'back/shoulder'
/čaa-/	'trunk rel.'	/čaa-ni/	'body, trunk'
/əan-/	'tail rel.'	/əan/	'tail'
/laq=čaqaa-/	'eye rel.'	/laq=čaqaa-ni/	'eye'
/kiʔ-tuu-/	'jaw rel.'	/kiʔ-tuu-ni/	'jaw'
/qiʔ-əan-/	'chin rel.'	/qiʔ-əan/	'chin'
/kiʔ-paa-/	'edge rel.'	/kiʔ-paa-ni/	'lips'
/qaqa-paa-/	'handle rel.'	/qaqa-paa-ni/	'hearing/inner ear'
/piš-tuu-/	'neck rel.'	/piš-tuu-ni/	'neck'

<sup>5</sup> In this list I give the full, uninflected form of the body-part lexeme. However, as stated earlier, the independent words for most body parts must be possessed.



/qaaq-pis-/	'throat rel.'	/qaaq-pis-ni/	'throat'
/kaaak-puu-/	'top rel.'	/kaaak-puu-ni/	'top of head'
/kaaak-čaa-/	'shoulder rel.'	/kaaak-čaa-ni/	'shoulder'
/puu-kiʃ-/	'pelvis rel.'	/puu-kiʃ-ni/	'pelvis/crotch'
/puu-lak-/	'inside surface rel.'	/puu-lak-ni/	'stomach'
/tan-puu-/	'back rel.'	/tan-puu-ni/	'back'
/tan-paa-/	'waist rel.'	/tan-pahaʔ/	'waist'
/tan-tuu-/	'lower leg rel.'	/tan-tuu-ni/	'lower leg'
/əaaas-tuu-/	'side rel.'	/əaaas-tuu-ni/	'side of leg'
/paa-tan-tuu-/	'calf rel.'	/paa-tan-tuu-ni/	'calf'
/laka-tan-tuu-/	'cheek rel.'	/laka-tan-tuu-ni/	'cheek'
/kiʃ-tan-tuu-/	'muzzle rel.'	/kiʃ-tan-tuu-ni/	'muzzle, area around mouth'

Whether a verb is compatible with a BPP depends on the argument structure of the verb and on pragmatic considerations.

In some cases, the BPP and verb combination is reanalyzed with a specific meaning.

- (18) [ʔút makaʔán]  
 /ut maka-án/  
 s/he hand rel.-go  
 's/he makes a sign with the hand'
- (19) [ʔút kíʃkaæíi]  
 /ut kiʃ-kaæii/  
 s/he mouth rel.-know X  
 's/he tastes X'
- (20) [ʔút kímakaʔiški]  
 /ut kin-maka-iški/  
 s/he 1OBJ-hand rel.-give X to Y  
 's/he passes X to me'
- (21) [makawaŋkán hónlaakáan]  
 /maka-wan-kan hun-laakáan/  
 hand rel.-say X-I.S. DET-bell  
 'someone rings the bells'
- (22) [ʔút makalíiniʃ]  
 /ut maka-liin-ni-la(ʃ)/  
 s/he hand rel.-take X -+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he threw X at Y'

- (23) [ʔút lakaʔán]  
 /ut laka-ʔn/  
 s/he face rel. -go  
 's/he faces/looks in that direction'

The interpretation of the BPP depends on the argument structure of the verb. On statives, the BPPs often indicate location. On intransitive verbs, the BPPs often indicate a possessum of the subject. On transitive verbs, the BPP is normally interpreted as a possessum of the object of the verb. With ditransitive verbs the BPP is associated with the indirect object. The argument structure of the verb with respect to BPPs is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.2.3.

### 7.2.2.1. Body-Part Prefixes

In this section, I identify the body-part prefixes and their independent counterparts, followed by examples of the use of the body-part prefix in verb stems. Uvular assimilation and strident assimilation (section 3.4.2) apply to body-part prefixes.

/k<sub>aa</sub>k-/ 'relating to the head, or the top'

- (24) [mínk<sub>aa</sub>kni]  
 /min-k<sub>aa</sub>k-ni/  
 2POSS-head rel. -NOM  
 'top of your head'<sup>6</sup>
- (25) [mínk<sub>aa</sub>klúkut]  
 /min-k<sub>aa</sub>k-lukut/  
 2POSS-head rel. -bone  
 'your skull'
- (26) [káakčápaʔ]  
 /káak-čápa-la(ʔ)/  
 head rel. -grab X-PFV  
 '(the alcohol) went to her/his head'
- (27) [ʔík<sub>aa</sub>kázan]  
 /ik-k<sub>aa</sub>k-kázan/  
 1SUB-head rel. -hurt  
 'my head hurts'

<sup>6</sup> The more commonly used term [mínk<sub>aa</sub>kpuun] /min-k<sub>aa</sub>k-puu-ni/ 'top of your head' exploits a complex body-part prefix.

- (28) [ɔ̃út káakúulíjn]  
 /ut káak-kuyu-lijn/  
 s/he head rel.-carry X-take X  
 's/he takes X carrying it on top of her/his head'

**/qaaq-/ 'relating to the head or something round'**

- (29) [qáaqɬúwaaɬ]  
 /qaaq-ɬuwaa-Vt/  
 head/round rel.-many-NOM  
 'egg'
- (30) [mínqáaqɬtáŋqa]  
 /min-qaaq-ɬtɔŋqa/  
 2POSS-head/round rel.-naked  
 'your hatless head'
- (31) [qáaqtišáhnán]  
 /qaaq-tišah-nan/  
 head/round rel.-sneeze-I.O.  
 's/he sneezes'
- (32) [mínqáaqtišáhni]  
 /min-qaaq-tišah-ni/  
 2POSS-head/round rel.-sneeze-NOM  
 'your sneeze'

/kaak-/ and /qaaq-/ are sometimes interchangeable.

- (33) [ɔ̃iškáakpúput]  
 /iš-kaak-pupu-Vt/  
 3POSS-head rel.-boil-NOM  
 'its foam'
- (34) [ɔ̃iškáaqpúput]  
 /iš-qaaq-pupu-Vt/  
 3POSS-head/round rel.-boil-NOM  
 'its foam'

**/qaqa-/ 'relating to the ear'**

- (35) [mínqaqášqɬ]  
 /min-qaqa-šquɬ/  
 2POSS-ear rel.-??  
 'your ear'

(36) [míntaqaqanúut]  
 /min-ta-q̣aq̣a-nụu-Vt/  
 2POSS-INC-ear rel.-inside-NOM  
 ‘your earring’

(37) [ʔ[əq̣aq̣ač̣aq̣éé]  
 /ik-q̣aq̣a-č̣aq̣a/  
 1SUB-ear rel.-wash X  
 ‘I wash X’s ears’

(38) [kít ʔ[əq̣aq̣ač̣aq̣ékán]  
 /kit ik-q̣aq̣a-č̣aq̣a-kan/  
 I 1SUB-ear rel.-wash X-REFL  
 ‘I wash my ears’

**/laka-, laka=puu/ ‘relating to the face’**

(39) [míllakapúun]  
 /min-laka=puu-ni/  
 2POSS-face rel.-inside rel.-NOM  
 ‘your face’

(40) [kít ʔ[klaq̣apúuláq̣éʔ hónč̣iškúʔ laka tíiʔ]  
 /kit ik-laka=puu-ḷaq̣an-la(ʔ) hun-č̣iškúʔ laka tíiʔ/  
 I 1SUB-face rel.-inside rel.-see X-PFV DET-man PREP path  
 ‘I saw the face of the man on the path’

(41) [ʔút kíllakapášiiʔ]  
 /ut kin-laka-paš-ii-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-face rel.-bathe-TRANS-PFV  
 ‘s/he bathed my face’

(42) [ʔút kíllaq̣ášqát]  
 /ut kin-laka-šqat/  
 s/he 1OBJ-face rel.-scratch X  
 ‘s/he scratches my face’

(43) [kít ʔ[klakaláq̣én šq̣ʒ̣xi]  
 /kit ik-laka-ḷaq̣an iš-quq̣ei/  
 I 1SUB-face rel.-see X 3POSS-bed  
 ‘I face her/his bed’

**/kin-/ ‘relating to the nose’**

- (44) [mínkíʔ]  
/min-kin/  
2POSS-nose  
‘your nose’
- (45) [ʔút kíŋkíʔiʃkiʔ]  
/ut kin-kin-iʃki-la(ʔ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-nose rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
‘s/he hit me in the nose’
- (46) [ʔút kínstáħ]  
/ut kin-stáħ(a)/  
s/he nose-wet  
‘s/he has a runny nose’
- (47) [ʔút kíŋkínzúuks]  
/ut kin-kin-zúuks/  
s/he 1OBJ-nose rel.-kiss X  
‘s/he kisses me on the nose’

**/kiʔ-, qiʔ-/ ‘relating to the mouth’**

- (48) [mínkíʔni]  
/min-kiʔ-ni/  
2POSS-mouth rel.-NOM  
‘your mouth’
- (49) [ʔút kíŋqéhčaqéé]  
/ut kin-kiʔ-čaqaa/  
s/he 1OBJ-mouth rel.-wash X  
‘s/he washes my mouth’
- (50) [ʔút kíʔziyáŋ]  
/ut kiʔ-ziyān/  
s/he mouth rel.-laugh  
‘s/he laughs with her/his mouth’
- (51) [kíʔkəwíʔ]  
/kiʔ-ʔkəwíʔ/  
mouth rel.-crooked  
‘crooked mouth’

- (52) [qéʔqawíʔ]  
/qiʔ-ʔkawiʔ/  
mouth rel.-crooked  
'crooked mouth'
- (53) [mínqéšwaaʔ]  
/min-qiʔ-šwaaʔ-Vt/  
2POSS-mouth rel.-grind X-NOM  
'your molar'
- (54) [ʔišqéʔmisín]  
/iš-qiʔ-misín/  
3POSS-mouth rel.-tiger  
'her/his eye tooth/canine'

/muu-/ , /muu=čaa- 'relating to the forehead or front'

- (55) [mímúučáan]  
/min-muu=čaa-ni/  
2POSS-forehead rel.-trunk rel.-NOM  
'your forehead'
- (56) [mímúun]  
/min-muu-ni/  
2POSS-forehead rel.-NOM  
'your *mecapal*' (basket suspended from band on forehead)
- (57) [kít ʔikmúukaaʔán]  
/kit ik-muu-kaaʔan/  
I 1SUB-forehead rel.-hurt  
'my forehead hurts'
- (58) [kít ʔikmúučáakaaʔán]<sup>7</sup>  
/kit ik-muu=čaa-kaaʔan/  
I 1SUB-forehead rel.-trunk rel.-hurt  
'my forehead hurts'
- (59) [ʔút kímúuʔiškiʔ]  
/ut kin-muu-iški-ʔla(ʔ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-forehead-give X to Y-PFV  
's/he hit me on the forehead'

<sup>7</sup> Strident assimilation is optional with /čaa-/ 'trunk rel.' Thus, it is also possible to say [kít ʔikmúučáakaaʔán] /kit ik-muu=čaa-kaaʔan/ 'my forehead hurts.'

- (60) [ɔ́út kímúuzááɔ́yɔks]<sup>8</sup>  
 /ut kin-muu=čáá-ɔ́yɔks/  
 s/he 1OBJ-forehead rel.-trunk rel.-kiss X'  
 's/he kisses me on the forehead'

**/piš-/ 'relating to the neck'**

- (61) [kít ɔ́kpiščɔkú hómpiyúɔ́]  
 /kit ik-piš-čɔku hun-piyuɔ́/  
 I 1SUB-neck rel.-cut X DET-chicken  
 'I cut the chicken's neck'

**/maka-/ 'relating to the hand'**

- (62) [mímakálɔt]  
 /min-maka-lɔt/  
 2POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'your hand'
- (63) [kímakačɔkúkaɔ́]  
 /kin-maka-čɔku-kan-la(ɔ́)/  
 1OBJ-hand rel.-cut X-I.S.-PFV  
 'someone cut my hand'
- (64) [kít ɔ́kmaakákaɔ́]  
 /kit ik-maka-káá-kan-la(ɔ́)/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-cut X (with a machete)-REFL-PFV  
 'I cut my hand (with a machete)'
- (65) [kít ɔ́kmaqašwéɛɔ́]  
 /kit ik-maka-šwááq/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-scratch X  
 'I scratch X's hand'
- (66) [kít ɔ́kmakataɔ́kɔ́ kírelóh]  
 /kit ik-maka-ta-ɔ́ka-la(ɔ́) kin-reloh/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-INC-be above/on-PFV 1POSS-watch  
 'I put on my watch'

<sup>8</sup> Recall that strident assimilation is optional with /čáá-/ 'trunk rel.'

- (67) [wiʃín pakalúpinítat túñč'wíʃ hǒñčičíʔ]<sup>9</sup>  
 /wiʃín maka-líjn-ni-tat tun-čiwíʃ hun-čičíʔ/  
 y'all hand rel.-take X-+OBJ-2SUB.PL one-stone DET-dog  
 'y'all threw a stone at the dog'

**/paq-/ 'relating to the arm'**

- (68) [mímpáχni]  
 /min-paq-ni/  
 2POSS-arm rel.-NOM  
 'your arm'
- (69) [ʔút tapáχyáawá]  
 /ut ta-paq-yaa-wan/  
 s/he INC-arm rel.-standing-TRANS<sup>10</sup>  
 's/he raises her/his own arm' (lit., 'her/his arm was raised')
- (70) [ʔút kímpáχyáawaʔ]  
 /ut kin-paq-yaa-wan-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-arm rel.-standing-TRANS-PFV  
 's/he raised up my arm'
- (71) [ʔút kímpáχčás]  
 /ut kim-paq-čas/  
 s/he 1OBJ-arm rel.-lift X  
 's/he lifts my arm'

**/tuu-/ 'relating to the foot'**

- (72) [míntɔhólɔt]  
 /min-tuhu-lɔt/  
 2POSS-foot-NOM  
 'your foot'
- (73) [ʔút tatúuyáawá]  
 /ut ta-tuu-yaa-wan/  
 s/he INC-foot rel.-standing-TRANS  
 'it (the horse) bucks/kicks its legs out'

<sup>9</sup> With a second person subject, /maka-/ becomes /paka-/, exhibiting the same /m/ to /p/ alternation that is found in causatives and a handful of irregular verbs. See section 5.4.1.1.1 for a description of this alternation.

<sup>10</sup> See section 6.4 for discussion of the transitivity function of /-wan/ with the stative /yaa/ 'standing.'



- (74) [ɔ́yt túučaqéékán]  
 /ut tuu-čaqaa-kan/  
 s/he foot rel.-wash X-REFL  
 ‘s/he washes her/his own feet’
- (75) [ɔ́yt kintúuɬtúkuɬ]  
 /ut kin-tuu-ɬtuku-la(ɬ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-foot rel.-poke X-PFV  
 ‘s/he poked me in the foot’
- (76) [ɔ́ytún kintatúutəhóɔ]  
 /utun kin-ta-tuu-tuhuu/  
 they 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-foot rel.-step on X  
 ‘they step on my foot’

**/əuqus-/ ‘relating to the knee’**

- (77) [mínəuqósn̩]  
 /min-əuqus-n̩/  
 2POSS-knee rel.-NOM  
 ‘your knee’
- (78) [taqéənəχóstaɬ]  
 /ta-qiin-əuqus-tan-la(ɬ)/  
 INC-back rel.-knee rel.-??-PFV  
 ‘s/he knelt’
- (79) [kít ɔ́kəuqóšwéεχ]  
 /kít ik-əuqus-šwaaq/  
 I 1SUB-knee rel.-scratch X  
 ‘I scratch X’s knee’

**/puu-/ ‘relating to the inside’**

There is no full form corresponding to /puu-/ ‘relating to the inside,’ but there are some derived nominals.

- (80) [špúuňčík]  
 /iš-puu-n̩-čík/  
 3POSS-inside rel.-NOM-house  
 ‘the center of town/the zocalo’

- (81) [špúpahačík]  
/iš-puu-paha-čik/  
3POSS-inside rel.-middle rel.-house  
'the middle of the house'
- (82) [hšhčik láatíi púuw[la†]  
/hun-čik laa-tii puu-wila-la(†)/  
DET-house NEG-who inside rel.-seated-PFV  
'the house is empty, the house has no one living (sitting) inside'
- (83) [láapúuʔúškán]  
/laa-puu-uš-kan/  
3OBJ-inside rel.-dig X-I.S.  
'they dig them (the small holes), the small holes are dug'
- (84) [kít ʔíkpuučapá hšn kahšn]  
/kit ik-puu-čapa hun kahun/  
I 1SUB-inside rel.-grab X DET drawer  
'I grab what is inside the drawer'
- (85) [ʔutún tapúuštɔχš]  
/utun ta-puu-štuqu/  
they 3SUB.PL-inside rel.-sew X  
'they sew the inside of X' (e.g., a sack)

The semantics of the body-part prefix /puu-/ and the locative prefix /puu-/ are closely related and often overlap. It seems likely that the locative prefix originally derived from the body-part prefix.

- (86) [mímpúuštɔχšn]  
/min-puu-štuqu-ni/  
2POSS-inside rel./LOC-sew X-NOM  
'your sewing basket'
- (87) [ʔíkpuučučú]  
/ik-puu-čuču/  
1SUB-inside rel./LOC-toast X  
'I toast X (inside the pan)'
- (88) [ʔíkpuu†tatá]  
/ik-puu-†tata/  
1SUB-inside rel./LOC-sleep  
'I sleep in X'

- (89) [ɤ̞[kpúupáʃ]  
/ik-puu-pas/  
1SUB-inside rel./LOC-bathe  
'I bathe in X'
- (90) [hóñčičíɤ̞ náh kílaapúuɤ̞ʃškáa laka tún kártón]  
/hun-čičiɤ̞ na(ɤ̞) kin-laa-puu-iʃski laka tun karton/  
DET-dog FUT 1OBJ-3OBJ-inside rel./LOC-give X to Y PREP one box  
's/he will give me the dogs in a box'

**/paa-/ 'relating to the middle'**

- (91) [ɤ̞ʃpáan]  
/iʃ-paa-ni/  
3POSS-middle rel.-NOM  
'her/his belly'
- (92) [kít ɤ̞[kpáapáʃ]  
/kit ik-paa-paʃ/  
I 1SUB-middle rel.-bathe  
'I bathe my belly'
- (93) [kít ɤ̞[kpáačukú hómpáʃni]  
/kit ik-paa-čuku hun-paʃni/  
I 1SUB-middle rel.-cut X DET-pig  
'I cut the pig's belly'

/puu-/ and /paa-/ are almost equivalent and are often interchangeable, albeit with some corresponding differences in interpretation.

- (94) [kít ɤ̞[kpáačaqéɛ hóntámɪŋ]  
/kit ik-paa-čaqaa hun-tamink/  
I 1SUB-middle rel.-wash X DET-jar  
'I wash the inside of the jar'
- (95) [kít ɤ̞[kpúučaqéɛ hóntámɪŋ]  
/kit ik-puu-čaqaa hun-tamink/  
I 1SUB-inside rel.-wash X DET-jar  
'I wash the inside of the jar, I wash X inside the jar'

(96) [ɔ́ʉt páaʉʉ́šnán]  
 /ut paa-ʉš-nan/  
 s/he middle rel.-dig X-I.O.  
 's/he digs big holes (ditches/graves)'

(97) [ɔ́ʉt púuʉʉ́šnán]  
 /ut puu-ʉš-nan/  
 s/he inside rel.-dig X-I.O.  
 's/he digs small holes'

**/qii-/ 'relating to the back'**

(98) [mínqéɛn]  
 /min-qii-ni/  
 2POSS-back rel.-NOM  
 'your back'

(99) [mínqéɛpúun]  
 /min-qii-puu-ni/  
 2POSS-back rel.-inside rel.-NOM  
 'your back'

(100) [ɔ́[əqéɛkəzán]  
 /ik-qii-kəzan/  
 1SUB-back rel.-hurt  
 'my back hurts'

(101) [kínčičiʉ kínqéɛyáaɬ]  
 /kin-čičiʉ kin-qii-yaa-la(ɬ)/  
 1POSS-dog 1OBJ-back rel.-standing-PFV  
 'my dog is behind me'

(102) [kínqéɛčəqéɛ]  
 /kin-qii-čəqəqə/  
 1OBJ-back rel.-wash X  
 's/he washes my back'

**/quša-/ 'back/shoulder related'**

(103) [mínqəšáʉ]  
 /min-quša-Vʉ/  
 2POSS-back rel.-NOM  
 'your back'

(104) [kínŋɔʃačəqéɛ]  
 /kin-quša-čəqə/

1OBJ-back rel.-wash X

's/he washes my back/shoulder'

(105) [ʔíɔqʃakəzán]  
 /ik-quša-kəzən/

1SUB-back rel.-hurt

'my back/shoulder hurts'

**/tan-/ 'back/posterior/buttocks related'**

(106) [míntán]  
 /min-tan/

2POSS-buttocks

'your buttocks'

(107) [kít ʔiktáñčəqéɛ]  
 /kit ik-tan-čəqə/

I 1SUB-buttocks rel.-wash X

'I wash X's buttocks'

(108) [ʔút tánkəzán]  
 /ut tan-kəzən/

s/he buttocks rel.-hurt

'her/his buttocks hurt'

**/tii-/ 'related to the posterior/buttocks'**

The related numeral classifier /tii-/ 'NC' refers to 'rows or lines.' There is no full form corresponding to /tii-/ 'posterior related.'

(109) [ʔút tii-kəzán]  
 /ut tii-kəzən/

s/he posterior rel.-hurt

'her/his buttocks hurts'

(110) [hón kawaáa tatíiyáawá]  
 /hun kawaá ta-tii-yaa-wan/

DET horse INC-posterior rel.-standing-TRANS

'the horse kicks its rear legs'

(111) [ʔút tiiʔtukú]  
 /ut tii-ʔtuku/  
 s/he posterior rel. -poke X  
 's/he pokes X's buttocks'

(112) [ʔút tiiʔán]  
 /ut tii-ʔan/  
 s/he posterior rel. -go  
 's/he leaves in reverse'

(113) [ʔút tíimín]  
 /ut tii-min/  
 s/he posterior rel. -come  
 's/he comes in reverse'

/čaa-/ 'related to the body, trunk'

(114) [míhčáan]  
 /min-čaa-ni/  
 2POSS-body/trunk-NOM  
 'your body'

(115) [ʔíkčáakazán]<sup>11</sup>  
 /ik-čaa-kazan/  
 1SUB-trunk rel. -hurt  
 'my body hurts'

(116) [ʔíkčáamás]  
 /ik-čaa-mas/  
 1SUB-trunk rel. -rot  
 'my body is rotting'

(117) [ʔút záasuwíit]  
 /ut čaa-suwíit/  
 s/he trunk rel. -roll up X  
 's/he rolls it up in X'

(118) [ʔút záaspít]  
 /ut čaa-spit/  
 s/he trunk rel. -peel X  
 's/he peels X' (sugarcane or tree, trunk-like objects)

<sup>11</sup> Recall that strident assimilation is optional with /čaa-/ 'trunk rel.'

**/laq=čaqaa-/ ‘related to the eye’**

- (119) [míláqčaqáan]  
/min-laq=čaqaa-ni/  
2POSS-eye rel.-NOM  
‘your eye’
- (120) [ʔiklákčaqákazán]  
/ik-laq=čaqaa-kazan/  
1SUB-eye rel.-hurt  
‘my eye hurts, I hurt my eye’
- (121) [ʔút láqčaqáaziyán]  
/ut laq=čaqaa-ziyán/  
s/he eye rel.-laugh  
‘s/he laughs with her/his eyes’

**7.2.2.2. Complex Body-Part Prefixes**

Complex body-part prefixes describe specific parts of the body. The combined prefixes often have equivalent independent forms. The meaning of these prefix combinations is not always transparent.

**/kiʔ-tuu-/ (mouth-foot) ‘related to the jaw’**

- (122) [mínkiʔtúun]  
/min-kiʔ-tuu-ni/  
2POSS-mouth rel.-foot rel.-NOM  
‘your jaw’
- (123) [ʔút kínkiʔtúuʔškiʔ]  
/ut kin-kiʔ-tuu-ški-la(ʔ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-mouth rel.-foot rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
‘s/he hit me in the jaw’
- (124) [kít ʔikíʔtúuwjlaʔ wín čík]  
/kit ik-kiʔ-tuu-wjla-la(ʔ) wín čík/  
I 1SUB-mouth rel.-foot rel.-sitting-PFV this-house  
‘I am caring for this house’  
(lit., ‘I am seated in the doorway of this house’)

## /qiʔ-ɛʔn-/ (mouth-tail) 'related to the chin'

- (125) [mínqéʔɛʔn]  
/min-qiʔ-ɛʔn/  
2POSS-mouth rel.-tail  
'your chin'
- (126) [ʔút qéʔɛʔnʔʃkiʔ]  
/ut qiʔ-ɛʔn-ʃki-ʔla(ʔ)/  
s/he mouth rel.-tail rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
's/he hit X in the chin'

## /kiʔ-paa-/ (mouth/edge-middle/half) 'related to the edge'

- (127) [mínkiʔpáan]  
/min-kiʔ-paa-ni/  
2POSS-mouth rel.-middle rel.-NOM  
'your lips'
- (128) [ʔíkiʔpáačaqéɛ hóntámɪŋ]  
/ik-kiʔ-paa-čaqaa hun-tamɪŋk/  
1SUB-mouth rel.-middle rel.-wash X DET-jar  
'I wash the edge of the jar'
- (129) [ʔút kiʔpáawilaʔ šqʔχɛi]  
/ut kiʔ-paa-wila-ʔla(ʔ) iš-quχɛi/  
s/he mouth rel.-middle rel.-seated-PFV 3POSS-bed  
's/he is seated on the edge of her/his bed'
- (130) [ʔút kiʔpáatamáa]  
/ut kiʔ-paa-ta-maa/  
s/he mouth rel.-middle rel.-INC-supine  
's/he is lying on the edge'

## /qaqa-paa-/ (ear-middle) 'related to handles'

- (131) [mínqaqapáan]  
/min-qaqa-paa-ni/  
2POSS-ear rel.-middle rel.-NOM  
'your hearing, your inner ear (*oidos*)'



- (132) [kaqaaqapáačáqɛɛt hónšáalɔʔ]  
 /ka-qaaq-paa-čaaqaa-ti hun-šaaluh/  
 IRR-ear rel.-middle rel.-wash X-PFV DET-jar  
 ‘wash the handle of the jar!’
- (133) [kínqaaqapáaʔiškiʔ]  
 /kin-qaaq-paa-iški-la(ʔ)/  
 1OBJ-ear rel.-middle rel.-hit-PFV  
 ‘s/he hit me in the ear’

**/piš-tuu-/ (neck-foot) ‘related to the neck’**

- (134) [kímpištúun]  
 /kin-piš-tuu-ni/  
 1POSS-neck rel.-foot rel.-NOM  
 ‘my neck’
- (135) [kít ʔíkpištúučyúku hóm̐piyúʔ]  
 /kit ik-piš-tuu-čyuku hun piyúʔ/  
 I 1SUB-neck rel.-foot rel.-cut X DET-chicken  
 ‘I cut the chicken's neck’
- (136) [kít ʔíkpištúučaaqéɛkán]  
 /kit ik-piš-tuu-čaaqaa-kan/  
 I 1SUB-neck rel.-foot rel.-wash X-REFL  
 ‘I wash my neck’

**/qaaq-pis-/ (head/round-neck) ‘throat related’**

- (137) [mínqaaqpísni]  
 /min-qaaq-pis-ni/  
 2POSS-head rel.-neck rel.-NOM  
 ‘your throat’
- (138) [kít ʔíqaaqpíščaaqéɛkán]  
 /kit ik-qaaq-pis-čaaqaa-kan/  
 I 1SUB-head rel.-neck rel.-wash X-REFL  
 ‘I gargle, I wash my throat’

## /kʌk-puu-/ (head-inside) ‘related to the top part’

- (139) [mínkʌkʌkpúun]  
/min-kʌk-puu-ni/  
2POSS-head rel.-inside rel.-NOM  
‘the top of your head, the crown of your head’
- (140) [ʔéqʌqʌpúučʌqéé]  
/ik-kʌk-puu-čʌqʌqʌ/  
1SUB-head rel.-inside rel.-wash X  
‘I wash the top of X’s head’
- (141) [ʔút kʌkʌkpúuw[laʔ]  
/ut kʌk-puu-w[la-la(ʔ)/  
s/he head rel.-inside rel./LOC-seated-PFV  
‘s/he is seated on her/his head’
- (142) [ʔút kʌkʌkpúutáyá]  
/ut kʌk-puu-ta-yaa/  
s/he head rel.-inside rel./LOC-INC-standing  
‘s/he is standing on her/his head’

## /kʌk-čʌʌ-/ (head-trunk/body) ‘related to the upper back and shoulder’

- (143) [mínkʌkčʌʌn]  
/min-kʌk-čʌʌ-ni/  
2POSS-head rel.-trunk rel.-NOM  
‘your shoulder’
- (144) [ʔíkʌkčʌʌkʌzán]  
/ik-kʌk-čʌʌ-kʌzan/  
1SUB-head rel.-trunk rel.-hurt  
‘my shoulder hurts, I hurt my shoulder’
- (145) [kínkʌkčʌʌʔtúkuʔ]  
/kin-kʌk-čʌʌ-ʔtuku-la(ʔ)/  
1OBJ-head rel.-trunk rel.-poke X-PFV  
‘s/he poked me in the shoulder’

**/puu-kiʃ-/ (inside-mouth/edge) ‘related to the pelvis or crotch’**

- (146) [mímpúukíʃni]  
 /min-puu-kiʃ-ni/  
 2POSS-inside rel.-mouth/edge rel.-NOM  
 ‘your pelvis, crotch’
- (147) [ʔút púukíʃkəʒán]  
 /ut puu-kiʃ-kəʒan/  
 s/he inside rel.-mouth/edge rel.-hurt  
 ‘her/his pelvis hurts, s/he hurts her/his own pelvis’

**/puu-lak-/ (inside-face) ‘related to an inside surface’**

- (148) [ʔiʃpúulákni]  
 /iʃ-puu-lak-ni/  
 3POSS-inside rel.-face rel.-NOM  
 ‘her/his stomach’
- (149) [ʔút púuláqčəqéɛ]  
 /ut puu-lak-čəqəqə/  
 s/he inside rel.-face rel.-wash X  
 ‘s/he purges her/his stomach’
- (150) [mímpúuláqčəqéɛn]  
 /min-puu-lak-čəqəqə-ni/  
 2POSS-inside rel.-face rel.-wash X-NOM  
 ‘your washtub’

**/tan-puu-/ (buttocks-inside) ‘back/middle related’**

- (151) [míntámpúun]  
 /min-tan-puu-ni/  
 2POSS-back rel.-inside rel.-NOM  
 ‘your back’
- (152) [míntámpúuláasiwín]  
 /min-tan-puu-laa-siwí-ni/  
 2POSS-back rel.-inside rel.-PL-twist-NOM  
 ‘your spine, backbone’

- (153) [ʔýt lakatámpúun tiwílaʔ hón Francisco]  
 /ut laka-tan-puu-ní ti-wíla-la(ʔ) hun Francisco/  
 s/he PREP-back rel.-inside rel.-NOM INC-seated-PFV DET Francisco  
 ‘Francisco sat in the middle’
- (154) [ʔýt támpúuʔtúkuʔ]  
 /ut tan-puu-ʔtuku-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he back rel.-inside rel.-poke X-PFV  
 ‘s/he poked X in the back’
- (155) [kít ʔík támpúupáʂ]  
 /kit ik-tan-puu-paʂ/  
 I 1SUB-back rel.-inside rel.-bathe  
 ‘I bathe my back’
- (156) [hón paʂní támpúuyaaʔ tún kúčiʔ]  
 /hun paʂní tan-puu-yaa-la(ʔ) tun kučiʔ/  
 DET pig back rel.-inside rel.-standing-PFV one knife  
 ‘the pig has a knife in its back’ (lit., ‘the knife is upright in the pig’s back’)

**/tan-paa-/ (buttocks-half/middle) ‘relating to the waist’**

- (157) [ʔíʂtámpaháʔ]  
 /iʂ-tan-pahaʔ/  
 3POSS-buttocks rel.-half  
 ‘her/his waist’
- (158) [ʔýt támpáayaaʔ túŋkúčiʔ]  
 /ut tan-paa-yaa-la(ʔ) tun-kučil/  
 s/he buttocks rel.-middle rel.-standing-PFV one-knife  
 ‘s/he is wearing a knife at the waist’
- (159) [kít ʔíktámpáaʔúkaʔ kímačítu]  
 /kit ik-tan-paa-úka-la(ʔ) kin-mačítu/  
 I 1SUB-waist rel.-be above/on-PFV 1POSS-machete  
 ‘I am wearing my machete on my waist’

**/tan-tuu-/ (buttocks-foot) ‘related to the lower leg’**

- (160) [kíntántúun]  
 /kin-tan-tuu-ní/  
 1POSS-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-NOM  
 ‘my lower leg (from the knee down)’

- (161) [ʔút kintántúučǻqǻǻ]
   
/ut kin-tan-tuu-čǻqǻǻ/
   
s/he 1OBJ-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-wash X
   
's/he washes my lower leg'
- (162) [ʔút tántúukǻǻán]
   
/ut tan-tuu-kǻǻan/
   
s/he buttocks rel.-foot rel.-hurt
   
'her/his lower leg hurts, s/he hurts her/his lower leg'

**/paa-tan-tuu-/ (middle-buttocks-foot) 'related to the calf'**

- (163) [mímpáatántúun]
   
/min-paa-tan-tuu-ni/
   
2POSS-middle rel.-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-NOM
   
'your calf'
- (164) [ʔút páatántúuǻtúkuǻ]
   
/ut paa=tan=tuu-ǻtuku-la(ǻ)/
   
s/he calf rel.-poke X-PFV
   
's/he poked X in the calf'

**/ǻǻas-tuu/ (side-foot) 'related to one side'**

- (165) [kínǻǻastúun]
   
/kin-ǻǻas-tuu-ni/
   
1POSS-side rel.-foot rel.-NOM
   
'the side of my leg'
- (166) [ʔíkčǻǻastúučǻqǻǻǻ]
   
/ik-ǻǻas-tuu-čǻqǻǻ-la(ǻ)/
   
1SUB-side rel.-foot rel.-wash X-PFV
   
'I washed one side of X's leg'
- (167) [kít ʔíkǻǻastúukǻǻán]
   
/kit ik-ǻǻas-tuu-kǻǻan/
   
I 1SUB-side rel.-foot rel.-hurt
   
'one side of my leg hurts'

- (168) [kínčáastúuyaaɬ kínčičiʔ, kíńčáastúuyaaɬ]<sup>12</sup>  
 /kin-čaaʂ-tuu-yaa-la(ɬ) kin-čičiʔ/  
 1OBJ-side rel.-foot rel.-standing-PFV 1POSS-dog  
 ‘my dog is standing at my side’

- (169) [čáastúutiwílaɬ hónsináat]  
 /čaaʂ-tuu-ta-wíla-la(ɬ) hun-sinaat/  
 side rel.-foot rel.-INC-seated-PFV DET-woman  
 ‘s/he sat next to the woman’

**/laka-tan-tuu-/ (face-buttocks-foot) ‘related to the cheek’**

- (170) [mílakatántúun]  
 /min-laka-tan-tuu-ni/  
 2POSS-face rel.-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-NOM  
 ‘your cheek’
- (171) [kít ʔ{klakatántúučaqéé}]  
 /kit-ik-laka-tan-tuu-čaqaa/  
 I 1SUB-face rel.-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-wash X  
 ‘I wash X’s cheek’

**/laka-tan-paa-/ (face-buttocks-middle) ‘related to the cheek’**

- (172) [kílakatámpáan]  
 /kin-laka-tan-paa-ni/  
 1POSS-face rel.-buttocks rel.-middle rel.-NOM  
 ‘my cheek’
- (173) [ʔút kílakatámpáaʔ{škiɬ}]  
 /ut kin-laka-tan-paa-iški-la(ɬ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-cheek rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
 ‘s/he hit my cheek’

**/kiɬ-tan-tuu-/ (mouth-buttocks-foot)  
 ‘related to the area around the mouth/muzzle’**

- (174) [mínkíɬtántúun]  
 /min-kiɬ-tan-tuu-ni/  
 2POSS-mouth rel.-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-NOM  
 ‘your area around the mouth (muzzle)’

<sup>12</sup> Strident assimilation is optional; and when the root contains no triggering consonant, either set of sibilants may be used (i.e., *s/ɛ* or *š/č*).

- (175) [ɔ́út kíŋkíʔántúuʔíʂkiʔ]  
 /ut kin-kiʔ-tan-tuu-íʂki-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-mouth rel.-buttocks rel.-foot rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
 's/he hit me in the area around my mouth (muzzle)'

### 7.2.2.3. Body-Part Prefixes and Different Verb Classes

Body-part prefixes appear on all classes of verbs. There seem to be no restrictions, other than semantic or pragmatic constraints, limiting their distribution. The class of the verb affects the interpretation of the BPP: (a) with statives, BPPs are interpreted as referring to position or location; (b) with intransitive verbs, the subject is interpreted as the possessor of the body part; (c) with transitive verbs, the object is seen as the possessor of the body part; and (d) with ditransitive verbs, it is the indirect object which is the possessor.

a. BPPs with positional statives tend to have a locative meaning.

- (176) [ɔ́út kíʔyáaʔ laka pwérta]  
 /ut kiʔ-yaa-la(ʔ) laka pwérta/  
 s/he mouth rel.-standing-PFV PREP-door  
 's/he is standing in the doorway'
- (177) [kít ʔíkpiʂtúuʔúkaʔ tún páayu]  
 /kít ik-piʂ=tuu-úka-la(ʔ) tun paayu/  
 I 1SUB-neck rel.-be above-PFV one bandana  
 'I have a bandana on my neck'
- (178) [ɔ́út kíʔpáawílaʔ hón šiila]  
 /ut kiʔ=paa-wíla-la(ʔ) hun šiila/  
 s/he lip/edge rel.-seated-PFV DET chair  
 's/he is seated on the edge of the chair'

b. With intransitive verbs, the BPP is interpreted as the possessum of the subject. If the body-part prefix is present, the full body-part lexeme may also be used. However, it is not possible to have a body-part lexeme as a freestanding nominal without the BPP. I assume that the full form of the body part functions merely as an adjunct nominal, and not as an argument.

- (179) [ɔ́út makapáš]  
 /ut maka-páš/  
 s/he hand rel.-bathe  
 's/he bathes her/his own hands'

- (180) [ʔút makapás ʔíʂmakálat]  
 /ut maka-páš iš-maka-lat/  
 s/he hand rel.-bathe 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 's/he washes her/his own hands'
- (181) \*[ʔút pás ʔíʂmakálat]  
 /ut pás iš-maka-lat/  
 s/he bathe 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 's/he washes her/his own hand'
- (182) [ʔíkíʔkəzan]  
 /ik-kiʔ-kəzan/  
 1SUB-mouth rel.-hurt  
 'I hurt my mouth'
- (183) [ʔíkíʔkəzan kíŋkíʔni]  
 /ik-kiʔ-kəzan kin-kiʔ-ni/  
 1SUB-mouth rel.-hurt 1POSS-mouth-NOM  
 'I hurt my mouth'
- (184) \*[ʔíkəzan kíŋkíʔni]  
 /ik-kəzan kin-kiʔ-ni/  
 1SUB-hurt 1POSS-mouth-NOM  
 'I hurt my mouth'
- c. With transitives, the body part is interpreted as the possessum of the object.
- (185) [kít ʔíkmaqačəqéé ʔíʂmakálat]  
 /kit ik-maka-čəqəə iš-maka-lat/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-wash X 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'I wash her/his hands'
- (186) \*[kít ʔíkmaqačəqéé kímakálat]  
 /kit ik-maka-čəqəə kin-maka-lat/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-wash X 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'I wash my hands'
- (187) [kít ʔíkmaqačəqéékán kímakálat]  
 /kit ik-maka-čəqəə-kan kin-maka-lat/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-wash X-REFL 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'I wash my hands'



- (188) [kít ɣíkmaqačəqə́ɛyáan mímakálə́t]  
 /kit ik-maka-čəqə́a-yaa-na min-maka-lə́t/  
 I 1SUB-hand rel.-wash X-IMPFV-2OBJ 3POSS-hand rel.-NOM  
 'I wash your hands'
- (189) [kít ɣíkíɸčəpá]  
 /kit ik-kiɸ-čəpa/  
 I 1SUB-mouth rel.-grab X  
 'I cover her/his mouth, I stop her/him from speaking'

d. With ditransitives, the body part is interpreted as the possessum of the indirect object.

- (190) [ɣút kímakaɣíškíɸ]  
 /ut kin-maka-íškí-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-hand rel.-give X to Y-PFV  
 's/he put it in/on my hand, hit my hand'
- (191) [ɣút kímaqamáqɸtíiɸ]  
 /ut kin-maka-maq=ɸtíi-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-hand rel.-take X from Y-PFV  
 's/he received X/took X from my hand'

#### 7.2.2.4. Body-Part Prefixes and Other Derivational Affixes

BPPs occur with any of the derivational affixes. The order of BPPs is variable relative to some derivational prefixes. In some cases, BPPs can either precede or follow another prefix. This reordering often results in a change in meaning.

/INS-body part-/ vs. /body part-INS-/

- (192) [kít ɣíktúumáašanán]  
 /kit ik-tuu-maa=šanán/  
 I 1SUB-foot rel.-CAUS=be ashamed  
 'I am ashamed of my foot'
- (193) [kít ɣíklíitúumáašanán kíntatúunuyt]  
 /kit ik-líi-tuu-maa=šanán kin-ta-tuu-nuu-Vt/  
 I 1SUB-INS-foot rel.-CAUS=be ashamed 1POSS-INC-foot rel.-inside-NOM  
 'I am ashamed of my shoes'

- (194) [kít ʔ[ktúulíimáašánán]  
/kit ik-tuu-lii-maa=šanan/  
I 1SUB-foot rel.-INS-CAUS=be ashamed  
'I am ashamed of X's foot'
- (195) [kíntúulíimáašánán]  
/kin-tuu-lii-maa=šanan/  
1POSS-foot rel.-INS-CAUS=be ashamed  
's/he is ashamed of my foot'
- (196) [kít ʔ[klíimakamáašánán]  
/kit ik-lii-maka-maa=šanan/  
I 1SUB-INS-hand rel.-CAUS=be ashamed  
'I am ashamed of what I have in my hand'
- (197) [kít ʔ[kmakalíimáašánán]  
/kit ik-maka-lii-maa=šanan/  
I 1SUB-hand rel.-INS-CAUS=be ashamed  
'I am ashamed of her/his hand'
- (198) [kít ʔ[kɛχʔsliímáašánán]  
/kit ik-ɛuqus-lii-maa=šanan/  
I 1SUB-knee rel.-INS-CAUS=be ashamed  
'I am ashamed of her/his knee'

**/LOC-body part-/ vs. /body part-LOC/**

- (199) [ʔút kímpúutúuwílaʔ]  
/ut kin-puu-tuu-wíla-la(ʔ)/  
s/he 1POSS-LOC-foot rel.-seated-PFV  
's/he is seated on my feet'
- (200) [ʔút kíntúupúuwílaʔ]  
/ut kin-tuu-puu-wíla-la(ʔ)/  
s/he 1POSS-foot rel.-LOC-seated-PFV  
's/he is seated on my feet'
- (201) [ʔút kíntúuwílaʔ]  
/ut kin-tuu-wíla-la(ʔ)/  
s/he 1POSS-foot rel.-seated-PFV  
's/he is seated near my feet'

(202) [ɣút kímpúulakawǐlaʔ]  
 /ut kin-puu-laka-wǐla-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1POSS-LOC-face rel.-seated-PFV  
 's/he is seated facing me/in front of me'

(203) [ɣút kílakapúuwǐlaʔ]  
 /ut kin-laka-puu-wǐla-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1POSS-face rel.-LOC-seated-PFV  
 's/he is seated facing me/in front of me'

**/CAUS-body part-/ vs. /body part-CAUS-/**

(204) [ɣút máalakastǎhéékán]  
 /ut maa-laka-stǎh-ii-kan/  
 s/he CAUS-face rel.-wet-TRANS-REFL  
 's/he wets her/his own face'

(205) [ɣút lakamáastǎhéékán]  
 /ut laka-maa-stǎh-ii-kan/  
 s/he face rel.-CAUS-wet-TRANS-REFL  
 's/he wets her/his own face'

**/INC-body part-/ vs. /body part-INC-/**

(206) [ɣút taqqaǎštǔʔ]  
 /ut ta-qaqa-štǔ-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he INC-ear rel.-be outside-PFV  
 'her/his earring came out'

(207) [qaqatáštǔʔ hǒńčá]<sup>13</sup>  
 /qaqa-ta-štǔ-la(ʔ) hun-ča/  
 ear rel.-INC-be outside-PFV DET-tortilla  
 'the tortilla was left over'

In some cases the morpheme order cannot be reversed:

(208) [ɣút tamakačukýŋkǔyǔ]  
 /ut ta-maka-čukǔŋkǔ-ii/  
 s/he INC-hand rel.-cold-TRANS  
 'her/his own hand gets cold'

<sup>13</sup>A related idiomatic form is [ɣút qaqatáštǔʔ] 'she gave birth.'

- (209) \*[\u028c\u028a\u0304t makara\u028cuk\u028a\u0304\u0304k\u028a\u0304\u0304\u0304]  
 /ut maka-ta-\u028cuk\u028a\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304-ii/  
 s/he hand rel.-INC-cold-TRANS  
 'her/his own hand gets cold'

### 7.2.3. Inchoative

The inchoative /ta-/ is attached to statives (i.e., positional statives and some nominal statives) and to transitive verbs. In each case the result is an intransitive verb stem. Thus, with statives, the inchoative prefix does not affect valence. However, with transitive verbs, the inchoative prefix decreases valence by one. Forms with /ta-/ always have an ingressive meaning, referring to entry into the state indicated.

#### 7.2.3.1. The Inchoative and Different Verb Classes

##### *Positional statives*<sup>14</sup>

/ta-/ 'INC' with positional statives has an ingressive meaning of entering into the state or condition described by the stative. Positional statives with /ta-/ are intransitive verbs of achievement. Once a positional stative has been verbalized by the inchoative prefix, it takes normal verbal inflection and occurs in any aspect.

- |       |  |   |                    |
|-------|--|---|--------------------|
| (210) | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ma\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304]                          | /ut ma\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304-la(\u0304)/                           | 's/he is supine'   |
|       | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ta\u0304ma\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304]                        | /ut ta-ma\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304/                                   | 's/he lies down'   |
| (211) | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ya\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304]                          | /ut yaa-la(\u0304)/   | 's/he is standing' |
|       | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ta\u0304ya\u0304a\u0304\u0304\u0304]                        | /ut ta-yaa/   | 's/he stands up'   |
| (212) | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t wi\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304]                           | /ut wi\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304-la(\u0304)/                            | 's/he is seated'   |
|       | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ti\u0304wi\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304]                         | /ut ta-wi\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304/                                    | 's/he sits down'   |
| (213) | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t \u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304ka\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304]   | /ut \u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304ka\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304-la(\u0304)/    | 's/he is above'    |
|       | [\u028c\u028a\u0304t ta\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304ka\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304] | /ut ta-\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304ka\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304-la(\u0304)/ | 's/he mounted'     |

##### *Nominal statives:*

/ta-/ 'INC' is prefixed to a limited number of nominal statives without accompanying modification of the nominal. The inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'

<sup>14</sup>The nonpositional morphological stative /qa\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304\u0304ii/ 'have' has no inchoative counterpart.

<sup>15</sup>Note the idiosyncratic change in vowel length in the surface form.

makes these nominal stative verbs of achievement. The resultant forms are subject to normal verbal inflection.

- |       |                       |                                      |       |                      |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
|       | /z̥i̥i̥q/             | ‘hidden’                             |       |                      |
|       | /ta-z̥i̥i̥q/          | ‘be hidden, hide’                    |       |                      |
| (214) | [hóñčíwiš z̥é̥é̥χ]    |                                      | (215) | [ʔút taz̥é̥é̥χ]      |
|       | /hun-číwiš z̥i̥i̥q/   |                                      |       | /ut ta-z̥i̥i̥q/      |
|       | DET-stone hidden      |                                      |       | s/he INC-hidden      |
|       | ‘the stone is hidden’ |                                      |       | ‘s/he hides’         |
|       | /čuk̥u̥ŋku/           | ‘cold’                               |       |                      |
|       | /ta-čuk̥u̥ŋku/        | ‘become cold, chilled’               |       |                      |
| (216) | [čuk̥u̥ŋku]           |                                      | (217) | [tačuk̥u̥ŋku†]       |
|       | /čuk̥u̥ŋku/           |                                      |       | /ta-čuk̥u̥ŋku-la(†)/ |
|       | cold                  |                                      |       | INC-cold-PFV         |
|       | ‘X is cold’           |                                      |       | ‘X became chilled’   |
|       | /k̥aks/               | ‘quiet, silent’                      |       |                      |
|       | /ta-k̥aks/            | ‘become quiet or silent, quiet down’ |       |                      |
| (218) | [kít ʔik̥aks]         |                                      | (219) | [kít ʔiktak̥aks]     |
|       | /kit ik-k̥aks/        |                                      |       | /kit ik-ta-k̥aks/    |
|       | I 1SUB-silent         |                                      |       | I 1SUB-INC-silent    |
|       | ‘I am silent’         |                                      |       | ‘I become quiet’     |
| (220) | [tak̥i†t̥imi†]        | /ta-ki†-ti-min-la(†)/                |       | ‘X became filled’    |
|       | [tač̥u̥nu†]           | /ta-č̥unun-la(†)/                    |       | ‘X became wrinkled’  |
|       | [tást̥aχ̥ála†]        | /ta-st̥aχ̥al-la(†)/                  |       | ‘X became flattened’ |
|       | [tašp̥íli†]           | /ta-šp̥ilil-la(†)/                   |       | ‘X became spotted’   |
|       | [tasp̥íli†]           | /ta-sp̥ilil-la(†)/                   |       | ‘X became twisted’   |

The roots of some inchoative verbs never appear alone. They only occur in conjunction with a verbalizing affix such as the inchoative prefix.

- |       |                 |          |
|-------|-----------------|----------|
|       | */nuu/          | ‘inside’ |
|       | /ta-nuu/        | ‘enter’  |
| (221) | [ʔút tanúu]     |          |
|       | /ut ta-nuu/     |          |
|       | s/he INC-inside |          |
|       | ‘s/he enters’   |          |

\*/štu/                    'outside'  
/ta-štu/                'leave'

- (222) [ɔ́ʉt táštú]  
/ut ta-štu/  
s/he INC-outside  
'she leaves'

\*/čqu/                    'still'  
/ta-čqu/                'stay, remain'

- (223) [ɔ́ʉt tečɔqɔ́ɔ]  
/ut ta-čqu/  
s/he INC-still  
's/he remains'

*Intransitive verbs:*

The inchoative prefix does not appear on any basic intransitive verb in my corpus.

*Transitive verbs:*

When the inchoative prefix occurs on a transitive verb, it creates an intransitive verb that describes the state resulting from the action of the original transitive verb. The inchoative prefix only occurs on a limited set of accomplishment transitive verbs that denote actions or events resulting in a change of state of the object.

- (224) [ɔ́ʉt púuɬuɬ]                    /ut puuɬu-la(ɬ)/                    's/he uprooted X'  
[ɔ́ʉt tapúuɬuɬ]                    /ut ta-puuɬu-la(ɬ)/                'X was uprooted'

- (225) [ɔ́ʉt špáliiɬ]                    /ut špálii-la(ɬ)/                    's/he changed X'  
[ɔ́ʉt tášpáliiɬ]                    /ut ta-špálii-la(ɬ)/                'X was changed'

- (226) [ɔ́ʉt ɬkawiiɬ]                    /ut ɬkawiiɬ/                    's/he folds X'  
[ɔ́ʉt táɬkawiiɬ]                    /ut ta-ɬkawiiɬ/                    'X is folded'

- (227) [ɔ́ʉt čukú]                    /ut čuku/                    's/he cuts X'  
[ɔ́ʉt tačukú]                    /ut ta-čuku]                    'X is cut'

- (228) [ɔ́ʉt káá]                    /ut kaa/                    's/he cuts X (w/machete)'  
[ɔ́ʉt takáá]                    /ut ta-kaa/                    'X is cut'

- |       |              |               |                 |
|-------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (229) | [ɣút čaǰéǰ]  | /ut čaǰaa/    | 's/he washes X' |
|       | [ɣút tačǰéǰ] | /ut ta-čaǰaa/ | 'X is washed'   |

/ta-/ 'INC' also occurs on transitive verbs that have been derived from nominals via suffixation<sup>16</sup> of /-ii/ 'TRANS' (section 7.2.5). In these cases, the resulting verb is intransitive and denotes entry into the state indicated.

- |       |                           |                      |                               |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (230) | [pǰksa]                   | /pǰksa/              | 'smelly'                      |
|       | [kít ɣ[kpǰksíi]           | /kit ik-pǰksa-ii/    | 'I make X smelly'             |
|       | [kít ɣ[ktapǰksíi]         | /kit ik-ta-pǰksa-ii/ | 'I become smelly'             |
| (231) | [papáksnǰ]                | /papaks-nYɣ/         | 'old man'                     |
|       | [kímpapáksníi]            | /kin-papaks-nYɣ-ii/  | 'he ages me'                  |
|       | [tapapáksníi]             | /ta-papaks-nYɣ-ii/   | 'X (male) becomes old'        |
| (232) | [stɔqɔnǰ]                 | /stɔqɔ-nYɣ/          | 'old woman'                   |
|       | [kístɔqɔnǰ]               | /kin-stɔqɔ-nYɣ-ii/   | 'she ages me'                 |
|       | [rástɔqɔnǰ] <sup>17</sup> | /ta-stɔqɔ-nYɣ-ii/    | 'X (female) becomes old'      |
|       | [rástɔqɔníi]              |                      |                               |
| (233) | [čǰškú]                   | /čǰškuɣ/             | 'man'                         |
|       | [tačǰškúu]                | /ta-čǰškuɣ-ii/       | 'X becomes a man'             |
| (234) | [čík]                     | /čik/                | 'house'                       |
|       | [tačíkíi] <sup>18</sup>   | /ta-čik-ii/          | 'X becomes a house/inhabited' |
| (235) | [čǰin]                    | /čǰi-ni/             | 'strong'                      |
|       | [tačǰiníi]                | /ta-čǰi-ni-ii/       | 'X becomes strong'            |
| (236) | [ɬéɬni]                   | /ɬih-ni/             | 'yellow'                      |
|       | [ɣút láaɬéɬníi]           | /ut laa-ɬih-ni-ii/   | 's/he yellows them'           |
|       | [taɬéɬníi]                | /ta-ɬih-ni-ii/       | 'X becomes yellow'            |
| (237) | [qát]                     | /qat/                | 'big'                         |
|       | [taqátíi]                 | /ta-qat-ii/          | 'X becomes big'               |
| (238) | [péɛnǰ]                   | /paa-nYɣ/            | 'poor'                        |
|       | [tapéɛníi]                | /ta-paa-nYɣ-ii/      | 'X becomes poor'              |

<sup>16</sup> Not all nominals undergo this process. The restrictions seem to be pragmatic.

<sup>17</sup> Vowel harmony (4.2.1.2) optionally makes the suffix /-ii/ match the vowel quality of the last stem vowel.

<sup>18</sup> The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' is sometimes paired with the feature [+CG], but the rules for association are complex (and perhaps idiosyncratic) and not yet fully understood.

(239)	[sáaste]	/saasti/	'new'
	[tasáastíi]	/ta-saasti-ii/	'X becomes new'
(240)	[hékwáate]	/hikwān-ti/	'fearful'
	[tehékwáatíi]	/ta-hikwān-ti-ii/	'X becomes afraid'
(241)	[skéha]	/skijha/	'tasty'
	[táskéhéé]	/ta-skijha-ii/	'X becomes tasty'
(242)	[qʰanáʔ]	/quʰa-nYʔ/	'good'
	[taqʰóníi]	/ta-quʰa-nYʔ-ii/	'X improves/gets fixed'
(243)	[kanáalanáʔ]	/kanaa-la-nYʔ/	'bad (person)'
	[takanáalaníi]	/ta-kanaa-la-nYʔ-ii/	'X becomes bad/mean'
(244)	[šúun]	/šuu-ni/	'bitter'
	[tašúuníi]	/ta-šuu-ni-ii/	'X becomes bitter'
(245)	[sáqsi]	/saqsi/	'sweet (by brown sugar)'
	[tasáqsi]	/ta-saqsi-ii/	'X becomes sweet'
(246)	[síksi]	/siksi/	'sweet (by sugar)'
	[tasíksíi]	/ta-siksi-ii/	'X becomes sweet'
(247)	[špilíʔ]	/špilí/	'spotted'
	[tašpilííi]	/ta-špilí-ii/	'X becomes spotted'
(248)	[spilíʔ]	/spilí/	'braided/twisted'
	[tašpilííi]	/ta-spilí-ii/	'X becomes braided'
(249)	[čukúŋky]	/čukunky/	'cold'
	[čukúŋkúy]	/čukunky-ii/	'X chills Y'
	[tačukúŋkúy]	/ta-čukunky-ii/	'X becomes cold'
(250)	[čynún]	/čynun(u)/	'wrinkled'
	[tačynunúy]	/ta-čynun(u)-ii/	'X becomes wrinkled'

*Ditransitive verbs:*

Ditransitive verbs also undergo inchoativization, but the resulting forms are only marginally acceptable.



- (251) [ɣút ɣĩʂkiɬ] /ut iʂki-la(ɬ)/ 's/he hit X, gave X to Y'  
 [ɣút taɣĩʂkiɬ] /ut ta-iʂki-la(ɬ)/ 'X was hit, X was given to Y'

### 7.2.3.2. Inchoative and Other Derivational Affixes

The only prefixes that may come between the inchoative prefix and the verb root are body-part prefixes. All other derivational prefixes precede /ta-/. The inchoative prefix never occurs with the indefinite object /-nan/ 'I.O.' or with the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS'. The inchoative prefix does, however, occur with BPPs, the instrumental prefix, the locative prefix, the comitative affixes, the transitivizer suffix, and the applicative suffix.

Body-part prefixes can either precede or follow the inchoative.

- (252) [ɣút talakanúu]  
 /ut ta-laka-nuu/  
 s/he INC-face rel.-inside  
 's/he looks/peeks inside' (lit., 'her face goes inside')
- (253) [ɣút lakatanúu]  
 /ut laka-ta-nuu/  
 s/he face rel.-INC-inside  
 'something embeds itself in her/his face'

The inchoative /ta-/ may be preceded by the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS'.

- (254) [kít ɣ[klíituɣúkaɬ hón kawáa/laka kawáa]  
 /kit ik-lii-ta-úka-la(ɬ) hun kawaa/laka kawaa/  
 I 1SUB-INS-INC-be above/on-PFV DET horse/PREP horse  
 'I mounted the horse'

The inchoative /ta-/ may be preceded by the locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC' on statives.

- (255) [ɣ[ɪkpúutamáa hónqɔχɛi]  
 /ik-puu-ta-maa hun-quɔɛi/  
 1SUB-LOC-INC-supine DET-bed  
 'I lie down on the bed'
- (256) [kít ɣ[ɪkpúutanúu]  
 /kit ik-puu-ta-nuu/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-INC-inside  
 'I enter into something' (e.g., a bag, a hole, etc.)

The inchoative /ta-/ may occur with the comitative affixes /laa-...-na/ 'COM'.

- (257) [kít ʔikláatamáǵan ʔút]  
 /kit ik-laa-ta-máǵ-na ut/  
 I 1SUB-COM-INC-supine-COM s/he  
 'I lay down with her/him'

The inchoative prefix occurs with the transitivity suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS'.

- (258) [staχáʔ]                    /staqal/                    'flat'  
 [tástaxǵálii]                /ta-staqal-ii/            'X becomes flat'

The inchoative prefix occurs with the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ'.

- (259) [ʔút kintawǵlaní]  
 /ut kin-ta-wǵla-ni/  
 s/he 1OBJ-INC-seated-+OBJ  
 's/he is seated in my place'

- (260) [kintáʔkawǵitni]  
 /kin-ta-ʔkawǵit-ni/  
 1OBJ-INC-fold X-+OBJ  
 'X is folded for me'

The inchoative /ta-/ cannot be preceded by the causative prefix /maa-/.

- (261) \*[kít ʔikmáatawǵlíi]  
 /kit ik-maa-ta-wǵla-ii/  
 I 1SUB-CAUS-INC-seated-TRANS  
 'I make X sit down'

- (262) \*[ʔút máatačǵkuníi]  
 /ut maa-ta-čǵku-ni/  
 s/he CAUS-INC-cut X-+OBJ  
 's/he makes X be cut'

#### 7.2.4. Applicative

The suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ' adds an object argument to the verb which may be interpreted as a goal, source, or benefactive.<sup>19</sup> This additional argument is cross-referenced on the verb with the usual object affixes.

<sup>19</sup> McQuown (1940) calls the cognate suffix in Coatepec Totonac, "indirective"; Watters (1988) calls it "dative" in Tlachichilco Tepehua.

## Goal:

/staḡ/                    'sell X'  
/staḡ-ni/                'sell X to Y'

(263) [ḡút stáaḡ]                     
/ut staḡ-la(ḡ)/  
s/he sell X-PFV  
's/he sold X'

(264) [ḡút kístáḡaniḡ]                     
/ut kin-staḡ-ni-la(ḡ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-sell X-+OBJ-PFV  
's/he sold X to me'

/maka-lijn/                'threw X'  
/maka-lijn-ni/            'threw X at Y'

(265) [ḡút makalijnḡ túñčíwiš]                     
/ut maka-lijn-la(ḡ) tun-číwiš/  
s/he hand rel.-take X-PFV one-stone  
's/he threw a stone'

(266) [ḡút makalijnḡniḡ túñčíwiš hónčíčḡ?]  
/ut maka-lijn-ni-la(ḡ) tun-číwiš hun-číčḡ?/  
s/he hand rel.-take X-+OBJ-PFV one-stone DET dog  
's/he threw a stone at the dog'

## Source:

/eḡḡala/                    'run'  
/eḡḡala-ni/                'run from X'

(267) [šwáan eḡḡalaḡ]                     
/Juan eḡḡala-la(ḡ)/  
Juan run-PFV  
'Juan ran'

(268) [šwáan eḡḡalaní hómPedro]  
/Juan eḡḡala-ni hun-Pedro/  
Juan run-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
'Juan runs from Pedro'

/qáʔan/ 'steal X'  
 /qáʔan-ni/ 'steal X from Y'

- (269) [ʔút qáʔaʔ hónrelʂh]  
 /ut qáʔan-la(ʔ) hun-relʂh/  
 s/he steal X-PFV DET-watch  
 's/he stole the watch'

- (270) [ʔút kíŋqáʔániʔ]  
 /ut kin-qáʔan-ni-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-steal X-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he stole X from me'

*Benefactive:*

/puu-wiʎa-ii/ 'sit X down in Y, place X in Y'  
 /puu-wiʎa-ii-ni/ 'sit X down in Y for Z, place X in Y for Z'

- (271) [ʔút púuwǎlii hónkafɛɛ lakatánqɛ]<sup>20</sup>  
 /ut puu-wiʎa-ii hun-kafɛɛ laka-tanqi/  
 s/he LOC-seated-TRANS DET-coffee PREP-bag for coffee  
 's/he places the coffee in the sack (*tenate*)'
- (272) [ʔút kímpúuwǎliiniʔ lakatánqɛ]  
 /ut kin-puu-wiʎa-ii-ni-la(ʔ) laka-tanqi/  
 s/he 1OBJ-LOC-seated-TRANS-+OBJ-PFV PREP-bag for coffee  
 's/he placed X in the sack (*tenate*) for me'

/čuula/ 'make/do X'  
 /čuula-ni/ 'make/do X for/to Y'

- (273) [hónsináat čuulaʔ]  
 /hun-sinaat čuula-la(ʔ)/  
 DET-woman do/make X-PFV  
 'the woman did/made X'
- (274) [túučúulániʔ hónsináat hónčĩʂkúʔ]  
 /tuu-čuula-ni-la(ʔ) hun-sinaat hun-čĩʂkuʔ/  
 what-do/make X-+OBJ-PFV DET-woman DET-man  
 'what did the woman do for/to the man?'

<sup>20</sup> Note the vowel change in the stative root [wǎlii] /wiʎa-ii/ 'sit X down' (see 6.4).

/čyku/ 'cut X'  
/čyku-ni/ 'cut X for Y'

(275) [ʔút kíŋkǎakčýkuɬ]

/ut kin-kǎak-čýku-la(ɬ)/  
s/he 1OBJ-head rel.-cut X-PFV  
's/he cut my hair'

(276) [ʔút kíŋkǎakčýkúniɬ kíŋčičiʔ]

/ut kin-kǎak-čýku-ni-la(ɬ) kin-čičiʔ/  
s/he 1OBJ-head rel.-cut X-+OBJ-PFV 1POSS-dog  
's/he cut my dog's hair for me'

(277) [malíəh kíŋkǎakčýkúniɬ kíŋkúk]

/Maria kin-kǎak-čýku-ni-la(ɬ) kin-kuk/  
Maria 1OBJ-head rel.-cut X-+OBJ-PFV 1POSS-uncle  
'Maria cut my uncle's hair for me'

/iṽwǎ/ 'buy X'  
/iṽwǎ-ni/ 'buy X for Y'

(278) [ʔút ʔiṽwǎɬ míntaláqnuut]

/ut iṽwǎ-la(ɬ) min-ta-laq-nuut-Vt/  
s/he buy X-PFV 2POSS-INC-DIST-inside-NOM  
'she bought your shirt'

(279) [ʔút ʔiṽwǎnín míntaláqnuut/hóntaláqnuut]

/ut iṽwǎ-ni-la(ɬ)-na min-ta-laq-nuut-Vt hun-ta-laq-nuut-Vt/  
s/he buy X-+OBJ-PFV-2OBJ 2POSS-INC-DIST-inside-NOM  
DET-INC-DIST-inside-NOM  
'she bought your shirt/a shirt for you'

(280) [kít ʔikíwǎɬ ʔiṣtaláqnuut]

/kit ik-iṽwǎ-la(ɬ) iṣ-ta-laq-nuut-Vt/  
I 1SUB-buy X-PFV 3POSS-INC-DIST-inside-NOM  
'I bought her shirt'

(281) [kít ʔikíwǎniɬ ʔiṣtaláqnuut/hóntaláqnuut]

/kit ik-iṽwǎ-ni-la(ɬ) iṣ-ta-laq-nuut-Vt hun-ta-laq-nuut-Vt/  
I 1SUB-buy X-+OBJ-PFV 3POSS-INC-DIST-inside-NOM DET-  
INC-DIST-inside-NOM  
'I bought her shirt/a shirt for her'

## 7.2.4.1. Applicative and Different Verb Classes

The applicative suffix adds an argument to positional statives.

/yaa/	'standing'
/yaa-ni/	'stand in place of X, support X'

- (282) [ʔút yáaniʔ]  
 /ut yaa-ni-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he standing-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he is standing in place of X, s/he stands/puts up with X'

/wila/	'seated'
/wila-ni/	'sit in place of X'

- (283) [ʔút wilániʔ]  
 /ut wila-ni-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he seated-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he is seated in place of X'

/maḡ/	'supine'
/maḡ-ni/	'lie down in place of X'

- (284) [kít ʔikmáaniʔ]  
 /kit ik-maḡ-ni-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-supine-+OBJ-PFV  
 'I lay down in place of X'

When applicative /-ni/ '+OBJ' is added to an intransitive verb, it yields a two place, transitive verb.

/hikwān/	'be afraid'
/hikwān-ni/	'be afraid of X'

- (285) [ʔút hékwań]  
 /ut hikwān/  
 s/he be afraid  
 's/he is afraid'

- (286) [ʔút kíkwańi]  
 /ut kin-hikwān-ni/  
 s/he 1OBJ-be afraid-+OBJ  
 's/he is afraid of me'

/qiɸ-tasa/            'yell'  
/qiɸ-tasa-ni/        'yell at X'

- (287) [ɤút qéɸtasá]  
/ut qiɸ-tasa/  
s/he mouth rel.-yell  
's/he yells'

- (288) [ɤút kíŋqéɸtasaní]  
/ut kin-qiɸ-tasa-ni/  
s/he 1OBJ-mouth rel.-yell-+OBJ  
's/he yells at me'

When /-ni/ '+OBJ' is added to a transitive verb, it yields a ditransitive, three place verb.

/yaawan/            'send X'  
/yaawan-ni/        'send X to Y'

- (289) [kít ɤikyáawaɸ túŋkártá]  
/kit ik-yaawan-la(ɸ) tun-karta/  
I 1SUB-send X-PFV one-letter  
'I sent a letter'

- (290) [kít ɤikyáawanín túŋkártá]  
/kit ik-yaawan-ni-la(ɸ)-na tun-karta/  
I 1SUB-send X-+OBJ-PFV-2OBJ one-letter  
'I sent a letter to you'

/ǵ-ii/                'obtain X/borrow X/rent X'  
/ǵ-ii-ni/            'obtain X for Y'

- (291) [ɤút ɤǵiiɸ túŋčík]  
/ut ǵ-ii-la(ɸ) tun-čik/  
s/he MOM-get X-PFV one house  
's/he obtained a house'

- (292) [ɤút kíɤǵiiɸniɸ túŋčík]  
/ut kin-ǵ-ii-ni-la(ɸ) tun-čik/  
s/he 1OBJ-MOM-get X-+OBJ-PFV one house  
's/he obtained a house for me'

/sqat/                    'serve X'  
 /sqat-ni/                'serve X to Y'

- (293) [ʔút sqátlaɸ]  
 /ut sqat-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he serve X-PFV  
 's/he served X'

- (294) [ʔút kÍsqátniɸ]  
 /ut kin-sqat-ni-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-serve X-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he served X to me'

When /-ni/ '+OBJ' is added to a ditransitive verb, it yields a four place verb. The added argument is often interpreted as a benefactive.

/iškí/                    'give X to Y'  
 /iškí-ni/                'give X to Y for Z'

- (295) [ʔút kíʔiškí]  
 /ut kin-iškí/  
 s/he 1OBJ-give X to Y  
 's/he gives me X'

- (296) [ʔút kíʔiškíniɸ]  
 /ut kin-iškí-ni-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-give X to Y-+OBJ-PFV  
 's/he gave X to me for Z, s/he gave X to Z for me'

/maq=ɸtíi/                'take X away from Y, receive X from Y'  
 /maq=ɸtíi-ni/            'take X away from Y for Z, receive X from Y for Z'

- (297) [ʔút kímáqɸtíiɸ kÍmačíitu]  
 /ut kin-maq=ɸtíi-la(ɸ) kin-mačíitu/  
 s/he 1OBJ-take away X from Y-PFV 1POSS-machete  
 's/he took my machete away from me'

- (298) [ʔút kímáqɸtíiniɸ kÍmačíitu]  
 /ut kin-maq=ɸtíi-ni-la(ɸ) kin-mačíitu/  
 s/he 1OBJ-take away X from Y-+OBJ-PFV 1POSS-machete  
 's/he took my machete away from me for her/him'



There can be two occurrences of the applicative suffix /-ni/ on a single verb. Each occurrence adds a separate argument.

/wan/	'say X, tell X'
/wan-ni/	'say X to Y'
/wan-ni-ni/	'say X to Y for Z'

- (299) [ɔ́út láawaní]  
 /ut laa-wan-ni/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-say X-+OBJ  
 's/he tells them X'
- (300) [ɔ́út kiláawaniní]  
 /ut kin-laa-wan-ni-ni/  
 s/he 1OBJ-3OBJ.PL-say X-+OBJ-+OBJ  
 's/he tells me X for them, s/he tells them X for me'
- (301) [ɔ́út kíwanínyáan]  
 /ut kin-wan-ni-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-say X-+OBJ-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ  
 's/he tells you X for me, s/he tells me X for you'

#### 7.2.4.2. Applicative and Other Derivational Affixes

The applicative suffix occurs with BPPs, the inchoative prefix, the causative prefix, the instrumental prefix, the locative prefix, the comitative affixes, and the indefinite subject suffix. It is only marginally accepted with the indefinite object suffix.

The applicative /-ni/ appears with body-part prefixes.

- (302) [kíntamakačyúkúni† (ɔ́šmakálat) kíŋkíjkčún]  
 /kin-ta-maka-čyuku-ni-la(†) (iš-maka-lat) kin-kíjk=čun/  
 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-hand rel.-cut X-+OBJ-PFV (3POSS-hand-NOM)  
 1POSS-child  
 'they cut my child's hand'
- (303) [kíntamakačýku†]  
 /kin-ta-maka-čyuku-la(†)/  
 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-hand rel.-cut X-PFV  
 'they cut my hand'

The applicative /ni/ occurs with the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'.

- (304) [kít ʔiktaæξξχnyáan]  
 /kit ik-ta-æj̥q-ni-yaa-na/  
 I 1SUB-INC-hidden-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ  
 'I hide from you'

When the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' appears on a transitive verb, /-ni/ '+OBJ' must also be added. As described in 7.2.9.1, the vowel of the applicative suffix lengthens when it co-occurs with the causative prefix.

- (305) [kít ʔikmáalakáswáatníi]  
 /kit ik-maa-laka-swáat-ni/  
 I 1SUB-CAUS-face rel.-grind X-+OBJ  
 'I make him shave X'
- (306) [ʔút kímáalaqɛní hónkíikčún]  
 /ut kin-maa-laqan-ni hun-kíik=čun/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ DET-child  
 's/he makes me see the child, s/he makes the child see me'

Applicative /-ni/ cannot occur with the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.'.

- (307) \* [ʔút kístáanani kíʔáqaat]  
 /ut kin-staa-nan-ni kin-ʔaqaat/  
 s/he sell X-I.O.-+OBJ 1POSS-clothes  
 's/he sells me my clothes (habitually)'
- (308) \* [ʔút stáaninán hónʔáqaat]  
 /ut staa-ni-nan hun-ʔaqaat/  
 s/he sell X-+OBJ-I.O. DET-clothes  
 's/he sells someone clothes (habitually)'

Applicative /-ni/ occurs with the instrumental prefix /lii-/.

- (309) [ʔút kílísqátniʔ hón púusqátnə]  
 /ut kin-lii-sqat-ni-la(ʔ) hun puu-sqat-nə/  
 s/he 1OBJ-INS-serve X-+OBJ-PFV DET inside rel.-serve X-NOM  
 's/he served X to me with the spoon'

Applicative /-ni/ occurs with the locative prefix /puu-/.

- (310) [ʔýt kímpúusqátniʔ hónškáan hón pusíyu]  
 /ut kin-puu-sqat-ni-la(ʔ) hun-škaan hun pusiyu/  
 s/he IOBJ-LOC-serve X-+OBJ-PFV DET-water DET bowl  
 's/he served me the water from/in a bowl'

Applicative /-ni/ occurs with the comitative affixes /laa-...-na/.

- (311) [kít ʔ{kláasqátnyáan ʔýt]  
 /kit ik-laa-sqat-ni-yaa-na ut/  
 I 1SUB-COM-serve X-+OBJ-IMPFV-COM s/he  
 'I serve X to Y with her/him'

Applicative /-ni/ occurs with the indefinite subject marker /-kan/ 'I.S.'.

- (312) [čúulaníkaʔ hónswéter hón ʔqšáʔ]  
 /čuula-ni-kan-la(ʔ) hun-swéter hun ʔqšaʔ/  
 do/make X-+OBJ-I.S.-PFV DET-sweater DET young man  
 'someone made a sweater for the young man'

### 7.2.5. Transitivity

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' appears on nominals and statives; and as part of the causativizing process on intransitive verbs. /-ii/ is subject to optional processes of vowel harmony (4.2.1.2).

#### 7.2.5.1. Transitivity and Different Verb Classes

##### *Nominals:*

The transitivity suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' converts certain nominals into transitive verbs of accomplishment.<sup>21</sup> Not all nominals can be transitivity with /-ii/. The restrictions seem to be pragmatic. Vowel harmony sometimes applies to the vowel of this suffix.

- |       |                |                     |                        |
|-------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| (313) | [púksa]        | /puxsa/             | 'smelly'               |
|       | [kít ʔ{kpúksí] | /kit ik-puxsa-ii/   | 'I make X smelly'      |
|       | [ʔýt kímpúksí] | /ut kin-puxsa-ii/   | 's/he makes me smelly' |
|       |                |                     |                        |
| (314) | [papáksnáʔ]    | /papaks-nYʔ/        | 'old (man)'            |
|       | [papáksní]     | /papaks-nYʔ-ii/     | 'X ages Y (a man)'     |
|       | [kímpapáksní]  | /kin-papaks-nYʔ-ii/ | 's/he ages me'         |

<sup>21</sup> McQuown (1990b:191) calls the cognate suffix in Coatepec Totonac a "verbalizer."

- (315) [stɔqɔnɨ́] /stɨqɨ-nɨ́>/ 'old (woman)'  
 [stɔqɔnɨ́ɨ] /stɨqɨ-nɨ́>-ii/ 'X ages Y (a woman)'  
 [kístɔqɔnɨ́ɨ] /kin-stɨqɨ-nɨ́>-ii/ 's/he ages me'
- (316) [ʔéʔni] /ʔih-ni/ 'yellow'  
 [ʔéʔní] /ʔih-ní-ii/ 'X makes Y yellow'  
 [ʔút láaʔéʔní] /ut laa-ʔih-ní-ii/ 's/he yellows them'
- (317) [šúɨn] /šɨɨ-ni/ 'bitter'  
 [šúɨní] /šɨɨ-ní-ii/ 'X embitters Y'  
 [láašúɨní] /laa-šɨɨ-ní-ii/ 's/he embitters them'
- (318) [sáqsi] /saqsi/ 'sweet (by brown sugar)'  
 [sáqsíi] /saqsi-ii/ 'X sweetens Y'  
 [láasáqsíi] /laa-saqsi-ii/ 's/he sweetens them'
- (319) [síksi] /siksi/ 'sweet (by sugar)'  
 [síksíi] /siksi-ii/ 'X sweetens Y'  
 [láasíksíi] /laa-siksi-ii/ 's/he sweetens them'
- (320) [spilíʔ] /spilí/ 'spotted'  
 [spilíí] /spilí-ii/ 'X makes Y spotted'  
 [láaspilíí] /laa-spilí-ii/ 's/he makes them spotted'
- (321) [čukúŋkɨ] /čukɨŋkɨ/ 'cold'  
 [čukúŋkúɨ] /čukɨŋkɨ-ii/ 'X chills Y'  
 [kínčukúŋkúɨ] /kin-čukɨŋkɨ-ii/ 's/he chills me'
- (322) [čɨnún] /čɨnɨn(u)/ 'wrinkled'  
 [čɨnúnɨɨ] /čɨnɨn(u)-ii/ 'X wrinkles Y'  
 [láačɨnúnɨɨ] /laa-čɨnɨn(u)-ii/ 's/he wrinkles them'
- (323) [staχáʔ] /staχal/ 'flat'  
 [staχalíi] /staχal-ii/ 'X flattens'  
 [ʔíkláastaχalíi] /ik-laa-staχal-ii/ 'I flatten them'
- (324) [qɔʔaná>] /quʔa-nɨ́>/ 'good'  
 [qɔʔóníi] /quʔa-nɨ́>-ii/ 'X makes Y good'  
 [ʔíkláaqaʔóníi] /ik-laa-quʔa-nɨ́>-ii/ 'I make them good'

*Positional statives:*

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' occurs on the positional stative /wija/ 'seated' to form a verb of accomplishment. It does not occur on any other positional stative.

- (325) [kít ʔikwǎlí hónkíikčún]  
 /kít ik-wija-ii hun-kíik=čun/  
 'I 1SUB-seated-TRANS DET-child  
 'I sit the child down'
- (326) \*[kít ʔikyáaí hónkíikčún]  
 /kít ik-yaa-ii hun-kíik=čun/  
 'I 1SUB-stand-TRANS DET-child  
 'I stand the child up'
- (327) \*[kít ʔikmáaí hónkíikčún]  
 /kít ik-maa-ii hun-kíik=čun/  
 'I 1SUB-supine-TRANS DET-child  
 'I lay the child down'

*With intransitive verbs:*

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' occurs on some intransitive verbs. It is not a very productive suffix on intransitive verbs, and semantic and pragmatic constraints limit its use. When intransitive verbs are causativized with /maa-/ 'CAUS', /-ii/ 'TRANS' obligatorily co-occurs with the causative prefix.

- (328) [kaláapásiit]  
 /ka-laa-paš-ii-ti/  
 IRR-3OBJ.PL-bathe-TRANS-2PFV  
 'bathe them!'
- (329) [ʔút kímáačíní]  
 /ut kin-maa-čin-ii/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-arrive here-TRANS  
 's/he makes me arrive here'
- (330) [ʔút kímáalíčiní]  
 /ut kin-maa-líi-čin-ii/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-INS-arrive here-TRANS  
 's/he makes X arrive here for me'

- (331) [ɔ́ʉt máaqawííyáan]  
 /ut maa-qawá-ii-yaa-na/  
 s/he CAUS-talk-TRANS-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he makes you talk'
- (332) [kít ɔ́kláamáazukúu]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-zuku-ii/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ-PL-CAUS-begin-TRANS  
 'I make them begin'

### 7.2.5.2. Transitivity and Other Derivational Affixes

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' may co-occur with the causative prefix /maa-/ on intransitive verbs and on nominals that have been denominalized by /-ii/.

- (333) [ɔ́ʉt kímáaɬtatíi]  
 /ut kin-maa-ɬtata-ii/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-sleep-TRANS  
 's/he makes me sleep'
- (334) [šyūn] /šyū-ni/ 'bitter'  
 [ɔ́ʉt láašyūnii] /ut laa-šyū-ni-ii/ 's/he makes them bitter'  
 [ɔ́ʉt láamáašyūnii] /ut laa-maa-šyū-ni-ii/ 's/he makes them bitter'

The transitivity /-ii/ also occurs with the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'.

- (335) [ɔ́ʉt tašyūnii] /ut ta-šyū-ni-ii/ 'X becomes bitter'  
 (336) [taqátii] /ta-qat-ii/ 'X becomes big'  
 (337) [tapéeni] /ta-paa-nʔ-ii/ 'X becomes poor'

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' occurs with the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ' in the causative construction.

- (338) [Malíəh kímáapásiini hón Pedro]  
 /Maria kin-maa-paš-ii-ni hun Pedro/  
 Maria 1OBJ-CAUS-bathe-TRANS-+OBJ DET Pedro  
 'Maria makes me wash Pedro'
- (339) [ɔ́ʉt kímáapašii]  
 /ut kin-maa-paš-ii/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-bathe-TRANS  
 's/he makes me wash'

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' may occur with the body-part prefixes.

- (340) [kít ʔikláapáapašii hón qátškáan]  
 /kit ik-laa-paa-paš-ii hun qat-škaan/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-middle rel.-bathe-TRANS DET big-water  
 'I rinse them in the river' (e.g., the dishes)

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' may occur with the locative prefix.

- (341) [kít ʔikpúuwálini hónškáan hón šaalɔʔ]  
 /kit ik-puu-wila-ii-ni-la(ʔ) hun-škaan hun šaaluh/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-seated-TRANS-+OBJ-PFV DET-water DET jar  
 'I put the water in the jar for her/him'
- (342) [kít ʔikláapúupašii hón kíkčúntán]  
 /kit ik-laa-puu-paš-ii hun kík=čun-tan/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-LOC-bathe-TRANS DET child-PL  
 'I bathe the children in X' (e.g., the tub)

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' may occur with the instrumental prefix.

- (343) [ʔiklíisíksíi hón asúkar]  
 /ik-lii-siksi-ii hun asukar/  
 1SUB-INS-sweet-TRANS DET sugar  
 'I sweeten X with sugar'

The suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' may occur with the comitative affixes.

- (344) [ʔikláawálin hón Malíəh]  
 /ik-laa-wali-ii-na hun Maria/  
 1SUB-COM-seated-TRANS-COM DET Maria  
 'I (with Maria) sat X down'

### 7.2.6. Instrumental

/lii-/ 'INS', the instrumental prefix, adds an oblique argument interpreted as an instrument or cause. An oblique argument is not part of the argument structure of a root verb, but must be syntactically licensed either by a preposition or by a valence-changing affix, such as /lii-/ 'INS'.

/laqan/	'see X'
/lii-laqan/	'see X using Y'

- (345) [kít ʔklíiláqɛnáan kilíiláqčaqáatáayat]  
 /kit ik-líi-laqan-yaa-na kin-líi-laq=čaqaa-ta-yaa-Vt/  
 I 1SUB-INS-see X-IMPV-2OBJ 1POSS-INS-eye rel.-INC-  
 standing-NOM  
 'I see you with my glasses'

/maq-nii/            'kill X'  
 /lii-maq-nii/        'kill X using Y'

- (346) [hón láatálaan ʔút líimáqniiɸ hónčičiʔ]  
 /hun laatałaan ut líi-maq-nii-la(ɸ) hun-čičiʔ/  
 DET rifle s/he INS-CAUS-die-PFV DET-dog  
 's/he killed the dog with a rifle'

/lii-/ is obligatory if the oblique instrumental argument is not licensed by a preposition. If the all-purpose preposition /laka, naka/ 'PREP' occurs, the use of the /lii-/ is optional. Likewise, the preposition only occurs optionally if the instrumental prefix is present. Thus, as the following examples show, either a preposition or /lii-/ 'INS' license an oblique argument, or they can both be used.

/iʃki/                'give X to Y, hit Y'  
 /lii-iʃki/            'give X to Y with Z, hit Y with Z'

- (347) [ʔút líiʔiʃkiɸ túŋkɛʔ]  
 /ut líi-iʃki-la(ɸ) tun-kijw/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-PFV one-stick  
 's/he hit it (e.g., the ground) with a stick'
- (348) [ʔút ʔiʃkiɸ lakatúŋkɛʔ]  
 /ut iʃki-la(ɸ) laka-tun-kijw/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-PFV PREP-one-stick  
 's/he hit it (e.g., the ground) with a stick'
- (349) [ʔút líiʔiʃkiɸ lakatúŋkɛʔ]  
 /ut líi-iʃki-la(ɸ) laka-tun-kijw/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-PFV PREP-one-stick  
 's/he hit it (e.g., the ground) with a stick'

/kaak-spit/        'peel X'  
 /lii-kaak-spit/    'peel X with Y'



- (350) [ɔ́t káakspít hómansána lakatúηkúčiɸ]  
 /ut káak-spít hun-mansana laka-tun-kučil/  
 s/he head rel.-peel X DET-apple PREP-one-knife  
 's/he peels the apple with a knife'
- (351) [ɔ́t líikáakspít hónkúčiɸ hómansána]  
 /ut líi-káak-spít hun-kučil hun-mansana/  
 s/he INS-head rel.-peel X DET-knife DET-apple  
 's/he peels the apple with a knife'
- (352) [ɔ́t líikáakspít hómansána lakatúηkúčiɸ]  
 /ut líi-káak-spít hun-mansana laka-tun-kučil/  
 s/he INS-head rel.-peel X DET-apple PREP-one-knife  
 's/he peels the apple with a knife'

There are a few cases of verbs with /lii-/ that have been lexicalized as un-analyzable roots. In these cases, no other affix can separate /lii-/ from the verb root.

/min/	'come'
/lii=min/ <sup>22</sup>	'bring X'

- (353) [ɔ́t líimiɸ]  
 /ut líi=min-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he bring X-PFV  
 's/he brought X'

/ǎn/	'go'
/lii=ǎn/ → /liǎn/	'take X'

- (354) [kít ɔ́klǎǎn]  
 /kit ik-lii=ǎn/  
 I 1SUB-take X  
 'I take X'

These lexicalized stems can occur with the productive prefix /lii-/.

/lii-lii=min/	'bring X using Y'
---------------	-------------------

<sup>22</sup> Recall that I am using the notation '=' to indicate that the derived form has been lexicalized.

- (355) [ʔiklilíimiɬ tún múla]  
 /ik-lii-lii=min-la(ɬ) tun mula/  
 1SUB-INS-bring X-PFV one mule  
 'I brought X by mule'

/lii-lii=an/ → /lii-lijn/ 'take X using Y'

- (356) [ʔikíiwáɬ hónkaréta náh ʔiklilíjn kíŋkɛʔ]  
 /ik-iíwá-la(ɬ) hun-karéta na(ɬ) ik-lii-lii=an kin-kíw/  
 1SUB-buy X-PFV DET-cart FUT 1SUB-INS-take X 1POSS-tree  
 'I bought the cart to carry my wood with'

### 7.2.6.1. Instrumental and Different Verb Classes

#### Statives:

On positional statives, the instrumental prefix /lii-/ licenses an argument interpreted as 'means.' In these cases, /lii-/ 'INS' is often interchangeable with /puu-/ 'LOC'.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(357) [kít ʔiklíiwílaɬ hónšíila]<br/>         /kit ik-lii-wíla-la(ɬ) hun-šiila/<br/>         I 1SUB-INS-seated-PFV DET-chair<br/>         'I am seated in the chair'</p>   | <p>(358) [kít ʔikpúuwílaɬ hónšíila]<br/>         /kit ik-puu-wíla-la(ɬ) hun-šiila/<br/>         I 1SUB-LOC-seated-PFV DET-chair<br/>         'I am seated in the chair'</p>   |
| <p>(359) [kít ʔiklíimaaɬ hónqóχɛi]<br/>         /kit ik-lii-maa-la(ɬ) hun-quqɛi/<br/>         I 1SUB-INS-supine-PFV DET-bed<br/>         'I am lying down on the bed'</p>     | <p>(360) [kít ʔikpúumaaɬ hónqóχɛi]<br/>         /kit ik-puu-maa-la(ɬ) hun-quqɛi/<br/>         I 1SUB-LOC-supine-PFV DET-bed<br/>         'I am lying down on the bed'</p>     |
| <p>(361) [kít ʔiklíiʔúkaɬ hón kawáa]<br/>         /kit ik-lii-úka-la(ɬ) hun kawaa/<br/>         I 1SUB-INS-above-PFV DET horse<br/>         'I am (mounted) on the horse'</p> | <p>(362) [kít ʔikpúuʔúkaɬ hón kawáa]<br/>         /kit ik-puu-úka-la(ɬ) hun kawaa/<br/>         I 1SUB-LOC-above-PFV DET horse<br/>         'I am (mounted) on the horse'</p> |

#### Intransitive verbs:

On intransitive verbs, /lii-/ 'INS' licenses an argument interpreted as the 'instrument, means, or cause'

/nii/ 'die'  
 /lii-nii/ 'die of X'

- (363) [túulíiniit m'ηkúk]  
 /tuu-líi-nii-la(†) min-kuk/  
 what-INS-die-PFV 2POSS-uncle  
 'what did your uncle die of?'

/†uqun/                'tire'  
 /líi-†uqun/           'tire on account of X'

- (364) [ʔiklíi†əqón hónlíičúulat]  
 /ik-líi-†uqun hun-líi-čuula-ti/  
 1SUB-INS-tire DET-PL-make-NOM  
 'I tire because of the work'

/qāwā/                'talk'  
 /líi-qāwā/            'talk about X, speak on behalf of X'

- (365) [kít ʔiklíəqāwā†]  
 /kit ik-líi-qāwā-la(†)/  
 I 1SUB-INS-talk-PFV  
 'I spoke on behalf of X, about X'

/kūčūy-nan/        'cure'  
 /líi-kūčūy-nan/    'cure using Y'

- (366) [wɪn†taqnat qə†anáʔ líikūčūynáηkán]  
 /wɪn-†taq-nan-Vt qu†a-nYʔ líi-kūčūy-nan-kan/  
 this-plant-I.O.-NOM good-NOM INS-cure-I.O.-I.S.  
 'this plant is good for curing (for one to cure with)'

In the following examples, the argument licensed by /líi-/ facilitates the action by serving as a topic of thought or conversation.<sup>23</sup>

/uqstaa-nan/        'chat'  
 / líi-uqstaa-nan/   'chat about X'

- (367) [Pablo kílíiʔəχstáanán]  
 /Pablo kin-líi-uqstaa-nan/  
 Pablo 1OBJ-INS-chat-I.O.  
 'Pablo chats about me'

<sup>23</sup> This use of the instrumental was brought to my attention by Anthony Woodbury.

/paa=staa-nan/            'think'  
/l*ii*-paa=staa-nan/        'think/worry about X'

- (368) [ʔút kílípáastáánán]        [\*Maria kímpáastáánán]  
/ut kin-l*ii*-paa=staa-nan/  
s/he 1OBJ-INS-think-I.O.  
's/he thinks about me'

The following examples are idiosyncratic. The added argument is not straightforwardly interpreted as instrumental.

/ta-čuqu/                    'remain'  
/l*ii*-ta-čuqu/                'be left for X'

- (369) [kílíitečqó túnlibru]  
/kin-l*ii*-ta-čuqu tun-libru/  
1OBJ-INS-INC-stay one-book  
'one book remains to me, I have one book left'

/ta-paha=nuu/                'happen'  
/l*ii*-ta-paha=nuu/            'happen to X'

- (370) [túut ʔklíitapahánuu‡]  
/tuut ik-l*ii*-ta-paha=nuu-la(‡)/  
what 1SUB-INS-INC-happen-PFV  
'what happened to me?'

/zuku/                        'begin'  
/l*ii*-zuku/                    'begin X'

- (371) [šqóɔtan ʔklíiɛúku‡ hóntečán]  
/šqutan ik-l*ii*-zuku-la(‡) hun-ta-čɛn-ni/  
yesterday 1SUB-INS-begin-PFV DET-INC-sow X-NOM  
'yesterday I began the planting'

#### *Transitive verbs:*

The argument licensed by /l*ii*-/ 'INS' on transitive verbs is usually interpreted as 'an instrument.'

/č*ii*/                            'tie X'  
/l*ii*-č*ii*/                        'tie X with Y'

- (372) [kalíičij̄t lakamáqsɪ]  
/ka-lii-čij̄-ti laka-maqsɪ/  
IRR-INS-tie X-PFV PREP-rope  
'tie it with the rope!'
- /kǎǎ/  
'cut X'  
/lii-kǎǎ/  
'cut X with Y'
- (373) [lakamač̄iitu ɣ̄út líikǎǎ† h̄óňč̄íŋkat]  
/laka-mač̄iitu ut lii-kǎǎ-la(†) hun-č̄inkat/  
PREP-machete s/he INS-cut X-PFV DET-cane  
's/he cut the cane with the machete'
- /č̄ȳku/  
'cut X'  
/lii-č̄ȳku/  
'cut X with Y'
- (374) [ɣ̄út líič̄ȳkú h̄óŋkúč̄i†]  
/ut lii-č̄ȳku hun-kuč̄il/  
s/he INS-cut X DET-knife  
's/he cuts X with a knife'
- /č̄uula/  
'make X'  
/lii-č̄uula/  
'make X using Y'
- (375) [túulíič̄úulakán w̄íŋč̄á]  
/tuu-lii-č̄uula-kan w̄iŋ-č̄a/  
what-INS-do/make X-I.S. this-tortilla  
'what does one make tortillas of? what are tortillas made of?'
- /kutu/  
'feed X'  
/lii-kutu/  
'feed X using Y'
- (376) [h̄óŋkáštalánč̄á líikutúka† h̄óŋk̄ij̄ksúŋkán]  
/hun-kaštalan-č̄a lii-kutu-kan-la(†) hun-kij̄k-sun-kam/  
DET-castillian-tortilla INS-feed X-I.S.-PFV DET-small-NOM-offspring  
'someone fed the child (using) bread'

In some cases, /lii-/ simply seems to add another argument.

- /š̄aqa†ii/  
'talk about X'  
/lii-š̄aqa†ii/  
'talk to Y about X'

- (377) [ʔút kílíišaqáʔiiʔ ʔíštukúukán]  
 /ut kin-lii-šaqáʔii-la(ʔ) iš-tuku-kan/  
 s/he 1OBJ-INS-talk about X-PFV 3POSS-woman-offspring  
 's/he talked to me about her/his daughter, s/he talked to her/his  
 daughter about me'

*Ditransitive verbs:*

The argument added by /lii-/ 'INS' to ditransitive verbs is normally interpreted as 'an instrument.'

/iški/	'give X to Y, hit Y'
/lii-iški/	'give X to Y with Z, hit Y with Z'

- (378) [ʔút líiʔiškiʔ hónkékʔ]  
 /ut lii-iški-la(ʔ) hun-kiw/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-PFV DET-stick  
 's/he hit Y with a stick'

- (379) [ʔút kílíiʔiškiʔ túñčíwiš]  
 /ut kin-lii-iški-la(ʔ) tun-číwiš/  
 s/he 1OBJ-INS-give X to Y-PFV one-rock  
 's/he hit me with a rock'

**7.2.6.2. Instrumental and Other Derivational Affixes**

/lii-/ 'INS' can occur with the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ'. In these cases, each affix adds a separate object argument to the verb.

/qawá/	'talk'
/lii-qawá/	'talk about X'
/qawá-ni/	'talk to Y'
/lii-qawá-ni/	'talk to Y about X'

- (380) [ʔút líəqawá hónčík]  
 /ut lii-qawá hun-čík/  
 s/he INS-talk DET-house  
 's/he talked about the house'

- (381) [ʔút kílíəqawáni hóntukúukán]  
 /ut kin-lii-qawá-ni hun-tuku-kam/  
 s/he 1OBJ-INS-talk-+OBJ DET-female-offspring  
 's/he talked to me about the girl, s/he talked to the girl about me'

/iʃki/	‘give X to Y, hit Y’
/lii-iʃki/	‘give X to Y with Z, hit Y with Z’
/lii-iʃki-ni/	‘give X to Y with Z for W, hit Y with Z for W’

- (382) [ʔút líiʔiʃkiʔ túŋčíwiš]  
 /ut lii-iʃki-la(ʔ) tun-číwiš/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-PFV one-rock  
 ‘s/he hit Y with a rock’
- (383) [ʔút líiʔiʃkíniʔ lakatúŋkǎʔ]  
 /ut lii-iʃki-ni-la(ʔ) laka-tun-kǎw/  
 s/he INS-give X to Y-+OBJ-PFV PREP-one-stick  
 ‘s/he hit it (e.g., a rock) with a stick for her/him’

The instrumental prefix /lii-/ can occur with the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ ‘I.O.’. The indefinite object suffix affects a subcategorized object argument of the verb, not an oblique argument. /lii-/ adds an oblique object argument which is independent of the indefinite object. As noted in 7.2.10, verbs with the indefinite object suffix often have a habitual reading.

- (384) [hónkúčiʔ ʔút líikáaksp(tnán hómansána]  
 /hun-kučil ut lii-káak-spit-nan hun-mansana/  
 DET-knife s/he INS-head rel.-peel X-I.O. DET-apple  
 ‘s/he (always) peels apple(s) with a knife’
- (385) [wiʃín líitaláanátat túŋčíwiš laka kǎʔ]  
 /wiʃín lii-taláa-nan-tat tun-číwis laka kǎw/  
 y’all INS-throw X-I.O.-2PL one-rock PREP tree  
 ‘y’all (always) throw rock(s) at trees’<sup>24</sup>

The instrumental prefix may occur with the locative prefix. However, these cases are rather rare.

- (386) [kít ʔíklíipúuʔúkaʔ hón kawáa]  
 /kit ik-lii-puu-uka-la(ʔ) hun kawaa/  
 I 1SUB-INS-LOC-above-PFV DET horse  
 ‘I am on/over the horse’

More frequently, examples of /lii-/ ‘INS’ occurring with /puu-/ ‘LOC’ involve lexicalization.

<sup>24</sup> Without /lii-/ ‘INS’, the verb /taláa/ means ‘shoot X.’

- (387) [ʔút púulíitán ʔíʂmɔrál hómpełóta]  
 /ut puu-lii=min iš-moral hun-pelota/  
 s/he LOC-bring X 3POSS-bag DET-ball  
 's/he brings the ball in her/his bag'

Instrumental /lii-/ is sometimes interchangeable with locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC'.

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (388)                                      | (389)                                 |
| [hónáyɔn ʔtɪlɪk ʔíkpuústáhlaʔ]             | [hónáyɔn ʔtɪlɪk ʔíklíistáhlaʔ]        |
| /hun-naylon ʔtɪlɪk ik-puu-stáh-la(ʔ)/      | /hun-naylon ʔtɪlɪk ik-lii-stáh-la(ʔ)/ |
| DET-nylon torn 1SUB-LOC-get wet-PFV        | DET-nylon torn 1SUB-INS-get wet-PFV   |
| 'I got wet on account of the torn plastic' | 'I got wet using the torn plastic'    |

- |                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (390)                         | (391)                         |
| [ʔút púuwɪlaʔ hónsíila]       | [ʔút líiwɪlaʔ hónsíila]       |
| /ut puu-wɪla-la(ʔ) hun-šiila/ | /ut lii-wɪla-la(ʔ) hun-šiila/ |
| s/he LOC-seated-PFV DET-chair | s/he INS-seated-PFV DET-chair |
| 's/he is seated in the chair' | 's/he is seated in the chair' |

Instrumental /lii-/ precedes the inchoative prefix /ta-/.

- (392) [kít ʔíklíitaʔúkaʔ hónkawáa]  
 /kit ik-lii-ta-úka-la(ʔ) hun-kawaa/  
 I 1SUB-INS-INC-be above-PFV DET-horse  
 'I mounted the horse'
- (393) [kít ʔíklíitéʂtuʔ lakapwérta]  
 /kit ik-lii-ta-ʂtu-la(ʔ) laka-pwérta/  
 I 1SUB-INS-INC-be outside-PFV PREP-door  
 'I left by the door'
- (394) [kít ʔíklíitamáa hónqʔɣɛi]  
 /kit ik-lii-ta-maa hun-quɣɛi/  
 I 1SUB-INS-INC-supine DET-bed  
 'I lie down on the bed'

Instrumental /lii-/ precedes the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS'.

- (396) [ʔút líimáaqamáníi hónčičiʔ hónkɛʔ]  
 /ut lii-maa-qamaan-ni hun-čičiʔ hun-kɛw/  
 s/he INS-CAUS-play X-+OBJ DET-dog DET-stick  
 's/he makes the dog play with the stick'



- (397) [ʔýt líimáaqáaqstǔq hón kafɛɛ lakaláapɛ́tɲǎ]  
 /ut líi-maa-qaaq-stuq hun kafɛɛ laka-laa-paɬ-na/  
 s/he INS-CAUS-head/round rel.-join DET coffee PREP-PL-sweep-NOM  
 's/he gathers up the coffee with a broom'

Instrumental /líi-/ occurs with the comitative affixes /laa-...-na/ 'COM'. The comitative /laa-/ precedes the instrumental /líi-/.

- (398) [kít láaliɛ́zɣáan hón kárta hón plúma hón Mario]  
 /kít laa-líi-zuq-yaa-na hun karta hun pluma hun Mario/  
 I COM-INS-write X-IMPV-COM DET letter DET pen DET Mario  
 'I with Mario write a letter with a pen'
- (399) [kít láaliɛ́zɣnanáan tún plúma hón Mario]  
 /kít laa-líi-zuq-nan-yaa-na tun pluma hun Mario/  
 I COM-INS-write X-I.O.-IMPV-COM one pen DET Mario  
 'I with Mario always write X with a pen'

### 7.2.7. Locative

/puu-/ 'LOC' licenses an object argument which generally specifies location, although in some cases it is interpreted as 'means.' The locative prefix /puu-/ is closely related to the body part-prefix /puu-/ 'relating to the inside.' In fact, it is likely that the locative derives from the body-part prefix. The meanings of the two morphemes overlap considerably, and as a result it is not always easy to distinguish them. However, there are some guidelines:

(a) The locative /puu-/ increases the number of arguments of the verb, while the body-part prefix does not; and

(b) the body-part prefix /puu-/ is often interchangeable with /paa-/ 'related to the belly or middle,' while the locative prefix is not.

Evidence that the locative prefix adds an argument to the verb includes the fact that without the locative prefix, a locational noun phrase must be introduced by a preposition. When the locative prefix occurs, the preposition is optional.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(400)<br/>         [šwáan tiwǐlaɬ lakatánɛɪ]<br/>         /Juan ta-wǐla-la(ɬ) laka-tanɛɪ/<br/>         Juan INC-seated-PFV-PREP-bench<br/>         'Juan sat on the bench'</p> | <p>(401)<br/>         [šwáan púutiwǐlaɬ hóntánɛɪ]<br/>         /Juan puu-ta-wǐla-la(ɬ) hun-tanɛɪ/<br/>         Juan LOC-INC-seated-PFV DET-bench<br/>         'Juan sat on the bench'</p> |
|---|---|

Further evidence that the locative prefix licenses an additional object is the

fact that there is overt object agreement when a first or second person argument has been added by the locative prefix /puu-/.

- (402) [šwáan kímpúuwɪlaʔ]  
 /Juan kin-puu-wɪla-la(ʔ)/  
 Juan 1OBJ-LOC-seated-PFV  
 'Juan is seated on me'
- (403) [šwáan kímpúutiwɪlaʔ]  
 /Juan kin-puu-ta-wɪla-la(ʔ)/  
 Juan 1OBJ-LOC-INC-seated-PFV  
 'Juan sat on me'

### 7.2.7.1. Locative and Different Verb Classes

The locative prefix appears on all classes of verbs, but is most commonly found on statives and intransitives.

*With statives:*

- (404) [ʔút púuwɪlaʔ hǒnšíila]  
 /ut puu-wɪla-la(ʔ) hun-šiila/  
 s/he LOC-seated-PFV DET-chair  
 's/he is seated in the chair'
- (405) [ʔíkúúkaʔ hǒn škáakni čík]  
 /ik-puu-uka-la(ʔ) hun iš-kaak-ni čik/  
 1SUB-LOC-be above-PFV DET 3POSS-head rel.-NOM house  
 'I am on the roof of the house'
- (406) [ʔíkúúkaʔ hǒn kamyón]  
 /ik-puu-uka-la(ʔ) hun kamyón/  
 1SUB-LOC-be above-PFV DET bus  
 'I am on the bus'

*With intransitives:*

- (407) [ʔút púuʔtataʔ hǒn kamyón]  
 /ut puu-ʔtata-la(ʔ) hun kamyón/  
 s/he LOC-sleep-PFV DET bus  
 's/he slept on the bus'

- (408) [ʔikpúumiɫ hónkamyón]  
 /ik-puu-min-la(ɫ) hun-kamyón/  
 1SUB-LOC-come-PFV DET-bus  
 'I came on the bus'
- (409) [ʔikpúutiḷ hón párkε]<sup>25</sup>  
 /ik-puu-tiḷ hun párkε/  
 1SUB-LOC-dance DET main square  
 'I dance in the main square (zocalo)'

*With transitive and ditransitive verbs:*

- (410) [kít ʔikpúučaqéε hómplátu hónkosína]  
 /kit ik-puu-čaqaa hun-platu hun-kosína/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-wash X DET-plate DET-kitchen  
 'I wash the plate in the kitchen'
- (411) [kít ʔikpúuʔiškiɫ hón škaán laka básó]  
 /kit ik-puu-iški-la(ɫ) hun škaan laka basó/  
 'I 1SUB-LOC-give X to Y-PFV DET water PREP glass  
 'I gave the water to her/him in a glass'
- (412) [ʔút kímpúuʔiškáan hón básó]  
 /ut kin-puu-iški-yaa-na hun basó/  
 s/he 1OBJ-LOC-give X to Y-IMPV-2OBJ DET glass  
 's/he gives it to us in the glass'

### 7.2.7.2. Locative and Other Derivational Affixes

The locative prefix /puu-/ occurs with the indefinite object suffix.

- (413) [kít ʔikpúučanán kintiyat]  
 /kit ik-puu-čan-nan kin-tiyat/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-sow X-I.O. 1POSS-land  
 'I (always) sow on my land'
- (414) [kít ʔikpúusáknán túntáŋkε]  
 /kit ik-puu-sak-nan tun-tanke/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-lift X-I.O. one-container  
 'I (always) lift X up with/in a container'

<sup>25</sup> The following example is ungrammatical, however: \*[ʔikpúuziyán hón káye] /ik-puu-eiyán hun kaye/ 1SUB-LOC-laugh DET street 'I laugh in the street.'

The locative prefix /puu-/ occurs with the body-part prefixes. See 7.2.2.4 for discussion of the ordering of the locative and BPPs.

- (415) [šwáan kímakapúuwǵlaʔ]  
 /Juan kin-maka-puu-wǵla-la(ʔ)/  
 Juan 1OBJ-hand rel.-LOC-seated-PFV  
 'Juan is sitting on my hand'

- (416) [ʔút kímpúulakawǵlaʔ]  
 /ut kin-puu-laka-wǵla-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-LOC-face rel.-seated-PFV  
 's/he is seated in front of me, facing me'

The locative prefix precedes the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'.

- (417) [šwáan púutiwǵlaʔ túñčíwiš]  
 /Juan puu-ta-wǵla-la(ʔ) tun-číwiš/  
 Juan LOC-INC-seated-PFV one-rock  
 'Juan sat down on a rock'

The locative prefix generally precedes the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS', but may also follow it.

- (418) [ʔút kímpúumáapǵnií hǒñčík]  
 /ut kin-puu-maa-pǵni-ni hun-čík/  
 s/he 1OBJ-LOC-CAUS-sweep-+OBJ DET-house  
 's/he makes me sweep the house'

- (419) [ʔút kímáapúupǵnií hǒñčík]  
 /ut kin-maa-puu-pǵni-ni hun-čík/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-LOC-sweep-+OBJ DET-house  
 's/he makes me sweep the house'

The locative prefix /puu-/ may occur with the applicative suffix.

- (420) [ʔút kímpúuwǵlǵnií hǒn mésa]  
 /ut kin-puu-wǵla-ii-ni-la(ʔ) hun mesa/  
 s/he 1OBJ-LOC-seated-TRANS-+OBJ-PFV DET table  
 's/he placed X on the table for me'

The locative prefix /puu-/ may occur with the comitative affixes.

- (421) [kít ʔ[kláapúumináan hón kamyón]  
 /kit ik-laa-puu-min-yaa-na hun kamyon/  
 I 1SUB-COM-LOC-come-IMPV-FV-COM DET bus  
 'I came on the bus with her/him'

As noted in section 7.2.6, the locative prefix most commonly occurs with the instrumental prefix /lii-/ when /lii-/ is part of a lexicalized stem.

- (422) [ʔ[kíjwáϕ hón]karéta náh púulítán hónkétʔ]<sup>26</sup>  
 /ik-ijwá-la(ϕ) hun-kareta na(ϕ) puu-lii=min hun-kijw/  
 1SUB-buy X-PFV DET-cart FUT LOC-bring X DET-tree  
 'I bought the cart for you to carry the wood in'

However, there are a few examples of the instrumental and locative prefixes co-occurring on nonlexicalized verb stems.

- (423) [kít ʔ[klíipúuʔúkaϕ hón kawáa]  
 /kit ik-lii-puu-uka-la(ϕ) hun kawaa/  
 I 1SUB-INS-LOC-above-PFV DET horse  
 'I am on/over the horse'

Also as noted in 7.2.6, /puu-/ 'LOC' and /lii-/ 'INS' are sometimes interchangeable.

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (424) [ʔút púumaaϕ hónqʔχei] | (425) [ʔút líimaaϕ hónqʔχei] |
| /ut puu-maa-la(ϕ) hun-quqei/ | /ut lii-maa-la(ϕ) hun-quqei/ |
| s/he LOC-supine-PFV DET-bed  | s/he INS-supine-PFV DET-bed  |
| 's/he is lying on the bed'   | 's/he is lying on the bed'   |

The locative prefix /puu-/ may occur with the transitivizing suffix.

- (426) [kapúuwalíníjn hónškáan laka šáaluϕ hón pášni]  
 /ka-puu-wíla-ii-ni-ti hun-škaan laka šaaluh hun-pášni/  
 IRR-LOC-seated-TRANS+OBJ-2PFV DET-water PREP pot/jar DET-pig  
 'give the pigs some water in the pot!  
 (lit., 'sit down some water in the pot for the pigs!')

### 7.2.8. Comitative

All of the varieties of Totonac and Tepehua exhibit a construction in which an argument interpreted as comitative is added to the argument structure of a

<sup>26</sup>Note that there is second person suppletion in this example.

verb. In all the Totonac and Tepehua varieties except Misantla Totonac, the comitative prefix is a valence-increasing prefix /ta̯-/ or /taa-/ 'COM' which adds a comitative argument that appears as object inflection. The example below illustrates this construction for Xicotepec de Juárez Totonac described by Reid (1991):

- (427) quin-taa'-min  
 1OBJ-COM-come  
 'he comes with me'

In contrast, in Misantla Totonac, the comitative construction is marked by affixation of the prefix /laa-/ and the suffix /-na/. The comitative affixes /laa...-na/ add a comitative argument to the verb and link that argument semantically with the subject. The comitative construction appears to be a case where agreement on the verb is jointly determined by two NP which are not a superficial constituent. In the following examples, please note that it makes no difference which argument appears first in the sentence.

- (428) [kít ʔikraláaqawáyáan ʔutún]  
 /kit ik-ta-laa-qawá-yaa-na utun/  
 I 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-talk-IMPFV-COM they  
 'I with them talk, I talk with them, they talk with me'
- (429) [kít ʔikláazáalayáan wíʃ]  
 /kit ik-laa-zaala-yaa-na wíʃ/  
 I 1SUB-COM-run-IMPFV-COM you  
 'I with you run, I run with you, you run with me'
- (430) [ʔút lakáa láamináan hón María]  
 /ut lakaa laa-min-yaa-na hun Maria/  
 s/he NEG COM-come-IMPFV-COM DET Maria  
 's/he doesn't come with Maria, Maria doesn't come with her/him'

### 7.2.8.1. Person Inflection with the Comitative

Comitative inflection involves three affixes, /ta-/ , /laa-/ , and /-na/, which also occur in the noncomitative paradigm. These affixes are crucial to understanding the comitative, and it must be determined whether they can be identified with the homophonous affixes which are an integral part of noncomitative inflection.

The general morphological constraints in the comitative are the following: The prefix /laa-/ 'COM' is obligatory. The person of the arguments is indicated by subject inflection and the prefix /ta-/ 'SUB.PL', which indicates that one of the arguments is plural. The suffix /-na/ 'COM' appears unless it oc-

curs with (a) second person morphology—/ -tat/ '2SUB.PL', / -ti/ '2PFV', suppletion, etc.; (b) a first person plural subject in the imperfective; or (c) a first person singular and second person plural combination in the imperfective.

Table 15 gives a schematic view of the comitative inflection. I will examine the occurrence restrictions in more detail below.

**Table 15. Comitative Inflection**

1-2	ik-laa-...-na or laa-...-ti
1-2p	ik-ta-laa-...(-na) <sup>a</sup> or laa-...-tat
1-3	ik-laa-...-na
1-3p	ik-ta-laa-...-na
1p-2	(ik-)ta-laa-...(-na) or ta-laa-...-ti
1p-2p	(ik-)ta-laa-...(-na) or ta-laa-...-tat
1p-3	(ik-)ta-laa-...(-na)
1p-3p	(ik-)ta-laa-...(-na)
2-3	laa-...-na or laa-...-ti
2-3p	(ta-)laa-...-na or ta-laa-...-ti
2p-3	(ta-)laa-...-tat or ta-laa-...-na
2p-3p	ta-laa-...-tat or ta-laa-...-na
3-3	laa-...-na
3-3p	ta-laa-...-na
3p-3p	ta-laa-...-na

<sup>a</sup>With a first person singular and second person plural combination and with all first person plural subjects the suffix / -na/ 'COM' only appears in the perfective aspect.

In noncomitative constructions, the affixes /ta-/, /laa-/, and /-na/ have the following distribution: /ta-/ '3SUB.PL' marks a third person plural subject. It co-occurs with all object inflections except that of the second person plural object, in which case the potential string \*/ta-taa-/ is blocked. In Misantra Totonac, in contrast with all other Totonacan languages, the prefix /laa-/ '3OBJ.PL' marks a third person plural object. As Watters (1988) has suggested, /laa-/ appears to be historically related to the reciprocal construction.<sup>27</sup> The suffix /-na/ '2OBJ' marks second person singular object; it co-occurs with the prefix /taa-/ '2OBJ.PL' to mark a second person plural object and with the prefix /kin-/ '1OBJ' to indicate first person plural object. In order to facilitate referencing, Table 11 from chapter 5, which presents an inventory of the affixes that indicate the person and number of subject and object noun phrases in Misantra Totonac, is duplicated here as Table 16.

<sup>27</sup> The prefix /laa-/ is part of the reciprocal construction in all Totonacan languages (including Misantra Totonac).

Table 16. Subject and Object Inflection

O B J E C T S						
	1OBJ.SG	1OBJ.PL	2OBJ.SG	2OBJ.PL	3OBJ.SG	3OBJ.PL
S 1SUB.SG			ik-...-na	ik-taa-...-na	ik-	ik-laa-
U 1SUB.PL			(ik)taa-...-na	(ik)taa-...-na	(ik)...-wa	(ik)laa-...-wa
B 2SUB.SG	kin-...- <sub>2</sub>	kin=laa-			...- <sub>3</sub>	laa-...- <sub>3</sub>
J 2SUB.PL	kin-...- <sub>2</sub> -tat	kin=laa-			...- <sub>3</sub> -tat	laa-...- <sub>3</sub> -tat
E	kin=laa-					
C 3SUB.SG	kin-	kin-...-na	-na	taa-...-na	∅	laa-
T 3SUB.PL	kin-ta-	kin-ta-...-na	ta-...-na	taa-...-na	ta-	ta-laa-

In the comitative inflectional paradigm, the comitative adds an argument which is associated with the subject. Thus, a comitative verb has two NP arguments that are both inflected on the verb, at least in part by subject inflection.

In the following example the first person is marked by /ik-/ '1SUB', and /ta-/ 'SUB.PL' indicates that there is a plural subject.

- (431) [ʔutún ʔ[ktaláačǎʔkkaatnanáan]  
 /utun ik-ta-laa-čǎʔkkaat-nan-yaa-na/  
 they 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-work-I.O.-IMPFV-COM  
 'they work with me, I work with them'

### 7.2.8.1.1. Co-Occurrence Restrictions

In the comitative construction it is clear that not all subject inflection can co-occur. The result is a neutralization of contrasts and a fair amount of ambiguity. In most cases, one of the arguments becomes the base for inflection. Morphologically, this is seen most clearly in the cases where a second person argument co-occurs with a first person argument. The verb cannot be inflected with first and second person affixes simultaneously. However, since first and second person are equally marked forms, neither takes precedence. In these cases, there are two ways of marking comitative inflection. One is based on second person inflection and the other on first person inflection. The following examples show the possible forms. The first is based on first person inflection, while the second is based on second person inflection.

- (432) [kít ʔ[kláačǎsna wišín]  
 /kít ik-laa-čǎs-na wišín/  
 I 1SUB-COM-lift X-COM y'all  
 'I lifted X with y'all, y'all lifted X with me'



- (433) [kít láaʒástat wišín]  
 /kit laa-ʒas-tat wišín/  
 I COM-lift X-2SUB.PL y'all  
 'I lifted X with y'all, y'all lifted X with me'

The choice of which individual determines the inflectional pattern is based on pragmatic considerations. It appears that the primary individual corresponds to the topic of the discourse and is generally treated as subject. There are insufficient examples in available texts to investigate this hypothesis systematically, but it appears that the selection of the primary individual is motivated almost entirely by discourse considerations. Out of context the above examples are equivalent.

The restrictions on the co-occurrence of specific subject morphemes in the comitative are the following:

**/ik-/ '1SUB'**

A comitative verb is usually inflected with first person subject /ik-/ '1SUB' if one of the subject arguments is first person singular. When one of the arguments is first person plural, first person /ik-/ '1SUB' is optional. Recall that the prefix /ik-/ is also optional first person plural inflection in the noncomitative paradigm.

- (434) [ʔút ʔikláaʒatíin kít]  
 /ut ik-laa-ʒatíi-na kit/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-sing X-COM I/me  
 'I sang X with her/him, s/he sang X with me'
- (435) [ʔutún ʔiktaláaʒamaánán kinán, ʔutún taláaʒamaánán kinán]  
 /utun (ik)-ta-laa-qamaa-nan-na kinán/  
 they (1SUB)-SUB.PL-COM-play X-I.O.-COM we/us  
 'they played with us, we played with them'

As mentioned above, there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of first and second person inflection. Speakers generally do not accept the combination of overt first and second person subject affixes (i.e., \*ik-...-tat, \*ik-...-ti).

- (436) [wišín láaʒátíinántat kít, \*wišín ʔikláaʒatíinántat kít]  
 /wišín (ik)-laa-ʒatíi-nan-tat kit/  
 y'all 1SUB-COM-sing X-I.O.-2SUB.PL I/me  
 'y'all sang X with me, I sang X with y'all'

There are, however, examples of the first person subject marker /ik-/ '1SUB' co-occurring with second person laryngealization.

- (437) [wĩʃ ʔikláaʔáálayáan kít, wĩʃ ʔikláaʔáálayáan kít]  
 /wĩʃ ik-laa-ʔáá-la-yaa-na kit/  
 you 1SUB-COM-run-IMPV-COM I/me  
 'you run with me, I run with you'

### /+Constricted Glottis/

Laryngealization of certain vowels of the verb marks a second person subject in the noncomitative paradigm (see section 5.4.1.1.2 for details). In the comitative, laryngealization is always optional. It is most likely to occur when second person combines with third person (2 + 3), and when second person singular combines with first person singular (2sg + 1sg).

- (438) [wĩʃ láaqaʔawáyáan, láaqaʔawáyáan]  
 /wĩʃ laa-qaʔawá-yaa-na/  
 you COM-talk-IMPV-COM  
 'you talk with her/him, s/he talks with you'
- (439) [wĩʃ ʔikláaʔatíjnanáan kít, ʔikláaʔatíjnanáan]  
 /wĩʃ ik-laa-ʔatíj-nan-yaa-na kit/  
 2SUB COM-sing X-I.O.-IMPV-COM I/me  
 'you sing X with me, I sing X with you'
- (440) [ʔutún taláaqaʔamaananáatát wĩʃín, taláaqaʔamaananáatát]  
 /utun ta-laa-qamaa-nan-yaa-tat/  
 they SUB.PL-COM-play X-I.O.-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 'they play with y'all, y'all play with them'

### /-na/

The comitative suffix /-na/ 'COM' does not appear in the following contexts:

- a. /-na/ does not co-occur with second person suffixes /-tat/ '2SUB.PL' and /-ti/ '2PFV'.<sup>28</sup>

- (441) [wĩʃín taláaqaʔawáyáatát]  
 /wĩʃín ta-laa-qaʔawá-yaa-tat/  
 y'all SUB.PL-COM-talk-IMPV-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all talk with them, they talk with y'all'

<sup>28</sup> Recall that the suffix that marks a second person object is homophonous (i.e., also /-na/ '2OBJ').

- (442) [wĩʂ láazǎsti kít]  
 /wĩʂ laa-ǎs-ti kit/  
 you COM-lift X-2PFV I/me  
 ‘you lift it with me, I lifted it with you’

b. In the imperfective, /-na/ does not co-occur with a 1sg + 2pl combination.

- (443) [kít ʔ[kláaʔatĩnanáa wĩʂin]  
 /kit ik-laa-atĩn-nan-yaa wĩʂin/  
 I 1SUB-COM-sing X-I.O.-IMPFV y'all  
 ‘I sing X with y'all, y'all sing X with me’

c. In the imperfective, /-na/ does not co-occur with a first person plural subject argument.

- (444) [kinǎn ʔ[ktaláaqawǎyáa]  
 /kinǎn ik-ta-laa-qawǎ-yaa-wa/  
 we 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-talk-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 ‘we talk with them, they talk with us’

Note, though, that in the perfective, /-na/ does co-occur with a first person plural argument.

- (445) [ʔutún ʔ[ktaláazǎsna kinǎn]  
 /utun ik-ta-laa-ǎs-na kinǎn/  
 they 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-lift X-COM we/us  
 ‘they lifted X with us, we lifted X with them’

#### /ta-/ 'SUB.PL'

A comitative verb is optionally inflected with the subject marker /ta-/ 'SUB.PL' if either the subject or the comitative argument is plural. If both arguments are singular, the prefix /ta-/ 'SUB.PL' never appears. If both arguments are plural, /ta-/ is obligatory. In cases where one argument is singular and the other is plural, if plurality of one of the arguments is not indexed by another affix (such as /-wa/ '1SUB.PL' or /-tat/ '2SUB.PL'), then /ta-/ is more likely to appear.

- (446) [ʔút láaqamáananǎtat, ʔút taláaqamáananǎtat]  
 /ut (ta)-laa-qamaa-nan-yaa-tat/  
 s/he (SUB.PL)-COM-play X-I.O.-IMPFV-2SUB.PL  
 ‘s/he plays with y'all, y'all play with her/him’

(447) [wĩʂ taláaqamáananáa kinán, wĩʂ láaqamáananáa]  
 /wĩʂ (ta-)laa-qamaa-nan-yaa-na kinán/  
 you (SUB.PL)-COM-play X-I.O.-IMPFV-COM we/us  
 'you play with us, we play with you'

(448) [wĩʂ taláazásti ʔutún hón mésa]  
 /wĩʂ ta-laa-ʒas-ti utun hun mesa/  
 you SUB.PL-COM-lift X-2PFV they DET table  
 'you lifted the table with them, they lifted the table with you'

### 7.2.8.1.2. Neutralization and Ambiguity

The inflectional system provides as much information as possible about each of the arguments—subject and comitative. However, given the nature of the system, total specification of person and number features of both arguments is often impossible. As a result, the comitative construction is characterized by a great deal of ambiguity. The following examples illustrate the possible combinations and how they are inflected.

Consider, first, cases in which the arguments denoted by the inflection are singular. One of them is interpreted as the comitative and one as the subject. As stated earlier, in some cases one of the individuals is singled out as primary.

(449) 1sg 2sg  
 1sg 3sg  
 2sg 3sg  
 3sg 3sg

In the combinations given above, either of the individuals can be designated as primary, except in the case of 1sg and 3sg, wherein the first person subject takes precedence and the prefix /ik-/ is obligatory. There is a further complication in that when there is a 1sg + 2sg combination and the verb agrees with the first person (i.e., there is no second person affix), there can also be optional laryngealization. I suggest that laryngealization is somehow less salient than affixation and is allowed to disambiguate 1sg + 2sg from 1sg + 3sg.

(450) /ik-laa-...-na/

1sg 3sg	[ʔút ʔikláazásna kít]	's/he lifted X with me'
1sg 2sg	[kít ʔikláazásna wĩʂ]	'I lifted X with you'
	[kít ʔikláazásyáan wĩʂ]	'I lift X with you' (opt. +CG)

(451) /laa-...ti/

2sg 1sg	[wĩʃ láazásti kít]	'you lifted X with me'
2sg 3sg	[wĩʃ láazásti ɣút]	'you lifted X with her/him'

(452) /laa-...-na/

3sg 3sg	[ɣút láaqawayáan ɣút]	's/he talks with her/him'
3sg 2sg	[ɣút láaqawayáan wĩʃ]	's/he talks with you' (opt. +CG)

When a second person argument is primary, the second person affixes /-ti/ '2PFV' and /-tat/ '2SUB.PL' do not co-occur with the comitative suffix /-na/. The plural marker /ta-/ 'SUB.PL' occurs with a 2sg argument to indicate that the other argument is plural. It occurs in conjunction with /-tat/ '2SUB.PL' if the second argument is also plural.

(453) /ta-laa-...ti/

2sg 3pl	[wĩʃ taláazásti ɣutún]	'you lifted X with them'
2sg 1pl	[wĩʃ taláazásti kinán]	'you lifted X with us'

(454) /laa-...tat/

2pl 1sg	[wĩʃín láazástat kít]	'y'all lifted X with me'
2pl 3sg	[wĩʃín láazástat ɣút]	'y'all lifted X with her/him'

(455) /ta-laa-...-tat/

2pl 3pl	[wĩʃín taláazástat ɣutún]	'y'all lifted X with them'
2pl 1pl	[wĩʃín taláazástat kinán]	'y'all lifted X with us'

In the following examples one argument is third person singular and the other is first or second person plural.

(456) /(ik)-ta-laa-...-na/

3sg 2pl	[ɣút taláamáqniín hón pášni wĩʃín]	's/he killed the pig with y'all'
3sg 1pl	[ɣút ɣíktaláamáqniín hón pášni kinán] <sup>29</sup>	's/he killed the pig with us'

<sup>29</sup> Recall that /-na/ 'COM' only surfaces with a first person plural argument in the perfective.

When a third person plural argument combines with a singular argument, it is marked by /ta-/ 'SUB.PL'. Likewise, when there are two plural arguments the combination is obligatorily marked by /ta-/ 'SUB.PL'.

/ (ik) -ta-laa-...-na/

- |       |         |                                      |                                  |
|-------|---------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (457) | 3pl 3sg | [ʔʉtún taláazásna Pedro]             | 'they lifted X with Pedro'       |
|       | 3pl 2sg | [ʔʉtún taláazásna wíʃ]               | 'they lifted X with you'         |
|       | 3pl 1sg | [ʔʉtún ʔiktaláazásna kít]            | 'they lifted X with me'          |
| (458) | 3pl 3pl | [ʔʉtún taláazásna ʔʉtún]             | 'they lifted X with them'        |
|       | 3pl 2pl | [ʔʉtún taláamáqniín hón páʃni wiʃín] | 'they killed the pig with y'all' |
|       | 3pl 1pl | [ʔʉtún ʔiktaláazásna kinán]          | 'they lifted X with us'          |

When a first person argument is primary, the suffix /-na/ surfaces in all combinations in the perfective aspect. However, in the imperfective it only surfaces in a 1sg + 3sg, 2sg, or 3pl combinations. In all other cases (1sg + 2pl, and 1pl + 2sg, 3sg, 2pl, 3pl), the suffix /-na/ does not appear.

(459) / (ik) -ta-laa-...-(na)/

- |       |         |                                  |                         |
|-------|---------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
|       | 1sg 3sg | [kít ʔikláaʔatínanáan ʔút]       | 'I sing X with her/him' |
|       | 1sg 2sg | [kít ʔikláaqawayáan wíʃ]         | 'I talk with you'       |
|       | 1sg 3pl | [kít ʔiktaláaʔatínanáan ʔʉtún]   | 'I sing X with them'    |
|       | 1sg 2pl | [kít ʔiktaláaʔatíin wiʃín]       | 'I sang X with y'all'   |
|       | 1sg 2pl | [kít ʔikláaʔatínanáa wiʃín]      | 'I sing X with y'all'   |
| (460) | 1pl 2sg | [kinán ʔiktaláaʔatíin wíʃ]       | 'we sang X with you'    |
|       | 1pl 2sg | [kinán ʔiktaláaqamáananáa wíʃ]   | 'we play with you'      |
|       | 1pl 3sg | [kinán ʔiktaláaqamáananáa ʔút]   | 'we play with her/him'  |
|       | 1pl 2pl | [kinán ʔiktaláaʔatínanáa wiʃín]  | 'we sing X with y'all'  |
|       | 1pl 3pl | [kinán ʔiktaláaqamáananáa ʔʉtún] | 'we play with them'     |

### 7.2.8.1.3. Object Inflection in the Comitative

In contrast with other Totonacan languages, there are no cases of object inflection on a comitative verb.

- (461) [\*Pedro kiláazásna hón Maria, \*Pedro láakínzásna hón Maria, \*Pedro kiláaczásyáan]  
 /Pedro kin-laa-zás-na hun Maria, laa-kin-zás-na, kin-laa-zás-yaa-na/  
 Pedro 1OBJ-COM-lift X-COM DET MARIA, COM-1OBJ-LIFT  
 X-COM, 1OBJ-COM-LIFT X-IMPV-COM  
 'Pedro with Maria lifted me, Pedro with Maria lifts me'
- (462) \*[tiyúut láaláamáqnín hón pāšnīn hón Juan]  
 /tiyut laa-laa-maq-nii-na hun pašni-Vn hun Juan/  
 who 3OBJ.PL-COM-CAUS-die-COM DET-pig-PL DET Juan  
 'who killed the pigs with Juan?'

#### 7.2.8.1.4. An Account of Comitative Inflection

In a close look at the three affixes, /laa-/, /ta-/, and /-na/, which are such an integral part of the comitative paradigm, I discuss how these affixes are used in noncomitative, comitative, and reciprocal constructions. The reciprocal construction is included because it demonstrates many parallels with the comitative, and it appears as though the comitative construction in Misantla Totonac is historically derived from the reciprocal construction.

Regarding the prefix /laa-/, it must be noted that the distribution of /laa-/ in Misantla Totonac is quite different from the distribution of the cognate affix /laa-/ in all other Totonacan languages. Misantla Totonac is the only one that uses this affix in the comitative construction and the only one that uses it, in the regular paradigm, as a marker of third person plural objects. This unique pattern suggests that these two functions of /laa-/ are fairly recent innovations in Misantla Totonac.

The one function of the morpheme /laa-/ that is common to all the Totonacan languages is its appearance in the reciprocal construction. In all the languages, /laa-/ co-occurs with plural subject inflection to mark the reciprocal construction. No object inflection is licensed. Misantla Totonac differs from this pattern only in that the suffix /-kan/ 'REFL' must co-occur with /laa-/ to yield a reciprocal meaning.

- (463) [kinán ᵛktaláalaqéᵛká]  
 /kinan ik-ta-laa-laqan-kan-wa/  
 we 1SUB-SUB.PL-COM-see X-REFL-1SUB.PL  
 'we saw each other'
- (464) [wišín taláalaqéᵛkántat]  
 /wišin ta-laa-laqan-kan-tat/  
 y'all SUB.PL-COM-see X-REFL-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all saw each other'

In all Totonacan languages, reciprocal /*laa-*/ may only occur on verbs which take at least two arguments—that is, on transitive or ditransitive verbs. Furthermore, it is restricted to verbs with overtly plural subjects. A traditional analysis of the reciprocal (also proposed by Watters 1988) posits that /*laa-*/ decreases the valence of the verb by binding an argument (typically the direct object) to the subject. Verbs exhibiting this affix may not be inflected with any sort of overt object marker.

It is possible that in Misantra Totonac this interpretation of reciprocal /*laa-*/ was extended to the comitative construction. Thus, the discontinuous morpheme /*laa-...-na*/ 'COM' adds a comitative argument to a verb and links that argument semantically to the subject. In Misantra Totonac, /*laa-*/, in the comitative and the reciprocal, indicates that the subject is linked to two distinct semantic roles. In the noncomitative inflectional paradigm, /*laa-*/ '3OBJ.PL' does not affect the way that thematic roles are assigned, and must be considered a separate, though homophonous, affix indicating third person plural object.

In contrast, the meaning and function of the prefix /*ta-*/, which is employed in the comitative construction, the reciprocal construction, and in regular inflectional paradigms, can be subsumed under a single generalization. I analyze /*ta-*/ as indicating a plural subject of any kind ('SUB.PL'); it is the default indicator of a plural subject. The prediction in the noncomitative paradigm is that /*ta-*/ will occur when there is no other overt affix marking a plural subject. Thus, it occurs when there is a third person plural subject, but not when there is a first person plural subject marked by /*-wa*/ '1SUB.PL' or a second person plural subject indicated by /*-tat*/ '2SUB.PL'.

In the comitative construction, /*ta-*/ 'SUB.PL' appears only when either the subject or comitative argument is plural (i.e., it never appears when both arguments are singular). In the reciprocal construction /*ta-*/ always occurs. In both these cases, /*ta-*/ can co-occur with inflection which marks first or second person plural, /*-wa*/ or /*-tat*/.

- (465) [ʔút taláaʒásyáatát wíʃín]  
 /ut ta-laa-ʒas-yaa-tat wíʃín/  
 s/he SUB.PL-COM-lift X-IMPV-2SUB.PL y'all  
 's/he lifts X with y'all'
- (466) [wíʃín taláatǧhwánkántat]  
 /wíʃín ta-laa-tǧhwan-kan-tat/  
 y'all SUB.PL-COM-look for X-REFL-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all looked for each other'



In sum, the comitative /ta-/ marks the plurality of the arguments, particularly when they are not otherwise indexed. Thus, when there are two third person plural arguments and when there is a third person plural argument co-occurring with a singular argument, /ta-/ is expected.

The /-na/ which occurs in the comitative construction is homophonous with the inflectional morpheme /-na/ '2OBJ'. Furthermore, they have similar co-occurrence restrictions: (a) neither /-na/ co-occurs with /-tat/ '2SUB.PL' or /-ti/ '2PFV'; (b) neither co-occurs on the surface with the perfective suffix /-la(ʔ)/; (c) both trigger the surfacing of IMPFV /-yaa/; and (d) both exhibit the phonological properties of -CV suffixes, such as only surfacing in full form after a voiceless consonant. They both have irregular paradigms in that /-na/ 'COM' in the comitative paradigm does not surface when the primary argument is first person plural in the imperfective, but does in the perfective (like-wise with a 1sg + 2pl combination). Second person object /-na/ '2OBJ' always surfaces when a first person subject has a second person object, but does not surface when a second person subject has a first person object. In spite of the features shared by these two suffixes, I treat them as two separate but homophonous affixes which have different semantic values.

### 7.2.8.2. Comitative and Different Verb Classes

The comitative affixes occur with all verb classes.

#### *Statives:*

- (467) [hónšáaləh čúnkuʔ láawilán hónkaswéla]  
 /hun-šaaluh čunkuʔ laa-wi|a-na hun-kaswela/  
 DET-olla next to COM-seated-COM DET-pan  
 'the pot is next to (with) the casserole'

- (468) [kít ʔkláawilán lakapárkε]  
 /kit ik-laa-wi|a-na laka-parkε/  
 I 1SUB-COM-seated-COM PREP-park/main square  
 'I am seated with her/him in the park'

#### *Intransitives:*

- (469) [ʔút ʔkláaqaawayáan]  
 /ut ik-laa-qaʔa-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-talk-IMPFV-COM  
 's/he talks with me'

- (470) [ʔút láamaqástúqáan ʔʕináat]  
 /ut laa-maqa=stuq-yaa-na iš-sinaat/  
 s/he COM-married-IMPV-FV-COM 3POSS-woman  
 'he is married to his wife'
- (471) [ʔút ʔ[kláaʔatʕinánáan]  
 /ut ik-laa-atij-nan-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-sing X-I.O.-IMPV-FV-COM  
 's/he sings X with me'
- (472) [ʔút ʔ[kláaʔálayáan]  
 /ut ik-laa-ʔáala-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-run-IMPV-FV-COM  
 's/he runs with me'
- (473) [ʔút ʔ[kláamináan kít]  
 /ut ik-laa-min-yaa-na kit/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-come-IMPV-FV-COM I/me  
 's/he comes with me'
- (474) [tiyúut láatáʔawanáan míhčáap]  
 /tiyuut laa-táʔawan-yaa-na min-čáap/  
 who COM-walk-IMPV-FV-COM 2POSS-father  
 'who is your father walking with?'

*Transitives:*

- (475) [wʕš láastáʔayáan sapátʕs]  
 /wʕš laa-stáʔ-yaa-na sapatʕs/  
 you COM-sell X-IMPV-FV-COM shoes  
 'you sell shoes with her/him'
- (476) [Pedro láalaʔenáan šwáan]  
 /Pedro laa-laʔan-yaa-na Juan/  
 Pedro COM-see X-IMPV-FV-COM Juan  
 'Pedro with Juan saw X'

*Ditransitives:*

- (477) [kít ʔ[kláaʔʕkín šwáan]  
 /kit ik-laa-ʕki-na Juan/  
 I 1SUB-COM-give X to Y-COM Juan  
 'I gave X to Y with Juan'

## 7.2.8.3. Comitative and Other Derivational Affixes

The comitative affixes occur with the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.'.

- (478) [ʔút ʔikláaʔɣstáananáan]  
 /ut ik-laa-ʊqstaa-nan-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-chat-I.O.-IMPFV-COM  
 's/he (always) chats with me'
- (479) [ʔút láastáananáan hǒnšwáan]  
 /ut laa-staa-nan-yaa-na hun-Juan/  
 s/he COM-sell X-I.O.-IMPFV-COM DET-Juan  
 's/he (always) sells with Juan'

The comitative affixes occur with the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'.

- (480) [kít ʔikláatáayáan ʔút]  
 /kit ik-laa-ta-yaa-na ut/  
 I 1SUB-COM-INC-standing-COM s/he  
 'I stood up with her/him'
- (481) [kít ʔikláatanúun ʔút]  
 /kit ik-laa-ta-nuu-na/  
 I 1SUB-COM-INC-inside-COM  
 'I entered with her/him'

The comitative affixes occur with lexicalized causatives and with the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' on intransitive verbs.

- (482) [ʔút ʔikláamáqnín hǒmpášni]  
 /ut ik-laa-maq-nii-na hun-pášni/  
 s/he 1SUB-COM-CAUS-die-COM DET-pig  
 's/he killed the pig with me'

/maa-/ 'CAUS' adds an agent argument to the verb and the original subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the causative verb. Recall that there can be no object inflection on a comitative verb. Thus, the object in these cases must be third person singular, which is unmarked.

- (483) [Juan máapupúu hǒn škáan]  
 /Juan maa-pupu-ii hun škaan/  
 Juan CAUS-boil-TRANS DET water  
 'Juan boils the water, Juan makes the water boil'

- (484) [kít ʔikláamáapupúuyáan hón škáan hón Juan]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-pupu-ii-yaa-na hun škaan hun Juan/  
 I 1SUB-COM-CAUS-boil-TRANS-IMPV-COM DET water DET Juan  
 'I boil the water with Juan, I together with Juan make the water boil'

But, the comitative affixes do not occur with the productive causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' on transitive verbs.

- (485) \*[kít ʔikláamáaqamáaniyáan hón kíjkčún hón Pedro]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-qamaa-ni-yaa-na hun kíjk=čun hun Pedro/  
 I 1SUB-COM-CAUS-play X-+OBJ-IMPV-COM DET child DET Pedro  
 'I with Pedro make the child play'

The comitative affixes occur with the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS'.

- (486) [kít ʔiklálíkááyáan hómáčítu hón Mario]  
 /kit ik-laa-lii-kaa-yaa-na hun-máčitú hun Mario/  
 I 1SUB-COM-INS-cut X-IMPV-COM DET-machete DET Mario  
 'I with Mario use the machete to cut X'

The comitative affixes occur with the locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC'.

- (487) [kít ʔikláapúušqáayáan hón básó lakakamyón]  
 /kit ik-laa-puu-šqaa-yaa-na hun baso laka-kamyon/  
 I 1SUB-COM-LOC-break X-IMPV-COM DET glass PREP-bus  
 'I break the glass on the bus with her/him'

The comitative affixes occur with the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ'.

- (488) [ʔút láawányáan hón Maria]  
 /ut laa-wan-ni-yaa-na hun Maria/  
 s/he COM-say X-+OBJ-IMPV-COM DET Maria  
 's/he says X to Y with Maria'

### 7.2.9. Causative

/maa-/, /maq-/, /maqa-/ are causative prefixes which add an agentive argument to the verb. /maa-/ is a very productive prefix which appears on almost any verb. /maq-/, /maqa-/ are less productive and most often appear in lexicalized causatives.

## 7.2.9.1. Causative /maa-/

/maa-/ is the most productive causative prefix and can occur on virtually any verb. It adds an argument to the verb which is interpreted as agent or cause. Treatment of the original subject (i.e., the subject of the base verb) depends on the transitivity of the base. The original subject of intransitive verbs becomes the object of the causative verb. Addition of the prefix /maa-/ therefore results in a transitive verb. The original subject of transitive verbs becomes an object of a ditransitive causative. Object inflection may mark the original subject and/or the original object of the verb. Multiple object marking may result in ambiguity.

- (489) [ʔút kímáalaqəníiyáan]  
 /ut kin-maa-laqən-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 's/he makes you see me, s/he makes me see you,  
 s/he makes us see X, s/he makes X see us'

When the causative prefix /maa-/ is attached to an intransitive or a transitive verb, it must be accompanied by a valence-increasing suffix. Transitive verbs take the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ', while intransitive verbs take the transitivizing suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS'. These suffixes normally add an object argument to the verb on their own. In the causative, they work in concert with the causative prefix to increase the valence of the original verb by one.

## 7.2.9.1.1. Causative /maa-/ and Different Verb Classes

Statives:

Positional statives do not occur with the causative /maa-/. They form their causative counterparts with the transitivizing suffixes discussed in section 6.4.

- (490) /wíla/                                    'seated'  
 /wíla-ii/                                    'sit X down'  
 /wíla-ii-ni/                                'place X down for Y'  
 /wíla-ni/                                    'sit down in place of X'  
 \*/maa-wíla/
- (491) /yaa/                                    'standing'  
 /yaa-wan/                                   'stand X up'  
 /yaa-ni/                                    'stand up in place of X'  
 \*/maa-yaa/

- (492) /māā/ 'supine'  
 /māā-yan/ 'lie X down'  
 /māā-ni/ 'lie Y down in place of X'  
 \*/maa-māā/

*Nominals:*

The causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' may be added to nominals that have been verbalized by the transitivity suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' (7.2.5). Both the denominalized form with /-ii/ and the causative form can occur with object inflection. The meaning is the same or similar with or without the causative prefix /maa-/.

- (493) [kít ɔ̃[kʰéʰnɪ́ hɔ̃ńčik]  
 /kit ik-ʰih-ni-ii hun-čik/  
 I 1SUB-yellow-NOM-TRANS DET-house  
 'I make the house yellow'
- (494) [kít ɔ̃[kmáaʰéʰnɪ́ hɔ̃ńčik]  
 /kit ik-maa-ʰih-ni-ii hun-čik/  
 I 1SUB-CAUS-yellow-NOM-TRANS DET-house  
 'I make the house yellow'
- (495) [kít ɔ̃[kláaʰéʰnɪ́]  
 /kit ik-laa-ʰih-ni-ii/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-yellow-NOM-TRANS  
 'I make them yellow'
- (496) [kít ɔ̃[kláamáaʰéʰnɪ́]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-ʰih-ni-ii/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-yellow-NOM-TRANS  
 'I make them yellow'
- (497) [púksa] /púksa/ 'smelly'  
 [kít ɔ̃[kpúksíi] /kit ik-púksa-ii/ 'I make X smelly'  
 [kít ɔ̃[kmáapúksíi] /kit ik-maa-púksa-ii/ 'I make X smelly'
- (498) [šúyɪn] /šúyɪ-ni/ 'bitter'  
 [ɔ̃út šúyɪnɪ́] /ut šúyɪ-ni-ii/ 's/he embitters X'  
 [máašúyɪnɪ́] /maa-šúyɪ-ni-ii/ 's/he embitters X'

- (499) [papáksnáʔ] /papaks-nYʔ/ 'old (man)'  
 [kímpapáksníj] /kin-papaks-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he ages me'  
 [kímáapapáksníj] /kin-maa-papaks-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he makes me old'
- (500) [stɔqɔnúʔ] /stɔqu-nYʔ/ 'old (woman)'  
 [kístɔqɔnúj] /kin-stɔqu-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he ages me'  
 [kímáastɔqɔnúj] /kin-maa-stɔqu-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he ages me'
- (501) [čjškúʔ] /čjškuʔ/ 'man'  
 [kínčjškúu] /kin-čjškuʔ-ii/ 's/he makes me into a man'  
 [kímááčjškúu] /kin-maa-čjškuʔ-ii/ 's/he makes me into a man'
- (502) [číin] /čii-ni/ 'strong'  
 \*[lááčíiníj] /laa-čii-ni-ii/ 's/he makes them strong'  
 [láamááčíiníj] /laa-maa-čii-ni-ii/ 's/he makes them strong'
- (503) [qát] /qat/ 'big'  
 [ʔíkláaqatíj]<sup>30</sup> /ik-laa-qat-ii/ 'I make them grow/big'  
 [ʔíkláamáaqatíj] /ik-laa-maa-qat-ii/ 'I make them grow/big'
- (504) [saaste] /saasti/ 'new'  
 [láasáastíj] /laa-saasti-ii/ 's/he makes them new'  
 [láamáasáastíj] /laa-maa-saasti-ii/ 's/he makes them new'
- (505) [hékwaáate] /hikwɔn-ti/ 'afraid'  
 [kíhékwaáatíj] /kin-hikwɔn-ti-ii/ 's/he scares me, makes me scared'  
 [kímáahékwaáatíj] /kin-maa-hikwɔn-ti-ii/ 's/he scares me, makes me scared'
- (506) [skéha] /skijha/ 'tasty'  
 [láaskéhéε] /laa-skijha-ii/ 's/he makes them tasty'  
 [láamáaskéhéε] /laa-maa-skijha-ii/ 's/he makes them tasty'
- (507) [qɔʔanáʔ] /quʔa-nYʔ/ 'good'  
 [ʔík láaqɔʔóníj] /ik-laa-quʔa-nYʔ-ii/ 'I fix them, make them good'  
 [ʔík láamáaqɔʔóníj] /ik-laa-maa-quʔa-nYʔ-ii/ 'I fix them, make them good'
- (508) [kanáalanáʔ] /kanaa-la-nYʔ/ 'bad (person)'  
 ??[láakanáalaníj] /laa-kanaa-la-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he makes them mean'  
 [láamáakanáalaníj] /laa-maa-kanaa-la-nYʔ-ii/ 's/he makes them mean'

<sup>30</sup> Recall that the suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' is sometimes paired with the feature [+CG] in ways that are not yet fully understood (see 7.2.5).

(509)	[sáqsi]	/saqsi/	'sweet (by brown sugar)'
	[sáqsíi]	/saqsi-ii/	'X sweetens Y'
	[máasáqsíi]	/maa-saqsi-ii/	'X sweetens Y'
(510)	[síksi]	/siksi/	'sweet (by sugar)'
	[síksíi]	/siksi-ii/	'X sweetens Y'
	[máasíksíi]	/maa-siksi-ii/	'X sweetens Y'
(511)	[spil{ɸ}]	/spilɨ/	'spotted'
	[spilɨíi]	/spilɨ-ii/	'X makes Y spotted'
	[máaspilɨíi]	/maa-spilɨ-ii/	'X makes Y spotted'
(512)	[čukúŋku]	/čukunku/	'cold'
	[kíñčukúŋkúu]	/kin-čukunku-ii/	's/he makes me cold'
	[kímááčukúŋkúu]	/kin-maa-čukunku-ii/	's/he makes me cold'
(513)	[čunún]	/čunun(u)/	'wrinkled'
	[lááčununúu]	/laa-čunun(u)-ii/	's/he wrinkles them'
	[láamááčununúu]	/laa-maa-čunun(u)-ii/	's/he wrinkles them'
(514)	[staχáɸ]	/staqal/	'flat'
	[staχalíi]	/staqal-ii/	'X flattens'
	[máastaχalíi]	/maa-staqal-ii/	'X flattens Y'
(515)	[zaɸán]	/zaɸan/	'hot'
	[máazaɸaníi]	/maa-zaɸan-ii/	'X heats Y'
(516)	[hášwáanáʔ]	/hašwaa-nYʔ/	'happy'
	[máahášwáaníi]	/maa-hašwaa-nYʔ-ii/	'X makes Y happy'
(517)	[čáan]	/čaa-ni/	'ripe'
	[mááčáaníi]	/maa-čaa-ni-ii/	'X ripens Y'

A small set of nominals are causativized directly by /maa-/ 'CAUS'. They do not occur with the suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS' in the causative.

/lak=kii/	'open'
/maa-lak=kii/	'X makes Y open, X opens Y'

- (518) [hón čik lakíi]  
 /hun čik lak=kii/  
 DET house open  
 'the house is open'



- (519) [šwáan máalákij̥ hón pwérta]  
 /Juan maa-lak=kij̥-la(†) hun pwérta/  
 Juan CAUS-open-PFV DET door  
 'Juan opened the door, Juan made the door open'
- /lak=čawa/ 'closed'  
 /maa-lak=čawa/ 'X makes Y close, X closes Y'
- (520) [šwáan máalákčúwa† hón pwérta]  
 /Juan maa-lak=čawa-la(†) hun pwérta/  
 Juan CAUS-closed-PFV DET door  
 'Juan closed the door, Juan made the door close'
- /čij̥q/ 'hidden'  
 /maa-čij̥q/ 'X makes Y hidden, X hides Y'
- (521) [hónčiwíš kímáačéχ]  
 /hun-čiwíš kin-maa-čij̥q/  
 DET-stone IOBJ-CAUS-hidden  
 'the stone hides me'
- /kaks/ 'be quiet'  
 /maa-kaks/ 'X makes Y quiet, X quiets Y'
- (522) [ʔút máakaks]  
 /ut maa-kaks/  
 s/he CAUS-be quiet  
 's/he quiets Y, s/he makes Y quiet'
- /ta-čuqu/ 'stay, remain'  
 /maa-čuqu/ 'X makes Y stay behind, X leaves Y behind'
- (523) [ʔút mááčóq†]  
 /ut maa-čuqu-la(†)/  
 s/he CAUS-remain-PFV  
 's/he left Y behind, s/he makes Y stay behind'

*Intransitive verbs:*

With intransitives, /maa-/ 'CAUS' adds an agent argument to the verb, making it transitive. The original subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the causative verb. With intransitive verbs, the suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS'

must be added. When /-ii/ is added to the verb root, the vowel of the suffix sometimes takes on the vowel quality of a root-final vowel.

/pupu/                    'boil'  
/maa-pupu-ii/        'make X boil, boil X'

- (524) [šwáan máapupúu hōňškáan]  
/Juan maa-pupu-ii hun-škaan/  
Juan CAUS-boil-TRANS DET-water  
'Juan boils the water'

/stəh/                    'be wet'  
/maa-stəh-ii/        'make X wet, wet X'

- (525) [šwáan máastéheε† hómPedro]  
/Juan maa-stəh-ii-la(†) hun-Pedro/  
Juan CAUS-be wet-TRANS-PFV DET-Pedro  
'Juan wet Pedro'

/yuh/                    'fall'  
/maa-yuh-ii/        'make X fall, lower X'

- (526) [hōnlíbru máayéheεh lakaspát]  
/hun-libru maa-yuh-ii-la(†) laka-spat/  
DET-book CAUS-fall-TRANS-PFV PREP-ground  
s/he lowered/dropped the book onto the ground'

/ən/                    'go'  
/maa-ən-ii/        'make X go'

- (527) [ʔút kímáaʔənii]  
/ut kin-maa-ən-ii/  
s/he IOBJ-CAUS-go-TRANS  
's/he makes me go'

/†tata/                    'sleep'  
/maa-†tata-ii/        'make X sleep'

- (528) [kít ʔík máa†tatii hōňkíjkčún]  
[kít ʔík máa†tatáa hōňkíjkčún]  
/kit ik-maa-†tata-ii hun-kíjk=čun/  
I 1SUB-CAUS-sleep-TRANS DET-child  
'I put the child to sleep'

*Transitive verbs:*

On transitive verbs, the causative prefix /maa-/ 'CAUS' must be accompanied by the valence-increasing suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ'. The vowel of the suffix /-ni/ is lengthened in the causative to yield [-nii].<sup>31</sup>

/ijwǎ/  
 /maa-ijwǎ-ni/            'buy X'  
    'make Y buy X'

- (529) [šwáan láamáaʔijwǎní túnkóɔči]  
 /Juan laa-maa-ijwǎ-ni tun-kóɔči/  
 Juan 3OBJ.PL-CAUS-buy X-+OBJ one-car  
 'Juan makes them buy a car'

/špalij/  
 /maa-špalij-ni/            'change X, dress X'  
    'make Y change X, make Y dress X'

- (530) [Pedro kímáašpalijní]  
 /Pedro kin-maa-špalij-ni/  
 Pedro 1OBJ-CAUS-change/dress X-+OBJ  
 'Pedro makes me change/dress X, Pedro makes Y change/dress me'

/čǎqǎǎ/  
 /maa-čǎqǎǎ-ni/            'wash X'  
    'make Y wash X'

- (531) [šwáan máačǎqǎǎní hónʔáχaat hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-čǎqǎǎ-ni hun-ʔaqaat hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-wash X-+OBJ DET-clothes DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro wash the clothes'

/kutu/  
 /maa-kutu-ni/            'feed X'  
    'make Y feed X'

- (532) [šwáan kímáakutuní hómPedro]  
 /Juan kin-maa-kutu-ni hun-Pedro/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-feed X-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro feed me, Juan makes me feed Pedro'

/ʔtuqu/  
 /maa-ʔtuqu-ni/            'stir X'  
    'make Y stir X'

<sup>31</sup> It is possible that the resulting form [-nii] is underlyingly or historically derived from /-ni + -ii/ '+OBJ + TRANS'. I currently have no evidence that resolves this issue.

- (533) [šwáan kímáaʔtuqɔnii]  
 /Juan kin-maa-ʔtuqu-ni/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-stir X-+OBJ  
 'Juan makes me stir X'

Verbs that obligatorily end in the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ (see section 7.2.10) also take the causative prefix. I assume that these verbs are lexicalized, because they do not have freely occurring transitive counterparts; that is, they cannot occur without the suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.'. In the causative, however, they lose the /-nan/ 'I.O.' suffix and are causativized normally with /maa-. . .-ni/ 'CAUS-. . .+OBJ' added directly to the root.

/qamaa-nan/                    'play'  
 /maa-qamaa-ni/                'make X play'

- (534) [šwáan máaqamáaníi hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-qamaa-ni hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-play-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro play'

/paʔ-nan/                        'sweep'  
 /maa-paʔ-ni/                    'make X sweep'

- (535) [šwáan máapéʔnii hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-paʔ-ni hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-sweep-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro sweep'

/ʔpapa-nan/                    'fly'  
 /maa-ʔpapa-ni/                'make X fly'

- (536) [šwáan máaʔpapaníi hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-ʔpapa-ni hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-fly-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro fly'

Verb stems which do not obligatorily include the indefinite object suffix /-nan/, but which productively occur with the suffix to indicate an indefinite object, do not lose the indefinite object suffix when causativized.

/čān/                                'sow X'  
 /čān-nan/                        'sow X (habitually)'  
 /maa-čān-ni/                    'make Y sow X'  
 /maa-čān-nan-ni/              'make Y sow X (habitually)'

- (537) [šwáan mááčǎnǐi hónstápu hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-čǎn-ni hun-stapu hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-sow X-+OBJ DET-bean DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro sow beans'
- (538) [šwáan mááčǎnanǐi hónstápu hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-čǎn-nan-ni hun-stapu hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-sow X-I.O.-+OBJ DET-bean DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes Pedro sow beans (always)'

*Ditransitive verbs:*

With ditransitive verbs, causativization results in a verb with four arguments.

- (539) [ɔ́út kímáaɔ́škiɔ́ni hónčǎ]  
 /ut kin-maa-iški-ni hun-ča/  
 s/he IOBJ-CAUS-give X to Y-+OBJ DET-tortilla  
 's/he makes me give her/him the tortillas,  
 s/he makes her/him give me the tortillas'

**7.2.9.1.2. Causative /maa-/ and Other Derivational Affixes**

Causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' does not generally occur with the inchoative prefix /ta-/ 'INC'.

- (540) \*[ɔ́út máatačǎqǎǎni]  
 /ut maa-ta-čǎqǎǎ-ni/  
 s/he CAUS-INC-wash X-+OBJ  
 's/he makes X be washed'

However, the following examples are grammatical, possibly because the forms with /ta-/ 'INC' are lexicalized.

- (541) [kít ɔ́kláamáatáskǎhéε]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-ta-skiha-ii/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-INC-taste-TRANS  
 'I make them fast (refrain from eating)'

- (542) [ʔút máatanúu]<sup>32</sup>  
 /ut maa-ta-nuu/  
 s/he CAUS-INC-inside  
 's/he makes her/him enter'

Causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' normally follows the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS'.

- (543) [šwáan kíliimáakutuníi hóŋkučára hóŋkíjčkún]  
 /Juan kin-lii-maa-kutu-ni hun-kučara hun-kíjčk=čun/  
 Juan 1OBJ-INS-CAUS-feed X-+OBJ DET-spoon DET-child  
 'Juan makes me feed the child with the spoon'

However, the causative prefix may precede the instrumental prefix on verb bases that include /lii-/ as part of the base, such as with /lii=min/ 'bring X' (i.e., lexicalized instrumentals).

/lii=min/	'bring X'
/maa-lii=min-ni/	'make Y bring X'

- (544) [ʔút kímáalíiminíi]  
 /ut kin-maa-lii=min-ni/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-bring X-+OBJ  
 's/he makes me bring X, or s/he makes Y bring me'

Causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' occurs with the body-part prefixes. It may either precede or follow a body-part prefix.

- (545) [ʔút pištúumáastéhεε†]  
 /ut piš-tuu-maa-stəh-ii-la(†)/  
 s/he neck rel.-CAUS-wet-TRANS-PFV  
 's/he wet X on the neck'

- (546) [ʔút máapištúustéhεε†]  
 /ut maa-piš-tuu-stəh-ii-la(†)/  
 s/he CAUS-neck rel.-wet-TRANS-PFV  
 's/he wet X on the neck'

The causative prefix can also occur with the locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC'.

<sup>32</sup> Note that in this case an intransitive verb is causativized by adding the causative prefix /maa-/ without the suffix /-ii/ 'TRANS', which is normally obligatory on causativized intransitives.

- (547) [kít ɣikpúumáaɬtatíi hónkíikčún laka qóχçi]  
 /kit ik-puu-maa-ɬtata-ii hun-kíik=čun laka quχçi/  
 I 1SUB-LOC-CAUS-sleep-TRANS DET-child PREP bed  
 'I make the child sleep in the bed'

Causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' occurs with indefinite subject marker /-kan/.

- (548) [púumáatíikán hónkaféε laka ɣasotéa]  
 /puu-maa-tii-kan hun-kaféε laka asotea/  
 LOC-CAUS-dry-I.S. DET-coffee PREP flat roof  
 'someone dries the coffee on the flat roof,  
 the coffee is dried on the flat roof'

- (549) [čís máaqóɬaníikán]  
 /čis-maa-quɬa-nɣ<sup>ɔ</sup>-ii-kan/  
 how-CAUS-good-NOM-TRANS-I.S.  
 'how does one fix it?, how is it fixed?'

On transitives, causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' can sometimes occur with the indefinite object marker /-nan/.

- (550) [šwáan máačānaníi hónstápu hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-čān-nan-ni hun-stapu hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-sow X-I.O.-+OBJ DET-bean DET-Pedro  
 'Juan always makes Pedro sow beans'

On causativized intransitives, the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' follows the transitivizer /-ii/.

/ɬtata/	'sleep'
/maa-ɬtata-ii/	'make X sleep'
/maa-ɬtata-ii-nan/	'always make X sleep'

- (551) [ɣút máaɬtatíinán hónkíikčún]  
 /ut maa-ɬtata-ii-nan hun-kíik=čun/  
 s/he CAUS-sleep-TRANS-I.O. DET-child  
 's/he (always) makes the child sleep'

Causative combination /maa-...-ni/ can occur on verbs that have /-ii/ 'TRANS' as part of the base and on verbs that have /-ni/ '+OBJ' as part of the base.

/paš/	'bathe'
/paš-ii/	'bathe X'
/maa-paš-ii-ni/	'make Y bathe X'

- (552) [šwáan kímpašíi]  
 /Juan kin-paš-ii/  
 Juan 1OBJ-bathe-TRANS  
 'Juan bathes me'

- (553) [šwáan kímáapašíníi hómPedro]  
 /Juan kin-maa-paš-ii-ni hun-Pedro/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-bathe-TRANS-+OBJ DET-Pedro  
 'Juan makes me wash Pedro, Juan makes Pedro wash me'

/č̣an/	'sow X'
/maa-č̣an-ni/	'make Y sow X'
/maa-č̣an-ni-ni/	'make Y sow X for Z'

- (554) [ʔút kímáač̣aníníi hónstápu]  
 /ut kin-maa-č̣an-ni-ni hun-stapu/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-sow X-+OBJ-+OBJ DET-bean  
 's/he makes me sow beans for her/him'

Causative /maa-/ 'CAUS' occurs with the comitative affixes /laa-...-na/ on intransitive verbs, but not on transitive verbs.

- (555) [kít ʔikláamáaʔtatíyáan hón kíikčún hón Francisco]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-ʔtata-ii-yaa-na hun kíik=čun hun Francisco/  
 I 1SUB-COM-CAUS-sleep-TRANS-IMPV-COM DET child  
 DET Francisco  
 'I with Frank put the child to sleep'

- (556) \*[kít ʔikláamáaqamáaníyáan hón kíikčún hón Pedro]  
 /kit ik-laa-maa-qamaa-ni-yaa-na hun kíik=čun hun Pedro/  
 I 1SUB-COM-CAUS-play X-+OBJ-IMPV-COM DET child  
 DET Pedro  
 'I with Pedro make the child play'

### 7.2.9.1.3. Causative /maa-/ and Object Inflection

A causative verb stem takes both subject and object inflection. On causativized statives and causativized intransitives, there are two argument po-



sitions that must be marked, one by subject inflection and one by object inflection. That is, the subject of the original verb is indicated on the causative verb with object affixes. On causativized transitive verbs, there are three argument positions that must be marked, two of which are indicated by object inflection. On ditransitive verbs, there are four argument positions, only three of which can be overtly marked. The argument position that corresponds to the object affix is not unambiguously indicated on transitive and ditransitive causatives. Context determines which object marker corresponds to which argument position.

- (557) [Pedro kímáalakaswáatnīyáan]  
 /Pedro kin-maa-laka-swaat-ni-yaa-na/  
 Pedro 1OBJ-CAUS-face rel.-grind X-+OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 ‘Pedro makes me shave you, Pedro makes you shave me’
- (558) [wĩš kiláapáalaqenīj]  
 /wĩš kin-laa-maa-laqaan-ni/  
 you 1OBJ-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-see X-+OBJ  
 ‘you make them see me, you make me see them,  
 you make us see X, you make Y see us’
- (559) [wĩš kimpáalaqenīj hón Maria]  
 /wĩš kin-maa-laqaan-ni hun Maria/  
 you 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ DET Maria  
 ‘you make me see Maria, you make Maria see me’
- (560) [ʔút kímáalaqenīyáan]  
 /ut kin-maa-laqaan-ni-yaa-na/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-IMPFV-2OBJ  
 ‘s/he makes me see you, s/he makes you see me,  
 s/he makes us see X, s/he makes Y see us’
- (561) [ʔút láamáalaqenīn]  
 /ut laa-maa-laqaan-ni-la(ʔ)-na/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-CAUS-see X-+OBJ-PFV-2OBJ  
 ‘s/he made you see them, s/he made them see you’

### 7.2.9.2. Causative /maq(a)-/

[maq-a-] or [maq-] are more likely to appear in lexicalized causatives. Rather than having a strictly productive causative interpretation, these causatives often have idiosyncratic meanings. [maq-a-] or [maq-] do not require

either of the suffixes /-ni/ '+OBJ' or /-ii/ 'TRANS'. Also, there is no uvular assimilation (section 3.4.2.1) with [maq-a-] or [maq-].

### 7.2.9.2.1. Productive Causatives with /maq(a)-/

[maq-a-] and [maq-] are less common than /maa-/ as productive causative prefixes. I have been unable to determine what triggers [maq-] as opposed to [maq-a-]. On intransitive verbs, these prefixes normally yield a causative interpretation.

/qawá/	'talk'
/maq-a-qawá/	'make Y talk'

(562) [ʔút maqawá]  
 /ut maq-a-qawá/  
 s/he CAUS-talk  
 's/he makes her/him talk'

/laka=wan/	'wake up, be awake'
/maq-laka=wan/	'make Y wake up'

(563) [šwáan lakawán]  
 /Juan laka=wan/  
 Juan wake up  
 'Juan is awake, Juan wakes up'

(564) [šwáan máqlakawán]  
 /Juan maq-laka=wan/  
 Juan CAUS-wake up  
 'Juan wakes Y up'

/nii/	'die'
/maq-nii/	'kill X'

(565) [ʔút kímáqnii†]  
 /ut kin-maq-nii-la(†)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-die-PFV  
 's/he killed me'

/kačá/	'be angry'
/maq-kačá/	'X makes Y angry, anger Y'

- (566) [šwáan k̄ač̄á]  
 /Juan k̄ač̄á/  
 Juan be angry  
 'Juan is angry'
- (567) [šwáan maqak̄ač̄á hómPedro]  
 /Juan maqa-k̄ač̄á hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-be angry DET-Pedro  
 'Juan angers Pedro'
- /kiɸ=wan/ 'cry'  
 /maqa-kiɸ=wan/ 'X makes Y cry'
- (568) [ʔút k̄éɸwán]  
 /ut kiɸ=wan/  
 s/he cry  
 's/he cries'
- (569) [ʔút maqak̄éɸwán]  
 /ut maqa-kiɸ=wan/  
 s/he CAUS-cry  
 's/he makes Y cry'
- /ɸuq=wan/ 'tire'  
 /maqa-ɸuq=wan/ 'X make Y tired, tire Y'
- (570) [ʔút maqaɸóqwaɸ hónkawáa]  
 /ut maqa-ɸuq=wan-la(ɸ) hun-kawaa/  
 s/he CAUS-be tired-PFV DET-horse  
 's/he tired the horse'
- (571) [kímaqaɸɔχón hónlííćúulat]<sup>33</sup>  
 /kin-maqa-ɸuq=wan hun-líi-ćuula-Vt/  
 IOBJ-CAUS-be tired DET-PL-do X-NOM  
 'the work tires me'
- /hikw̄an/ 'be afraid'  
 /maqa-hikw̄an/ 'make Y be afraid, scare Y'

<sup>33</sup> Some speakers simplify the sequence /ɸuqu-wan/ to /ɸuqun/.

- (572) [ʔút kímaqahékwán]  
 /ut kìn-maqa-hikwán/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-be afraid  
 's/he scares me'

On transitive verbs, [maqa-] and [maq-] often simply add an object argument. In these cases, the interpretation is not necessarily causative.

/skɪnii/                    'ask for X'  
 /maq-skɪnii/            'ask Y for X,' \*'make Y ask for X'

- (573) [ʔút skɪnii čá]  
 /ut skɪnii ča/  
 s/he ask for X tortilla  
 's/he asks for tortillas'

- (574) [ʔút láamáqskɪnii čá]  
 /ut laa-maq-skɪnii ča/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-CAUS-ask for X tortilla  
 's/he asks them for tortillas'

The following verb bases may be causativized either by the productive causative prefix /maa-/ or by /maqa-/. Note that the prefixing of /maqa-/ in these examples adds an object argument, while the prefixing of /maa-/ yields a causative interpretation.

/iɪwá/                    'buy X'  
 /maq-iɪwá/            'buy X for Y'  
 /maa-iɪwá-ni/        'make Y buy X'

- (575) [ʔút kímáqʔiɪwáɰ hónčá]  
 /ut kìn-maq-iɪwá-la(ɰ) hun-ča/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-buy X-PFV DET-tortilla  
 's/he bought the tortillas for me'

- (576) [šwáan kímáaʔiɪwánii hónčá]  
 /Juan kìn-maa-iɪwá-ni hun-ča/  
 Juan 1OBJ-CAUS-buy X-+OBJ DET-tortilla  
 'Juan makes me buy the tortillas'

/lii=min/                'bring X'  
 /maq-lii=min/        'bring X for Y'  
 /maa-lii=min-ni/     'make Y bring X'

- (577) [taláamáqlíimi† hónškáan]  
 /ta-laa-maq-líi=min-la(†) hun-škaan/  
 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-bring X-PFV DET-water  
 ‘they brought the water for them’
- (578) [ɔút kímáálmínii†]  
 /ut kin-maa-líi=min-ni-la(†)/  
 s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-bring X-+OBJ-PFV  
 ‘s/he made me bring X’
- /špilii, špalii/                    ‘change X’  
 /maq-špilii/                    ‘change X for Y’  
 /maa-špilii-ni/                    ‘make Y change X’
- (579) [ɔút máqšpalii]  
 /ut maq-špilii/  
 s/he CAUS-change X  
 ‘s/he changes X for Y’
- (580) [ɔútún taláamáašpalíinii† hónkíjkčún]  
 /utun ta-laa-maa-špalii-ni-la(†) hun-kíjk=čun/  
 they 3SUB.PL-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-change X-+OBJ-PFV DET-child  
 ‘they made the children change (clothes)’
- /čāāla/                    ‘run’  
 /maqa-čāāla/                    ‘run off Y, make Y flee’  
 /maa-čāāla-ni/                    ‘make Y run’
- (581) [ɔút maqaeāālá hónkawáa]  
 /ut maqa-eāāla hun-kawaa/  
 s/he CAUS-run DET-horse  
 ‘s/he runs the horse off’
- (582) [ɔút máaeāālaníi hónkawáa]  
 /ut maa-eāāla-ni hun-kawaa/  
 s/he CAUS-run-+OBJ DET-horse  
 ‘s/he makes the horse run’

### 7.2.9.3. Lexicalized Causatives

Certain causatives appear to be lexicalized. Evidence for lexicalization includes:

- a. The root of the causative verb cannot occur alone.

/\*-niš/                   ‘??’  
/maa=niš/               ‘dream of X’

- (583) [ɔ́út kímáaniš]  
/ut kin-maa=niš/  
s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-dream  
‘s/he dreams of me’

/\*-ɬtii/                   ‘??’  
/maq=ɬtii/               ‘take X away from Y, receive X from Y’

- (584) [ɔ́út kímáqɬtiiɬ hǒńčá]  
/ut kin-maq=ɬtii-la(ɬ) hun-ča/  
s/he OBJ-take X from Y-PFV DET-tortilla  
‘s/he took the tortillas away from me’

- b. The lexicalized forms can themselves be causativized.

/maq=ɬtii/               ‘take X away from Y, receive X from Y’  
/maqa-maq=ɬtii/       ‘make Z take X away from Y, make Z receive X from Y’

- (585) [tiyúut maqamáqɬtiiɬ hǒńčá hǒnsinaat]  
/tiyuut maqa-maq=ɬtii-la(ɬ) hun-ča hun-sinaat/  
who CAUS-take X from Y-PFV DET-tortilla DET-woman  
‘who made her/him take the tortillas away from the woman?’

/maa=niš/                   ‘dream of X’  
/maa-maa=niš-ni/       ‘make Y dream of X’

- (586) [ɔ́út kímáamáanišní]  
/ut kin-maa-maa=niš-ni/  
s/he 1OBJ-CAUS-dream of X-+OBJ  
‘s/he makes me dream of X’

/stɥq/                       ‘join’  
/maqa=stɥq/               ‘married’  
/maa-maqa=stɥq/       ‘marry X (perform the ceremony)’  
/maa-maqa=stɥq-ii/     ‘make Y marry X’

- (587) [ɣút maqastɔχ]  
 /ut maqa=stɥq/  
 s/he married  
 's/he is married'
- (588) [kít ɣ[kláamáamaqastɔχ]  
 /kít ik-laa-maa-maqa=stɥq/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-married  
 'I marry them (perform the ceremony)'
- (589) [kít ɣ[kláamáamaqastɔχéɛ]  
 /kít ik-laa-maa-maqa=stɥq-ii/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-CAUS-married-TRANS  
 'I make them get married'

### 7.2.10. Indefinite Object

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' performs two functions: (a) on transitive and ditransitive verbs, it indicates an indefinite object; and (b) on intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs, it adds a habitual reading.

#### a. Indefinite object:

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' occurs on both transitive and inherently ditransitive verbs to indicate an indefinite object. On transitive verbs, the suffix marks an indefinite direct object (typically a patient); on ditransitives, it marks an indefinite indirect object (typically a recipient).

On transitive verbs:

- (590) [ɣút šqáa]  
 /ut šqaa/  
 s/he/it harvest X  
 's/he harvests X'
- (591) [ɣút šqáanán]  
 /ut šqaa-nan/  
 s/he/it harvest X-I.O.  
 's/he harvests (something)'
- (592) [ɣút ɛaqá]  
 /ut ɛaqá/  
 s/he chew X  
 's/he chews X'

- (593) [ʔút ɛaqaɲán]  
 /ut ɛaqa-nan/  
 s/he chew X-I.O.  
 's/he chews (something)'

On ditransitive verbs:

- (594) [ʔút ʔiʃkiɲán]  
 /ut iʃki-nan/  
 s/he give X to Y/hit Y-I.O.  
 's/he gives X (to someone), hits (something)'
- (595) [ʔút maqɬtɪɪnán]  
 /ut maq=ɬtɪɪ-nan/  
 s/he takes X from Y, receives X from Y-I.O.  
 's/he receives X (from someone)'

*b. Habitual interpretation:*

One consequence of the indefinitivization of an object argument is that verbs with /-nan/ 'I.O.' often have habitual or customary readings. That is, the suffix induces a change in the aspectual class of the verb. Verbs of accomplishment, for example, are generally interpreted as activities. When translating verbs with /-nan/ out of context, speakers almost invariably qualify the meaning of the verb with 'always.'

- |       |              |                |                                  |
|-------|--------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| (596) | [ʔikčán]     | /ik-čan/       | 'I sow X'                        |
|       | [ʔikčanán]   | /ik-čan-nan/   | 'I (always) sow something'       |
| (597) | [ʔikstáa]    | /ik-staa]      | 'I sell X'                       |
|       | [ʔikstáanán] | /ik-staa-nan]  | 'I (always) sell something'      |
| (598) | [ʔikštɔq]    | /ik-štuqu/     | 'I darn/nail X'                  |
|       | [ʔikštɔqɲán] | /ik-štuqu-nan/ | 'I (always) darn/nail something' |

/-nan/ 'I.O.' also indicates habitual or customary activity on intransitive verbs. These types of predicates do not take direct object arguments, but they can occur with the indefinite object suffix /-nan/.

/-nan/ 'I.O.' on intransitives:



- (599) [ɔ́út qawá]  
 /ut qawá/  
 s/he talk  
 's/he talks'
- (600) [ɔ́út qawánán]  
 /ut qawá-nan/  
 s/he talk-I.O.  
 's/he (always) talks'

In addition to these productive uses of /-nan/ 'I.O.', there are also derived intransitives that include the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' as an obligatory part of the verb stem. In these cases, the verb root cannot occur alone (i.e., without /-nan/).<sup>34</sup> Perhaps at one time these roots were transitive verbs that optionally took /-nan/. These verbs are now interpreted as intransitives.

- (601) [ʔqóʔnqanákaʔ]                         \*[ɔ́út ʔqóʔnq]  
 /ʔquunq-nan-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 snore-I.O.-I.S.-PFV  
 'someone snored'
- (602) [hóñšáaqɛʔ ʔpapanán]                         \*[ɔ́út ʔpapa]  
 /hun-šaaqiʔ ʔpapa-nan/  
 DET-buzzard fly-I.O.  
 'the buzzard flies'
- (603) [púuqamáanákaʔ lakatíh]                         \*[ɔ́út qamáa]  
 /puu-qamaa-nan-kan-la(ʔ) laka-tiiʔ/  
 LOC-play-I.O.-I.S.-PFV PREP-path  
 'someone played in the street'

Watters (1988) analyzes the cognate suffix /-nVn/ in Tlachichilco Tepehua as an antipassive. That is, he regards the suffix as an intransitivizing morpheme—one that converts transitive verbs, for example, into intransitive verbs by removing or deleting the direct object. Verbs with /-nVn/ in Tepehua apparently cannot be inflected with object markers, nor can they occur in sentences with overt nominals interpreted as objects. While this analysis seems appropriate for at least some occurrences of /-nan/ in Misantla Totonac, it cannot be adopted in general.

<sup>34</sup> Except in the causative (see 7.2.9.1).

First, in contrast to the pattern exhibited in Tepehua, /-nan/ in Misanhla Totonac can occur on intransitive verbs.

- (604) [ʔhɔnánkaʔ]  
 /ɥhu-nan-kan -la(ʔ)/  
 cough-I.O.-I.S.-PFV  
 'someone coughed (always)'

Second, verbs with /-nan/ may occur in sentences with overt nominals functioning as objects. These overt objects normally have a generic or non-specific interpretation.

- (605) [wɪŋkíkúçíʔ ʔíkláalímaqnínan hɔmpáʂníŋ]  
 /wɪŋ-kin-kuçil ik-laa-líi-maq-nii-nan hun-páʂni-Vn/  
 this-1POSS-knife 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-INS-CAUS-die-I.O. DET-pig-PL  
 'I (always) kill pigs with this (my) knife'

- (606) [ʔút láalílakçukunán hɔnʔáqaat ʔʂtíhéra]  
 /ut laa-líi-lak-çuku-nan hun-ʔáqaat iʂ-tíhera/  
 s/he 3OBJ.PL-INS-DIST-cut X-I.O. DET-clothes 3POSS-scissors  
 's/he (always) cut the clothes with her/his scissors'

Finally, verbs with /-nan/ in Misanhla Totonac may occur with overt object inflection. Verbs with /-nan/ may be inflected with the third person plural object marker /laa-/, indicating that the indefinite object is plural. These verbs cannot be inflected with a first or second person object because such an object cannot be interpreted as 'indefinite.'

- (607) [ʂáaleʔ ʔút láakáakspɪtnán hɔnlímansána]  
 /ʂaaliʔ ut laa-kaak-spit-nan hun-líi-mansana/  
 always s/he 3OBJ.PL-head-rel.-peel X-I.O. DET-PL-apple  
 's/he always peels apples'

- (608) [kít ʔíkláaçuulanán tatúunúɥtna]  
 /kit ik-laa-çuula-nan ta-tuu-nɥɥ-Vt-na/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-make X-I.O. INC-foot rel.-inside-NOM-PL  
 'I make boots/shoes (for a living)'

In spite of the fact that in Misanhla Totonac the suffix /-nan/ occurs on intransitive verbs, as well as on verbs with overt object inflection or with overt object nominals, it might still be possible to interpret /-nan/ as an intransitivizing or antipassive suffix. The interaction of verbs with /-nan/ and other

valence-changing affixes, particularly with the applicative /-ni/ and the causative /maa-...-ni/, indicates that /-nan/ may have an intransitivizing function. At this time it is not possible to present a conclusive analysis, so the interpretation of /-nan/ presented here must be viewed as preliminary and incomplete.

### 7.2.10.1. Indefinite Object and Other Derivational Affixes

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' may occur with instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS'.

- (609) [qólaʔ ʔikéʔqnan náa láatúu ʔiklííʔqnan]  
 /qulaʔ ik-ɛyq-nan naa laa-tuu ik-lii-ɛyq-nan/  
 able 1SUB-write X-I.O. but no-what 1SUB-INS-write X-I.O.  
 'I can write, but I don't have anything to write with'

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' may occur with the locative prefix /puu-/ 'LOC'.

- (610) [ʔút púuʂqánán hónʂqátat]  
 /ut puu-ʂqaa-nan hun-ʂqatát/  
 s/he LOC-harvest X-I.O. DET-basket  
 's/he (always) harvests into the basket'

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' cannot precede the applicative suffix /-ni/ '+OBJ'.

- (611) \*[ʔút stáanani ʔíʔáʂaat]  
 /ut staa-nan-ni iš-ʔaqaat/  
 s/he sell X-I.O.-+OBJ 3POSS-clothes  
 's/he (always) sells clothes to her/him'

The reverse ordering of the affixes (/ni/ + /-nan/) is marginally acceptable in Tepehua (Watters 1988), but not in Misantla Totonac.

- (612) \*[ʔút stáaninan]  
 /ut staa-ni-nan/  
 s/he sell X-+OBJ-I.O.  
 's/he (always) sells X to Y'

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' appears with body-part prefixes.

(613) [hóñčičiᵛ kíηkalanán hóηkḗᵛ]  
 /hun-čičiᵛ kin-kala-nan hun-kijw/  
 DET-dog nose rel.-smell X-I.O. DET-tree  
 'the dog (always) sniffs the trees'

(614) [Maria káakzḗisnán]  
 /Maria káak-zḗis-nan/  
 Maria head rel.-bewitch X-I.O.  
 'Maria (always) bewitches'

The indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' can sometimes occur with the causative /maa-...-ni/ 'CAUS'.<sup>35</sup>

(615) [šwáan mááčānaníí hónstápu hómPedro]  
 /Juan maa-čān-nan-ni hun-stapu hun-Pedro/  
 Juan CAUS-sow X-I.O.-+OBJ DET-bean DET-Pedro  
 'Juan (always) makes Pedro sow the beans'

The indefinite object suffix may also appear with the indefinite subject marker /-kan/ 'I.S.'. The indefinite object suffix always precedes the indefinite subject suffix.

(616) [stāānāηkán]  
 /stāā-nan-kan/  
 sell X-I.O.-I.S.  
 'someone sells'

(617) [čānāηkaᵛ]  
 /čān-nan-kan-la(ᵛ)/  
 sow X-I.O.-I.S.-PFV  
 'someone planted (habitually), planting was done'

<sup>35</sup> However, note that \*[ᵛút máástāānaníí] /ut maa-stāā-nan-ni/ 's/he always makes X sell Y' is ungrammatical.

## More Verbal Morphology

Misantla Totonac is morphologically complex, and I do not pretend to give a comprehensive discussion of all verbal morphology. This chapter provides a cursory description of some of the more frequently used verbal morphemes and gives examples of their use. Unlike the verbal morphemes discussed in chapter 7, these are not valence-changing morphemes.

### 8.1. /kii-/—‘Intentional’

The prefix /kii-/ ‘INT’ has the meaning of ‘go with the intention of Xing’ or ‘intend to X.’ It may be related to the verb /ki/ ‘offer/promise X.’ /kii-/ ‘INT’ appears on verbs and on positional statives. It immediately precedes a verb stem and is in turn preceded by inflectional prefixes, such as /ik-/ ‘1SUB’ and /ta-/ ‘3SUB.PL’. In Coatepec Totonac, McQuown characterizes /kii-/ as *regressive*, meaning roughly ‘to go and return’ (1990b:328). Likewise, in Zapotitlan, Papantla, and Xicotepec, /qui(i)-/ (phonetically /ki(i)-/) means ‘to go/do X and return’ (Aschmann 1962, 1973; Reid and Bishop 1974).

In Misantla Totonac, the implied notion of ‘return’ found in other Totonacan languages with /kii-/ ‘INT’ is found only in the perfective.

- (1) [kíiᵛíwǎᵛ]
  - /kii-íwǎ-la(ᵛ)/
  - INT-buy X-PFV
  - ‘s/he went to buy X (and returned)’
- (2) [kít ᵛíkístǎǎᵛ]
  - /kit ik-kii-stǎǎ-la(ᵛ)/
  - I 1SUB-INT-sell X-PFV
  - ‘I went to sell X (and returned)’
- (3) [kít ᵛíkíčǎnlaᵛ]
  - /kit ik-kii-čǎn-la(ᵛ)/
  - I 1SUB-INT-sow X-PFV
  - ‘I went to sow X (and returned)’
- (4) [kakíipáχ]
  - /ka-kii-maqǎn/
  - /IRR-INT-throw/leave X
  - ‘go throw X (and return)!’

In the imperfective, the meaning is simply ‘intend to X’ or ‘go with the intention of doing X.’

- (5) [kít ʔíkíístáá]  
 /kit ik-kii-stáá/  
 I 1SUB-INT-sell X  
 ‘I go/intend to sell X’
- (6) [kít ʔíkíičáñ]  
 /kit ik-kii-čañ/  
 I 1SUB-INT-sow X  
 ‘I go/intend to sow X’
- (7) [ʔút kíiʔamáqskinií]  
 /ut kii-á-maq-skinií/  
 s/he INT-MOM-CAUS-ask for X  
 ‘s/he intends to borrow X from Y’
- (8) [kíimín]  
 /kii-min/  
 INT-come  
 ‘s/he intends to come’
- (9) [kít ʔíkíiwanií]  
 /kit ik-kii-wan-ni/  
 I 1SUB-INT-say X-+OBJ  
 ‘I intend to tell X to Y’
- (10) [kít ʔíkíitiwíłá]  
 /kit ik-kii-ta-wíłá/  
 I 1SUB-INT-INC-seated  
 ‘I intend to sit down’
- (11) [ʔút kíiʔíí]  
 /ut kii-íí/  
 s/he INT-obtain X  
 ‘s/he intends to get X’
- (12) [ʔút kíiʔíiwá]  
 /ut kii-íiwá/  
 s/he INT-buy X  
 ‘s/he intends to buy X’

- (13) [ɣutún takíitéehtanáanan]  
 /utun ta-kii-tiiɬ-tanaa-nan/  
 they 3SUB.PL-INT-path-walk-I.O.  
 'they intend to go visit/walk around'

## 8.2. /-kii/—'Continuative'

The suffix /-kii/ 'CONT' means 'continue Xing.' It precedes inflectional suffixes, but follows other derivational suffixes on verbs in both the perfective and imperfective aspects.

- (14) [ʔawɪʔ ʔán ʔikčanáŋkɪɪ]  
 /awɪʔ ʔan ik-čʌn-nan-kii/  
 today go 1SUB-sow X-I.O.-CONT  
 'today I am going to continue sowing'
- (15) [níkwaníkíyáa]  
 /na(ɬ)-ik-wan-ni-kii-yaa-wa/  
 FUT-1SUB-say X-+OBJ-CONT-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we will continue saying X to Y, we will continue consulting with Y'
- (16) [níkmáaʔóχstáaníikíyáa]  
 /na(ɬ)-ik-maa-uqstaa-ni-kii-yaa-wa/  
 FUT-1SUB-CAUS-chat-+OBJ-CONT-IMPFV-1SUB.PL  
 'we will continue chatting with Y'
- (17) [kášlʌqéŋkíit]  
 /ka-iš-lʌqʌn-kii-ti/  
 IRR-PAST-see X-CONT-2PFV  
 'that you would continue seeing X'
- (18) [káščʌɬkáatnánkíit]  
 /ka-iš-čʌɬkaat-nan-kii-ti/  
 IRR-PAST-work-I.O.-CONT-2PFV  
 'that you would continue working'
- (19) [wišín ɛiyáŋkíyáatʌt]  
 /wišín ɛiyʌn-kii-yaa-tʌt/  
 y'all laugh-CONT-IMPFV-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all continue laughing'

- (20) [ʔutún taqáʔánkíj]  
 /utun ta-qáʔan-kíj/  
 they 3SUB.PL-steal X-CONT  
 ‘they continue stealing’

### 8.3. /tii-/—‘Leave Having Xed’

McQuown interprets the prefix /tii-/ in Coatepec Totonac, as a *transitive*, which indicates that “the action is performed in passing” (1940:107). A similar meaning is found in Papantla Totonac “*significa que de paso se hace la acción del verbo,*” ‘that X is done in passing’ (Aschmann 1973:119), and in Xicotepec Totonac “*pasa por un lugar,*” ‘pass by’ (Reid and Bishop 1974:389). In Misantla Totonac, the interpretation seems to be associated with the meaning of the body-part prefix /tii-/ ‘related to the posterior or buttocks’ (i.e., possibly ‘turn your back and leave, having Xed’). In some examples, the meaning is ambiguous.

- (21) [ʔút tíištɔχó]  
 /ut tii-stuqu/  
 s/he buttocks rel.-sew X  
 ‘s/he sews the bottom of X (e.g., pants, sack, etc.)’
- (22) [ʔút tíištɔχó]  
 /ut tii-stuqu/  
 s/he leave-sew X  
 ‘s/he leaves having sewn X’

/tii-/ ‘leave, having Xed’ precedes the other derivational prefixes.

- (23) [ʔántiwíʔ tíimaačóqɔʔ hónšqátat]  
 /ántiwíʔ tii-maa-čuqu-la(ʔ) hun-šqátat/  
 here leave-CAUS-be still-PFV DET-basket  
 ‘s/he left having placed the basket here’

Certain pragmatic restrictions constrain the use of this prefix.

- (24) [\*ʔút tíičín]                    ‘s/he leaves having arrived here’  
 [\*ʔút tíičán]                    ‘s/he leaves having arrived there’  
 [\*ʔút tíipúpuʔ]                ‘s/he leaves having boiled’  
 [\*ʔút tíiɛʔχ]                    ‘s/he leaves having written’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note that the meaning ‘s/he writes on her/his buttock’ is grammatical.



/tii-/ 'leave, having Xed' occurs in both the imperfective or perfective aspect and on any kind of verb.

*Statives:*

On positional statives. /tii-/ induces no salient change in meaning.

- (25) [ʔút tíimáǎɸ štǎn]  
 /ut tii-mǎǎ-la(ɸ) štǎn/  
 s/he leave-supine-PFV PAST  
 's/he was lying down'
- (26) [kít ʔ[ktíiyáǎɸ štǎn]  
 /kit ik-tii-yaa-la(ɸ) štǎn/  
 I 1SUB-leave-standing-PFV PAST  
 'I was standing'
- (27) [ʔút tíiwǐlaɸ štǎn]  
 /ut tii-wǐla-la(ɸ) štǎn/  
 s/he leave-seated-PFV PAST  
 's/he was seated'

*Intransitives:*

- (28) [ʔút tííɸtǎtǎɸ]  
 /ut tii-ɸtǎtǎ-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he leave-sleep-PFV  
 's/he left after having slept'
- (29) [kít ʔ[ktííɸtǎtǎ]  
 /kit ik-tii-ɸtǎtǎ/  
 I 1SUB-leave-sleep  
 'I leave having slept'
- (30) [ʔút tíipáastáanaɸ]  
 /ut tii-paa=staa-nan-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he leave-think-I.O.-PFV  
 's/he left after having thought'
- (31) [ʔút tííɸyǎɸ]  
 /ut tii-ɸyǎ-la(ɸ)/  
 s/he leave-laugh-PFV  
 'she left having laughed'

- (32) [ɣút tiikéɬwán]  
/ut tii-kiɬwan/  
s/he leave-cry  
's/he leaves having cried'
- (33) [ɣút tiikéɬwaɬ]  
/ut tii-kiɬwan-la(ɬ)/  
s/he leave-cry-PFV  
's/he left having cried'
- (34) [ɣíktíiɣatíjínán] /ik-tii-a-tíj-nan/ 'I leave having sung'  
[ɣút tíiɣatíjínaɬ] /tii-a-tíj-nan-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left after having sung'
- (35) [ɣút tíizukú] /tii-ɷuku/ 's/he leaves having begun'  
[tíizúkuɬ] /tii-ɷuku-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left after having begun'
- (36) [Juan tíitáštuɬ] /tii-ta-štu-la(ɬ)/ 'Juan left having exited'

*Transitives:*

- (37) [ɣút tíistáa] /tii-staa/ 's/he leaves having sold X'  
[ɣút tíistáaɬ] /tii-staa-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left after having sold X'
- (38) [ɣút tíistɔχó] /tii-stuqu/ 's/he leaves having sewn X'  
[ɣút tíistɔχɔɬ] /tii-stuqu-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left after having sewn X'
- (39) [ɣút tíipúuɬkaa] /tii-puu-ɬkaa/ 's/he leaves having weighed X'  
[tíipúuɬkaaɬ] /tii-puu-ɬkaa-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left after having weighed X'

*Ditransitives:*

- (40) [ɣút tíiɣíski] /tii-iški/ 's/he leaves having given X to Y'  
[tíi ɣískiɬ] /tii-iški-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left having given X to Y'
- (41) [ɣút tíimáχɬtíi] /tii-maq-ɬtíi/ 's/he leaves having taken X from Y'  
[tíimáχɬtíiɬ] /tii-maq-ɬtíi-la(ɬ)/ 's/he left having taken X from Y'

**8.4. /a-/—'Momentarily'**

The prefix /a-/ 'MOM' means 'momentarily, for a little while.' It occurs in both the perfective and the imperfective aspects.

## Statives:

Positional statives cannot co-occur with /a-/ 'MOM'.

- (42) [\*aʔúkaʔ] /a-úka-la(ʔ)/ 's/he is above for a moment'

but

- (43) [ʔút ʔaqáʔiiʔ] /a-qaʔii-la(ʔ)/ 's/he has X for a moment'

## Intransitives:

- (44) [ʔút ʔamín] /a-min/ 's/he comes for a moment'

- (45) [ʔút ʔáʔtata] /a-ʔtata/ 's/he sleeps for a moment'  
 [ʔút ʔáʔtataʔ] /a-ʔtata-la(ʔ)/ 's/he slept for a moment'

- (46) [ʔút ʔataʔúkaʔ] /a-ta-úka-l(ʔ)/ 's/he mounted (X) for a moment'

- (47) [ʔút ʔaqawa] /a-qawa/ 's/he talks for a moment'  
 [ʔút ʔaqawaʔ] /a-qawa-la(ʔ)/ 's/he talked for a moment'

- (48) [ʔút ʔatíj] /a-tij/ 's/he dances for a moment'  
 [ʔút ʔatíjʔ] /a-tij-la(ʔ)/ 's/he danced for a moment'

## Transitives:

- (49) [ʔút ʔamáayaʔ] /a-maa-yan-la(ʔ)/ 's/he lay X down for a moment'

- (50) [ʔút ʔayáawaʔ] /a-yaa-wan-la(ʔ)/ 's/he stood X up for a moment'

- (51) [ʔút ʔájíj] /a-ij/ 's/he borrows X'  
 [ʔút ʔájíjʔ] /a-ij-la(ʔ)/ 's/he borrowed X'

- (52) [ʔút ʔáčuču] /a-čuču/ 's/he toasts X for a moment'  
 [ʔáčučuʔ] /a-čuču-la(ʔ)/ 's/he toasted X for a moment'

- (53) [ʔút ʔawáayán] /a-waa-yan/ 's/he eats for a moment'  
 [ʔút ʔawáayaʔ] /a-waa-yan-la(ʔ)/ 's/he ate for a moment'

- (54) [ʔatǝhwán] /a-tihwan/ 's/he looks for X for a moment'

- (55) [ʔút ʔáčapá] /a-čapa/ 's/he grabs X for a moment'

*Ditransitives:*

- (56) [ʔút ʔáʔiški] /ut a-iški/ 's/he lends X to Y'  
 [ʔút ʔáʔiškiʔ] /ut a-iški-la(ʔ)/ 's/he lent X to Y  
 (gave X to Y for a moment)'
- (57) [ʔút ʔamáqʔtíi] /ut a-maq=ʔtíi/ 's/he borrows X from Y  
 (takes X from Y for a moment)'
- (58) [ʔút ʔamáqskińíi] /ut a-maq-skińii/ 's/he borrows X from Y  
 (asks Y for X for a moment)'

Pragmatic and semantic factors constrain the use of /a-/ 'MOM'.

- (59) [\*ʔút ʔakazíi] /a-kaazii/ 's/he knows X for a moment'  
 [\*ʔút ʔáčín] /a-čin/ 's/he arrives for a moment'  
 [\*ʔút ʔáčíʔ] /a-čin-la(ʔ)/ 's/he arrived for a moment'

### 8.5. /lak-/—'Distributive'

The prefix /lak-/ 'DIST' occurs on verbs as well as nominals. On nominals, it is interpreted as a pluralizer or distributive (9.2.2.1.1). On verbs, its meaning is associated with intensification or distribution of the action. Levy (1990) analyzes the Papantla Totonac prefix /laq-/ as an *intensivo* 'intensive, intensifier.' In Coatepec Totonac, McQuown identifies /lak-/ as a pluralizing prefix on nominals "*tal vez con conotación distributiva?*" 'possibly with a distributive connotation' (1990b:108; my translation).

On verbs in Misantla Totonac, /lak-/ 'DIST' intensifies or distributes the action of the verb. In some cases, the effect on the meaning is not salient. /lak-/ is subject to consonant harmony processes (i.e., if the stem contains a /q/, /lak-/ will be realized as [laq-]).

- (60) [máaláqštú] /maa-laq-štu/ 's/he takes apart X'  
 's/he undresses X'
- (61) [čáNχš] /čanqš/ 's/he chops X (tree)'  
 [láqčáNχš] /laq-čanqš/ 's/he chops X (bones)'
- (62) [ʔtuqš] /ʔtuqu/ 's/he stirs X'  
 [láqʔtuqš] /lak-ʔtuqu/ 's/he stirs X'

- |      |                           |                            |  |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| (63) | [štɔqɔ́]<br>[láqštɔqɔ́]   | /štuqu/<br>/lak-štuqu/     | 's/he sews X'<br>'s/he darns X'                              |
| (64) | [šnúun]<br>[láqšnúun]     | /šnuun/<br>/lak-šnuun/     | 's/he stretches X'<br>'s/he stretches several X'             |
| (65) | [ɛ́aqá]<br>[láqɛ́aqá]   | /ɛ́aqa/<br>/lak-ɛ́aqa/     | 's/he chews X'<br>'s/he chews X'                             |
| (66) | [čaqéé]<br>[láqčaqéé]     | /čaqaa/<br>/lak-čaqaa/     | 's/he washes X'<br>'s/he washes several X'                   |
| (67) | [snɔq]<br>[láqsnɔq]       | /snuq/<br>/lak-snuq/       | 's/he straightens X'<br>'s/he straightens X/slides X'        |
| (68) | [ʔít láqtɔhɔ́ɔ]           | /laq-tuhu-ii/              | 's/he kicks X'   |
| (69) | [ʔíktaqé]<br>[ʔíkláqtAQé] | /ik-taqi/<br>/ik-lak-taqi/ | 'I snap X (once like a twig)'<br>'I chop/snap X into pieces' |

### 8.6. /-kuhu/—'Completive'

The completive suffix /-kuhu/ 'COMP' indicates either that an action has been completed or it has involved the entire group making up either the subject or the object. The cognate form in Tlachichilco Tepehua, /-(q)'oho/ 'completive', is similar. On an intransitive verb, it indicates the "total set of members of a plural subject"; if the subject is singular, it indicates completion of the action (Watters 1988:226). On a transitive verb it indicates the "total set of members of a plural object" (Watters 1988:226). In Coatepec Totonac, the suffix /-quu/ indicates that the action denoted by the verb is completed (McQuown 1990b:183).

In Misantla Totonac the interpretation of /-kuhu/ 'COMP' is almost identical to that in Tepehua. On an intransitive verb, the suffix /-kuhu/ is interpreted either as completion of the action or as indicating that all members of the group designated by the subject participated in the action. Note that /-kuhu/ 'COMP' precedes the inflectional suffixes and /-kan/ 'I.S.', the indefinite subject marker.

- |      |                    |                         |                     |
|------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| (70) | [ʔíkwááyan'kɔhɔ́ɔ] | /ik-waa-yan-kuhu-la(ɔ)/ | 'I finished eating' |
| (71) | [náh káŋkɔhɔ́yaa]  | /nah ik-an-kuhu-yaa-wa/ | 'we will all go'    |

- (72) [ʔiktimíŋkɔhó] /ik-ta-min-kuhu-wa/ 'we all came'  
 (73) [ʔáŋkɔhɔkánštán] /án-kuhu-kan-štán/ 'everyone who was leaving'

On transitive verbs, /-kuhu/ is interpreted as indicating either that the action has been completed or that all of the members of the group designated by the object are affected by the action of the verb.

- (74) [talíitáŋkɔhó] /ta-lii=min-kuhu/ 'they bring all of X'  
 (75) [ʔáŋklíŋkɔhó] /án-ik-liiŋ-kuhu/ 'I am taking all of X'  
 (76) [ʔawíʔ ʔikčáŋánáŋkɔhɔʔ]  
 /awíʔ ik-čán-nan-kuhu-la(ʔ)/  
 now 1SUB-sow X-I.O.-COMP-PFV  
 'today I finished planting, today I planted everything'  
 (77) [kít ʔikláaʔíwáŋkɔhɔʔ]  
 /kit ik-laa-iwáŋ-kuhu-la(ʔ)/  
 I 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-buy X-COMP-PFV  
 'I finished buying them, I bought them all'  
 (78) [čáŋkɔhɔtat]  
 /čán-kuhu-tat/  
 sow X-COMP-2SUB.PL  
 'y'all finished planting, y'all planted everything'  
 (79) [náh mátcú kintamáŋníkɔhɔyáaŋ]  
 /na(ʔ) mat-ču kin-ta-maq-nii-kuhu-yaa-na/  
 FUT thus-CL 1OBJ-3SUB-CAUS-die-COMP-IMPV-2OBJ  
 'they will kill us all'  
 (80) [zúkú máaqáaqstóŋkɔhó]  
 /zuku maa-qaaq-stuq-kuhu/  
 begin CAUS-head rel.-join-COMP  
 's/he begins to pile up everything'

### 8.7. /əaa-/—'Preceding/Just'

The prefix /əaa-/ 'preceding/just' indicates that the action of the verb was completed just prior to some other action (i.e., it was done first). In the per

fective, the meaning is generally ‘just or already having done’ the action of the verb. In the imperfective it is more likely to be interpreted as ‘doing X first.’

*Imperfective:*

- (81) [εάαπύσκαν ήσηκαφεε ραμάχτιν λάκčiuulakán]  
/εάα-puš-kan hun-kafεε α-maq-tun lak-čiuula-kan/  
first/just-pick-I.S. DET-coffee another-time-one DIST-make X-I.S.  
‘first the coffee is picked then one does X (removes the shell)’

- (82) [ρύτ εάαταμάα] /εάα-ta-mαα/ ‘first s/he lies down’

- (83) [ρύτ εάαwάayán] /εάα-wαα-yan/ ‘first s/he eats’

*Perfective:*

- (84) [ρύτ εάα†táta†] /εάα-†tata-la(†)/ ‘s/he just fell asleep’

- (85) [ρύτ εάαταμάα†] /εάα-ta-mαα-la(†)/ ‘s/he just lay down’

- (86) [εάαšanakóhɔ†] /εάα-šana-kuhu-la(†)/ ‘it just finished blooming’

- (87) [ρύτ εάαmi†] /εάα-min-la(†)/ ‘s/he just came’

- (88) [ρύτ εάαwάaya†] /εάα-wαα-yan-la(†)/ ‘s/he just ate’

/εάα-/ ‘just/preceding’ does not undergo consonant harmony processes.

- (89) [ρύτ εάαčáηkóhɔ†] /εάα-čan-kuhu-la(†)/ ‘s/he just finished sowing X’  
\*[ρύτ čáαčáηkóhɔ†]

- (90) [ρύτ εάαčánla†] /εάα-čan-la(†)/ ‘s/he just planted X’

- (92) [ρύτ εάαstáα†] /εάα-stαα-la(†)/ ‘s/he just sold X’

### 8.8. /saa-/—‘Desiderative’

/saa-/ ‘DES’ is a desiderative prefix. /saa-/ is preceded by the first person singular subject prefix /ik-/ ‘1SUB’, but is followed by the third person plural subject prefix /ta-/ ‘3SUB.PL’. Recall that /ik-/ is added very late in the derivation.

- (93) [ρύτ sátamáα] /saa-ta-mαα/ ‘s/he wants to lie down’

- (94) [ʔút saawáayán] /saa-waa-yan/ 's/he wants to eat'  
 (95) [kít ʔíksaawáayán] /ik-saa-waa-yan/ 'I want to eat'  
 (96) [ʔút saastáa] /saa-staa/ 's/he wants to sell X'  
 (97) [kinán saapašaa] /saa-paš-yaa-wa/ 'we want to bathe'  
 (98) [ʔutún saatačapa] /saa-ta-čapa/ 'they want to grab X'  
 (99) [ʔutún saatapúuɬkaa] /saa-ta-puu-ɬkaa/ 'they want to weigh X'

### 8.9. /pan—'Desiderative'

Another desiderative morpheme, /pan/ 'DES,' is a free morpheme that immediately precedes the inflected verb. /pan/ 'DES' is uninflected; all person inflection is marked on the following verb. /pan/ 'DES' can optionally be incorporated into the following phonological word.

- (100) [pán ʔíktamáa, páŋktamáa]  
 /pan ik-ta-maa/  
 DES 1SUB-INC-supine  
 'I want to lie down'
- (101) [pán ʔíktáštú] /pan ik-ta-štu/ 'I want to leave'  
 (102) [pánkwáayán] /pan ik-waa-yan/ 'I want to eat'  
 (103) [kít páŋkán] /kit pan-ik-an/ 'I want to go'  
 (104) [ʔút pán ɬtata] /pan ɬtata/ 's/he wants to sleep'  
 (105) [ʔút pán staa] /pan staa/ 's/he wants to sell X'  
 (106) [ʔút pán mín] /pan min/ 's/he wants to come'  
 (107) [ʔút pán kíwaní] /pan kin-wan-ni/ 's/he wants to tell me X'  
 (108) [kít pán ʔíkíičanán] /pan ik-kii-čan-nan/ 'I want to go sow X'



## 8.10. /-nan/—‘Become X’

The suffix /-nan/, which has an inchoative interpretation ‘become X,’ is attached to (a) nominals derived by the suffix /-ta/ ‘place of X’; (b) a limited number of nominals derived by the suffix /-Vt/ ‘NOM’; and (c) transitive verbs derived from nominals by suffixation of the transitivizing affix /-ii/ ‘TRANS’.

a. *Nominals derived by /-ta/ ‘NOM’:*

The suffix /-nan/ is added to nominals derived by /-ta/ ‘place of X’ to form a verb with the meaning of ‘become X.’ See 9.3.2.6 for a description of nominal derivation with /-ta/ ‘NOM’.

(109)	[čukúŋkúyt] <sup>2</sup>	/čukunky-ta/	‘cold place’
(110)	[kít ʔíkčukúŋkúytnán]	/ik-čukunky-ta-nan/	‘I become cold’
	[wĩš čukúŋkúytnán]	/čukunky-ta-nan/	‘you become cold’
	[ʔút čukúŋkúytnán]	/čukunky-ta-nan/	‘X becomes cold’
	[ʔíkčukúŋkúytnanáa]	/ik-čukunky-ta-nan-yaa-wa/	‘we become cold’
	[čukúŋkúytnanáat]	/čukunky-ta-nan-yaa-tat/	‘y’ all become cold’
	[ʔytún tačukúŋkúytnán]/ta-	čukunky-ta-nan/	‘they become cold’
(111)	[sáqsíit]	/saqsi-ta/	‘place of sweet things’
	[sáqsíitnán]	/saqsi-ta-nan/	‘X becomes sweet (with <i>panela</i> )’
	[síksíit]	/siksi-ta/	‘place of sweet things’
	[síksíitnán]	/siksi-ta-nan/	‘X becomes sweet (with sugar)’
	[qatáat]	/qat(a)-ta/	‘big place’
	[qatáatnán]	/qata-ta-nan/	‘X grows, becomes big’
	[skɛháat]	/skɛha-ta/	‘place of tasty things’
	[skɛhéetnán]	/skɛha-ta-nan/	‘X becomes tasty’
	[snapapáat]	/snapap(a)-ta/	‘white place’
	[snapapáatnán]	/snapap(a)-ta-nan/	‘X becomes white’
	[háksáat]	/haksa-ta/	‘smelly place’
	[háksáatnán]	/haksa-ta-nan/	‘X becomes fragrant’
	[púksáat]	/puksa-ta/	‘stinky place’
	[púksáatnán]	/puksa-ta-nan/	‘X becomes stinky’

<sup>2</sup>When the nominal ends in a vowel or a nasal, the suffix /-ta/ ‘NOM’ takes the surface form [-t]. The final nasal of the stem is lost and the final vowel is lengthened (9.3.2.6).

- |       |                  |                      |                                     |
|-------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (112) | [qɔʔanáat]       | /quʔa-nYʔ-ta/        | ‘place of good things’              |
|       | [qɔʔanáatnán]    | /quʔa-nYʔ-ta-nan/    | ‘X becomes good’                    |
|       | [kanáalanáat]    | /kanaa-la-nYʔ-ta/    | ‘place of bad things’               |
|       | [kanáalanáatnán] | /kanaala-nYʔ-ta-nan/ | ‘X becomes bad’                     |
| (113) | [ʔút miš]        | /ut miš/             | ‘X gets cold’                       |
|       | [mišni]          | /miš-ni/             | ‘extinguished’                      |
|       | [mišniitnán]     | /miš-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X turns itself off’                |
|       | [čiiñit]         | /čii-ni-ta/          | ‘current (where there is strength)’ |
|       | [čiiñitnán]      | /čii-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes strong’                  |
|       | [léʔniit]        | /lih-ni-ta/          | ‘yellowish place’                   |
|       | [léʔniitnán]     | /lih-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes yellowish’               |
| (114) | [spililitnán]    | /spilil(i)-ta-nan/   | ‘X becomes spotted’                 |
|       | [ʔmáanitnán]     | /ʔmaā-ni-ta-nan/     | ‘X becomes long’                    |
|       | [šúunitnán]      | /ut šuu-ni-ta-nan/   | ‘X becomes bitter’                  |
|       | [qɔñitnán]       | /qun-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes fat’                     |
|       | [maxáanitnán]    | /maqaa-ni-ta-nan/    | ‘X becomes old’                     |
|       | [másnitnán]      | /mas-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes rotted’                  |
|       | [ʔikpáshitnán]   | /ik-paš-ni-ta-nan/   | ‘I became a pig’                    |
|       | [eɪitnán]        | /eɪt-ii-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes black’                   |
|       | [eɪʔnitnán]      | /eɪʔ-ni-ta-nan/      | ‘X becomes red’                     |

*b. Nominals derived by the suffix /-Vt/ 'NOM':*

The suffix /-nan/ is also attached to a limited set of nominals formed with the nominalizer /-Vt/ 'NOM' (9.3.3.3) to yield an inchoative interpretation ‘become X.’

- |       |                         |               |                    |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (115) | [šaná, saná]            | /šana, sana/  | ‘X flowers’        |
|       | [šanat]                 | /šana-Vt/     | ‘flower’           |
|       | [šanatnán] <sup>3</sup> | /šana-Vt-nan/ | ‘X flowers’        |
| (116) | [ʔút puli]              | /ut puli/     | ‘s/he sweats’      |
|       | [kimpúlit]              | /kin-puli-Vt/ | ‘my sweat’         |
|       | [púlitnán]              | /puli-Vt-nan/ | ‘X becomes sweaty’ |

<sup>3</sup>Note that the nominal stress pattern remains unchanged.

- |       |             |                |                    |
|-------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|
| (117) | [sakán]     | /sakán/        | 's/he is ill'      |
|       | [mísákāt]   | /min-sakán-Vt/ | 'your illness'     |
|       | [sákātánán] | /sakán-Vt-nan/ | 'X becomes ill'    |
| (118) | [ʔtata]     | /ʔtata/        | 's/he sleeps'      |
|       | [míʔtátat]  | /min-ʔtata-Vt/ | 'your sleep'       |
|       | [ʔtátatnán] | /ʔtata-Vt-nan/ | 'X becomes sleepy' |

c. *Denominal transitive verbs:*

Transitive verbs that have been derived from nominals through suffixation of the transitivizing morpheme /-ii/ 'TRANS' may also take the suffix /-nan/. The meaning of the derived form is inchoative (i.e., 'become X').

- |       |                    |                                  |                         |
|-------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (119) | [kít ʔ[kpúksíj]    | /kit ik-púksa-ii/                | 'I make X smelly'       |
|       | [kít ʔ[kpúksíjnan] | /kit ik-púksa-ii-nan/            | 'I become smelly'       |
| (120) | [papáksníj]        | /papaks-nY <sup>ʔ</sup> -ii/     | 'he makes Y age'        |
|       | [papáksníjnan]     | /papaks-nY <sup>ʔ</sup> -ii-nan/ | 'X (a man) becomes old' |
| (121) | [ʔéʔníj]           | /ʔih-ní-ii/                      | 'X makes Y yellow'      |
|       | [ʔéʔníjnan]        | /ʔih-ní-ii-nan/                  | 'X becomes yellow'      |

### 8.11. /wan/—'Become X'

/wan/ 'become X' is a verb that takes predicate nominals as complements. It is inflected separately from the nominal. Typically, it follows the nominal.

- |       |                          |                             |                        |
|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (122) | [kít čukúnkŷ ʔ[kwánlaʔ]  | /kit čukúnkŷ ik-wan-la(ʔ)/  | 'I became cold'        |
| (123) | [kít maχáaŷ ʔ[kwánlaʔ]   | /kit maχaa-ní ik-wan-la(ʔ)/ | 'I became old'         |
| (124) | [kít štiníitáa ʔ[kwán]   | /kit štiniitaa ik-wan/      | 'I become ugly'        |
|       | [wíš štiníitáa wán]      | /štiniitaa wan/             | 'you become ugly'      |
|       | [ʔút štiníitáa wán]      | /ut štiniitaa wan/          | 's/he/it becomes ugly' |
|       | [kinán štiníitáa wanáa]  | /štiniitaa wan-yaa-wa/      | 'we become ugly'       |
|       | [wíšín štiníitáa wanáat] | /štiniitaa wan-yaa-tat/     | 'y'all become ugly'    |
|       | [ʔutún štiníitáa tawán]  | /štiniitaa ta-wan/          | 'they become ugly'     |
| (125) | [ʔút spilíʔ wán]         | /spilíj wan/                | 'X becomes spotted'    |
|       | [ʔút ɛaʔán wán]          | /ɛaʔan wan/                 | 'X becomes hot'        |
|       | [ʔút síksi wánlaʔ]       | /síksi wan-la(ʔ)/           | 'X became sweet'       |

[sáaste wánlaʔ]	/saasti wan-la(ʔ)/	'X became new'
[čĩškúʔ wánlaʔ]	/čĩškuʔ wan-la(ʔ)/	'X became a man'
[pášni wán]	/paš-ni wan/	'X becomes a pig'
[č̣unún wánlaʔ]	/č̣unun-wan-la(ʔ)/	'X became wrinkled'
[kíʔtún wánlaʔ]	/kiʔ-tun wan-la(ʔ)/	'X became filled'
[staqáʔ wánla(ʔ)]	/staqal wan-la(ʔ)/	'X becomes flat'

### 8.12. /la/—'Become X'

/la/ 'become X' is a denominalizer that is either suffixed to the nominal to form an inchoative verb or is inflected separately as a free morpheme (i.e., a verb). Note that the final stem vowel is lengthened when /la/ 'become X' is suffixed to the nominal.

- |       |                       |                          |                      |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| (126) | [kít ʔĩksíksíiláʔ]    | /kit ik-siksi-la/        | 'I become sweet'     |
|       | [wĩš síksíiláʔ]       | /wĩš siksi-la/           | 'you become sweet'   |
|       | [ʔút síksíilá]        | /ut siksi-la/            | 'X becomes sweet'    |
|       | [kinán síksíilayáa]   | /kinan siksi-la-yaa-wa/  | 'we become sweet'    |
|       | [wĩšin síksíilayáat]  | /wĩšin siksi-la-yaa-tat/ | 'y'all become sweet' |
|       | [ʔutún tasíksíilá]    | /utun ta-siksi-la/       | 'they become sweet'  |
| (127) | [kít síksi ʔĩklá]     | /kit siksi ik-la/        | 'I become sweet'     |
|       | [wĩš síksi láʔ]       | /wĩš siksi la/           | 'you become sweet'   |
|       | [ʔút síksi lá]        | /ut siksi la/            | 'X becomes sweet'    |
|       | [kinán síksi layáa]   | /kinan siksi la-yaa-wa/  | 'we become sweet'    |
|       | [wĩšin síksi layáat]  | /wĩšin siksi la-yaa-tat/ | 'y'all become sweet' |
|       | [ʔutún síksi talá]    | /utun siksi ta-la/       | 'they become sweet'  |
| (128) | [kít ʔĩčukúŋkúulá]    | /kit ik-čukunku-la/      | 'I become cold'      |
|       | [kít čukúŋkú ʔĩklá]   | /kit čukunku ik-la/      | 'I become cold'      |
| (129) | [kít ʔĩksáastíilá]    | /kit ik-saasti-la/       | 'I become new'       |
|       | [kít sáaste ʔĩklá]    | /kit saasti ik-la/       | 'I become new'       |
| (130) | [kít ʔĩkmaḡáaníilá]   | /kit ik-maḡaa-ni-la/     | 'I become old'       |
|       | [kít maḡáan ʔĩklá]    | /kit maḡaa-ni ik-la/     | 'I become old'       |
| (131) | [kít ʔĩkštiniitáalá]  | /kit ik-štiniitaa-la/    | 'I become ugly'      |
|       | [kít štiniitáa ʔĩklá] | /kit štiniitaa ik-la/    | 'I become ugly'      |
| (132) | [másni]               | /mas-ni/                 | 'rotten'             |
|       | [kít másni ʔĩklá]     | /kit mas-ni ik-la/       | 'I become rotten'    |

\*This construction may be related to noun incorporation.

## 8.13. /as-/—‘Interrogative’

The prefix /as-/ ‘INTER’ functions as an interrogative marker for yes/no questions. Interrogatives, other than yes/no questions are only marked prosodically, by rising intonation. Levy (1990) lists /a-/ as an ‘interrogative marker’ for Papantla Totonac, but no cognate morpheme is mentioned for any of the other Totonacan varieties. The prefix /as-/ ‘INTER’ precedes both verbs and nominals. Strident assimilation causes the first segment of two adjacent fricatives to assimilate to the place of articulation of the second. Resulting adjacent identical segments simplify (3.4.1 and 3.4.2.2).

*Nominals:*

- (133) [ʔáské̃ha]            /as-skĩha/            ‘is X tasty?’  
 (134) [ʔástɔχúnúʔ]        /as-stuqu-nYʔ/        ‘is she old?’  
 (135) [ʔáspapáksnáʔ]      /as-papaks-nYʔ/      ‘is he old?’  
 (136) [ʔáslónqáa]        /as-lunqaa/        ‘is it cold?’

*Intransitives:*

- (137) [ʔásmín]            /as-min/            ‘is s/he coming?’  
 (138) [ʔáspít]            /as-pin-ti/        ‘did you go?’  
 (139) [ʔástán]            /as-tan/            ‘are you coming?’  
 (140) [ʔáswáayan]        /as-waa-yan/        ‘does s/he eat?’  
 (141) [ʔástánuu]        /as-ta-nuu/        ‘does s/he enter?’  
 (142) [ʔáʔtata]⁵        /as-ʔtata/        ‘does s/he sleep?’  
 (143) [ʔástamaqástɔχ]    /as-ta-maqa-stuq/    ‘is s/he getting married?’

*Transitives:*

- (144) [ʔáslaqén]        /as-laqan/        ‘does s/he see X?’

⁵ Note strident assimilation and simplification.

- |       |              |                  |                              |
|-------|--------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| (145) | [ʔáscúulaʔ]  | /as-čuula-la(ʔ)/ | ‘did s/he do X?’             |
| (146) | [ʔásɛúuks]   | /as-ɛúuks/       | ‘does s/he kiss X?’          |
| (147) | [ʔáslíin]    | /as-líin/        | ‘does s/he take X?’          |
| (148) | [ʔáskín]     | /as-skín/        | ‘does s/he want X?’          |
| (149) | [ʔáštɔχɔnán] | /as-štuqu-nVn/   | ‘does s/he sew (something)?’ |
| (150) | [ʔásčaqéé]   | /as-čaqaa/       | ‘does s/he wash X?’          |
| (151) | [ʔáspáazíis] | /as-paa=ɛíis/    | ‘does s/he forget X?’        |
| (152) | [ʔáspáasták] | /as-paa=stak/    | ‘does s/he remember X?’      |
| (153) | [ʔáspúuʔkaa] | /as-puu-ʔkaa/    | ‘does s/he weigh X?’         |

# Nominals

## 9.1. Structure of Nominals

The word formation processes in Totonac include prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, and compounding. The three main word classes are nominals, statives, and verbs, each of which exhibits a unique inflectional pattern. A fourth word class is made up primarily of uninflected lexemes. Nouns and adjectives exploit the same inflectional patterns, and are therefore classed together as nominals.

The grouping together of nouns and adjectives is based on formal morphological patterning of the affixes. In Misantla Totonac, it is possible to distinguish adjectives from nouns semantically, but adjectives cannot be defined as being formally distinct from nouns. For Coatepec Totonac, McQuown claims, on the basis of a similar inflectional pattern, that adjectives cannot be distinguished from nouns (1940, 1990b). In Papantla Totonac, Levy shows that adjectives have some features which are distinct from nouns (1992a). Given the parallel use and distribution of adjectives and nouns in Misantla Totonac, I categorize them together as nominals. Some of the similarities they share are

- (a) both nouns and adjectives are inflected only for plurality and possession;
- (b) possessive inflection only surfaces on the heads of NPs. In Misantla Totonac, possessed “adjectives” as well as possessed nouns can be heads of NP;

- (1) [míŋkíʎnɪ]  
 /min-kíʎ-nɪ/  
 2POSS-mouth rel.-NOM  
 ‘your mouth’
- (2) [kít ʔíkláqáʎ ʔíʂqát]  
 /kít ik-laqan-la(ʎ) íʂ-qat/  
 I 1SUB-see X-PFV 3POSS-big  
 ‘I saw her/his big one (dog)’
- (3) [ʔíʂéit ʎtatá]  
 /íʂ-éit ʎtata/  
 3POSS-black sleep  
 ‘her/his black one (dog) sleeps’

(c) both nouns and adjectives function as predicates. Note that word order is quite free.

- (4) [qát wɪn čík, wɪn čík qát]  
/qat wɪn čik/  
big this house  
'this house is big'
- (5) [ʔutún qóniín]  
/utun qun-ɣɣn/  
they fat-PL  
'they are fat'
- (6) [Juan kíkán]  
/Juan kin-kam/  
Juan 1POSS-offspring  
'Juan is my child'

Nominals are often derived. Derivational affixation is layered adjacent to the root, while inflectional morphology attaches to the derived stem. As stated above, inflection of nominals is limited to indicating plurality and possession.

The derivational affixes for nominals are:

- (7)   INS-       BPP-   -**root**-   -NOM  
          LOC-  
          COM-  
          INC-
- (8)   [míntɔhɔ́lɔt]                   'your foot'  
      /min-tuhu-lɔt/  
      2POSS-foot-NOM
- (9)   [mímpúuštɔχón]               'your sewing basket'  
      /min-puu-štuqu-ni/  
      2POSS-LOC-sew X-NOM
- (10)  [kəziínʔ]                       'wise person'  
      /kəzii-nɣʔ/  
      know X-NOM
- (11)  [mímpúučəqéɛn]               'your washbasin'  
      /min-puu-čaqa-ni/  
      2POSS-LOC-wash X-NOM



Note that body-part prefixes often function as nominal roots.

- (12) [ʔišpáan] 'her/his belly'  
 /iš-paa-ni/  
 3POSS-middle rel.-NOM
- (13) [mínkiʔtuun] 'your jaw'  
 /min-kiʔ-tuu-ni/  
 2POSS-mouth rel.-foot rel.-NOM

## 9.2. Nominal Inflection

Nominals may only be inflected for number and for person and number of possessors. Both processes are optional, with the exception of body-part lexemes which must be inalienably possessed.

### 9.2.1. Possession

Possessive inflection may appear on all nominals.

- (14) [mílakapúun] 'your face'  
 /min-laka-puu-ni/  
 2POSS-face rel.-inside rel.-NOM
- (15) [mílaqstápu] 'your pupil'  
 /min-laq-stapu/  
 2POSS-eye rel.-bean
- (16) [mínqát] 'your big (one)'  
 /min-qat/  
 2POSS-big

#### 9.2.1.1. Singular Possessive

The prefixes that mark singular possession are the following:

- (17) /kin-/ '1POSS'  
 /min-/ '2POSS'  
 /iš-/ '3POSS'

The surface forms of the first and second person possessive prefixes are:

(18)	[kín-]	before nonlabial stops
	[kím-]	before labials
	[kí-]	before continuants
	[mín-]	before nonlabial stops
	[mím-]	before labials
	[mí-]	before continuants

Nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of a following consonant. In addition, nasals simplify when preceding an identical nasal and delete preceding continuants. The phonological rules which account for surface alternations are:

1. nasal assimilation (3.4.2.3)
2. /n/-deletion before continuants (3.4.5)
3. simplification (3.4.1)

(19)	[kímáʒat]	/kin-maʒat/	‘my salt’
	[kímpáaʔkə]	/kin-paaʔkə/	‘my comal’
	[kíŋkán]	/kin-kam/	‘my offspring’
	[kílúkut]	/kin-lukut/	‘my bone’
	[kíʔáχaat]	/kin-ʔaqaat/	‘my clothes, rag’

The fricative /š/ of the prefix /iš-/ ‘3POSS’ undergoes strident assimilation, matching the place and manner of articulation of a following strident. Furthermore, adjacent identical segments simplify. The phonological rules which account for surface alternations of the third person possessive prefix /iš-/ ‘3POSS’ are:

1. strident assimilation (3.4.2.2)
2. simplification (3.4.1)

(20)	[ʔíʔáχaat]	/iš-ʔaqaat/	‘her/his clothes’
	[ʔíšináat]	/iš-sinaat/	‘her/his wife’
	[ʔíšúunat]	/iš-šunat/	‘her/his corkwood tree ( <i>jonote</i> )’
	[ʔíšə́lat]	/iš-ə́la-Vt/	‘her/his cutting’
	[ʔíšlakapúun]	/iš-laka-puun-ni/	‘her/his face’
	[ʔíšláχstáhat]	/iš-laq-stáh-Vt/	‘her/his tears’

### 9.2.1.2. Plural Possessive

The plural possessives are formed with the same possessive prefixes, but with the addition of the suffix /-kən/ ‘POSS.PL’.

- |      |                              |            |
|------|------------------------------|------------|
| (21) | /kin-. . .-k <sub>an</sub> / | '1POSS.PL' |
|      | /min-. . .-k <sub>an</sub> / | '2POSS.PL' |
|      | /iš-. . .-k <sub>an</sub> /  | '3POSS.PL' |

When the possessum is plural the pluralizing affixes are added to the stem before the possessor affixes are added.

- |      |                                |              |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| (22) | [kíñčík]                       | 'my house'   |
|      | /kin-čik/                      |              |
|      | 1POSS-house                    |              |
| (23) | [kíñčikíin]                    | 'my houses'  |
|      | /kin-čik-ŷŷn/                  |              |
|      | 1POSS-house-PL                 |              |
| (24) | [kíñčik <sub>an</sub> ]        | 'our house'  |
|      | /kin-čik-k <sub>an</sub> /     |              |
|      | 1POSS-house-POSS.PL            |              |
| (25) | [kíñčikíin <sub>an</sub> ]     | 'our houses' |
|      | /kin-čik-ŷŷn-k <sub>an</sub> / |              |
|      | 1POSS-house-PL-POSS.PL         |              |

### 9.2.1.3. Inalienable Possession

Although possession is generally optional, body parts are inalienably possessed. This is true in all the Totonacan languages.

- |      |                           |                               |                 |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| (26) | [kíñkíŷpáan]              | /kin-kiŷ-paa-ni/              | 'my lip'        |
|      | [mímúuc <sub>aan</sub> ]  | /min-muu-č <sub>aa</sub> -ni/ | 'your forehead' |
|      | [ʔišlukútn <sub>a</sub> ] | /iš-lukut-n <sub>a</sub> /    | 'her/his bones' |

In other Totonacan languages the prefix /ša-/ is associated with possessive inflection. In Tlachichilco Tepehua, Watters calls this prefix the impersonal possessive "used for non-humans and inanimate 'possessors'" (1988:453). In Coatepec Totonac, inherent possession may be indicated by the prefix /ša-/ (McQuown 1990b:105). However, in Coatepec, the prefix /ša-/ also functions as a definitivizer which indicates either "one already referred to (of a group)" or inherent characteristics (1990b:124). In Papantla Totonac, Levy describes /ša-/ as a determiner that can appear on nouns and adjectives and is interpreted as "of X, the one that Y" (1992a:280).

(27) /ša-čiwíš/ ‘stone/pit (of a fruit)’ (COAT) (McQuown 1990b:105)  
 ‘of a fruit, the pit’

(28) /ša-liiwa kuyu/ ‘armadillo meat’ (PAP) (Levy 1992a:280)  
 ‘of the armadillo, the meat’

There is no evidence of this prefix in Misantla Totonac except in a few lexicalized examples.

(29) [míntáaqátat šaqát] /min-taaqat-Vt ša-qat/ ‘your older brother’ (MIS)  
 ‘of your brothers, the older one’

#### 9.2.1.4. Alienable Possession

The person and number features of an alienable possessum may be indicated either by a possessive prefix directly attached to the possessum or by a possessive pronoun (possessive affixes attached to the pronominal base /l̥aʔ/ ‘PBASE’) which is interpreted as ‘the X of Y’ or with a predicative reading ‘the X is of Y.’ In both cases, the possessor may be identified by means of a final independent noun phrase. The possessive pronoun is discussed in chapter 10. Note that the possessive pronoun can be optionally incorporated into the phonological word. When it is, it loses the word-final glottal stop and laryngealization of the vowel.

(30) [ʔiščík kintáaqátat]  
 /iš-čík kin-taa-qata-Vt/  
 3POSS-house 1POSS-COM-grow-NOM  
 ‘my brother’s house’

(31) [hón čík šláʔ kintáaqátat, hón čík šlákintáaqátat]  
 /hun čík iš-l̥aʔ kin-taa-qata-Vt/  
 DET house 3POSS-PBASE 1POSS-COM-grow-NOM  
 ‘my brother’s house (the house is his, my brother)’

(32) [ʔiškɔɔči kíńčáap]  
 /iš-kɔɔči kin-čaaʔ/  
 3POSS-car 1POSS-father  
 ‘my father’s car’

<sup>1</sup>This same pronominal base is found in Coatepec Totonac /láʔ/ ‘property’ (McQuown 1990b:104) and in Papantla Totonac /-lá/ ‘propiiedad’ (Levy 1990). Note that in Misantla Totonac, there is a homophonous suffix /-l̥aʔ/ ‘have the quality of X/like X’ which is discussed in 9.3.2.8. It is likely that these forms are historically related.

- (33) [hón kɔɔči šlǎʔ kíñčáap, hón kɔɔči šlákiñčáap]  
/hun kɔɔči iš-lǎʔ kin-čaaʔ/  
DET car 3POSS-PBASE 1POSS-father  
'my father's car (the car is his, my father)'
- (34) [ʔiščičiʔ kíñkán]  
/iš-čičiʔ kin-kam/  
3POSS-dog 1POSS-offspring  
'my child's dog'
- (35) [hón čičiʔ šlǎʔ kíñkán, hón čičiʔ šlákiñkán]  
/hun čičiʔ iš-lǎʔ kin-kam/  
DET dog 3POSS-PBASE 1POSS-offspring  
'my child's dog (the dog is hers/his, my child's)'
- (36) [ʔišbéntána hónčik qát]<sup>2</sup>  
/iš-bentana hun-čik qat/  
3POSS-window DET-house big  
'the window of the house is big'
- (37) [hón béntána šlǎʔ hónčik qát, hón béntána šláhónčik qát]  
/hun-bentana iš-lǎʔ hun-čik qat/  
DET-window 3POSS-PBASE DET-house big  
'the big window of the house (the big window is of it, the house)'

Possession may be marked iteratively.

- (38) [ʔišanátnǎ hón ʔišbestídukán kíñkamán qatán]  
/iš-šana-Vt-nǎ hun iš-bestidu-kan kin-kam-Vn qat-Vn/  
3POSS-flower-NOM-PL DET 3POSS-dress-POSS.PL 1POSS-offspring-PL big-PL  
'the flowers on the dresses of my children are big'
- (39) [ʔišqaqalɔʔótñakán ʔišpáakišná kíñčáap qatán]  
/iš-qaqa-luqut-nǎ-kan iš-paakiš-nǎ kin-čaaʔ qat-Vn/  
3POSS-car rel.-bone-PL-POSS.PL 3POSS-cow-PL 1POSS-father big-PL  
'the horns of my father's cows are big'
- (40) [ʔišanátnakán hónkḗwíin lákzḗɸnín]  
/iš-šana-Vt-nǎ-kan hun-kiw-VVn lak-zih-ni-VVn/  
3POSS-flower-NOM-PL-POSS.PL DET-tree-PL DIST-red-NOM-PL  
'the flowers of the trees are red'

<sup>2</sup> [béntána] 'window' is a Spanish loan. /b/ only appears in Spanish loans (see *bestidu*, 'dress' in example 38).

When there are multiple possessors, the word order is quite free.

- (41) [ʔiʃpilíʔ ʔiʃeʔán hǒnčičiʔ qát]  
 /iʃ-spilil̩ iʃ-eʔán-n̩ hun-čičiʔ qat/  
 3POSS-spot 3POSS-tail-NOM DET-dog big  
 ‘the dog’s tail’s spot is big’
- (42) [ʔiʃpilíʔ hǒnčičiʔ ʔiʃeʔán qát]  
 /iʃ-spilil̩ hun-čičiʔ iʃ-eʔán-n̩ qat/  
 3POSS-spot DET-dog 3POSS-tail-NOM big  
 ‘the dog’s tail’s spot is big’
- (43) [hǒnčičiʔ ʔiʃeʔán ʔiʃpilíʔ qát]  
 /hun-čičiʔ iʃ-eʔán-n̩ iʃ-spilil̩ qat/  
 DET-dog 3POSS-tail-NOM 3POSS-spot big  
 ‘the dog’s tail’s spot is big’

### 9.2.2. Plural Nominals

Plurality of nominals is only optionally marked. Plurality can be indicated by a suffix, a prefix, or both. There is no specifically dual marking. In the following examples boldface indicates the plural affixes.

- (44) [hǒnštáʔán] /hun-štáʔán/ ‘DET armadillo’  
 [hǒnštáʔán**íjn**] /hun-štáʔán-VVn/ ‘DET armadillos’  
 [hǒn**líi**štáʔán] /hun-líi-štáʔán/ ‘DET armadillos’  
 [hǒn**líi**štáʔán**íjn**] /hun-líi-štáʔán-VVn/ ‘DET armadillos’
- (45) [máatʔʔ ʃánʔat] /maa-tʔʔ ʃaná-Vt/ ‘two flowers’  
 [máatʔʔ **líi**ʃánʔat] /maa-tʔʔ líi-ʃaná-Vt/ ‘two flowers’  
 [máatʔʔ ʃánʔat**n̩**] /maa-tʔʔ ʃaná-Vt-n̩/ ‘two flowers’  
 [máatʔʔ **líi**ʃánʔat**n̩**] /maa-tʔʔ líi-ʃaná-Vt-n̩/ ‘two flowers’

Some nouns indicate plurality using one of several possible plural suffixes.

- (46) [qʔʔayáʔat] /quʔayáʔa-Vt/ ‘weeded (field)’  
 [qʔʔayáʔat**íjn**] /quʔayáʔa-Vt-VVn/ ‘weeded (fields)’  
 [qʔʔayáʔat**n̩**] /quʔayáʔa-Vt-n̩/ ‘weeded (fields)’

Some nominals have more than one underlying stem, which in turn affects the surface form.

(47)	[šii <u>p</u> uut]	/šii <u>p</u> uu-Vt/	'feather'
	[šii <u>p</u> úun]	/šii <u>p</u> uu-n/	'feathers'
	[šii <u>p</u> úut <u>n</u> ə]	/šii <u>p</u> uu-Vt-nə/	'feathers'
	[šii <u>p</u> úun <u>ii</u> n]	/šii <u>p</u> uu-nii <u>n</u> /	'feathers'
(48)	[kiŋčáap]	/kin-čáap/	'my father'
	[kiŋčáapin <u>ii</u> n]	/kin-čáapi-nii <u>n</u> /	'my fathers'
	[kiŋčáapn <u>ii</u> n]	/kin-čáap-nii <u>n</u> /	'my fathers'
(49)	[hóckɛ]	/huuki/	'deer'
	[hóck <u>ii</u> n]	/huuki-VVn/	'deer (pl)'
	[hóckɛ <u>h</u> nə]	/huukih-nə/	'deer (pl)'
(50)	[stəqáh]	/stəqah/	'flat'
	[stəqáhán]	/stəqah-Vn/	'flat (pl)'
	[stəqáh]	/stəqal/	'flat'
	[stəqalán]	/stəqal-Vn/ <sup>3</sup>	'flat (pl)'

### 9.2.2.1. Plural Prefixes

#### 9.2.2.1.1. /lak-/—'Distributive/Plural'

/lak-/ 'DIST/PL', the distributive prefix, acts as a pluralizer on nominals. It can occur alone or together with a plural suffix. /lak-/ undergoes consonant assimilation, becoming [laq-] if there is a uvular in the stem.

(51)	[sqɔnáɬ]	/squnah/	'warm'
	[láqsqɔnáɬ]	/lak-squnah/	'warm (pl)'
	[láqsqɔnáh <u>n</u> ə]	/lak-squnah-nə/	'warm (pl)'
	[láqsqɔnahán]	/lak-squnah-Vn/	'warm (pl)'
	[máatɔ̃ <sup>?</sup> láqsqɔnáɬ]	/maa-tu <sup>?</sup> lak-squnah /	'two warm ones'
	[máatɔ̃ <sup>?</sup> láqsqɔnahán]	/maa-tu <sup>?</sup> lak-squnah-Vn/	'two warm ones'
(52)	[štiniíitáa]	/štiniitaa/	'ugly'
	[štiniíitáan]	/štiniitaa-n/	'ugly (pl)'
	[lákštiniíitáa]	/lak-štiniitaa/	'ugly(pl)'
	[máatɔ̃ <sup>?</sup> lákštiniíitáa]	/maa-tu <sup>?</sup> lak-štiniitaa/	'two ugly ones'
(53)	[kíɬqɔ́ɔNG <u>n</u> ə]	/kin-ɬquunq-nə/	'my snoring'
	[kílákɬqɔ́ɔNG <u>n</u> ə]	/kin-lak-ɬquunq-nə/	'my snoring'
	*[máatɔ̃ <sup>?</sup> lákɬqɔ́ɔNG <u>n</u> ə]	/maa-tu <sup>?</sup> lak-ɬquunq-nə/	'two snores'
	[máatɔ̃ <sup>?</sup> lákɬqɔ́ɔNG <u>n</u> ə <u>n</u> ]	/maa-tu <sup>?</sup> lak-ɬquunq-nə-VVn/	'two snores'

<sup>3</sup> Recall that syllable initially /h/ and // are invariant.

(54)	[sɔqɔnáa] [láqsɔqɔnáa] *[láqsɔqɔnáan] [máatʔ̥ láqsɔqɔnáa]	/suqunaa/ /lak-suqunaa/ /lak-suqunaa-n/ /maa-tʔ̥ lak-suqunaa/	‘pretty’ ‘pretty (pl)’ ‘pretty (pl)’ ‘two pretty ones’
(55)	[hékʷáatɛ] [lákhékʷáatɛ] [lákhékʷáatʲɪn] [máatʔ̥ lákhékʷáatɛ]	/hikwʌn-ti/ /lak-hikwʌn-ti/ /lak-hikwʌn-ti-VVn/ /maa-tʔ̥ lak-hikwʌn-ti/	‘scared’ ‘scared (pl)’ ‘scared (pl)’ ‘two scared ones’
(56)	[ʔkákáa] [lákʔkákáa] *[máatʔ̥ lákʔkákáa] [máatʔ̥ lákʔkákáan]	/ʔkaka/ /lak-ʔkaka/ /maa-tʔ̥ lak-ʔkaka/ /maa-tʔ̥ lak-ʔkaka-Vn/	‘spicy’ ‘spicy (pl)’ ‘two spicy ones’ ‘two spicy ones’
(57)	[skéha] [lákskéha] [máatʔ̥ lákskéha]	/skiha/ /lak-skiha/ /maa-tʔ̥ lak-skiha/	‘tasty’ ‘tasty (pl)’ ‘two tasty ones’
(58)	[ɛít] [lákɛít]	/ɛit/ /lak-ɛit/	‘black’ ‘black ones’
(59)	[ɛéʔni] [lákɛéʔni]	/ɛih-ni/ /lak-ɛih-ni/	‘red’ ‘red ones’
(60)	[mínkʲɪspa] [mílákʲɪspa]	/min-kʲɪspa/ /min-lak-kʲɪspa/	‘your maize’ ‘your maize (pl)’
(61)	[ʔukúʔk] [lákʔukúʔk]	/ʔukʊk/ /lak-ʔukʊk/	‘hole’ ‘full of holes’
(62)	[lakʲi] [lákčawá] [láχʔtɔχɔχ]	/lak-kiʲ/ /lak-čawa/ /lak-ʔtuquq/	‘open’ ‘closed’ ‘dirty’

As mentioned in chapter 8, the prefix /lak-/ also appears on verb stems with a distributive interpretation. Levy (1990) interprets the prefix /lak-/ as an intensifier on both verbs and nominals. In Xicotepec Totonac, /lak-/ pluralizes adjectives (Reid and Bishop 1974:384). In Misantra Totonac, it is likely that the verbal and nominal prefixes /lak-/ are, in fact, a single prefix. /lak-/ ‘DIST’ has a distributive interpretation on verbs and a plural interpretation on nominals.



- |      |                 |                |                |
|------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (63) | [ʔút štɔqɔ́]    | /ut štuqu/     | 's/he sews X'  |
|      | [ʔút láqštɔqɔ́] | /ut lak-štuqu/ | 's/he darns X' |

There are many nominals that cannot occur with /lak-/ 'DIST/PL'.

- |      |                          |                             |   |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (64) | *[míláktámɪŋ]            | /min-lak-támɪnk/            | 'your pots ( <i>ollas</i> )'              |
|      | *[míláqéɬni]             | /min-lak-qíɬ-ni/            | 'your blood'                              |
|      | *[mílákmaɛat]            | /min-lak-maɛat/             | 'your salt'                               |
|      | *[mílákɪjkčúntán]        | /min-lak-kɪjk-čun-tán/      | 'your children'                           |
|      | *[lákláawáa]             | /lak-laawaa/                | 'meat (pl)'                               |
|      | *[máatɔ́ʔ lákšáalɔɬ]     | /maa-tɔ́ʔ lak-šaaluh/       | 'two pots ( <i>ollas</i> )'               |
|      | *[máatɔ́ʔ láxqáaxɬúwaaɬ] | /maa-tɔ́ʔ lak-qaaq-ɬa-waaɬ/ | 'two eggs'                                |
|      | *[máatɔ́ʔ láxlaɣapút]    | /maa-tɔ́ʔ lak-laqaput/      | 'two chokecherries<br>( <i>capulin</i> )' |

### 9.2.2.1.2. /lii-/—'Plural'

/lii-/ 'PL' occurs with most nominals and may co-occur with a pluralizing suffix. /lii-/ 'PL' appears primarily on countable nominals.

- |      |                     |                         |                      |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (65) | [qáaqɬúwaaɬ]        | /qaaq-ɬu-waa-Vt/        | 'egg'                |
|      | [líqáaqɬúwaaɬ]      | /lii-qaaq-ɬu-waa-Vt/    | 'eggs'               |
|      | [líqáaqɬúwaaɬna]    | /lii-qaaq-ɬu-waa-Vt-na/ | 'eggs'               |
| (66) | [laɣapút]           | /laqaput/               | 'chokecherry'        |
|      | [líilaɣapút]        | /lii-laqaput/           | 'chokecherries'      |
|      | [laɣapútna]         | /laqaput-na/            | 'chokecherries'      |
|      | [líilaɣapútna]      | /lii-laqaput-na/        | 'chokecherries'      |
| (67) | [šáalɔɬ]            | /šaaluh/                | 'pot'                |
|      | [líišáalɔɬ]         | /lii-šaaluh/            | 'pots'               |
| (68) | [kínčiwáx]          | /kin-čiwaaq/            | 'my scar'            |
|      | [kíliičiwáx]        | /kin-lii-čiwaaq/        | 'my scars'           |
| (69) | [láawáa]            | /laawaa/                | 'meat'               |
|      | [máatɔ́ʔ líiláawáa] | /maa-tɔ́ʔ lii-laawaa/   | 'two pieces of meat' |
| (70) | [kímpúuwíit]        | /kin-puuwiit/           | 'my parent-in-law'   |
|      | [kíliípúuwíit]      | /kin-lii-puuwiit/       | 'my parents-in-law'  |
| (71) | [kíɬqɔ́ɔNGna]       | /kin-ɬquunq-na/         | 'my snoring'         |
|      | [líiɬqɔ́ɔNGna]      | /lii-ɬquunq-na/         | 'snores'             |

(72)	[mínkíspa] [míliíkíspa]	/min-kíspa/ /min-lii-kíspa/	'your maize' 'your maize (pl)'
(73)	[éit] [líiéit]	/éit/ /lii-éit/	'black' 'black ones'
(74)	[éíñi] [líiéíñi]	/éíh-ni/ /lii-éíh-ni/	'red' 'red ones'
(75)	[staqáh] [míliístaqáh]	/staqah/ /min-lii-staqah/	'flat' 'your plains'
(76)	[sqonáh] [máatʔ líisqonáh]	/squnah/ /maa-tʔ lii-squnah/	'warm' 'two warm ones'
(77)	[štiniítáa] [máatʔ líištiniítáa]	/štiniitaa/ /maa-tʔ lii-štiniitaa/	'ugly' 'two ugly ones'
(78)	[hékwáate] [máatʔ líihékwáate]	/hikwān-ti/ /maa-tʔ lii-hikwān-ti/	'scared' 'two scared ones'
(79)	[ʔkáká] *[máatʔ líiʔkáká] [máatʔ líiʔkákáan]	/ʔkaka/ /maa-tʔ lii-ʔkaka/ /maa-tʔ lii-ʔkaka-Vn/	'spicy' 'two spicy ones' 'two spicy ones'
(80)	[skéha] [máatʔ líiskéha]	/skíha/ /maa-tʔ lii-skíha/	'tasty' 'two tasty ones'

/lii/ does not occur on mass nouns.

(81)	*[míliiqéñi] *[míliimáeat] *[míliiskáan]	/min-lii-qíñ-ni/ /min-lii-maeat/ /min-lii-škaan/	'your blood' 'your salt' 'your water'
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When /lii-/ 'PL' is prefixed to adjectives of dimension, it forms an abstract noun that refers to the state or quality denoted by the adjective.

(82)	[qát] [ʔmáan] [ʔmáan] [táñkáakzún] [síksi]	'big' 'long' 'long' 'short' 'sweet'	[líiqát] [líiláχʔmáan] [líiteʔmáan] [líitáñkáakzún] [líisíksíiláʔ]	'size' 'length' 'height' 'height/shortness' 'sweetness'
------	--	---	--	---

	[páapóɔqát]	‘wide’	[líipáapóɔqát]	‘width’
	[páalaqasamáatɛ]	‘good’	[líipáalaqasamáatɛ]	‘goodness’
(83)	[čǐjn]	/čǐjn/		‘strong/very’
	[míliičǐjn]	/min-líi-čǐjn/		‘your strength’

### 9.2.2.1.3. /laa-/—‘Comitative/Plural’

The comitative prefix /laa-/ ‘COM/PL’ also pluralizes nominals. It occurs less frequently than the other pluralizing prefixes and its distribution is lexically determined. It is closely related to the homophonous verbal comitative prefix /laa-/ ‘COM’. On nominals, /laa-/ ‘COM/PL’ sometimes occurs in free variation with /lak-/ ‘DIST/PL’.

(84)	[láqsɔɔnáf]	/lak-squnah/	‘warm (pl)’
	[láasɔɔnáf]	/laa-squnah/	‘warm (pl)’
(85)	[lákštiniítáa]	/lak-štiniitaa/	‘ugly (pl)’
	[láaštiniítáa]	/laa-štiniitaa/	‘ugly (pl)’
(86)	[láqsɔɔnáa]	/lak-suqunaa/	‘pretty (pl)’
	[láasɔɔnáa]	/laa-suqunaa/	‘pretty (pl)’
(87)	[hékwaáatɛ]	/hikwān-ti/	‘scared’
	[máatɔ̣p̣ láahékwaáatɛ]	/maa-tɔ̣p̣ laa-hikwān-ti/	‘two scarecrows’ <sup>4</sup>
	[máatɔ̣p̣ lákhékwaáatɛ]	/maa-tɔ̣p̣ lak-hikwān-ti/	‘two scared ones’
(88)	[kílaqɔ̣qóɔNGnā]	/kin-lak-ɔ̣quunq-nā/	‘my snoring’
	[kílaaɔ̣qóɔNGnā]	/kin-laa-ɔ̣quunq-nā/	‘my snoring’
(89)	[mínqéɔ̣ni]	/min-qiɔ̣-ni/	‘your blood’
	[mílaaqéɔ̣ni]	/min-laa-qiɔ̣-ni/	‘your blood (pl)’
(90)	[tiwǐlaɔ̣]	/ta-wǐla-la(ɔ̣)/	‘s/he sits down’
	[mílaatiwǐlán]	/min-laa-ta-wǐla-ni/	‘your town’ (lit., ‘place of seated people’)
(91)	[staqáh]	/staqah/	‘flat’
	[mílaastaqáh]	/min-laa-staqah/	‘your plains’

<sup>4</sup>Note the difference in meaning depending on the pluralizer.

In some cases /laa-/ co-occurs with a pluralizing suffix.

- |      |                    |                       |                  |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (92) | [ʔkáka]            | /ʔkaka/               | 'spicy'          |
|      | [máatʔ láaʔkakaán] | /maa-tʔ laa-ʔkaka-Vn/ | 'two spicy ones' |
| (93) | [ʔéʔni]            | /ʔih-ni/              | 'red'            |
|      | *[láaʔéʔni]        | /laa-ʔih-ni/          | 'red ones'       |
|      | [miláaʔéʔniín]     | /min-laa-ʔih-ni-VVn/  | 'your red ones'  |
| (94) | [skéha]            | /skih/                | 'tasty'          |
|      | *[máatʔ láaskéha]  | /maa-tʔ laa-skih/     | 'two tasty ones' |
|      | [máatʔ láaskéhaán] | /maa-tʔ laa-skih-VVn/ | 'two tasty ones' |

The following nominals cannot be pluralized by /laa-/ 'COM/PL':

- |      |                  |                  |
|------|------------------|------------------|
| (95) | *[láaʔaalʔ]      | 'pots'           |
|      | *[miláakʔspa]    | 'your maize'     |
|      | *[miláamáʔat]    | 'your salt'      |
|      | *[miláaʔkáan]    | 'your water'     |
|      | *[láaláawáa]     | 'meats'          |
|      | *[láaʔirín]      | 'black (pl)'     |
|      | *[láaʔir]        | 'black (pl)'     |
|      | *[kiláapúuwír]   | 'parents-in-law' |
|      | *[miláakʔkúntán] | 'your children'  |
|      | *[láaʔáaʔúwáat]  | 'eggs'           |

The prefix /laa-/ 'COM/PL' added to a pluralized nominal can also indicate a 'place of many X' or perhaps 'with other X.'

- |      |                     |                        |                         |
|------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (96) | [láaʔʔkúʔtna]       | /laa-iʔkúʔ-na/         | 'tobacco field'         |
|      | [láaʔéʔéʔéʔ]        | /laa-ʔéʔéʔéʔ-VVn/      | 'banana field'          |
|      | [láapʔinín]         | /laa-pʔin-VVn/         | 'chile field'           |
|      | [láastapúun]        | /laa-stapu-VVn/        | 'bean field'            |
|      | [láaʔiŋkátna]       | /laa-ʔiŋkat-na/        | 'cane field'            |
|      | [láaskuniínin]      | /laa-skuni-nʔ-VVn/     | 'orange field'          |
|      | [láakaféʔnáan]      | /laa-kaféʔ-náan/       | 'coffee field'          |
|      | [láalaxapútna]      | /laa-laqaput-na/       | 'chokecherry field'     |
|      | [láaʔaʔéʔéʔ]        | /laa-ʔaʔaʔ-ni/         | 'washing hole'          |
|      |                     |                        | 'place of many washers' |
| (97) | [liʔáaʔáaʔúwáatna]  | /lii-qaʔaʔ-ʔu-wáat-na/ | 'eggs'                  |
|      | [láaʔáaʔáaʔúwáatna] | /laa-qaʔaʔ-ʔu-wáat-na/ | 'place of many eggs'    |

(98)	*[láalaχapút]	/laa-laqaput/	‘chokecherries’
	[líilaχapútn̩]	/lii-laqaput-n̩/	‘chokecherries’
	[láalaχapútn̩]	/laa-laqaput-n̩/	‘chokecherry orchards’

### 9.2.2.2. Plural Suffixes

There are several plural suffixes. Choice of suffix is sometimes lexically determined, but more generally depends on the phonological shape of the nominal. All the pluralizing suffixes include the segment /-n/, albeit in different configurations.

#### 9.2.2.2.1. /-t̩n/—‘Plural’

/-t̩n/ ‘PL’ only occurs on words ending in variants of /-sun/ ‘dimension.’ As a result, it is lexically constrained and has a limited distribution.

(99)	[kijksún]	/kijk-sun/	‘small/young’
	[kijksúnt̩n]	/kijk-sun-t̩n/	‘small/young (pl)’
	[líikijksúnt̩n]	/lii-kijk-sun-t̩n/	‘small/young (pl)’
(100)	[t̩nkáaksún]	/tan-k̩ak-sun/	‘short’
	[t̩nkáaksúnt̩n]	/tan-k̩ak-sun-t̩n/	‘short (pl)’
(101)	[páapɔhɔún]	/paa-puhu-ɔun/	‘wide’
	[páapɔhɔúnt̩n]	/paa-puhu-ɔun-t̩n/	‘wide (pl)’
(102)	[páalakašún]	/paa-laka-šun/	‘narrow’
	[páalakašúnt̩n]	/paa-laka-šun-t̩n/	‘narrow (pl)’

#### 9.2.2.2.2. /-(V)(V)n/—‘Plural’

The suffix /-(V)(V)n/ has a rather complicated distribution and distinct phonetic realizations. Consonant-final nominals take the pluralizing suffixes [-Vn] and [-V̩V̩], while vowel-final nominals take [-n] and [-VVn].

##### 1. Consonant-final nominals

Nominals that are consonant-final occur with the following suffixes:

###### a. [-Vn]—‘Plural’

Consonant-final nominals that have a stressed short vowel in the final syllable take the plural suffix [-Vn]. Nominals ending in /ɔ/ and /n/ are excluded.

The vowel of the suffix matches the quality of the vowel in the final syllable of the stem (i.e., vowel harmony applies [see 4.4.5]).

(103)	[sqɔnáh]	/squnah/	‘warm’
	[sqɔnahán]	/squnah-Vn/	‘warm (pl)’
(104)	[ʔukúk]	/ʔukuk/	‘pierced’
	[ʔukukún]	/ʔukuk-Vn/	‘pierced (pl)’
(105)	[kǎǎkčulúk]	/kǎǎk-čuluk/	‘curly haired’
	[kǎǎkčulúkún]	/kǎǎk-čuluk-Vn/	‘curly haired (pl)’
(106)	[kǎǎkšpulúk]	/kǎǎk-špuluk/	‘curly haired’
	[kǎǎkšpulúkún]	/kǎǎk-špuluk-Vn/	‘curly haired (pl)’
(107)	[čǎǎstǎláʔ]	/čǎǎ-stǎlah/	‘clean bodied’
	[čǎǎstǎlahán]	/čǎǎ-stǎlah-Vn/	‘clean bodied (pl)’
(108)	[ʔpilíʔ]	/ʔpilil/	‘spotted snake’
	[ʔpililín]	/ʔpilil-Vn/	‘spotted snakes’
(109)	[čǎtǎt]	/čǎtǎt/	‘soft’
	[čǎtǎtán]	/čǎtǎt-Vn/	‘soft (pl)’
(110)	[časás]	/časas/	‘white’
	[časasán]	/časas-Vn/	‘white (pl)’
(111)	[slapóχ]	/slapuq/	‘soft’
	[slapóχón]	/slapuq-Vn/	‘soft (pl)’
(112)	[kíʔkǎwíʔ]	/kíʔ-ʔkǎwíl/	‘crooked mouth’
	[kíʔkǎwíʔlín]	/kíʔ-ʔkǎwíl-Vn/	‘crooked mouths’
(113)	[sapáp]	/sapap/	‘warm’
	[sapapán]	/sapap-Vn/	‘warm (pl)’
(114)	[snapáp]	/snapap/	‘white’
	[snapapán]	/snapap-Vn/	‘white (pl)’

Monosyllabic kin terms also take the plural suffix [-Vn] ‘PL’.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Note that other monosyllabic, consonant-final words take the plural suffix [-YYn].

- |       |            |              |                       |
|-------|------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (115) | [mínkán]   | /min-kam/    | ‘your offspring’      |
|       | [mínkamán] | /min-kam-Vn/ | ‘your offspring (pl)’ |
| (116) | [mínkúk]   | /min-kuk/    | ‘your uncle’          |
|       | [mínkukún] | /min-kuk-Vn/ | ‘your uncle’          |
| (117) | [mínáp]    | /min-nap/    | ‘your aunt’           |
|       | [mínapán]  | /min-nap-Vn/ | ‘your aunts’          |

b. [-YŸn]—‘Plural’

All other consonant-final stems take the pluralizing suffix [-YŸn]. The default form of the suffix is [-iŸn] ‘PL’, but because the suffix vowel frequently harmonizes with the stem-final vowel, I have chosen to represent it underlyingly as [-YŸn] ‘PL’. The pluralizing suffix [-YŸn] occurs in the following contexts:

i. Nominals that end in a short stressed vowel followed by /-n/ take the plural suffix [-YŸn].

- |       |                 |                     |                                   |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (118) | [ɛaʔán]         | /ɛaʔan/             | ‘hot’                             |
|       | [ɛaʔanáŸn]      | /ɛaʔan-YŸn/         | ‘hot (pl)’                        |
| (119) | [ʔqaqán]        | /ʔqaqan/            | ‘shiny’                           |
|       | [ʔqaqanáŸn]     | /ʔqaqan-YŸn/        | ‘shiny (pl)’                      |
| (120) | [kíʔtún]        | /kiʔ-tun/           | ‘full’                            |
|       | [kíʔtunúŸn]     | /kiʔ-tun-YŸn/       | ‘full (pl)’                       |
| (121) | [čunún, čanún]  | /čunun/             | ‘wrinkled’                        |
|       | [čununúŸn]      | /čunun-YŸn/         | ‘wrinkled (pl)’                   |
| (122) | [kínapaskín]    | /kin-napa-skin/     | ‘my <i>concuña</i> <sup>6</sup> ’ |
|       | [kínapaskinúŸn] | /kin-napa-skin-YŸn/ | ‘my <i>concuñas</i> ’             |
| (123) | [qʔʔ]           | /qun/               | ‘fat’                             |
|       | [qʔʔúŸn]        | /qun-YŸn/           | ‘fat (pl)’                        |

ii. Monosyllabic nominals, with a short vowel that end in a C other than /n/, pluralize with the suffix [-YŸn]. (As stated above, kin terms are exceptional and take the suffix [-Vn].)

<sup>6</sup>The wives of two brothers are called ‘*concuñas*.’

(124)	[čík]	/čík/	'house'
	[číkí̃n]	/čík-Ỹn/	'houses'
(125)	[škáp]	/škáp/	'tick'
	[škápá̃n]	/škáp-Ỹn/	'ticks'
	[škápí̃n]	/škáp-Ỹn/	'ticks'
(126)	[ɛít]	/ɛít/	'black'
	[ɛítí̃n]	/ɛít-Ỹn/	'black (pl)'
(127)	[súʔ]	/suw/	'cane, vine'
	[súwí̃n]	/suw-Ỹn/	'canes'
(128)	[šúʔ]	/šuw/	'fly'
	[šuwí̃n]	/šuw-Ỹn/	'flies'
(129)	[ɬúʔ]	/ɬuw/	'a lot, much'
	[ɬuwí̃n]	/ɬuw-Ỹn/	'many'
(130)	[kɛʔ]	/kiw/	'tree'
	[kɛwí̃n]	/kiw-Ỹn/	'trees'
(131)	[ɬtúk]	/ɬtuk/	'thorn'
	[ɬtukú̃n]	/ɬtuk-Ỹn/	'thorns'
(132)	[stáħ]	/stah/	'wet'
	[stahá̃n]	/stah-Ỹn/	'wet (pl)'

iii. Stems that end in a long vowel followed by a consonant take the suffix [-Ỹn] 'PL'.

(133)	[hómpí̃š]	/hun-pĩš/	'DET wart'
	[hómpí̃ší̃n]	/hun-pĩš-Ỹn/	'DET warts'
(134)	[mínáan]	/min-naan/	'your mother'
	[mínáaní̃n]	/min-naan-Ỹn/	'your mothers'
	[mínáaná̃n]	/min-naan-Ỹn/	'your mothers'
(135)	[tíiɬ]	/tiiɬ/	'path'
	[tíiɬí̃n]	/tiiɬ-Ỹn/	'paths'
(136)	[míntɛ̃ɛh]	/min-tiih/	'your brother-in-law'
	[míntɛ̃ɛhɛ̃n]	/min-tiih-Ỹn/	'your brothers-in-law'



- |       |                 |                        |                   |
|-------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (137) | [quʔayáat]      | /quʔayaa-Vt/           | ‘weeded (field)’  |
|       | [quʔayáatín]    | /quʔayaa-Vt-ŸŸn/       | ‘weeded (fields)’ |
| (138) | [mísíimáqaat]   | /min-sii-maqaá-Vt/     | ‘your tongue’     |
|       | [mísíimaqáatín] | /min-sii-maqaá-Vt-ŸŸn/ | ‘your tongues’    |

## 2. Vowel-final nominals

Vowel-final nominals take the following plural forms:

### a. [-n]—‘Plural’

On monomorphemic stems that end in a stressed vowel or a glottal stop, the plural suffix is [-n]. The stems may end in a long vowel or a short vowel. (Recall that /ʔ/ deletes when followed by a suffix.)

- |       |              |                |              |
|-------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| (139) | [ʔqšáʔ]      | /uqšaʔ/        | ‘young man’  |
|       | [ʔqšán]      | /uqšaʔ-n/      | ‘young men’  |
| (140) | [čiškuʔ]     | /čiškuʔ/       | ‘man’        |
|       | [čiškún]     | /čiškuʔ-n/     | ‘men’        |
| (141) | [míntáalʔ]   | /min-taaliʔ/   | ‘your wife’  |
|       | [míntáalín]  | /min-taaliʔ-n/ | ‘your wives’ |
| (142) | [čičíʔ]      | /čičiʔ/        | ‘dog’        |
|       | [čičín]      | /čiči-n/       | ‘dogs’       |
| (143) | [štiniítaa]  | /štiniitaa/    | ‘ugly’       |
|       | [štiniítaan] | /štiniitaa-n/  | ‘ugly (pl)’  |

Monomorphemic stems that end in an unstressed vowel preceded by a single consonant, also add [-n] to form the plural.

- |       |          |           |              |
|-------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| (144) | [táku]   | /taku/    | ‘woman’      |
|       | [takún]  | /taku-n/  | ‘women’      |
| (145) | [šépu]   | /šapu/    | ‘soap’       |
|       | [šepún]  | /šapu-n/  | ‘soaps’      |
| (146) | [ʔkaka]  | /ʔkaka/   | ‘spicy’      |
|       | [ʔkakán] | /ʔkaka-n/ | ‘spicy (pl)’ |

(147)	[skɛ́ha]	/skɛ́ha/	‘tasty’
	[skɛ́hán]	/skɛ́ha-n/	‘tasty (pl)’

The following two Spanish loans are exceptions in that they take the pluralizer [-VVn]:

(148)	[kawáa]	/kawaayu/	‘horse’
	[kawáayúun]	/kawaayu-VVn/	‘horses’
(149)	[kristyánu]	/kristyanu/	‘person’
	[kristyanúun]	/kristyanu-VVn/	‘persons’

b. [-VVn]—‘Plural’

All other vowel-final stems take the pluralizing suffix [-VVn]. I have chosen to represent the suffix as containing a long vowel because there is a tendency throughout the grammar to simplify adjacent identical segments. Recall that when vowel coalescence occurs, two short vowels coalesce to form one short vowel, while a short vowel and a long vowel result in a long vowel (4.3.1.2). The suffix [-VVn] harmonizes in vowel quality and laryngealization with the stem-final vowel. The pluralizing suffix [-VVn] occurs in the following contexts:

i. Monomorphemic stems that end in an unstressed vowel that is preceded by a consonant cluster.

(150)	[púksa]	/púksa/	‘smelly’
	[púksáan]	/púksa-VVn/	‘smelly (pl)’
(151)	[póqɬu]	/puqɬu/	‘faded’
	[póqɬúun]	/puqɬu-VVn/	‘faded (pl)’
(152)	[šápša]	/šapša/	‘hog plum tree ( <i>jobo</i> )’
	[šápšáan]	/šapša-VVn/	‘hog plum trees ( <i>jobos</i> )’
(153)	[sáqsi]	/saqsi/	‘sweet (with <i>panela</i> )’
	[sáqsíin]	/saqsi-VVn/	‘sweet (pl)’
(154)	[síksi]	/siksi/	‘sweet’ (with sugar)
	[síksíin]	/siksi-VVn/	‘sweet (pl)’

When the stem-final vowel is laryngealized, the laryngealization spreads rightward onto the pluralizing suffix [-VVn].

(155)	[kɨsp̩a]	/kɨsp̩a/	‘corn kernel’
	[kɨsp̩áa̯n]	/kɨsp̩a-VVn/	‘corn kernels’
(156)	[čukúŋkɨ]	/čukúŋkɨ/	‘cold’
	[čukúŋkú̯n]	/čukúŋkɨ-VVn/	‘cold (pl)’
(157)	[saníŋkɨ]	/saníŋkɨ/	‘blue’
	[saníŋkú̯n]	/saníŋkɨ-VVn/	‘blue (pl)’
(158)	[paaʔk̩a]	/paaʔk̩a/	‘coma’
	[paaʔk̩áa̯n]	/paaʔk̩a-VVn /	‘comas’

ii. Stems that end in the nominalizing suffixes /-nYʔ/ ‘NOM’, /-ni/ ‘NOM’, and /-ta/ ‘NOM’ also take the suffix [-VVn] ‘PL’.

*Nominals ending in /-nYʔ/ ‘NOM’:*

(159)	[laχɛn̩áʔ]	/laχɛn̩-nYʔ/	‘seer’
	[laχɛn̩áa̯n]	/laχɛn̩-nYʔ-VVn/	‘seers’
(160)	[kaɛíin̩íʔ]	/kaɛíin̩-nYʔ/	‘wise person’
	[kaɛíin̩í̯n]	/kaɛíin̩-nYʔ-VVn/	‘wise persons’
(161)	[tikiŋíʔ]	/tiki-nYʔ/	‘dry’
	[tikiŋí̯n]	/tiki-nYʔ-VVn/	‘dry (pl)’
(162)	[táŋgwiniʔ]	/táŋkwi-nYʔ/	‘money’
	[táŋgwini̯n]	/táŋkwi-nYʔ-VVn/	‘moneys’
(163)	[qɔʔan̩áʔ]	/quʔa-nYʔ/	‘good’
	[qɔʔan̩áa̯n]	/quʔa-nYʔ-VVn/	‘good (pl)’
(164)	[kanáalan̩áʔ]	/kanaa-la-nYʔ/	‘bad (person)’
	[kanáalan̩áa̯n]	/kanaa-la-nYʔ-VVn/	‘bad (persons)’
(165)	[héšwáan̩áʔ]	/hašwaa-nYʔ/	‘happy’
	[héšwáan̩áa̯n]	/hašwaa-nYʔ-VVn/	‘happy (pl)’
(166)	[papáksn̩áʔ]	/papaks-nYʔ/	‘old man’
	[papáksn̩áa̯n]	/papaks-nYʔ-VVn/	‘old men’

(167)	[tiyenáʔ] [tiyenáan]	/tiya-nYʔ/ /tiya-nYʔ-VVn/	‘ox’ ‘oxen’
(168)	[pupunúʔ] [pupunúun]	/pupu-nYʔ/ /pupu-nYʔ-VVn/	‘sea’ ‘seas’
(169)	[stɔχɔnúʔ] [stɔχɔnúun]	/stɔqu-nYʔ/ /stɔqu-nYʔ-VVn/	‘old (woman)’ ‘old (women)’
(170)	[ɛhɔnúʔ] [ɛhɔnúun] [ɛhɔnáan]	/zuhu-nYʔ/ /zuhu-nYʔ-VVn/	‘matchmaker’ ‘matchmakers’

*Nominals ending in /-ni/ ‘NOM’:*

(171)	[maχáan] [maχáanún]	/maqaa-ni/ /maqaa-ni-VVn/	‘old (thing)’ ‘old (things)’
(172)	[čún] [čúnún]	/čú-ni/ /čú-ni-VVn/	‘strong/very’ ‘strong/very (pl)’
(173)	[káakčún] [káakčúnún]	/kaak-čú-ni/ /kaak-čú-ni-VVn/	‘gentleman’ ‘gentlemen’
(174)	[téʔmáan] [téʔmáanún]	/tan-ʔmaqaa-ni/ /tan-ʔmaqaa-ni-VVn/	‘tall’ ‘tall (pl)’
(175)	[čáan] [čáanún]	/čaa-ni/ /čaa-ni-VVn/	‘ripe/ant’ ‘ripe (pl)/ants’
(176)	[míʔɔχstáan] [míʔɔχstáanún]	/min-uqstaa-ni/ /min-uqstaa-ni-VVn/	‘your armpit’ ‘your armpits’
(177)	[mímpáatántúun] [mímpáatántúunún]	/min-paa-tan-tuu-ni/ /min-paa-tan-tuu-ni-VVn/	‘your calf’ ‘your calves’
(178)	[šlapun] [šlapunún]	/šlapu-ni/ /šlapu-ni-VVn/	‘file’ ‘files’
(179)	[mílákškáan] [mílákškáanún]	/min-lak-škaa-ni/ /min-lak-škaa-ni-VVn/	‘your tear’ ‘your tears’

<sup>1</sup>The default form of the agentive suffix /-nYʔ/ is [naʔ].

(180)	[másn̩i] [másn̩íjn̩]	/mas-n̩i/ /mas-n̩i-VVn/	‘rotten’ ‘rotten (pl)’
(181)	[míšni] [míšníjn̩]	/miš-n̩i/ /miš-n̩i-VVn/	‘cold’ ‘cold (pl)’
(182)	[pášni] [pášníjn̩]	/paš-n̩i/ /paš-n̩i-VVn/	‘pig’ ‘pigs’
(183)	[eǰʎni] [eǰʎníjn̩]	/eǰh-n̩i/ /eǰh-n̩i-VVn/	‘red’ ‘red (pl)’
(184)	[stáqɲɛ] [stáqɲíjn̩]	/staq-n̩i/ /staq-n̩i-VVn/	‘green’ ‘green (pl)’

*Exception:* [-aǰn̩] following /-ni/ ‘NOM’.

(185)	[hónláačíjn̩] [hónláačíjn̩áǰn̩]	/hun-laa-číj-n̩i/ /hun-číj-n̩i-VVn/	‘nerve/tendon’ ‘nerves/tendons’ <sup>8</sup>
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*Nominals ending in /-ta/ ‘NOM’:*

(186)	[hékwaǰatɛ] [hékwaǰatíjn̩]	/hikwaŋ-ti/ /hikwaŋ-ti-VVn/	‘scared’ ‘scared (pl)’
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### 9.2.2.2.3. /-nijn̩/—‘Plural’

Some nominals are lexically specified to take the plural suffix /-nijn̩/.

(187)	[mílúu] [mílúun̩íjn̩]	/min-luu/ /min-luu-n̩íjn̩/	‘your intestinal worm’ ‘your intestinal worms’
(188)	[štiniítaa] [štiniítaan̩íjn̩]	/štiniitaa/ /štiniitaa-n̩íjn̩/	‘ugly’ ‘ugly (pl)’
(189)	[sɔqɔnáa] [láqsɔqɔnáan̩íjn̩]	/suqunaa/ /laq-suqunaa-n̩íjn̩/	‘pretty’ ‘pretty (pl)’
(190)	[láasqɔʎ] [láasqɔʎn̩íjn̩]	/laasquʎ/ /laasquʎ-n̩íjn̩/	‘reed flute’ (YEC) ‘reed flutes’

<sup>8</sup>This exceptional form differentiates ‘nerves/tendons’ from /číj-n̩i/ ‘strong, very,’ which has the plural form [číjn̩íjn̩].

(191)	[mímpáχšulúʔ] [mímpáχšulúʔnī̃n]	/min-paq-šulul/ /min-paq-šulul-nī̃n/	‘your forearm’ ‘your forearms’
(192)	[mínziʔ] [mínzĩn]	/min-ziʔ/ /min-ziʔ-nī̃n/	‘your older sister’ ‘your older sisters’
(193)	[míyáastáʔ] [míyáastanī̃n]	/min-yaastaʔ/ /min-yaastaʔ-nī̃n/	‘your sister-in-law’ ‘your sisters-in-law’
(194)	[eéʔ] [eēnī̃n]	/eəʔ/ /eəʔ-nī̃n/	‘mouse’ ‘mice’
(195)	[kíñčáap] [kíñčáapnī̃n]	/kin-čaaʔ/ /kin-čaaʔ-nī̃n/	‘my father’ ‘my fathers’
(196)	[šípuut] [šípuútñī̃n]	/šiipuu-Vt/ /šiipuu-Vt-nī̃n/	‘feather’ ‘feathers’

#### 9.2.2.2.4. /-nā/—‘Plural’

/-nā/ ‘PL’ occurs when a nominal is consonant final with penultimate stress. Many of the nominals below have alternate plural forms, but the suffix /-nā/ is the most common pluralizer for consonant-final nominals whose final syllable is unstressed.

(197)	[mímpušñimit] [mímpušñimítñā]	/min-pušñimit/ /min-pušñimit-nā/	‘your niece/nephew’ ‘your nieces/nephews’
(198)	[šípuut] [šípuútñā]	/šiipuu-Vt/ /šiipuu-Vt-nā/	‘feather’ ‘feathers’
(199)	[lúkut] [lukútñā]	/lukut/ /lukut-nā/	‘bone’ ‘bones’
(200)	[tāāqátat] [tāāqátatñā]	/tāā=qatā-Vt/ /tāā=qatā-Vt-nā/	‘sibling’ ‘siblings’
(201)	[páχšúutiʔ] [páχšúutiʔñā]	/paq-šuutiʔ/ /paq-šuutiʔ-nā/	‘left handed’ ‘left handed (pl)’
(202)	[ʔištuúslah] [ʔištuúsláhñā]	/iš-tuu-slaʔ/ /iš-tuu-slaʔ-nā/	‘her/his toe’ (YEC) ‘her/his toes’ (YEC)

(203)	[č̣iŋkat] [č̣iŋkátŋa]	/č̣iŋkat/ /č̣iŋkat-na/	'(sugar) cane' '(sugar) canes'
(204)	[šáawat] [šáawátŋa]	/šaawat/ /šaawat-na/	'cornfield' 'cornfields'
(205)	[mínɛ̣iḳiɪt] [mínɛ̣iḳiɪtŋa]	/min-ɛ̣iḳiɪ-Vt/ /min-ɛ̣iḳiɪ-Vt-na/	'your breast' 'your breasts'
(206)	[múusiŋk] [múusiŋŋa]	/muu-siink/ /muu-siink-na/	'cave' 'caves'
(207)	[mínɛ̣əɛ̣ḷat] [mínɛ̣əɛ̣ḷátŋa] <sup>9</sup>	/min-ɛ̣əɛ̣-ḷat/ /min-ɛ̣əɛ̣-ḷat-na/	'your tooth' 'your teeth'
(208)	[mímakáḷat] [mímakaḷátŋa]	/min-maka-ḷat/ /min-maka-ḷat-na/	'your hand' 'your hands'
(209)	[ʔišpaqáḷat] [ʔišpaqaḷátŋa]	/iš-paqa-ḷat/ /iš-paqa-ḷat-na/	'her/his leaf' 'her/his leaves'
(210)	[mísáḳat] [mísaḳátŋa]	/min-saḳat/ /min-saḳat-na/	'your illness' 'your illnesses'
(211)	[mínqéšẉaat] [mínqéšẉátŋa]	/min-qiʃ-šẉaat/ /min-qiʃ-šẉaat-na/	'your molar' 'your molars'
(212)	[mínqéỵňṣ̌iḷit] [mínqéỵňṣ̌iḷitŋa]	/min-qiin-ṣ̌iḷit/ /min-qiin-ṣ̌iḷit-na/	'your mucus' 'your mucuses'
(213)	[qáaq̣ʃúẉaat] [qáaq̣ʃuẉátŋa]	/qaaq-ʃu-waa-Vt/ /qaaq-ʃu-waa-Vt-na/	'egg' 'eggs'
(214)	[míláχ̣ɛ̣iṣit] [míláχ̣ɛ̣iṣitŋa]	/min-laq-ɛ̣iṣit/ /min-laq-ɛ̣iṣit-na/	'your eyelash' 'your eyelashes'
(215)	[hócḳɛ̣h] [hócḳɛ̣hŋa]	/huukih/ /huukih-na/	'deer' 'deer (pl)'
(216)	[táṃiŋ] [táṃiŋŋa]	/tamiŋ/ /tamiŋ-na/	'pot' 'pots'

<sup>9</sup> See 4.4.3 for discussion of stem-final vowel lengthening in these examples.

(217)	[páχʔaat] [páχʔáatnā]	/paqʔaat/ /paqʔaat-nā/	‘board’ ‘boards’
(218)	[ʔiščóhɔt] [ʔiščóhɔtnā]	/iš-čuh-Vt/ /iš-čuh-Vt-nā/	‘her/his saliva’ ‘her/his salivas’
(219)	[kúkat] [kukátnā]	/kukat/ /kukat-nā/	‘oak’ ‘oaks’
(220)	[púukɔh] [púukɔhnā]	/puukuh/ /puukuh-nā/	‘ceiba’ ‘ceibas’
(221)	[kukúʔiit] [kukuʔiitnā]	/kukuʔiit/ /kukuʔiit-nā/	‘avocado tree’ ‘avocado trees’
(222)	[kúlaaʔ] [kuláaʔnā]	/kulaaʔ/ /kulaaʔ-nā/	‘orchard ( <i>huerta</i> )’ ‘orchards ( <i>huertas</i> )’
(223)	[mímaqáσεεh] [mímaqáσεεhnā]	/min-maka-siih/ /min-maka-siih-nā/	‘your fingernail’ ‘your fingernails’
(224)	[šíwɪt] [šiwɪtnā]	/šiwɪt/ /šiwɪt-nā/	‘green corn’ ‘green corns’
(225)	[sépeεh] [sepéεhnā]	/sapiih/ /sapiih-nā/	‘mountain’ ‘mountains’
(226)	[qéyňséεh] [qéyňséεhnā]	/qiin-šiih/ /qiin-šiih-nā/	‘root’ ‘roots’

The following nominals have final stress in the singular, but still take the suffix /-nā/ as a pluralizer. These examples are exceptional in that the final syllable is predicted to be extrametrical—it ends in a ([+cor], [-son]) segment (3.6.1)—and unstressed (i.e., these singular stems are exceptions to regular stress assignment). However, the pluralizing process applies normally, as if the final syllable were unstressed in the singular.

(227)	[laχapút] [laχapútnā]	/laqaput/ /laqaput-nā/	‘chokecherry’ ‘chokecherries’
(228)	[qɔʔayáat] [qɔʔayáatnā]	/quʔayaa-Vt/ /quʔayaa-Vt-nā/	‘weeded (field)’ ‘weeded (fields)’



- |       |                   |                     |                     |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| (229) | [eʒaːstaːlaːɬ]    | /čəaː-staːlah/      | ‘clean bodied’      |
|       | [eʒaːstaːlaːɬnaː] | /čəaː-staːlah-naː/  | ‘clean bodied (pl)’ |
| (230) | [mímpáχʂulúɬ]     | /min-paq-ʂulul/     | ‘your forearm’      |
|       | [mímpáχʂulúɬnaː]  | /min-paq-ʂulul-naː/ | ‘your forearms’     |

### 9.3. Nominal Derivation

In Misantla Totonac there are monomorphemic nominals, nominals derived from nominal roots, and nominals derived from verbs. Often the same derivational affixes occur on both nominal and verb roots.

#### 9.3.1. Root Nominals

Some nominals are freestanding morphemes.

- |       |         |         |         |
|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| (231) | [čičiʔ] | /čičiʔ/ | ‘dog’   |
| (232) | [eɬt]   | /eɬt/   | ‘black’ |
| (233) | [páp]   | /pap/   | ‘moon’  |

#### 9.3.2. Derived Nominals

##### 9.3.2.1. Compounds

Compounds are made up of two juxtaposed nominal elements. The right-most element is the head. Evidence that these are indeed compounds and not sequences of two nominals lies in stress assignment (i.e., primary stress falls on the final syllable of the word [section 3.6]), and in processes such as glottal-stop deletion word medially.

- |       |                             |  |  |
|-------|-----------------------------|--|--|
| (234) | [čĩʂkukíŋkán] <sup>10</sup> |  |  |
|       | /čĩʂkuʔ-kin-kam/            |  |  |
|       | male-1POSS-offspring        |  |  |
|       | ‘my son’                    |  |  |
| (235) | [təkukíŋkán]                |  |  |
|       | /təku-kin-kam/              |  |  |
|       | female-1POSS-offspring      |  |  |
|       | ‘my daughter’               |  |  |

<sup>10</sup> Note that compounding follows possessive inflection.

- (236) [ʔišqaqayáahkúš]  
/iš-qaqa-yaaʔ-kuš/  
3POSS-ear rel.-hair-corn cob  
'hair of an ear of corn'
- (237) [míñčáapkáakčijín]  
/min-čaa-p-kaak-čij-ni/  
2POSS-father-head rel.-strong-NOM  
'your godfather'
- (238) [ʔanílástáku] /ʔan-ii-láʔ-stáku/ 'comet (tail of star)'  
[stapúučá] /stapu-ča/ 'bean-tortilla (gordita)'  
[kiwíipášni] /kiwii-paš-ni/ 'boar (forest-pig)'  
[sáastikáat] /saasti-kaat/ 'New Year'  
[ʔtukúulástáan] /ʔtuku-láʔ-štáan/ 'porcupine (thorny-armadillo)'  
[čičíštáan] /čičiʔ-štáan/ 'Mexican opossum (dog-armadillo)'  
[káštalančá] /kaštalan-ča/ 'bread (Castillian-tortilla)'  
[ʔaʔánspát] /ʔaʔan-spat/ 'hot land'

### 9.3.2.2. Body-Part Prefixes

A body-part prefix is attached to an existing nominal to create a new nominal. The process is much like that of compounding in that the right-most element is the head. The body-part prefix functions to restrict the range of meaning of the head. Thus, the BPP /tuu-/ 'foot related' in the first example below serves to narrow the meaning of that part which is lame.

- (239) [kintúučutóq]  
/kin-tuu-čutuq/  
1POSS-foot rel.-lame  
'my lame foot'
- (240) [kímaqačutóq]  
/kin-maka-cutuq/  
1POSS-hand rel.-lame  
'my lame hand'

The body-part prefixes in nominal derivation are the same ones that appear in verbal derivation. See section 7.2.2 for a complete list.

- (241) [kímakapíšni]  
/kin-maka-piš-ni/  
1POSS-hand rel.-neck rel.-NOM  
'my wrist (the neck of my hand)'

- (242) [kímakaʔkəwíʔ]  
/kin-maka-ʔkəwíʔ/  
1POSS-hand rel.-crooked  
'my crooked hand'
- (243) [túuʔkəwíʔ]  
/túu-ʔkəwíʔ/  
foot rel.-crooked  
'crooked foot'
- (244) [kíʔkəwíʔ]  
/kiʔ-ʔkəwíʔ/  
mouth rel.-crooked  
'crooked mouth'
- (245) [mínkə̀əkə̀skítit]  
/min-kə̀əkə̀skíti-Vt/  
2POSS-head rel.-ground corn-NOM  
'your brains'
- (246) [púulákstápu]  
/puu-lak-stapu/  
inside rel.-DIST-bean  
'bean tamal'
- (247) [púuláqsqə̀χ]  
/puu-lak-squq/  
inside rel.-DIST-salty  
'salt tamal, corn balls'
- (248) [ʔíštamakánuyt]  
/iʃ-ta-maka-nuu-Vt/  
3POSS-INC-hand rel.-be inside-NOM  
'her/his ring, horseshoe, bracelet'
- (249) [taqə̀əkə̀χnuyt]  
/ta-kə̀əkə̀χnuyt/  
INC-head rel.-be inside-NOM  
'hat'
- (250) [tatúunuyt]  
/ta-tuu-nuu-Vt/  
INC-foot rel.-be inside-NOM  
'shoe'

Frequently nominals that include body-part prefixes are derived from verbs (i.e., deverbals).

- (251) [ʔút káakúu]  
 /ut káak-kúu/  
 s/he head rel.-carry X  
 's/he carries X on top of her/his head'
- (252) [mínkáakúun]  
 /min-káak-kúu-ní/  
 2POSS-head rel.-carry X-NOM  
 'your *ruedo*, a roll of cloth placed on top of the head to carry things on'
- (253) [ʔút stáh]  
 /ut stáh(a)/  
 s/he wet  
 's/he is wet'
- (254) [ʔíʃqáqáštáhat]  
 /iš-qaqa-štáh(a)-Vt/  
 3POSS-ear rel.-wet-NOM  
 'moisture from branches (of a tree) or ear'
- (255) [šláqstáhat stáku]  
 /iš-laq-stáh(a)-Vt stáku/  
 3POSS-eye rel.-wet-NOM star  
 'meteorites (tears of the stars)'

### 9.3.2.3. Reduplication

Reduplication in nominals produces a repetitive or intensifying interpretation. Reduplication is not a very productive process, so there are few examples. Word-internal phonological processes such as nasal assimilation, simplification, and primary stress assignment provide evidence that the reduplicated forms are single words. In some cases, the unreduplicated form has the same general meaning.

- (256) [halíkshalíkswán, halíkswán]  
 /haliks-haliks-wan/  
 hiccough-hiccough-become  
 's/he has the hiccoughs' (YEC)

- (257) [tʰóqʰtʰóqʰwán, tʰóqʰwán]  
/tuqʰ-tuqʰ-wan/  
hiccough-hiccough-become  
's/he has the hiccoughs' (SM)
- (258) [sláhsłáh míntohól̥at, sláh míntohól̥at]  
/slah-slah min-tuhu-l̥at/  
digit-digit 2POSS-foot-NOM  
'your toes' (SM)
- (259) [čutóχščutóχš ʔiktáawán, čutóχš ʔiktáawán]  
/čutuqš-čutuqš ik-táawán/  
lame-lame 1SUB-walk'  
'I walk lamely, I limp'
- (260) [náqnáqkíwán, náqkíwán]  
/naq-naq-kiʰ-wan/  
??-??-mouth rel.-say  
's/he stutters'
- (261) [púʰpúʰ lékwán hǒńčíwiš, púʰ lékwán hǒńčíwiš]  
/puʰ-puʰ lak-wan hun-číwis/  
burst-burst DIST-become DET-stone  
'the rock disintegrates'

Most examples of reduplication involve the reduplication of a complete word and not just of a single morpheme.

- (262) [pušúmpušúmpušún] /pušum-pušum-pušum/ 'sixty (20+20+20)  
[tún̥tún̥] /tun-tun/ 'one by one, each one'  
[ɛ́j̥iskúsús] /ɛ́j̥is-kus-kus/ 'very early'  
[ʰk̥awíʰk̥awíʰ] /ʰk̥awíʰ-ʰk̥awíʰ/ 'very crooked'  
[kíntíj̥iktíj̥k] /kin-tíj̥k-tíj̥k/ 'my brother-in-law'
- (263) [káatkáat] /kaat-kaat/ 'yearly'  
[laqalíilaqalíi] /laqalii-laqalii/ 'daily'  
[ɛ́j̥iskúsɛ́j̥iskús] /ɛ́j̥is-kus-ɛ́j̥is-kus/ 'every morning'  
[ɛ́j̥isaɛ́j̥isa] /ɛ́j̥isa-ɛ́j̥isa/ 'every night'

#### 9.3.2.4. /taa-/—'Comitative'

In Misantla Totonac, the comitative prefix on verbs is /laa-/ 'COM'. However, in all other Totonacan languages, the comitative prefix for both nominals

and verbs is /tʰaa-/ 'COM'. In fact, /tʰaa-/ is probably the Proto-Totonacan comitative prefix. In Misantla Totonac, a small set of nominals take the prefix /tʰaa-/ 'COM'. On these nominals, /tʰaa-/ refers to a mutual or reciprocal relationship. /tʰaa-/ prefixing in Misantla Totonac is not productive, and the forms that exist are lexicalized.

- (264) [míntʰaaqátat] /min-tʰaa=qata-Vt/ 2POSS-COM=grow-NOM 'your sibling'
- (265) [míntʰaakamán] /min-tʰaa=kam-Vn/ 'your older brothers'  
 [míntʰaahóʔ] /min-tʰaa=huʔ/ 'your younger brother'  
 [míntʰaanat] /min-tʰaa=na-Vt/ 'your grandchild'  
 [míntʰúutʰaanat] /min-tuu-tʰaa=na-Vt/ 'your step-grandchild'  
 [míntʰaapúuwíit] /min-tʰaa=puuwii-Vt/ 'your co-parents-in-law'  
 [míntʰaaʰtataátɛ] /min-tʰaa=ʰtata-ti/ 'your *concuña*'  
 [míntʰaasináat] /min-tʰaa=sinaat/ 'your co-wives'  
 [míntʰaalíʔ] /min-tʰaa-liʔ/ 'your spouse'
- (266) [míntʰaatʰaawanáʔ] /min-tʰaa=tʰaawan-nVʔ/ 2POSS-COM-walk-NOM 'your companion'
- (267) [ʃwáana ʔíʃtʰaátáayat ʔíʃnáan] /Juana iʃ-tʰaa=taaya-Vt iʃ-naan/ Juana 3POSS-COM-resemble-NOM 3POSS-mother 'Juana resembles her mother'

### 9.3.2.5. /-lʰat/—'Nominalizer'

A small set of nominals is derived from body-part roots by adding the nominalizing suffix /-lʰat/ 'NOM'. It is not a very productive suffix.

- (268) [mímakálʰat] /min-maka-lʰat/ 'your hand'  
 [míntohólʰat] /min-tuhu-lʰat/ 'your foot'  
 [mínzazálʰat] /min-zaza-lʰat/ 'your tooth'  
 [mínpaqálʰat] /min-paqa-lʰat/ 'your leaf'

## 9.3.2.6. /-ta/—‘Place of X’

The suffix /-ta/ ‘NOM’ is added to nominals and interpreted as ‘place of X’ or ‘where there is/are X.’ When the nominal ends in a vowel or a nasal, the suffix takes the surface form [-t]. The final nasal of the stem is lost and the final vowel is lengthened.

(269)	[qéyñšéεhta]	/qiin-šiih-ta/	‘place of many roots’
	[sɛpéεhta]	/sapiih-ta/	‘mountain range’
	[qatáat]	/qat(a)-ta/	‘big place’
	[zaʔáat]	/zaʔan-ta/	‘hot place’
	[snapapáat]	/snapap(a)-ta/	‘white place’
	[háksáat]	/haksa-ta/	‘smelly place’
	[laχaputúut]	/laqaput(u)-ta/	‘chokecherry place’
	[púksáat]	/puksa-ta/	‘stinky place’
	[pɔqʔúut]	/puqʔu-ta/	‘yellowish day’
	[sáqsíit]	/saqsi-ta/	‘place of sweet things’
	[síksíit]	/siksi-ta/	‘place of sweet things’
	[spilijíit]	/spilij(i)-ta/	‘place of spotted things’
	[čukúŋkúut]	/čukunku-ta/	‘cold place’
	[čĩškuúut]	/čĩšku>-ta/	‘place of many men’
	[taǰúut]	/taǰu-ta/	‘place of many women’
	[skεháat]	/skijha-ta/	‘place of tasty things’
	[ʔtukúut]	/ʔtuku-ta/	‘thorny place’
	[kéwíit]	/kijw(i)-ta/	‘forest, place of trees’
	[kanaalanáat]	/kanaa-la-nY>-ta/	‘place of bad things’
	[čijíníit]	/čijí-ni-ta/	‘current (where there is strength)’
	[léʔníit]	/lih-ni-ta/	‘yellowish place’
	[péεníit]	/paa-nY>-ta/	‘poor place’
	[qʔanáat]	/quʔa-nY>-ta/	‘place of good things’
	[ʔmáǰníit]	/ʔmaǰ-ni-ta/	‘place full of mosquitos’
	[skútníit]	/škut-ni-ta/	‘place of bitter things’

## 9.3.2.7. /-al/—‘Where X Grow’

Groves of trees are indicated by adding the suffix /-al/ to the name of the tree. This suffix derives from Spanish (e.g., *encinál* ‘oak grove’, *ceibanál* ‘ceiba grove’, *naranjál* ‘orange grove,’ etc.). It is not very productive.

(270)	[kukutáʔ]	/kukut-al/	‘oak grove’
	[púukutáʔ]	/puuku-ta-al/	‘ceiba grove’
	[šalaníikáʔ]	/šalaniika-al/	‘laurel grove’

[taláastáʔ]	/talaas-ta-al/	‘peach grove’
[ʔasiwíjtáʔ]	/asiwíjt-al/	‘guava grove’

### 9.3.2.8. /-lāʔ/—‘Have the Quality of X’

/-lāʔ/ adds the meaning of ‘having the quality of X’ to nominals. The resultant forms mean ‘X-like, full of X, covered with X.’

(271) [láawáaskíjt lúulāʔ]		
/laa-waa-skíjt luu-lāʔ/		
PL-eat-fish snake-like X		
‘eels are snake-like’		
(272) [číšit]	/číšit/	‘hair’
[číšitlāʔ]	/číšit-lāʔ/	‘hairy’
(273) [máəat]	/maəat/	‘salt’
[máəatlāʔ]	/maəat-lāʔ/	‘salty’
(274) [štiniítaa]	/štiniítaa/	‘ugly’
[štiniítaalāʔ]	/štiniítaa-lāʔ/	‘ugly-ish’
(275) [čiwis]	/čiwis/	‘stone’
[čiwislāʔ]	/čiwis-lāʔ/	‘stony’
(276) [lúkut]	/lukut/	‘bone’
[lúkutlāʔ]	/lukut-lāʔ/	‘bony’
(277) [čičiʔ]	/čičiʔ/	‘dog’
[čičilāʔ]	/čičiʔ-lāʔ/	‘dog-like’

Most nouns derived from verbs by the nominalizer /-Vt/ ‘NOM’ (9.3.3.3) can take /-lāʔ/.

(280) [šaná, saná]	/šanā, sanā/	‘X flowers’
[sánat]	/šanā-Vt/	‘flower’
[sánatlāʔ]	/šanā-Vt-lāʔ/	‘flowery’
(281) [ʔut pulí]	/ut puli/	‘s/he sweats’
[kímpulíʔ]	/kin-pulí-Vt/	‘my sweat’
[púlíʔ]	/pulí-Vt-lāʔ/	‘sweaty’



- (282) [sakán] /sakán/ 's/he is ill'  
 [mísákāt] /min-sakán-Vt/ 'your illness'  
 [sákaṭlǎʔ] /sakán-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'sickly'
- (283) [qáaqṭíšaḤ] /kaak-tiṣah/ 's/he sneezes'  
 [kínqáaqṭíṣat] /kin-kaak-tiṣah-Vt/ 'my sneeze'  
 [qáaqṭíṣatlǎʔ] /kaak-tiṣah-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'sneezy'
- (284) [Ḥtatá] /Ḥtata/ 's/he sleeps'  
 [míḤtatat] /min-Ḥtata-Vt/ 'your sleep'  
 [Ḥtatatlǎʔ] /Ḥtata-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'sleepy'
- (285) [ʔúṭ ɛalán] /ut ɛalan/ 's/he/it sprouts'  
 [hónɛalát] /hun-ɛalan-Vt/ 'DET sprout/shoot'  
 [ɛalatlǎʔ] /ɛalan-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'full of sprouts/shoots'
- (286) [ʔúṭ ɛiyán] /ut ɛiyan/ 's/he laughs'  
 [kínɛiyat] /kin-ɛiyan-Vt/ 'my laugh'  
 [ɛiyatlǎʔ] /ɛiyan-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'smiley'
- (287) [skiti] /skiti/ 's/he grinds cornmeal'  
 [hónskítit] /hun-skiti-Vt/ 'DET cornmeal'  
 [skítitlǎʔ] /skiti-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'mealy'
- (288) [ʔúṭ čuh] /ut čuh/ 's/he spits X'  
 [ʔiščóhɔṭ] /iš-čuh-Vt/ 'her/his spit'  
 [čóhɔṭlǎʔ] /čuh-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'full of spit, droolily'
- (289) [pǎḤnán] /paḤ-nan/ 's/he sweeps'  
 [mímpǎḤnat] /min-paḤ-nan-Vt/ 'your swept area'  
 [pǎḤnatlǎʔ] /paḤ-nan-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'swept area'
- (290) [qamáanán] /qamaa-nan/ 's/he plays'  
 [mínqamáanat] /min-qamaa-nan-Vt/ 'your game, toy'  
 [qamáanatlǎʔ] /qamaa-nan-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'playful'
- (291) [páastáanán] /paa=staa-nan/ 's/he thinks'  
 [mímpáastáanat] /min-paa=staa-nan-Vt/ 'your thought'  
 [páastáanatlǎʔ] /paa=staa-nan-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'thoughtful'
- (292) [ʔḥhó] /yhu/ 's/he coughs X'  
 [kíʔḥhɔṭ] /kin-yhu-Vt/ 'my cough'  
 [ʔḥhɔṭlǎʔ] /yhu-Vt-lǎʔ/ 'cougher, full of cough'

- |       |                |                    |                   |
|-------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (293) | [ɣút máašanán] | /ut maa=šanən/     | ‘s/he is ashamed’ |
|       | [mímáašanət]   | /min-maa=šanən-Vt/ | ‘your shame’      |
|       | [máašanətłáʔ]  | /maa=šanən-Vt-láʔ/ | ‘shameful’        |

The following nominals cannot take /láʔ/, possibly for pragmatic reasons.

- |       |                 |                   |                     |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (294) | [ɣút kəzi]      | /ut kəzii/        | ‘s/he knows X’      |
|       | [mínkəziit]     | /min-kəzii-Vt/    | ‘your knowledge’    |
|       | *[kəziitłáʔ]    | /kəzii-Vt-láʔ/    | ‘full of knowledge’ |
| (295) | [ɣút ɣán]       | /ut ən/           | ‘s/he goes’         |
|       | [kíɣánət]       | /kin-ən-Vt/       | ‘my outing’         |
|       | *[ɣánətłáʔ]     | /ən-Vt-láʔ/       | ‘full of outings’   |
| (296) | [ɣút čín]       | /ut čin/          | ‘s/he arrives’      |
|       | [kínčínət]      | /ut čin-Vt/       | ‘my arrival’        |
|       | *[čínətłáʔ]     | /čín-Vt-láʔ/      | ‘full of arrivals’  |
| (297) | [ɣút páasték]   | /ut paa=stak/     | ‘s/he remembers X’  |
|       | [kímpáastékat]  | /kin-paa=stak-Vt/ | ‘my memory’         |
|       | *[páastékatłáʔ] | /paa=stak-Vt-láʔ/ | ‘full of memories’  |
| (298) | [ɣíiwá]         | /íiwə/            | ‘s/he buys X’       |
|       | [ɣíiwət]        | /íiwə-Vt/         | ‘purchase’          |
|       | *[ɣíiwətłáʔ]    | /íiwə-Vt-láʔ/     | ‘full of purchases’ |
| (299) | [páš]           | /paš/             | ‘s/he bathes’       |
|       | [kímpášət]      | /kin-paš-Vt/      | ‘my bath’           |
|       | *[pášətłáʔ]     | /paš-Vt-láʔ/      | ‘full of baths’     |
| (300) | [laqén]         | /laqən/           | ‘s/he sees X’       |
|       | [kíláqət]       | /kin-laqən-Vt/    | ‘my view’           |
|       | *[láqətłáʔ]     | /laqən-Vt-láʔ/    | ‘full of views’     |
| (301) | [yóh]           | /yuh/             | ‘s/he falls’        |
|       | [kíyóhət]       | /kin-yuh-Vt/      | ‘my fall’           |
|       | *[yóhətłáʔ]     | /yuh-Vt-láʔ/      | ‘full of falls’     |

### 9.3.2.9. /-nYʔ/—‘Nominalizer’

The nominalizing suffix /-nYʔ/ ‘NOM’ attaches to both nominal and verbal stems, but most often occurs as a deverbalizer. On nominals, /-nYʔ/

'NOM' is added to bound roots. Many of these nominals refer to human qualities. The vowel of the suffix harmonizes in quality with the stem-final vowel.

(302)	[qɔʎanáʔ]	/quʎa-nYʔ/	'good one'
	[kanáalanáʔ]	/kanaa-la-nYʔ/	'bad one'
	[hášwáanáʔ]	/hašwaa-nYʔ/	'happy one'
	[papáksnáʔ]	/papaks-nYʔ/	'old one (man)'
	[stɔqɔnúʔ]	/stɔqu-nYʔ/	'old one (woman)'
	[tikiníʔ]	/tiki-nYʔ/	'dry one'
	[tiyenáʔ]	/tiya-nYʔ/	'ox'
	[tánɣwiníʔ]	/tankwi-nYʔ/	'money'

### 9.3.2.10. /-ni/—'Nominalizer'

The nominalizing suffix /-ni/<sup>11</sup> also attaches to both nominal and verbal stems, and it too occurs most often as a deverbalizer. The bound roots of some nominals require the suffix /-ni/ 'NOM'. When /ni/ follows a vowel or a nasal, it undergoes simplification of adjacent identical segments (3.4.1) and /CV/-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1) resulting in the surface form [-n]. /-ni/ 'NOM' only appears in its full form following a nonnasal consonant.

(303)	[kímpíštúun]	/kin-piš-tuu-ni/	'my neck'
	[ʔšpúlákni]	/iš-puu-lak-ni/	'her/his stomach'
	[mímpáχni]	/min-paq-ni/	'your arm'
	[ʎéʎni]	/ʎih-ni/	'yellow'
	[kíʎni]	/kiʎ-ni/	'mouth'
	[mímakapíšni]	/min-maka-piš-ni/	'your wrist'
	[pášni]	/paš-ni/	'pig'
	[ɛéʎni]	/ɛjh-ni/	'red'
	[stáqni]	/staq-ni/	'green'
	[mímpáatántúun]	/min-paa-tan-tuu-ni/	'your calf'

### 9.3.3. Deverbal Nominals

Most nouns in Totonac are derived by affixing a nominalizing element to a verb. These affixes are very productive.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> /-ni/ is sometimes realized as [-nə].

<sup>12</sup> In Tepehua, deverbal nominals are usually only formed on intransitive verbs (Watters 1989). This is not true of Misantla Totonac.

## 9.3.3.1. /-nYʔ/ —‘Nominalizer’

When added to a verb, the suffix /nYʔ/ ‘NOM’ creates an agentive nominal. It indicates the person (or occasionally the thing) performing the activity. Any verb can be made agentive; however, positional statives cannot. The resulting nouns refer to persons who habitually or customarily perform the activity denoted by the verb. The suffix /-nYʔ/ may be historically related to the verbal suffix /-nan/ ‘I.O.’, which also indicates habitual action. The default form of the suffix is /-nāʔ/. All verbs can take the suffix /-nāʔ/; however, because there is optional vowel harmony with the last vowel of the stem, there are often two agentive nominal forms, one with /-nāʔ/ and one with a harmonizing vowel /-nYʔ/.

(304) [hóntanúunúʔ]	/hun-ta-nuu-nYʔ/	‘DET one who always enters’
[pupunúʔ]	/pupu-nYʔ/	‘sea’ (lit., ‘what always boils’)
[hón mináʔ]	/hun min-nYʔ/	‘DET one who comes’
[hón ʔanáʔ]	/hun ʔan-nYʔ/	‘DET one who goes’
[hónqawanáʔ]	/hun-qawa-nYʔ/	‘DET speaker’
[hóntíináʔ]	/hun-tii-nYʔ/	‘DET dancer’
[hón ʔatíináʔ]	/hun ʔa-tii-nYʔ/	‘DET singer’
[hóntéhwanáʔ]	/hun-tihwan-nYʔ/	‘DET searcher’
[hómpášanáʔ]	/hun-paš-nYʔ/	‘DET bather’
[hónlaqənáʔ]	/hun-laqan-nYʔ/	‘DET seer’
[hónʔiškináʔ]	/hun-iški-nYʔ/	‘DET hitter/giver’
[hónčúulanáʔ]	/hun-čuula-nYʔ/	‘DET doer’
[hónqafanáʔ]	/hun-qaʔan-nYʔ/	‘DET robber’
[hómpášiínáʔ]	/hun-paš-ii-nYʔ/	‘DET bather (of others)’
[hón ʔiwanáʔ]	/hun iiwā-nYʔ/	‘DET buyer’
[hóntamáktunáʔ]	/hun-ta-mak-štu-nYʔ/	‘DET looter, one who takes X out’
[hónšqáanáʔ]	/hun-šqaa-nYʔ/	‘DET one who harvests’
[hónʔamáqʔtíináʔ]	/hun-ʔa-maq-ʔtii-nYʔ/	‘DET borrower’
[hónʔaʔiškáanáʔ]	/hun-ʔa-iškaa-nYʔ/	‘DET lender’
[hómpáaəiisnáʔ]	/hun-paa=əiis-nYʔ/	‘DET forgetter’
[hómáaminíináʔ]	/hun-maa-minii-nYʔ/	‘DET painter’
[hón čóhnáʔ]	/hun čuh-nYʔ/	‘DET spitter’

Examples of vowel harmony:

(305) [hónskiniínáʔ]	/hun-skinii-nYʔ/	‘DET asker’
[hónskiniíníʔ]	/hun-skinii-nYʔ/	‘DET asker’
(306) [hónlíimináʔ]	/hun-lii=min-nYʔ/	‘DET one who brings’
[hónlíiminíʔ]	/hun-lii=min-nYʔ/	‘DET one who brings’

- (307) [hómáasúuná?] /hun-maa=suu-nY?/ 'DET one who shows'  
 [hómáasúunú?] /hun-maa=suu-nY?/ 'DET one who shows'
- (308) [hómáasúuniná?] /hun-maa=suu-ni-nY?/ 'DET one who shows X to Y'  
 [hómáasúuninú?] /hun-maa=suu-ni-nY?/ 'DET one who shows X to Y'
- (309) [hóntáštuná?] /hun-ta-štu-nY?/ 'one who leaves'  
 [hóntáštunú?] /hun-ta-štu-nY?/ 'one who leaves'
- (310) [hónčəqná?] /hun-čəq-nY?/ 'DET writer'  
 [hónčəqnú?] /hun-čəq-nY?/ 'DET writer'
- (311) [kųčúuná?] /kųčúu-nY?/ 'curer/doctor'  
 [kųčúunú?] /kųčúu-nY?/ 'curer/doctor'

An agentive nominal may also be formed by adding /-nY?/ 'NOM' to a verb that has the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ 'I.O.' as part of its stem. The interpretation is 'one who habitually performs the action of the verb.'

- (311) [hóňčənaná?] /hun-čənan-nY?/ 'DET sower'  
 [hóňčənananá?] /hun-čənan-nan-nY?/ 'the one who always sows'
- (312) [hónstəənaná?] /hun-stəə-nY?/ 'DET seller'  
 [hónstəənananá?] /hun-stəə-nan-nY?/ 'the one who always sells'
- (313) [hónwaná?] /hun-wan-nY?/ 'DET speaker'  
 [hónwananá?] /hun-wan-nan-nY?/ 'DET lecturer/orator'

However, the agentive nominalizer /-nY?/ does not occur on those stems that obligatorily take the indefinite object suffix /-nan/.

- (314) \*[?út pəʃ] /ut pəʃ/ 's/he sweeps'  
 [?út pəʃnán] /ut pəʃ-nan/ 'DET sweeper'  
 [hómpəʃnínú?] /hun-pəʃ-nY?/ 'DET sweeper'
- (315) \*[?út páastáa] /ut paa=staa/ 's/he thinks'  
 [?út páastáanán] /ut paa=staa-nan/ 's/he thinks'  
 [hómpáastáaná?] /hun-paa=staa-nY?/ 'DET thinker'  
 \*[hómpáastáananá?] /hun-paa=staa-nY?/ 'DET thinker'

## 9.3.3.2. /-ni/—‘Nominalizer’

The nominalizing suffix /-ni/ acts as a very productive deverbalizer. /-ni/ is optionally realized as [-n̥]. /-ni/ ‘NOM’ appears alone primarily on intransitive verbs and a limited set of transitive verbs. However, in conjunction with the valence-changing prefixes, /-ni/’s occurrence is much more widespread (9.3.3.2.1). When /ni/ follows a vowel or a nasal, it undergoes simplification of adjacent identical segments (3.4.1) and /CV/-suffix simplification (4.3.1.1) resulting in the surface form [-n]. It is optionally realized as [-ʔ] after a short vowel. /-ni/ ‘NOM’ only appears in its full form following a nonnasal consonant.

Intransitive verbs add /-ni/ ‘NOM’ to form a nominal. Intransitives that have been deverbalized with /-ni/ refer to persons or things that have experienced or undergone the action denoted by the verb, ‘that which is Xed.’

(316)	[ʔút más] [másni]	/ut mas/ /mas-ni/	‘X rots’ ‘rotted’
(317)	[ʔút míš] [míšni]	/ut miš/ /miš-ni/	‘X gets cold’ ‘extinguished’
(318)	[ʔút čáa] [čáan]	/ut čaa/ /čaa-ni/	‘X ripens’ ‘ripened’
(319)	[ʔút skú] [mískún]	/ut sku/ /min-sku-ni/	‘X smokes’ ‘your smoked X’
(320)	[ʔút †kú] [hón †kún]	/ut †ku/ /hun †ku-ni/	‘X burns’ ‘that which is burned’
(321)	[ʔút páks] [hón páksni]	/paks/ /paks-ni/	‘X is covered with dew’ ‘the dew’
(322)	[ʔút níi] [hón níin]	/ut nii/ /hun nii-ni/	‘s/he dies’ ‘the dead’

/-ni/ occurs on a restricted number of monomorphemic transitive verbs.

(323)	[mínkáan] [mínɛásni] [mínɛúyksni] [tún ɛúyksni]	/min-kaa-ni/ /min-ɛas-ni/ /min-ɛuyks-ni/ /tun ɛuyks-ni/	‘your cutout’ ‘your weights’ ‘your kiss’ ‘one kiss’
-------	--	--	--

[tún εύυksnā]	/tun ευυks-nā/	‘one kiss’
[tún εύχni]	/tun ευχ-ni/	‘one pencil/pen, one writing’
[kínεύχnā]	/kin-ευχ-nā/	‘my pencil/pen, my writing’

*Bur,*

(324) * [hón štɔqón]	/štuqu-ni/	‘the sewn piece/needle’
* [hón ᵝškín]	/iškí-ni/	‘the gift’
* [mínčān]	/min-čān-ni/	‘your planted X (plant)’

### 9.3.3.2.1. Affixal Combinations with /-ni/ ‘NOM’

/-ni/ ‘NOM’ occurs productively on verbs which have been derived by means of a valence-changing prefix. The relevant valence changing prefixes are inchoative /ta-/ ‘INC’, instrumental /lii-/ ‘INS’, locative /puu-/ ‘LOC’, and comitative /laa-/ ‘COM’. As noted above, /-ni/ is sometimes realized as [-nā].

#### 9.3.3.2.1.1. /ta-/—‘Inchoative’

As stated in section 7.2.3, the inchoative prefix /ta-/ ‘INC’ occurs on a limited set of transitive verbs to form intransitive verbs meaning ‘become Xed.’ Forms derived in this fashion may be nominalized through suffixation of /-ni/ ‘NOM’. The resulting nominals refer to persons or things that have experienced or undergone the action denoted by the verb, ‘that which is Xed.’

(325) [míntečaqéξn]	/min-ta-čāqā-ni/	‘your clean/washed X’
[míntáškútni]	/min-ta-škut-ni/	‘your untied X’
[máatᵝ tapásni]	/maa-tuᵝ ta-pas-ni/	‘two degraigned X, two cobs’
[máatᵝ tamáaminíin]	/maa-tuᵝ ta-maa=minii-ni/	‘two paintings’
[máatᵝ taεyεyᵝ]	/maa-tuᵝ ta-εyεy-ni/	‘two cigarettes’
[míntaᵝškíᵝ]	/min-ta-iškí-ni/	‘your gift to Y’
[míntačučúᵝ]	/min-ta-čuču-ni/	‘your toasted X’
[míntáskitíᵝ]	/min-ta-skiti-ni/	‘your ground X’
[míntamáqᵝtíin]	/min-ta-maq=ᵝtíi-ni/	‘your gift from Y’

(326) [ᵝkíiwāᵝ hónkaféε tačučúᵝ]	
/ik-iᵝwā-la(ᵝ) hun-kaféε ta-čuču-ni/	
1SUB-buy X-PFV DET-coffee INC-toast X-NOM	
‘I bought the toasted coffee’	

It should be noted that the range of nominals derived through affixation of /ta-...-ni/ is much greater than the range of verbs that can be inchoativized

through prefixation of /ta-/. In fact, many transitive verbs cannot be inchoativized (i.e., they are ungrammatical with /ta-/ 'INC').

- |       |                  |                     |                   |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (327) | [ɛʒq]            | /ɛuq/               | 's/he writes X'   |
|       | *[taɛʒq]         | /ta-ɛuq/            | 'X is written'    |
|       | [míntaɛʒqni]     | /min-ta-ɛuq-ni/     | 'your writing'    |
|       | [máatʒʔ taɛʒqni] | /maa-tuʔ ta-ɛuq-ni/ | 'two writings'    |
| (328) | [čán]            | /čan/               | 's/he sows X'     |
|       | *[ʔút tečán]     | /ta-čan/            | 'X is sown'       |
|       | [míntečán]       | /min-ta-čan-ni/     | 'your sown field' |

### 9.3.3.2.1.2. /lii/- 'Instrumental'

A verb that takes the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS' can be deverbalized by the nominalizing suffixes /-nYʔ/ 'NOM' and /-ni/ or /-na/ 'NOM'. The resulting deverbalized nominal indicates an instrument, cause, or means of the action. It refers to that which is needed to undertake the action of the verb.

- |       |                 |                     |                                   |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (329) | [ʔút ɛʒq]       | /ut ɛuq/            | 's/he writes X'                   |
|       | [ʔút líɛʒq]     | /ut lii-ɛuq/        | 's/he writes X with Y'            |
|       | [kílíɛʒqnaʔ]    | /kin-lii-ɛuq-nYʔ/   | 'my pen/pencil'                   |
|       | [kílíɛʒqni]     | /kin-lii-ɛuq-ni/    | 'my pen/pencil'                   |
|       | [kílíɛʒqna]     | /kin-lii-ɛuq-na/    | 'my pen/pencil, my writing'       |
| (330) | [ʔút štuqʃ]     | /ut štuqu/          | 's/he sews X'                     |
|       | [ʔút líištuqʃ]  | /ut lii-štuqu/      | 's/he sews X with Y'              |
|       | [kílíištuqʃni]  | /kin-lii-štuqu-ni/  | 'my needle'                       |
|       | [kílíištuqʃnaʔ] | /kin-lii-štuqu-nYʔ/ | 'my needle'                       |
| (331) | [ʔút †kaa]      | /ut †kaa/           | 's/he measures X'                 |
|       | [ʔút líí†kaa]   | /ut lii-†kaa/       | 's/he measures X with Y'          |
|       | [kílíí†kaan]    | /kin-lii-†kaa-ni/   | 'my tape measure'                 |
|       | [kílíí†kaanaʔ]  | /kin-lii-†kaa-nYʔ/  | 'my tape measure'                 |
| (332) | [ʔút káa]       | /ut kaa/            | 's/he cuts X'                     |
|       | [ʔút lííkáa]    | /ut lii-kaa/        | 's/he cuts X with Y'              |
|       | [kílííkáan]     | /kin-lii-kaa-ni/    | 'my tool to cut with, my cutting' |
|       | [kílííkáanaʔ]   | /kin-lii-kaa-nYʔ/   | 'my tool to cut with'             |
| (333) | [ʔút čán]       | /ut čan/            | 's/he sows X'                     |
|       | [ʔút líičán]    | /ut lii-čan/        | 's/he sows X with Y'              |
|       | [mílíičán]      | /min-lii-čan-ni/    | 'your seed, seedling'             |



- (334) [ɣút spatá] /ut spata/ 's/he braids/twists X'  
 [mílúispatán] /min-líi-spata-ni/ 'your spindle/twister'

Positional statives that have been made verbs by inchoative /ta-/ 'INC' can also take instrumental /líi-/ 'INS' and be nominalized.

- (335) [tiw[laɸ] /ta-wíla-la(ɸ)/ 's/he sits down'  
 [ɣút líitiw[laɸ] /líi-ta-wíla-la(ɸ)/ 's/he sits down on X'  
 [mílíitiwílán] /min-líi-ta-wíla-ni/ 'your chair'

### 9.3.3.2.1.3. /laa-/—'Comitative'

A verb that takes the comitative prefix /laa-/ 'COM' can be deverbalized by the suffixes /-ni/ or /-nə/ 'NOM'. The resulting nominal indicates instrument or means. It refers primarily to inanimate instruments needed to perform the action of the verb—'what you X with.'

- (336) [ɣút čán] /ut čan/ 's/he sows X'  
 [mílááčán] /min-laa-čan-ni/ 'your digging stick (*ponzon*)'
- (337) [kínɛúuksni] /kin-ɛúuks-ni/ 'my kiss'  
 [kíláaɛúuksni] /kin-laa-ɛúuks-ni/ 'my mouth'  
 [kíláaɛúuksnə]
- (338) [míláaštɔqón] /min-laa-štuqu-ni/ 'your needle'  
 [míláaɸkáan] /min-laa-ɸkaa-ni/ 'your tape measure'  
 [míláakáan] /min-laa-kaa-ni/ 'your tool for cutting, axe, bell'  
 [máatɔ́ láapáastákna] /maa-tɔ́ laa-paa=stak-nə/ 'two memories'  
 [láaɸtɔ́χón] /laa-ɸtuqu-ni/ 'stirrer for *mole* or *atole*'  
 [láapɛ́ɸnə] /laa-paɸ-nə/ 'broom'

Sometimes the meaning of the nominal without the prefix /laa-/ is similar to the meaning with the prefix.

- (339) [míláaɛásni] /min-laa-ɛas-ni/ 'your weights'  
 [míláaɛásnə]  
 [mínɛásni] /min-ɛas-ni/ 'your weights'
- (340) [kíláaɛɔ́χni] /kin-laa-ɛuq-ni/ 'my pencil/pen, my writing'  
 [kíláaɛɔ́χnə]  
 [kínɛɔ́χnə] /kin-ɛuq-nə/ 'my pencil/pen, my writing'

- |       |                 |                       |                        |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (341) | [ɔ́ʉt spatá]    | /ut spata/            | ‘s/he braids/twists X’ |
|       | [mílaáspatán]   | /min-laa-spata-ná/    | ‘your spindle/twister’ |
|       | [míspatán]      | /min-spata-ná/        | ‘your spindle/twister’ |
| (342) | [mílaápáastáan] | /min-laa-paa=staa-ní/ | ‘your thought’         |
|       | [mímpáastáan]   | /min-paa=staa-ní/     | ‘your thought’         |
| (343) | [mílaaqámaan]   | /min-laa-qamaa-ní/    | ‘your toy/game’        |
|       | [mínqámaan]     | /min-qamaa-ní/        | ‘your toy/game’        |

#### 9.3.3.2.1.4. /puu-/—‘Locative’

A verb that takes the locative prefix /puu-/ ‘LOC’ can be denominalized by the suffixes /-ní/ or /-ná/ ‘NOM’. The resulting nominal indicates where the action of the verb takes place. Literally the combination means ‘where one participates in X activity’ (e.g., ‘where one sells X’).

- |       |                  |                         |                                   |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (344) | [púupáš]         | /puu-páš/               | ‘s/he bathes in X’                |
|       | [mímpúupášni]    | /min-puu-páš-ní/        | ‘your washroom’                   |
|       | [mímpúupášná]    |                         |                                   |
| (345) | [kít ʔíkpuúzʒχ]  | /ik-puu-ɕuq/            | ‘I write in X’                    |
|       | [mímpúúzʒχni]    | /min-puu-ɕuq-ní/        | ‘your desk/office’                |
|       | [mímpúúzʒχná]    |                         |                                   |
| (346) | [ʔíkpuústáa]     | /ik-puu-staa/           | ‘I sell in X’                     |
|       | [mímpúústáan]    | /min-puu-staa-ní/       | ‘your store/counter’              |
| (347) | [ʔíkpuútamáa]    | /ik-puu-ta-maa/         | ‘I lie down on X’                 |
|       | [mímpúútamáan]   | /min-puu-ta-maa-ní/     | ‘your bed’                        |
| (348) | [púuwáayán]      | /puu-waa-yan/           | ‘s/he eats in X’                  |
|       | [mímpúuwáayáʔ]   | /min-puu-waa-yan-ní/    | ‘your plate/table’                |
| (349) | [ʔíkpuútiwílaʔ]  | /ik-puu-ta-wíla-la(ʔ)/  | ‘I sat in X’                      |
|       | [mímpúútiwíláʔ]  | /min-puu-ta-wíla-ní/    | ‘your seat’                       |
| (350) | [ʔíkpuúmáaʔkúu]  | /ik-puu-maa-ʔku-ii/     | ‘I make a fire in X’              |
|       | [mímpúúmáaʔkúun] | /min-puu-maa-ʔku-ii-ní/ | ‘your brazier ( <i>brasero</i> )’ |
| (351) | [mímpúulaqén]    | /min-puu-laqañ-ní/      | ‘your glasses’                    |
|       | [mímpúučaqaqén]  | /min-puu-čaqaqá-ní/     | ‘your washbasin’                  |
|       | [mímpúuskuyún]   | /min-puu-sku-yan-ní/    | ‘your smokehouse’                 |

## 9.3.3.3. /-Vt/—‘Nominalizer’

Verbs add the suffix /-Vt/ ‘NOM’ to create a noun referring to the result of an action. This suffix can be added to any kind of verb, but not to positional statives. Following a vowel-final stem, there is vowel coalescence and the suffix is realized as [-t]. On nasal-final stems, the nasal is lost, the adjacent vowels simplify, and the suffix is again realized as [-t]. Following a consonant, the suffix vowel normally harmonizes with the vowel of the preceding syllable. When harmony does not occur, the default suffix is [-at].

*Vowel-final stems:*

- |       |                            |                              |                                      |
|-------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (352) | [šaná, saná]<br>[šánat]    | /šaná, saná/<br>/šaná-Vt/    | ‘X flowers’<br>‘flower’              |
| (353) | [ʔút pulí]<br>[kímpúlɪt]   | /ut pulí/<br>/kin-pulí-Vt/   | ‘s/he sweats’<br>‘my sweat’          |
| (354) | [ʔtata]<br>[míʔtátat]      | /ʔtata/<br>/min-ʔtata-Vt/    | ‘s/he sleeps’<br>‘your sleep’        |
| (355) | [ʔút kəzií]<br>[mínkəziit] | /ut kəzií/<br>/min-kəzií-Vt/ | ‘s/he knows X’<br>‘your knowledge’   |
| (356) | [skití]<br>[hónskítɪt]     | /skití/<br>/hun-skití-Vt/    | ‘s/he grinds corn’<br>‘DET cornmeal’ |
| (357) | [ʔíiwá]<br>[ʔíiwat]        | /íiwá/<br>/íiwá-Vt/          | ‘s/he buys X’<br>‘purchase’          |
| (358) | [ʔhó]<br>[kíʔhót]          | /yhu/<br>/kin-yhu-Vt/        | ‘s/he coughs X’<br>‘DET cough’       |

*Nasal-final stems:*

- |       |                                |                                      |   |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (359) | [ʔút ə́lán]<br>[hónə́lát]      | /ut ə́lan/<br>/hun-ə́lan-Vt/         | ‘s/he/it sprouts’<br>‘DET sprout/shoot’ |
| (360) | [sakán]<br>[mísakát]           | /sakán/<br>/min-sakán-Vt/            | ‘s/he is ill’<br>‘your illness’         |
| (361) | [ʔút máašanán]<br>[mímáašanát] | /ut maa=šanán/<br>/min-maa=šanán-Vt/ | ‘s/he is ashamed’<br>‘your shame’       |

(362)	[ʔút ʔán] [kíʔánat] <sup>13</sup>	/ut ʔan/ /kin-ʔan-Vt/	's/he goes' 'my outing'
(363)	[ʔút čín] [kínčínat]	/ut čin/ /kin-čin-Vt/	's/he arrives' 'my arrival'
(364)	[ʔút ɛiyán] [kínɛiyat]	/ut ɛiyán/ /kin-ɛiyán-Vt/	's/he laughs' 'my laugh'
(365)	[l̥aʔéɲ] [kíʔaʔéɲ]	/l̥aʔaɲ/ /kin-l̥aʔaɲ-Vt/	's/he sees X' 'my view'

*Consonant-final stems:*

(366)	[yóh] [kíyóhət]	/yuh/ /kin-yuh-Vt/	's/he falls' 'my fall'
(367)	[páš] [kímpášat]	/paš/ /kin-paş-Vt/	's/he bathes' 'my bath'
(368)	[ʔút páasték] [kímpáastékət]	/ut paa=stak/ /kin-paa=stak-Vt/	's/he remembers X' 'my memory'
(369)	[ʔút čəh] [ʔiščəhət]	/ut čuh/ /iš-čuh-Vt/	's/he spits X' 'her/his spit'

Unlike the suffix /-nYʔ/, the suffix /-Vt/ does occur on stems that obligatorily take the indefinite object suffix /-nan/.

(370)	[péʔnán] [mímpéʔnat]	/paʔ-nan/ /min-paʔ-nan-Vt/	's/he sweeps' 'your swept area'
(371)	[qamáanán] [míɲqamáanat]	/qamaa-nan/ /min-qamaa-nan-Vt/	's/he plays' 'your game, toy'
(372)	[páastáanán] [mímpáastáanat]	/paa=staa-nan/ /min-paa=staa-nan-Vt/	's/he thinks' 'your thought'

Verbs prefixed with the instrumental prefix /lii-/ 'INS' can be also be nominalized by the suffix /-Vt/ 'NOM' to yield nouns referring to instruments or means.

<sup>13</sup>/n/-deletion does not apply because it would violate the minimal root constraint (3.5.2).

(373)	[ɔ́ʉt č̣an]	/ut č̣an/	‘s/he sows X’
	[ɔ́ʉt líič̣an]	/ut lii-č̣an/	‘s/he sows X with Y’
	[míllíič̣anat]	/min-lii-č̣an-Vt/	‘your seed’
(374)	[ɔ́ʉt sṭáa]	/ut sṭaa/	‘s/he sells X’
	[ɔ́ʉt líísṭáa]	/ut lii-sṭaa/	‘s/he sells X with Y’
	[míllíísṭáat]	/min-lii-sṭaa-Vt/	‘your merchandise’

### 9.3.3.4. /-ti/—‘Nominalizer’

The nominalizer /-ti/ ‘NOM’ is suffixed to a restricted set of verbs to indicate one who characteristically possesses the qualities described by the verb. Stem-final vowels are lengthened and laryngealized preceding the suffix /-ti/. A stem-final /n/ is deleted prior to vowel lengthening. This does not appear to be a very productive suffix.

(375)	[héḳwá̄aṭe]	/hikw̄an-ti/	‘fearful one’
	[hášwá̄aṭe]	/hašwan-ti/	‘happy one’
	[máašaná̄aṭe]	/maa=šan̄an-ti/	‘embarrassed one’
	[ziyá̄aṭe]	/ziyan-ti/	‘smiley one’
	[kéḳwá̄aṭe]	/kiʔ-wan-ti/	‘crying one’
	[téḥwá̄aṭe]	/tiḥwan-ti/	‘searching one’
	[zéḥn̄á̄aṭe]	/ziḥ-nan-ti/	‘red one’
	[páastáan̄á̄aṭe]	/paa=staa-nan-ti/	‘thinking one’
	[qawá̄aṭe]	/qawa-ti/	‘talking one’
	[ʔtaṭá̄aṭe]	/ʔtata-ti/	‘sleeping one’

## 9.4. Numerals

### 9.4.1. Cardinal Numbers

The Misantla Totonac numerical system, like many others in Mesoamerica, is vigesimal. Numbers greater than twenty are based on twenty rather than ten. The numerals from two to ten always take a numeral classifier. The generic numeral classifiers /maa-/ ‘NC’ and /maq-/ ‘NC’ occur most often. /maq-/ ‘NC’ is often interpreted as meaning ‘times.’

(376)	[tún]	/tun/	‘one’
	[máaṭʔ]	/maa-tʔ/	‘two’
	[máaʔitún]	/maa-itun/	‘three’
	[máaṭá̄aṭ]	/maa-t̄á̄aṭ/	‘four’
	[máakítis] ~ [máakízis]	/maa-kitis/ ~ /maa-kízis/	‘five’

	[máačáašán]	/maa-čaašan/	'six'
	[máatohón]	/maa-tuhun/	'seven'
	[máaɛiyán]	/maa-ɛiyan/	'eight'
	[máanaháaɛa]	/maa-nahaɛa/	'nine'
	[máakáa]	/maa-kaawi/	'ten'
(377)	[tún]	/tun/	'one'
	[máqtɔ̃]	/maq-tɔ̃/	'two'
	[máqtɔ̃itún]	/maq-itun/	'three'
	[máqtáat]	/maq-táat/	'four'
	[máqkítis] ~ [máqkízis]	/maq-kitis/ ~ /maq-kízis/	'five'
	[máqčáašán]	/maq-čaašan/	'six'
	[máqtohón]	/maq-tuhun/	'seven'
	[máqɛiyán]	/maq-ɛiyan/	'eight'
	[máqnaháaɛa]	/maq-nahaɛa/	'nine'
	[máqkáa]	/maq-kaawi/	'ten'

The numerals from eleven to nineteen are based on /kaaw(i)/ 'ten' together with the numbers from one to nine.

(378)	[káawitún]	/kaawi-tun/	'eleven'
	[káawitɔ̃]	/kaawi-tɔ̃/	'twelve'
	[káawitɔ̃itún]	/kaawi-itun/	'thirteen'
	[káawitáat]	/kaawi-táat/	'fourteen'
	[káawikítis]	/kaawi-kitis/	'fifteen'
	[káawikízis]	/kaawi-kízis/	
	[káawičáašán]	/kaawi-čaašan/	'sixteen'
	[káawitohón]	/kaawi-tuhun/	'seventeen'
	[káawieiyán]	/kaawi-ɛiyan/	'eighteen'
	[káawinaháaɛa]	/kaawi-nahaɛa/	'nineteen'
(379)	[pušún] <sup>14</sup>	/pušum/	'twenty'
	[pušún máatún]	/pušum maa-tun/	'twenty-one'
	[pušún máatɔ̃]	/pušum maa-tɔ̃/	'twenty-two'
	<i>et seq.</i>		
(380)	[pušún máakáa]	/pušum maa-kaawi/	'thirty'
	[pušún máakáawitún]	/pušum maa-kaawi-tun/	'thirty-one'
	[pušún máakáawitɔ̃]	/pušum maa-kaawi-tɔ̃/	'thirty-two'
	<i>et seq.</i>		

<sup>14</sup> Recall that word-final /m/ neutralizes to [n] (3.4.4.1).

There are alternate ways of realizing the vigesimal system. One system is based on addition while the other is based on multiplication. There are several numeral classifiers which occur with the numerals: /ǵ-/ 'another' and /lii-/ 'NC'. The following examples are based on addition. Past seventy, only the multiplicative system occurs.

- (381) [pušún pušún] /pušum pušum/ 'forty (20+20)'  
 [pušún pušúntún] /pušum pušum-tun/ 'forty-one'  
 [pušún pušún máatǵ?] /pušum pušum maa-tǵ?/ 'forty-two'  
*et seq.*
- (382) [pušún pušún máakáa] /pušum pušum-maa-kaawi/ 'fifty (20+20+10)'  
 [pušún pušún máakáawitún] 'fifty-one'  
 [pušún pušún máakáawitǵ?] 'fifty-two'  
*et seq.*
- (383) [pahasyéntu] /paha-syentu/<sup>15</sup> 'fifty'  
 [pahasyéntu ǵatún] /paha-syentu ǵ-tun/ 'fifty-one'  
 [pahasyéntu ǵamáatǵ?] /paha-syentu ǵ-maa-tǵ?/ 'fifty-two'  
*et seq.*
- (384) [pušún pušún pušún] /pušum pušum pušum/ 'sixty (20+20+20)'  
 [pušún pušún pušún ǵatún] 'sixty-one'  
 [pušún pušún pušún ǵamáatǵ?] 'sixty-two'  
*et seq.*
- (385) [pušún pušún pušún ǵamáakáa] /pusum pušum pušum ǵ-maa-kaawi/ 'seventy'
- (386) [pušún pušún pušún líiǵakáawitún] /pušum pušum pušum lii-ǵ-kaawi-tun/ 'seventy-one'
- (387) [pušún pušún pušún líiǵakáawitǵ?] /pušum pušum pušum lii-ǵ-kaawi-tǵ?/ 'seventy-two'

The vigesimal system based on multiplication is as follows. Only small numbers (1–20) occur in Misantla Totonac with any frequency, and as the numbers get larger, there is more variation in their form.

<sup>15</sup> /paha-syentu/ 'half of one hundred' is a Spanish loan.

- |       |                      |                                   |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (388) | [pušún]              | ‘twenty’                          |
|       | [tiyúu pušún]        | ‘forty (2 x 20)’                  |
|       | [tiyúu pušún máakáa] | ‘fifty (2 x 20 + 10)’             |
|       | [tutún pušún]        | ‘sixty (3 x 20)’                  |
|       | [tutún pušún máakáa] | ‘seventy (3 x 20 + 10)’           |
|       | [táḡti pušún]        | ‘eighty (4 x 20)’                 |
|       | [máatḡat pušún]      | ‘eighty (4 x 20)’                 |
|       | [táḡti pušún máakáa] | ‘ninety (4 x 20 + 10)’            |
|       | [kízis pušún]        | ‘one hundred (5 x 20)’            |
|       | [máakízis pušún]     | ‘one hundred (5 x 20)’            |
|       | [čáašán pušún]       | ‘one hundred and twenty (6 x 20)’ |
|       | [tḡhón pušún]        | ‘one hundred and forty (7 x 20)’  |
|       | [ziyán pušún]        | ‘one hundred and sixty (8 x 20)’  |
|       | [naháaḡa pušún]      | ‘one hundred and eighty (9 x 20)’ |
|       | [máakáa pušún]       | ‘two hundred (10 x 20)’           |
- 
- |       |                          |                           |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (389) | [tiyúu pušún máatḡ]      | ‘forty-two (2 x 20 + 2)’  |
|       | [tiyúu pušún máakáawitḡ] | ‘fifty-two (2 x 20 + 12)’ |

An alternate form of the multiplicative system is as follows:

- |       |                            |  |
|-------|----------------------------|--|
| (390) | [máaʔitún pušún líiʔatún]  |  |
|       | /maa-itun pušum lii-ḡ-tun/ |  |
|       | NC-three-twenty-NC-NC-one  |  |
|       | ‘sixty-one (3 x 20 + 1)’   |  |
- 
- |       |                                |  |
|-------|--------------------------------|--|
| (391) | [máaʔitún pušún líiʔamáatḡ]    |  |
|       | /maa-itun pušum-lii-ḡ-maa-tuʔ/ |  |
|       | NC-three twenty-NC-NC-NC-two   |  |
|       | ‘sixty-two (3 x 20 + 2)’       |  |
- 
- |       |                                  |  |
|-------|----------------------------------|--|
| (392) | [máaʔitún pušún líiʔamáakáa]     |  |
|       | /maa-itun pušun lii-ḡ-maa-kaawi/ |  |
|       | NC-three twenty NC-NC-NC-ten     |  |
|       | ‘seventy’                        |  |
- 
- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (393) | [máaʔitún pušún líiʔamáakáaʔatún]      |  |
|       | /maa-itun pušum lii-ḡ-maa-kaawi-ḡ-tun/ |  |
|       | NC-three twenty NC-NC-NC-ten-NC-one    |  |
|       | ‘seventy-one’                          |  |



- (394) [máaʔitún pušún líʔámáakáaʔatʔ]  
 /maa-itun pušum lii-ǵ-maa-kaawi-ǵ-tuʔ/  
 NC-three twenty NC-NC-NC-ten-NC-two  
 ‘seventy-two’
- (395) [máatǵat pušún]  
 /maa-tǵat pušum/  
 NC-four twenty  
 ‘eighty’
- (396) [máatǵat pušún ʔatún, ʔitún, líʔatún]  
 /maa-tǵat pušum ǵ-tun, i-tun, lii-ǵ-tun/  
 NC-four twenty NC-one, NC-one, NC-NC-one  
 ‘eighty-one’
- (397) [máatǵat pušún ʔámáatʔ, líʔámáatʔ]  
 /maa-tǵat pušum ǵ-maa-tuʔ, lii-ǵ-maa-tuʔ/  
 NC-four twenty NC-NC-two, NC-NC-NC-two  
 ‘eighty-two’
- (398) [máatǵat pušún líʔámáakáa]  
 /maa-tǵat pušum lii-ǵ-maa-kaawi/  
 NC-four twenty NC-NC-NC-ten  
 ‘ninety’
- (399) [máatǵat pušún líʔámáakáaʔatún]  
 /maa-ǵ-tǵat pušum lii-ǵ-maa-kaawi-ǵ-tun/  
 NC-four twenty NC-NC-NC-ten-NC-one  
 ‘ninety-one’
- (400) [máatǵat pušún líʔámáakáa ʔámáatʔ, líʔákáawitʔ]  
 /maa-tǵat pušum lii-ǵ-maa-kaawi ǵ-maa-tuʔ, lii-ǵ-kaawi-tuʔ/  
 NC-four twenty NC-NC-NC-ten-NC-NC-two, NC-NC-ten-two  
 ‘ninety-two’
- (401) [tún syéntu]<sup>16</sup>  
 /tun syentu/  
 one hundred  
 ‘one hundred’

<sup>16</sup>From Spanish *ciento* ‘one hundred.’

- (402) [tún syéntu líiʔámáakáa]            ‘one hundred and ten’  
 [kízis pušún máakáa]                    ‘one hundred and ten’  
 [máakízis pušún líiʔámáakáa]        ‘one hundred and ten’
- (403) [tún syéntu ʔapaháʔ]  
 /tun syentu a-pahaʔ/  
 one hundred NC-half  
 ‘one hundred and fifty’
- (404) [máatʔ syéntu ʔapaháʔ]  
 /maa-tuʔ syentu a-pahaʔ/  
 NC-two hundred NC-half  
 ‘two hundred and fifty’
- (405) [máatʔ syéntu]                    /maa-tuʔ syentu/            ‘two hundred’  
 [máatáat syéntu]                    /maa-táat syentu/        ‘four hundred’  
 [tún miʔ]                                /tun mil/                    ‘one thousand’  
 [páhamiʔ]                                /paha-mil/                ‘five hundred’  
 [máakízis syéntu]                    /maa-kízis syentu/        ‘five hundred’

#### 9.4.2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers consist of the numeral classifier /uq(s)-/ ‘NC’ prefixed to the numeral.

- (406) [ʔʒxtún, ʔʒxtún]                    /uq(s)-tun/                ‘first’  
 [ʔʒxtʔ, ʔʒxtʔ]                        /uq(s)-tuʔ/                ‘second’  
 [ʔʒxʔítún, ʔʒxsʔítún]                /uq(s)-ítun/                ‘third’  
 [ʔʒxtáat, ʔʒxtáat]                    /uq(s)-táat/                ‘fourth’  
 [ʔʒxkítis, ʔʒxskítis]                /uq(s)-kitis/                ‘fifth’  
 [ʔʒxčáašán, ʔʒxščáašán]                /uq(s)-čaašan/                ‘sixth’  
 [ʔʒxtɔhón, ʔʒxtɔhón]                /uq(s)-tuhun/                ‘seventh’  
 [ʔʒxɛiyán, ʔʒxsɛiyán]                /uq(s)-ɛiyan/                ‘eighth’  
 [ʔʒxnaháaɛa, ʔʒxsnaháaɛa ]                /uq(s)-nahaɛa/                ‘ninth’  
 [ʔʒxkáa, ʔʒxskáa]                    /uq(s)-kaawi/                ‘tenth’  
 [ʔʒxkáawitún, ʔʒxskáawitún]                /uq(s)-kaawi-tun/                ‘eleventh’

Alternatively, ordinal numerals are formed by adding the prefixes /iš-/ ‘3POSS’ + /lii-/ ‘NC’ to the above form.

- (407) [šlíiʔʒxtún]                    /iš-lii-ni-uq(s)-tun/                ‘first’  
 [šlíiʔʒxtʔ]                            /iš-lii-ni-uq(s)-tuʔ/                ‘second’

[šlíiʔʒχʔírun]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-itun/	'third'
[šlíiʔʒχtáat]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-táat/	'fourth'
[šlíiʔʒχkítis]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-kítis/	'fifth'
[šlíiʔʒχčaašán]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-čaašan/	'sixth'
[šlíiʔʒχtɔhón]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-tuhun/	'seventh'
[šlíiʔʒχɛiyán]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-ɛiyan/	'eighth'
[šlíiʔʒχnaháaʒa]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-nahaaʒa/	'ninth'
[šlíiʔʒχkáa]	/iš-lii-ni-ɯq(s)-kaawi/	'tenth'

### 9.4.3. Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers occur in counting from one to ten. They are prefixed to a number and indicate the shape or type of noun being counted. Although numeral classifiers are productive in other Totonacan languages, in Misantla Totonac they are not.

In each Totonacan language, the general or default numeral classifier is different. In Huehuetla Tepehua (Bower 1948) and Xicotepec de Juárez (Reid and Bishop 1974) the prefix /laka-/ acts as the general classifier; in Papantla (Aschmann 1973), /aq-/ occurs; in Zapotitlán de Méndez, /a'q-/, (Aschmann 1962); and /ʔaq-/ in Coatepec (McQuown 1990b:133). In Misantla Totonac, the general classifiers are:

/maa-/	'general classifier'
/maq-/	'general classifier, times'

As seen above, these two prefixes occur on the numerals from one to ten. However, their meanings are not exactly equivalent.

- (408) [máatáat máqtáat]  
 /maa-táat maq-táat/  
 NC-four times-four  
 'four, four times'

Classifiers with more specific meanings include:

/a-/ 'another'

- (409) [ʔatúnkáat]  
 /a-tun-kaat/  
 another-one-year  
 'next year, another year'

- (410) [ʔatúnʔičíiníʔ]  
 /a-tun-ičii-nYʔ/  
 another-one-day-NOM  
 'another day'

When prefixed to a nominal /a-/ means 'another X.'

- (411) [ʔamáχtún]                    'another time'  
 [ʔaʔút]                            'the other one'  
 [ʔaʔutún]                         'the other ones'

Sometimes the prefix /lii-/ is required in addition to /a-/.

- (412) [ʔalíilaqalíi]                \* [ʔalaqalíi]                    'the next day'  
 [ʔalíišqóótán]                    \* [ʔášqóótán]                 'the other yesterday'  
 [ʔalíitúušimíʔ]                    \* [ʔatúušimíʔ]                'day before yesterday'

In addition, the combination /a-lii-/ has the meaning of 'also.'

- (413) [ʔalíiʔút]                    /a-lii-ut/                        'her/him too'  
 [ʔalíiʔutún]                        /a-lii-utun/                     'them too'

**/qaqa-/ 'ear related'**

- (414) [qaqatáat šáalɔʔ]  
 /qaqa-taʔat šaaluh/  
 ear rel.-four jar  
 'jar with four handles'
- (415) [qaqatʔ minqaqášqɔʔ]  
 /qaqa-tʔ min-qaqa-šqul/  
 ear rel.-two 2POSS-ear rel.-ear  
 'your two ears'

**/čaa-/ 'body or trunk related'**

- (416) [čáatáat ə́lát]  
 [čaa-taʔat ə́lan-Vt/  
 body rel.-four sprout-NOM  
 'four sprouts'

- (417) [čáatáat škáan]  
 [čáa-táat škaan/  
 body rel.-four water  
 'four branches of the river'

**/kiʔ-/ 'mouth related'**

- (418) [kiʔtáat tapúuʔúšni]  
 /kiʔ-táat ta-puu-uš-ni/  
 mouth rel.-four INC-inside rel.-dig X-NOM  
 'four holes'

**/laq-/ 'related to divisions or faces'**

- (419) [hǝńčik púmpaháʔ láqtáat]  
 /hun-čik pum-pahaʔ laq-táat/  
 DET-house ??-half face rel.-four  
 'the house has four parts'

- (420) [laktáat páaʔkə]  
 /lak-táat paaʔkə/  
 face rel.-four comal  
 'four comals'

**/qiin-/ 'related to rolled or cylindrical objects'**

- (421) [qéentáat kéʔ]  
 /qiin-táat kiw/  
 cilinder rel.-four tree  
 'four logs'
- (422) [qéentáat lamáχsqəʔ]  
 /qiin-táat lamaqsquʔ/  
 cilinder rel.-four candle  
 'four candles'
- (423) [qéentáat čéεχ]  
 /qiin-táat čiiq/  
 cilinder rel.-four banana  
 'four bananas'

## /piš-/ 'related to neck, bunch'

- (424) [pištáat šanáat]  
/piš-táat šaná-Vt/  
neck rel.-four flower-NOM  
'four bunches of flowers'
- (425) [pištáat kúksmáat]  
/piš-táat kúksmaa-Vt/  
neck rel.-four paper-NOM  
'four bunches of leaves used in making tamales (*papatla*)'
- (426) [pištáat láamáqčĭin]  
/piš-táat laa-maq-čĭi-ni/  
neck rel.-four COM-hand rel.-strong-NOM  
'four bunches of leaves used in making tamales (*papatla*)'

## /puu-/ 'related to the inside'

- (427) [púutáat páχʔaat]  
/puu-táat paqʔaat/  
inside rel.-four boards  
'four boards'

## /paa-/ 'middle/belly related'

- (428) [páatáat tánqɛ]  
/paa-táat tanqi/  
middle rel.-four sack  
'four sacks'
- (429) [páatáat bóso]  
/paa-táat boso/  
middle rel.-four sack  
'four sacks'

## /kaak-/ 'head related'

- (430) [káaktáat čík]  
/kaak-táat čik/  
head rel.-four house  
'four houses'

- (431) [káąktáąat nípšǐ]  
 /káąk-táąat nípšǐ/  
 head rel.-four squash  
 'four zucchinis'

**/tǐi-/ 'related to rows'**

- (432) [tǐitáąat sǔrkǝ]  
 /tǐi-táąat sǔrkǝ/  
 row rel.-four furrows  
 'four furrows'

- (433) [tǐitáąat šáawat]  
 /tǐi-táąat šaawat/  
 row rel.-four cornfield  
 'four cornfields'

**/tuu-/ 'foot related'**

- (434) [túutáąat wǐn mésa]  
 /tuu-táąat wǐn mesa/  
 foot rel.-four this table  
 'this four-legged table'

- (435) [túutáąat páakiš]  
 /tuu-táąat paakiš/  
 foot rel.-four cow  
 'this four-legged cow'

## 9.5. Noun Phrases

Noun phrases in Misantla Totonac are made up of a nominal that is the head of the noun phrase and the determiners and nominals that modify it. The head is usually the right-most element within the NP.

### 9.5.1. Determiners

Determiners precede the nominal they modify. The most common determiner is /hun/ 'DET,' which generally has the meaning of a definite article, but can also be interpreted as the demonstrative 'that.' The other determiners are the demonstratives /wǐn/ 'this,' /nǎn/ 'that,' and all numerals. These are all free morphemes which can optionally be incorporated into the phonological word.

Many of the determiners end in /n/ and, unlike the possessive prefixes, can be incorporated into the phonological word without undergoing /n-/ deletion before continuants (3.4.5). The only phonological processes that the determiners do undergo are nasal assimilation and simplification.

(436) [hón šáawat] [hónšáawɛt] \*[hóššáawat]  
 /hun-šaawat/  
 DET/that-cornfield  
 'the cornfield, that cornfield'

(437) [hón †áχaat] [hón†áχaat] \*[hó†áχaat]  
 /hun-†aqaat/  
 DET/that-clothes  
 'the clothes, that cloth'

(438) [wɪn šánaɪ] [wɪnšánaɪ] \*[wíšánaɪ]  
 /wɪn-šana-Vt/  
 this-flower-NOM  
 'this flower'

(439) [wɪn čík] [wɪnčík]  
 /wɪn-čik/  
 this-house  
 'this house'

(440) [nən šónaɪ] [nənšónaɪ] \*[nášánaɪ]  
 /nən-šana-Vt/  
 that-flower-NOM  
 'that flower'

(441) [nən kɛʔ] [nənɣɛʔ]  
 /nən-kiw/  
 that-tree  
 'that tree'

(442) [tún čík]  
 /tun čik/  
 one house  
 'one house'



### 9.5.2. Noun Phrase Word Order

The most common constituents of a noun phrase are the head nominal, modifiers, and determiners. The order of these constituents within noun phrases is variable, but the following generalizations seem valid:

1. Determiners precede a head nominal.

(443) [kalíiʔijwət tún mírefrésco tún míndúlse]  
 /ka-lii-ijwə-ti tun min-refresco tun min-dulse/  
 IRR-INS-buy-2PFV one 2POSS-soda one 2POSS-candy  
 ‘use X to buy yourself a soft drink, a candy’

2. Nominals which serve as modifiers also generally precede the head and follow a determiner.

(444) [hón kíkčún ʔt čičiʔ kiláʔ]  
 /hun kijk-čun ʔit čičiʔ kin-laʔ/  
 DET small-NOM black dog 1POSS-PBASE  
 ‘the small, black dog is mine’

3. Sequences of nominals can be interpreted as belonging to one or more than one NP. In addition, sequences of nominals (possessed or unpossessed, with a determiner or without) can be interpreted as predications. The translations below reflect this variability of interpretation. Although there apparently are some differences in interpretation that are correlated with differences of word order and/or intonation, the exact nature of these correlations cannot be established without extensive investigation of texts. The following examples, primarily elicited, are intended to provide some indication of the range of possibilities of word order and interpretations. A full investigation of this issue remains a topic for future research.

(445) [wín qát míŋkǽʔ]  
 /wɪn qat min-kiw/  
 this big 2POSS-tree  
 ‘this big one, your tree; this big one is your tree’

(446) [wín míŋkǽʔ]  
 /wɪn min-kiw/  
 this 2POSS-tree  
 ‘this one, your tree; this is your tree’

- (447) [qát čík] /qat čik/ 'big house, the house is big'  
 [čík qát] /čikqat/ 'big house, the house is big'  
 [kínqát čík] /kin-qat čik/ 'my big house'  
 [hón qát čík] /hun qat čik/ 'the big house'  
 [qát kíñčík] /qat kin-čik/ 'it is a big one, my house'  
 [kíñčík qát] /kin-čik qat/ 'my big house, my house is big'  
 [kínqát kíñčík] /kin-qat kin-čik/ 'my big one, my house'  
 \*[kíñčík kínqát]  
 \*[čík kínqát]

- (448) [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ wín kɛʔ qát] 'I saw that this tree is big'  
 [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ wín qát kɛʔ] 'I saw this big tree; that this big one is a tree'  
 [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ qát wín kɛʔ] 'I saw that it is a big one, this tree'  
 [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ wín qát wín kɛʔ] 'I saw this big one, this tree'  
 \*[kít ʔíkláqɛʔ kɛʔ wín qát]  
 \*[kít ʔíkláqɛʔ wín kɛʔ wín qát]  
 /kit ik-láqan-la(ʔ) wín kíw qat/  
 I 1SUB-see X-PFV this tree big

- (449) [hón ɛéʔnɪ čík] /hun ɛiʔ-nɪ čik/ 'the red house'  
 [ɛéʔnɪ hón čík] /ɛiʔ-nɪ hun čik/ 'the house that is red'  
 [hón ɛéʔnɪ hón čík] /hun ɛiʔ-nɪ hun cik/ 'the house is the red one'

- (450) [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ qát ʔiščičiʔ] 'I saw the big one, her/his dog'  
 [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ ʔišqát čičiʔ] 'I saw her/his big dog'  
 [kít ʔíkláqɛʔ ʔišqát ʔiščičiʔ] 'I saw her/his big one, her/his dog'  
 /kit ik-láqan-la(ʔ) iš-qat iš-čičiʔ/  
 I 1SUB-see X-PFV 3POSS-big 3POSS-dog

- (451) [kít ʔíkíwəʔ ʔiščík snapáp] 'I bought her/his house, the white one'  
 [kít ʔíkíwəʔ ʔisnapáp ʔiščík] 'I bought her/his white one, her/his house'  
 /kit ik-íwə-la(ʔ) iš-snapap iš-čik/  
 I 1SUB-buy X-PFV 3POSS-white 3POSS-house

### 9.5.3. Nominals as Predicates

As predicates, nominals can be inflected for number of the subject and tense. Person and aspect cannot be marked. There is no copula and inflection occurs directly on the nominal. In constructions with nominals as predicates, the word order is very free.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (452) [šwáan kíŋkán]<br>/Juan kin-kam/<br>Juan 1POSS-offspring<br>'Juan is my son'   | (453) [kíŋkán šwáan]<br>/kin-kam Juan/<br>1POSS-offspring Juan<br>'Juan is my son'     |
| (454) [Malíəh tǎku]<br>/Maria tǎku/<br>Maria woman<br>'Maria is a woman'   | (455) [tǎku Malíəh]<br>/tǎku Maria/<br>woman Maria<br>'Maria is a woman'               |
| (456) [Malíəh hón tǎku]<br>/Maria hun tǎku/<br>Maria DET woman<br>'Maria is the woman'   | (457) [hón tǎku Malíəh]<br>/hun tǎku Maria/<br>DET woman Maria<br>'Maria is the woman' |
| (458) [čǐškukít]<br>/čǐškuʔ-kit/<br>man-I<br>'I am a man'  | (459) [kít čǐškúʔ]<br>/kit čǐškuʔ/<br>I man<br>'I am a man'                            |
| (460) [šwáan hón tíjǎʔ]<br>/Juan hun tíj-nYʔ/<br>Juan DET dance-NOM<br>'Juan is the dancer'                                    |  |
| (461) [hónfálda snapáp wáah ɛít]<br>/hun-falda snapap waaʔ ɛít/<br>DET-skirt white and black<br>'the skirt is white and black' |  |

Singular number and nonpast tense are both unmarked (∅). Plural number is marked by a suffix. Past tense is indicated by /štǎn/ 'PAST'. The future /na(ʔ)/ is generally not accepted with predicate nominals by speakers of Misantla Totonac.

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| (462) [kít kǐjksún]<br>[wiš kǐjksún]<br>[ʔut kǐjksún]<br>[kinǎn kǐjksúntǎn]<br>[wišín kǐjksúntǎn]<br>[ʔutún kǐjksúntǎn] | /kit kǐj-k-sun/<br>/wiš kǐj-k-sun/<br>/ut kǐj-k-sun/<br>/kinǎn kǐj-k-sun-tǎn/<br>/wišín kǐj-k-sun-tǎn/<br>/utún kǐj-k-sun-tǎn/ | 'I am young'<br>'you are young'<br>'s/he is young'<br>'we are young'<br>'y'all are young'<br>'they are young' |
|---|--|---|

- (463) [kít kúksúňšťán] /kit kúk-sun-šťán/ 'I was young'  
 [wíř kúksúňšťán] /wíř kúk-sun-šťán/ 'you were young'  
 [ʔút kúksúňšťán] /ut kúk-sun-šťán/ 's/he was young'  
 [kinán kúksúntáňšťán] /kúk-sun-tán-šťán/ 'we were young'  
 [wířín kúksúntáňšťán] /kúk-sun-tán-šťán/ 'y'all were young'  
 [ʔútún kúksúntáňšťán] /kúk-sun-tán-šťán/ 'they were young'
- (464) [kít ʔéhni] /kit ʔih-ni/ 'I am yellow'  
 [wíř ʔéhni] /wíř ʔih-ni/ 'you are yellow'  
 [ʔút ʔéhni] /ut ʔih-ni/ 's/he is yellow'  
 [kinán ʔéhni] /kinán ʔih-ni-VVn/ 'we are yellow'  
 [wířín ʔéhni] /wířín ʔih-ni-VVn/ 'y'all are yellow'  
 [ʔútún ʔéhni] /utun ʔih-ni-VVn/ 'they are yellow'
- (465) [kít ʔéhni šťán] /kit ʔih-ni šťán/ 'I was yellow'  
 [wíř ʔéhni šťán] /wíř ʔih-ni šťán/ 'you were yellow'  
 [ʔút ʔéhni šťán] /ut ʔih-ni šťán/ 's/he was yellow'  
 [kinán ʔéhni šťán] /ʔih-ni-VVn šťán/ 'we were yellow'  
 [wířín ʔéhni šťán] /ʔih-ni-VVn šťán/ 'y'all were yellow'  
 [ʔútún ʔéhni šťán] /ʔih-ni-VVn šťán/ 'they were yellow'
- (466) [wíř papáksnáʔ] /wíř papaks-nYʔ/ 'you are old (male)'  
 [ʔút papáksnáʔ] /ut papaks-nYʔ/ 'he is old (male)'  
 [ʔútún papáksnáʔ] /papaks-nYʔ-VVn/ 'they are old (male)'
- (467) [wíř papáksnášťán] /wíř papaks-nYʔ-šťán/ 'you were old (male)'  
 [ʔút papáksnášťán] /ut papaks-nYʔ-šťán/ 'he was old (male)'  
 [ʔútún papáksnášťán] /papaks-nYʔ-VVn-šťán/ 'they were old (male)'

#### 9.5.4. Negation of Predicate Nominals

In negative sentences with predicate nominals, the negative marker immediately precedes the predicate nominal being negated. The most common negative marker is /lakaa/ 'NEG'. The negated form is interpreted as 'is not X.'

- (468) [wíňčík sáaste]  
 /wíň-čík saasti/  
 this-house new  
 'this house is new'

- (469) [wɨ́ŋčík lakáa sáaste]  
 /wɨ́ŋ-čík lakaa saasti/  
 this-house NEG new  
 'this house is not new'
- (470) [šwáan tíínáʔ]  
 /Juan tíi-nYʔ/  
 Juan dance-NOM  
 'Juan is a dancer'
- (471) [šwáan lakáa tíínáʔ]  
 /Juan lakaa tíi-nYʔ/  
 Juan NEG dance-NOM  
 'Juan is not a dancer'
- (472) [wɨ́nliiwátat lakáa sqóq]  
 /wɨ́ŋ-lii-wátat lakaa squq/  
 this-PL-food NEG salty  
 'this food is not salty'
- (473) [wɨ́ŋkíńčík lakáa miláʔ]  
 /wɨ́ŋ-kin-čík lakaa min-láʔ/  
 this-1POSS-house NEG 2POSS-PBASE  
 'this is my house, not yours'
- (474) [kít lakáa škán Máaneʔ]  
 /kit lakaa iš-kam Manuel/  
 I NEG 3POSS-offspring Manuel  
 'I am not Manuel's child'
- (475) [wɨ́ntaqáaχnúytná lakáa čúŋkɔʔ]  
 /wɨ́ŋ-ra-qaaq-nuu-Vt-ná lakaa čunkuh/  
 this-INC-head rel.-be inside-NOM-PL NEG same/beside  
 'these hats are not the same'
- (476) [hónšáalɔh lakáa ʔɔqɔqɔláʔ]  
 /hun-šaaluh lakaa ʔuququ-láʔ/  
 DET-pot NEG dirt-like X  
 'this pot is not dirty'

The morpheme /laa-/ 'no/not' combines with the interrogative/relative pronouns /tuu/ 'what' and /tii/ 'who' to form the negative indefinite pronouns

/laa-tuu/ ‘none’ and /laa-tii/ ‘no one.’ These pronouns occur as predicates and can be marked for tense. The interpretation is ‘is not X.’ The negative marker /lakaa/ ‘NEG’ also combines with /tuu/ ‘what.’ The forms /lakaa-tuu/ and /laa-tuu/ are often interchangeable.

- (477) [láatúu hón stépu lakašaalɔʔ]  
 /laa-tuu hun stapu laka-šaaluh/  
 NEG-what DET beans PREP-pot  
 ‘there are no beans in the pot, no beans are in the pot’
- (478) [lakašaalɔh lakáatúu, láatúu hón stápu]  
 /laka-šaaluh lakaa-tuu, laa-tuu hun stapu/  
 PREP-pot NEG-what, NEG-what DET beans  
 ‘in the pot there are no beans’
- (479) [kíñčičiʔ láatúu ʔiʂɛʔan]  
 /kin-čičiʔ laa-tuu iš-ɛʔan/  
 1POSS-dog NEG-what 3POSS-tail  
 ‘my dog has no tail’
- (480) [kíñčičiʔ lakáatúuʂtʔan ʔiʂɛʔan]  
 /kin-čičiʔ lakaa-tuu-ʂtʔan iš-ɛʔan/  
 1POSS-dog NEG-what-PAST 3POSS-tail  
 ‘my dog had no tail’
- (481) [hón čiškuʔ láatúu ʔiʂčik, \*láatúu tún čik]<sup>17</sup>  
 /hun čiškuʔ laa-tuu iš-čik, laa-tuu tun čik/  
 DET man NEG-what 3POSS-house, NEG-what one house  
 ‘the man has no house (of his own)’
- (482) [hónčik láatúuʂtʔan ʔiʂpwérta]  
 /hun-čik laa-tuu-ʂtʔan iš-pwérta/  
 DET-house NEG-what-PAST 3POSS-door  
 ‘the house had no door’
- (483) [hónčik lakáatúuʂtʔan ʔiʂpwérta]  
 /hun -čik lakaa-tuu-ʂtʔan iš-pwérta/  
 DET-house NEG-what-PAST 3POSS-door  
 ‘the house had no door’

<sup>17</sup>Note that the numeral /tun/ cannot be preceded by /laa-tuu/ ‘none.’

- (484) [láatúu/láatíi hón|kristyanúhna hónlakaláatiwí|lán]  
 /laa-tuu/laa-tii hun-kristyanuɬ-na hun-laka-laa-ta-wí|la-ní/  
 NEG-what/NEG-who DET-people-PL DET-PREP-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 'there are no people in that town'
- (485) [hónakačik láatíištán/láatúuštán kristyanúhna]  
 /hun-naka-čik laa-tii-štán/laa-tuu-štán kristyanuɬ-na/  
 DET-PREP-house NEG-who-PAST/NEG-what-PAST people-PL  
 'there were no people in that house'
- (486) [hón číškú? láatúu ɬú? ʔí|áqaat]  
 /hun číšku? laa-tuu ɬuw iš-ɬaqa-Vt/  
 DET man NEG-what many 3POSS-clothes-NOM  
 'the man doesn't have many clothes'
- (487) [hón číškú? láatúu ɬú? ʔí|statúunú|t]  
 /hun číšku? laa-tuu ɬuw iš-ta-tuu-nuu-Vt/  
 DET man NEG-what many 3POSS-INC-foot rel.-inside-NOM  
 'the man doesn't have many shoes'
- (488) [ʔášni hón qóšwán láačutúuštán]  
 /ášni hun qušwan laa-ču-tuu-štán/  
 then DET ago NEG-CL-what-PAST  
 'then some time ago there was none'
- (489) [ʔášni láatúuštán klávo]  
 /ášni laa-tuu-štán klavo/  
 then NEG-what-PAST nail  
 'then there was no nail'
- (490) [lakáatúu]  
 /lakaa-tuu/  
 NEG-what  
 'there is none'
- (491) [lakáačukústúuštán]  
 /lakaa-ču-kus-tuu-štán/  
 NEG-CL-yet-what-PAST  
 'there weren't any yet'

### 9.5.5. Comparison and Equivalence

Comparison in Misantla Totonac is expressed periphrastically. There are no morphologically derived comparative and superlative forms. In Coatepec Totonac, the comparative is formed by /kanaa- or  $\lambda$ aq- + nominal/ followed by /laa/ (McQuown 1990b:205). In a similar construction in Misantla Totonac, the terms ‘more’ / $\mu$ kus/ and ‘less’ /tihuu/ occur together with /kaa=ni=lakaa/, /kaa=lakaa/, or /nii=lakaa/ ‘than/as.’ Note that there are three distinct elements which serve to introduce the object of comparison. All are translated as ‘than/as.’ There is no discernible difference in meaning among them.

#### 9.5.5.1. Comparative

The comparative structure may be schematized as nominal + more/less + attributive nominal + than/as + nominal.

- (492) [Juan té  $\phi$ máǵǵǵn]  
 /Juan ta- $\phi$ máǵǵǵn/  
 Juan INC-long  
 ‘Juan is tall’
- (493) [Juan  $\mu$ kus té  $\phi$ máǵǵǵn káalakáa Pedro]  
 /Juan  $\mu$ kus ta- $\phi$ máǵǵǵn kaa=lakaa Pedro/  
 Juan more INC-long than/as Pedro  
 ‘Juan is taller than Pedro’
- (494) [Juan  $\mu$ kus té  $\phi$ máǵǵǵn káanilakáa Pedro]  
 /Juan  $\mu$ kus ta- $\phi$ máǵǵǵn kaa=ni=lakaa Pedro/  
 Juan more INC-long than/as Pedro  
 ‘Juan is taller than Pedro’
- (495) [Juan  $\mu$ kus té  $\phi$ máǵǵǵn níilakáa Pedro]  
 /Juan  $\mu$ kus ta- $\phi$ máǵǵǵn nii=lakaa Pedro/  
 Juan more INC-long than/as Pedro  
 ‘Juan is taller than Pedro’
- (496) [Juan  $\mu$ kus té  $\phi$ máǵǵǵn káalakáa múkzún]  
 /Juan  $\mu$ kus ta- $\phi$ máǵǵǵn kaa=lakaa mukzún/  
 Juan more INC-long than/as everyone  
 ‘Juan is taller than everyone’



- (497) [Juan ɣ́ukus tihóɔ tɛ́ɬmáǵaŋ káalakáa Pedro]  
 /Juan ɣ́ukus tihuu ta-ɬmáǵaŋ kaa=lakaa Pedro/  
 Juan more little INC-long than/as Pedro  
 ‘Juan is smaller than Pedro’
- (498) [ɣ́iškán tihóɔ qón ɣ́awíʔ]  
 /iš-kam tihuu qun awíʔ/  
 3POSS-offspring little fat now  
 ‘his child is less fat now’
- (499) [ɣ́iškán tihóɔ qón ɣ́awíʔ káanilakáa hón ɣ́aláǵat]  
 /iš-kam tihuu qun awíʔ kaa=ni=lakaa hun ǵ-lǵat/  
 3POSS-offspring little fat now than/as DET other-some  
 ‘her/his child is less fat now than the others’
- (500) [ɣ́iškán tihóɔ qón ɣ́awíʔ káalakáa hón ɣ́aláǵat]  
 /iš-kam tihuu qun awíʔ kaa=lakaa hun ǵ-lǵat/  
 3POSS-offspring little fat now than/as DET other-some  
 ‘her/his child is less fat now than the others’
- (501) [mínkán ɣ́ukus kanáalanáʔ káalakáa kiláʔ]  
 /min-kam ɣ́ukus kanaala-nYʔ kaa=lakaa kin-lǵʔ/  
 2POSS-offspring more bad-NOM than/as 1POSS-PBASE  
 ‘your child is meaner than mine’
- (502) [mínkán ɣ́ukus kanáalanáʔ níilakáa kiláʔ]  
 /min-kam ɣ́ukus kanaala-nYʔ nii=lakaa kin-lǵʔ/  
 2POSS-offspring more bad-NOM than/as 1POSS-PBASE  
 ‘your child is meaner than mine’
- (503) [mínkamán ɣ́ukus kanáalanǵaŋ káalakáa kilǵaŋ]  
 /min-kam-an ɣ́ukus kanaala-nYʔ-VVn kaa=lakaa kin-lǵʔ-VVn/  
 2POSS-offspring-PL more bad-NOM-PL than/as 1POSS-PBASE-PL  
 ‘your children are meaner than mine’
- (504) [mínčik ɣ́ukus qát káalakáa kiláʔ]  
 /min-čik ɣ́ukus qat kaa=lakaa kin-lǵʔ/  
 2POSS-house more big than/as 1POSS-PBASE  
 ‘your house is bigger than mine’

- (505) [míñčík ᵑúkus qát nílakáa kiláʔ]  
 /min-čik-ᵑkus qat nii=lakaa kin-láʔ/  
 2POSS-house more big than/as 1POSS-PBASE  
 'your house is bigger than mine'
- (506) [míñčikíjn ᵑúkus qatán káalakáa kiláǎn]  
 /min-čik-ᵑᵑn ᵑkus qat-ᵑᵑn kaa=lakaa kin-láʔ-Vᵑn/  
 2POSS-house-PL more big-PL than/as 1POSS-PBASE-PL  
 'your houses are bigger than mine'
- (507) [kíśáawat ᵑúkus qoʔayáat káalakáa miláʔ]  
 /kin-śaawat ᵑkus qoʔayáat kaa=lakaa min-láʔ/  
 1POSS-cornfield more clean than/as 2POSS-PBASE  
 'my cornfield is cleaner (more weeded) than yours'
- (508) [kíśáawátñᵑ ᵑúkus qoʔayáatñᵑ káalakáa miláǎn]  
 /kin-śaawat-ñᵑ ᵑkus qoʔayáat-ñᵑ kaa=lakaa min-láʔ-Vᵑn/  
 1POSS-cornfield-PL more clean-PL than/as 2POSS-PBASE-PL  
 'my cornfields are cleaner (more weeded) than yours'
- (509) [kinǎn ᵑúkus kǎziyáa káalakáa ᵑutún]  
 /kinǎn ukus kǎzii-yaa-wa kaa=lakaa utun/  
 we more know X-IMPV-1SUB.PL than/as they  
 'we are smarter than they are'
- (510) [wíṣ ᵑúkus soqonáa káalakáa kít]  
 /wiṣ ukus suqunaa kaa=lakaa kit/  
 you more pretty than/as I  
 'you are more beautiful than I am'

Verbal elements can be compared as well as nominal ones.

- (511) [ᵑút múulah číʔ káanilakáa kít]  
 /ut muulaʔ čin-la(ʔ) kaa=ni=lakaa kit/  
 s/he first arrive here-PFV than/as I  
 's/he arrived before me'
- (512) [ᵑúkus míʔ múulaʔ káalakáa kít]  
 /ukus min-la(ʔ) muulaʔ kaa=lakaa kit/  
 more come-PFV first than/as I  
 's/he came before me'

- (513) [ɣúkus máaqéεnsáa číʎ káanilakáakít]  
 /ukus maa=qiin=saa čin-la(ʎ) kaa=ni=lakaa-kit/  
 more late arrive here-PFV than/as-I  
 's/he arrived later than I'
- (514) [ɣúkus míʎ máaqéεnsáa káanilakáakít]  
 /ukus min-la(ʎ) maa=qiin=saa kaa=ni=lakaa-kit/  
 more come-PFV late than/as-I  
 's/he came later than I'

### 9.5.5.2. Equivalent Comparison

Equivalency is indicated by /čiš/ 'as' or 'same as' preceding the object of comparison. /čiš/ is also the interrogative/relative 'how.'

- (515) [ɣútéʎmáaŋ čiš wɪn mɪŋkán]  
 /ut-ta-ʎmáaŋ čiš wɪn min-kam/  
 s/he-INC-tall how this 2POSS-offspring  
 's/he is as tall as your son'
- (516) [ɣút čáʎkaatnán čiš wɪŋkít, nohó čiškít]  
 /ut čáʎkaat-nan čiš wɪn-kit, nuhu čiš-kit/  
 s/he work-I.O. how this-I, thus how-I  
 's/he works as well as I do'

### 9.5.5.3. Superlative

In the absence of one of the comparativizers, 'than/as,' and an explicit object of comparison, the comparative structure with 'more/less' may be given a superlative interpretation.

- (517) [míŋčik ɣúkus qát hónlakaláatiwɪlán]  
 /min-čik ukus qat hun-laka-laa-ta-wɪla-ni/  
 2POSS-house more big DET-PREP-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 'your house is the biggest in town'
- (518) [mɪŋkán ɣúkus soqonaá hónlakaláatiwɪlán]  
 /min-kam ukus suqunaa hun-laka-laa-ta-wɪla-ni/  
 2POSS offspring more pretty DET-PREP-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 'your child is the prettiest in town'

- (519) [ʔiščik ʔukus šáaste]  
 /iš-čik ukus saasti/  
 3POSS-house more new  
 'her/his house is the newest'
- (520) [ʔiškafeε ʔukus qɔʔanaʔ]  
 /iš-kafeε ukus quʔa-naʔ/  
 3POSS-coffee more good-NOM  
 'her/his coffee is the best'
- (521) [kít lakáa šitahó ʔqšáʔ]  
 /kit lakaa ša=tahu ʔqšáʔ/  
 I NEG younger young man  
 'I am not the youngest young man'

## Uninflected Lexemes

Uninflected lexemes are words that do not occur with the inflectional morphology characteristic of the three main word classes in Misantla Totonac (i.e., nominal, stative, and verbal inflection). Although there are numerous exceptions, many of these lexemes are monomorphemic. The main categories of uninflected lexemes include pronominals, interrogatives, quantifiers, adverbials, and conjunctions. The following description of these categories does not pretend to be exhaustive, it primarily catalogs the most common uninflected lexemes and gives examples of their use.

### 10.1. Pronominals

Pronouns in Misantla Totonac function as nominals and act as substitutes for a noun phrase. They are independent lexemes which are not inflected.

#### 10.1.1. Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are free morphemes that can optionally be incorporated into a larger phonological word. When incorporated, they are subject to all word-level phonological processes. Personal pronouns are not marked for case and can appear in any nominal position. The plural forms are historically bimorphemic (the singular pronoun and a plural suffix), but have been lexicalized as unanalyzable roots.

(1) [kít]	/kit/	'1 person'
[wíš]	/wíš/	'2 person'
[ʔút]	/ut/	'3 person'
[kín̄an]	/kin=an/	'1 person plural'
[wíšín]	/wíš=in/	'2 person plural'
[ʔútún]	/ut=un/	'3 person plural'

#### 10.1.2. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by combining the independent personal pronouns with the lexeme /šliin/.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The lexeme /šliin/ may have derived historically from the sequence /iš-/ '3POSS' + /li-/ 'Numeral Classifier' + /-ni/ 'Nominalizer.'

(2)	[šlíin kít]	/šliin kit/	‘myself’
	[šlíin wĩš]	/šliin wĩš/	‘yourself’
	[šlíin ʔút]	/šliin ut/	‘her/himself’
	[šlíin kinán]	/šliin kinan/	‘ourselves’
	[šlíin wĩšín]	/šliin wĩšin/	‘yourselves’
	[šlíin ʔútún]	/šliin utun/	‘themselves’

### 10.1.3. Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed according to the following schema:

The possessive prefix + /l̥aʔ/ ‘Pronominal Base (PBASE)’<sup>2</sup> + (the possessive plural marker /-k̥an/).

(3)	[kil̥aʔ]	/kin-l̥aʔ/	‘X is mine’
	[mil̥aʔ]	/min-l̥aʔ/	‘X is yours’
	[ʔišl̥aʔ]	/iš-l̥aʔ/	‘X is his/hers/its’
	[kilak̥án]	/kin-l̥aʔ-k̥an/	‘X is ours’
	[milak̥án]	/min-l̥aʔ-k̥an/	‘X is yours’
	[ʔišlak̥án]	/iš-l̥aʔ-k̥an/	‘X is theirs’

If the possessum is plural, the forms are constructed with the nominal plural marker /-VVn/ (9.2.2.2.2), as follows:

(4)	[kil̥áan]	/kin-l̥aʔ-VVn/	‘X are mine’
	[mil̥áan]	/min-l̥aʔ-VVn/	‘X are yours’
	[ʔišl̥áan]	/iš-l̥aʔ-VVn/	‘X are his/hers/its’
	[kil̥áaṇk̥án]	/kin-l̥aʔ-VVn-k̥an/	‘X are ours’
	[mil̥áaṇk̥án]	/min-l̥aʔ-VVn-k̥an/	‘X are yours’
	[ʔišl̥áaṇk̥án]	/iš-l̥aʔ-VVn-k̥an/	‘X are theirs’

### 10.1.4. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are identical in form to the determiners /w̥in/ ‘this,’ /n̥an/ ‘that,’ and /hun/ ‘the, that.’ Demonstratives function as nominal arguments.

(5)	[w̥in]	/w̥in/	‘this’
	[n̥an]	/n̥an/	‘that’
	[h̥on]	/hun/	‘that’

<sup>2</sup> This same pronominal base is found in Coatepec Totonac, /láʔ/ ‘property’ (McQuown 1990b:104), and in Papantla Totonac, /-lá/ ‘property’ (Levy 1990).

- (6) [wɪn kɪŋčɪk]  
/wɪn kin-čik/  
this 1POSS-house  
'this is my house'
- (7) [hón ʔʃáawatkáŋ]  
/hun iʃ-šaawat-kaŋ/  
DET 3POSS-cornfield-POSS.PL  
'that is their cornfield'
- (8) [túu ʔačičiʔ hón]  
/tuu a-čičiʔ hun/  
what NC-dog DET  
'which dog is that?'

### 10.1.5. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are most commonly realized in negative contexts. In affirmative sentences, an indefinite argument is usually either unrealized or indicated by means of the indefinite object suffix /-nan/ (7.2.10) or the indefinite subject suffix /-kan/ 'I.S.' (5.4.4.1).<sup>3</sup>

[láatúu]                    /laa-tuu/            'none, nothing, anything'

- (9) [láatúu taqáʔíinaʔ štaŋ]  
/laa-tuu ta-qaʔii-nan-la(ʔ) štaŋ/  
no-what 3SUB.PL-have X-I.O.-PFV PAST  
'they had nothing'

[láatíi]                    /laa-tii/            'no one, anyone'

- (10) [láatíi ʔamáqʔtíi hón mačítu]  
/laa-tii a-maq=ʔtii hun mačítu/  
no-who NEG-take X from Y DET machete  
'no one took the machete away from Y'
- (11) [láatíi ʔalamáqʔtíikán hón mačítu]  
/laa-tii ala-maq=ʔtii-kan hun mačítu/  
no-who NEG-take X from Y-I.S. DET machete  
'the machete was not taken away from anyone'

<sup>3</sup>The partitive construction (e.g., 'some of X, all of X') is discussed below in 10.3.

## 10.2. Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns occur in both direct and indirect questions.

- (12) [tiyúut láatáawanáan míńčáap]  
 /tiyuut laa-táawan-yaa-na min-čáap/  
 who COM-walk-IMPV-COM 2POSS-father  
 'who is your father walking with?'
- (13) [kít lakáa ʔ[kazíi tiyúut mín]  
 /kit lakaa ik-kazii tiyuut min/  
 I NEG 1SUB-know X who come  
 'I don't know who is coming'

While interrogatives normally fulfill nominal functions, in the following contexts they can also act as determiners.

- (14) [túu animál hón]  
 /tuu animal hun/  
 what animal that  
 'what animal is that?'
- (15) [túu ʔakíikčún wín]  
 /tuu ʔ-kíik-čun win/  
 what NC-child-NOM this  
 'which child is this?'

The interrogative /tuut/ 'what' may be derived historically from the combination /tuu + ut/ ('what' + 3SG). It occurs in free variation with the related interrogatives /tuu/ 'what' and /tuu=saat/ 'what.' I have been unable to determine salient differences in meaning.

[túut]                      /tuut/                      'what? which?'

- (16) [túut ʔáńčúuláʔ]  
 /tuut ʔn-čúula/  
 what go-do/make X  
 'what are you doing/making?'
- (17) [túut náhčúulá Juan]  
 /tuut na(ʔ)-čúula Juan/  
 what FUT-do/make X John  
 'what will John do/make?'



- (18) [túut n̄an]  
/tuut n̄an/  
what that  
'what is that?'
- (19) [túut w̄in]  
/tuut w̄in/  
what this  
'what is this?'
- [túu]                    /tuu/                    'what?'
- (20) [túu líičúulakán w̄inčá]  
/tuu líi-čuula-kan w̄in-ča/  
what INS-do/make X-I.S. this-tortilla  
'what are these tortillas made of?'
- (21) [háawĩš túupáhčúulá?]  
/haa-wĩš tuu-pan-čuula/  
and-you what-DES-do/make X  
'and you, what do you want to make?'
- (22) [túu páaz̄ĩst̄e]  
/tuu paa=ēĩs-ti/  
what forget X-2PFV  
'what did you forget?'
- [túusáat]                    /tuu=saat/                    'what? which?'
- (23) [túusáat máqsk̄in̄in̄]  
/tuu=saat maq-sk̄in̄ii-na/  
what CAUS-ask for X-2OBJ  
'what did s/he ask you for?'
- (24) [túusáast̄án h̄on̄Juan h̄on̄káat̄iw̄i?]  
/tuu=saat-št̄an<sup>4</sup> hun-Juan hun-káat̄-tiw̄i/  
what-PAST DET-John DET-year-ago  
'what was John last year?'
- (25) [túusáat l̄eq̄ h̄on̄šq̄ot̄án naka merkádo]  
/tuu=saat l̄aq̄ɛn-ti hun-šquutan naka merkado/  
what see X-2PFV DET-yesterday PREP market  
'what did you see yesterday at the market?'

<sup>4</sup>Recall that /št̄an/ 'PAST' is a clitic which attaches freely to all kinds of lexemes.

The interrogative /tiyuut/ ‘who’ may be derived historically from the combination /tii+ut/ (‘who’ + 3SG). It occurs in free variation with the less common form /tiyuu/ ‘who’ and the related form /tiyuut=saat/ ‘who.’ I have been unable to determine corresponding differences in meaning.

[tiyúut]                    /tiyuut/                    ‘who? which one?’

- (26) [tiyúut qáʔiiʔ hónkuçiʔ]  
 /tiyuut qáʔii-la(ʔ) hun-kuçiʔ/  
 who have-PFV DET-knife  
 ‘who has the knife?’
- (27) [tiyúut šláʔ hónšqátat]  
 /tiyuut iš-láʔ hun-šqátat/  
 who 3POSS-PBASE DET-basket  
 ‘whose is that basket?’
- (28) [tiyúut líiYecuatla]  
 /tiyuut líi-Yecuatla/  
 who INS-Yecuatla  
 ‘who is from Yecuatla?’
- (29) [tiyúut hónJuan]  
 /tiyuut hun-Juan/  
 who DET-John  
 ‘who is Juan?’

[tiyúu]                    /tiyuu/                    ‘who?’

- (30) [tiyúu máqskɪnɪn čá]  
 /tiyuu maq-skiɪni-na ča/  
 who CAUS-ask for X-2OBJ tortilla  
 ‘who asked you for tortillas?’
- [tiyúusáat ~ tiyúutsáa]    /tiyuut=saat/                    ‘who?’
- (31) [tiyúutsáa máqskɪnɪn míñčá]  
 /tiyuut=saat maq-skiɪni-na min-ča/  
 who CAUS-ask for X-2OBJ 2POSS-tortilla  
 ‘who asked you for tortillas?’

- (32) [tiyúusáat lĕq hónšqówtán naka merkádo]  
 /tiyuu=saat laqan-ti hun-šquutan naka merkado/  
 who see X-2PFV DET-yesterday PREP market  
 'whom did you see yesterday at the market?'  
 [čiš] /čiš/ 'how?'
- (33) [čišpáazĭste]  
 /čiš-paa=ziis-ti/  
 how-forget X-2PFV  
 'how did you forget?'
- (34) [čiščukáziit hón ʔkčíʔ]  
 /čiš-ču-kazi-ti hun ik-čin-la(ʔ)/  
 how-CL-know X-2PFV DET 1SUB-arrive here-PFV  
 'how did you know that I arrived?'
- (35) [čišmáaqóʔanĭkán]  
 /čis-maa-quʔa-nʔ-ii-kan/  
 how-CAUS-good-NOM-TRANS-I.S.  
 'how does one fix it?'
- (36) [kístɔqɔnŷ lakáa kíʔamáalaqaqásí čišníkʔatĭnán]  
 /kin-stuqu-nʔ lakaa kin-a-maa-laka-zaqi-ii čiš-na(ʔ)-ik-atiĭ-nan/  
 1POSS-old woman-NOM NEG 1OBJ-NEG-CAUS-face rel.-learn-  
 TRANS how-FUT-1SUB-sing-I.O.  
 'my grandmother didn't teach me how to sing'  
 [láamáaláat] /laa-maa-laat/ 'how many?'
- (37) [láamáaláat čičín qáʔiit]  
 /laa-maa-laat čiči-n qaʔii-ti/  
 PL-NC-some dog-PL have-2PFV  
 'how many dogs do you have?'
- (38) [láamáaláat míntáaqatán qáʔiit]  
 /laa-maa-laat min-taa-qata-n qaʔii-ti/  
 PL-NC-some 2POSS-COM-big-PL have-2PFV  
 'how many brothers do you have?'

- [láamáqláaṭ] /laa-maq-láaṭ/ 'how many times?'
- (39) [láamáχláaṭ kííçíta]  
/laa-maq-láaṭ kii-çin-ti/  
PL-NC/times-some INT-arrive here-2PFV  
'how many times have you arrived here?'
- [láašni] /láašni/ 'when?'
- (40) [níñčún u láašni kíléχ]  
/ninčun u láašni kin-laqaṇ-ti/  
where and when 1OBJ-see X-2PFV  
'where and when did you see me?'
- (41) [láašni skalíinaϕ Juan]  
/láašni skalii-nan-la(ϕ) Juan/  
when care for-I.O.-PFV John  
'when was Juan the caretaker? (when did Juan caretake?)'
- (42) [háawíš láašni káçiiṭ ṽášni ṽkíçíϕ]  
/haa-wiš láašni kaçii-ti ašni ik-çin-la(ϕ)/  
and-you when know X-2PFV when<sup>s</sup> 1SUB-arrive here-PFV  
'and when did you find out when I arrived?'
- [níñčún ~ náñčún] /nin=čun/ 'where?'
- (43) [lakáaṽkkaçii níñčún táaṽwán]  
/lakaa-ik-kaçii nin=čun taawán/  
NEG-1SUB-know X where walk  
'I don't know where s/he is'
- (44) [níñčún wílaϕ Juan]  
/nin=čun wíla-la(ϕ) Juan/  
where seated-PFV Juan  
'where does Juan live?'
- (45) [níñčún láakutukán hómpáakíšṇa]  
/nin=čun laa-kutu-kan hun-paakiš-ṇa/  
where 3OBJ.PL-feed X-I.S. DET-cow-PL  
'where are the cows fed?'

<sup>s</sup> The adverbial /ašni/ 'when, then' is discussed below in 10.4.1.

- (46) [kítlakáa ʔíkəzií níñčún ʔán]  
 /kit-lakaa ik-kəzií nin=čun ʔan/  
 I-NEG 1SUB-know X where go  
 ‘I don’t know where s/he goes’  
 [nán] /nan/ ‘where?’
- (47) [nán ʔán]  
 /nan ʔan/  
 where go  
 ‘where is s/he going?’
- (48) [nántimín]  
 /nan-ta-min/  
 where-INC-come  
 ‘where does s/he come from?’  
 [túušuwán ~ túušwén ~ túuwán] /tuu=(š)u=wan/ ‘why?’
- (49) [túušuwán lakáa ʔapínáʔat wišín]  
 /tuu=šu=wan lakaa ʔa-ʔan-yaa-tat wišin/  
 why NEG NEG-go-IMPV-2SUB.PL y’all  
 ‘why didn’t y’all go?’
- (50) [kítlakáa ʔíkəzií túuwán míʔ]  
 /kit-lakaa ik-kəzií tuu=wan min-la(ʔ)/  
 I-NEG 1SUB-know X why come-PFV  
 ‘I don’t know why s/he came’

### 10.3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers generally modify a nominal. However, they are sometimes used as heads of noun phrases—for example, ‘some (of X), a lot (of X).’ Quantifiers tend to precede the nominal, but, as is often the case in Misantla Totonac, word order is quite free.

[múkəún] /mukəun/ ‘all’

- (51) [ɛʔqs múkəún hónkíjksʔan kamán tasakán]  
 /ɛʔqs mukəun hun-kíjks-ʔan-kam-Vn ta-sakan/  
 almost all DET-small-PL-child-PL 3SUB.PL-sick  
 ‘almost all those children are sick’

- (52) [kinán kímúkzúnkán]<sup>6</sup>  
 /kinán kin-mukšun-kán/  
 we 1POSS-all-PL.POSS  
 ‘all of us’
- [múkšún] /mukšun/ ‘few, little (handful)’
- (53) [láa nikʔiški múkšún]  
 /láa ni-kin-iški-ti mukšun/  
 no 1IRR-1OBJ-give X to Y-2PFV few  
 ‘no, give me a little’
- [máksún] /maksun/ ‘little, few’
- (54) [láa nikʔiški čáamáksún]  
 /láa ni-kin-iški-ti čaa-maksun/  
 no 1IRR-1SUB-give X to Y-2PFV only-few  
 ‘no, give me just a few’
- [láat] /laat/ ‘some’
- (55) [láat kíikčúntán kintawántíi]  
 /laat kíik-čun-tan kin-ta-wantii/  
 some small-NOM-PL 1OBJ-3SUB.PL-call X  
 ‘some of the children are calling me’
- (56) [ʔikstáaʔ láat hókólčas, láat ʔikstáaʔ hókólčas]  
 /ik-staa-la(ʔ) laat hun-kolčas/  
 1SUB-sell X-PFV some DET-bedspreads  
 ‘I sold some bedspreads’
- [ʔaláat] /a-laat/ ‘more’
- (57) [ʔaláat stépu]  
 /a-laat stapu/  
 other-some beans  
 ‘more beans’
- (58) [ʔamáqtun ʔaláat kíimáχskijníi]  
 /a-maq-tun a-laat kii-maq-skijnii/  
 other-NC-one other-some INT-CAUS-ask for X  
 ‘one more time s/he goes to ask him/her for X’

<sup>6</sup>Note that the quantifier in this example carries possessive inflection.

[ʔúʔ] /ʔuw/ 'much, many, a lot'

- (59) [náhlíʔpínʔúʔ]  
/na(ʔ)-líʔn-ʔuw/  
FUT-take X-many  
'will you take a lot?'

- (60) [ʔíkstáaʔ ʔúʔ hónkólčas]  
/ik-staa-la(ʔ) ʔuw hun-kólčas/  
1SUB-sell X-PFV many/lots DET-bedspreads  
'I sold lots of bedspreads'

[máaʔúʔ] /maa=ʔuw/ 'enough, pretty many'

- (61) [máaʔúʔ wíŋkíʔkstáŋkamán tasakán]  
/maa=ʔuw wín-kíʔks-tán-kam-Vn ta-sakán/  
enough this-small-PL-child-PL 3SUB.PL-sick  
'enough/pretty many of these children are sick'

- (62) [ʔíkstáaʔ máaʔúʔ hónkólčas]  
/ik-staa-la(ʔ) maa=ʔuw hun-kólčas/  
1SUB-sell X-PFV enough DET-bedspreads  
'I sold enough bedspreads'

[stányáa] /stanyaa/ 'many'

- (63) [stányáa krístyanúhŋa káaʔ hónlakaláatiwíʔán]  
/stanyaa krístyanuʔ-nŋa kaa-la(ʔ) hun-laka-laa-ta-wíʔa-ní/  
much/many people-PL exist-PFV DET-PREP-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
'there are many people in that town'

- (64) [stányáa náhlíʔpín]  
/stanyaa na(ʔ)-líʔn/  
many FUT-take X  
'will you take a lot/many?'

- (65) [stányáa wíŋkíʔkstáŋkamán tasakán]  
/stanyaa wín-kíʔks-tán-kam-Vn ta-sakán/  
many this-small-PL-child-PL 3SUB.PL-sick  
'many of these children are sick'

- (66) [stányáa ʔikstáaʔ hónkólčas]  
 /stanyaa ik-staa-la(ʔ) hun-kólčas/  
 many 1SUB-sell X-PFV DET-bedspreads  
 'I sold many bedspreads'  
 [tíks] /tiks/ 'much, many'
- (67) [tíks ʔikwáʔ wínlíiwátat]  
 /tiks ik-waa-la(ʔ) wín-lii-wátat/  
 much/many 1SUB-eat X-PFV this-PL-food  
 'I ate a lot of this food'
- (68) [tíks ʔikwáʔ wímpíʔ]  
 /tiks ik-waa-la(ʔ) wín-pín/  
 much/many 1SUB-eat X-PFV this-chile  
 'I ate many of these chiles'
- (69) [tíkskwáʔ píʔ]  
 /tiks-ik-waa-la(ʔ) pín/  
 much/many-1SUB-eat X-PFV chile  
 'I ate many chiles'  
 [tihóʔ] /tihuu/ 'less, little, few'
- (70) [tihóʔ ʔikstáaʔ hónkólčas]  
 /tihuu ik-staa-la(ʔ) hun-kólčas/  
 few 1SUB-sell X-PFV DET-bedspreads  
 'I sold few bedspreads'
- (71) [ʔawíʔ tihóʔ láalaqenáa wínlíihókε hónšpúhékεʔ]  
 /ʔawí tihuu laa-laqan-yaa-wa wín-lii-huukí hun-iš-pun-kiw/  
 now few 3OBJ.PL-see X-IMPV-1SUB.PL this-PL-deer  
 DET-3POSS-inner rel.-tree  
 'nowadays rarely do we see deer in the woods'  
 [číiyáa] /čiiyaa/ 'too much/many'
- (72) [ʔíkčíiyáawáʔ píʔ]  
 /ik-čiiyaa-waa-la(ʔ) pín/  
 1SUB-too many-eat X-PFV chile  
 'I ate too many chiles'



[nii] /nii/ 'not even'

- (73) [láatúu nííćáatún sentávo]  
 /laa-tuu nii-ćaa-tun sentavo/  
 no-what not even-only-one coin  
 'there isn't even a single coin'

#### 10.4. Adverbs

Adverbs are uninflected lexemes that modify verbs and sentences. They most commonly express notions of location, direction, and time. Their placement in the clause is quite free.

##### 10.4.1. Temporal

A partial list of the temporal adverbs includes:

[šáaliʔ] /šaaliʔ/ 'always'

- (74) [šáaliʔ ʒíjskús ʔíktáakíj]  
 /šaaliʔ ʒíjs-kus ik-taakij/  
 always early-still 1SUB-get up  
 'I always get up early'

- (75) [kínćáap šáaleh wílaʔ nakačik]  
 /kin-ćaap šaaliʔ wíla-la(ʔ) naka-čik/  
 1POSS-father always seated-PFV PREP-house  
 'my father is always at home'

[qáaqʔtunu] /qaaq=tunu/ 'sometimes'

- (76) [qáaqʔtunu ʔíktáaqʔ hónkólčas]  
 /qaaq=tunu ik-staa-la(ʔ) hun-kólčas/  
 sometimes 1SUB-sell X-PFV DET-bedspreads  
 'sometimes I sold bedspreads'

- (77) [qáaqʔtunu wínkíjks-tan-kamán táawántiyáan]  
 /qaaq=tunu wín-kíjks-tan-kam-Vn taa-wanti-yaa-na/  
 sometimes this-small-PL-child-PL 2OBJ.PL-call X-IMPV-2OBJ  
 'sometimes the children call y'all'

- [ʔámáqtún]            /ǰ-maq-tun/            ‘once again’
- (78) [ʔámáχtún máapalaní]  
/ǰ-maq-tun maa-pala-ni/  
other-NC-one CAUS-pay X-+OBJ  
‘once again he pays him/her’
- (79) [náh ʔámáχtún mátčú waní ʔisináat hómpeéniʔ]  
/na(ʔ) ǰ-maq-tun mat-ču wan-ni iš-sinaat hun-piiniʔ/  
FUT other-CAUS-one thus-CL say X-+OBJ 3POSS-woman  
DET-poor one  
‘once again the poor man goes to tell it to his wife’
- [kús]                    /kus/                    ‘still/yet’
- (80) [lakááčú kús qéʔtíištǰn ʔút]  
/lakaa-ču kus qiʔtii-štǰn ut/  
NEG-CL still answer X-PAST s/he  
‘s/he still hasn’t answered her/him’
- (81) [kítčú kús ʔǰqáʔiiʔ táŋkwíinʔ]  
/kit-ču kus ik-qǰʔii-la(ʔ) taŋkwi-nYʔ/  
I-CL still 1SUB-have-PFV money-NOM  
‘I still have money’
- [lakáakús]            /lakaa-kus/            ‘not yet’
- (82) [hónlíimansána lakáakús taǰéʔniǰtnán]  
/hun-lii-mansana lakaa-kus ta-ǰiʔh-ni-ta-nan/  
‘DET-PL-apple NEG-still/yet 3SUB.PL-red-NOM-NOM-become  
‘the apples are not yet red’
- [láakús]                /laa-kus/                ‘not yet’
- (83) [láa, láa lááčukús<sup>7</sup> waní]  
/laa, laa laa-ču-kus wan-ni/  
no, no no-CL-yet say X-+OBJ  
‘no, no s/he doesn’t tell her/him yet’

<sup>7</sup> Note that the clitic /-ču/ can come between the negativizer /laa/ ‘no’ and /kus/ ‘yet.’

[níikús] /nii=kus/ 'although'

- (84) [náhkán níikus yʔ́ sɛ́ɛn]  
/na(ʔ́)-ik-ǵn nii=kus yuh siǵn/  
FUT-1SUB-go although fall rain  
'I will go even though it is raining'
- (85) [náhkán níikus kayʔ́hlaʔ́ sɛ́ɛn]  
/na(ʔ́)-ik-ǵn nii=kus ka-yuh-la(ʔ́) siǵn/  
FUT-1SUB-go although IRR-fall-PFV rain  
'I will go even if it were to rain'
- [ɛ́iiskús] /ɛ́iis=kus/ 'early'
- (86) [kít qʔ́laʔ́ ʔ́ikčǵ́kkaatnán čáaɛ́iiskús]  
/kit qula-la(ʔ́) ik-čǵ́kkaat-nan čaa-ɛ́iis=kus/  
I able-PFV 1SUB-work-I.O. only-early  
'I can only work early (in the morning)'
- (87) [ʔ́awíʔ́ ɛ́iiskúskús níkáʔ́ čǵ́kkaatnáʔ́]  
/ʔ́awíʔ́ ɛ́iis=kus-kus ní-ik-ǵn-la(ʔ́) čǵ́kkaat-nYʔ́/  
now early-still 1IRR-1SUB-go-PFV work-NOM  
'now it is still early for me to go to work'
- [máaqéɛnsáa] /maa=qiin=saa/ 'late'
- (88) [ʔ́út kús máaqéɛnsáa číʔ́ káanilakáa kít]  
/ut kus maa=qiin=saa čin-la(ʔ́) kaa=ni=lakaa kit/  
s/he still late arrive here-PFV than/as I  
's/he arrived even later than I did'
- (89) [náa kít kǵnčú kús náa máaqéɛnsáačú]  
/naa kit ik-ǵn-cu kus naa maa=qiin=saa-ču/  
also I 1SUB-go-CL still also late-CL  
'I am going too, it is already late'

[čáa] /čaa/ 'only, merely, just'

- (90) [čáa ʔ́ištúmpit mín]  
/čaa iš-tun=pit min/  
just 3POSS-alone come  
's/he just comes alone'

- (91) [ʔút čáaqáziíʔ]  
 /ut čaa-qázií-la(ʔ)/  
 s/he only-meet X-PFV  
 's/he merely met/ran into X'
- (92) [čáacú káks kakíʔpit]  
 /čaa-ču káks ka-kiʔ-ǵn/  
 only-CL quiet IRR-mouth rel.-go  
 'you were just/merely quiet'
- (93) [nákmáapalányáǵn čáacučíš náh kílíiʔiškiʔ]  
 /na(ʔ)-ik-maa-pala-ni-yaa-na čaa-ču-číš na(ʔ) kin-lii-iški/  
 FUT-1SUB-CAUS-pay X-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ only-CL-how  
 FUT 1OBJ-INS-give X to Y  
 'I will pay you for it, just how much will you charge me for it?'  
 [čáakús] /čaa=kus/ 'just, barely'
- (94) [čáakús ʔáǵšanaǵkóhʔ]  
 /čaa=kus ʔáǵ-šana-kuhu-la(ʔ)/  
 barely just-flower-COMP-PFV  
 'it just barely finished blooming'
- (95) [čáakús ʔikláaʔiǵwáǵkóhʔ]  
 /čaa=kus ik-laa-iǵwá-kuhu-la(ʔ)/  
 just 1SUB-3OBJ.PL-buy X-COMP-PFV  
 'I just finished buying them'
- (96) [Juan náhʔtatá čáakús náhčitǵn ʔášniǵkús náhtakíi]  
 /Juan na(ʔ)-ʔtata čaa=kus na(ʔ)-čín ášni-kus na(ʔ)-takíi/  
 Juan FUT-sleep just FUT-arrive here then-still FUT-get up  
 'Juan will go to sleep, just as soon as you arrive, then he will get up'  
 [ʔawíʔ] /awíʔ/ 'now, today'
- (97) [ʔawíʔ ʔáʔčú ʔičiniʔ lakáacú kǵn čǵʔkaatnán]  
 /awíʔ ǵn-la(ʔ)-ču ičiniʔ lakaa-ču ik-ǵn čǵʔkaat-nan/  
 now go-PFV-CL sun NEG-CL 1SUB-go work-I.O.  
 'now that the sun has set, I am not working'
- (98) [ʔawíʔ túusáacú náʔ ʔikčúulá]  
 /awíʔ tuu=saat-ču na(ʔ) ik-čuula/  
 now what-CL FUT 1SUB-do X  
 'now what will I do?'

[šqówtán] /šquutan/ 'yesterday'

- (99) [hón Misantla tǎ́awaɸ Juan šqówtán]  
/hun Misantla tǎ́awan-la(ɸ) Juan šquutan/  
DET Misantla walk-PFV John yesterday  
'yesterday John was/walked in Misantla'

- (100) [šqówtán ʔ[klaqén naka merkádo]  
/šqówtan ik-laqan-ni naka merkado/  
yesterday 1SUB-see X-2OBJ PREP market  
'yesterday I saw you in the market'

[laqalíi] /laqalii/ 'tomorrow'

- (101) [laqalíi ɛ́iiskús náhcúkǎn]  
/laqalii ɛ́iis=kus na(ɸ)-ču-ik-ǎn/  
tomorrow early FUT-CL-1SUB-go  
'tomorrow morning I will go'

- (102) [laqalíi náh ʔ[klíizukuyáa čǎnanáa]  
/laqalii na(ɸ) ik-líi-zuku-yaa-wa čǎn-nan-yaa-wa/  
tomorrow FUT 1SUB-INS-begin-IMPV-1SUB.PL sow  
X-I.O.-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
'tomorrow we will begin to sow'

[ʔǎšni] /ǎšni/ 'when, then'

- (103) [hónstáχnáapín ɛ́iɸnǐtnán ʔǎšniʔ hóhčaa]  
/hun staqnaa-pin ɛ́iɸ-ni-ta-nan ǎšni hun-čaa/  
DET green-chile red-NOM-NOM-become X when DET-ripen/mature  
'the green chile turns red when it ripens'

- (104) [Juan ɸtátaštǎn ʔǎšni wíš číta]  
/Juan ɸtata-štǎn ǎšni wíš čin-ti/  
Juan sleep-PAST when you arrive here-2PFV  
'Juan was sleeping when you arrived here'

[ɛ́ǎqs] /ɛ́ǎqs/ 'almost, about to'

- (105) [ɛ́ǎščú náhkǎn]  
/ɛ́ǎqs-ču na(ɸ)-ik-ǎn/  
just-CL FUT-1SUB-go  
'I am about to go'

- (106) [wíŋkɛʔ ɛ́aqs náhyóʔ]  
 /wín-kíw ɛaqs na(ʔ)-yuh/  
 this-tree almost FUT-fall  
 ‘this tree is about to fall’
- (107) [ɛ́aqsʔataštán]  
 /ɛaqs-ʔata-štán/  
 almost-sleep-PAST  
 ‘s/he was almost asleep’
- [hátaan] /hataan/ ‘immediately, soon, quickly’
- (108) [tún hátaan tɛríkuʔ]  
 /tun hataan ta-riku-la(ʔ)/  
 one soon INC-rich-PFV  
 ‘one (man) soon became rich’
- [ʔálaʔ ] /álaʔ/<sup>8</sup> ‘soon, in a little while’
- (109) [ʔútɔhó ʔálaʔ kačíʔ, ʔútɔhó kačíʔ ʔálaʔ]  
 /utuhu alaʔ ka-čin-la(ʔ)/  
 hopefully soon IRR-arrive here-PFV  
 ‘it is hoped that s/he arrives here soon’
- (110) [ʔálaʔ náh ʔíkčín]  
 /álaʔ na(ʔ) ik-čin/  
 soon FUT 1SUB-arrive here  
 ‘I will arrive in a little while’
- [lakáa láašni] /lakaa laašni/ ‘not ever, never’
- (111) [ʔút lakáa láašni kíʔamáqskɪnii túñčá]  
 /ut lakaa laašni kin-a-maq-skɪnii tun-ča/  
 s/he NEG ever 1OBJ-NEG-CAUS-ask for X one-tortilla  
 ‘s/he never asked me for tortillas’
- [múulaʔ] /muulaʔ/ ‘before, first, earlier’
- (112) [ʔút múulah číʔ káanilakáakít]  
 /ut muulaʔ čin-la(ʔ) kaa=ni=lakaa-kit/  
 s/he before arrive here-PFV than/as-I  
 ‘s/he arrived before me, earlier than me’

<sup>8</sup> Recall that the perfective of /aŋ/ ‘go’ is [ʔáʔ] /aŋ-la(ʔ)/ ‘s/he went.’

- (113) [ʔút lakáa ʔámín múulaʔ káalakáa kít]  
 /ut lakaa ʔ-min muulaʔ kaa=lakaa kit/  
 s/he NEG NEG-come before than/as I  
 's/he didn't come before me, earlier than me'

#### 10.4.2. Locative

A partial list of the locative adverbs includes:

[ʔántiwíʔ] /ántiwíʔ/ 'here'

- (114) [hónláatiwíʔlán máχat ʔántiwíʔ]  
 /hun-laa-ta-wíʔa-ní maχat ʔántiwíʔ/  
 DET-COM-INC-sit-NOM far here  
 'the town is far from here'

- (115) [lakáa ʔíksmaní hónlíwátat líʔántiwíʔ]  
 /lakaa ik-smani hun-líi-wátat líi-ʔántiwíʔ/  
 NEG 1SUB-be used to DET-PL-food INS-here  
 'I'm not used to the food from here'

[ʔántohʔ] /ántohʔ/ 'there'

- (116) [ʔántohʔ táǰwán]  
 /ántohʔ táǰwan/  
 there walk  
 's/he walks there'

[pístóχ] /pistuq/ 'beside, together'

- (117) [pístóχ tayánaʔ]  
 /pistuq ta-yaa-nan-la(ʔ)/  
 beside 3SUB.PL-stand-PL-PFV  
 'they are standing together (next to each other)'

[čúnkóʔ] /čunkuh/ 'beside, together'

- (118) [hónšáalu čúŋkóʔ láawíʔlán hónkaswéla]  
 /hun-šaaluu čúŋkóʔ laa-wíʔa-na hun-kaswela/  
 DET-pot beside COM-seated-COM DET-pan  
 'the pot is beside the pan'

- (119) [Juan wáah Pedro čúŋkəʔ tačáʔkkaatnán]  
 /Juan waaʔ Pedro čunkuh ta-čəʔkkaat-nan/  
 Juan and Pedro together 3SUB-work-I.O.  
 'Juan and Pedro work together'
- [šaχáan]                /šaqaan/                'inside'
- (120) [táḡwán šaχáan]  
 /təḡwan šaqaan/  
 walk inside  
 's/he is inside'
- [máχat]                /maqat/                'far'
- (121) [máχat hónláatiwílán]  
 /maqat hun-laa-ta-wíla-ni/  
 far DET-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 'is the town far away?'
- [maχán]                /maqan/                'farther away'
- (122) [hónsikulán maχán wílaʔ]  
 /hun-sikulan maqan wíla-la(ʔ)/  
 DET-church farther seated-PFV  
 'the church is farther over there'
- (123) [hónkúlaaʔ kaaʔ maχán naka čík]  
 /hun-kulaaʔ kaa-la(ʔ) maqan naka čík/  
 DET-orchard exist-PFV farther PREP house  
 'the orchard is farther over by the house'
- [lakaláksún]                /laka-laksun/                'near'
- (124) [hónláatiwílán lakaláksún ḡántiwíʔ]  
 /hun-laa-ta-wíla-ni laka-laksun ǵantiwíʔ/  
 DET-COM-INC-seated-NOM PREP-near here  
 'the town is near here'

Some locative relationships are expressed by nominals derived from body-part lexemes or prefixes.



[škáakni] /iš-kaak-ni/ 'on top of, above X'

- (125) [Juan yóhlaʔ ʔškáakni čík]  
 /Juan yuh-la(ʔ) iš-kaak-ni cik/  
 Juan fall-PFV 3POSS-head rel.-NOM house  
 'Juan fell onto the roof'

[lakapúun] /laka=puu-ni/ 'in front of (facing)'

- (126) [hónsikulán yaaʔ šlakapúun hónčík]  
 /hun-sikulan yaa-la(ʔ) iš-laka=puu-ni hun-čik/  
 DET-church standing-PFV 3POSS-face rel.-NOM DET-house  
 'the church is in front of/facing that house'

### 10.5. Prepositions

In Misantra Totonac, there is only one preposition, /naka/ 'PREP', which is alternatively pronounced [laka] in Yecuatla. The pronunciation depends on the family tradition of the speaker. In other Totonacan languages, the form is /nak-/ , and I assume that the pronunciation [laka] in Misantra Totonac is an innovation. The preposition can be interpreted in many ways depending on the context. It can introduce a locative phrase, instrumental phrase, comitative phrase, benefactive phrase, applicative phrase, genitive phrase, etc.

- (127) [náh pín laka pòhóčín]  
 /na(ʔ) an laka puhu-čii-ni/  
 FUT go PREP inside-very-NOM  
 'you will go to jail'

(128) [naka Pédro] /naka Pedro/ 'with, to, for, of Pedro'

(129) [naka čík] /naka čik/ 'in, for, to a house'

- (130) [naka hón šáaloh] /naka-hun-šaaluh/ 'in the pot'  
 [naka wín šáaloh] /naka-win-šaaluh/ 'in this pot'  
 [naka nán šáaloh] /naka-nan-šaaluh/ 'in that pot'

- (131) [laka qát láatiwílán]  
 /laka qat laa-ti-wila-ni/  
 PREP big COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 'in the city (big town)'

Prepositional phrases are negated by one of the negative markers /lakaa/ 'NEG'; /laa-tuu/ 'none'; /lakaa-tuu/ 'none'; and /laa-tii/ 'no one.'

- (132) [wɨn stápu láatúu lakašáaloʔ káah laka mesa]  
 /wɨn stapu laa-tuu laka-šaaluh kaaʔ laka mesa/  
 this beans NEG-what PREP-pot exist PREP table  
 'these beans are not in the pot, they are on the table'
- (133) [hón stápu lakáatúu lakašáaloh]  
 /hun stapu lakaa-tuu laka-šaaluh/  
 DET beans NEG-what PREP-pot  
 'the beans are not in the pot'

### 10.6. Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous category includes conjunctions and discourse markers. A few examples are:

- [wáaʔ]                      /waaʔ/                      'and'
- (134) [wáaʔčú péeɛništán]  
 /waaʔ-ču piiniʔ-štán/  
 and-CL poor-PAST  
 'and s/he was poor'
- (135) [hónfálda snapáp wáah ɛít]  
 /hun-falda snapap waaʔ ɛít/  
 DET-skirt white and black  
 'the skirt is white and black'
- (136) [ʔút wáah hónškán ʔíštáatáyat]  
 /ut waaʔ hun-iš-kam iš-taa=taaya-Vt  
 s/he and DET-3POSS-offspring 3POSS-COM-resemble-NOM  
 's/he and her son resemble one another'
- [náa]                      /naa/                      'even/also/and'
- (137) [náačú ʔalamíʔ]  
 /naa-ču ɔla-min-la(ʔ)/  
 even if-CL NEG-come-PFV  
 'even if s/he didn't come'

- (138) [nááčú kamíʔ]  
/naa-ču ka-min-la(ʔ)/  
even if-CL IRR-come-PFV  
'even if s/he came'
- (139) [náakít ʔiklaqásqáwíʔ]  
/naa-kit ik-laqa-šqáwí-la(ʔ)/  
also-I 1SUB-face rel.-trick X-PFV  
'I also tricked him'
- [čín]                      /čín/                      'if'
- (140) [čín níksláqεʔ šqóɔtan níksmáqsk[niiʔ hónkúčiʔ]  
/čín ni-ik-iš-laqan-la(ʔ) šquutan ni-ik-iš-maq-skinii-la(ʔ) hun-kučiʔ/  
if 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-see X-PFV yesterday 1IRR-1SUB-PAST-  
CAUS-ask for X-PFV DET-knife  
'if I had seen her/him yesterday, I would have asked her/him for the knife'
- (141) [čínčɔʒólaʔ níkaʔískáan múksún]  
/čín-čuqu-la(ʔ) na(ʔ)-ik-a-íski-yaa-na muksun/  
if-remain-PFV FUT-1SUB-MOM-give X to Y-IMPV-2OBJ little  
'if any remains, I will lend you a little'
- [ʔín]                      /ín/                      'if, whether'
- (142) [ʔáňčú ʔikíílílaqén ʔín lakatíks]  
/ʔan-ču ik-kii-líi-laqan in laka=tíks/  
go-CL 1SUB-INT-INS-see X if true/well  
'I am going to see if it is true'
- (143) [ʔíntéštuʔ nánʔáʔ]  
/ín-ta-štu-la(ʔ) nan-ʔan-la(ʔ)/  
if-INC-outside-PFV where-go-PFV  
'if-s/he left, where did s/he go?'
- [háan]                      /haan/                      'yes'
- (144) [háan kinʔan lakááčú wináa]  
/haan kinʔan lakaa-ču win-yaa-wa/  
yes we NEG-CL be able-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
'yes, we aren't able to (become rich)'

- [láa]                    /laa/                    ‘no’
- (145) [láa, lakáasáaste]  
/laa lakaa-saasti/  
no NEG-new  
‘no, it’s not new’
- [lakáa]                    /lakaa/                    ‘NEG’
- (146) [ʔút lakáa kíʔamáqskɪníí hónkíñčá]  
/ut lakaa kin-a-maq-skinii hun-kin-ča/  
s/he NEG 1OBJ-NEG-CAUS-ask for X DET-1POSS-tortilla  
‘s/he doesn’t ask me for my tortillas’
- [lakatíks]                    /laka=tiks/                    ‘really/truly’
- (147) [lakatíks ʔ[klííʔáhaʔ]  
/laka=tiks ik-líi-ʔaha-la(ʔ)/  
truly 1SUB-INS-win X-PFV  
‘really, I won X’
- [mát]                    /mat/                    ‘thus’
- (148) [“čáakílaqášqáwɪʔ” mátčú wán]  
/čaa-kin-laqa-šqawɪ-la(ʔ) mat-ču wan/  
only-1OBJ-face rel.-trick X-PFV thus-CL say X  
‘“s/he just tricked me,” thus he says’
- [sú]                    /su/                    ‘maybe, perhaps’
- (149) [náasukán]  
/naa-su-ik-ʔan/  
also-perhaps-1SUB-go  
‘maybe I go too’
- (150) [náh sú tapahanúu ʔántiwɪʔ]  
/na(ʔ) su ta-paha-nuu ʔantiwɪʔ/  
FUT maybe INC-half-inside here  
‘maybe he will pass by here’

[nɔhɔ́] /nuhu/ 'in this way, like this'

- (151) [nɔhɔ́čú kíwáníɸ kíŋkɔ́mpála]  
 /nuhu-ču kin-wan-ni-la(ɸ) kin-kɔmpala/  
 thus-CL 1OBJ-say X-+OBJ-PFV 1POSS-compadre  
 'in this way my *compadre* told it to me'

[túntún] /tun-tun/ 'one by one'

- (152) [hɔ́ŋčĩškún tatéštuɸ nakačik túntún]  
 /hun-čĩskuʔ-Vn ta-ta-štu-la(ɸ) naka-cik tun-tun/  
 DET-man-PL 3SUB.PL-INC-outside-PFV PREP-house one-one  
 'the men left the house one by one'

[máqtún] /maq-tun/ 'once'

- (153) [ʔĩščik ʔíkíičáɸ máχtún]  
 /iš-čik ik-kii-čan-la(ɸ) maq-tun/  
 3POSS-house 1SUB-INT-arrive there-PFV NC-one  
 'I went to her/his house once'

[máqtʔ] /maq-tʔ/ 'twice'

- (154) [ʔĩščik ʔíkíičáɸ máχtʔ]  
 /iš-čik ik-kii-čan-la(ɸ) maq-tʔ/  
 3POSS-house 1SUB-INT-arrive there-PFV NC-two  
 'I went to her/his house twice'

[máqʔitún] /maq-ʔitun/ 'thrice'

- (155) [ʔĩščik ʔíkíičáɸ máχʔitún]  
 /iš-čik ik-kii-čan-la(ɸ) maq-ʔitun/  
 3POSS-house 1SUB-INT-arrive there-PFV NC-three  
 'I went to her/his house three times'

# The Peacock and the Roadrunner

## *El pavoreal y el tapacamino*

The Peacock and the Roadrunner was told by Nemesio Lagunes Francisco (b. 1922), of Yecuatla, Veracruz, on August 12, 1992. In transcribing the text, I provide a phonetic transcription, a morpheme by morpheme transcription, an English gloss of the morphemes, an idiomatic Spanish translation, and an English translation. The line breaks coincide with pause breaks and intonational phrasing. Spanish borrowings are presented in standard Spanish orthography.

- (1) [máatʔ matčulíʔanimál de plúma, šíipúutláan]<sup>1</sup>  
 /maa-tʔ mat-ču-líi-animal de pluma šiipuu-Vt-láʔ-VVn/  
 NC-two thus-CL-PL-animal of feather-NOM-like X-PL  
 dos animales de pluma, emplumados  
 so there are two feathered animals
- (2) [tún wanikán páatáawanáʔ qátíʔ]  
 /tun wan-ni-kan paa-táawan-nʔ qat-tiiʔ/  
 one say X-+OBJ-I.S. middle rel.-walk-NOM big-path  
 uno se llama tapacamino real  
 one is called a royal roadrunner
- (3) [ʔátún tawaní pavoreál]  
 /á-tun ta-wan-ni pavoreal/  
 other-one 3SUB-say X-+OBJ peacock  
 al otro le dicen pavoreal  
 the other one they call a peacock
- (5) [hón pavoreál pán matčú kíitéεʔtanáanánštán]  
 /hun pavoreal pan mat-ču kii-tiiʔ-tanaa-nan-štán/  
 DET peacock want thus-CL INT-path-walk-I.O.-PAST  
 el pavoreal quería ir a pasear  
 so the peacock wanted to go walk around

<sup>1</sup> Recall that primary stress is the right-most stress on a word.

- (6) [laka qát láatiwílán]  
/laka qat laa-ti-wíla-ní/  
PREP big COM-INC-seated-NOM  
en la ciudad grande  
in the big city
- (7) [ʔáʔ mátčú kíitéh̄tanánánšt̄an h́on pavoreál]  
/ʔan-la(ʔ) mat-ču kii-tiiʔ-tanaa-nan-št̄an hun pavoreal/  
go-PFV thus-CL INT-path-walk-I.O.-PAST DET peacock  
va a pasear el pavoreal  
so the peacock intends to go walking around
- (8) [ʔáʔút h́on páatááwanáʔ qátíiʔ soχónáašt̄an ʔíʔáχaat]  
/ʔa-ut hun paa-tááwan-nʔʔ qat-tiiʔ suqunaa-št̄an iš-ʔaqaat/  
other-s/he DET middle rel.-walk-NOM big-path pretty-PAST 3POSS-clothes  
el otro, el tapacamino real tenía su ropa bonita  
the other, the royal roadrunner, had beautiful clothes
- (9) [soχónáa ʔíʔáχaat]  
/suqunaa iš-ʔaqaat/  
pretty 3POSS-clothes  
es bonita su ropa  
his clothes are beautiful
- (10) [h́on pavoreál mátčú waní]  
/hun pavoreal mat-ču wan-ni/  
DET peacock thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
el pavoreal así le dice  
so the peacock says to him
- (11) [“níkiʔáʔiški míʔáχaat” mátčú waní]  
/ni-kin-ʔa-iški-ti min-ʔaqaat mat-ču wan-ni/  
1IRR-1OBJ-MOM-give X to Y-2PFV 2POSS-clothes thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
“préstame tu ropa,” así le dice  
“lend me your clothes,” he says to him
- (12) [“túušuwén” mátčú waní]  
/tuu=šu=wan” mat-ču wan-ni/  
why thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
“para qué?” le dice  
“what for?” he says to him

- (13) [ʔán ʔikíitɛɛʔtanánán laka la ciudad de México]  
 /ʔán ik-kii-tiiʔ-tanaa-nan laka la ciudad de Mexico/  
 go 1SUB-INT-path-walk-I.O. PREP the city  
 “voy a pasear en la ciudad de México  
 “I’m going to go walk around the streets of Mexico City
- (14) [laka láatiwɪlán qát, qát láatiwɪlán]  
 /laka laa-ti-wɪla-ni qat, qat laa-ti-wɪla-ni/  
 PREP COM-INC-seated-NOM big, big COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 en la ciudad grande, la ciudad grande  
 in the big city, the big city
- (15) [ʔán ʔikʷáakíitɛɛʔtanánán”]  
 /ʔán ik-ʷaa-kii-tiiʔ-tanaa-nan/  
 go 1SUB-just-INT-path-walk-I.O.  
 no más quiero ir a pasear  
 I just intend to go walk around
- (16) [kít wáaʔčú ʔikčáaʔqɔlɔq kít]  
 /kít waaʔ-ču ik-čaa-ʔquluq kit/  
 I and-CL 1SUB-body rel.-dirty I  
 y yo, yo estoy mugroso (de mi ropa)  
 and I, I am filthy
- (17) [kít ʔáʒaat lakáa qɔʔɔnáʔ” mátčú waní]  
 /kit ʔaʒaat lakaa quʔa-nYʔ” mat-ču wan-ni/  
 I clothes NEG good-NOM thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 mi ropa no sirve (no es buena),” le dice  
 my clothes are no good,” he says to him
- (18) [ʔán náaláaláačú níkiʔiškáañčú wɪn kiláʔ”]  
 /ʔán naa-laa-laa-ču na(ʔ)-ik-kii-iški-yaa-na-ču wɪn kin-laʔ/  
 go but/also-no-no-CL FUT-1SUB-INT-give X to Y-IMPV-  
 2OBJ-CL this 1POSS-PBASE  
 “pero no, no te la voy a dar, ésta es la mía”  
 “but no, I will not give it to you, this is mine”
- (19) [“níkiʔaʔiškíčú” mátčú waní]  
 /ni-kín-a-iški-ti-ču” mat-ču wan-ni/  
 1IRR-1OBJ-MOM-give X to Y-2PFV-CL thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 “prestámela,” le dice  
 “lend it to me,” he says to him



- (20) [“čínčú náh kílaaʔaʔiškiʔ]  
 /čin-ču na(ʔ) kin-laa-a-iški/  
 if-CL FUT 1OBJ-3OBJ.PL-MOM-give X to Y  
 “si me las vas a prestar  
 “if you will lend them to me
- (21) [nákmaápalánayaán]  
 /na(ʔ)-ik-maa=pala-ni-yaa-na/  
 FUT-1SUB-pay X-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ  
 te la voy a pagar  
 I will pay you for it
- (22) [nákmaápalánayaán čáačučiš náh kíliʔiškiʔ?”]  
 /na(ʔ)-ik-maa=pala-ni-yaa-na čaa-ču-čiš na(ʔ) kin-lii-iški/  
 FUT-1SUB-pay X-+OBJ-IMPV-2OBJ only-CL-how  
 FUT 1OBJ-INS-give X to Y  
 te la voy a pagar, en cuanto me la vas a dar?”  
 I will pay you for it, what will you charge me for it?  
 (for how much will you give it to me)”
- (23) [“láa, láačú” mátčú waní]  
 /laa, laa-ču mat-ču wan-ni/  
 no, no-CL thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 “no, no.” le dice  
 “no, no” he says to him
- (24) [“háan, níkiʔaʔiški” mátčú waní]  
 /haan, ni-kin-a-iški-ti mat-ču wan-ni/  
 si IRR-1OBJ-MOM-give X to Y-2PFV thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 “sí, préstamela” le dice  
 “yes, lend it to me” he says to him
- (25) [“láa, láa”]  
 /laa, laa/  
 no, no  
 “no, no”  
 “no, no”
- (26) [“náh laqén náh ʔikmín]  
 /na(ʔ) laqan na(ʔ) ik-min/  
 FUT see X FUT 1SUB-come  
 “verás, voy a venir  
 “you will see, I’ll come back

- (27) [náh laqé:n ʔálaʔ nákmín]  
 /na(ʔ) laqan an=la(ʔ) na(ʔ)-ik-min/  
 FUT see X soon FUT-1SUB-come  
 verás, luego voy a venir”  
 you will see, I will come back soon”
- (28) [“éh pues háasáacú” mátcú waní]  
 /éh pues haasaa-ču” mat-ču wan-ni/  
 éh, then good-CL thus-CL say X-+OBJ  
 “eh, pues bueno,” le dice  
 “eh, well OK,” he says to him
- (29) [ʔiškiʔ taqéεstuʔ ʔištaqéεnuyt]  
 /iški-la(ʔ) ta-qii-štu-la(ʔ) iš-ta-qii-nuu-Vt/  
 give X to Y-PFV INC-back rel. -outside-PFV 3POSS-INC-back  
 rel. -inside-NOM  
 se lo dio, se quitó su saco  
 he gave it to him, he took off his jacket
- (30) [ʔíʔáχaat ʔiškiʔ]  
 /iš-ʔaqaat iški-la(ʔ)/  
 3POSS-clothes give X to Y-PFV  
 le dio su ropa  
 he gave him his clothes
- (31) [iih ǵʔút hɔn pavoreál sɔχɔnáa wánlaʔ]  
 /iih ǵ-ut hun pavoreal suqunaa wan-la(ʔ)/  
 iih other-s/he DET peacock pretty become X-PFV  
 iih y el otro, el pavoreal, que bonito/bien se puso  
 iih and the other one, the peacock, became beautiful
- (32) [ʔáʔ laka ciudad ʔáʔ lakaláatiwjlán]  
 /an-la(ʔ) laka ciudad an-la(ʔ) laka-laa-ti-wjla-ni/  
 go-PFV PREP city go-PFV PREP-COM-INC-seated-NOM  
 fue a la ciudad, fue a la ciudad  
 he went to the city, he went to the city
- (33) [néñčún hášwanáa]  
 /nančun hašwan-ii/  
 where happy-TRANS  
 donde hay alegría  
 where there is joy

- (34) [čáaʔáʔ ʔántɔhʔ]  
 /čaa-ʔan-la(ʔ) ʔntuhʔ/  
 only-go-PFV there  
 nada más llegó allá,  
 he had just arrived there,
- (35) [sɔχʔɔŋkán lakáačú háa ʔaqéenyáawakán]  
 /suqun-kan lakaa-ču haa ʔ-qiin-yaa-wan-kan/  
 like X-I.S. NEG-CL yes NEG-back rel.-stand-become-I.S.  
 les gustó, ya no lo dejaron venir  
 they liked him, they wouldn't let him leave<sup>2</sup>
- (36) [čáaʔáʔ tanúu čáaʔáʔ laka tún ...čik]  
 /čaa-ʔan-la(ʔ) ta-nuu čaa-ʔan-la(ʔ) naka tun čik/  
 only-go-PFV INC-inside only-go-PFV PREP one house  
 no más llegó/fue, entra, no más llegó/fue en una ... casa  
 he had just arrived, he enters, he had just arrived in a ... house
- (37) [čapákaʔ]  
 /čapa-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 grab X-I.S.-PFV  
 lo agarraron  
 they grabbed him
- (38) [čapákaʔ máanúukaʔ]  
 /čapa-kan-la(ʔ) maa-nuu-kan-la(ʔ)/  
 grab X-I.S.-PFV CAUS-inside-I.S.-PFV  
 lo agarraron, lo metieron adentro  
 they grabbed him, they put him inside
- (39) [náñčún láaχáʔiikaʔ líiʔanimál]  
 /nančun laa-qaʔii-kan-la(ʔ) lii-animál/  
 where 3OBJ.PL-have-I.S.-PFV PL-animal  
 donde tienen los animales  
 where they keep animals
- (40) [“pués ʔawíʔ lakáačú náh kán]  
 /pues ʔawíʔ lakaa-ču na(ʔ) ik-ʔan/  
 then/well now NEG-CL FUT 1SUB-go  
 “pues, ahora ya no me voy  
 “well, now I'm not leaving

<sup>2</sup>Note that in spite of the translation, the subject is indefinite, not third person plural.

- (41) [katačóχɔʔčú hón kíʔaʔiškiʔ ʔíʔáχaat"]  
 /ka-ta-čuqu-la(ʔ)-ču hun kin-a-iški-la(ʔ) iš-ʔaqaat/  
 IRR-INC-remain-PFV-CL DET 1OBJ-MOM-give X to Y-PFV  
 3POSS-clothes  
 que ya se quede aquel que me prestó su ropa,"  
 he is left, the one who lent me his clothes,"
- (42) [mátčuwán]  
 /mat-ču-wan/  
 thus-CL-say X  
 así dice  
 so he said
- (43) [ah pués, pués, tapahánuuʔ tiémpo]  
 /ah pues, pues, ta-paha-nuu-la(ʔ) tiempo/  
 ah well, well, INC-half-inside-PFV time  
 ah pues, pues, pasó tiempo  
 ah well, well, time passed
- (44) [tún káat, ʔatún káat, máatukáat]  
 /tun káat, a-tun káat, maa-tuʔ-káat/  
 one year, other-one year, NC-two-year  
 un año, otro año, dos años  
 one year, another year, two years
- (45) ["lakáaču kilíminí hón kíʔáχaat"]  
 /lakaa-ču kin-lii=min-ni hun kin-ʔaqaat/  
 NEG-CL 1OBJ-bring X-+OBJ DET 1POSS-clothes  
 "no me trae mi ropa"  
 "he is not bringing me my clothes"
- (46) [íih mátčuwán "lakáaču kilíminí]  
 /íih mat-ču-wan lakaa-ču kin-lii=min-ni/  
 íih thus-CL-say X NEG-CL 1OBJ-bring X-+OBJ  
 íih así dice, "no me la trae  
 íih so he says, "he is not bringing it to me
- (47) [ʔawíʔ túučú nákcúulá mátčuwán]  
 /awíʔ tuu-ču na(ʔ)-ik-čuula mat-ču-wan/  
 now what-CL FUT-1SUB-do X thus-CL-say X  
 ahora que voy a hacer?" dice  
 now what will I do?" he says

- (48) [“ʔ<sub>aw</sub>ʔ ʔ[kmáašanáñčú]  
/ʔ<sub>aw</sub>ʔ ik-maa=šanan-ču/  
now 1SUB-shame-CL  
“ahora ya tengo vergüenza  
“now I am ashamed
- (49) [čáacukít máawiníi ʔ[əqóšaʔúkaʔ kíʔáχaat]  
/čaa-ču-kit maa=winii ik-quša-uka-la(ʔ) kin-ʔaqaat/  
only-CL-I few/little 1SUB-back rel.-above-PFV 1POSS-clothes  
yo apenas tantito tengo puesta mi ropa  
my clothes just barely cover me
- (50) [káah səχónáaštán hón kíʔáχaat” mátčuwán]  
/kaah suqunaa-štān hun kin-ʔaqaat mat-ču-wan/  
exist pretty-PAST DET 1POSS-clothes thus-CL-say X  
estaba bonita mi ropa,” dice  
my clothes were beautiful,” he says
- (51) [“ah pués, ʔ<sub>aw</sub>ʔ láatúu nákcúulá]  
/ah pues ʔ<sub>aw</sub>ʔ laa-tuu na(ʔ)-ik-čuula/  
ah then now NEG-what FUT-1SUB-do X  
“ah pues, ahora no voy hacer nada  
“oh well, now I won’t do anything
- (52) [náhcú ʔ[kpahaláqlíi]  
/na(ʔ)-ču ik-paha-laqlii/  
FUT-CL 1SUB-half-wait for X  
lo voy a esperar  
I will wait for him
- (53) [náh sú tapahanúu ʔántiwíʔ” mátčuwán]  
/na(ʔ) su ta-paha-nuu ʔántiwíʔ mat-ču-wan/  
FUT maybe INC-half-inside here thus-CL-say X  
tal vez va pasar por aquí,” dice  
maybe he will pass by here,” he says
- (54) [“nákpáatáayá wín tíih]  
/“na(ʔ)-ik-paa-ta-yaa wín tiiʔ/  
FUT-1SUB-middle rel.-INC-standing this path  
“me voy a parar en medio de este camino  
“I will stand in the middle of this road

- (55) [túut náh pɛmín laqalí ʔú tɥuʂún] mátcuwan]  
 /tuut na(ʔ) pi-min laqalii u tɥuʂun mat-ču-wan/  
 what FUT maybe-come tomorrow or day after thus-CL-say X  
 que él tal vez va a venir mañana o pasado,” dice  
 that perhaps he will come tomorrow or the day after,” he says
- (56) [“iih lakáamín, lakáamín, lakáamín”]  
 /iih lakaa-min, lakaa-min, lakaa-min/  
 NEG-come, NEG-come NEG-come  
 “iih no viene, no viene, no viene”  
 “iih he doesn’t come, he doesn’t come, he doesn’t come”
- (57) [wánlaʔ “lakáa ʔamín” hásta la fécha]  
 /wan-la(ʔ) lakaa a-min hasta la fecha/  
 say X-PFV NEG NEG-come until this date  
 dijo “no vino” hasta la fecha  
 he said “he hasn’t come” to this day
- (58) [lakáa ʔamín hásta ʔawiʔ lakáa čín]  
 /lakaa a-mín hasta awiʔ lakaa čin/  
 NEG NEG-come until now NEG arrive here  
 hasta ahora no vino, no llega  
 until now he hasn’t come, he doesn’t arrive
- (59) [ʔawiʔ pɛɛniʔ hón páatáawanáʔ qátíiʔ]  
 /awiʔ piin-nYʔ hun paa-táawan-nYʔ qat-tiiʔ/  
 now poor-NOM DET middle-walk-NOM big-path  
 ahora pobre, el tapacamino real  
 now poor thing, the royal roadrunner
- (60) [čáaču ɛiɟsaɛiɟsa táštú]  
 /čaa-ču ɛiɟsa-ɛiɟsa ta-štu/  
 only-CL night-night INC-outside  
 no más en las noches/cada noche sale  
 only goes out at night
- (61) [káawíiniʔ lakáa laqɛnáa]  
 /kaawiin-nYʔ lakaa laqan-yaa-wa/  
 day-NOM NEG see X-IMPV-1SUB.PL  
 de día no lo vemos  
 by day we don’t see him

- (62) [háan máašanañču lááčutúu qáʔiiʔ ʔiʔáχaat]  
 /haan maa=šanan-ču laa-ču-tuu qáʔii-la(ʔ) iš-ʔaqaat/  
 yes shame-CL NEG-CL-what have-PFV 3POSS-clothes  
 si, tiene verguenza, no tiene nada de su ropa  
 yes, he is ashamed, he doesn't have his clothes
- (63) [čááčumáawinii qéεʔúkaʔ ʔiʔáqaat čipéχ]  
 /čaa-ču-maa=winii qii-uka-la(ʔ) iš-ʔaqaat čipaq/  
 only-CL-few/little back rel.-above-PFV 3POSS-clothes rotted  
 ya no más tantito tiene puesta su ropa podrida  
 his rotting clothes just barely cover him
- (64) [čááčumáawinii]  
 /čaa-ču-maa=winii/  
 only-CL-few/little  
 ya no más tantito  
 just barely
- (65) [ʔišqéεtaláχnuuʔ čipáχ]  
 /iš-qii-ta-laq-nuu-Vt čipaq/  
 3POSS-back rel.-INC-DIST-inside-NOM rotted  
 su ropa está podrida  
 his clothes are rotted
- (66) [ʔášni teštú hón ɛʔisa čišwán?]  
 ášni ta-stu hun ɛʔisa čiš-wan/  
 when INC-outside DET night how-say X  
 cuando sale de noche que dice?  
 when he goes out at night what does he say?
- (67) [“kabayé:ro, kabayé:ro”] (falsetto)  
 /“caballero, caballero”/  
 gentleman, gentleman  
 “caballero, caballero”  
 “gentleman, gentleman”

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