

# TOTONAC:

## FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE





# **TOTONAC: FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE**

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# **TOTONAC: FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE**

**by**

**Aileen A. Reid  
Ruth G. Bishop  
Ella M. Button  
Robert E. Longacre**

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# INTRODUCTION

The title of this volume is indicative of the belief of its authors that grammar does not cease above the sentence level but extends on up through paragraph and discourse. A language is a consistent whole. Certain features of word and clause structure find their ultimate rationale only by reference to higher levels which include and go beyond the sentence. Furthermore, sequences above the sentence may be shown to have grammatical structure in no essential way different from that found on lower levels. In the process, however, the notion of sentence itself--that level medianly spaced between the linguistic stratosphere and troposphere--must be brought into better focus. It little helps us to go beyond the sentence if we do not know what a sentence is. Such, in brief, is the task of this volume.

Practical exigencies of field work within the framework of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Mexico Branch) have led to the choice of Totonac as the target language of this description. Any language--if our theoretical contentions are correct--could have served the purpose. Totonac was a felicitous choice in that three people trained in linguistics were available to work on the project simultaneously beginning in the fall of 1965. A natural division of the labor was to assign one (Reid) to the study of clause structures, one (Bishop) to the study of sentence, and one (Button) to the study of paragraph and discourse. All three speak Totonac and had access as well to a large corpus of Totonac text which had been machine processed into a concordance. The independent but coordinated attacks on various levels of Totonac grammar proved efficient in the simultaneous exploration of that grammar on a broad front. At the same time each of the three exercised a control on the work of the others in that each had to correlate to varying degrees the work of the others with her own work. As fourth author I have supplied the theoretical framework of the volume, served as consultant to the three other authors during their time of analysis and writing, ghost-written a paragraph here and there, and edited the whole. Nevertheless, whatever I have contributed to the form of the volume, the substance has been supplied by the other three authors.

Zellig Harris observed in 1952 (P. 1) that "...descriptive linguistics generally stops at sentence boundaries. This is not due to any prior decision. The techniques of linguistics were constructed to study any stretch of speech, of whatever length." Whatever its ultimate capacities, linguistics has to this day continued largely to preoccupy itself with structure which does not go beyond the bounds of the sentence. Some have felt that linguistic structure above the sentence is perhaps structure of a fundamentally different sort from that found on lower levels. Others have dogmatically asserted that structure above the sentence is not the proper domain of either grammar or semantics. Thus Katz and Fodor: (1963: 173) "Grammars seek to describe the structure of a sentence IN ISOLATION

FROM ITS POSSIBLE SETTINGS IN LINGUISTIC DISCOURSE (WRITTEN OR VERBAL) OR IN NON-LINGUISTIC CONTEXTS (SOCIAL OR PHYSICAL)" (the capital letters for emphasis are theirs not mine). This is an extreme example of the preoccupation of transformational-generative grammar with the sentence (both clause and sentence as here used) to the exclusion of interest in higher levels and to the neglect of systemic taxonomy on the lower levels.

Here and there, however, there have been those who have begun to explore paragraph and discourse structure from the base of linguistics (rather than from the viewpoint of literary criticism). Thus, to cite but one instance, there was an interesting pair of papers presented at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America in 1964: "Structure Above the Sentence Level" by George P. Lakoff; and "Morphological Continuity in Poetry" by M. C. Bateson. In the immediately preceding meeting of the Association for Machine Translation and Computational Linguistics two other papers of relevance to higher-level grammar were read: "Paragraph Structure as an Approach to Mechanized Discourse Analysis" by S. N. Jacobson; and "Inter-Sentence Connectivity in Written Discourse" by Kenneth Harper. The latter two papers are indicative of investigation into paragraph and discourse structure now underway at some computer laboratories.

Almost from its inception tagmemics has had an interest in grammar above the sentence. An unpublished paper of James Lorient's (1958) explored inter-sentence ties in Shipibo discourse and has had considerable influence on the early development of tagmemics ("Shipibo Paragraph Structure"). The Pickett grammar of Isthmus Zapotec (1960) and the more recent grammar of Telefol (New Guinea) by Phyllis Healey (1965) both include brief treatments of discourse structure (three pages in Pickett and nine pages in Healey). The brevity of the treatments of higher-level grammar in these volumes is reminiscent of the brevity with which syntax in general used to be treated when the 'grammar' of an Indian language consisted mainly in a statement of its morphological structures. More extensive but with narrower focus is Scott's study of Persian and Arabic Riddles (1965). Articles such as Loos's "Capanahua Narrative Structure" (1963), Powlison's "A Paragraph Analysis of a Yagua Folktale" (1965) and Alton Becker's, "A Tagmemic Approach to Paragraph Analysis" (1965) are further steps in the right direction. Very important but as yet unavailable is Loraine Bridgeman's "Oral Paragraphs in Kaiwa (Guarani)" (dissertation at Indiana University, 1966). Meanwhile, Pike continues to prod his colleagues on into further exploration of the higher levels by means of such articles as "Beyond the Sentence" (1964) and "Discourse Structure and Tagmeme Matrices" (1964).

Whatever contribution this volume makes to the understanding of paragraph and discourse structure clusters around the following: (1) Contrasting types are presented on both levels. (2) Each type is represented in a formula. (3) Types are shown to comprise systems. (4) Tree structures are given for individual examples of the various types. (5) In all these respects paragraph and discourse are shown to be fundamentally no different from sentence, clause, phrase, or even word levels. The tree structure of even a moderately sized discourse is, admittedly, very involved. In our tree di-

agram of the discourse analyzed in Chapter V of this volume (Diagram XXII) the tree is not carried down any lower than beyond the some 150 component paragraphs and embedded discourses which make up this one discourse. This extensive diagram is further extendible by carrying down into sentence, clause, and lower levels. (6) Paragraph and discourse structure are integrally related to the lower levels: sentence, clause, and word.

In the course of this study the notion of 'sentence' itself has been brought into better focus. In that I have developed this notion in detail elsewhere (1967) a summary will suffice here: (1) The sentence is essentially a level where clauses are combined as propositions are combined in formal logic--but a simple one-clause type may occur as well. (2) Natural languages have, however, a richer combinatorial apparatus than that of formal logic. They use juxtaposition (with or without conjunction), opposition (relation by 'or' or 'but'), implication (balancing of propositions by such words as 'if' and 'then'), and quotation (speech about speech, speech which includes speech). Arranged in this order the above four categories form four variables of a concatenation parameter with increasing closeness of concatenation. (3) In the sentence margin--which occurs indifferently in most types--may occur such tagmemes as: exclamation, vocative, sentence topic, temporal, causal, circumstantial, purpose, and concessive--as well as sentence level conjunctives. (4) In the nucleus of the various sentence types occur such tagmemes as: thesis, adversative ('but'), and antithesis (in the adversative sentence); conditional ('if'), protasis, apodosis (in the conditional sentence); indirect quotation formula, sign of quote ('that'), indirect quoted, (in the indirect quotation sentence). Especially strategic is (3) in that only by recognizing the sentence-level but peripheral function of certain of these elements (such as, e.g. circumstantial and purpose clauses) can one avoid cluttering up his scheme of sentence types with a number of pseudo-types (circumstantial or purpose sentences) which would obscure the outlines of the system.

The scheme posited for Totonac sentences is quite similar to that here suggested except that (1) a column is set up for simple sentences which could be considered to represent zero grade of concatenation. Two such types are posited, the Particle Base sentence (whose nucleus contains less than a clause) and the Clause Base sentence (whose nucleus contains but one clause). (2) For each of the two main categories of sentence (simple, juxtaposition, opposition, implication, and quotation) two sentences occur differentiated according to relative strength of cohesion. (3) Sentence periphery includes the tagmemes suggested but not concessive which joins the configuration as a subtype of the adversative.

The present description of Totonac sentences reflects some problems which yet remain in the theory of sentence structure: (1) Should Particle Base sentence be set up or should all such sentences be considered to be ellipses of full clause sentences? Only the Particle Base sentence has no periphery. It may be manifested by a word or a phrase. Furthermore, it occurs primarily in dialogue. I have argued elsewhere (1967) that it might be more consistent to consider such sentences to be sentences which have deleted most of their clause base. (2) Should sentences containing a string of clauses be decomposed--as we have done here--into tagmemes manifested by simple sentences (whose clause-base tagmeme is manifested by vari-

ous clause types) or directly into tagmemes manifested by clauses? In favor of decomposition into simple sentences is the consideration that the sentence seems to be a nest in which sentence-within-sentence seems to be the order of the day. Furthermore, occasional examples occur of sentence peripheries down on the lowest layers of such nests. In favor of decomposition into clauses is the somewhat bizarre result of our present analysis, viz. that clauses build hierarchically into sentences via one and only one sentence type, the simple sentence. (3) Should the manifestation of quoted tagmeme in both direct and indirect quotation sentences be considered to be a paragraph type in every occurrence as here posited? This seems to be plausible enough in the direct quote where stretches of more than one sentence within the quoted are frequent. In the indirect quote, however, the quoted is typically shorter. It may, nevertheless, involve a series of sentences such as the equivalent of 'he said that... and that... and...' This series of sentences is parallel in structure to that of a paragraph and is therefore analyzed as such. By analogy then, an indirect quoted consisting of but one clause base sentence is considered to be a minimal paragraph.

Totonac clauses comprise the most extensive and involved system of clauses which I have seen to date. The generation of the 396 verbal types of this system from a kernel of eleven types is, however, very symmetric and regular. In a system embracing so many clause types the focus is rather on the parameters, the distinctive features of the various clauses, than on the clause types themselves. Within the kernel clauses one to five *dramatis personae* are indicated as present (subject, object, indirect object; and one to three referents--but not three referents with both direct object and indirect object indicated). Causative clauses introduce a further *dramatis persona*. Further clause types suppress (or render indefinite) some *dramatis persona* indicated in the verb. Still other more outer parameters of the system distinguish anaphoric ties; and indicative versus interrogative versus injunctive. The *dramatis personae* indicated as present in the verb may be multiple but only rarely will very many occur as noun expressions within the same clause. The drama is set up to include a certain number of characters but the stage is not permitted to be cluttered with too many on stage at the same time. The *dramatis personae* indicated as present in the verb of a clause but not specifically mentioned in that clause are present somewhere in the context.

Time and location while peripheral (and hence optional) tagmemes on the clause level, by no means appear willy-nilly in discourse. They find their fullest rationale in terms of paragraph structure. A paragraph either has unity of time and place and is thereby identifiable as a simple paragraph or progresses through time and space and is thereby identifiable as a compound paragraph. Simple paragraphs typically start with an orientation tagmeme which orients the paragraph in time and may also orient it in space. Furthermore, a paragraph has its cast of *dramatis personae* which are reflected in the clause structures of the sentences of the paragraphs. Thus, in inspecting a Totonac text for paragraph breaks one looks for changes of time horizon, of locale, and of participants as his first clues. Ultimately, however, discourses are dissected into paragraphs so as to



yield units recognizable as paragraphs in terms of the theory (description) of paragraphs here outlined.

A frequent problem in segmentation into paragraphs is that of assigning a given sentence to the preceding or following paragraph. Evidence may be clear that two paragraphs are involved but the sentence in question could from one point of view be assigned to the terminus of one paragraph and from another point of view to the onset of the following paragraph. A case in point is the frequent occurrence in narrative text of a sentence which seems to summarize the preceding paragraph but which indicates a change to the locale of the following paragraph. Should such a transitional sentence be assigned to what precedes or what follows? We have here assigned such sentences to the preceding paragraph in that they seem to fit with other types of paragraph terminating tagmemes but do not seem to fit well with the paragraph initiating tagmemes that we have posited. Such problems as these are resultant from the particle perspective which characterizes this study. From a wave perspective (Pike, 1959) the transitional sentence could be considered simultaneously to close one paragraph and begin another.

Three hierarchical levels -- stem, word, and phrase -- are not systematically presented in this volume. Nevertheless, the very extensive appendix, in which Reid describes verb inflection, presents a partial covering of word structure. The verb is crucial to the understanding of the clause. In turn the function of certain verb affixes can be understood only by reference to features not only of the clause but of the sentence to which it belongs and to features of other sentences in the paragraph. For this reason, the appendix on verb inflection conveys information essential to the volume as a whole. This information needs to be supplemented by a description of inflection in other classes of words. In turn all this needs to be supplemented by a study of stem structure. The relation of derivation to inflection (there are, e. g., some apparently homophonous derivational and inflectional morphemes) is intimate enough that a full understanding of the latter requires some knowledge of the former. The phrase level should also be described someday--although structures on that level do not seem to be very complex or varied.

This volume is restricted to the grammatical hierarchy. It is assumed that phonological and lexical hierarchies are quasi-autonomous of the grammar but interlocking and related to it and to each other. Thus, it is not assumed that there is one-to-one correspondence of phonological and grammatical sentence. Conceivably two short grammatical sentences could be pronounced as one phonological sentence. Conversely, one long grammatical sentence could be pronounced as two phonological sentences. Paragraph divisions set up on the basis of phonology might also not correlate in every case with the grammatical divisions here posited--although the correlation of the two should be statistically high. Furthermore, were paragraph divisions to be posited on the basis of the lexicon, i. e. of content structure, a few discrepancies with grammatical division into paragraphs would probably occur as well. Such incongruities should neither cause us to doubt our grammatical analysis nor impell us to embrace premature schemes for mapping of one hierarchy onto another.



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## EXPLANATORY NOTES

Totonac is a language of Mexico spoken by approximately 100,000 persons. This study is based on the dialect of Totonac spoken in the northern part of the State of Puebla, near Villa Juarez. There are approximately 10,000-15,000 speakers of this dialect. The data was gathered on field trips from 1952 to 1965 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The orthography used in this description is one which has been used extensively by the authors for preparation of educational materials employing the vernacular. It has its basis in a phonological analysis; however, the symbols are chosen to show a maximum conformance to norms of Mexican Spanish orthography, and to minimize the introduction of new symbols. Thus certain unit value sounds in Totonac are represented by digraphs, i. e. 'lh' represents [ɬ]. The symbol 'x' represents an alveopalatal sibilant [ɕ]; 'c, qu' represents [k]; 'k' represents [k̟]. The glottal catch [ʔ] is represented by apostrophe.

In the phonological system there is a contrast between velar and post-velar fricatives [x] and [x̟], paralleling the contrast between [k] and [k̟]. This contrast is of low functional load and is not represented in the orthography used here, both sounds being represented by 'j'.

Vowel length is contrastive and is represented by macron.

The accompanying chart specifies the general phonetic characteristics of the orthographic symbols.

## CONSONANTS:

	Labial	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Back velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t		c/qu	k	'
Affricates						
grooved		tz	ch			
lateral		tl				
Fricatives						
flat				j	j	
grooved		s	x			
lateral		lh				
Nasals	m	n				
Laterals		l				
Semivowels	hu		y			

## VOWELS:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ɪ		u ū
Mid	e ĕ		o Ȯ
Low		a ā	

The velar stop is written as qu before e or i, as in Spanish, elsewhere as c. Additional phonemes resulting from Spanish loan words are: b, d, g, f, v, z, r, rr, ñ.

The following method is used to distinguish the tagmemes and syntagmemes of the four levels in this volume: clause-level uses all lower case; sentence-level uses First Letter Capitalized, paragraph-level uses ALL CAPITALS; discourse-level uses ALL CAPS and EXPANDED. In the Totonac text in Chapter V, all four levels are distinguished when pertinent to the analysis.

In examples and diagrams in Chapters I through IV and in the analyzed text of Chapter V, tagmemes and syntagmemes are abbreviated. All such abbreviations may be found in Appendix B in which a composite list of abbreviations is given and in which the same abbreviations are listed according to the Chapter in which they occur.

# I. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

1.0. Introduction. The Totonac clause system may be viewed as being composed of three classes: a major class, a minor class, and a dependent class. (See Appendix C for complete list of clause types.) The major system comprises a system of 396 clause types in six parameters. The minor class comprises three further types, one of which is verbal (role clause), one of which is verbal but without a subject (meteorological clause), and one of which has a verb only under specifiable conditions. The dependent class is a unit set comprised of but one clause type. This clause type has a peculiar immediate constituent structure consisting of a relator, and of an axis which may be manifested by any other clause type. Clauses in the major and minor classes manifest sentence-level tagmemes. The dependent clause type manifests clause-level tagmemes within its embedding clause. Thus the dependent clause may embed any of the other 399 clause types and may be embedded within any of the 400 clause types (since dependent clause may embed within dependent clause).

The verbal clauses, constituting the major class, form a system in six coordinates. Two coordinates, degree of direct transitivity and degree of oblique transitivity, define the kernel system of 11 clause types. These 11 clause types may be made causative by the addition of the causative prefix *mā-* within the predicate, and the addition of a further clause-level causative subject. These 11 causative clause types may be made causative with indefinite actor by the addition of the suffix *-ni'n* within the predicate and the deletion of the clause-level actor. These 33 clause types (the 11 non-causative clause types of the kernel, the 11 causative clauses with definite actor, and the 11 causative clauses with indefinite actor) may be made indefinite by adding the suffixes *-can* or *-ca* to the predicate and deleting the clause-level subject. Clauses not undergoing this transformation are definite. These 66 clause types (definite subject and indefinite subject) may be made anaphoric by the addition of the prefix *lī-* to the predicate and the addition of a clause-level reason or manner element. In turn these 132 clause types, without further modification, are declarative. They may, however, be transformed to 132 interrogative clause types or to 132 injunctive clause types. The interrogative and injunctive clause types are in one-to-one correspondence with the declarative clause types.

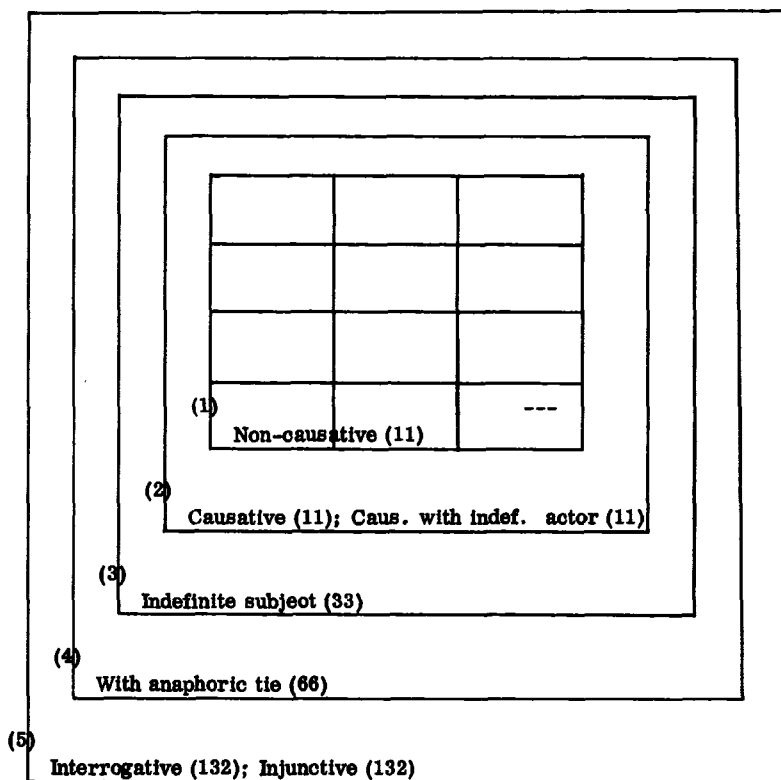


Diagram I. Clause Types

Every clause type inside of (1) is non-causative and is kernel. Clause types inside (2) are non-causative (kernel); causative; and causative with indefinite actor; all have definite subject. Clause types inside (3) are definite subject (33 types) and indefinite subject (33 more types). Clause types inside (4) either lack the anaphoric tie [66 types inside (3)] or have the anaphoric tie (66 more types). Finally, all clause types are indicative [those inside (4)], interrogative (132 more types), or injunctive (132 more types).

1. 1. Constituents of the verbal clause. A composite tagmemic formula for all verbal clauses is: + (Nuc.) ± Peri, in which Nuc. = nucleus, and Peri = optional peripheral tagmemes.

The nucleus consists of an obligatory predicate tagmeme and optional nuclear tagmemes. The optional nuclear tagmemes (subject, object, indirect object, referent, actor, and anaphora) represent the participants indicated in the predicate, and are, in effect, the expansion of the predicate.

As to the total number of tagmemes permitted in a given clause, a maximum of five tagmemes occur in the clauses of the corpus of text underlying this study. Of these five tagmemes, one must be nuclear (viz., the predicate tagmeme) but all may be nuclear. The following elicited example, however, contains seven tagmemes, of which five are nuclear and two are peripheral: u'tza' cāmaxquf' dulce i'xcamana' huan puscāt lakalfyān



nac cā'tacuxtu 'for this reason the woman gives her children candy daily in the field'.

1.1.1. Peripheral tagmemes. There are seven clause-level peripheral tagmemes: time, location, instrument, manner, simile, reason, and question marker.

The time tagmeme may be manifested by (1) an adverb: makān 'a-long-time', palaj 'soon'; (2) a noun: lakalf 'tomorrow', tuncuj 'daytime, during-the-day', tintacuj 'all-day'; (3) a noun to which has been affixed the possessor affix i'x- 'his/its' which is followed by the prefix lf-: i'xlfakalf 'the-next-day, the-day-following', i'xlfca'ta 'a-year-from-then'; (4) a noun phrase consisting of a noun, as the head, and a demonstrative or a numeral: huanmā' tzf'sa 'that night', lakatu' chi'chini' 'two days'; (5) a clause introduced by a'xni'ca': a'xni'ca' chā'lh na i'xchic 'when he-arrived at his-house'.

The location tagmeme is manifested by (1) locational adverbs, e.g., ā'tzā' 'here', a'ntza' 'there', tālhmā'n 'above'; (2) nouns, e.g., tanquilhni' 'in-the-patio'; (3) nouns to which have been affixed the prefix cā'- 'place-of', e.g., cā'chi'chini' 'in-the-sun', cā'ū'ni'n 'in-the-air'; (4) noun phrases, consisting of a noun plus the preposition na/nac 'in, at, on', which may be expanded to include one or more of the following: possession affixes, an attributive, an identifier or demonstrative or numeral, e.g., nac quilmakspulh 'on-my-finger'; (5) noun phrases of possession, e.g., na i'xlaclhni' i'xlfstā't 'in the-midst-of his-merchandise', na i'xchic i'xtāta' 'in his-house his-father'; (6) dependent clauses whose relator is a'nlhā 'where': a'nlhā i'xuf' huan rey 'where he-was the king'.

Any of the above examples may be preceded by Spanish de 'from' to express direction away from. This does not usually contribute to the meaning since the ablative idea is indicated by the choice of verb.

The manner tagmeme may be manifested by (1) adverbs; chuntza' 'thus', xa'nca 'well'; (2) phrases introduced by Spanish con 'with': con lūlhua' tapāxuhuān 'with much joy'; (3) clauses with a'nchf 'how, as' as relator: lā' chuntza' lalh a'nchf huanilh i'xpuscāt 'and thus it-happened as she-told-him his-wife'.

The simile tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase introduced by hua'chi 'like' or Spanish como 'as, like' or by both hua'chi and como: hua'chi quit 'like me', como hua'chi i'xla' huan rey 'like like his the king'.

The instrument tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase introduced by Spanish con 'with': i'ctucslī con qui'hui' 'I-hit-him with stick'.

The reason tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase introduced by Spanish por 'for': por i'xlf'a'ksa'nfnf' cama'kni' 'for his-lie kill-him'.

The question marker tagmeme is manifested by: tf/tfchū 'who'; tū/tuchū 'what'; lhānfn 'when'; lhā/lhachū 'where'; a'chf 'why'; chf/chichū 'how'; chā 'yes/no' (information); chū 'yes/no' (rhetorical). In addition, tūyā 'which, what' and tūyā 'which, what' occur in the attributive position of a noun phrase.

The peripheral tagmemes of time, location, and manner may have multiple occurrence in a single clause. Such multiple occurrences may be in series or may be interrupted by other tagmemes. In the following example

two location tagmemes occur: quilmilh huā'tzā' a'nlhā tanūma'nāhu huā'tzā' nac lhu'cu' 'he-brought-me here, where we-are-inside here in cave' ('he brought me here to the cave where we are here inside').

1.1.2. Optional nuclear tagmemes. Optional nuclear tagmemes (nuclear tagmemes other than the predicate tagmeme) are the following: subject, object, indirect object, referent, actor, and anaphora.

The anaphora tagmeme may be manifested by either chuntza' 'in this manner' or u'tza' 'for this reason'. All other optional nuclear tagmemes (subject, object, indirect object, referent, and actor) may be manifested by a pronoun, noun phrase, or dependent clause. Such dependent clauses are introduced by: a'ntf/tf 'who', a'ntū/tū 'which, what', a'nchf/chf 'how', and a'nlhā/lhā 'where'. Those dependent clauses which are introduced by a'ntf/tf 'who' or a'ntū/tū 'which, what' may manifest all of the above optional nuclear tagmemes (excluding anaphora). Those dependent clauses which are introduced by a'nchf/chf 'how' or a'nlhā/lhā 'where' may manifest only the object and referent tagmemes and, infrequently, the subject tagmeme.

1.1.3. The predicate tagmemes. The predicate tagmemes of clause types belonging to the major class are manifested by verbs. The Totonac verb may be viewed as a system of layers, in which the verb root constitutes the core. This verb root has an inherent degree of transitivity, i. e., it is inherently intransitive, inherently transitive, or inherently ditransitive. In addition, the verb root has an implicit third person singular subject, and a third person singular object (if transitive), and a third person singular indirect object (if ditransitive). The inner layer of the verb, that layer adjacent to the core, consists of those affixes which add to, or subtract from, the basic degree of transitivity of the verb root. By the addition of such affixes, an intransitive verb root may be made transitive; or a transitive verb root may be made either intransitive or ditransitive. The second layer of the verb consists of referential affixes. Such affixes add a participant other than those which are established in the core and the inner layer (i. e., other than subject, object, and indirect object). These referential affixes have cross reference to clause-level participants. Such clause-level participants are optional but their occurrence requires the co-occurrence of their respective referential affixes within the verb. The third layer of the verb consists of affixes which indicate aspect. The outer layer of the verb comprises a system of affixes in which are merged tense and person.

The pronominal-tense system, which constitutes the outer layer of the verb, consists of four sets of pronominal-tense suffixes which are further distinguished by three specific tense prefixes and by pronominal affixes of plurality and of first person. (See Appendix #A, Chart I.) In this system two participants are marked--the subject and one other participant. If such participants are third person singular (which is implicit in the verb stem) no overt marking is required. If one (or both) of the participants is other than third person singular, the person and number of the participant(s) are overtly marked in the outer layer. The structure of the outer layer is

affected in this respect, and in this respect only, by the core and inner layer. The outer layer does, however, depend upon the core and inner layer (and, to some extent, the second layer) for the interpretation of the function of the participants which are marked in the outer layer. That is, the function of the participants depends upon the degree of transitivity of the verb stem (the core and inner layer). The intransitive verb stem limits the participants to one, viz., the subject. The transitive verb stem identifies the two participants as subject and object. The ditransitive verb stem identifies the two participants as subject and indirect object. The addition of the second layer within the verb results in some modification of the above rules. For example, the occurrence of a referential prefix (a prefix of the second layer) to an intransitive verb stem adds a participant which is marked in the outer layer of the verb in the same way as the object of a transitive verb is marked. Further modifications resulting from the addition of this second layer are given in detail in the latter part of this section. (See also Appendix A.)

The basic pronominal-tense system (see Appendix A, Charts I and II) is used (1) when the subject is the only participant (as in the case of intransitive verbs); (2) when the non-subject participant is third person (singular or plural); (3) when the non-subject participant is first person singular (except when the subject is second person plural). An additional pronominal-tense system (see Appendix A, Chart III) is used (1) when the non-subject participant is second person (singular or plural); (2) when the non-subject participant is first person plural (potentially inclusive); (3) when the subject is second person plural and the other participant is first person singular. The occurrence of one of these pronominal-tense systems in preference to the other is not determined by the internal structure of the verb, but is based entirely on the number and person of the participants which are to be marked.

The referential affixes, which constitute the second layer of the verb, may occur on a verb stem of any degree of transitivity. Such referential affixes, when affixed to a verb, make that verb referential, i. e., an additional participant is added. The set of referential affixes has six members.<sup>1</sup> Within this universal set there are four subsets (A, B, C, and D) which do not intersect.

Set A is composed of the referential affixes which have unlimited distribution, i. e., they may occur on an intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive verb. The members of set A are:

(1) Association prefix *tā'-*. *tā'min* 'he-accompanies-him' (*min* 'he-comes').

(2) Location prefixes: *pū-* 'in, on, place within, time within'; *lāch-* 'in the midst of, on, on top of'; *tē-* 'passing by'. *pūmin lakatin coche* 'he-comes-in-it a car' (*min* 'he-comes'); *lāchmānūlh i'xīstā't* 'he-put-it-in-the-midst-of-it his-merchandise' (*mānū* 'he-puts-it-in'); *tētlahualh*

<sup>1</sup>We do not here attempt an exhaustive analysis of the derivational patterns of Totonac. Rather we indicate a few which seem useful in delineating the parameters relative to the system of clauses. Such morphemes as those which refer to parts of the body are viewed as functioning in the derivation of words and are, therefore, not considered in this paper.

huanmā' cā'lacchicni' 'he-did-it-passing-by-it that town' (tlahua 'he-does-it').

(3) Agent prefix *lɪ-*, with the meaning of agent, instrument, theme (when occurring with verbs of speaking or thinking) or means (when it has cross reference to measures of time with the resultant meaning of 'by means of time expended'). *lɪtucsa qui'hui* 'he-hits-him-with-it stick' (*tucsa* 'he-hits-him'); *lɪchihufna'n* 'he-talks-about-him' (*chihufna'n* 'he-talks'); *lɪchā'n lakatin chi'chini* 'he-arrives-by-means-of-it one day' ('he arrives by means of one day's travel') (*chā'n* 'he-arrives').

The other three members of the set of referential affixes are three unit subsets.

Set B is composed of a referential affix which may occur only on intransitive verbs which are non-directional. The one member of the set B is the interest suffix *-ni*, with the meaning of advantage or disadvantage to a participant other than the subject: *tatzē'kni* 'he-hides-from-him' (*tatzē'ka* 'he-hides'); *pātle'keni* 'it-happens-to-him' (*pātle'ke* 'it-happens'); *sputni* 'it-died-on-him' (*sputa* 'it-dies').

Set C is composed of a referential affix which may occur on intransitive verbs which are directional, and on transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive directional verbs. The one member of the set C is the destination prefix *lak-* with the meaning 'motion toward someone': *lakmin* 'he-comes-to-him' (*min* 'he-comes'); *lakmacā'n* 'he-sends-it/him-to-him' (*macā'n* 'he-sends-it/him').

Set D is composed of a referential affix which may occur on a limited number of transitive verbs, which may be defined as verbs of acquisition, such as: *tamāhua* 'he-buys-it'; *tlaja* 'he-wins/earns-it'; *squi'n* 'he-asks-for-it'; *ka'lhān* 'he-steals-it'; *sācua* 'he-rents-it'. The one member of set D is the dispossession prefix *mak-*, with the meaning 'transfer of ownership':<sup>2</sup> *maktamāhua* 'he-buys-it-from-him'; *maktlaja* 'he-wins-it-from-him'; *maksqui'n* 'he-asks-for-her-from-him'; *makka'lhān* 'he-steals-it-from-him'; *maksācua* 'he-rents-it-from-him'.

The co-occurrence of two referential affixes is subject to the following rules: (1) a member of set A may co-occur with any other member of the universal set with the limitation that only one location prefix may occur in any one verb form. (2) a member of the sets which form the complement of A (viz., sets B, C, and D) may co-occur only with a member of A.

The co-occurrence of three referential affixes requires (1) that two, and only two, of the affixes be members of set A; and (2) that one affix be a member of the sets which form the complement of A (viz., sets B, C, and D).

Two referential affixes may co-occur on a verb of any degree of transitivity, whether inherent or derived, making it differential. (a) Intransitive: *tā'pūmin coche* 'he-comes-with-him-in-it car' (*tā'-* 'with-him' [referential prefix of association]; *pū-* 'in-it' [referential prefix of location]; *min* 'he-comes' [intransitive verb stem]). (b) Transitive: *lɪmaktamāhua tumin* 'he-buys-it-from-him-with-it money' (*lɪ-* 'with-it' [referential prefix of agent]; *mak-* 'from-him' [referential prefix of dispossession];

<sup>2</sup>The homophonous morpheme *mak-* with the meaning of 'not one's own, belonging to another' (*makuā'yan* 'he-dines-as-a-guest') does not function as a referential affix.

tamāhua 'he-buys-it' [transitive verb stem]). (c) Ditransitive: lītēmāpala oro 'passing-by-it-he-pays-him-for-it-with-it gold' ('as he passes by he pays him for it with gold') (lī- 'with-it' [referential prefix of agent]; tē- 'passing-by-it' [referential prefix of location]; māpala 'he-pays-him-for-it' [ditransitive verb stem]).

Three referential affixes may co-occur on an intransitive verb or a transitive verb, making that verb trireferential. (a) Intransitive: tā'pūlak-min coche 'he-comes-with-him-to-him-in-it car' ('he comes with him in the car to see him') (tā'- 'with-him' [referential prefix of association]; pū- 'in-it' [referential prefix of location]; lak- 'to-him' [referential prefix of destination]; min 'he-comes' [intransitive directional verb stem]). (b) Transitive: lītēmaktamāhua tumīn 'passing-by-it-he-buys-it-from-him-with-it money' ('as he passes by he buys it from him with money') (lī- 'with-it' [referential prefix of agent]; tē- 'passing-by-it' [referential prefix of location]; mak- 'from-him' [referential prefix of dispossession]; tamāhua 'he-buys-it' [transitive verb stem]).

	Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive
No referent	No object marker	O: direct object	O: indirect object
1 referent	O: referent	O: dir. obj. / ref.	O: ind. obj. / ref.
2 referents	+++++ O: referent 1/2	O: dir. obj. / ref. 1/2	O: ind. obj. / ref. 1/2
3 referents	+++++ O: referent 1/2/3	O: dir. obj. / ref. 1/2/3	

Diagram II. Contrasting Patterns of Ambiguity

+++++ Ambiguity between referents

- - - - - Ambiguity between direct objects and referents

..... Ambiguity between indirect object and referents

Within the framework of the verb the system of pronominal-tense affixes, which indicates the inter-action of participants as to number and person, is identical for both transitive and referential relationship. For example, the prefix qui-/quin-, with the meaning of first person singular object, marks the direct object when affixed to a transitive verb, quintucsa 'he-hits-me'; the indirect object when affixed to a ditransitive verb, quimax-quf 'he-gives-it-to-me'; the referent when affixed to an intransitive referential verb, quintā'min 'he-comes-with-me'.

The affixation of additional referent affixes to the above verb types (intransitive referential, transitive, and ditransitive) results in possible ambiguity of the relationship of the participants marked by the pronominal-tense affixes. In the case of the intransitive direferential verb naquintā'-tzā'lanī' (na- future tense prefix; quin- 'me'; tā'- association prefix;

tzā'la 'he-flees'; -ni' interest suffix 'from-him/it'), the prefix quin- has two possible relationships. It may be a referent of association with cross reference to the prefix tā'-, in which case the meaning would be 'he will flee from him/it with me'; or it may be the referent of interest with cross reference to the suffix -ni', in which case the meaning would be 'he will flee from me with him'. When a verb such as this example (with two possible interpretations of relationship of participants) occurs in a clause, the relationship can be determined only by the context within the clause itself or beyond its borders.

In the intransitive trireferential verb of the example quintā'pūlakmin coche (quin- 'me'; tā'- association prefix 'with-him'; pū- location prefix 'in-it'; lak- destination prefix 'to-him'; min 'he-comes'; coche 'car'), the location prefix pū- 'in-it' would logically have cross reference to coche 'car'. This leaves two referential affixes to which quin- 'me' may cross reference: (1) tā'-, making it a referent of association, in which case the meaning would be 'he comes in the car with me to him'; (2) lak-, making it a referent of approach, in which case the meaning would be 'he comes with him in the car to me'.

In the case of the transitive multireferential verbs, the non-subject participant marked in the verb may be either the object or one of the referents, the preference being the object. In the transitive trireferential verb of the example quintā'pūlakmacamin coche (quin- 'me'; tā'- association prefix 'with-him'; pū- location prefix 'in-it/him'; lak- destination prefix 'to-him'; macamin 'he-sends-it'), the preferred relationship of the pronominal prefix quin- 'me' is that of object. In this case the meaning would be 'he sends me with him in the car to him'. Assuming that the prefix pū- 'in-it/him' has cross reference to coche 'car', the possibilities of relationship of quin- 'me' are two: (1) referent of association (with cross reference to tā'-) in which case the meaning would be 'he with me sends him in the car to him' ('he helps me to send him in the car to him'); (2) referent of destination (with cross reference to lak-) in which case the meaning would be 'he with him sends him to me in the car' ('he helps him to send him to me in the car').

The ditransitive verb may have a maximum of two referents. The non-subject participant marked in the verb may be either indirect object or one of the two referents, the preference being indirect object. Here the ambiguity is between indirect object and referents, while in the transitive referential verb the ambiguity is between direct object and referents. In both cases the preference is that of direct transitivity: na'i'ctā'maxquf'yāni' hui'x 'I-will-give-it-to-you-together-with-it you' (na- future tense prefix; i'c-'I'; tā'- association prefix 'with-it/him'; maxquf' 'he-gives-it-to-him'; -yāni' 'you' [non-subject participant]). In this example, hui'x 'you' (-yāni' within the verb) is the indirect object. Additional context may, however, change the relationship of hui'x 'you' to referent of association: na'i'ctā'maxquf'yāni' hui'x huan bolsa Francisca 'I-with-you-will-give-it-to-her the bag Frances' ('you and I will share in giving the bag to Frances').

Although many possible ambiguities result from this two-directional system of adding participants (viz., transitive and referential) there are a number of factors which combine to clarify the role of the participants.

(1) Lexical probability. Although the participant *quin-* 'me' in the example *tū' caquintilf māka'si'* 'not probable-you-fill-me/him/it-with-me/him/it' could function as referent of agent 'it is improbable that you fill it with me', it is more likely to function as direct object 'it is improbable that you fill me with it'. Also, locational affixes seldom have persons as referents, except with a few verbs such as *tō'la* 'he-sits' to which may be added the prefix *pū-*: *pūtō'la i'xtzif't* 'he-sits-on-her (lap) his-mother'. In this example the participant *i'xtzif't* 'his-mother' is a referent of location with cross reference to the verb prefix *pū-* 'in, on'.

(2) An order of priority in which the indirect object takes precedence over the direct object which in turn takes precedence over the referents. Within the referents there may be some system of priority with *lak-* (approach) possibly taking precedence over *tā'-* (association) which, in turn, may take precedence over *-ni'* (interest).

(3) Context. In Totonac discourse the context bears the heavy load of relationship of participants. Frequently the role of the participants is established at the onset of the paragraph (ORIENTATION and/or SETTING) after which follows a succession of clauses in which none of these participants is named, and in which the participants present in the verbs are the implicit third person singular subject and object. One such example has been noted in which, after the roles of the two main participants were established, neither participant is named in the eleven succeeding clauses in which one or both of these participants is involved. It is evident, therefore, that the identification of participants in a given clause must frequently be determined by contextual clues.

(4) Certain grammatical devices are employed to reduce the heavy clustering of optional nuclear tagmemes. One of these is the indefinite subject marker, the verb suffix *-can/-ca*, which cannot co-occur with a clause-level subject. This device is often used expressly to show that the participants mentioned in the clause are other than subject. In the example *tucsa Juan* 'he-hits-him John', the participant 'John' could be either subject or object. But with the addition of the suffix *-can* to the verb the possibility of 'John' functioning as subject is eliminated, leaving the only possible meaning of *tucscan Juan* as 'someone hit John'. The identity of the indefinite subject marked by *-can/-ca* may be unknown, or it may be evident from the remote context.

(5) Another grammatical device which is used to reduce the heavy clustering of optional nuclear tagmemes is the arrangement of two clauses in a Paraphrase sentence in which identical, or semantically similar, verb stems occur in the two clauses, or in which the verb of the second clause clarifies the verb of the first clause. *chuntza' līlāh huanmā' ka'hua'chu, cācāxtlahualh huantamāna' lfcututnu'* 'thus he-did that boy, he-fixed-them those animals' ('in this manner the boy fixed the animals'). In the first clause of this example there are two optional nuclear tagmemes, viz. the anaphora tagmeme manifested by *chuntza'* 'thus, in this manner' and the subject tagmeme manifested by *huanmā' ka'hua'chu* 'that boy'. In the second clause of this sentence the only optional nuclear tagmeme is the object tagmeme, manifested by *huantamāna' lfcutunu'* 'those animals'. The sub-

ject tagmeme does not occur in the second clause since the identity of the subject has already been established in the first of the two clauses.

These two latter devices (Paraphrase sentence and indefinite subject) are occasionally combined: A'calstān huani huan xatzī't, huanican huan rey, 'Hui'x tū i'xquinkalhaka'i'ya'. " 'Later she-says-to-him the mother, they(indefinite)-say-to-him the king, "You not you-were-believing-me." " ('Later the mother says to the king, "You did not believe me."') In the first two clauses of this example the verb huani 'he-says-(it)-to-him' occurs. The introduction of the indefinite subject suffix -can in the second clause shows that the function of huan rey 'the king' is indirect object; and therefore the function of huan xatzī't 'the mother' is subject.

1.2. Kernel clauses. This section treats the eleven types of kernel clauses.

1.2.1. Intransitive clauses. The intransitive clause is represented by the formula: ( $\pm S + P:V_0$ )  $\pm$  Peri, in which S = subject, P:V<sub>0</sub> = predicate tagmeme manifested by an intransitive verb,<sup>3</sup> and Peri = peripheral tagmemes.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>0</sub> are intransitive. Such verbs are either inherently intransitive (e. g., lu'cxa 'he-dances'), or are derived from a transitive verb by the addition of one of two affixes:

- (1) the prefix ta-, with the meaning 'to become' or 'to get into a state of', e. g., taxtita i'xlu'xu' 'it-gets-torn his-clothing' (xtita 'he-tears-it');
- (2) the intransitivizer affix -nV'n (in which V = the reduplication of the final vowel of the verb root, and in which the glottal stop occurs unless the final syllable of the verb root contains a glottal stop), e. g., stā'nan 'he-sells' (stā' 'he-sells-it'); huan chichi' xcana'n 'the dog it-bites' (xca 'it-bites-him').

Additional examples of intransitive clauses follow. tatō'ca'lh 'they-ascended'. na'i'ca'n 'I-will-go'. chā'lh nac lakatin cā'lacchicni' 'he-arrived in/at a town' (P:chā'lh 'he-arrived'; L:nac lakatin cā'lacchicni' 'in a town'). lakalfyān i'xcalhuan huan puscāt 'daily she-used-to-cry the woman' (T:lakalfyān 'daily'; P:i'xcalhuan 'she-used-to-cry'; S:huan puscāt 'the woman'). nac ti'ya't na'i'ctamā'yāhu 'on ground we(exclusive)-will-lie' (L:nac ti'ya't 'on ground'; P:na'i'ctamā'yāhu 'we(exclusive)-will-lie').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>0</sub>, the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject of that verb (see Appendix A, Chart I).

In the intransitive clause the preferred order of nuclear tagmemes is S P (subject tagmeme followed by predicate tagmeme). The predicate tagmeme may, however, precede the subject tagmeme under one of the following conditions: (1) when the action of the verb manifesting the predicate

<sup>3</sup>It is a convention in tagmemic formulas to give either unit symbols for tagmemes (with manifestation given in separate rules) or to give binomial symbols with a colon separating the symbol of the function from the symbol for the set. Because of the crucial importance of the various verb types which manifest the predicate tagmeme, and thus play a crucial role in distinguishing the clause types, we have used the binomial symbolization in predicates. Elsewhere we have used a simpler symbolization.



tagmeme is emphasized as to place or time, e.g., a'ntza' taxtulh huan tzu'ma'jāt 'there she-went-out the girl' ('the girl went out there') (P:taxtulh 'she-went-out'; S:huan tzu'ma'jāt 'the girl'); lā' a'xni'ca' māxtuni'lh tuncan tzā'lah huan to'kotzfn 'and when she-took-it-from-her then she-fled the old-woman' ('and when the old woman took it from her then the old woman fled') (P:māxtuni'lh 'she-took-it-from-her'; S:huan to'kotzfn 'the old-woman'); (2) when the subject tagmeme is manifested by a clause, e.g., talacjulh huan tf i'xui'lacha' talhmā'n 'he-looked-down the one-who he-was-there above' ('the one who was up above looked down') (P:talacjulh 'he-looked-down'; S:huan tf i'xui'lacha' talhmā'n 'the one-who he-was-there above'); (3) when the subject tagmeme is manifested by a series or by an appositional construction, e.g., na'a'nāhu quintu'ca'n, hui'x lā' quit 'we-will-go we-two, you and I' (P:na'a'nāhu 'we(inclusive)-will-go; S:quintu'ca'n, hui'x lā' quit 'we-two, you and I').

1.2.2. Transitive clauses. The transitive clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_1 \pm O) \pm Peri$ , in which  $O$  = object and  $P:V_1$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a transitive verb.

Examples of transitive clauses follow. na'i'cua'yāni 'I-will-eat-you'. i'ccākētlapakō'lh huan mincahuayujnu' 'I-saddled-them-all the your-horses' ('I saddled all your horses') (P:i'ccākētlapakō'lh 'I-saddled-them-all'; O:huan mincahuayujnu' 'the your-horses'). lā' huan borrego squi'nli lakatin kilo de matzat 'and the sheep he-requested-it one kilo of salt' (S:huan borrego 'the sheep'; P:squi'nli 'he-requested-it'; O:lakatin kilo de matzat 'one kilo of salt').

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_1$  are transitive. Such verbs are either inherently transitive (e.g., kaksa 'he-finds-it'), or are derived from an intransitive verb by the addition of: (1) the prefix *l-* to verbs of motion e.g., *l*imin 'he-brings-it' (min 'he-comes'); or (2) a pseudo causative prefix *maca-* (occurring with verbs of motion), *maka-*, *mac-*, or *mā-*, e.g., *macamin* 'he-sends-it(there)' (min 'he-comes'); *makastaca* 'he-fosters-him' (*staca* 'he-grows'); *macchā* 'he-bakes-it' (*chā* 'it-cooks/ripens'). The prefix *mā-* requires the suffix *-nī/-ū/-ī*:<sup>4</sup> *māpaxī* 'he-bathes-him' (*paxa* 'he-bathes'); *māyujū* 'he-lowers-it' (*yuja* 'he-goes-down'). The term pseudo causative is used for this type of transitive verb derivation because it is not a true causative (cf. 1.3.1).

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_1$ , the pronominal-tense affixes mark the subject and object of that verb as to person and number (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

In the transitive clause the preferred order of nuclear tagmemes is S P O (subject, predicate, object). This order may be reversed to O P S under one or more of the following conditions: (1) if the manifestation of the object tagmeme consists of, or contains, a quantitative, e.g., *tuntū* 'kaksli quinchichi' 'nothing he-found-it my-dog' ('my dog found nothing')

<sup>4</sup>The suffix *-nī* occurs on verb stems ending in a long vowel or on verb stems ending in *n* (verbs of class 3 in which the final *n* is lost unless immediately followed by a stop or an affricate). When a verb stem ends in a short vowel, that vowel becomes *f*. When a verb stem ends in a consonant, the suffix *-ū* is added if the vowel preceding the consonant is *u*, otherwise the suffix *-ī* is added.

(O:tuntū' 'nothing'; P:kaksli 'he-found-it'; S:quinchichi' 'my-dog'); (2) if the object serves as an anaphoric tie with the preceding sentence or paragraph, e.g., u'tza' huā'mā' i'clacasqui'n quit 'this-the-aforsaid this I-want-it I' ('this is what I want, this which has been stated') (O:u'tza' huā'mā' 'this-the-aforsaid this'; P:i'clacasqui'n 'I-want-it'; S:quit 'I'); (3) if the object requires special emphasis, e.g., quit naquimakn'ya' hui'x 'me you-will-kill-me you' ('you will kill me') (O:quit 'me'; P:naquimakn'ya' 'you-will-kill-me'; S:hui'x 'you'). This permutation of S P O to O P S may, at times, result in ambiguity. This ambiguity is reduced by the element of logical probability (as in the example under (1) above) or by the identification of subject and object within the predicate (as in the examples under (2) and (3) above).

The order S P O may be permuted to P O S if the subject tagmeme has the same referent as the possessor of the object tagmeme. (When item and possessor occur contiguously, the item always precedes the possessor.) tampi'ta'lh i'xpuscāt huan rey hasta tūtzān 'he-pushed-her his-wife the king as-far-as foot-of-the-mountain' ('the king pushed his wife over the cliff so that she fell to the foot of the mountain') (P:tampi'ta'lh 'he-pushed-her'; O:i'xpuscāt 'his-wife'; S:huan rey 'the king'). cāxtlōpā i'xtalhta'm huan i'xtzī't 'she-fixed-it-again her-jug the his-mother' ('his mother fixed her jug again') (P:cāxtlōpā 'she-fixed-it-again'; O:i'xtalhta'm 'her-jug'; S:huan i'xtzī't 'the his-mother'). This permutation of S P O to P O S (when the subject tagmeme has the same referent as the possessor of the object tagmeme) is not obligatory. The S P O order may be retained if the subject tagmeme is in focus and therefore requires the pre-predicate position of emphasis. huan puscāt a'ntf mas xatzēhuanf't tayalh i'xpulatu 'the woman who most pretty she-took-hold-of-it her-plate' ('the woman who was the prettiest took hold of her plate') (S:huan puscāt a'ntf mas xatzēhuanf't 'the woman who most pretty'; P:tayalh 'she-took-hold-of-it'; O:i'xpulatu 'her-plate').

The predicate tagmeme may occur in initial position in the nucleus. This position indicates special emphasis of the predicate tagmeme. In this case the order of nuclear tagmemes is also P O S. palh tū' nalfchin quinthua't tastu'nūta i'xtzu'ma'jāt rey 'if not she-will-arrive-bringing-it my-lunch noon his-daughter king' ('if the king's daughter does not arrive by noon bringing my lunch') (P:tū' nalfchin 'not she-will-arrive-bringing-it'; O:quinthua't 'my-lunch'; S:i'xtzu'ma'jāt rey 'his-daughter king').

When the predicate tagmeme occurs in initial position (the emphatic position) of the nucleus, and the object tagmeme is manifested by a clause, the order P O S is permuted to P S O, unless the subject tagmeme is also manifested by a clause. tū' quimakxteka quintāta' na'i'ctaxtu na'i'cpaxialhna'n 'not he-permits-me my-father I-will-go-out I-will-visit' ('my father does not permit me to go visiting') (P:tū' quimakxteka 'not he-lets-me'; S:quintāta' 'my-father'; O:na'i'ctaxtu na'i'cpaxialhna'n 'I-will-go-out I-will-visit').

Since the predicate tagmeme can not be preceded by more than one nuclear tagmeme, the orders O S P and S O P do not occur.

Any transitive clause in which the predicate is manifested by a verb

which is inherently transitive, and in which the subject is plural, may be transformed into the subtype reciprocal clause by the addition of the prefix *lā-* within the predicate: *talātucsa* 'they-hit-one-another' (*tatucsa* 'they-hit-him'); *nalāpāxtokpalayāhu* *quintu* 'tunca'n 'we-will-meet-one-another-again we-three' (*napāxtokpalayāhu* 'we-will-meet-him-again' [*pāxtoka* 'he-meets-him']).

1.2.3. Ditransitive clauses. The ditransitive clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_2 \pm O \pm I) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_2$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a ditransitive verb, and  $I$  = indirect object.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_2$  are either inherently ditransitive (e. g., *maxquf* 'he-gives-it-to-him'; *māpala* 'he-pays-for-it-to-him'; *maklhtf* 'he-takes-it-from-him'), or are derived from a transitive verb by the addition of the benefactive suffix *-ni/-nf/-ni'*:<sup>5</sup> *tamāhuani* 'he-buys-it-for-him' (*tamāhua* 'he-buys-it'); *squi'nf* 'he-requests-it-of-him' (*squi'n* 'he-requests-it').

Examples of ditransitive clauses follow. *cāmāyujūni'ca i'xtacu'ca' huan cahuayujnu'* 'they(indefinite)-lowered-it/them-for-them their-load the horses' ( $P:cāmāyujūni'ca$  'they(indefinite)-lowered-it/them-for-them';  $O:i'xtacu'ca'$  'their-load(s)';  $I:huan cahuayujnu'$  'the horses'). *lacapalh hui'līni'kō'lh i'xmacalfcā'n huan cahuayuj* 'quickly he-finished-putting-it-on-for-him/it its-horseshoe the horse' ( $M:lacapalh$  'quickly';  $P:hui'līni'kō'lh$  'he-finished-putting-it-on-for him/it';  $O:i'xmacalfcā'n$  'his-horseshoe';  $I:huan cahuayuj$  'the horse').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_2$ , the pronominal-tense affixes mark the subject and indirect object<sup>6</sup> of that verb as to person and number (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

<sup>5</sup>The suffix *-ni/-nf/-ni'* which occurs on transitive verbs is considered to be distinct from the referential suffix *-ni'* which occurs on intransitive verbs (see section 1.1.3). The affixation of *-ni'* to a transitive verb results in a ditransitive verb which parallels the inherently ditransitive verbs; but the affixation of *-ni'* to an intransitive verb results in a verb which is not parallel to an inherently transitive verb. The transitive verbs *squi'n* 'he-asks-for-it' and *līmin* 'he-brings-it' when affixed with the suffix *-nf/-ni'* become *squi'nf* 'he-asks-him-for-it' and *līmini'* 'he-brings-it-to-him', respectively. The ditransitive verbs thus derived parallel the inherently ditransitive verbs *maxquf* 'he-gives-it-to-him' and *maklhtf* 'he-takes-it-from-him', in that the indirect object bears the same kind of relationship to the action of the verb in both types of ditransitivity. On the other hand, the intransitive verbs *tzā'la* 'he-flees' and *tatzē'ka* 'he-hides-himself' when affixed with the suffix *-ni'* become *tzā'lan'* 'he-flees-from-him' and *tatzē'kni'* 'he-hides-from-him', respectively. The participant thus added does not have the same relationship to the action of the verb as that of the object of an inherently transitive verb such as *tucsa* 'he-hits-him', or *maknf* 'he-kills-him'.

<sup>6</sup>Presumably the object, rather than the indirect object, could be marked in a ditransitive verb if sufficient contextual clues were provided. No such example has been observed in text but the following example has been elicited: *huan xatāta' huanilh i'xtzu'-ma'jāt*, "Na' 'cmaklhtfyāni' minkōlu' 'the father he-said-to-her his-daughter, 'I-will-take-you-from-him your-husband'". In the ditransitive verb of this example, *na' 'cmaklhtfyāni'*, the pronominal-tense affixes mark (1) first person singular as subject and (2) second person singular as one other participant. Out of context, this quotation, *na' 'cmaklhtfyāni' minkōlu'*, means 'I-will-take-him-from-you your-husband', and the second person singular marked in the verb functions as indirect object. But in the context of a father rescuing his daughter, the second person singular functions as direct object.

Any ditransitive clause in which the subject is plural may be transformed into the subtype reciprocal clause by the addition of the prefix *lā-* within the predicate: *talāhuanilh* 'they-told-it-to-one-another' (*tahuanilh* 'they-told-it-to-him').

The preferred order of nuclear tagmemes<sup>7</sup> in the ditransitive clause is S P O I. This order may be permuted to S P I O if: (1) the object tagmeme is manifested by a clause, e.g., *Juan maxqu'lh huan caman a'ntū i'xlacasqu'lh* 'John he-gave-it-to-him the child what he-was-wanting-it' ('John gave the child what he wanted') (S:Juan 'John'; P:maxqu'lh 'he-gave-it-to-him'; I:huan caman 'the child'; O:a'ntū i'xlacasqu'lh 'what he-was-wanting-it'); or (2) the indirect object tagmeme has cross reference to the indirect object suffix *-ni'*, e.g., *quit i'cl'fmini'lh Marfa pāntzi* 'I I-brought-it-to-her Mary bread' ('I brought bread to Mary') (S:quit 'I'; P:i'cl'fmini'lh 'I-brought-it-to-her'; I:Marfa 'Mary'; O:pāntzi 'bread').

One occurrence of the order I P O S has been observed. In this case the indirect object is in the position of emphasis and the item which manifests the subject tagmeme is the possessor of that which manifests the object tagmeme: *huan o'kxa' nā maxqu'lh kalhatin i'xpāyu huan tzu'ma'jāt* 'the young-man also she-gave-it-to-him one her-handkerchief the girl' ('the girl also gave one of her handkerchiefs to the young man') (I:huan o'kxa' 'the young-man'; P:nā maxqu'lh 'also she-gave-it-to-him'; O:kalhatin i'xpāyu 'one her-handkerchief'; S:huan tzu'ma'jāt 'the girl').

**1.2.4. Intransitive referential clauses.** The intransitive referential clause is represented by the formula  $(\pm S + P:V_{01} \pm R) \pm \text{Peri}$ , in which  $P:V_{01}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by an intransitive referential verb, and  $R$  = referent (oblique object).

Two sets of verbs manifest  $P:V_{01}$  (and  $P:V_0$ ): the set of directional verbs (*min* 'he-comes', *a'n* 'he-goes', *chin* 'he-arrives-here', *chān* 'he-arrives-there', *yuja* 'he-descends', *tanū* 'he-enters', *taxtu* 'he-goes-out', *tujnu'n* 'he-runs', *tā'kchokonu'n* 'he-visits', *tatakēxtimf* 'they-assemble'), and the remaining intransitive verbs of the language.

When  $V_{01}$  is a directional verb, the referential affix which is a constit-

<sup>7</sup>Within the nucleus of this clause type and the two preceding types a peripheral tagmeme very infrequently occurs. The following peripheral tagmemes have been observed in this position: (1) time, e.g., *palh tū' nalfchin quintfhua't tastu'nūta i'xtzu'ma'jāt rey* 'if not she-will-arrive-bringing-it my-lunch noon his-daughter king' ('if the king's daughter does not arrive by noon with my lunch') (P:tū' nalfchin 'not she-will-arrive-bringing-it'; O:quintfhua't 'my lunch'; T:tastu'nūta 'noon'; S:i'xtzu'ma'jāt rey 'his-daughter king'); (2) location, e.g., *hui'x ā'tzā' natapaya' lā' huā' quimpuscāt pu'nac natamā'* 'you here you-will-lie and the my-wife in-the-middle she-will-lie' (S:hui'x 'you'; L:ā'tzā' 'here'; P:natapaya' 'you-will-lie'; connective:lā' 'and'; S:huā' quimpuscāt 'the my-wife'; L:pu'nac 'in-the-middle'; P:natamā' 'she-will-lie'); *kostacutli de huan nac mu'sni' lakatin chichakat* 'he-jumped-out-of-it from the in spring the frog' ('the frog jumped out of the spring') (P:kostacutli 'he-jumped-out-of-it'; L:de huan nac mu'sni' 'from the in spring'; S:huan chichakat 'the frog'); (3) manner, e.g., *tachā'lh con lhū-hua' tapāxuhuān nā xlaca'n* 'they-arrived with much joy also they' ('they also arrived with much joy') (P:tachā'lh 'they-arrived'; M:con lhūhua' tapāxuhuān 'with much joy'; S:nā xlaca'n 'also they').

uent of that verb is a member of the set of referential affixes  $A \cup C$  (i. e., the set which is the union of set A and set C) (see 1. 1. 3).

Examples of intransitive referential clauses follow. *laktujnu'n* 'he-runs-to-him' (lak- referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; *tujnu'n* 'he-runs'). *laktaxtu* 'he-goes-out-to-him' (lak- 'to-him'; *taxtu* 'he-goes-out'). *lacihtanū* 'he-enters-into-the-midst-of-it' (laci- referential prefix of location 'in-the-midst-of-it'; *tanū* 'he-enters').

When  $V_{01}$  is not a directional verb, the referential affix which is a constituent of that verb is a member of the set of referential affixes  $A \cup B$  (i. e., the set which is the union of set A and set B) (see 1. 1. 3): *tatzē'kni* 'he-hides-from-him' (*tatzē'ka* 'he-hides', -ni' referential affix of interest 'from-him'); *pātle'keni* 'it-happens-to-him' (*pātle'ke* 'it-happens', -ni' 'to-him'); *pūtō'la* 'he-sits-on-it' (*pū-* referential prefix of location 'on-it', *tō'la* 'he-sits'); *tā'scuja* 'he-works-with-him' (*tā-* referential prefix of association 'with-him', *scuja* 'he-works').

The occurrence of any one of these affixes on an intransitive verb (whether directional or not directional) indicates that any noun phrase or pronoun not manifesting clause-level subject is clause-level referent. *huan puscāt tzā'lani'lh huan mūxni* 'the woman she-fled-from-him the monkey' (S:huan *puscāt* 'the woman'; P:tzā'lani'lh 'she-fled-from-him' [*tzā'la* 'he/she-flees', -ni' referential affix of interest 'from-him', -lh preterite tense marker]; R:huan *mūxni* 'the monkey'). *huan ka'hua'chu lakmin i'xtāta* 'the boy he-comes-to-him his-father' (S:huan *ka'hua'chu* 'the boy'; P:lakmin 'he-comes-to-him' [lak- referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; min 'he-comes']; R:i'xtāta 'his-father').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{01}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject and the referent (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

**1. 2. 5. Intransitive direferential clauses.** The intransitive direferential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{02} \pm R^2) \pm \text{Peri}$ , in which  $P:V_{02}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by an intransitive direferential verb, and  $R^2$  = possible occurrence of two referents.

The verbs which manifest  $P:V_{02}$  are the same verbs which manifest  $P:V_{01}$ . To these verbs are affixed two referential affixes of the same set of referential affixes which occur with verbs which manifest  $P:V_{01}$ . The occurrence of these affixes is subject to the constraints already stated in regard to directional and non-directional verbs which manifest  $P:V_{01}$ . The co-occurrence of two referential affixes on intransitive verbs is restricted as follows: (1) If the verb is directional, any two members of the set  $A \cup C$  may co-occur. (2) If the verb is not directional, any two members of the set  $A \cup B$  may co-occur (see 1. 1. 3.).

Examples of intransitive direferential clauses follow. *tā'laka'n* 'he-goes-to-him-with-him' (*tā-* referential prefix of association 'with-him'; lak- referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; *a'n* 'he-goes'). *tā'tzā'lani'lh* 'he-fled-from-him-with-him' (*tā-* 'with-him'; *tzā'la* 'he-flees'; -ni' referential suffix of interest 'from-him'; -lh preterite tense marker). *tā'pūtā'lah i'xcahuayuj* 'he-fled-with-him-on-it his-horse' (P:tā'pūtā'lah 'he-fled-with-him-on-it' [*tā-* 'with-him'; *pū-* referential prefix of location

'in/on-it'; *tzā'la* 'he-flees'; -lh preterite tense marker]; R:*i'xcahuayuj* 'his-horse'). *hui'x quilaclhtō'lani'ya* 'quinchahu 'you you-sit-on-it-on-me (my disadvantage) my-corncake' ('you do me the bad turn of sitting on my corncake') (S:*hui'x* 'you'; P:*quilaclhtō'lani'ya* 'you-sit-on-it-on-me' [qui-'me'; *laclh-* referential prefix of location 'on, in-the- midst-of'; *tō'la* 'he-sits'; -ni' 'for-him, to-his-advantage/disadvantage'; -ya' 'you (sg.)' subject]; R:*quinchahu* 'my-corncake').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{02}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and either one of the referents (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

**1.2.6. Intransitive trireferential clauses.** The intransitive trireferential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{03} \pm R^3) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_{03}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by an intransitive trireferential verb, and in which  $R^3$  = possible occurrence of three referents.

The verbs which manifest  $P:V_{03}$  are the same verbs as those which manifest  $P:V_{01}$  and  $P:V_{02}$ . To these verbs are affixed three referential affixes whose occurrence is subject to the constraints mentioned under  $P:V_{01}$ . The co-occurrence of three referential affixes on an intransitive verb requires that two such referential affixes be members of the set A, and that the third be a member of set C (if the verb is directional), or of set B (if the verb is not directional).

Examples of intransitive trireferential clauses follow. *tā'pūlakmin* 'he-comes-with-him-in-it' (*tā'-* referential prefix of association 'with-him'; *pū-* referential prefix of location 'in-it'; *lak-* referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; *min* 'he-comes'). *natā'īlakchā'n lakatin chi'chini* 'he-will-arrive-with-him-to-him-by-means-of-it one day' (*P:natā'īlakchā'n* 'he-will-arrive-with-him-to-him-by-means-of-it' [na- future tense marker; *tā'-* 'with-him'; *ī-* referential prefix of agent 'by-means-of-it'; *chā'n* 'he-arrives(there)']; R:*lakatin chi'chini* 'one day'). *tā'pūtzā'lani* coche 'he-with-him-flees-from-him-in-it car' (*P:tā'pūtzā'lani* 'he-with-him-flees-from-him-in-it' [*tā'-* 'with-him'; *pū-* 'in-it'; *tzā'la* 'he-flees'; -ni' referential suffix of interest 'from-him']; R:*coche* 'car').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{03}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and any one of the three referents (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

**1.2.7. Transitive referential clauses.** The transitive referential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{11} \pm 0 \pm R) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_{11}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a transitive referential verb.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{11}$  are the same transitive verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_1$ , to which has been added a referential affix. This referential affix is one of the following: (1) a member of set A; (2) a member of set  $A \cup C$  (if it occurs on a verb which is derived from an intransitive directional verb); (3) a member of set  $A \cup D$  (if it occurs on a verb of acquisition, e.g., *ka'lhān* 'he-steals-it'; *tamāhua* 'he-buys-it'; *tlaja* 'he-wins-it'). *lakmacā'n* 'he-sends-it-to-him' (*lak-* referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; *macā'n* 'he-sends-it').

maktamāhua 'he-buys-it-from-him' (mak- referential prefix of dispossession 'from-him'; tamāhua 'he-buys-it').

Additional examples of transitive referential clauses follow. xla' quin-tā'tlōlh lakatin contrato 'he he-made-it-with-me a contract' (S:xla' 'he'; P:quintā'tlōlh 'he-made-it-with-me' [quin- 'me'; tā'- referential prefix of association 'with-him/me'; tlō 'he-makes-it'; -lh preterite tense marker]; O:lakatin contrato 'a contract'). huan chi'xcu' i'xlacihmānūnf't i'xlfstā't 'the man he-had-put-it-in-the-midst-of-it his-merchandise' (S:huan chi'xcu' 'the man'; P:i'xlacihmānūnf't 'he-had-put-it-in-the-midst-of-it' [i'x-...-nf't past perfect tense marker; lacih- referential prefix of location 'in-the-midst-of-it'; mānū 'he-puts-it-in, he-inserts-it']; R:i'xlfstā't 'his-merchandise'). u'tza' napūchi'paya' huā' mi'animalh 'this in-it-you-will-catch-it the your-animal' (R:u'tza' 'this'; P:napūchi'paya' 'in-it-you-will-catch-it' [na- future tense marker; pū- referential prefix of location 'in-it'; chi'pa 'he-catches-it'; -ya' 'you(sg.)' subject]; O:huā' mi'animalh 'the your-animal').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>11</sub>, the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and of either the object or the referent (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

1.2.8. Transitive direferential clauses. The transitive direferential clause is represented by the formula: ( $\pm S + P:V_{12} \pm O \pm R^a$ )  $\pm \text{Per}_i$ , in which P:V<sub>12</sub> = predicate tagmeme manifested by a transitive direferential verb.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>12</sub> are the same verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>1</sub>. These verbs have, in addition, two referential affixes from the set of those which occur with verbs manifesting P:V<sub>11</sub>. The co-occurrence of these two referential affixes is restricted to the following: (1) two members of set A; or (2) two members of set A  $\cup$  C (if the verb to which they are affixed is directional); or (3) two members of the set A  $\cup$  D (if the verb to which they are affixed is a verb of acquisition).

Examples of transitive direferential clauses follow. tā'tēputzalh huan-mā' cā'lacchicni' 'he-with-him-sought-it-passing-by-it that town' (P:tā'tēputzalh 'he-with-him-sought-it-passing-by-it' [tā'- referential prefix of association 'with-him'; tē- referential prefix of location 'passing-by-it'; putza 'he-seeks-it'; -lh preterite tense marker]; R:huanmā' cā'lacchicni' 'that town'). huan chi'xcu' lītētucslī qui'hui huan ka'hua'chu 'the man he-passing-by-it-hit-him-with-it stick the boy' (S:huan chi'xcu' 'the man'; P:lītētucslī 'he-passing-by-it-hit-him-with-it' [lī- referential prefix of agent 'with-it'; tē- 'passing-by-it'; tucsa 'he-hits-him'; -li preterite tense marker]; R:qui'hui 'stick'; O:huan ka'hua'chu 'the boy'). tā'lakma-cā'n 'he-sends-him-with-him-to-him' (tā'- 'with-him'; lak- referential prefix of destination 'to-him'; macā'n 'he-sends-him'). tā'makka'lhāl huan puscāt 'he-with-him-steals-it-from-her the woman' (P:tā'makka'lhāl 'he-with-him-steals-it-from-her' [tā'- 'with-him'; mak- referential prefix of dispossession 'from-him/her'; ka'lhān 'he-steals-it'; -lh preterite tense marker]; R:huan puscāt 'the woman').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme P:V<sub>12</sub>, the pronominal-

tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and either the object or one of the referents.

1.2.9. Transitive trireferential clauses. The transitive trireferential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{13} \pm O \pm R^3) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_{13}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a transitive trireferential verb.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{13}$  are the same transitive verbs which manifest predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{11}$ , but have, in addition, three referential affixes. Of these three referential affixes, two must be members of set A; and one must be a member of either set C (if the verb is directional) or set D (if the verb is one of the verbs of acquisition).

Examples of transitive trireferential clauses follow.  $t\dot{a}'p\dot{u}lakmac\dot{a}'n$  'he-sends-him-with-him-to-him-in-it' ( $t\dot{a}'$ - referential prefix of association 'with-him';  $p\dot{u}$ - referential prefix of location 'in-it';  $lak$ - referential prefix of destination 'to-him';  $mac\dot{a}'n$  'he-sends-him').  $l\dot{t}\dot{e}maktam\dot{a}hualh\ tum\dot{h}$  'he-passing-by-it-bought-it-from-him-with-it money' ( $P:l\dot{t}\dot{e}makta-m\dot{a}hualh$  'he-passing-by-it-bought-it-from-him-with-it' [ $l\dot{t}$ - referential prefix of agent 'with-it';  $t\dot{e}$ - referential prefix of location 'passing-by-it';  $mak$ - referential prefix of dispossession 'from-him';  $tam\dot{a}hua$  'he-buys-it';  $-lh$  preterite tense marker];  $R:tum\dot{h}$  'money').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{13}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and either the object or one of the referents (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

1.2.10. Ditransitive referential clauses. The ditransitive referential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{21} \pm O \pm I \pm R) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_{21}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a ditransitive referential verb.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{21}$  are the same ditransitive verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_2$ , but have in addition a referential prefix. This referential prefix is a member of set A.

Examples of ditransitive referential clauses follow.  $t\dot{a}'t\dot{a}huani'lh$  'he-with-him-did-it-for-him' ( $t\dot{a}'$ - referential prefix of association 'with-him';  $t\dot{a}huani'$  'he-does-it-for-him';  $-lh$  preterite tense marker).  $l\dot{f}m\dot{a}palalh\ cuxi'$  'he-paid-him-for-it-with-it corn' ( $P:l\dot{f}m\dot{a}palalh$  'he-paid-him-for-it-with-it' [ $l\dot{f}$ - referential prefix of agent 'with-it';  $m\dot{a}pala$  'he-pays-him-for-it';  $-lh$  preterite tense marker];  $R:cuxi'$  'corn').  $t\dot{e}makl\dot{h}t\dot{f}$  'he-passing-by-it-takes-it-from-him' ( $t\dot{e}$ - referential prefix of location 'passing-by-it';  $makl\dot{h}t\dot{f}$  'he-takes-it-from-him').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{21}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and either the indirect object or the referent (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

1.2.11. Ditransitive direferential clauses. The ditransitive direferential clause is represented by the formula:  $(\pm S + P:V_{22} \pm O \pm I \pm R^3) \pm Peri$ , in which  $P:V_{22}$  = predicate tagmeme manifested by a ditransitive direferential verb.

The verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{22}$  are the same



ditransitive verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_2$ , but have in addition two referential prefixes. These referential prefixes are members of set A.

Examples of ditransitive direferential clauses follow.  $l\acute{t}\acute{e}m\acute{a}pala\ tum\acute{h}n\ huanm\acute{a}'\ c\acute{a}'lacchicni'$  'he-passing-by-it-pays-him-for-it-with-it money that town' ('he passing by the town pays him for it with money') ( $P:l\acute{t}\acute{e}m\acute{a}pala$  'he-passing-by-it-pays-him-for-it-with-it' [ $l\acute{f}$ - referential prefix of agent 'with-it';  $t\acute{e}$ - referential prefix of location 'passing-by-it';  $m\acute{a}pala$  'he-pays-him-for-it'];  $R:tum\acute{h}n$  'money' [agent];  $R:huanm\acute{a}'\ c\acute{a}'lacchicni'$  'that town' [location]).  $hu\acute{a}'m\acute{a}\ lu'xu'\ nat\acute{a}'p\acute{u}maxqu\acute{f}'\ tasquit$  'this cloth he-will-give-it-to-him-in-it-with-it cornmeal' ('in this cloth he will give it to him with the cornmeal') ( $R:hu\acute{a}'m\acute{a}\ lu'xu'$  'this cloth';  $P:nat\acute{a}'p\acute{u}maxqu\acute{f}'$  'he-will-give-it-to-him-in-it-with-it' [ $na$ - future tense marker;  $t\acute{a}$ - referential prefix of association 'with-it';  $p\acute{u}$ - referential prefix of location 'in-it';  $maxqu\acute{f}'$  'he-gives-it-to-him'];  $R:tasquit$  'cornmeal').  $huan\ chi'xcu'\ c\acute{a}t\acute{a}-t\acute{e}m\acute{a}su'ni'lh\ a'nch\acute{f}\ tlahuacan\ p\acute{a}ntzi$  'the man he-passing-by-it-with-him-showed-it-to-them how they(indefinite)-make bread' ('the man as he passed by with him showed them how to make bread') ( $S:huan\ chi'xcu'$  'the man';  $P:c\acute{a}t\acute{a}-t\acute{e}m\acute{a}su'ni'lh$  'he-passing-by-it-with-him-showed-it-to-them' [ $c\acute{a}$ - plural object marker 'them';  $t\acute{a}$ - 'with-him';  $t\acute{e}$ - 'passing-by-it';  $m\acute{a}su'ni'$  'he-shows-it-to-him';  $-lh$  preterite tense marker];  $R:a'nch\acute{f}\ tlahuacan\ p\acute{a}ntzi$  'how they-make-it bread').

In verbs which manifest the predicate tagmeme  $P:V_{22}$ , the pronominal-tense affixes indicate the person and number of the subject, and either the indirect object or one of the referents.

1.2.12. Order of tagmemes in referential clauses. Although as many as four optional nuclear tagmemes may occur in a given clause, more frequently only two or three occur even in a transitive trireferential clause or in a ditransitive direferential clause. The remaining participants are identified in the context beyond the borders of the clause. For this reason it is difficult to determine all of the possibilities of order and all the restrictions of order of nuclear tagmemes in a system involving multiple participants. Only a few general observations can be made at this point regarding the order of referent tagmemes in relation to other nuclear tagmemes: (1) Referent tagmemes rarely occur preceding the predicate tagmeme. Their occurrence in this position indicates special emphasis. (2) Referent tagmemes which frequently occur immediately following the predicate tagmeme are those which have cross reference to the following affixes within the predicate tagmeme:  $p\acute{u}$ - (location prefix),  $l\acute{f}$ - (agent prefix), or  $-ni'$  (interest suffix).

1.3. Causative clauses. The eleven kernel clauses described above may be transformed into causative clauses with definite actor (described in 1.3.1), or causative clauses with indefinite actor (described in 1.3.2).

1.3.1. Causative clauses with definite actor. The eleven kernel clauses may be transformed into eleven corresponding causative clauses by substituting  $cV_{0-22}$  as manifestation of the predicate tagmeme, and intro-

ducing a new clause-level subject. The element which manifested subject in the corresponding kernel clause is now actor rather than subject. The transitive referential clause may be transformed to causative transitive referential, as in the following pair of clauses: (1) Juan maktamāhualh i'xti'ya't huan rico 'John he-bought-it-from-him his-land the rich-one' ('John bought the rich man's land from him') (S:Juan 'John'; P:V<sub>11</sub>:maktamāhualh 'he-bought-it-from-him'; O:i'xti'ya't 'his-land'; R:huan rico 'the rich-one'); (2) huan xatāta' māmaktamāhuanl̄h Juan i'xti'ya't huan rico 'the father he-made-him-buy-it-from-him John his-land the rich-one' ('the father made John buy the rich man's land from him') (S:huan xatāta' 'the father'; P:cV<sub>11</sub>:māmaktamāhuanl̄h 'he-makes-him-buy-it-from-him'; A (actor tagmeme):Juan 'John'; O:i'xti'ya't 'his-land'; R:huan rico 'the rich-one').

The causative verbs cV<sub>0-22</sub> contain the affix mā-...-n̄/-l̄/-l̄ which is required within the predicate of causative clauses. The causative affix, although identical in form to the pseudo causative transitivizer (see 1.2.2), differs from it in function. Although a new participant is introduced with the addition of the transitivizer affix as well as with the addition of the causative affix, the function of these two new participants is not identical. The addition of the transitivizer affix introduces an object which is passive in the activity: i'cpaxa 'I-bathe'; i'cmāpax̄ huan sputni' 'I-bathe-it the corpse'. The addition of the causative affix introduces a new subject; the former subject becomes actor and as such is still active. The transitive clause, i'cmāpax̄ huan sputni' 'I-bathe-it the corpse', is not a two-string transformation of (1) 'The corpse takes a bath'; (2) 'I make it do it.' Corpses do not take baths in Totonac, nor do infants, nor do dogs, all of which someone else can bathe. On the other hand the causative clause, Juan quimāputz̄ huan chichi' 'John he-makes-me-see-it the dog' (putza 'he-sees-it/him') is a two-string transformation of: (1) 'I seek the dog'; and (2) 'John makes me do it.' Furthermore these two affixes (viz., causative and transitivizer) may occur in sequence. Juan quimāmāpax̄n̄ huan chichi' 'John he-makes-me-bathe-it the dog' ('John makes me bathe the dog'). To the verb stem of this example (paxa 'he-bathes') is added the transitivizer affix mā-...-l̄, resulting in the transitive form māpax̄ 'he-bathes-him/it'. To this verb is further added the causative affix mā-...-n̄, resulting in the verb of the above example: māmāpax̄n̄ 'he-makes-him-bathe-him/it'.

In causative verbs the pronominal-tense affixes usually mark subject and actor, rather than subject and object as in the transitive verbs (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III).

When the clause-level actor tagmeme occurs it must immediately follow the predicate tagmeme. The preferred order of nuclear tagmemes in the causative transitive clause is S P A O. In the causative ditransitive clause the order is S P A O I, whether the verb manifesting the predicate of this clause is an inherent ditransitive verb or a derived ditransitive verb. The actor tagmeme thus takes precedence over the indirect object tagmeme in this post-predicate position (cf. 1.2.3).

**1.3.2. Causative clauses with indefinite actor.** Any causative clause may be transformed to an indefinite actor causative clause by substituting

$cV_{0-22}$  as manifestation of the predicate tagmeme, and deleting the clause-level actor. The indefinite actor causative verbs  $cV_{0-22}$  contain the affix -ni'n. In the indefinite actor causative clause the pronominal-tense affixes of the verb mark subject and object (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III). A causative clause may be transformed to an indefinite actor causative clause as in the following pair of clauses: (1) huan chi'xcu' quimātēnf 'the man he-makes-me-bring-it/him' (S:huan chi'xcu' 'the man'; P:quimātēnf 'he-makes-me-bring-it/him' [qui- 'me' actor; tē 'he-brings-it/him'; mā-...-nf causative affix]); (2) huan chi'xcu' quimātēnhi'n 'the man he-makes-someone-bring-me' ('the man has me brought') (S:huan chi'xcu' 'the man'; P:quimātēnhi'n [qui- 'me' object; tē 'he-brings-it'; mā-...-nf causative affix; -ni'n indefinite actor marker]).

1.4. Indefinite subject clauses. These 33 clause types (11 kernel clauses, 11 causative clauses, and 11 indefinite actor causative clauses) may be transformed to 33 corresponding indefinite subject clauses by substituting  $iV_{0-22}$ ,  $icV_{0-22}$ , and  $icwV_{0-22}$  respectively as manifestation of the predicate tagmeme, and deleting the clause-level subject. Verbs with indefinite subject,  $iV_{0-22}$ ,  $icV_{0-22}$ , and  $icwV_{0-22}$ , contain the indefinite subject affix -can/-ca. The identity of this indefinite subject is, in some cases, known from context but it can not be specified in the clause in which the suffix -can/-ca occurs. A causative transitive clause may be transformed to an indefinite subject causative transitive clause as in the following pair of clauses: (1) huan chi'xcuhuf'n tamāputzanf 'the men they-make-him-seek-it' (S:huan chi'xcuhuf'n 'the men'; P:tamāputzanf 'they-make-him-seek-it' [ta- 'they' subject; putza 'he-seeks-it'; mā-...-nf causative affix]); (2) māputzanfcan 'they(indefinite)-make-him-seek-it' ('someone makes him seek it') (putza 'he-seeks-it'; mā-...-nf causative affix; -can indefinite subject affix).

A sub-type of the indefinite-subject transitive clause is the reflexive clause. The clause, quimacacā'ca 'they(indefinite)-cut-my-hand', may mean 'someone cut my hand' or 'I cut my hand'. When the reflexive is intended, this ambiguity may be resolved by the addition of the possessed form of -a'cstu 'alone', in which the possessive affix agrees with the object in person and number: quimacacā'ca qui'a'cstu 'they(indefinite)-cut-my-hand my-alone' ('I alone cut my hand'); maknfca i'xa'cstu 'they(indefinite)-killed-him his-alone' ('he killed himself') (maknf 'he-kills-it/him').

In the 66 clause types just described (11 kernel clause types which are not causative, versus 11 causative types, versus 11 causative types with indefinite actor; versus all the above with indefinite subject) the cross reference function of the pronominal-tense markers changes from one set of clauses to the other. Further clause types to be described in the balance of this paper do not affect the pronominal-tense marking system.

1.5. Anaphoric clauses. To any of the 66 clause types described above

may be added the anaphoric prefix *lɪ-*,<sup>8</sup> within the predicate, co-occurring with the clause initial anaphora tagmeme manifested by *u'tza'* 'that' or *chuntza'* 'thus'. When *u'tza'* co-occurs with the prefix *lɪ-* the meaning is 'for that reason', the reason having been stated in the immediately preceding clause or sentence. When *chuntza'* co-occurs with *lɪ-* the meaning is 'in this manner', the manner having been described in the immediately preceding context (clause, sentence, paragraph or discourse). Infrequently *chuntza'* refers to what is to follow.

When the subject tagmeme co-occurs with the anaphora tagmeme, the subject tagmeme is permuted to nucleus-final position.

Examples of anaphoric clauses in sentence context follow. *lā' como kōtanūtza' i'xuanf't, u'tza' tēlɪmaktachokolh huanmā' cā'lacchicni'* 'and as late-already it-was, for-this-reason he-stopped-over-passing-by-it that town' (AN:*u'tza'* 'for-that-reason'; P:*tēlɪmaktachokolh* 'he-stopped-over-passing-by-it'; R:*huanmā' cā'lacchicni'* 'that town'). *lā' como huan centinela tzi'ya' i'xyāhuacanf't de centinela, u'tza' i'xlɪjicua'ni' huan mistu lā' u'tza' lɪmakxtekli natanū chakān chic* 'and since the sentinel rat they (indefinite)-had-set-up as sentinel, for-that-reason he-was-afraid-of-it the cat and for-that-reason he-let-him he-will-enter inside house' ('and since it was a rat that had been set up as sentinel, for that reason the sentinel feared the cat and let him enter the house') (AN:*u'tza'* 'for-that-reason'; P:*i'xlɪjicua'ni'* 'he-was-afraid-of-it'; R:*huan mistu* 'the cat') (AN:*u'tza'* 'for-that-reason'; P:*lɪmakxtekli natanū* 'he-let-him he-will-enter'; L:*chakān chic* 'inside house'). *chuntza' lɪ'a'kspu'tli xacuento Blanca Flor* 'in-this-manner it-ended the-story White Flower' (AN:*chuntza'* 'in-this-manner'; P:*lɪ'a'kspu'tli* 'it-ended'; S:*xacuento Blanca Flor* 'the-story White Flower'). *chuntza' lɪ'a'kxokolh huan to'kotzɪn* 'in-this-manner she-deceived-him/her the old-woman' (AN:*chuntza'* 'in-this-manner'; P:*lɪ'a'kxokolh* 'she-deceived-him/her'; S:*huan to'kotzɪn* 'the old-woman').

These 132 clause types constitute the system of independent declarative verbal clauses.

1.6. *Interrogative clauses.* The 132 interrogative clauses are in one-to-one correspondence with the 132 declarative clauses. Interrogative clauses (1) add one of the following clause-initial question markers: *tɪ/tichū* 'who' (subject/object), *tū/tuchū* 'what' (subject/object), *tɪyā* (attributive of noun phrase) 'which, what' (subject/object), *tɪyā* (attributive of noun phrase) 'which, what' (subject/object), *lhānɪn* 'when' (time), *lhā/lhachū* 'where' (location), *a'chɪ* 'why' (reason), *chɪ/chichū* 'how' (manner), *chā* 'yes/no' (information question) (refers to the predicate), *chū* 'yes/no' (rhetorical question) (refers to the predicate), *chɪ/chichū* co-occurring with the prefix *lɪ-* within the predicate 'in what manner' (substitutes for the anaphora tagmeme manifested by *chuntza'* 'thus, in this manner'), *tuchū* *i'xpālacata/tuchū* co-occurring with the prefix *lɪ-* within the predicate 'for what reason' (substitutes for the anaphora tagmeme manifested by *u'tza'* 'for that reason');

<sup>8</sup>The anaphoric prefix *lɪ-* is distinct from the referential prefix of agent *lɪ-* (see section 1.1.3). This is shown by their co-occurrence in the following examples: *u'tza' lɪɪtucsa qui'hui'* 'for-this-reason he-hits-him-with-it stick'; *chuntza' lɪɪtucsa qui'hui'* 'in-this-manner he-hits-him-with-it stick'.

- (2) delete the corresponding clause-level tagmeme, unless it be the predicate;  
 (3) restrict the permutation so that no tagmemes may occur between the question marker tagmeme and the predicate tagmeme.

Examples of interrogative clauses follow. *chichū natlahuayāhu* 'how we-will-do-it?' (tlahua 'he-does-it'). *tuchū namāhuŋ* 'what he-will-feed-him?'. *tuchū lŋcalhua'na* 'for-what-reason you-cry?' (*tuchū* co-occurring with *lŋ-* within the predicate 'for-what-reason', *calhuan* 'he-cries'). *chā u'tza'* *mimpuscāt* 'is-it-so that-one your-wife?' ('is that your wife?'). *lhachū lēj a'n quintāta* 'where very-much he-goes my-father?' ('where does my father go so much?').

1.7. Injunctive clauses. Any declarative clause type may be transformed to its corresponding injunctive clause type by the addition of the prefix *ca-*, injunctive marker, within the predicate. The occurrence of the injunctive prefix *ca-* requires the co-occurrence of the preterite tense suffixes (see Appendix A, Chart I, col. 4). In the injunctive clause, a verb with first person plural as subject expresses the hortative: *calē'ni'hu quintēcu'ca'n i'xmacatzātzāt* 'let-us-take-it-to-her our-owner her-ring' ('let us take our owner's ring to her') (*lē'ni* 'he-takes-it-to-him'); *cahuā'yahu* 'let-us-eat'; *ca'a'mpalahu* 'let-us-go-again'. In the injunctive clause, a verb with second person as subject expresses a command: *caka'lihi* 'wait-for-it/him' (you sg.) (*ka'lihi* 'he-waits-for-it/him'); *camāsu'ni'tit* 'show-it-to-him' (you pl.) (*māxu'ni* 'he-shows-it-to-him'). In the injunctive clause, a verb with third person as subject expresses an indirect command: *huanilh huan xatzī't que camilh* 'he-said-to-her the mother that she-come' ('he told the mother to come') (*min* 'she-comes'). The indirect command may also occur with indefinite subject: *cachī'ca lā' camulhtajlŋca* 'let-them (indefinite)-take-him-prisoner and let-them(indefinite)-fine-him' ('let him be taken prisoner and fined').

The ordering of tagmemes in the injunctive clauses differs from that of the declarative clauses in that no optional nuclear tagmeme may precede the predicate tagmeme. Peripheral tagmemes, manifested by other than a dependent clause, and not exceeding one in number, may precede the predicate tagmeme.

The improbability clause is a sub-type of the injunctive clause in which the intential prefix *ti-*, with the meaning of expectation or intention, is added within the predicate; and in which the negative *tū* 'no, not' or *tūla* 'unable' is required. In this clause type the injunctive prefix *ca-* can not co-occur with either of the first person pronominal prefixes (*i'c-* first person exclusive subject marker; *qui-* first person singular object marker). When one of these two first person pronominal prefixes occurs on a verb, the injunctive prefix *ca-* is deleted. *tūla catika'ksti* 'unable probable-you-find-it' ('you will probably not be able to find it') (*kaksa* 'he-finds-it'). *tū ā'maktin quintika'ksti* 'not again probable-you-find-me' ('you will probably never find me again'). *tū catipūtaxtuhu huan quintāta* 'not probable-we (incl.)-escape-from-him the my-father' ('we will probably not escape from my father') (*pūtaxtu* 'he-escapes-from-him/it'). *ā'cha'tin chi'xcu' tūla catitlahualh chuntza'* 'another man unable probable-he-does-it thus' ('it is

improbable that another man could do it in this manner') (tlahua 'he-does-it'). tū' i'cti'a'lh 'not probable-I-go' ('I do not intend/expect to go').

The contrary-to-fact admonition clause is a sub-type of the injunctive clause, in which the prefix i'x-/xa- (see Appendix A, Charts I, II, and III) is substituted for the injunctive prefix ca- within the predicate. The contrary-to-fact admonition is a form of injunctive with reference to past time. i'xa'lh 'he-should-have-gone' (a'n 'he-goes'). tū' xa'i'cuanilh 'not I-should-have-told-him' ('I should not have told him') (huani 'he-tells-him'). tū' i'xji'cua' 'not you-should-have-been-afraid' (jicua'n 'he-is-afraid').

1.8. Role clauses. The intransitive role clause is represented by the formula: ( $\pm S + Pr + RO$ )  $\pm Peri$ , in which  $Pr$  = intransitive role predicate tagmeme, and  $RO$  = role tagmeme.

$Pr$ , intransitive role predicate tagmeme, is manifested by a limited set of verbs: taspi'ta 'he-turns-back' ('he turns back into'); tapalaja 'he-changes-himself-into-another-form'; la 'he-becomes'; yā 'he-stands'; a'n 'he-goes'. In addition to the above verbs, taxtu 'he-goes-out' may manifest the intransitive role predicate tagmeme provided that the role prefix lf- is affixed to this verb: lftaxtu 'he-turns-into'.

$RO$ , role tagmeme, is manifested by a noun to which has been added the role prefix lf-. The prefix lf- requires the co-occurrence of an affix of possession on the same noun. The affixation of the prefix lf- on a noun manifesting the role tagmeme is optional only when that noun co-occurs with a verb to which has been affixed the role prefix lf- (as in lftaxtu 'he-turns-into'): na'i'clftaxtu quilfmanzana 'I-will-turn-into my-role-apple' ('I will turn into an apple'); na'i'clftaxtu lāxax 'I-will-turn-into orange'; huā' quincahuayujca'n nalftaxtu huerta 'this our-horse he-will-turn-into garden' ('this horse of ours will turn into a garden').

When co-occurring with the verb a'n 'he-goes', the noun manifesting the role tagmeme may be affixed with either the prefix lf- or the prefix pū- 'in, place-of': i'xa'nft' i'xlf'arriero 'he-had-gone his-role-muleteer' ('he had gone as a muleteer'); na'i'ca'n quimpū'arriero 'I-will-go my-role-muleteer' ('I will go as a muleteer').

Additional examples of role clauses follow. i'clalh quilfburro 'I-became my-role-burro' ('I became a burro') (la 'he-becomes'). natapalajni' i'xcoche lā' nala i'xlfchāhuila' huan coche 'it-will-change-itself-into-another-form-for-him his-car and it-will-become his-role-turkey the car' ('his car will change its form for him (owner) and it will become his turkey') (tapalaja 'he-changes-himself-into-another-form', la 'he-becomes').

The transitive role clause is represented by the formula: ( $\pm S + Pr_1 + RO \pm O$ )  $\pm Peri$ , in which  $Pr_1$  = transitive role predicate tagmeme.

$Pr_1$ , transitive role predicate tagmeme, is manifested by a limited set of verbs: māspi'ta 'he-turns-him-back' ('he-turns-him-back-into'); māpalaja 'he-changes-him-into-another-form'; yāhua 'he-stands-him-up'. In addition to the above verbs, māxtu 'he-puts-him-out' may manifest the transitive role predicate tagmeme provided that it is affixed with the prefix lf-: lfāmāxtu 'he-turns-him-into'. When co-occurring with the verb lfāmāxtu 'he-turns-him-into' (as with the intransitive verb lftaxtu 'he-

turns-into') nouns manifesting the role tagmeme may occur without the role prefix 1f-.

quiyāhualh quillcentinela 'he-stood-me-up my-role-sentinel' ('he placed me as a sentinel'). quimāspi'tli quillchi'xcu' 'he-turned-me-back-into my-role-man' ('he turned me back into a man again').

**1.9. Meteorological clauses.** The meteorological clause is represented by the formula:  $(+ P_m) \pm \text{Peri} -(\text{RS}, \text{IN})$ , in which  $P_m$  = meteorological predicate tagmeme, and  $\text{Peri} -(\text{RS}, \text{IN})$  = peripheral tagmemes with the exception of reason and instrument tagmemes.

$P_m$ , meteorological predicate, is manifested by the following verbs: *ch'i'chini'n* 'it-is-sunny'; *lonknu'n* 'it-is-cold'; *xu'nu* 'it-is-hot'; *jili/jili-ni'n* 'it-thunders'; *makli'pa* 'lightning-flashes'; *ū'nun* 'it-is-windy'; *tuncuflh* 'it-dawned'; *cuhufni'lh* 'it-became-midmorning'; *tastu'nūtlī* 'it-became-noon'; *kōtanūlh* 'it-became-afternoon, it-got-late'; *tzf'sualh* 'it-became-night'. The latter five verbs are used in meteorological clauses indicating time of day.

Examples of meteorological clauses follow. *makli'pli con lhūhua' ū'ni* 'lightning-flashed with much wind' ( $P:makli'pli$  'lightning-flashed';  $M:con\ lhūhua' \ ū'ni$  'with much wind'). *ā'calfstān tzf'sualh* 'soon it-became-night' ( $T:ā'calfstān$  'soon, a-little-later';  $P:tzf'sualh$  'night-fell, it-became-night').

Greetings are considered to be a sub-type of the meteorological clause in that they consist of those meteorological verbs which indicate time of day, e. g., *kōtanūlh* 'good afternoon' ('it became afternoon'), *tuncuflh* 'good morning' ('it dawned'). Peripheral tagmemes do not occur in this sub-type.

**1.10. Equative clauses.** The equative clause is non-verbal if the mood is indicative and the time is present. Otherwise a copulative verb occurs, by means of which tense and mood are indicated. When there is no verb in the clause the subject is obligatory and is juxtaposed to the complement.

The equative clause is represented by the formula:  $(+/\pm S + CO +/ -Pe) \pm \text{Peri} -(\text{RS}, \text{IN}, \text{M})$ , in which  $S$  = subject tagmeme,  $CO$  = complement tagmeme, and  $Pe$  = equative predicate tagmeme.  $\text{Peri} -(\text{RS}, \text{IN}, \text{M})$  indicates that the reason, instrument, and manner tagmemes do not occur in the periphery of this clause type.

$S$ , subject tagmeme, is the same subject tagmeme that occurs in the verbal clauses.

$Pe$ , equative predicate tagmeme, may be manifested by one of the two copulative verbs, *la* 'he-becomes' and *huan* 'he-is', in past or future tense of the indicative mood, or in injunctive or contrary-to-fact mood.

$CO$ , complement tagmeme, has four variants: description, possession, source, or probability.

The complement tagmeme of description may be manifested by an adjective phrase, a noun phrase or a location word. *huan puscāt tzēhuanf't i'xuanf't* 'the woman pretty she-was'. *huan chi'xcu' lēj lhquilit i'xuanf't* 'the man very lazy he-was'. *huā' quiburro lēj malo* 'the my-burro very bad'. *makat quinchic* 'far my-house'. *presidenti i'xuanf't huan chi'xcu'*

'president he-was the man'. palh lēj malo i'xualh huan chi'xcu', tū' i'xquimaxqu'i'lh tumīn 'if very bad he-were the man, not he-would-give-me money' ('if the man were very bad, he would not give me money').

The complement tagmeme of possession is manifested by a possessive pronoun, a possessed noun, or a noun phrase of possession. i'xla' huan chic 'his the house' ('the house is his'). mila' nahuan quihacienda 'yours it-will-be my-hacienda' ('my hacienda will become yours'). palh i'xpuhuiti' cahualh huan rey 'if his-father-in-law he-were the king' ('if the king were his father-in-law'). quit mincaman 'I your-child' ('I am your child').

The complement tagmeme of source is manifested by a location phrase (or word) preceded by xala' 'its habitat, place of origin, native of'. xala' nac Mexico huan chi'xcu' 'native-of in Mexico the man' ('the man is a native of Mexico'). xala' makat quintāta' 'place-of-origin/native-of far-away my father' ('my father is from far away'). huan jūqui' xala' nac cā'quihuf'n i'xuanf't 'the deer its-habitat in forest it-was' ('the habitat of the deer was the forest').

The complement tagmeme of probability is manifested by one of the following: stu'ncua' 'true', chō'la 'probable', tzela/tzelasa 'possible'. The intensivizer lēj may be added to stu'ncua'. When co-occurring with the complement tagmeme of probability, the equative predicate tagmeme may be manifested only by the verb huan 'it-is'. stu'ncua' a'ntū huanimā'ca 'true what they(indefinite)-are-telling-him'. lēj stu'ncua' quimpuscāt i'x-tzu'ma'jāt huan rey 'very true my-wife his-daughter the king' ('it is indeed true that my wife is the daughter of the king'). chō'la chuya quintacha'xni' 'probable he-is-crazy my-godson' ('my godson is probably crazy'). chō'la kalhatin mas rico que quit 'probable one(person) more rich than I' ('it is probably someone who is richer than I'). tzelasa tū' quilakapasa' 'possible not you-know-me' ('it is possible that you do not know me'). tzela u'tza' a'ntū hua'nī't huan macatzātāt 'possible that-one who he-ate-it the ring' ('it is possible that that one is the one who swallowed the ring').

In the equative clause the order of nuclear tagmemes is usually S CO P but any order is permissible provided that the predicate tagmeme does not occur in initial position.

The time-division clause is a sub-type of the equative clause. It is represented by the formula: (+ CO +/- Pe) ± Peri -(RS, IN, M).

Pe, equative predicate tagmeme, is the same equative predicate tagmeme that occurs in the equative clause. As in the equative clause, the predicate tagmeme does not occur if the mood is indicative and the time is present.

CO, complement tagmeme, is manifested by one of the following nouns to which the clitic -tza' 'now, already' is affixed: tuncufntza' 'dawn now, dawntime'; cuhufni'tza' 'morning now, morning time'; tastu'nūtatza' 'noon now, noontime'; kōtanūtza' 'afternoon now, afternoon time'; tzī'satza' 'night now, nighttime'.

In the time-division clause the emphasis is on kind of time (tzī'satza' 'it-is-nighttime' [as opposed to daytime]) while in the meteorological clause indicating time of day the emphasis is on the process (tzī'sualh 'night-fell'; tzī'suamā' 'night-is-falling'). como kōtanūtza' i'xuanf't 'as afternoon-now/



already it-was' ('as it was already afternoon'). *tzɪ'satza'*, *i'ca'mā'tza'* 'it-is-night-now, (therefore) I-am-going'.

1.11. Dependent clauses. The dependent clause is a relator axis construction which is represented by the formula: (+ RE + AX), in which RE = relator, and AX = axis.

RE, relator tagmeme, is manifested by: *a'ntɪ/tɪ* 'who'; *a'ntū/tū* 'what, which'; *a'nlhā/lhā* 'where'; *a'nchɪ/chɪ* 'as, how'.

AX, axis tagmeme, may be manifested by any indicative clause.

The dependent clause may manifest any of the following clause-level tagmemes: subject, object, indirect object, referent, location, or manner. Examples of dependent clauses, with notation as to the clause-level tagmeme manifested, follow.

(1) Dependent clause manifesting manner tagmeme: *i'xtlahuacu'tun a'nchɪ i'xmāsu'ni'canɪ't* 'he-was-wanting-to-do-it as they(indefinite)-had-shown-it-to-him' ('he was wanting to do it as he had been shown') (P:*i'xtlahuacu'tun* 'he-was-wanting-to-do-it'; M:*a'nchɪ i'xmāsu'ni'canɪ't* 'as they-had-shown-it-to-him' [RE:*a'nchɪ* 'as'; AX:*i'xmāsu'ni'canɪ't* 'they-had-shown-it-to-him']).

(2) Dependent clause manifesting location tagmeme: *chā'lh a'nlhā i'xyā i'xchic huan to'kotzɪn* 'he-arrived where it-was-standing her-house the old-woman' ('he arrived where the old woman's house stood') (P:*chā'lh* 'he-arrived'; L:*a'nlhā i'xyā i'xchic huan to'kotzɪn* 'where it-was-standing her-house the old-woman' [RE:*a'nlhā* 'where'; AX:*i'xyā i'xchic huan to'kotzɪn* 'it-was-standing her-house the old-woman']).

(3) Dependent clause manifesting object tagmeme: *taquɪkaksɪ a'ntū cāqufmāputzɪca* 'they-went-found-it what they(indefinite)-sent-them-to-look-it' ('they went and found what they had been sent to look') (P:*taquɪkaksɪ* 'they-went-found-it'; O:*a'ntū cāqufmāputzɪca* 'what they(indefinite)-sent-them-to-look-it' [RE:*a'ntū* 'what'; AX:*cāqufmāputzɪca* 'they(indefinite)-sent-them-to-look-it']).

The order of tagmemes in the dependent clause differs from that of the independent clause in that (1) no peripheral tagmeme may precede the predicate tagmeme; and (2) one optional nuclear tagmeme may precede the predicate tagmeme only under specifiable conditions. These conditions are:

(1) if the manifestation of that tagmeme is emphasized, e.g., *quit tū i'clhakā'nanɪ't a'nchɪ xla' ihakā'nanɪ't* 'I not I-am-dressed as he he-is-dressed' (RE:*a'nchɪ* 'as'; AX:*xla' ihakā'nanɪ't* 'he he-is-dressed' [S:*xla' he*; P:*ihakā'nanɪ't* 'he-is-dressed']); or (2) if the manifestation of that tagmeme contains a quantitative, e.g., *a'ntɪ lēj lhūhua' tasācua' i'xcāmāscujmā' lakalfyān* 'who very many workers he-was-employing-them daily' (RE:*a'ntɪ* 'who'; AX:*lēj lhūhua' tasācua' i'xcāmāscujmā' lakalfyān* 'very many workers he-was-employing-them daily' [O:*lēj lhūhua' tasācua'* 'very many workers'; P:*i'xcāmāscujmā'* 'he-was-employing-them'; T:*lakalfyān* 'daily']).

When the axis tagmeme of a dependent clause is manifested by an equative clause, the time element of that clause is not absolute but is relative to that of the independent clause to which the dependent clause is subordinated. If the two clauses are concurrent, the predicate tagmeme of the de-

pendent equative clause is deleted. (This construction parallels that of the independent equative clause in present tense. See section 1.10.) If the two clauses are not concurrent, the equative predicate tagmeme ( $P_e$ ) is required in the equative clause. This predicate tagmeme is manifested by a copulative verb in past tense (to indicate time previous to that of the independent clause); or by a copulative verb in future tense (to indicate time subsequent to that of the independent clause). The occurrence, or non-occurrence, of a verb in the dependent equative clause, as determined by the relation of the time element of the two clauses, is illustrated by the two examples which follow:

(1) *tū' i'xca'tzfcān a'ntf i'xla' huan chic* 'not they(indefinite)-knew-it who his the house' ('the identity of the owner of the house was unknown'). In the dependent equative clause, *a'ntf i'xla' huan chic* 'who his the house', the predicate tagmeme is deleted because the clause is concurrent with the independent clause, *tū' i'xca'tzfcān* 'not they(indefinite)-knew-it'.

(2) *cāmālacpitzīni'lh a'ntū i'xlaca'n nahuan* 'he-divided-it-to-them what theirs it-will-be' ('he divided among them what was to be theirs [inheritance]'). In this example the copulative verb in future tense, *nahuan* 'it-will-be', is required to mark time subsequent to that of the independent clause, *cāmālacpitzīni'lh* 'he-divided-it-to-them'.

## II. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

2.0. Introduction. Totonac sentence structure may be conceptualized as a two dimensional system with five orders (simple, juxtaposition, opposition, implication, and quotation) and two series (weak and strong), plus an extra-systemic dependent sentence. See Diagram III. This system bears a strong likeness to the system of Zoque sentence types described by Engel and Longacre.<sup>1</sup> The two simple sentences are distinguished in that the first has a particle or phrase as its sentence base and the second has a clause as its sentence base. The two juxtaposition sentences are Paraphrase, in which both members of the nucleus have a common lexical base; and Sequence, in which the action represented in member one chronologically precedes that which is represented in member two. The two opposition sentences are the Alternative sentence which uses a conjunction 'or' and the Adversative sentence which uses the conjunction 'but'. The implication sentences include Result, in which the action represented in the first member issues in that of the second; and Conditional, in which the action of the second member is contingent on that of the first. Indirect Quote and Direct Quote sentences are distinguished much as in other languages. The dependent sentence occurs only in peripheral margins.

	Simple	Juxtaposition	Opposition	Implication	Quotation
A weak	<sup>1</sup> Particle or Phrasal	<sup>3</sup> Paraphrase	<sup>5</sup> Alternative	<sup>7</sup> Result	<sup>9</sup> Indirect Quote
B strong	<sup>2</sup> Clausal	<sup>4</sup> Sequence	<sup>6</sup> Adversative	<sup>8</sup> Conditional	<sup>10</sup> Direct Quote
<sup>11</sup> Relator - Axis					

Diagram III. Sentence Types

<sup>1</sup>Engel, Ralph and Longacre, Robert E. "Syntactic Matrices in Ostuacan Zoque." International Journal of American Linguistics 29:331-344 (1963).

Aside from sentence type 1 (Particle Base), all sentence types have an optional periphery distributed as follows in respect to the nucleus:

$$\pm cj_1 \pm voc \pm ST \pm TM \pm CirM \pm cj_2 (+N) \pm PM \pm CaM$$

In the above formula  $cj_1$  = Conjunction<sub>1</sub>; *voc* = Vocative; *ST* = Sentence Topic; *TM* = Temporal Margin; *CirM* = Circumstantial Margin;  $cj_2$  = Conjunction<sub>2</sub>; *N* = Nucleus; *PM* = Purpose Margin; and *CaM* = Cause Margin.

There are two tagmemes manifested by Conjunction ( $cj_1$ ,  $cj_2$ ). They are defined by their distribution since some conjunctions may fill either slot. When but one conjunction occurs directly preceding the nucleus of a sentence, then that conjunction is considered to manifest Conjunction<sub>2</sub>. When, however, one or more of the four tagmemes indicated above occur (*voc*, *ST*, *TM*, *CirM*) and are preceded by a sentence initial conjunction, then that conjunction is considered to manifest Conjunction<sub>1</sub> whether or not Conjunction<sub>2</sub> occurs. A conjunctive complex (composed of two or more conjunctions) may manifest either Conjunction<sub>1</sub> or Conjunction<sub>2</sub>.

A Vocative (*voc*) in Totonac is not common. Its usual position is initial or post-initial, but it may permute to sentence final position.

The Sentence Topic (*ST*), when it is the same as the subject, serves for emphasis. When it is different from the subject, it brings into focus that which it names or identifies. Under certain conditions, the structural status of a noun phrase or pronoun which precedes a verb is ambiguous. Such noun phrases or pronouns could be considered to be either Sentence Topics or simply permutations of some clause-level tagmeme to pre-predicate position. Under other conditions, however, it is clear that such elements are Sentence Topics. Thus, when the noun phrase or pronoun is separated from the predicate by a Temporal Margin, Circumstantial Margin, or either or both of these in combination with Conjunction<sub>2</sub>, it is clearly Sentence Topic. Also, when the preposed noun phrase or pronoun could not be a clause-level tagmeme, then it is clearly Sentence Topic. For example:  $n\bar{a}_1$  quit<sub>2</sub> a'mā<sub>3</sub> quinchixit<sub>4</sub> 'Also<sub>1</sub> I<sub>2</sub>, here is<sub>3</sub> my hair<sub>4</sub>.' The noun phrases or pronouns which are ambiguous as to status on clause or sentence level might well be considered to exemplify portmanteau manifestations of elements from both levels, i. e., the noun phrase or pronoun simultaneously manifests both Sentence Topic and some clause-level tagmeme.

The remaining optional peripheral tagmemes are: (a) Temporal Margin (*TM*), introduced by a'xni'ca' 'when' or chō'chi 'as soon as'; (b) Circumstantial Margin (*CirM*), introduced by como (rarely by hua'chi) 'since'; (c) Purpose Margin (*PM*), introduced by para/para que 'in order to/that'; (d) Cause Margin (*CaM*), introduced by porque 'because'. While the general rule is for Temporal and Circumstantial Margins to precede the obligatory nucleus (*N*) and for Purpose and Cause Margins to follow, all except the Cause Margins have been found to permute. The Temporal Margin permutes most freely, and the Circumstantial Margin has an obligatory permutation presented below. These margins are manifested by an extra-systemic sentence type, the Relator-Axis sentence, type 11.

2.1. Peripheral Margins.<sup>2</sup> The structures manifesting peripheral margin tagmemes are described below. A margin is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence or a Compound Relator-Axis sentence. The Compound Relator-Axis is defined as two or more Simple Relator-Axis sentences with identical Relators, usually joined by a conjunction but also occurring without conjunction.

2.1.1. Temporal Margin. The Temporal Margin is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence (see 2.2.11 for formula) whose Relator is a 'xni'ca' 'when' or chō'chi 'as soon as' and whose Axis may be any sentence type except Conditional and Particle Base, or by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence consisting of two or more such Relators and their Axes, usually joined by conjunction. (When Conjunction<sub>2</sub> is manifested by a 'xni'ca', it is translated as 'then'.)<sup>3</sup>

Within the Temporal Margin a time tagmeme within the clause which manifests Axis may permute to the fore of the Relator. Thus, the Totonac equivalent of 'when he left the next day' may become 'the next day when he left'. The permuted clause-level time element forms an anaphoric link with the previous sentence by expressing the interval of time between the actions represented in the successive sentences.

In the following Clause Base sentences, the Axis of the Temporal Margin is manifested by a Clause Base sentence<sup>4</sup> (see 2.2.2):

lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ chā'mpā₃ tastu'nūta₄ chu₅ chā'mpātza'₆ huan₇ i'xtā'-squi'ni'₈ huan₉ o'kxa'₁₀.

'And₁ when₂ noonday arrived again₃,₄ then₅ the boy's girlfriend₇-₁₀ arrived again now₆.

cj₁: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-4 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3,4 (Bc:intr. cl.)]; cj₂: #5; N: #6-10.

lā'₁ chō'chi₂ macahui'līkō'lh₃ tuncan₄ yāhuanī'pā₅ tuncan₆ i'xmacan₇ a'nīhā₈ i'xchu'cutēni'nī't₉.

'And₁ as soon as₂ he put it all on₃ then₄ he stood it up again₅ then₆ its foot₇ where₈ he had cut it off₉.

<sup>2</sup>It was the suggestion of Mrs. Barbara (Erickson) Hollenbach that sentences indicating a time relationship, circumstance, cause, or purpose be analyzed as a sentence type having a peripheral margin indicating time, circumstance, cause, or purpose.

<sup>3</sup>There are some apparent occurrences of clause-level time and manner tagmemes (the latter manifested by chuntza' 'thus') between Conjunction, and the Temporal Margin. There is no reason why these can not be considered to be further occurrences of Temporal and Circumstantial Margins on the sentence-level--although manifestations of these tagmemes on a lower hierarchical rank than clause are not described here.

<sup>4</sup>In the analysis of the Totonac sentences, the particle mat appeared frequently. The best translation for it seems to be 'that is' or 'they say' in text. In conversation it may be used to request corroboration of a statement and would then be translated 'Isn't that so?'. The particle was scattered liberally throughout the text of certain informants and completely absent in others. It would appear to be stylistic. Since its occurrence does not vitally affect the meaning of the sentence, it has been omitted from examples used in this volume.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2,3 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3 (Bc:ditr. cl.)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #4; N: #5-9.

This Clause Base sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Paraphrase sentence (see 2.2.3):

a'xni'ca<sub>1</sub> nataxtu<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> autobus<sub>4</sub> maktu'<sub>5</sub> chi'chini'<sub>6</sub> nataxtu<sub>7</sub>, a'x-ni'ca'<sub>8</sub> natamin<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> tastā'nan<sub>11</sub>.

'When<sub>1</sub> the bus<sub>3,4</sub> leaves<sub>2</sub>, twice a day<sub>5,8</sub> it leaves<sub>7</sub>, then<sub>8</sub> the ven-ders<sub>10,11</sub> will come<sub>9</sub>'.

TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #1-7 [Rel: #1; Ax:Paraphrase sentence #2-7 (Stat:Clause Base sentence #2-4 (Bc:intr. cl.); Exp:Clause Base sentence #5-7 (Bc:intr. cl.))]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #8; N: #9-11.

This Indirect Quote sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Sequence sentence (see 2.2.4):

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> chā'lh<sub>3</sub> xihuān<sub>4</sub> a'ni'hā<sub>5</sub> i'xuf'<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> rey<sub>8</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> xihuān<sub>10</sub> lēj<sub>11</sub> i'xcāxyā<sub>12</sub> con<sub>13</sub> i'xlu'xu'<sub>14</sub> mas<sub>15</sub> xatapala<sub>16</sub> como<sub>17</sub> hua'chi<sub>18</sub> i'xla'<sub>19</sub> huan<sub>20</sub> rey<sub>21</sub> con<sub>22</sub> lhūhua<sub>23</sub> tapāxuhuān<sub>24</sub> huanica<sub>25</sub> xihuān<sub>26</sub> que<sub>27</sub> cata-nūlh<sub>28</sub> porque<sub>29</sub> cā'tani'<sub>30</sub> i'xlamā'tza'<sub>31</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> John arrived<sub>3,4</sub> where<sub>5</sub> the king<sub>7,8</sub> was<sub>6</sub> and<sub>9</sub> John<sub>10</sub> (was) very well arrayed<sub>11,12</sub> with<sub>13</sub> clothes<sub>14</sub> more expensive<sub>15,16</sub> like<sub>17,18</sub> those of the king<sub>19-21</sub>, with<sub>22</sub> much<sub>23</sub> joy<sub>24</sub> it was told<sub>25</sub> John<sub>26</sub> that<sub>27</sub> he should enter<sub>28</sub> because<sub>29</sub> a fiesta<sub>30</sub> was going on<sub>31</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-21; Ax:Sequence sentence #3-21 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-8 (Bc:intr. cl.); link: #9; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #10-21 (Bc:intr. cl.)) should enter<sub>28</sub> because<sub>29</sub> a fiesta<sub>30</sub> was going on<sub>31</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-21 [Rel: #2; Ax:Sequence sentence #3-21 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-8 (Bc:intr. cl.); link: #9; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #10-21 (Bc:intr. cl.))]; N: #22-31.

The Clause Base sentence below has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Alternative sentence (see 2.2.5):

a'xni'ca'<sub>1</sub> lamā'<sub>2</sub> xcān<sub>3</sub> o<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> lonknu'n<sub>6</sub>, tintf'<sub>7</sub> natamin<sub>8</sub> natatlf'<sub>9</sub>.

'When<sub>1</sub> it is raining<sub>2,3</sub> or<sub>4</sub> (it is) very<sub>5</sub> cold<sub>6</sub>, nobody<sub>7</sub> will come to sing<sub>8,9</sub>'.

TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #1-6 [Rel: #1; Ax:Alternative sentence #2-6 (Prop<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #2,3 (Bc:intr. cl.); alt: #4; Prop<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #5,6 (Bc:meteor. cl.))]; N: #7-9.

This Clause Base sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Adversative sentence (see 2.2.6):

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> lēj<sub>3</sub> chi'chi<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> xcān<sub>6</sub> pero<sub>7</sub> tūna'<sub>8</sub> pupumā<sub>9</sub>, na-majō'yā'<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> lu'xu'<sub>12</sub> a'ntū<sub>13</sub> namanf'yā'<sub>14</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the water<sub>5,6</sub> (is) very<sub>3</sub> hot<sub>4</sub> but<sub>7</sub> (it is) not yet<sub>8</sub> boiling<sub>9</sub>, you will put in<sub>10</sub> the clothes<sub>11,12</sub> which<sub>13</sub> you will dye<sub>14</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-9 [Rel: #2; Ax:Adversative sentence #3-9 (Thesis:Clause Base sentence #3-6 (Bc:equat. cl.); adv: #7; Anti:Clause Base sentence #8,9 (Bc:intr. cl.))]; N: #10-14.

This Clause Base sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Result sentence (see 2.2.7).

a'xni'ca'<sub>1</sub> tanto<sub>2</sub> i'ctā'kchokonulh<sub>3</sub>, i'ctlakualh<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> milh<sub>6</sub> lakatin<sub>7</sub> autobus<sub>8</sub>.

'When<sub>1</sub> I had gone<sub>3</sub> so far<sub>2</sub> (that) I was tired<sub>4</sub>, then<sub>5</sub> a bus<sub>7,8</sub> came<sub>6</sub>'.

TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence # 1-4 [Rel: #1; Ax:Result sentence #2-4 (Stim:Clause Base sentence #2,3 <Bc:intr. cl.>; Res:Clause Base sentence #4 <Bc:intr. cl.>)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #5; N: #6-8.

This Clause Base sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Indirect Quote sentence (see 2.2.9):

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> laktzī'lh<sub>3</sub> i'xmimā'<sub>4</sub> tuncan<sub>5</sub> cāxtlahualh<sub>6</sub> xa'nca<sub>7</sub> i'x-machita<sub>8</sub> para<sub>9</sub> namūcā'taxtoka<sub>10</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he saw<sub>3</sub> (that) he (second participant) was coming<sub>4</sub>, then<sub>5</sub> he prepared<sub>6</sub> well<sub>7</sub> his machete<sub>8</sub> in order to<sub>9</sub> cut open his head<sub>10</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-4 [Rel: #2; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #3,4 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #3 <Bc:trans. cl.>; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #4 {Bc:intr. cl.}>)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #5; N: #6-8; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #9,10.

This Clause Base sentence has a Temporal Margin with Axis:Direct Quote sentence (see 2.2.10).

pero<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> lē<sub>3</sub> makān<sub>4</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>5</sub> huanipala<sub>6</sub> i'xcaman<sub>7</sub> 'chō'<sub>8</sub> na'i'c-laktzī'mpala<sub>9</sub> palh<sub>10</sub> tzetza'<sub>11</sub> na'i'cmāpānū<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> chihuix<sub>14</sub>".

'But<sub>1</sub> (it was) not<sub>2</sub> very<sub>3</sub> long after<sub>4</sub> when<sub>5</sub> her child<sub>7</sub> again said to her<sub>8</sub>, 'Now<sub>6</sub> I'll see again<sub>9</sub> if<sub>10</sub> I am now able to remove<sub>11,12</sub> the rock<sub>13,14</sub>'".

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; N: #2-4; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #5-14 [Rel: #5; Ax:Direct Quote sentence #6-14 (QF:Clause Base sentence #6,7 <Bc:ditr. cl.>; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT: Clause Base sentence #8-14 {Bc:trans. cl.}>)].

A Temporal Margin may occur in the same sentence with other sentence margin tagmemes. Furthermore, a Temporal Margin may occur within a sentence which manifests Axis of a Relator-Axis sentence which manifests some other sentence margin tagmeme. This can less accurately but more briefly be referred to as the embedding of the Temporal Margin within some other margin. Examples of this and other embeddings of margin within margin occur under the various sentence types. In the example which immediately follows there is a Purpose Margin embedded within a Temporal Margin (the Temporal Margin is manifested by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence whose first Axis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains a Purpose Margin):

a'xni'ca'<sub>1</sub> taxtucha<sub>2</sub> de<sub>3</sub> na<sub>4</sub> i'xchic<sub>5</sub> i'xpuscāt<sub>6</sub> para<sub>7</sub> nalakmin<sub>8</sub> i'x-tāta'<sub>9</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>10</sub> pajtzutza'<sub>11</sub> nachintza'<sub>12</sub> a'nlhā<sub>13</sub> tata'a'kapitzilh<sub>14</sub>, tuncan<sub>15</sub> tapalajni'lh<sub>16</sub> i'xcahuayuj<sub>17</sub>.

'When<sub>1</sub> he left<sub>2</sub> from his wife's house<sub>3-6</sub> in order to<sub>7</sub> visit<sub>8</sub> his father<sub>9</sub>, when<sub>10</sub> he will arrive now<sub>12</sub> nearly<sub>11</sub> (to the place) where<sub>13</sub> they separated<sub>14</sub>, then<sub>15</sub> his horse<sub>17</sub> was transformed on him<sub>16</sub>'.

TM:Compound Relator-Axis sentence #1-14 [Rel<sub>1</sub>: #1; Ax<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #2-9 (Bc:intr. cl. #2-6; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #7-9 <Rel: #7; Ax:Clause Base sentence #8,9 {Bc:intr. ref. cl.}>); Rel<sub>2</sub>: #10; Ax<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #11-14 (Bc:intr. cl.)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #15; N: #16,17.

2.1.2. Circumstantial Margin. The word *como* 'since' introduces a Circumstantial Margin. The Circumstantial Margin is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence, the Relator of which is *como* 'since' and whose Axis may be manifested by any of the sentence types except Particle Base sentence, or by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence.

The Clause Base sentence below has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis: Clause Base sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> tū'<sub>3</sub> maktin<sub>4</sub> i'xlaktzī'nī't<sub>5</sub> lēj<sub>6</sub> jicua'nī'lh<sub>7</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> never<sub>3,4</sub> had she seen it<sub>5</sub>, very much<sub>6</sub> she feared it<sub>7</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-5 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3-5 (Bc:trans. cl.)]; N: #6,7.

This Indirect Quote sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Sequence sentence whose Action<sub>1</sub> is a Paraphrase sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xmacc'hākō'nī'ttza'<sub>3</sub>, lēj<sub>4</sub> lacapalh<sub>5</sub> macc'hākō'lh<sub>6</sub>, lā'<sub>7</sub> tantu<sub>8</sub> lhūhua'<sub>9</sub> a'ntū<sub>10</sub> i'xlīmacchāt<sub>11</sub>, lā'<sub>12</sub> tuncan<sub>13</sub> puhuanlī<sub>14</sub> que<sub>15</sub> mas<sub>16</sub> i'xca'tzī<sub>17</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he had now finished baking<sub>3</sub>, very<sub>4</sub> rapidly<sub>5</sub> he finished baking<sub>6</sub>, and<sub>7</sub> (it was) so very much<sub>8,9</sub> which<sub>10</sub> (was) his baking<sub>11</sub>, and<sub>12</sub> then<sub>13</sub> he (second participant) thought<sub>14</sub> that<sub>15</sub> more<sub>16</sub> he (first participant) knew<sub>17</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-11 [Rel: #2; Ax:Sequence sentence #3-11 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Paraphrase sentence #3-6 <Stat:Clause Base sentence #3 {Bc:trans. cl.}; Exp:Clause Base sentence #4-6 {Bc:trans. cl.}>]; link: #7; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #8-11 <Bc:equat. cl.>]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #12,13; N: #14-17.

In the example below, the Clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Sequence sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> ka'tla'<sub>3</sub> i'xuanī't<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> chihuix<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> tūla<sub>8</sub> i'xmālaquī<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> puscāt<sub>11</sub>, chuntza'<sub>12</sub> tūla<sub>13</sub> i'xlītzā'lanī'<sub>14</sub> huan<sub>15</sub> mūxni'<sub>16</sub> huan<sub>17</sub> puscāt<sub>18</sub> porque<sub>19</sub> tūla<sub>20</sub> i'xmālaquī<sub>21</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> the rock<sub>3,4</sub> was<sub>5</sub> big<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> the woman<sub>10,11</sub> was unable to open<sub>8,9</sub> (the cave), thus<sub>12</sub> the woman<sub>17,18</sub> was unable to flee from<sub>13,14</sub> the monkey<sub>15,16</sub> because<sub>19</sub> she was unable to open it<sub>20,21</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-11 [Rel: #2; Ax:Sequence sentence #3-11 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-6 <Bc:equat. cl.>]; link: #7; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #8-11 <Bc:trans. cl.>]; N: #12-18; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #19-21 [Rel: #19; Ax:Clause Base sentence #20,21 (Bc:trans. cl.)]. Note the co-occurrence of Cause Margin with Circumstantial Margin.

The following Clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Alternative sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> tū'<sub>3</sub> xa'nca<sub>4</sub> huanlīh<sub>5</sub> tūyā<sub>6</sub> color<sub>7</sub> o<sub>8</sub> tū'<sub>9</sub> a'cchā'lh<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> tumfīn<sub>12</sub>, huan<sub>13</sub> ka'hua'chu<sub>14</sub> tū'<sub>15</sub> tamāhualh<sub>16</sub> huan<sub>17</sub> lu'xu'<sub>18</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> she did not say<sub>3,5</sub> clearly<sub>4</sub> what<sub>6</sub> color<sub>7</sub> or<sub>8</sub> the monkey<sub>11,12</sub> was not enough<sub>9,10</sub>, the boy<sub>13,14</sub> did not buy<sub>15,16</sub> the material<sub>17,18</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-12 [Rel: #2; Ax:Alternative sentence #3-12 (Prop<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-7 <Bc:ditr. cl.>]; alt: #8; Prop<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9-12 <Bc:trans. cl.>]; N: #13-18.



The following Clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Adversative sentence:

lā'₁ como₂ tzi'sāt₃ tētaxtulh₄ i'xcuc₅ pero₆ Pedro₇ tū'₈ laktzī'nī't₉, i'xka'lhīmā'₁₀ hasta₁₁ tastu'nūta₁₂.

'And₁ since₂ his uncle₅ passed by₄ early₃, but₆ Peter₇ didn't see him₈, he waited for him₁₀ until₁₁ noon₁₂'.

cj₁: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-9 [Rel: #2; Ax:Adversative sentence #3-9 (Thesis:Clause Base sentence #3-5 <Bc:intr. ref. cl.>; adv: #6; Anti:Clause Base sentence #7-9 <Bc:trans. cl.>)]; N: #10-12.

In the Quoted of the Direct Quote sentence below there is a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Result sentence:

lā'₁ i'xtzī't₂ huanilh₃ tū'₄ i'cca'tzī₅ como₆ quit₇ de tanto₈ quintaji-cuā't₉ xa'i'cxtanānī'nī't₁₀'.

'And₁ his mother₂ said to him₃, 'I don't know₄, since₆ I₇ so much₈ (was) my fear₉ (that) I had fainted₁₀'.

cj₂: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2,3 [Bc:ditr. cl.]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #4-10 (Bc:trans. cl. #4,5; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #6-10 <Rel: #6; Ax:Result sentence #7-10 {Stim:Clause Base sentence #7-9 <<ST: #7; Bc:equat. cl. #8,9>>; Res:Clause Base sentence #10 <<Bc:intr. cl. >>})];

The following Clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Conditional sentence (see 2.2.8);

como₁ palh₂ quintzī't₃ na'a'n₄ quit₅ na'i'ctachoko₆ nac₇ chic₈, hui'x₉ naquimputza'ya'₁₀ nac₁₁ quinchic₁₂.

'Since₁ if₂ my mother₃ goes₄ I₅ will stay₆ at home₇,₈, you₉ look for me₁₀ at my house₁₁,₁₂'.

CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #1-8 [Rel: #1; Ax:Conditional sentence #2-8 (cond: #2; Pro:Clause Base sentence #3,4 <Bc:intr. cl.>; Apo:Clause Base sentence #5-8 <Bc:intr. cl.>)]; N: #9-12.

The following clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis:Indirect Quote sentence:

lā'₁ como₂ laktzī'lī₃ que₄ lēj₅ i'sta'jmā'₆ i'xka'lhni'₇, lēj₈ lacapali₉ hui'līnī'kō'lh₁₀ i'xmacalīcā'n₁₁ huan₁₂ cahuayuj₁₃.

'And₁ since₂ he saw₃ that₄ its blood₇ was dripping₆ very much₅, very₈ quickly₉ he finished putting on₁₀ the horseshoe₁₁ (for) the horse₁₂,₁₃'.

cj₁: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-7 [Rel: #2; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #3-7 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #3 <Bc:trans. cl.>; sq: #4; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #5-7 {Bc:intr. cl. >})]; N: #8-13.

The following Clause Base sentence has a Circumstantial Margin with Axis manifested by an Axis:Direct Quote sentence:

lā'₁ como₂ i'xtāta'₃ i'xuaninī't₄, "Palaj₅ na'i'ctaspi'ta₆ na'i'cuāyan₇, " huan₈ tzu'ma'jāt₉ tzuculh₁₀ squiti₁₁.

'And₁ since₂ her father₃ had told her₄, "Soon₅ I will return to eat₆,₇, " the girl₈,₉ began to grind₁₀,₁₁'.

cj₁: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-7 [Rel: #2; Ax:Direct Quote sentence #3-7 (QF:Clause Base sentence #3,4 <Bc:ditr. cl.>; Q:DE-

CLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #5-7 {Bc:intr. cl. }>]; N: #8-11.

Both Temporal and Circumstantial Margins may embed in a Circumstantial Margin. However, when the Circumstantial Margin occurs within a Circumstantial Margin, there is an obligatory permutation of the former with the sentence base of the latter. Otherwise, there would be an awkward sequence of two como 'since' Relators. See the following example:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> lējtza'<sub>3</sub> i'xtaka'lhftza'<sub>4</sub> tapāxuhuān<sub>5</sub> como<sub>6</sub> i'xtalaktzī'n<sub>7</sub> i'xtacha'ni'ca'n<sub>8</sub>, lā'<sub>9</sub> tuncan<sub>10</sub> i'xta'a'mpalatza'<sub>11</sub> na<sub>12</sub> i'xchicca'n<sub>13</sub> con<sub>14</sub> tapāxuhuān<sub>15</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> now they had<sub>4</sub> very much now<sub>3</sub> happiness<sub>5</sub> since<sub>6</sub> they saw<sub>7</sub> their planting<sub>8</sub>, and<sub>9</sub> then<sub>10</sub> they went again now<sub>11</sub> to<sub>12</sub> their house<sub>13</sub> with<sub>14</sub> happiness<sub>15</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-8 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3-8 (Bc:trans. cl. #3-5; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #6-8 <Rel: #6; Ax:Clause Base sentence #7, 8 {Bc:trans. cl. }>)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #9, 10; Clause Base sentence N: #11-15. Relator-Axis sentence #6-8 would normally precede Bc #3-5; in that this would place the two Relators in juxtaposition, #6-8 has been permuted to follow #3-5.

Temporal Margin embedded within the Axis of a Circumstantial Margin (in Indirect Quote sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> xla'<sub>3</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> i'xmimā'<sub>5</sub> pō'ktu<sub>6</sub> lfmilh<sub>7</sub> i'xlhwa't<sub>8</sub>, quit<sub>9</sub> i'cpuhuan<sub>10</sub> que<sub>11</sub> hua'mā'<sub>12</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>13</sub> a'cxtim<sub>14</sub> natlō'<sub>15</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he (that one)<sub>3</sub> when<sub>4</sub> he was coming<sub>5</sub> always<sub>6</sub> he brought<sub>7</sub> his lunch<sub>8</sub>, I<sub>9</sub> think<sub>10</sub> that<sub>11</sub> this<sub>12</sub> man<sub>13</sub> will do<sub>15</sub> the same<sub>14</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-8 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3-8 (ST: #3; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4, 5 <Rel: #4; Ax:Clause Base sentence #5 {Bc:intr. cl. }>; Bc:trans. cl. #6-8)]; N: #9-15.

Temporal, Cause, and Purpose Margins may co-occur with Circumstantial Margin. Co-occurrence of Cause and Circumstantial Margins is illustrated above in this section (See Axis:Sequence sentence).

In the following Paraphrase sentence Circumstantial and Temporal Margins co-occur:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> xla'ca'n<sub>3</sub> i'xtakalhtīnī'n<sub>4</sub> xa'nca<sub>5</sub>, lā'<sub>6</sub> i'xlīlakalī huampa-la<sub>8</sub>, a'xni'ca'<sub>9</sub> i'xtachā'ntza'<sub>10</sub> tuncan<sub>11</sub> na<sub>12</sub> i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n<sub>13</sub>, i'xtalaktzī'ntza'<sub>14</sub> i'xpūpi'n<sub>15</sub>; lējtza'<sub>16</sub> i'xua'ca'<sub>17</sub> huan<sub>18</sub> stakna'<sub>19</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> they<sub>3</sub> answered<sub>4</sub> well<sub>5</sub>, and<sub>6</sub> the next day<sub>7, 8</sub> when<sub>9</sub> they arrived now<sub>10</sub> soon<sub>11</sub> at their fields<sub>12, 13</sub>, now they saw<sub>14</sub> their chile field<sub>15</sub>; very many now<sub>16</sub> they hung<sub>17</sub> the chiles<sub>18, 19</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-5 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3-5 (Bc:trans. cl.)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #6; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #7-13 [permuted clause-level time tagmeme: #7, 8; Rel: #9; Ax:Clause Base sentence #7, 8, 10-13 (Bc:intr. cl.)]; N: #14-19.

In this Clause Base sentence Circumstantial and Purpose Margins co-occur:

lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> slulh<sub>3</sub> xla'<sub>4</sub> como<sub>5</sub> puhuan<sub>6</sub> stu'ncua'<sub>7</sub> a'ntū<sub>8</sub> huanimā'ca<sub>9</sub>,

lēj<sub>10</sub> xa'nca<sub>11</sub> takalh<sub>12</sub>kapā'tli<sub>12</sub> para que<sub>13</sub> tū'<sub>14</sub> namātakāhu'<sub>15</sub> huan<sub>16</sub>  
ka'hua'chu<sub>17</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> the alligator<sub>2,3</sub> he<sub>4</sub>, since<sub>5</sub> he thinks<sub>6</sub> (it is) true<sub>7</sub> what<sub>8</sub> was told him<sub>9</sub>, very<sub>10</sub> well<sub>11</sub> he opened his mouth<sub>12</sub> in order that<sub>13</sub> he not wound<sub>14,15</sub> the boy<sub>16,17</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; ST: #2-4; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #5-9 [Rel: #5; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #6-9 (IQF: Clause Base sentence #8 <Bc:trans. cl.>); IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #7-9 {Bc:equat. cl.}>]; N: #10-12; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #13-17 [Rel: #13; Ax:Clause Base sentence #14-17 (Bc:trans. cl.)].

Below is an illustration of Circumstantial Margin manifested by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> lēj<sub>3</sub> makat<sub>4</sub> i'xa'n<sub>5</sub>, lā'<sub>6</sub> como<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> puscāt<sub>9</sub> a'nt<sub>10</sub>  
i'xka'lhani'<sub>11</sub>, xla'<sub>12</sub> i'xcamalan'<sub>13</sub>, lā'<sub>14</sub> tū'<sub>15</sub> lēj<sub>16</sub> makān<sub>17</sub> chu<sub>18</sub> tun-  
can<sub>19</sub> tahu'<sub>20</sub> huan<sub>21</sub> ska'ta'<sub>22</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he went<sub>3</sub> very far<sub>3,4</sub>, and<sub>5</sub> since<sub>7</sub> the woman<sub>8</sub>, whom<sub>10</sub> he stole<sub>11</sub>, she<sub>12</sub> was pregnant<sub>13</sub>, then<sub>14</sub> not very long<sub>15-17</sub> (after that) and then<sub>18,19</sub> the baby<sub>21,22</sub> was born<sub>20</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Compound Relator-Axis sentence #2-13 [Rel<sub>1</sub>: #2; Ax<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-5 (Bc:intr. cl.); cj<sub>1</sub>: #6; Rel<sub>2</sub>: #7; Ax<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #8-13 (ST: #8-11; Bc:intr. cl. #12,13)]; cj<sub>2</sub>: #14; N: #15-22.

In conversation an example was found of a Circumstantial Margin in a sentence whose nucleus is an ellipsis. This was in answer to a question:

como<sub>1</sub> hui'x<sub>2</sub> quimāscā'tti<sub>3</sub>.

'(I did it) since<sub>1</sub> you<sub>2</sub> taught me<sub>3</sub>'.

N of Clause Base sentence: ellipsis; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #1-3 [Rel: #1; Ax:Clause Base sentence #2,3 (Bc:ditr. cl.)].

**2.1.3. Cause Margin.** The Cause Margin is introduced by *porque* 'because'. It is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence whose Relator is *porque* 'since' and whose Axis is one of the following sentence types: Clause Base, Paraphrase, Sequence, Conditional, Indirect Quote, or Direct Quote. It may also be manifested by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence.

The Clause Base sentence below has a Cause Margin with Axis:Clause Base sentence:

pero<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> tijcua'na'<sub>3</sub> porque<sub>4</sub> quintāta'<sub>5</sub> nalflaktz'f'ncu'tunāni'<sub>6</sub>.

'But<sub>1</sub> don't be afraid<sub>2,3</sub> because<sub>4</sub> my father<sub>5</sub> will want to ridicule you<sub>6</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; N: #2,3; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-6 [Rel: #4; Ax:Clause Base sentence #5,6 (Bc:trans. cl.)].

The following Direct Quote sentence has a Cause Margin with Axis:Paraphrase sentence:

"quit<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> i'ca'ka't'<sub>3</sub> palh<sub>4</sub> mi'a'migo<sub>5</sub> scujmā'<sub>6</sub>" huan<sub>7</sub> i'xpuscāt<sub>8</sub>  
huan<sub>9</sub> rey<sub>10</sub>, porque<sub>11</sub> xatzf't'<sub>12</sub> mas<sub>13</sub> skalalh<sub>14</sub>; lēj<sub>15</sub> u'cxca'tz'f'ni'n<sub>16</sub>  
que<sub>17</sub> huan<sub>18</sub> rey<sub>19</sub>.

"I<sub>1</sub> don't believe<sub>2,3</sub> that<sub>4</sub> your friend<sub>5</sub> is working<sub>6</sub>," the king's wife<sub>8-10</sub>

said to him<sub>7</sub> because<sub>11</sub> the mother<sub>12</sub> (was) more<sub>13</sub> alert<sub>14</sub>; much more<sub>15</sub> she was aware<sub>16</sub> than<sub>17</sub> the king<sub>18, 19</sub>'.

N: #1-10; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #11-19 [Rel: #11; Ax:Paraphrase sentence #12-19 (Stat:Clause Base sentence #12-14 <Bc: equat. cl.>; Exp:Clause Base sentence #15-19 <Bc:intrans. cl.>)].

The Clause Base sentence below has a Cause Margin with Axis:Sequence sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> ā'maktin<sub>3</sub> ticā'tēni'ya'<sub>4</sub> i'xmacan<sub>5</sub> ā'lakatin<sub>6</sub> cahuyuj<sub>7</sub> porque<sub>8</sub> quit<sub>9</sub> i'ca'mā'<sub>10</sub> lēj<sub>11</sub> makat<sub>12</sub> lā'<sub>13</sub> tū'<sub>14</sub> ā'maktin<sub>15</sub> quintikaksti<sub>16</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> don't ever<sub>2, 3</sub> cut off<sub>4</sub> another horse's foot<sub>5-7</sub> because<sub>8</sub> I<sub>9</sub> am going<sub>10</sub> very far away<sub>11, 12</sub> and<sub>13</sub> never again<sub>14, 15</sub> will you find me<sub>16</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; N: #2-7; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #8-16 [Rel: #8; Ax:Sequence sentence #9-16 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9-12 <Bc:intr. cl.>; link: #13; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #14-16 <Bc:inj. trans. cl.>)].

In the Quoted of the following Direct Quote sentence, there is a Cause Margin with Axis:Conditional sentence:

'Iacapalh<sub>1</sub> camaca'ta'<sub>2</sub> quilu'xu'<sub>3</sub> porque<sub>4</sub> palh<sub>5</sub> tū'<sub>6</sub> na'i'cuanī<sub>7</sub> quintāta'<sub>8</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> namaknīyāni'<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> tzu'ma'jāt<sub>13</sub>.

'Quickly<sub>1</sub> toss<sub>2</sub> my clothes<sub>3</sub> because<sub>4</sub> if<sub>5</sub> not<sub>6</sub> I'll tell<sub>7</sub> my father<sub>8</sub> and<sub>9</sub> he'll kill you<sub>10</sub>," said<sub>11</sub> the girl<sub>12, 13</sub>.

Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #1-10 (Bc:inj. trans. cl. #1-3; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-10 <Rel: #4; Ax:Conditional sentence #5-10 {cond: #5; Pro:Particle Base sentence #6; Apo:Sequence sentence #7-10 <<Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #7, 8 {{Bc:ditr. cl. }}; link: #9; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #10 {{Bc:trans. cl. }}>>>)]; QF: Clause Base sentence #11-13 [Bc:trans. cl. ].

This Clause Base sentence has a Cause Margin with Axis:Indirect Quote sentence:

lē'nīlh<sub>1</sub> rey<sub>2</sub> porque<sub>3</sub> i'xkaxmatnī'ti<sub>4</sub> reyīn<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> i'xuanī'ti<sub>7</sub> 'a'ntī<sub>8</sub> namaknī<sub>9</sub> serpiente<sub>10</sub> u'tza'<sub>11</sub> natā'tapūchō<sub>12</sub> quintzu'ma'jāt<sub>13</sub>," i'xuanī'ti<sub>14</sub>.

'He took it<sub>1</sub> (to the) king<sub>2</sub> because<sub>3</sub> he had heard<sub>4</sub> the king<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> he had said<sub>7</sub>, 'The one who<sub>8</sub> will kill<sub>9</sub> the serpent<sub>10</sub>, that one<sub>11</sub> will marry<sub>12</sub> my daughter<sub>13</sub>," he had said<sub>14</sub>'.

N: #1, 2; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-14 [Rel: #3; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #4-14 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #4, 5 <Bc:ditr. cl.>; sq: #6; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Direct Quote sentence #7-14 {QF: #7; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph #8-13; QF: #14}>)]. #5 reyīn 'the king' is portmanteau, being both object of #4 'heard' on clause level and at the same time actually part of the Quotation Formula 'that the king had said' on sentence level (#6, 7).

The Clause Base sentence below has a Cause Margin with Axis:Direct Quote sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> tachokocha'tza'<sub>3</sub> porque<sub>4</sub> huanican<sub>5</sub> 'chuhua'<sub>6</sub> natlahuakō'ya'<sub>7</sub> tuncan<sub>8</sub>, nacha'jalīta'<sub>9</sub> lā'<sub>10</sub> nalakacā'kō'ya<sub>11</sub> tuncan<sub>12</sub>."

'And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> now remained there<sub>3</sub> because<sub>4</sub> it was told him<sub>5</sub>, 'Now<sub>6</sub> you will do it all<sub>7</sub> soon<sub>8</sub>, you'll fell<sub>9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> you'll cut it in pieces<sub>11</sub> soon<sub>12</sub>'."

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; N: #2, 3; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-12 [Rel: #4;

Ax:Direct Quote sentence #5-12 (QF:Clause Base sentence #5 <Bc:indef. subj. ditr. cl.>; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Paraphrase sentence #6-12 {Stat:Clause Base sentence #6-8 <<Bc:trans. cl.>>; Exp:Sequence sentence #9-12 <<Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9 {{Bc:trans. cl.}}}}; link: #10; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #11, 12 {{Bc:trans. cl.}}>>>)>)).

Cause Margin may co-occur with any of the other margins, and only Circumstantial Margin does not embed in a Cause Margin.

Co-occurrence of Cause and Circumstantial Margins in an Alternative sentence:

lā<sub>1</sub>' huan<sub>2</sub> ka'hua'chu<sub>3</sub> como<sub>4</sub> de veras<sub>5</sub> pobre<sub>6</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>7</sub>, lēj<sub>8</sub> tzu'n-tzu'lu<sub>9</sub> i'xyā<sub>10</sub> o<sub>11</sub> lēj<sub>12</sub> mac'hti'l'fqui<sub>13</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>14</sub> porque<sub>15</sub> sintza'<sub>16</sub> i'x-lu'xu<sub>17</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>18</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> the boy<sub>2,3</sub>, since<sub>4</sub> truly<sub>5</sub> he was<sub>7</sub> poor<sub>6</sub>, very<sub>8</sub> tattered<sub>9</sub> he stood<sub>10</sub> or<sub>11</sub> very patched<sub>12,13</sub> he was<sub>14</sub> because<sub>15</sub> he was<sub>16</sub> now without<sub>18</sub> clothes<sub>17</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; St: #2, 3; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-7 [Rel: #4; Ax:Clause Base sentence #5-7 (Bc:equat. cl.)]; N: #8-14; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #15-18 [Rel: #15; Ax:Clause Base sentence #16-18 (Bc:equat. cl.)].

Co-occurrence of Cause and Temporal Margins in a Paraphrase sentence:

lā<sub>1</sub>' a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> l'fmintāquf'cha'<sub>3</sub>, l'fchilh<sub>4</sub> na<sub>5</sub> i'xchic<sub>6</sub>; lēj<sub>7</sub> pāxquf<sub>8</sub> porque<sub>9</sub> lēj<sub>10</sub> tzēhuanf't<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> ska'ta'<sub>13</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> she went and got it<sub>3</sub>, she brought it<sub>4</sub> to<sub>5</sub> her house<sub>6</sub>; very much<sub>7</sub> she loved it<sub>8</sub> because<sub>9</sub> the baby<sub>12,13</sub> (was) very<sub>10</sub> pretty<sub>11</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2, 3 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3 (Bc:trans. cl.)]; N: #4-8; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #9-13 [Rel: #9; Ax:Clause Base sentence #10-13 (Bc:equat. cl.)].

Co-occurrence of Purpose and Cause Margins in a Clause Base sentence:

chuntza'<sub>1</sub> namacapina'<sub>2</sub> huā'<sub>3</sub> pūtayan<sub>4</sub> para que<sub>5</sub> chuntza'<sub>6</sub> tzē<sub>7</sub> nachipaya'<sub>8</sub> mi'a'nimalhna'<sub>9</sub> porque<sub>10</sub> quit<sub>11</sub> lēj<sub>12</sub> xa'nca<sub>13</sub> a'ntū<sub>14</sub> i'ctlahualh<sub>15</sub>.

'Thus<sub>1</sub> you will cast<sub>2</sub> the fish net<sub>3,4</sub> so that<sub>5</sub> thus<sub>6</sub> you will be able to catch<sub>7,8</sub> your animals<sub>9</sub> because<sub>10</sub> I<sub>11</sub> (it is) very<sub>12</sub> right<sub>13</sub> what<sub>14</sub> I did<sub>15</sub>'.

N: #1-4; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #5-9 [Rel: #5; Ax:Clause Base sentence #6-9 (Bc:trans. cl.)]; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #10-15 [Rel: #10; Ax:Clause Base sentence #11-15 (ST: #11; Bc:equat. cl.)].

Examples of embedding in Cause Margin follow. The first illustrates Temporal Margin embedded in Cause Margin (in a Paraphrase sentence):

lā<sub>1</sub>' a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub> a'ntūn<sub>4</sub> i'xpāt'lekeni't<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> makatza'n-kān't<sub>7</sub>, i'xmacatzātāt<sub>8</sub> porque<sub>9</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>10</sub> i'xlahuf'<sub>11</sub> i'xa'cstu<sub>12</sub> tuncan<sub>13</sub> lakmih<sub>14</sub> kalhatin<sub>15</sub> to'kotzīn<sub>16</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> then now<sub>2</sub> she told him<sub>3</sub> what<sub>4</sub> had befallen her<sub>5</sub>, that<sub>6</sub> she

lost<sub>7</sub> her ring<sub>8</sub> because<sub>9</sub> when<sub>10</sub> she was living<sub>11</sub> alone<sub>12</sub> then<sub>13</sub> an old woman<sub>15,16</sub> came to see her<sub>14</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; N: #3-8; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #9-16 [Rel: #9; Ax:Clause Base sentence #10-16 (TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #10,12 <Rel: #10; Ax:Clause Base sentence #11,12 {Bc:intr. cl. }>); Bc:intr. ref. cl. #13-16].

Purpose Margin embedded in Cause Margin(in a Clause Base sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> tzē<sub>3</sub> namaklhtfyāhu<sub>4</sub> porque<sub>5</sub> quit<sub>6</sub> nacmānūni'<sub>7</sub> quis-tajan<sub>8</sub> na<sub>9</sub> i'xquini'<sub>10</sub> para que<sub>11</sub> chuntza'<sub>12</sub> namāxtu<sub>13</sub> i'xmacani<sub>14</sub> de<sub>15</sub> na<sub>16</sub> i'xtanchokxni'<sub>17</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> we can take it<sub>3,4</sub> because<sub>5</sub> I<sub>6</sub> will put<sub>7</sub> my tail<sub>8</sub> in<sub>9</sub> her nose<sub>10</sub> so that<sub>11</sub> thus<sub>12</sub> she will take out<sub>13</sub> her hand<sub>14</sub> from<sub>15,16</sub> (under) her thigh<sub>17</sub>'.

N: #1-4; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #5-17 [Rel: #5; Ax: Clause Base sentence #6-17 (Bc:trans. ref. cl. #6-10; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #11-17 <Rel: #11; Ax:Clause Base sentence #12-17 {Bc:trans. cl. }>)].

Cause Margin embedded in Cause Margin (in Clause Base sentence):

caquima'xqu'<sub>1</sub> quilu'xu'<sub>2</sub> porque<sub>3</sub> quintāta'<sub>4</sub> chuhua'<sub>5</sub> lējtza'<sub>6</sub> a'k-chā'huil'acha'<sub>7</sub> porque<sub>8</sub> lējtza'<sub>9</sub> xīfti'<sub>10</sub> i'ctakoxīh<sub>11</sub>.

'Give me<sub>1</sub> my clothes<sub>2</sub> because<sub>3</sub> now<sub>5</sub> my father<sub>4</sub> is very angry there<sub>6,7</sub> because<sub>8</sub> so long now<sub>9,10</sub> I delayed<sub>11</sub>'.

N: #1,2; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-11 [Rel: #3; Ax:Clause Base sentence #4-11 (Bc:intr. cl. #4-7; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #8-11 <Rel: #8; Ax:Clause Base sentence #9-11 {Bc:intr. cl. }>)].

**2.1.4. Purpose Margin.** The Purpose Margin is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence whose Relator is para or para que 'in order to/that' or by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence consisting of two or more such Relators and their Axes. Clause Base or Indirect Quote sentences manifest Axis in either Simple or Compound Relator-Axis sentences. Direct Quote sentences are obligatorily transformed to Indirect Quote sentences when they manifest the Axis in a Purpose Margin.

Within the following Direct Quote sentence there is a Clause Base sentence which has a Purpose Margin with Axis:Clause Base sentence:

"lā'<sub>1</sub> quintzī't<sub>2</sub> mimā'<sub>3</sub> para<sub>4</sub> naquilē'n<sub>5</sub>," huan<sub>6</sub>.

"And<sub>1</sub> my mother<sub>2</sub> is coming<sub>3</sub> in order to<sub>4</sub> take me<sub>5</sub>," she says<sub>6</sub>'.

Direct Quote sentence #1-6 [Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUN-CEMENT:Clause Base sentence #1-5 <Bc:intr. cl. #1-3; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4,5 {Rel: #4; Ax:Clause Base sentence #5 <<Bc:trans. cl. >>}>); QF:Clause Base sentence #6 (Bc:trans. cl. )].

In the Clause Base sentence below there is a Purpose Margin with Axis: Indirect Quote sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> catō'ca'hu<sub>2</sub> para<sub>3</sub> nalaktzī'na'<sub>4</sub> palh<sub>5</sub> tū'<sub>6</sub> stu'ncua'<sub>7</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> let's go upstairs<sub>2</sub> so that<sub>3</sub> you can see<sub>4</sub> if<sub>5</sub> (it is) not<sub>6</sub> true<sub>7</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; N: #2; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-7 [Rel: #3; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #4-7 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #4 <Bc:trans.

cl.>; sq: #5; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #6,7 {Bc:equat. cl. }>]].

The Purpose Margin may co-occur with any of the other margins. Examples follow.

Temporal and Purpose Margins (in a Clause Base sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> laktz'f'lh<sub>3</sub> i'xmimā'cha'<sub>4</sub>, tuncan<sub>5</sub> cāxtlahualh<sub>6</sub> xa'nca<sub>7</sub> i'xmachita<sub>8</sub> para<sub>9</sub> namūcā'taxtoka<sub>10</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he saw<sub>3</sub> (that) he was coming there<sub>4</sub>, then<sub>5</sub> he prepared<sub>6</sub> well<sub>7</sub> his machete<sub>8</sub> in order to<sub>9</sub> cut open his head<sub>10</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-4 [Rel: #2; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #3,4 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #3 <Bc:trans. cl.>; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #4 {Bc:intr. cl. }>]; N: #5-8; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #9,10 [Rel: #9; Ax:Clause Base sentence #10 (Bc:trans. cl.)].

Circumstantial and Purpose Margins (in Indirect Quote sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xkōtanūpātza'<sub>3</sub>, puhuanli<sub>4</sub> natō'ca'<sub>5</sub> nac<sub>6</sub> a'katin<sub>7</sub> qui'-hui'<sub>8</sub> para que<sub>9</sub> a ver<sub>10</sub> ilh<sub>11</sub> nalaktz'f'n<sub>12</sub> lakatin<sub>13</sub> ti'na'j<sub>14</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>15</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> it was late afternoon now<sub>3</sub>, he thought<sub>4</sub> (that) he will climb<sub>5</sub> into<sub>6</sub> another<sub>7</sub> tree<sub>8</sub> in order that<sub>9</sub>,<sub>10</sub> (he might ascertain) if<sub>11</sub> he will see<sub>12</sub> one<sub>13</sub> small<sub>14</sub> village<sub>15</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2,3 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3 (Bc:meteor. cl.)]; IQF:Clause Base sentence #4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #5-15 (Bc:trans. cl. #5-8; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #9-15 <Rel: #9-11; Ax:Clause Base sentence #12-15 {Bc:trans. cl. }>]].

Co-occurrence of Cause and Purpose Margins is illustrated under Cause Margin (2.1.3).

Only Purpose Margins have been found embedded in Purpose Margins:

lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tzuculh<sub>3</sub> xaca<sub>4</sub> i'xmachita<sub>5</sub> para<sub>6</sub> na'a'n<sub>7</sub> taxtokt'<sub>8</sub> nac<sub>9</sub> tej<sub>10</sub> para<sub>11</sub> namakn'<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> marsiyero<sub>14</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he began to sharpen<sub>3</sub>,<sub>4</sub> his machete<sub>5</sub> in order to<sub>6</sub> go overtake him<sub>7</sub>,<sub>8</sub> on the way<sub>9</sub>,<sub>10</sub> in order to<sub>11</sub> kill<sub>12</sub> the vender<sub>13</sub>,<sub>14</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; N of Clause Base sentence: #3-5 [Bc:trans. cl.]; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #6-14 [Rel: #6; Ax:Clause Base sentence #7-10 (Bc:trans. cl.); PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #11-14 (Rel: #11; Ax:Clause Base sentence #12-14 <Bc:trans. cl.>)].

There is a variant of Purpose Margin which expresses the purpose of ascertaining information. This variant is introduced by a ver 'to see' plus one of the following: ilh 'whether', palh 'if', ilh palh with a negative 'whether or not', or a question marker. The a ver introducer may also be preceded by para/para que (see example above of co-occurring Circumstantial and Purpose Margins). In the Clause Base sentence below, the Purpose Margin is introduced by a ver plus question marker tichū 'who, whom':

caquitalacanūtī<sub>1</sub> nac<sub>2</sub> chic<sub>3</sub> a ver<sub>4</sub> tichū<sub>5</sub> nalaktz'f'nā'tit<sub>6</sub> hu'<sub>7</sub>.

'Go peek<sub>1</sub> in<sub>2</sub> (the) house<sub>3</sub> to ascertain<sub>4</sub> whom<sub>5</sub> you will see<sub>6</sub> is there<sub>7</sub>'.

N: #1-3; PM: Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-7 [Rel: #4, 5; Ax: Clause Base sentence #5-7 (Bc: interrog. trans. cl.)]. The question marker *tichū* 'who, whom' is both an integral part of the *a ver* introducer and the interrogative clause which is the base of the Clause Base sentence it introduces.

**2.2. Sentence Types.** The eleven Totonac sentence types are described below. Types 1-10 are independent sentences and fall into five pairs under the following classifications: (1) simple (Particle Base and Clause Base), (2) juxtaposition (Paraphrase and Sequence), (3) opposition (Alternative and Adversative), (4) implication (Result and Conditional), (5) quotation (Indirect Quote and Direct Quote). Sentence type 11, Relator-Axis sentence, is a dependent sentence and, therefore, considered as distinct from the main system although it parallels the other types in having two divisions, Simple and Compound.

**2.2.1. Particle Base Sentence.** Sentence type 1, the Particle Base sentence, is unique in the system in that it does not have any peripheral tagmemes except Conjunction<sub>1</sub>. This sentence type is also limited in its distribution, being found primarily in dialogues. The formula for a Particle Base sentence is  $\pm cj_1 (+ Bp)$ , in which  $cj_1$  = Conjunction<sub>1</sub> and  $Bp$  = Particle Base tagmeme and is manifested by a word or phrase. *tū* 'No' (Bp); *lhānīn* 'When?' (Bp); *pero hui'x tū* 'But not you'  $cj_1$ : *pero*;  $Bp$ : *hui'x tū*.

**2.2.2. Clause Base Sentence.** The Clause Base sentence, type 2, is the basic component of all other sentence types except the Particle Base sentence. Type 2 formula is  $\pm Peri (+ Bc)$ , in which *Peri* = Periphery and is manifested by any of the peripheral tagmemes, and *Bc* = Clause Base tagmeme and is manifested by an independent clause.

*lā*'<sub>1</sub> *tuncan*<sub>2</sub> *tzuculh*<sub>3</sub> *huan*<sub>4</sub> *cā'tani*'<sub>5</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the fiesta<sub>4,5</sub> began<sub>3</sub>'.

$cj_2$ : #1, 2; *Bc*: intr. cl. #3-5.

*lā*'<sub>1</sub> *a'xni'ca*'<sub>2</sub> *huan*<sub>3</sub> *xihuān*<sub>4</sub> *chā'lh*<sub>5</sub> *na*<sub>6</sub> *i'xchic*<sub>7</sub> *i'xpuhuiti*'<sub>8</sub> *cālē'*-*mā'cha*'<sub>9</sub> *huan*<sub>10</sub> *sla'kna'nf'n*<sub>11</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the John<sub>3,4</sub> arrived<sub>5</sub> at<sub>6</sub> his father-in-law's house<sub>7,8</sub>, he brought there<sub>9</sub> the violinists<sub>10,11</sub>'.

$cj_1$ : #1; *Peri*: TM #2-8; *Bc*: trans. cl. #9-11.

**2.2.3. Paraphrase Sentence.** The Paraphrase sentence, type 3, consists of two or three juxtaposed sentences which manifest the nuclear tagmemes Statement, Expansion, and Expansion', in which the second sentence and any subsequent sentences expand, clarify, or comment on the first. In contrast to the Sequence sentence whose tagmemes are joined by *lā* 'and', the three tagmemes of the Paraphrase sentence are not linked with conjunctions.

In the present study, no construction or function word was found to clearly signal Paraphrase sentence. Analysis is based on lexical items.



In narrative text, any two sentences which follow each other without intervening conjunction usually may be said to constitute a Paraphrase sentence except: (a) when the second sentence of the pair begins with a Temporal Margin, or (b) when the first is a Direct Quote sentence. In conversational text, however, use of such criteria yields putative Paraphrase sentences whose length and lexical disparity argue against their being so interpreted as sentence units. Presumably, conversational style is more lively than narrative style and permits sentences to occur without introductory conjunction. In conversational text special attention must be given to lexical considerations (presence of repeated lexical items or synonyms) in positing Paraphrase sentences.

Sentence type 3 formula is  $\pm$  Peri (+ Stat + Exp + Exp') in which Stat = the Statement tagmeme and is manifested by Particle Base, Clause Base, or Sequence sentences; Exp = the Expansion tagmeme and may be manifested by a Clause Base sentence (except those containing a preposed Temporal Margin), by Sequence, Result, or Indirect Quote sentences. A special use of the Paraphrase sentence is as the A P E R T U R E of a narrative discourse (see 4.1). In this specialized use, the Statement presents the hero while the Expansion tagmemes give some facts concerning him.

In the following Direct Quote sentence Quote:Paraphrase sentence; and Stat:Particle Base sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> ka'hua'chu<sub>3</sub> huanilh<sub>4</sub>, 'tū'<sub>5</sub>; mejorin<sub>6</sub> cacātachokonfīni'<sub>7</sub>  
lā'<sub>8</sub> nahuāyātītī<sub>9</sub> hui'xina'n<sub>10</sub>".

'And<sub>1</sub> the boy<sub>2,3</sub> said<sub>4</sub>, 'No<sub>5</sub>; rather<sub>6</sub> let it remain for you<sub>7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> all of you<sub>10</sub> will eat it<sub>9</sub>".

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:ditr. cl.]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Paraphrase sentence #5-10 (Stat:Particle Base sentence #5; Exp:Sequence sentence #6-10 <Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #6,7 {Bc:inj. intr. ref. cl.}; link: #8; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9,10 {Bc:trans. cl.}>)]. The verb 'eat', understood from the context, is the lexical connection.

In this Paraphrase sentence Exp:Clause Base sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> chu tuncan<sub>2</sub> tanūlh<sub>3</sub>; como<sub>4</sub> xla'<sub>5</sub> ti'na'j<sub>6</sub>, lakachu<sub>7</sub> tzēn<sub>8</sub> tanūlh<sub>9</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so then<sub>2</sub> he entered<sub>3</sub>; since<sub>4</sub> he<sub>5</sub> (was) small<sub>6</sub>, anywhere<sub>7</sub> he could enter<sub>8,9</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; Stat:Clause Base sentence [Bc:intr. cl. #3]; Exp:Clause Base sentence [CirM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #4-6; Bc:intr. cl. #7-9]. The verb 'enter' (#3,9) is repeated.

In the following both Stat and Exp:Sequence sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> chu tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> galgo<sub>4</sub> a'lī<sub>5</sub> na<sub>6</sub> i'xchic<sub>7</sub> rey<sub>8</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> chā'lh<sub>10</sub>;  
tanūlh<sub>11</sub> lā'<sub>12</sub> quftayali<sub>13</sub> i'xpulatu<sub>14</sub> tasqui'ni<sub>15</sub> lā'<sub>16</sub> lē'nilh<sub>17</sub> huan<sub>18</sub>  
to'kotzīn<sub>18</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so then<sub>2</sub> the greyhound<sub>3,4</sub> went<sub>5</sub> to<sub>6</sub> the king's house<sub>7,8</sub> and<sub>9</sub> he arrived<sub>10</sub>; he entered<sub>11</sub> and<sub>12</sub> went and got<sub>13</sub> the bride's plate<sub>14,15</sub> and<sub>16</sub> took it<sub>17</sub> to the old woman<sub>18,18</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; Stat:Sequence sentence #3-10 [Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #3-8 (Bc:intr. cl.); link: #9; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #10 (Bc:intr. cl.)];

Exp:Sequence sentence #11-19 [Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #11 (Bc:intr. cl.); link: #12; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #13-15 (Bc:trans. cl.); link: #16; Act<sub>3</sub>:Clause Base sentence #17-19 (Bc:ditr. cl.)]. The lexical tie is the connection between arriving (#10) and entering (#11).

The following Paraphrase sentence functions as A P E R T U R E of a discourse:

i'xui'<sub>1</sub> kalhatin<sub>2</sub> ka'hua'chu<sub>3</sub>; i'xtacufni'<sub>4</sub> xihuān<sub>5</sub> cā'lhca'cā'n<sub>6</sub>.

'There was<sub>1</sub> one<sub>2</sub> boy<sub>3</sub>; his name<sub>4</sub> (was) John<sub>5</sub> of the ashes<sub>6</sub>'.

Stat:Clause Base sentence #1-3 [Bc:intr. cl.]; Exp:Clause Base sentence #4-6 [Bc:equat. cl.].

**2.2.4. Sequence Sentence.** The Sequence sentence, type 4, is a conjunctive series of sentences linked with *lā'* 'and'. However, the lexical data support their analysis as a unit. This sentence type has as its formula  $\pm \text{Peri} [+ \text{Act}_1 + \text{link} + \text{Act}_2 \pm (+ \text{link} + \text{Act}_3)^n]$ , in which Act<sub>1,2,3</sub> = Action or predication and Link is manifested by *lā'* 'and'. While the general pattern is for the Action tagmemes to be manifested by Clause Base sentences, they are also manifested by the Direct Quote sentence.

In the following, Act:Clause Base sentence:

*lā'*<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> tzu'ma'jāt<sub>4</sub> taxtulh<sub>5</sub> *lā'*<sub>6</sub> a'lh<sub>7</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> the girl<sub>3,4</sub> went out<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> left<sub>7</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #2-5 [Bc:intr. cl.]; link: #6; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #7 [Bc:intr. cl.].

nachipimpala'ya'<sub>1</sub> nac<sub>2</sub> lakatin<sub>3</sub> cālacchicni'<sub>4</sub> *lā'*<sub>5</sub> a'ntza'<sub>6</sub> nakalhas-qui'nīni'mpala'ya'<sub>7</sub>.

'You will arrive<sub>1</sub> at<sub>2</sub> one<sub>3</sub> town<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> there<sub>6</sub> you will ask again<sub>7</sub>'.

Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #1-4 [Bc:intr. cl.]; link: #5; Act:Clause Base sentence #6,7 [Bc:trans. cl.].

In this sentence, Act<sub>2</sub>:Direct Quote sentence:

*lā'*<sub>1</sub> i'xa'kxāk<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> huācax<sub>4</sub> laktzī'lh<sub>5</sub> lakatin<sub>6</sub> cha'ā'n<sub>7</sub> *lā'*<sub>8</sub> huanil<sub>9</sub>, 'ā'mā'<sub>10</sub> hui'xin<sub>11</sub> milfhua't<sub>12</sub> *lā'*<sub>13</sub> minchic<sub>14</sub> para<sub>15</sub> pō'ktun<sub>16</sub> minquiltamacuj<sub>17</sub>. "

'And<sub>1</sub> (as for) the cow's head<sub>2-4</sub>, he saw<sub>5</sub> one<sub>6</sub> ant<sub>7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> said to it<sub>9</sub>, "Here it is<sub>10</sub>, you<sub>11</sub>, your food<sub>12</sub> and<sub>13</sub> your house<sub>14</sub> for<sub>15</sub> the rest of your days<sub>16,17</sub>".

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; ST: #2-4; Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #5-7 [Bc:trans. cl. #5-7]; link: #8; Act<sub>2</sub>:Direct Quote sentence #9-17 [QF:Clause Base sentence #9 (Bc:ditr. cl.); Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT: Clause Base sentence #10-17 <Bc:intr. cl.>)].

In Sequence sentences, the predominant pattern is for both actions to carry the same tense. Two exceptions were found in our present corpus. *lā'*<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> lūhua<sub>3</sub> i'xlē'mā'<sub>4</sub> i'xmacatzātāt<sub>5</sub> *lā'*<sub>6</sub> hui'īlh<sub>7</sub> tanquilhni'<sub>8</sub>. 'And<sub>1</sub> the snake<sub>2,3</sub> was wearing<sub>4</sub> his ring<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> he put it<sub>7</sub> (in the) patio<sub>8</sub>'. In this sentence, Action<sub>1</sub>: #5 'was wearing' represents a continued action in the past; Action<sub>2</sub>: #7 'he put it' terminates that action and is completed past action.

The second exception is somewhat different. *lā'*<sub>1</sub> mācutupā<sub>2</sub> *lā'*<sub>3</sub>

macatō'lapala<sub>4</sub> na<sub>5</sub> i'xmacan<sub>6</sub>. 'And<sub>1</sub> he took it out again<sub>2</sub> and<sub>3</sub> puts it again<sub>4</sub> on<sub>5</sub> his hand<sub>6</sub>'. Although both actions took place in past time, the action of #4 'puts it on again' (a ring) is subsequent to the action of #2 'he took it out again' (took the ring out of the room). The first action preceded the second action and is expressed by the change of tense (from past to present).

2.2.5. Alternative Sentence. The Alternative sentence, type 5, is a disjunctive series of sentences joined by the Alternative Hinge o 'or'. The bond between the component sentences of an Alternative sentence is stronger than that between the component sentences of a Sequence sentence. In that o 'or' does not manifest Conjunction<sub>2</sub> of the periphery of sentences, an Alternative sentence cannot be decomposed into a series of disconnected sentences. On the other hand, since lā' 'and' not only manifests Link of the Sequence sentence but also Conjunction<sub>1</sub> of the periphery, a Sequence sentence could conceivably be so decomposed.

The formula for the Alternative sentence is  $\pm \text{Peri} [+ \text{Prop}_1 + \text{alt} + \text{Prop}_2 \pm (+\text{alt} + \text{Prop}_3)]$  where  $\text{Prop}_{1,2,3}$  = Propositions and alt = the Alternative Hinge o 'or'. The Propositions of an Alternative sentence may be manifested by Particle Base sentences (especially in conversation), Clause Base, Conditional, and Indirect Quote sentences.

Alternative sentences have a very limited distribution. In a body of text containing approximately 2000 sentences, only eight examples were found. Of these eight, three manifested Purpose Margins and one Temporal Margin in the periphery of the embedding sentence.

The following Paraphrase sentence contains an Alternative sentence with Prop:Clause Base sentence and Particle Base sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> chuhua'<sub>2</sub> quit<sub>3</sub> i'cca'tz'ic'u'tun<sub>4</sub>; hui'xina'n<sub>5</sub>, hui'xina'n<sub>6</sub> mas<sub>7</sub> māpa'ksti'nā'tit<sub>8</sub> o<sub>9</sub> quit<sub>10</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> now<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub> want to know<sub>4</sub>; you all<sub>5</sub>, do you rule<sub>6,6</sub> more<sub>7</sub> or<sub>9</sub> I<sub>10</sub>?'  
cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; Stat:Clause Base sentence #3,4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; Exp:Alternative sentence #5-10 [voc: #5; Prop<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #6-8 (Bc:intrans. cl.); alt: #9; Prop<sub>2</sub>:Particle Base sentence #10].

The following Alternative sentence has Prop:Particle Base sentence and Conditional sentence:

a'katlā'tus<sub>1</sub> o<sub>2</sub> palh<sub>3</sub> lacasqui'na'<sub>4</sub> na'i'ctiō<sub>5</sub> lakal<sub>6</sub>.

'Later<sub>1</sub> or<sub>2</sub> if<sub>3</sub> you want<sub>4</sub>, I'll do it<sub>5</sub> tomorrow<sub>6</sub>'.

Prop<sub>1</sub>:Particle Base sentence #1; alt: #2; Prop<sub>2</sub>:Conditional sentence #3-6 [cond: #3; Pro:Clause Base sentence #4 (Bc:trans. cl.); Apo:Clause Base sentence #5,6 (Bc:trans. cl.)].

The following sentence contains a Purpose Margin:Relator-Axis sentence whose Axis:Alternative sentence. In this Alternative sentence Prop<sub>2</sub>: Indirect Quote sentence:

nata'a'n<sub>1</sub> siempre<sub>2</sub> tatlakatē<sub>3</sub> huā'<sub>4</sub> a'ntf<sub>5</sub> lēj<sub>6</sub> sla'knanācha'<sub>7</sub> a ver<sub>8</sub> tuchū<sub>9</sub> i'xpālacata<sub>10</sub> o<sub>11</sub> tichū<sub>12</sub> huanin'f'ti<sub>13</sub> lēj<sub>14</sub> nasla'knan<sub>15</sub>.

'they will go<sub>1</sub> anyhow<sub>2</sub> to forcefully bring<sub>3</sub> the one who<sub>4,5</sub> there plays the violin<sub>7</sub> much<sub>8</sub> to ascertain<sub>9</sub> what<sub>9</sub> (is) the cause<sub>10</sub> or<sub>11</sub> who<sub>12</sub> told him<sub>13</sub> (that) he should play<sub>15</sub> so much<sub>14</sub>'.

N: #1-7 [Bc:trans. cl.]; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #8-15 [Rel: #8, 9; Ax:Alternative sentence #9-15 (Prop<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9, 10 <Bc:equat. cl.>); alt: #11; Prop<sub>2</sub>:Indirect Quote sentence #12-15 <IQF:Clause Base sentence #12, 13 {Bc:interrog. ditr. cl.}; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph {PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #14, 15 <<Bc:intr. cl.>>>)]. Note that #9 tuchū 'what' is portmanteau, i. e., a ver tuchū is the Relator and tuchū is also the first word of the Axis.

2.2.6. Adversative Sentence. The Adversative sentence, type 6, is an antithetical conjunction of two sentences. The Adversative Hinge pero 'but' joins the two nuclear tagmemes, Thesis and Antithesis. It is possible for the Thesis to be elliptical or to be completely omitted. When omitted, it may be found in a previous sentence or be inferred from broader context.

The formula for type 6 sentence is  $\pm \text{Peri} ([\pm \text{cm} + \text{Thesis}]^2 +/\pm \text{adv: pero/lā}' + \text{Anti})$  in which cm = Concessive Marker manifested by masqui or a'yuj<sup>5</sup> 'although, even though' and adv = the Adversative Hinge. The Thesis may be manifested by a Particle Base, Clause Base or Conditional sentence. The Antithesis may be manifested by these same sentence types plus the Indirect Quote sentence.

A sub-type of Adversative sentence is the Concessive Adversative. It is characterized by the Concessive Markers masqui (mas que) and a'yuj. These markers may appear by themselves or in conjunction with the Adversative Hinge. The reading and permutation rules for the Adversative sentence are: (1) The Adversative is manifested by pero/lā' when co-occurring with the Concessive Marker (+ cm  $\pm$  adv:pero/lā'); otherwise by pero (- cm + adv:pero). (2) (+ cm + Thesis) may permute to final position; then - adv. Repetition of Concessive Marker and Thesis occurs in our data in but one elliptical sentence where the Anti-thesis is omitted.

In the following, Thesis and Anti:Clause Base sentences:

lā'<sub>1</sub> chu tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xua'cu'tun<sub>3</sub> pero<sub>4</sub> tūlah<sub>5</sub> hua'lh<sub>6</sub> porque<sub>7</sub> lēj<sub>8</sub> xū'ni'<sub>9</sub> lanini'lh<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> i'xchahu<sub>12</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so then<sub>2</sub> she wanted to eat it<sub>3</sub> but<sub>4</sub> she couldn't eat it<sub>5, 8</sub> because<sub>7</sub> her food<sub>11, 12</sub> had become<sub>10</sub> very<sub>8</sub> bitter<sub>9</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1, 2; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #3 (Bc:trans. cl.); adv: #4; Anti:Clause Base sentence #5-12 (Bc:trans. cl. #5, 6; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #7-12).

The following Indirect Quote sentence contains an Adversative sentence whose Anti:Conditional sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> rey<sub>3</sub> huanli<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> chō'la<sub>6</sub> tzey<sub>7</sub> pero<sub>8</sub> palh<sub>9</sub> i'xtzu'ma'-jāt<sub>10</sub> calacasqui'lh<sub>11</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> the king<sub>2, 3</sub> told him<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> probably<sub>6</sub> (it was) okay<sub>7</sub> but<sub>8</sub> if<sub>9</sub> his daughter<sub>10</sub> should want it<sub>11</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; IQF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; sq: #5; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Adversative sentence #6-11 (Thesis:Clause Base sentence #6, 7 <Bc:equat. cl.>); adv: #8; Anti:Conditional sentence #9-11 <cond: #9; Pro:Clause Base sentence

<sup>5</sup>The only example of a'yuj 'although' found in text was not followed by a full clause. It is used in conversation, but examples are lacking.

#10, 11 {Bc:inj. trans. cl. }; Apo:ellipsis>]. The inferred Apodosis is that 'it would be okay'.

In the following, Anti:Indirect Quote sentence:

quintzu'ma'jatca'n<sub>1</sub> f'scujmā'<sub>2</sub> pero<sub>3</sub> hui'x<sub>4</sub> i'xua'na'<sub>5</sub> palh<sub>6</sub> mi'amī-go<sub>7</sub> lēj<sub>8</sub> skalalh<sub>9</sub> hua'chī<sub>10</sub> hui'x<sub>11</sub>.

'Our daughter<sub>1</sub> was working<sub>2</sub> but<sub>3</sub> you<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> your friend<sub>7</sub> (was) very<sub>8</sub> clever<sub>9</sub> like<sub>10</sub> you<sub>11</sub>'.

Thesis:Clause Base sentence #1, 2 (Bc:intr. cl.); adv: #3; Anti:Indirect Quote sentence #4-11 [IQF:Clause Base sentence #4, 5 (Bc:trans. cl.); sq: #6; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #7-11 <Bc:equat. cl.>)].

In the paragraphs which follow are illustrated the various possible readings for Concessive Adversative sentences. Each paragraph has one reading presented, followed by an example of that reading.

Reading + cm + Thesis + adv:lā' + Anti (in an Adversative sentence which manifests Anti of an embedding Adversative sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> tantu<sub>2</sub> tilali<sub>3</sub> pero<sub>4</sub> por masqui<sub>5</sub> i'xpuhuan<sub>6</sub> a'nchī' i'xlīcāyā-huani'lh<sub>8</sub> i'xmacan'f'n<sub>9</sub>, lā'<sub>10</sub> tūlah'tza'<sub>11</sub> cāyāhuani'lh<sub>12</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2</sub> he tried<sub>3</sub>; but<sub>4</sub> even though<sub>5</sub> he pondered<sub>6</sub> how<sub>7</sub> he would attach<sub>8</sub> its foot<sub>9</sub>, still<sub>10</sub> he couldn't yet<sub>11</sub> attach it<sub>12</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #2, 3 [Bc:intr. cl.]; adv: #4; Anti:Adversative sentence #5-12 [cm: #5; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #6-9 (Bc:trans. cl.); adv: #10; Anti:Clause Base sentence #11, 12 (Bc:trans. ref. cl.)].

Reading +cm +Thesis +adv:pero +Anti:

lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> masqui<sub>3</sub> cahua'ni'<sub>4</sub> hua'chī<sub>5</sub> hua'ni'<sub>6</sub> quintāta'<sub>7</sub> pero<sub>8</sub> xla'<sub>9</sub> tū'<sub>10</sub> cati'a'ka'f'lh<sub>11</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> that one<sub>2</sub> even though<sub>3</sub> you tell her<sub>4</sub> as<sub>5</sub> you told<sub>6</sub> my father<sub>7</sub>, but<sub>8</sub> she<sub>9</sub> won't believe it<sub>10, 11</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; ST: #2; cm: #3; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #4-7 [Bc:inj. ditr. cl.]; adv: #8; Anti:Clause Base sentence #9-11 [Bc:inj. trans. cl.].

Reading +cm +Thesis +Anti (in a Direct Quote sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> tzu'ma'jāt<sub>3</sub> tihualh<sub>4</sub>, "pero<sub>5</sub> masqui<sub>6</sub> tū'<sub>7</sub>, capit<sub>8</sub>."

'And<sub>1</sub> the girl<sub>2</sub> said<sub>3</sub>, "But<sub>5</sub> even though<sub>6</sub> not<sub>7</sub>, go<sub>8</sub>!"

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Adversative sentence #5-8 (cj<sub>2</sub>: #5; cm: #6; Thesis:Particle Base sentence #7; Anti:Clause Base sentence <Bc:inj. intr. cl. #8>)].

Reading and Permutation + Anti + cm + Thesis (- adv):

lā'<sub>1</sub> por eso<sub>2</sub> tū'<sub>3</sub> i'xquilflaktzī'na'<sub>4</sub> masqui<sub>5</sub> pō'ktu<sub>6</sub> xa'i'ctētāxtu<sub>7</sub> huā'tzā'<sub>8</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> therefore<sub>2</sub> you didn't see me<sub>3, 4</sub> even though<sub>5</sub> always<sub>6</sub> I was passing by here<sub>7, 8</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Anti:Clause Base sentence #2-4 (Bc:anaphoric trans. cl.); cm: #5; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #6-8 (Bc:intr. ref. cl.).

Reading [+ cm + Thesis]<sup>2</sup> (in Direct Quote sentence):

lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> kalhtfnilh<sub>3</sub>, "tū'<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> xa'nca<sub>6</sub>, pero<sub>7</sub> makatna<sub>8</sub> tze<sub>9</sub> i'c-

macahui'lfnī<sub>10</sub>, lā'<sub>11</sub> masqui<sub>12</sub> tū'<sub>13</sub> caquimāpala'<sub>14</sub>, masqui<sub>15</sub> xmān<sub>18</sub> quintahuā'<sub>17</sub> na'i'ctlaja<sub>18</sub>."

'And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> answered<sub>3</sub>, "Not<sub>4</sub> very well<sub>5,6</sub>, but<sub>7</sub> somewhat<sub>8</sub> I can shoe them<sub>9,10</sub>, and<sub>11</sub> even though<sub>12</sub> you don't pay me<sub>13,14</sub>, even though<sub>15</sub> I earn<sub>18</sub> my food<sub>17</sub> only<sub>16</sub>".

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2-3 [Bc:trans. cl.]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Sequence sentence #4-18 (Act<sub>1</sub>:Adversative sentence #4-10 <Thesis:Particle Base sentence #4-6; adv: #7; Anti:Clause Base sentence #8-10 {Bc:trans. cl.}>; link: #11; Act<sub>2</sub>:Adversative sentence #12-18 <cm: #12; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #13,14 {Bc:inj. ditr. cl.}; cm: #15; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #16-18 {Bc:trans. cl.}; Anti:ellipsis>)].

In conversation, a reduced Adversative sentence (with ellipsis of Adversative Hinge and Antithesis) is used for correction or mild reproof: i'xquimaxqui' 'You ought to have given it to me (but you didn't)'. i'xua'ni' 'lakalfn<sub>2</sub> na'nāhu<sub>3</sub>' 'You ought to have said to her<sub>1</sub>, "Lets go<sub>3</sub> tomorrow<sub>2</sub>".<sup>6</sup>

**2.2.7. Result Sentence.** Sentence type 7 is a Result sentence, the signal being tantu/o 'so much' or a tantu/o phrase (de tantu, tantu que). The two component nuclear tagmemes are the motivation or stimulus and the resulting action. The Stimulus is manifested by a Clause Base sentence. The Result may be manifested by Clause Base, Sequence, Adversative, or Direct Quote sentences. The Stimulus and Result may permute. The formula for sentence type 7 is ± Pert (+ Stim ± link + Res) in which the link is a conjunction.

The word tantu or a tantu phrase sometimes functions in other sentence types simply to intensify the action of the predicate and is translated 'very, very much, so much'. The following transformation rule serves to separate the above use of tantu from its use in true Result sentences. Any Stimulus-Result nucleus may be transformed to a sentence type in which the string manifesting Result tagmeme functions as Cause Margin by: (a) permuting the order of the two original components, so that the string which manifested Result comes first; (b) substituting porque 'because' for tantu.

In the following Stim and Res:Clause Base sentences:

lā'<sub>1</sub> de tantu<sub>2</sub> i'xtajicuā't<sub>3</sub> tūlahhtza'<sub>4</sub> tzā'lanī'lh<sub>5</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2</sub> (was) her fear<sub>3</sub>, she could not now<sub>4</sub> flee from him<sub>5</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Stim:Clause Base sentence #2,3 (Bc:equat. cl.); Res:Clause Base sentence #4,5 (Bc:intr. ref. cl.).

In this Result sentence Stim and Res are Permuted:

lā'<sub>1</sub> tūlahhtza'<sub>2</sub> lhtatalh<sub>3</sub> de tantu<sub>4</sub> i'xpāstaca<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> chf<sub>7</sub> i'xlflaka'lh<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> ta'lātna'<sub>10</sub> na<sub>11</sub> i'xcuarto<sub>12</sub> para que<sub>13</sub> i'xa'lh<sub>14</sub> laktzī'n<sub>15</sub> mas<sub>16</sub> xa'nca<sub>17</sub> que<sub>18</sub> tuchūyā<sub>19</sub> pūmaksko<sub>20</sub> i'xka'lh<sub>21</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> he was unable now<sub>2</sub> to sleep<sub>3</sub>, so much<sub>4</sub> he was thinking<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> how<sub>7</sub> he would visit<sub>8</sub> the hunter<sub>9</sub>, in<sub>10</sub> his room<sub>12</sub> in order to<sub>13</sub> go see<sub>14,15</sub> better<sub>16,17</sub> what sort of<sub>18,19</sub> light<sub>20</sub> he had<sub>21</sub>'.

<sup>6</sup>Occurrence of contrary-to-fact tense i'x- on these verbs implies presence of an Apodosis.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Res:Clause Base sentence #2,3 (Bc:intr. cl.); Stim:Indirect Quote sentence #4-21 [IQF:Clause Base sentence #4,5 (Bc:trans. cl.); sq: #6; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #7-21 <Bc:intr. diref. cl. #7-12; PM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #13-21>)].

In the following, Res:Sequence sentence:

pero<sub>1</sub> de tantu<sub>2</sub> tasācua'<sub>3</sub> i'xka'lh<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> rey<sub>6</sub>, i'xtzumatzā'<sub>7</sub> i'x-chicca'n<sub>8</sub> tasācua'<sub>9</sub> lā'<sub>10</sub> tūlatzā'<sub>11</sub> a'nlhā'<sub>12</sub> i'lhtatalh<sub>13</sub> huan<sub>14</sub> ta'lātna'<sub>15</sub>.

'But<sub>1</sub> so many<sub>2</sub> peons<sub>3</sub> had<sub>4</sub> the king<sub>5,6</sub>, the peons<sub>7</sub> filled<sub>8</sub> their house<sub>9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> there was now no room<sub>11</sub> where<sub>12</sub> the hunter<sub>14,15</sub> would sleep<sub>13</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Stim:Clause Base sentence #2-6 [Bc:trans. cl.]; Res:Sequence sentence #7-15 [Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #7-9 (Bc:intr. cl.); link: #10; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #11-15 (Bc:intr. cl.)].

In the following, Res:Adversative sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> de tantu<sub>2</sub> quintajicuā'<sub>3</sub> masqui<sub>4</sub> i'ctitu'jnuncu'tulh<sub>5</sub> pero<sub>6</sub> tūlah-tza'<sub>7</sub> i'ctlajalh<sub>8</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2</sub> (was) my fear<sub>3</sub>, even though<sub>4</sub> I wanted to run<sub>5</sub>, still<sub>6</sub> I was unable now<sub>7</sub> to gain (on him)<sub>8</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Stim:Clause Base sentence #2,3 [Bc:equat. cl.]; Res:Adversative sentence #4-8 [cm: #4; Thesis:Clause Base sentence #5 (Bc:intr. cl.); adv: #6; Anti:Clause Base sentence #7,8 (Bc:trans. cl.)].

In the following, Res:Direct Quote sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> de tantutza'<sub>2</sub> i'xta'satēlha<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> a'xmi'ca'<sub>5</sub> tā'chihuina'lh<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> chichi'<sub>8</sub>, 'lā'<sub>9</sub> tuchū'<sub>10</sub> tāntu'<sub>11</sub> lfta'saya'<sub>12</sub>?"

'And<sub>1</sub> so much now<sub>2</sub> he went along crying<sub>3</sub> and<sub>4</sub> then<sub>5</sub> the dog<sub>7,8</sub> spoke<sub>6</sub>, "And<sub>9</sub> what<sub>10</sub> makes you cry<sub>12</sub> so much<sub>11</sub>?"'

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; Stim:Clause Base sentence #2,3 [Bc:intr. cl.]; link: #4,5; Res:Direct Quote sentence #6-12 [QF:Clause Base sentence #6-8 (Bc:intr. ref. cl.); Q:PRECATORY paragraph (ENTREATY:Clause Base sentence #9-12 <Bc:interrog. anaphoric intr. ref. cl.>)].

**2.2.8. Conditional Sentence.** The Conditional sentence, type 8, has two subtypes, the general condition and the contrary-to-fact condition. In the general conditional sentence, there is unrestricted distribution of tenses, while in the contrary-to-fact conditional sentence only the contrary-to-fact tense occurs. Any of the four possible combinations of negative and positive Protasis and Apodosis may occur in either subtype.

Although there is unrestricted distribution of tenses in the general conditional sentence, the tense of the Protasis often antedates that of the Apodosis. The Protasis may be manifested by a Particle Base, Clause Base, or Indirect Quote sentence. Clause Base and Indirect Quote sentences manifest the Apodosis. The Protasis and Apodosis may permute. Sentence formula for type 8 is ± Peri (+ cond +Pro + Apo) where cond = Conditional Sentence Marker palh 'if' or xmán 'only' or 'just'. The Protasis may be repeated for emphasis after the Apodosis.

In the following, Pro:Indirect Quote sentence; Apo:Clause Base sentence:

palh<sub>1</sub> lacasqui'na'<sub>2</sub> na'i'ccacu'calē'nān<sub>3</sub>, na'i'ccacu'calē'nān<sub>4</sub>.

'If<sub>1</sub> you want<sub>2</sub> (that) I carry you<sub>3</sub>, I'll carry you<sub>4</sub>'.

cond: #1; Pro:Indirect Quote sentence #2,3 [IQF:Clause Base sentence #2 (Bc:trans. cl.); IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT: Clause Base sentence #3 <Bc:trans. cl.>)]; Apo:Clause Base sentence #4 [Bc:trans. cl.].

In the following, Pro:Clause Base sentence; Apo:Indirect Quote sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> palh<sub>2</sub> tū'<sub>3</sub> i'xtlahualh<sub>4</sub>, i'xuanimā'ca<sub>5</sub> nā<sub>6</sub> namaknīcan<sub>7</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> if<sub>2</sub> she would not do it<sub>3,4</sub>, she was being told<sub>5</sub> (that) she will be killed<sub>7</sub> also<sub>6</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; cond: #2; Pro:Clause Base sentence #3,4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; Apo:Indirect Quote sentence #5-7 [IQF:Clause Base sentence #5 (Bc:indef. subj. ditr. cl.); IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT: Clause Base sentence #6,7 <Bc:indef. trans. cl.>)].

In the following Direct Quote sentence there is a Conditional sentence whose Pro:Particle Base sentence:

"lā'<sub>1</sub> chō'm<sub>2</sub> palh<sub>3</sub> tū'<sub>4</sub>, na'i'cmaknī'yānī'<sub>5</sub>, " huanilh<sub>6</sub>.

"And<sub>1</sub> now<sub>2</sub> if<sub>3</sub> not<sub>4</sub>, I will kill you<sub>5</sub>," he said to him<sub>6</sub>.

Direct Quote sentence #1-6 [Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph (PRONOUNCEMENT:Conditional sentence #1-5 <cj<sub>2</sub>: #1,2; cond: #3; Pro:Particle Base sentence #4; Apo:Clause Base sentence #5 {Bc:trans. cl. }>); QF: Clause Base sentence #6 (Bc:ditr. cl.)].

**2.2.9. Indirect Quote Sentence.** The Indirect Quote sentence, type 9, is represented by the formula  $\pm \text{Perl} (+ \text{IQF} + [\pm \text{sq} + \text{IQ}]^n)$  in which IQF = Indirect Quotation Formula and is manifested by Clause Base sentences containing a set of verbs which express speech, thought, audition, desire, etc. In reference to the paragraph structure described in the following chapter it is useful to distinguish two sub-types in the Indirect Quote sentence: Sub-type A whose Indirect Quotation Formula contains a verb of speaking, writing or thinking--specifically a verb which may also occur in the Quotation Formula of the Direct Quote sentence; Sub-type B whose Indirect Quotation Formula contains any other verb provided that what would be the Indirect Quoted (IQ) is not introduced by a'ntū 'which, what', a'ntī 'who', or a'nchī 'how', clause-level relators.<sup>7</sup> The Indirect Quoted is manifested by a minimal form of one of the colloquy paragraph types (see 3.2) whose tagmemes are manifested by Particle Base, Clause Base, Sequence, Adversative, Indirect Quote, or Direct Quote sentences. The sq = Sign of Quote, and when present is manifested by que 'that' and occasionally palh 'if'. A string of (sq + IQ)<sup>n</sup> may substitute lā' 'and' for que 'that' in any of the occurrences except the first. Such strings of (sq + IQ)<sup>n</sup> have the structure of a non-minimal colloquy paragraph.

<sup>7</sup>When a clause-level relator follows a verb which might otherwise indicate Indirect Quote, the clause introduced is analyzed as object of the verb.



IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence]:

nahuani'yā<sub>1</sub> quit<sub>2</sub> i'cta'sani<sub>3</sub>.

'You will tell him<sub>1</sub> (that) I<sub>2</sub> call him<sub>3</sub>'.

IQF:Clause Base sentence #1 [Bc:ditr. cl.]; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #2, 3 (Bc:trans. ref. cl.)].

IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Sequence sentence]:

lā<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> rey<sub>3</sub> kalhtfni'mpā<sub>4</sub>, "chū<sub>5</sub> tū<sub>6</sub> i'ccāhuanini<sub>7</sub> que<sub>8</sub> tūla<sub>9</sub> lā<sub>10</sub> tū<sub>11</sub> lacasqui'n<sub>12</sub> quintzu'ma'jāt<sub>13</sub>?"

'And<sub>1</sub> the king<sub>2,3</sub> answered him again<sub>4</sub>, "And<sub>5</sub> did I not tell you<sub>6,7</sub> that<sub>8</sub> it is impossible<sub>9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> my daughter<sub>13</sub> doesn't want it<sub>11,12</sub>?"

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:ditr. cl.]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Indirect Quote sentence #5-13 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #5-7 <Bc:interrog. ditr. cl.>; sq: #8; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Sequence sentence #9-13 {Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #9 <<Bc:intr. cl.>>; link: #10; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #11-13 <<Bc:trans. cl.>>}>)].

IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Adversative sentence]:

lā<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> rey<sub>3</sub> huanli<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> chō'la<sub>6</sub> tzey<sub>7</sub> pero<sub>8</sub> palh<sub>9</sub> i'xtzu'ma'jāt<sub>10</sub> calacasqui'lh<sub>11</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> the king<sub>2,3</sub> told him<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> probably<sub>6</sub> (it was) okay<sub>7</sub> but<sub>8</sub> if<sub>9</sub> his daughter<sub>10</sub> should want it<sub>11</sub>'.

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; IQF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:trans. cl.]; sq: #5; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Adversative sentence #6-11 (Thesis:Clause Base sentence #6, 7 <Bc:equat. cl.>; adv: #8; Anti:Conditional sentence #9-11 <cond. #9; Pro:Clause Base sentence #10, 11 {Bc:inj. trans. cl.}; Apo:ellipsis>)].

IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Indirect Quote sentence]:

quit<sub>1</sub> i'ckaxmatn'tin<sub>2</sub> quintā'taca'ni<sub>3</sub> que<sub>4</sub> kalhachihufna'līn<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> nalē'nāni<sub>7</sub> cireno<sub>8</sub>.

'I<sub>1</sub> heard<sub>2</sub> our father<sub>3</sub> that<sub>4</sub> he talked<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> the siren<sub>6</sub> will take you<sub>7</sub>'.

IQF:Clause Base sentence #1-3 [Bc:trans. cl.]; sq: #4; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Indirect Quote sentence #5-8 (IQF:Clause Base sentence #5 <Bc:trans. cl.>; sq: #6; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph <PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #7, 8 {Bc:trans. cl.}>)].

IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Direct Quote sentence]:

lē'nill<sub>1</sub> rey<sub>2</sub> porque<sub>3</sub> i'xkaxmatn'ti<sub>4</sub> reyin<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> i'xuanf'ti<sub>7</sub>, "A'ntf<sub>8</sub> namakni<sub>9</sub> serpente<sub>10</sub> u'tza<sub>11</sub> natā'tapuchō<sub>12</sub> quintzu'ma'jāt<sub>13</sub>, " i'xuanf't<sub>14</sub>.

'He took it<sub>1</sub> (to the) king<sub>2</sub> because<sub>3</sub> he had heard<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> the king<sub>5</sub> had said<sub>7</sub>, "The one who<sub>8</sub> will kill<sub>9</sub> the serpent<sub>10</sub>, that one<sub>11</sub> will marry<sub>12</sub> my daughter<sub>13</sub>, " he had said<sub>14</sub>'.

Clause Base sentence #1-14 [N: #1, 2; CaM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #3-14 (Rel: #3; Ax:Indirect Quote sentence #4-14 <IQF:Clause Base

sentence #4,5 {Bc:trans. cl. }; sq: #6; IQ:DECLAMATORY paragraph {PRONOUNCEMENT:Direct Quote sentence #7-14 <<QF:Clause Base sentence #7 { {Bc:trans. cl. } } }; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph { {PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #8-13 <<<ST: #8-10; Bc:intr. ref. cl. #11, 13>>> } } }; QF:Clause Base sentence #14 { {Bc:trans. cl. } >>> } } ]].

2.2.10. Direct Quote Sentence. Sentence type 10 is the Direct Quote sentence. The formula is  $\pm \text{Peri} (\pm \text{QF} \pm \text{sq} + \text{Q} \pm \text{QF})$  in which QF = the Quotation Formula manifested by Clause Base or Sequence sentences containing verbs meaning 'say, respond, ask, answer, etc. '; and Q = the Quoted manifested by any colloquy paragraph type. The only obligatory tagmeme is the Quoted; however, the predominant pattern is to have the Quotation Formula preposed to the Quoted. The Quoted sometimes has a formal closure indicated by a postposed Quotation Formula. Sentences of any type may manifest the tagmemes of the colloquy paragraph which manifests the Quoted.

Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Particle Base sentence]:

'chū<sub>1</sub> tzey<sub>2</sub>" huan<sub>3</sub> i'xamigo<sub>4</sub>.

'Well okay<sub>1,2</sub>," his friend<sub>4</sub> said to him<sub>3</sub>.

Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Particle Base sentence #1,2]; QF:Clause Base sentence #3,4 [Bc:ditr. cl. ].

Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Conditional sentence]:

lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> ka'hua'chu<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub>, 'pus<sub>5</sub> palh<sub>6</sub> tuntū'<sub>7</sub> sputni'<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> i'xa'kxāk<sub>10</sub> entonces<sub>11</sub> cakalhxa'pā'tit<sub>12</sub>".

'And<sub>1</sub> the boy<sub>2</sub>, says<sub>4</sub>, "Well<sub>5</sub> if<sub>6</sub> nothing<sub>7</sub> is missing<sub>8</sub> (on) its head<sub>9,10</sub>, then<sub>11</sub> open its mouth<sub>12</sub>".

cj<sub>2</sub>: #1; QF:Clause Base sentence #2-4 [Bc:trans. cl. ]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Conditional sentence #5-12 (cj<sub>2</sub>: #5; cond: #6; Pro:Clause Base sentence #7-10 <Bc:intr. ref. cl. >; Apo:Clause Base sentence #11,12 <cj<sub>2</sub>: #11; Bc:inj. trans. cl. #12>)].

In the Direct Quote sentence below, the Quotation Formula is manifested by a Sequence sentence:

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> tǎyacha'<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub> ta'salh<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> hualh<sub>8</sub>, 'laka-xo'ko<sub>9</sub> quimakn'i'lh<sub>10</sub>."

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the rooster<sub>4,5</sub> stood there<sub>3</sub>, he cried<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> said<sub>8</sub>, "The one-eyed man<sub>9</sub> killed me<sub>10</sub>".

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2-5 [Rel: #2; Ax:Clause Base sentence #3-5 (Bc:intr. cl. )]; QF:Sequence sentence #6-8 [Act<sub>1</sub>:Clause Base sentence #6 (Bc:trans. cl. ); link: #7; Act<sub>2</sub>:Clause Base sentence #8 (Bc:trans. cl. )]; Q:DECLAMATORY paragraph [PRONOUNCEMENT:Clause Base sentence #9,10 (Bc:trans. cl. )].

Q:EJACULATORY paragraph [EXCLAMATION:Clause Base sentence; AMPLIFICATION:Result sentence; AMPLIFICATION:Clause Base sentence; PLAN:Clause Base sentence]:

lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> catalāpāxtokli<sub>3</sub> tahuanilh<sub>4</sub> i'xtā'tinca'n<sub>5</sub>, "čchā<sub>6</sub> u'tza'<sub>7</sub>

huā'mā'<sub>8</sub> mincahuayuj<sub>9</sub>? tūlatza'<sub>10</sub> tlā'huan<sub>11</sub> de tantutza'<sub>12</sub> scācni'<sub>13</sub>.  
lā'<sub>14</sub> lēj<sub>15</sub> ko'hua'jua'<sub>18</sub> f'silla<sub>17</sub>. mejor<sub>18</sub> cama'ka'<sub>19</sub>.

'And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> they met one another<sub>3</sub> his brothers<sub>5</sub> said to him<sub>4</sub>, 'Is that thing<sub>8-9</sub> your horse<sub>9</sub>? It can't any more<sub>10</sub> walk<sub>11</sub> (it is) so<sub>12</sub> skinny<sub>13</sub>. And<sub>14</sub> his saddle<sub>17</sub> (is) very<sub>15</sub> ugly<sub>18</sub>. Better<sub>18</sub> get rid of him<sub>19</sub>'.

cj<sub>1</sub>: #1; TM:Simple Relator-Axis sentence #2,3; QF:Clause Base sentence #4,5 [Bc:ditr. cl.]; Q:EJACULATORY paragraph [EXCLAMATION: Clause Base sentence #6-9 (Bc:equat. cl.); AMPLIFICATION:Result sentence #10-13 (Res:Clause Base sentence #10,11 <Bc:intr. cl.>; Stim: Clause Base sentence #12,13 <Bc:equat. cl.>); AMPLIFICATION: Clause Base sentence #14-16 (cj<sub>2</sub>: #14; Bc:equat. cl. #15,16); PLAN:Clause Base sentence #18,19 (Bc:inj. trans. cl.)].

2.2.11. Relator-Axis Sentence. Sentence type 11, the Relator-Axis sentence, does not fit into the regular system of sentences. It is a dependent sentence and is used only to manifest the peripheral margin tagmemes. Relator-Axis sentences may be either Simple or Compound. The formula for the Simple Relator-Axis sentence is: (+ Rel + Ax), in which Rel = Relator, and Ax = Axis. The Relator tagmeme is manifested by the set of words which introduce the four peripheral margins (see 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1.4). The Axis may be manifested by any of the sentence types except Particle Base.

The formula for a Compound Relator-Axis sentence is: + Rel<sub>1</sub> + Ax<sub>1</sub> + (± cj + Rel<sub>2</sub> + Ax<sub>2</sub>)<sup>n</sup>, in which the Relators have identical manifestations. The Relators and Axes are manifested in the same manner as for Simple Relator-Axis sentence.



### III. PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

**3.0. Introduction.** The purpose of this chapter is to describe in detail the grammatical structure of Totonac narrative and colloquy paragraphs. Contrasting paragraph types may be shown for Totonac, just as contrasting word, phrase, clause, and sentence types have been described in many languages. The structure of Totonac paragraphs may be summarized in tagmemic formulas which are in no essential way distinct from formulas which describe a grammatical structure on some lower level, for example clause or sentence. Furthermore, a given Totonac paragraph may be shown to have a tree structure which is in no essential way different from a tree structure of a sentence.

The Totonac paragraphs here described are narrative paragraphs and colloquy paragraphs embedded in narrative discourse. Probably the full analysis of the latter must await analysis of recorded spontaneous conversation among two or more Totonac speakers.

There are six narrative paragraph types constituting a system in two parameters. One parameter involves the distinction EVENT versus REPORTED MONOLOGUE versus REPORTED DIALOGUE. The other parameter distinguishes SIMPLE from COMPOUND. SIMPLE paragraphs have but one TIME HORIZON and one LOCALE. COMPOUND paragraphs have more than one TIME HORIZON and/or more than one LOCALE.

	EVENT	MONOLOGUE	DIALOGUE
SIMPLE	X	X	X
COMPOUND	X	X	X

Diagram IV. Narrative Paragraph Types

There are five colloquy paragraph types of which the SALUTATION is an initial paragraph type, DECLAMATORY, PRECATORY, and EJACULATORY are medial paragraph types, and DEPARTURE is a final paragraph type. The three systems of colloquy paragraphs can be combined in the following hyper system where SALUTATION initiates, and DEPARTURE closes, a conversational exchange in which the other colloquy paragraphs occur medially.

INITIAL	MEDIAL			FINAL
SALUTATION	DECLAMATORY	PRECATORY	EJACULATORY	DEPARTURE

Diagram V. Colloquy Paragraph Types

The narrative paragraphs are first described and exemplified in this paper, and then the colloquy paragraphs.

3.1. Narrative paragraphs. There are six contrasting paragraph nuclei. Any of these paragraph types may include peripheral tagmemes in the paragraph onset and terminus. A composite formula for Totonac narrative paragraphs follows:  $\pm$  ORIENTATION<sup>2</sup>  $\pm$  SETTING<sup>a</sup> (+ nucleus)  $\pm$  TERMINAL.

Paragraph onset includes two optional tagmemes: ORIENTATION and SETTING. In SIMPLE narrative paragraphs, ORIENTATION occurs only in the paragraph onset where it may occur twice when it is the same TIME HORIZON (see 3.1.1.1 DIAGRAM VI, and Chapter V, paragraphs #24 and #107). The ORIENTATION tagmeme gives the paragraph its primary orientation as to TIME HORIZON; it may also indicate LOCALE: In COMPOUND narrative paragraphs, more than one TIME HORIZON may occur; further TIME HORIZONS are indicated by (sentence-level) Temporal Margin tagmemes or (clause-level) time tagmeme, elsewhere in the paragraph. ORIENTATION may be manifested by a Clause Base sentence; or by a Paraphrase sentence; or by a Simple or Compound Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests (sentence-level) Temporal Margin; or by the first member of a Sequence sentence; or the first member of a Paraphrase sentence; or by a clause which simultaneously manifests (clause-level) time tagmeme.<sup>1</sup> ORIENTATION and SETTING may permute. The SETTING tagmeme presents the circumstances which form a background to the paragraph nucleus. SETTING tagmeme may be manifested by a Clause Base sentence; or by a Paraphrase sentence; or by a Sequence sentence;

<sup>1</sup>The above description of ORIENTATION and SETTING tagmemes assumes that a portion of a sentence may be a portmanteau manifestation both of a component sentence, a component tagmeme of that sentence, and a paragraph-level tagmeme. This would appear to violate hierarchy by splitting a construction on one level and assigning a part of it to higher level. It is, however, simply an extension of the highly useful concept of portmanteau realization of tagmemes on different levels. Furthermore, this portmanteau functioning of certain elements on both sentence and paragraph level has a parallel in the following:

In the Sierra Popoluca language of Southern Mexico and probably in several other languages in Mexico, we encounter such structures as; 'the man hit horse of him' where 'the man' and 'him' are not the same *dramatis persona*. The verb affixes formally indicate that an additional *dramatis persona* has been introduced into the situation. If the owner of the horse were the same *dramatis persona* as the subject, the verb affixes would not so indicate. Here we analyze 'the man' as subject, 'hit' as manifesting predicate, 'the horse' as manifesting object, and 'him' as manifesting benefactive or indirect object. Nevertheless, 'horse of him' is a noun phrase. 'of him' is a portmanteau manifestation both of possessor on the phrase-level, and of benefactive on the clause-level.

or by a Simple or Compound Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests (sentence-level) Circumstantial Margin.

Paragraph terminus includes only the optional TERMINAL tagmeme which is manifested by the following sentence types: Clause Base, Paraphrase, and Sequence. The TERMINAL tagmeme is a statement indicating fulfillment of that which is projected in the paragraph nucleus. The terminus may include a change of location which anticipates the onset of the following paragraph. Such change of location within the terminus is not considered to be diagnostic of a COMPOUND narrative paragraph.

The nuclei of EVENT paragraphs may be formularized as: + FOCAL ± DEVELOPMENT<sup>n</sup>. The nuclei of MONOLOGUE paragraphs may be formularized as: + SPEECH ± DEVELOPMENT<sup>n</sup>. The nuclei of DIALOGUE paragraphs may be formularized as: + INITIATING UTTERANCE + INITIATING RESPONSE (± DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE ± DEVELOPMENTAL RESPONSE)<sup>n</sup>.

3.1.1. Event paragraphs. In the SIMPLE and COMPOUND EVENT paragraphs there is an obligatory FOCAL tagmeme, and an optional DEVELOPMENT tagmeme which may occur more than once. The nucleus of the SIMPLE EVENT is distinct from that of the COMPOUND EVENT in that there is a further TIME HORIZON or a change of LOCALE indicated within the nucleus of the COMPOUND EVENT. Alternatively, however, the further TIME HORIZON or LOCALE which characterizes a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph may be indicated in the peripheral SETTING tagmeme. FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by the following sentence types: Clause Base, Paraphrase, Sequence, and Result, and Indirect Quote subtype B (see 2.2.9). DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by the following sentence types: Clause Base, Paraphrase, Sequence, Adversative, and Result. Sentences manifesting FOCAL or DEVELOPMENT in SIMPLE EVENT paragraphs do not contain a Temporal Margin; sentences manifesting FOCAL and DEVELOPMENT tagmemes in COMPOUND EVENT paragraphs may contain Temporal Margins. In addition, clause-level time and location tagmemes occur freely in COMPOUND EVENT paragraphs where they may indicate a TIME HORIZON or LOCALE distinct from that given in the paragraph onset.

In the examples which follow, the classification as to paragraph type is first given followed by the code number which refers to the location in the body of the text.<sup>2</sup> The Totonac paragraph is then given with an inter-linear translation. Each sentence of the example is numbered and is labelled (in parenthesis) as to tagmeme and manifestation (see Appendix B for abbreviations). A commentary follows each example. In commenting on certain examples we note participant elements as well--especially in regard to MONOLOGUE and DIALOGUE paragraphs where the identification of speakers is crucial. One tree diagram accompanies each paragraph type.

3.1.1.1. The following are examples of SIMPLE EVENT paragraph types.

<sup>2</sup>Sentence divisions in the text as processed by the computer program correspond only roughly to sentence divisions as later posited by Bishop.

SIMPLE EVENT paragraph TF 1. 1. (FOC:Para) I'xuf'  
There-was

kalhatin chi'xcu'; i'xka'lh<sup>f</sup> kalhatu'tun i'xo'kxa'n.  
a man; he-had three sons.

This paragraph contains only a FOCAL tagmeme which is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence. This Paraphrase sentence has participant elements kalhatin chi'xcu' 'one man', and kalhatu'tun i'xo'kxa'n 'his three sons'.

SIMPLE EVENT paragraph TF 40. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā' a'xni'ca'  
And when

chā'lh na i'xchic (FOC:CIB) tachā'lh con lhūhua'  
he-arrived at his-house they-arrived with much  
tapāxuhuān nā xla'ca'n.  
happiness also they.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 lā' a'xni'ca' chā'lh na i'xchic 'and when he arrived at his house'. The FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S. #1).

SIMPLE EVENT paragraph HR 3. 1. (ORI/T:nph) Lā' huanmā'  
And that

tzī'sa (ORI/TM:SR-A) a'xni'ca' sputli, (FOC:CIB) pues quina'n  
night when he-died, then we  
i'ca'hu hua'chitza'lh i'ca'hu i'cvelarlfyāhu. 2. (DEV:Para) Lā'  
(we)went as-it-were we-went we-keep-vigil. And  
(CirM:SR-A) como quit tū' i'cca'tzī tī natanū na  
since I not (I)know someone (he)will-enter in  
quinchic, pues quit con confianza i'clahui'lacha'lh;  
my-house, then I with confidence I-was-around-there;  
i'clakaka'lhfmā'nahu huan sputni'.  
we-were-keeping-vigil-before the corpse.



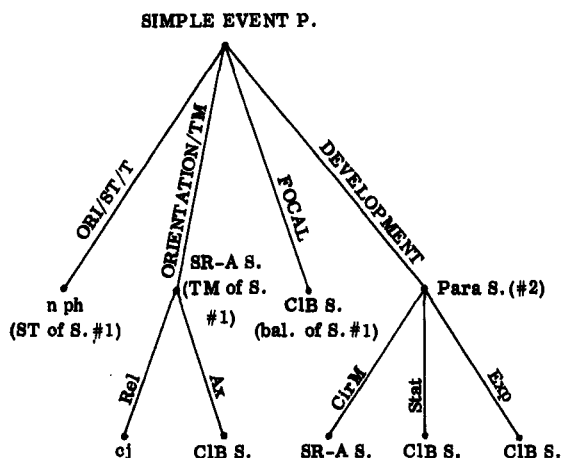


Diagram VI. Simple Event Paragraph Tree

The first ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase which simultaneously manifests time tagmeme (clause-level) *lā' huanmā' tzī'sa* 'and that night'. The second ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1. In this Relator-Axis sentence, the Relator is manifested by a conjunction *a'xni'ca* 'when', and the Axis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence *sputli* 'he died'. The TIME HORIZON is the same in both ORIENTATION tagmemes. The FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S. #1). The DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#2). The periphery of sentence #2 contains a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which manifests Circumstantial Margin. The Statement tagmeme of sentence #2 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence; the Expansion tagmeme is likewise manifested by a Clause Base sentence.

3. 1. 1. 2. The following are examples of COMPOUND EVENT paragraph types.

COMPOUND EVENT paragraph OC 6. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) *Lā'*  
And

*a'xni'ca' na'a'ncan* (LOC I) *cā'tacuxtu para nalīta'na'*  
when they-will-go (to)the-fields in-order-that you-will-bring

*minqui'hui',* (SET:CIB) *nalīpi'na' mimachita, para*  
your-firewood, you-will-take your-machete, in-order-that

*napōlacā'ya.* 2. (SET:CondI) *Lā' palh pimpa't cuxtu'ya'*  
you-will-cut-it. And if you-go (to)weed

*nalīpina' minchana'j lā' mimachita lā' milima para*  
you-will-take your-hoe and your-machete and your-file, in-order-that

nap̄xacana'na'.                      3. (FOC:Seq) Lā' (TM:SR-A TH II) a'xni'ca'  
 you-will-sharpen-it.                      And                      when  
 nata'na',                      pues nalacā'ya'                      minqui'hui'                      lā'  
 you-will-arrive, then you-will-cut your-firewood and  
 nacu'ca'ya'chi'                      lā' nalfta'na'                      (LOC II) na minchic.  
 you-will-carry-it-here and you-will-bring-it                      to your-house.

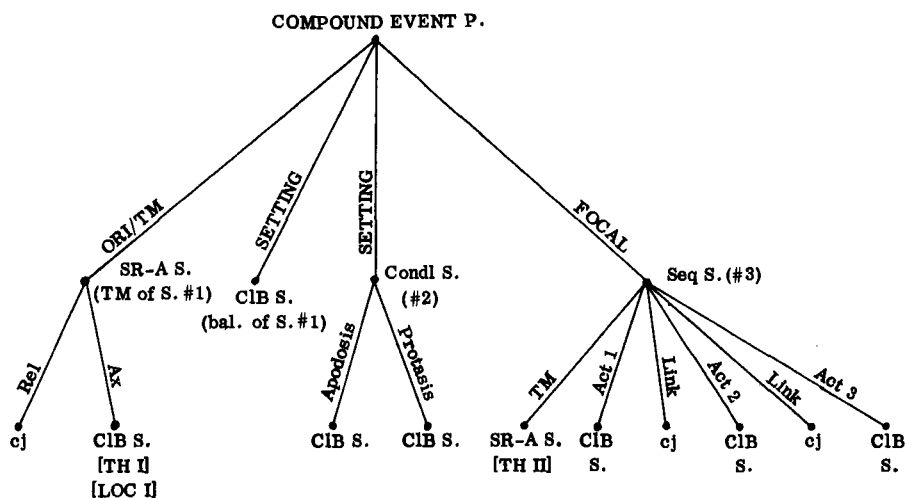


Diagram VII. Compound Event Paragraph Tree

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1. In this Relator-Axis sentence, the Relator is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and the Axis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains an embedded Purpose Margin na'a'ncan cā'tacuxtu para nalfta'na' minqui'hui' 'and when they will go to the fields in order that you bring your firewood'. This Temporal Margin indicated TIME HORIZON I. It also contains location element cā'tacuxtu 'to the fields' which indicates LOCALE I. The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S.#1). The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Conditional sentence (#2), whose Apodosis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and whose Protasis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence. The FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#3) which contains a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which manifests Temporal Margin lā' a'xni'ca' nata'na' 'and when you will arrive' which indicates TIME HORIZON II. Action 1, 2, and 3 of this Sequence sentence are each manifested by a Clause Base sentence. Action 3 also contains a location element na minchic 'to your house' which indicates LOCALE II.

COMPOUND EVENT paragraph TC 28. 1. (ORI:CIB) Entonces  
 Then

tamincha' (TH I) huanmā' chi'chini'. 2. (FOC:Para Lā' And  
they-arrived-there that day.

(TH II) i'xflakalf tzuculi tlhua lftipni' huan xatāta';  
the-next-day he-began to(he)-make (the)arrow the father;

(TH II) tintacuj lacsitli huan lftipni'. 3. (DEV:Para) Lā' (TH III) And  
all-day he-carved the arrow.

i'xflakalf tā'a'mpā i'xtāta' huan ka'hua'chu; cu'ca'lē'lh  
the-next-day he-accompanied his-father the boy; he-brought-it  
huan papatzfni huan lftipni'.  
the old-man the arrow.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1) which contains time element huanmā' chi'chini' 'that day' which indicates TIME HORIZON I. The FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#2). This Paraphrase sentence begins with a clause-level time element i'xflakalf 'the next day'. Its Expansion tagmeme also contains a clause-level time element tintacuj 'all day'; both indicate the same TIME HORIZON II. The DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by another Paraphrase sentence (#3) which contains a clause-level time element i'xflakalf 'the next day' which indicates TIME HORIZON III.

COMPOUND EVENT paragraph HR 2. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā' And

a'xni'ca' i'cchilh (LOC I), (SET:CIB) quintā'tin lējtza' i'xf'tza'ca'n.  
when I-arrived(here), my-sibling very-now he-was-sick.

2. (SET:Para) Lā' como quit xa'i'ca'ncu'tun (LOC II) con pō'ktu  
And since I I-was-wanting-to-go(there) with all

quifamilia hasta a'xni'ca' i'cchilh (LOC I) huā'tza' nac Apapantilla,  
my-family until when I-arrived(here) here in Apapantilla,

quintā'tin lējtza' palha' f'tza'ca'n; tūlalhtza' i'ca'lh.  
my-sibling very-now hard he-is-sick; not-possible-now(that) I-went.

3. (SET:CIB) Lā' tzeya (LOC II) quincuarta i'xtāyacha'.  
And (probably) my-room it-was standing-there.

4. (FOC:CIB) Lā' huā'mā' compromisa a'ntū xa'i'cka'lh' pues  
And this promise which I-had then

tūlalh i'ccumplirlh cōnihu por falta de hua'chf  
not-possible (that)I-fulfilled-it let-us-say for lack of as-it-were

cōnihu sputli quintā'tin.  
let-us-say he-died my-sibling.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 a'xni'ca' i'cchilh 'when I arrived here' (TIME HORIZON I). Within the Temporal Margin, LOCALE I is implied in the choice of the verb and indi-

cates the location of the speaker. The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S. #1). The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#2). The Totonac verb 'go(there)' in the Circumstantial Margin of this sentence implies a location (LOCALE II) other than that where the speaker finds himself while telling the story. The Temporal Margin embedded within the Circumstantial Margin contains the clause-level location element huā'tza' nac Apapantilla 'here in Apapantilla' which is again LOCALE I mentioned in the ORIENTATION tagmeme. The third SETTING tagmeme, which is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3), contains a location element (the locative suffix -cha' 'there' of the verb) which indicates LOCALE II. FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4) which presumably contains a Cause Margin but omits porque 'because'. The sentence is marked as incoherent at two points by the hesitation form cōnihu 'let us say'.

3.1.2. Monologue paragraphs. MONOLOGUE paragraphs report the speech of a single speaker. Their nuclei contain an obligatory SPEECH tagmeme and an optional DEVELOPMENT tagmeme which may occur more than once. As with the EVENT paragraphs, the multiple occurrence of time and location elements distinguish the COMPOUND MONOLOGUE from the SIMPLE MONOLOGUE. SPEECH tagmeme may be manifested by a discourse (see 4.1 Diagram XVIII); or by a Direct Quote sentence, or Indirect Quote subtype A (see 2.2.9) sentence whose Quoted or Indirect Quoted is manifested by a colloquy paragraph (see 3.2). The occurrence of the Quotation Formula marks the beginning of the SPEECH tagmeme. The element before the Quotation Formula is part of the paragraph periphery, that is either ORIENTATION or SETTING tagmeme. DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by Clause Base and Sequence sentence types.

3.1.2.1. The following are examples of SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph types.

SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph TF 5. 1. (ORI/TM;SR-A) Lā'  
And

a'xni'ca' tachā'lh      nac lakatin lugar a'nlhān i'xa'kpitzī  
when      they-arrived in a      place where it-divided-into

kantu'tun tēj,      (SPE:DirQt) (QF:C1B) talāhuanilh (Q:DECL) la.<sup>3</sup>  
three      roads,      they-said

(PRON:Seq) "Lā' chuhua'j ā'tzā' na'a'nāhu lā' chā'tunu' natēyāhu  
"And now      here we-will-go and each-one we-will-take

quintējca'n. lb. (PRON:C1B) Lā' i'xlficā'ta nalāpāxtokpalayāhu  
our-roads.      And in-a-year we-will-meet-again

<sup>3</sup>Colloquy paragraphs have their sentences numbered with a, b, c etc. When the sentences of a colloquy paragraph are described within narrative paragraphs, the sentence also carries the number of the Quotation sentence. However, the examples of colloquy paragraphs apart from the Quotation sentences (in 3.2) will be numbered only as a, b, c etc.

quintu'tunca'n huā'tza' para que na'a'nāhu nalaktz'i'nāhu  
we-three here in-order that we-will-go we-will-see

quintāta'ca'n como chuntza' quincāmāpa'ksñi' a'xni'ca' quincātamaxqu'i'ni'  
our-father since thus he-ordered-us when he-gave-us

quiherenciaca'n. 1c. (PRON:C1B) Lā' chuhua'j nñ tint'i' de quina'n  
our-inheritance. And now not one of us

napātza'nkāhu a'ntū quincālmāmacū'ni' quintāta'ca'n. 2. (TER:C1B)  
we-will-forget what he-charged-us our-father."

Lā' tuncan chā'tunu' tatēlh i'xtējca'n.  
And then each-one they-took their-roads.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 lā' a'xni'ca' tachā'lh nac lakatin lugar a'nlhān i'xa'kpitz'i kantu'tun tēj 'and when they arrived in one place where it divided into three roads'. The SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (balance of S. #1) whose Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and whose Quoted is manifested by a colloquy DECLAMATORY paragraph (see 3.2). The TERMINAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of sentence #1 has the following structure: The first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#1a). The second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1b). The third PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1c).

SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph TF 7. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'  
And

a'xni'ca' chā'lh huan nac mu'sni', (SET:Seq) (Act<sub>1</sub>:C1B)  
when he-arrived the at spring,

tahui'lh (PM:SR-A) para nahuā'yan lā' (Act<sub>2</sub>:C1B)  
he-sat-down in-order-that he-will-eat and

makxcutli i'xchahu. 2. (SET:C1B) Lā' tuncan kostacutli  
he-unwrapped his-tortillas. And then it-jumped-out

de huan nac mu'sni' lakatin chichakat. 3. (SPE:DirQt) Lā' tuncan  
of the (of) spring a frog. And then

(QF:C1B) huan ka'hua'chu hualh, (Q:EJAC) 3a. (EXCL:C1B)  
the boy he-said,

'Tū' tzey tūn quintlōni'ya'. 3b. (AMPL:Seq) Tantotza'  
'(It's)not good what you-do-to-me. Much-now

i'ctzincsa lā' hui'xi ta'na' quilaclhtō'lani'ya'  
I-am-hungry and you you-come you-sit-on-them-to-my-disadvantage

quinchahu. 3c. (PLAN:Concl) Palh ā'maktini nala'ya' chuntza'  
my-tortillas. If again you-will-do-it thus

lā' nata'mpala'ya' laclhtō'la'ya' quinchahu na'i'cmaknfyāni'.  
and you-will-come-again you-sit-on-them my-tortillas I-will-kill-you."

4. (DEV:Seq) Lā' tuncan tayalh lā' mākosūlh.  
And then he-grabbed-it and he-threw-it.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 lā' a'xni'ca' chā'lh huan nac mu'sni' 'and when he arrived at the spring' and which indicates LOCALE I huan nac mu'sni' 'at the spring'. The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (balance of S. #1). Action 1 of the Sequence sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains a Purpose Margin; Action 2 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence. The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2) and repeats LOCALE I. The SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#3). The Quotation Formula of this Direct Quote sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains the participant element implied in the first sentence and now identified as huan ka'hua'chu' 'the boy'. The Quoted is manifested by a colloquy EJACULATORY paragraph (sentences #3a, #3b, and #3c). The DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#4).

The colloquy EJACULATORY paragraph which manifests Quoted of sentence #3 has the following structure: The EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3a). The AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#3b). The PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Conditional sentence (#3c). In this EJACULATORY paragraph the use of second person pronouns shows that the boy is talking to the frog.

SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph TC 2. 1. (ORI/T:dep) Lā' maktin  
And once

huā' mīlh lakatin chī'chini' (SPE:DirQt) (QF:CIB) tahuali  
that it-came a day they-said

tzī'snin'f'n, (Q:DECL) la. (PRON:Seq) (Act<sub>1</sub>:CIB) 'Nata'sani'yāhu huan  
authorities, "We-will-call the

chī'xcu' lā' (Act<sub>2</sub>:IndQt) naka'lhasqui'nfyāhu (IQ:PREC) laa. (ENTR:Para)  
man and we-will-ask-him

¿Tichū i'xquilhtampāni lēj sla'knan; tichū  
By-whose command very-much he-plays-the-violin; who

huaninf'ti namāsu'yu huanmā'? lb. (AMPLI:CIB) Quina'n tū'  
has-said he-will-teach this? We (negative)

lacasqui'nāhui kaxmatāhu huanmā' porque tū' tzey."  
we-are-not-wanting to-hear this because (it's)not good."

2. (DEV:C1B) Lā' chu tuncan cāmacā'nca mayūlhnu'  
 And so then they-sent-them messengers  
 ta'sani'can huan chi'xcu' a'ntf lēj f'slā'knañ.  
 (that)they-call the man who very-much he-played-the-violin.

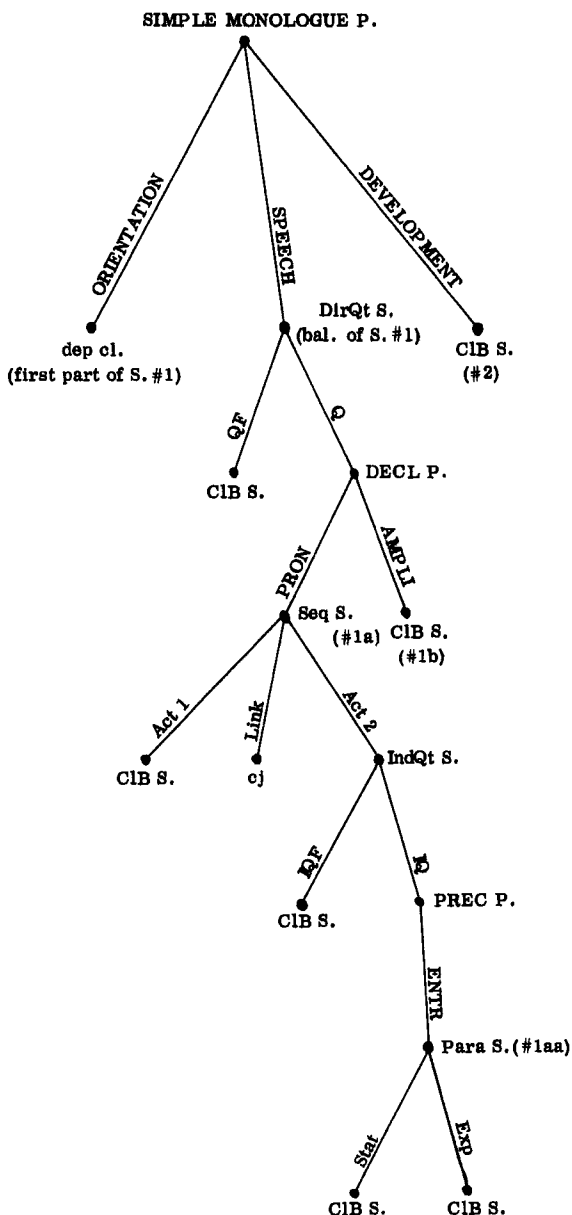


Diagram VIII. Simple Monologue Paragraph Tree

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a dependent clause which simultaneously manifests time tagmeme (clause level) (first part of S. #1) *lā' maktin huā' milh lakatin chi'chini* 'and once it came one day'. The SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (balance of S. #1). The Quotation Formula of this sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains participant element *tzi'snin'n* 'authorities'. The Quoted is manifested by a colloquy DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentences #1a and #1b). The DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a clause Base sentence (#2).

The colloquy DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of sentence #1 has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#1a). Action 1 of the Sequence sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence; Action 2 is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence whose Indirect Quoted is manifested by a PRECATORY paragraph (sentence #1aa). The AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1b).

The colloquy PRECATORY paragraph embedded within the DECLAMATORY paragraph has the following structure: The ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#1aa), whose Statement tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and whose Expansion tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence.

3.1.2.2. The following are examples of COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph types.

COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph TF 34. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I)

*Lā' i'xlfka'tlā'tus a'xni'ca' kaxmatli i'xmacasā'nantēlha* (LOC I)  
And in-a-while when he-heard it-was-making-noise-going-along

*lakatin coche lēj tzhuanf't, (SET:ClB) a'xni'ca' talacaxtulh.*  
a car very pretty, then he-peered-out.

2. (SPE:DirQt) (QF:CLB) *Cāhuanili i'xo'kxa' (Q:DECL) 2a.*  
He-said-to-them his-sons

(PRON:Seq) *"Hua'chilh qui'o'kxa' huan tī tajūma' nac*  
*"As-it-were my-son the-one who he-is-inside of*

*coche lā' tzhuanf'ti i'xpuscāt.*" 3. (DEV:ClB)<sup>4</sup> *Lā' (TM:SR-A TH II)*  
(the)car and pretty his-wife." And

*a'xni'ca' (LOC II) mastza' pajtzu i'xmimā', xa'ncatza'*  
when more-now near it-was-coming, well-now

<sup>4</sup>It would be possible to posit a paragraph break here between sentence 2 and 3. By this alternative analysis the paragraph composed of sentences 1 and 2 would be a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph while the new paragraph composed of sentences 3 through 6 would be a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph. In the new paragraph thus posited, the first part of sentence 3 would be a Simple Relator-Axis sentence manifesting ORIENTATION, while the balance of sentence 3 would be the manifestation of the first SETTING tagmeme. A chain of SETTING tagmemes continues on to sentence 6 which manifests FOCAL.



lakapasli i'xo'kxa'. 4. (DEV:CIB) Lā' (TM:SR-A TH III)  
 he-recognized-him his-son. And  
 a'xni'ca' chilh (LOC III) i'xtanquilhni' i'xchic i'xtāta',  
 when he-arrived (at)its-yard/patio his-house his-father,  
 a'ntza' yāhualh i'xcoche. 5. (DEV:CIB) Lā' tuncan tatacutli  
 there he-stood-it his-car. And then they-got-out  
 con i'xpuscāt. 6. (DEV:CIB) Lā' i'xpuscāt lēj tzēhuanf't mas  
 with his-wife. And his-wife very pretty more  
 que i'xlaca'n huan kalhatu' i'xtā'timf'n.  
 than theirs the two his-brothers.

COMPOUND MONOLOGUE P.

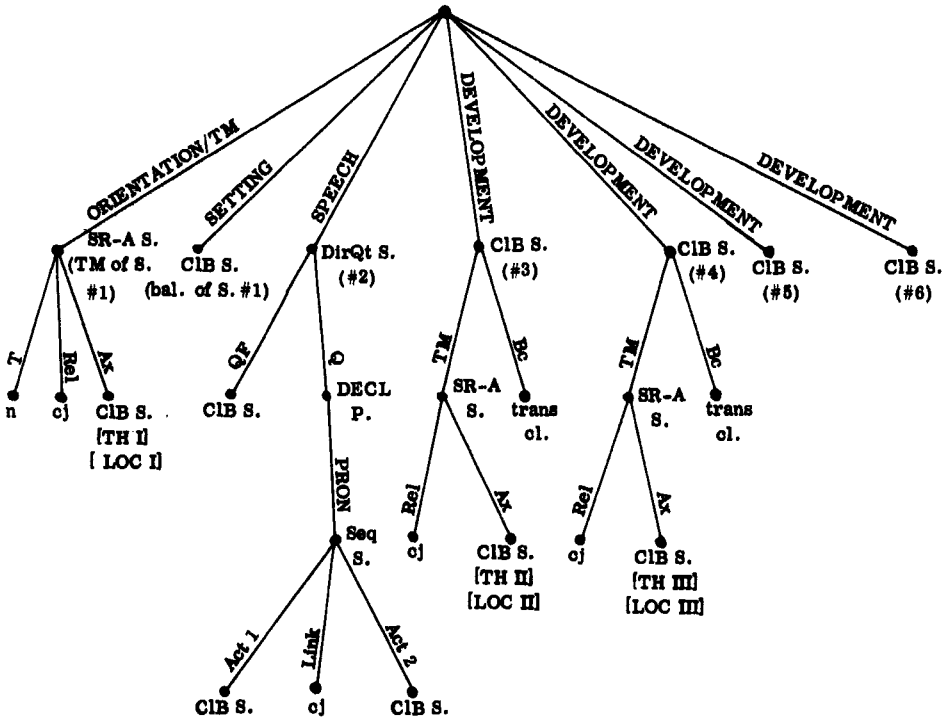


Diagram IX. Compound Monologue Paragraph Tree

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1. This Simple Relator-Axis sentence consists of a permuted time tagmeme (clause-level) which is manifested by a noun i'xlīka'tlā'tus 'in a while', Relator manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and Axis manifested by a Clause Base sentence kaxmatli i'xmacasā'nantēlha lakatin coche lēj tzēhuanf't '(in a little while) he heard a very pretty car going along making a noise' (TIME HORIZON I and LOCALE I). The SETTING tagmeme is man-

ifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S. #1). The SPEECH tag-meme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#2) whose Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence *cāhuanili i'xo'kxa'* 'he said to them his sons'. This Quotation Formula contains participant element (the father speaking to his sons). The Quoted is manifested by a colloquy DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #2a). The first DEVELOPMENT tag-meme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3) which contains a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #3 *a'xni'ca' mastza' pajtzu i'xmimā'* 'when it (the car) was coming nearer' (TIME HORIZON II and LOCALE II), and whose Clause Base tagmeme is manifested by a transitive clause. The second DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4). This Clause Base sentence contains a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #4 *a'xni'ca' chilh i'xtanquilhni' i'xchic i'xtāta'* 'when it (the car) arrived in the yard/patio of his father's house' (TIME HORIZON III and LOCALE III), and whose Clause Base tagmeme is manifested by a transitive clause. The third DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#5). The fourth DEVELOPMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#6), and introduces further participants *i'xlaca'n huan kalhatu' i'xtā'timfn* 'the wives of his other two brothers'.

The colloquy DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests Quoted of sentence #2 has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#2a), Action 1 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and Action 2 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence.

COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph TF 9. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I)

*Lā' a'xni'ca' hua'palakō'lh i'xchahui a'ntū i'xtayanf't*  
And when he-finished-eating-again his-tortilla which he-had-grabbed  
*i'xlmaktu', (SET:CIB) chu i'xa'mā'pā tayapala.*  
the-second-time, so he-was-going-again to-grab-another.

2. (SET:Seq) *Chu tuncan kostacutpā huan chichakat lā'*  
So then it-jumped-out-again the frog and  
*laclhtō'lapā i'xtihua't (LOC I).* 3. (SET:Seq) *Lā'*  
it-sat-on-it-again his-food. And

*tayapā lā' chu mākosūpā (LOC II) para nac*  
he-grabbed-it-again and so he-threw-it-again (for) in(the)

*xcān (SPE/Act;DirQt) lā' huanipā (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:*  
water and he-said-to-it-again

Cond1) *"Palh nata'mpala'ya' na'i'cmaknfya'ni'tza' porque chuhua'j*  
*"If you-will-come-again I-will-kill-you-now because now*

*i'xlmaktu'tun i'cmāsputunu'ni'yāni'.*  
the-third-time I-forgive-you."

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1

a'xni'ca' hua'palakō'lh i'xchahui a'ntū i'xtayan'f't i'xlfmaktu' 'when he finished eating his tortilla again which he had grabbed the second time' (TIME HORIZON I). The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S.#1). The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#2). Action 2 of this Sequence sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains LOCALE I laclhtō'lapā i'xtihua't 'it sat on his food again'. The third SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#3). Action 2 of this Sequence sentence contains LOCALE II para nac xcān 'in the water'. SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence which simultaneously manifests Action 3 of sentence #3, and whose Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #3a).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of sentence #3 has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Conditional sentence (#3a).

COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph TF 8. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I)

Lā' a'xni'ca' i'xua'kō'n'f'ttza' mactin i'xchahu, (SET:CIB)  
 And when he-was-finished-eating-now one (his)tortilla,  
 chu tuncan i'xtēmā'pā ā'mactin. 2. (SET:Seq) A'xni'ca' When  
 so then he-was-grabbing-again another-one.  
 tuncan kostacutpā (LOC I) huan chichakat lā'  
 then it-jumped-out-(of the water)again the frog and  
 laclhtō'lapā (LOC II) i'xtihua't. 3. (SET:Seq) Lā' tuncan  
 it-sat-on-it-again his-food. And then  
 tayapā lā' chu mākosūpā (LOC I) para nac  
 he-grabbed-it-again and so he-threw-it-again (for) in(the)  
 xcān lā' (SPE:DirQt) (QF:CIB) huanipā (Q:EJAC) 3a.  
 water and he-said-to-it-again  
 (EXCL:CIB) 'Tā' tzey chī la'ya'. 3b. (PLAN:Condl) Palh  
 '(It's)not good what you-do. If  
 nata'mpala'ya' ā'maktin na'i'cmaknfyāni'tza'. 3c. (PLAN:CIB)  
 you-will-come-again another-time I-will-kill-you-now.  
 Lā' chuhua'j i'xlfmaktu' i'cmāsputunu'ni'yāni'.  
 And now the-second-time I-forgive-you."

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 a'xni'ca' i'xua'kō'n'f'ttza' mactin i'xchahu 'when he was finished eating one tortilla now' (TIME HORIZON I). The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S.#1). The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#2). The first member of sentence #2 contains location element kostacutpā 'it jumped out of the water again' (LOCALE I). The second member of sentence #2 contains location element laclhtō'lapā i'xtihua't 'it sat on his food again'

(LOCALE II). The third SETTING tagmeme is manifested by the first two members of a Sequence sentence (#3). Action 2 of this sentence contains location element *mākosūpā para nac xcān* 'he threw it in the water again' which repeats LOCALE I again. SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence which simultaneously manifests Action 3 of the Sequence sentence (#3). The Quotation Formula of the Direct Quote sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence; the Quoted is manifested by a colloquy EJACULATORY paragraph (sentences #3a, #3b, and #3c).

The EJACULATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of sentence #3 has the following structure: The EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3a). The first PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Conditional sentence (#3b). The second PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3c).

3.1.3. Dialogue paragraphs. DIALOGUE paragraphs report the speech of two or more speakers. Their nuclei contain the obligatory INITIATING UTTERANCE tagmeme and the obligatory INITIATING RESPONSE tagmeme; they may also contain DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE and DEVELOPMENTAL RESPONSE tagmemes each occurring an indefinite number of times. UTTERANCE and RESPONSE tagmemes are typically manifested by Direct Quote or Indirect Quote subtype A sentences as described for SPEECH tagmeme of MONOLOGUE paragraphs (see 3.1.2); they may, however, be manifested by Clause Base sentences which obliquely indicate that something has been said. Utterances and responses do not necessarily follow each other in a Simple alternating pattern (e.g., a response may be a further question and the following utterance may be its answer).<sup>5</sup> UTTERANCE and RESPONSE tagmemes, however, follow in an alternating pattern. As in EVENT and MONOLOGUE paragraphs the occurrence of further time and location elements which indicate distinct TIME HORIZONS or change of LOCALE distinguish COMPOUND from SIMPLE paragraphs. COMPOUND DIALOGUES have not been observed with a TERMINAL tagmeme in our present data.

3.1.3.1. The following are examples of SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph types.

SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph TF 24. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) *Lā'*  
And

*i'xlflakalī a'xni'ca' tatzuculhtza' tatacāxa* (IU:IndQt)  
the-next-day when they-began-now they-get-ready

(IQF:C1B) *cāhuanilī i'xo'kxa'n que* (IQ:DECL) *la.* (PRON:Seq)  
he-said-to-them his-sons that

*i'xlfcā'ta catamimpā lā' catalfmilhtza'*  
In-a-year they-should-come-again and they-should-bring-now

<sup>5</sup>In spontaneous conversation as opposed to conversation embedded in narrative, Particle Base sentences frequently occur as responses in dialogue.

i'xpuscātca'n para que nacālakapasa.  
 their-wives in-order that he-will-become-acquainted-with-them.

2. (IR:DirQt) Lā' (QF:C1B) xlaca'n takalhtñi'lh (Q:DECL) 2a.  
 And they they-replied

'Na'i'clīmināhu a'xni'ca' nachā'n cā'ta." 3. (TER:Seq)  
 'We-will-bring-them when it-will-arrive a-year."

Lā' tuncan tataxtucha' de i'xchic i'xtāta'ca'n lā'  
 And then they-went-out-there from his-house (of)their-father and  
 ta'a'lh i'xchicca'n.  
 they-went (to)their-houses.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 i'xlīlakalf a'xni'ca' tatzuculhtza' tatacāxa 'in the morning when they began to get ready now'. The INITIATING UTTERANCE tagmeme is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence (balance of S. #1). The Indirect Quotation Formula of sentence #1 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains participant element i'xo'kxa'n 'his sons' to whom the father is speaking. The Indirect Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #1a). The INITIATING RESPONSE tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#2) whose Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence in which the sons reply. The Quoted of sentence #2 is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #2a). The TERMINAL tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#3) in which there is a change of location anticipated for the following paragraph.

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Indirect Quoted of the INITIATING UTTERANCE has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#1a).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING RESPONSE has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2a).

SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph TF 23. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A Lā'  
 And

a'xni'ca' lakchilh i'xtāta' (SET:Seq) tuncan yujli de  
 when he-came-to his-father then he-got-down (from)

na i'xcahuayuj lā' pūsko'kalh i'xtāta'. 2. (IU:DirQt) Lā'  
 from his-horse and he-embraced-him his-father. And

(QF:C1B) huanli i'xtāta' (Q:PREC) (DESIRE:DECL) 2a.  
 he-said-to-him his-father

(INTRO:C1B) 'Chuhua'j i'cchilhtza' tāta'. 2b. (PRON:C1B)  
 'Now I've-arrived-now father.

Cala'ktzi' quincahuayuj. 2c. (ENTR:C1B) ¿Chā  
 Look-at-it my-horse. (Question marker)

tzehuanf't?" 3. (IR:E P I)<sup>6</sup> (E P 1:SIM MONO) (SPE:DirQt) Lā'  
Isn't-it-pretty? And

(QF:Seq) kalhtlī i'xtāta' lā' hualh (Q:DECL) 3a.  
he-answered-him his-father and he-said

(PRON:C1B) 'Mas tzehuanf'ti i'xcahuayuj qui'o'kxa' a'ntf lēj  
'More pretty his-horse my-son who(is) very

lhquitit que mila'ca'n," (QF:C1B) cāhuanlī makapitzfīn huan  
lazy than yours," he-said-to-them the-others the

kalhatu' i'xo'kxa'. 4. (E P 2:PREC) 4a. (ENTR:Seq) "¿A'chfīn  
two his-sons. "Why

(Act<sub>1</sub>:C1B) quilā'akxokoyāhu lā' (Act<sub>2</sub>:IndQt) (IQF:C1B)  
did-you-deceive-me and

quilāhuanihu que (IQ:DECL) 4aa. (PRON:Seq) Lēj ko'hua'jua'  
did-you-say-to-me that Very dirty

i'xcahuayuj lā' lēj ko'hua'jua' i'xtalhakā'n? 4b. (AMPL:C1B) Lā'  
his-horse and very dirty his-clothes? And

mas xatzehuanf't que mila'ca'n." 5. (TER:Seq) Tuncan  
(more) (they-are)prettier than yours." Then

tatanūlh lā' tatzuculh tahuā'yan con tapāxuhuān.  
they-entered-in and they-began (to)eat with happiness.

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 a'xnl'ca' lakchilh i'xtāta' 'when he came to his father' which indicates the primary time of the paragraph. The SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (balance of S.#1). Action 1 of sentence #1 contains location element yujli de na i'xcahuayuj 'he got down from his horse' which indicates the circumstance or setting of the paragraph. The INITIATING UTTERANCE tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#2) in which the younger son greets his father. The Quotation Formula of sentence #2 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence and contains participant element i'xtāta' 'his father' in which the son is speaking to his father; the Quoted is manifested by a PRECATORY paragraph sentences #2a, #2b, and #2c). The INITIATING RESPONSE tagmeme is manifested by an E P I S O D I C discourse (see 4.1) (sentences #3 and #4). E P I S O D E 1 tagmeme (discourse-level) is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph whose SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#3). The beginning Quotation Formula of sentence #3 is manifested by a Sequence sentence which contains a participant element i'xtāta' 'his

<sup>6</sup>Some identifying contrastive clues for recognizing paragraph borders in sequences of colloquy paragraphs:

- (1) Change of speakers
- (2) Occurrence of a Quotation Formula, often postposed
- (3) Change from Indirect Quote sentence to Direct Quote sentence
- (4) Structures indicative of different colloquy paragraph type.

father' who is the speaker. The Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #3a). The postposed Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains a participant element *makapitzñ huan kalhatu* 'i'xo'kxa' 'his other two sons' which clarifies to whom the father is speaking. E P I S O D E 2 tagmeme is manifested by a PRECATORY colloquy paragraph (sentence #4) which contains no Quotation Formula (but the father continues speaking to his other two sons). The TERMINAL tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#5) in which there is a change of location anticipated for the following paragraph.

The PRECATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING UTTERANCE has the following structure: The DESIRE tagmeme is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose INTRODUCTION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2a), and whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2b). The ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#2c), the clausal base of which is an interrogative clause.

The DECLAMATORY paragraph of E P I S O D E 1 of the INITIATING RESPONSE has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3a) which contains two participant elements: *i'xcahuayuj* 'his horse': and *qui'o'kxa' a'ntf lēj lhquittit* 'my son who is very lazy'. The latter identifies the first speaker of the narrative paragraph in which it occurs.

The PRECATORY paragraph of E P I S O D E 2 of the INITIATING RESPONSE has the following structure: The ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#4a), both members of which are interrogative clauses consisting of questions which expects an answer, and are introduced by the question marker *a'chñ* 'why'. Action 1 of sentence #4a is manifested by a Clause Base sentence. Action 2 is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence whose Indirect Quotation Formula is a Clause Base sentence, and the Indirect Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#4aa). The AMPLIFICATION tagmeme of this PRECATORY paragraph is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4b).

SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph TF 16. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Pero  
And

*a'xni'ca' na'a'ntza'* (IU:IndQt) (IQF:C1B) *i'xpuscāt māpa'ksñlh*  
when he-will-go-now his-wife she-ordered-him

que (IQ:SIM EVENT) *la.* (ORI/TM:CR-A) (Rel<sub>1</sub>:cj) *A'xni'ca'* (Ax<sub>1</sub>:C1B)  
that When

*nacātalāpaxtoka* *i'xtā'timñ lā'* (Rel<sub>2</sub>:cj) *a'xni'ca'*  
they-will-meet-one-another his-brothers and when

(Ax<sub>2</sub>:C1B) *tūna'j talaktz'ñ* (FOC:C1B) (bal. of S.#1a) *chu tuncan*  
not-yet they-see-him so then

*natapalajni'* *i'xcahuayuj* (PM:SR-A) (Rel:cj) *para que*  
it-will-change-on-him his-horse in-order that

(Ax:SIM MONO) (ORI/TM:CR-A) (first part of S. #1aa) (Rel<sub>1</sub>:cj) a'xni'ca'  
when

(Ax<sub>1</sub>:IndQt) (IQF:C1B) natalaktz'ntza' i'xtā'timñ que (IQ:DECL)  
they-will-see-now his-brothers that

(PRON:Seq) I'xcahuayuj lēj scācni' lā' lējtza' ko'hua'jua' lā'  
His-horse very thin and very-now dirty and

casi tūlatza' tlā'huan lā' f'silla nachātalaktza'pa'  
scarcely not-possible-now it-walks and its-saddle it-will-be-well-mended

masni', lā' (Rel<sub>2</sub>:cj) a'xni'ca' (Ax<sub>2</sub>:DirQt) (QF:C1B)  
worn-out, and when

natahuanf i'xtā'timñ (Q:EJAC) (EXCL:C1B)  
they-will-say-to-him his-brothers

"¿Chā tū' lfmāxa'na' mincahuayuj  
(Question marker) (negative) "Aren't-you-ashamed (of)your-horse

a'xni'ca' nalaktz'f'nāni' que nataxtuyāchi? (PLAN:Seq) Mejor!  
when he-will-see-you when he-will-come-out? Better

cama'ka' lā' tū' cal'pi'." (SPE:DirQt) (bal. of S. #1aa) (QF:C1B)  
get-rid-of-it and not take-it."

hui'x nacāhuani'ya' que (Q:DECL) laaa. (PRON:C1B)  
you you-will-say-to-them that

"Hui'xina'n tū' mimaca'tzica'n. 1aab. (PRON:Seq) Lā'  
"You(pl.) (it's)not important(to you). And

caquilakapūlahu lā' capi'titi hui'xina'n como hui'xina'n  
pass-me-up and go-on you(pl.) since you(pl.)

mincahuayujca'n lēj lacuan." 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā' tuncan (QF:C1B)  
your-horses very good." And then

huanili i'xpuscāt (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:Para) 'Tzey; chuntza'  
he-said-to-her his-wife "Good; thus

na'i'ctlahua." 3. (DU:DECL) 3a. (PRON:C1B) "Lā' tū'  
I-will-do." "And (negative)

titamakxteka' naxa'mani'ca'na' mincahuayuj. 3b. (PRON:C1B) Lā'  
don't-permit-them to-touch-it your-horse. And

xmān huā'mā' i'clfmāmacū'yāni'. 3c. (PRON:C1B) Lā' tuncan  
only this I-charge-you. And then

i'xlflakalf nata'mpala'ya'." 4. (TER:C1B) Lā' chuntza'  
the-next-day you-will-come-again." And thus

lali a'nchī huanilh i'xpuscāt.  
he-did-it how she-said-to-him his-wife.



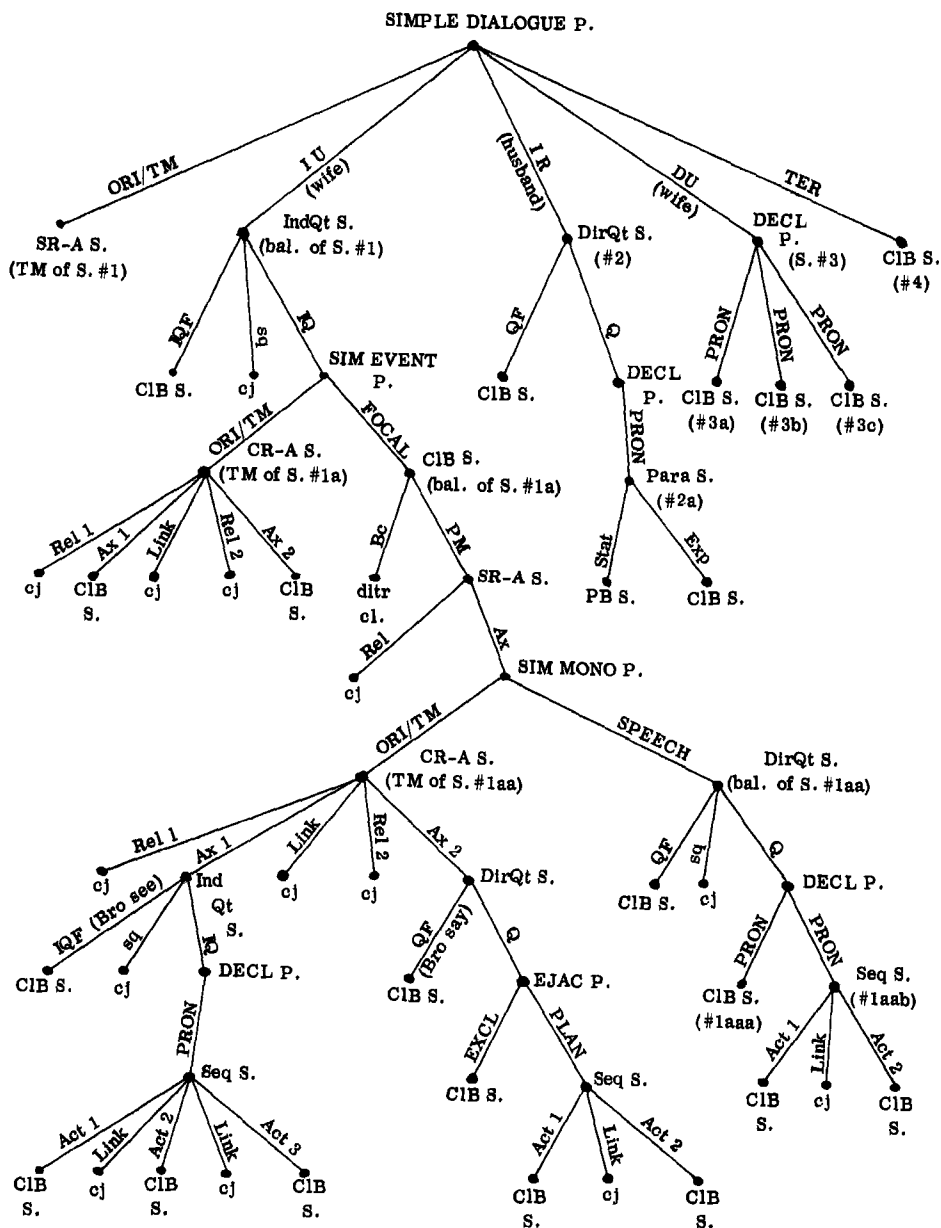


Diagram X. Simple Dialogue Paragraph Tree

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 a'xni'ca' na'a'ntza' 'when he will go now' indicates the primary time of the paragraph. The INITIATING UTTERANCE tagmeme is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence (balance of S. #1) whose Indirect Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence and contains participant element i'xpuscāt 'his wife' in which the wife is giving orders to her husband, and the Sign of the Quote is manifested by a conjunction que 'that'. The Indirect Quoted is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (described below). The INITIATING RESPONSE is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#2) whose Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence in which the husband replies to his wife, and whose Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #2a). The DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE tagmeme is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #3) (described below) in which the wife continues her instructions. The TERMINAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4).

The SIMPLE EVENT paragraph which manifests Indirect Quoted of the INITIATING UTTERANCE has the following structure: The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence (first part of S. #1a) and has the following structure: The first Relator is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and the first Axis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence nacātalāpaxtoka i'xtā'timfīn 'the brothers will meet one another'. Link is manifested by a conjunction lā' 'and'. The second Relator is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and the second Axis is manifested by a Clause Base sentence tūna'j talaktz'fīn 'they don't see him yet'. Both units of the Compound Relator-Axis sentence just described are the same TIME HORIZON. The FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose clausal base is a ditransitive clause (balance of S. #1a). The post-posed Purpose Margin of this Clause Base sentence is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence whose Relator is manifested by a conjunction para que 'in order that', and whose Axis is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph.

The SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph which manifests Axis of the Purpose Margin has the following structure: ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Compound Relator-Axis sentence (first part of S. #1aa) and has the following structure: The first Relator is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and the first Axis is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence. This Indirect Quote sentence (subtype B) consists of an Indirect Quote Formula which is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which contains participant element natalaktz'fīntza' i'xtā'timfīn 'his brothers will see him now'; the Sign of the Quote which is manifested by a conjunction que 'that'; an Indirect Quoted which is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence, all three members of which are manifested by Clause Base sentences. Link is manifested by a conjunction lā' 'and'. The second Relator is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and the second Axis is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence. This Direct Quote sentence consists of a Quotation Formula which is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which

contains participant element *natahuanf i'xtā'timf* 'his brothers will say to him'; the Quoted is manifested by an EJACULATORY paragraph whose EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and whose PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence, both members of which are manifested by Clause Base sentences. Both units of the Compound Relator-Axis sentence just described are the same TIME HORIZON. The SPEECH tagmeme of this SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (which manifests Axis of the Purpose Margin) is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (balance of sentence #1aa). The Quotation Formula of this Direct Quote sentence is manifested by a Clause Base sentence *hui'x nacāhuani'ya* 'you will say to them', and the Sign of the Quote is manifested by a conjunction *que* 'that', and the Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1aaa), and whose second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#1aab), both members of which are manifested by Clause Base sentences.

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING RESPONSE of sentence #2 has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#2a).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph of the DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE of sentence #3 has the following structure: The first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3a). The second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3b). The third PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3c).

3.1.3.2. The following is an example of a COMPOUND DIALOGUE paragraph type.

COMPOUND DIALOGUE paragraph TF 10. 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I)

*Lā' a'xni'ca' hua'palakō'lh i'xlfmactu'tun i'xchahu*  
And when he-finished-eating-again the-third-one his-tortilla

(SET:C1B) *chu i'xa'mā'pā taya i'xlfmactā'ti'.*  
so he-was-going-again to-grab(the tortilla) the-fourth-one.

2. (SET:Seq) *Chu tuncan kostacutpalachi (LOC I) huan chichakat lā'*  
So then it-jumped-out-again-here the frog and

*laclhtō'lapā i'xtihua't (LOC II).* 3. (SET:Seq) *Lā' chu tuncan*  
it-sat-on-it-again his-food. And so then

*tayapā lā' (IU/Act<sub>2</sub>:DirQt) (QF:C1B) huanilh (Q:DECL)*  
he-grabbed-it-again and he-said-to-it

3a. (PRON:C1B) *'Chuhua'j na'i'cmaknfyāni'tza'.* 4. (IR:DirQt) *Lā'*  
'Now I-will-kill-you-now. And

(TM:SR-A TH II) *a'xni'ca'tza' tā'chihufna'lh huan chichakat lā'*  
when-now it-talked-to-him the frog and

(QF:CIB) huanilh (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) 'Tū'  
 it-said-to-him "(negative)  
 naquimakh'ya'. 4b. (PRON:CIB) Quit mimpuscāt na'i'cuan."  
 don't-kill-me. I your-wife I-will-be."

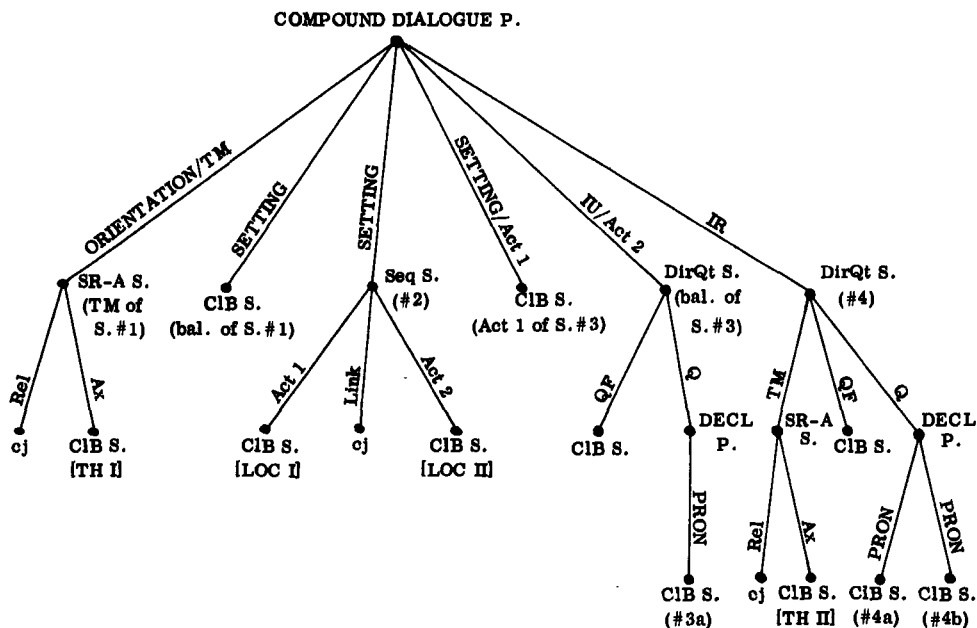


Diagram XI. Compound Dialogue Paragraph Tree

The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #1 whose Relator tagmeme is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and whose Axis tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence hua'pala-kō'lh i'xlmactu'tun i'xchahu 'he finished eating his third tortilla' (TIME HORIZON I). The first SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (balance of S. #1). The second SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#2) in which Action 1 of this Sequence sentence indicates LOCALE I kostacutpalachi 'it jumped out from (the water) here again'; Action 2 indicates LOCALE II lacihtō'lapā i'xtihua't 'it sat on his food again'. The third SETTING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence which simultaneously manifests Action 1 of Sequence sentence #3. The INITIATING UTTERANCE tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence which simultaneously manifests Action 2 of the Sequence sentence (balance of S. #3). In this Direct Quote sentence the Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and the Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentence #3a). The INITIATING RESPONSE tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence (#4) whose periphery contains a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #4. In this Relator-Axis sentence, the Relator tagmeme is

manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca'tza' 'when now', and the Axis tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence tā'chihufna'lh huan chichakat 'the frog talked to him' (TIME HORIZON II). The Quotation Formula of sentence #4 is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, and the Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph (sentences #4a and #4b).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING UTTERANCE has the following structure: The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#3a).

The DECLAMATORY paragraph which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING RESPONSE has the following structure: The first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4a). The second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#4b).

Additional examples of COMPOUND DIALOGUES appear in the text in Chapter V, paragraphs #6 and #67.

**3.2. Colloquy paragraphs.** In the corpus immediately underlying this paper, colloquy paragraphs occur only embedded within narrative paragraphs except for the embedded discourse in the illustrative text analyzed in Chapter V of this volume (paragraphs #92 through #101)--where colloquy paragraphs begin and end the embedded narrative itself.

There are five contrastive colloquy paragraph types.<sup>7</sup> SALUTATION paragraphs initiate a conversation; DECLAMATORY, PRECATORY, and EJACULATORY paragraphs occur medial in conversation; DEPARTURE paragraphs close a conversation.

Medial and final colloquy paragraphs in discourse may contain an embedded narrative MONOLOGUE paragraph (see 3.2.2., example TF 33) or DIALOGUE paragraph. In turn, in the MONOLOGUE paragraphs, the SPEECH tagmeme may be manifested by an E P I S O D I C discourse (see 4.1 Diagram XVIII and Chapter V, paragraph #86); in the DIALOGUE paragraphs, the UTTERANCE and RESPONSE tagmemes may be manifested by an E P I S O D I C and M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse<sup>8</sup> (see Chapter V, paragraphs #6, #21, #89, and #100).

**3.2.1. Salutation paragraphs.** The SALUTATION paragraph is the initial paragraph in a conversation. It has two tagmemes: + GREETING ± PSEUDO-QUESTION.

The GREETING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is a meteorological clause (No. 398 Appendix C, and see 1.9). Lexically, these meteorological clauses are: Cu'ni' 'good morning', kōtanu' 'good afternoon', tzi'sua' 'good evening'.

The PSEUDO-QUESTION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is an interrogative clause (Nos. 133-264 Appendix C, and see 1.6). Lexically, these clauses are the Totonac equivalent of such

<sup>7</sup>See 3.1.3.1, fn. 6.

<sup>8</sup>See 3.1.3.1, fn. 6.

questions as: "What are you doing?", "Where did you come from?", "Where are you going?", or even "What time is it?". These questions do not necessarily expect an answer but are ritualized inquiries not unlike "How are you?" in English (where a person is not supposed to give an actual account of the state of his health).

3.2.1.1. The following are examples of SALUTATION paragraph types which have been taken from recorded conversation.

a. <sup>9</sup> (GREET:C1B) Cu'ni'.

Good morning.

b. (PS-QTN:C1B) ʔTuchūn

What

tiōpā't?

are-you-doing?

The GREETING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is a meteorological clause. The PSEUDO-QUESTION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose base is an interrogative clause.

a. (GREET:C1B) Kōtanu'.

Good afternoon.

b. (PS-QTN:C1B) ʔLhā

What

makiā't?

time-is-it?

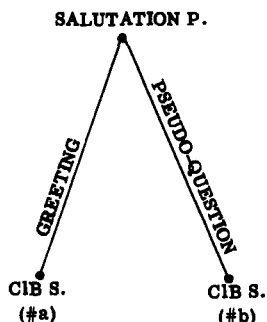


Diagram XII. Salutation Paragraph Tree

GREETING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is a meteorological clause. The PSEUDO-QUESTION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose base is an interrogative clause.

3.2.2. Declamatory paragraphs. The DECLAMATORY paragraph has three tagmemes of which the second and third are nuclear:

± INTRODUCTION + PRONOUNCEMENT<sup>n</sup> ± AMPLIFICATION<sup>n</sup>.

INTRODUCTION tagmeme is manifested by Clause Base sentences

<sup>9</sup>See 3.2.1.1, ftn. 3.

which lexically are such statements as "Here I am now." or "Here I come.". The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme may be grammatically any sentence type. It may be a statement, promise, command, suggestion, exclamation (which is often a rhetorical question), or recounting of past activity. PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme may also be manifested by a SIMPLE narrative paragraph (see 3.2.2., example TF 33). AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by the same range of sentence types. It either summarizes a previous PRONOUNCEMENT or string of PRONOUNCEMENTS, or gives a reason for the PRONOUNCEMENT. The summary either involves repetition of certain key lexical items in the PRONOUNCEMENT or employs such summary words as chuntza' 'thus' or u'tza' 'this one, this thing' meaning that which has been brought into focus or has been under discussion (person, object, idea just expressed). When the summary gives a reason for the PRONOUNCEMENT, then the conjunction porque 'because' can be preposed to the sentence which manifests AMPLIFICATION tagmeme; the latter is thereby transformed to a Cause Margin within the sentence which manifests PRONOUNCEMENT. AMPLIFICATION or a string of AMPLIFICATIONS usually is logically coupled with the immediately preceding PRONOUNCEMENT. It may, however, be coupled with a string of preceding PRONOUNCEMENTS (see 3.1.3.1., example TF 23), or even with a non-contiguous PRONOUNCEMENT.

3.2.2.1. The following are examples of DECLAMATORY paragraph types.

DECLAMATORY paragraph TC 39. a. (PRON:C1B) Chuntza'  
Thus

nachi'paya' mi'a'nimalhna', tāta'. b. (PRON:C1B) ;Tū'  
you-will-grab your-animals, father. (Negative)

calakapu'tza'! c. (AMPLI:SIM EVENT) (ORI/TM:SR-A) A'xni'ca'  
Don't-be-sad! When

nahua'cu'tuna', (FOC:C1B) u'tza' huā'mā'  
you-will-want-to-eat (the-afore-mentioned) this

napteht'paya'.  
(is)with-which-you-will-grab-them.

The first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) which makes a suggestion. The second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose clausal base is an injunctive clause. AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#c) whose ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence, and whose FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence. In sentence #c, the word 'you-will-grab' is repeated and also the word u'tza' 'the afore mentioned' is a summary word.

DECLAMATORY paragraph TF 33. a. (PRON:CIB) Hui'xina'n  
You(pl.)

chō'la quīlā'a'kxokoyāhu.  
probably you-are-deceiving-me.

b. (PRON:SIM MONO) (ORI/TM:SR-A)

A'xni'ca' quīlachita'nkē'tit (SPE:IndQt) (IQF:CIB) quīlāhuanihu que  
When you-arrived you-told-me that

(IQ:DECL) ba. (PRON:CIB) Lēj ko'hua'jua' i'xcahuayuj.  
Very dirty his-horse.

c. (AMPLI:CIB) Lā' u'tza' mas tzēhuanf't i'xuanf't i'xcahuayuj.  
And this-one (more) prettier was his-horse.

d. (PRON:CIB) Lā' chuhua'j tū'tza'  
And now (not now)from-here-on

quintilā'a'kxokohu.

don't-you-deceive-me(emphatic).

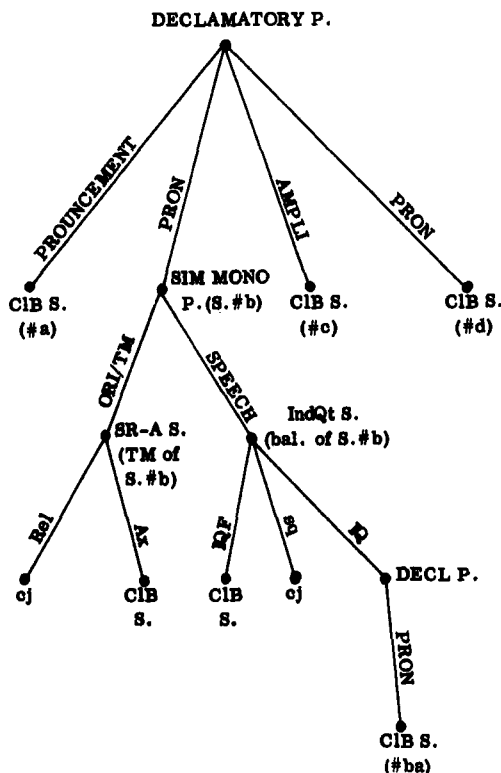


Diagram XIII. Declamatory Paragraph Tree



The first PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) which is etically a statement. The second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by an embedded SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (S.#b). The AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#c) which contains the summary word u'tza' 'this one' and repeats the lexical item i'xcahuayuj 'his horse'. The third PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#d) and is non-contiguous to the other PRONOUNCEMENT tagmemes.

The SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph which manifests the second PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme has the following structure: The ORIENTATION tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence which simultaneously manifests Temporal Margin of sentence #b, whose Relator tagmeme is manifested by a conjunction a'xni'ca' 'when', and whose Axis tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence qullachita'nkē'tit 'you arrived'. The SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence whose Indirect Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, the Sign of the Quote is manifested by a conjunction, and the Indirect Quoted is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph. The PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme of this DECLAMATORY paragraph is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#ba) which is etically a recounting of what his sons had said to their father.

3.2.3. Precatory paragraphs. The PRECATORY paragraph has four component tagmemes of which the second, third, and fourth are nuclear: ± DESIRE + ENTREATY<sup>a</sup> ± AMPLIFICATION<sup>a</sup> ± CONCLUDING ENTREATY.

DESIRE tagmeme is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph which expresses a desire, suggestion, or a command. The ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is: (1) an interrogative clause consisting of a question requesting information; or (2) a declarative clause which expresses a request. AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested as described under DECLAMATORY paragraph. CONCLUDING ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is an injunctive clause (Nos. 265-396 Appendix C, and see 1.7) which is the Totonac equivalent of such an expression as "Tell me that!", or "Tell me that now!". While both ENTREATY and AMPLIFICATION presumably occur more than once, only the following readings of the two have been catalogued in our present corpus: ENTREATY ENTREATY, ENTREATY AMPLIFICATION AMPLIFICATION.

3.2.3.1. The following are examples of PRECATORY paragraph types.

PRECATORY paragraph TF 27. a. (ENTR:C1B) ʔA'chñh tū'  
Why (negative)

tzi'nca'sa'? b. (ENTR:C1B) ʔLā' tuchū iłlakaputza'ya'?  
aren't-you-hungry? And what makes-you-sad?

c. (CONCL ENTR:C1B) ʔCaquihua'ni'  
Tell-me-that!

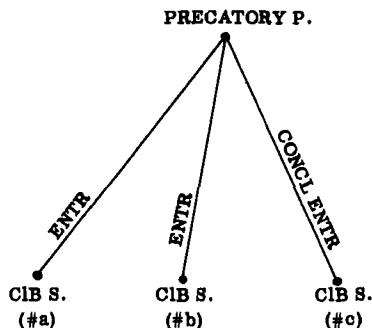


Diagram XIV. Precatory Paragraph Tree

The first ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is an interrogative clause. The second ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose base is an interrogative clause. The CONCLUDING ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#c) whose base is an injunctive clause.

PRECATORY paragraph TC 20. a. (ENTR:CIB) ǀLā' lhāchū  
And where

lēj a'n huā' quintāta'? b. (AMPLI:CIB) Simpre  
very-much he-goes this-one my-father? Always

i'claktzf'ni a'n. c. (AMPLI:CIB) Lā' quit i'cca'tzfcu'tun lhachū  
I-see-him he-goes. And I I-want-to-know where

a'n huā' quintāta'.  
he-goes this-one my-father.

ENTREATY tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is an interrogative clause. The first AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b). The second AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#c).

For examples in which DESIRE tagmeme occurs, see Chapter V, paragraphs #32, and #98, and 3.1.3.1 example TF 23.

3.2.4. Ejaculatory paragraphs. The EJACULATORY paragraph has three nuclear tagmemes: + EXCLAMATION<sup>n</sup> ± AMPLIFICATION<sup>n</sup> + PLAN<sup>n</sup>. The obligatory co-occurrence of EXCLAMATION and PLAN tagmemes characterizes this paragraph type. Any putative examples of this paragraph type which contain one of these tagmemes without the other turn out to be simply DECLAMATORY paragraphs. Any Totonac EJACULATORY paragraph may be paraphrased somewhat as follows: "What a situation!" and "Here's what should be done about it." in which the first is a paraphrase of EXCLAMATION tagmeme and the second is a paraphrase of PLAN tagmeme. The EXCLAMATION tagmeme may be manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is an interrogative clause. This question

may be specifically marked as rhetorical by the presence of the initial particle *chū*; but even in the absence of this particle, a real answer is not expected to the question--which is often a reproof or a taunt. EXCLAMATION tagmeme may also be manifested by a sentence whose base is declarative clause. The PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence whose base is a declarative or injunctive clause. It may be an expression of action immediately contemplated by the speaker, a threat, or a command. While it is assumed that all three tagmemes may each occur more than once, only the following readings have been observed in our present corpus: EXCLAMATION PLAN, EXCLAMATION AMPLIFICATION PLAN, EXCLAMATION AMPLIFICATION AMPLIFICATION PLAN, EXCLAMATION PLAN PLAN, EXCLAMATION PLAN EXCLAMATION PLAN (with possible permutation of EXCLAMATION and PLAN in the repeated structure).

3.2.4.1. The following are examples of EJACULATORY paragraph types.

EJACULATORY paragraph TC 17. a. (EXCL:CIB) ¿Ay Dios  
Oh God

tichūyā puscāt tonto maka'mūxtumā' huā' i'xcaman? b. (AMPLI:CIB)  
what woman crazy she-is-drowning this her-child?

Chō'la tū' cristiano a'ntf maka'mūxtumā' huā' i'ska'ta'.  
Probably not a-person who she-is-drowning this her-baby.

c. (AMPLI:CIB) Que tanto tū' lakpuhuani xla' i'xcaman.  
So much (negative) she-doesn't-pity it her-child.

d. (PLAN:CIB) Pues chuhua'j quit na'i'clō'n.  
So now I I-will-take-it.

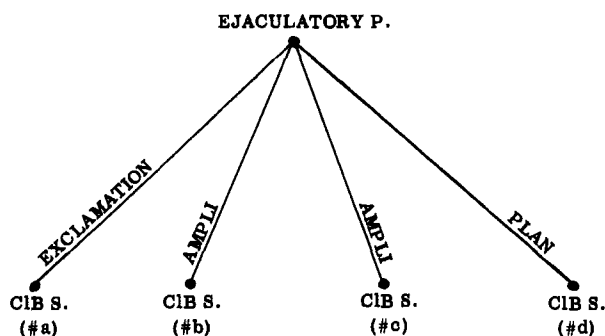


Diagram XV. Ejaculatory Paragraph Tree

The EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is an interrogative clause. The first AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b). The second AMPLIFICATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#c). The PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#d) whose base is a declarative clause.

EJACULATORY paragraph TF 32. a. (PLAN:C1B) ¡Cama'ka'!  
Get-rid-of-it!

b. (EXCL:C1B) ¿Tū' māxana'ni'ya' quintāta'ca'n que  
(negative) Aren't-you-shaming our-father that  
nalfchipini'ya' mimpuscāt lakatin chichakat? c. (PLAN:Seq)  
you-will-bring-as your-wife a frog?

¡Mejor cama'ka' lā' cama'ka' huan chāhuila'! d. (EXCL:C1B)  
Better get-rid-of-it and get-rid-of the turkey!

¿Tū' māxana'ni'ya' quintāta'ca'n que nachipina'  
(negative) Aren't-you-shaming our-father that you-will-arrive  
kēhui'la lakatin chāhuila'?  
riding-on a turkey?

This paragraph has permuted tagmemes. The first PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a) whose base is an injunctive clause. The first EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose base is an interrogative clause. The second PLAN tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence sentence (#c) whose clausal bases are declarative clauses. The second EXCLAMATION tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#d) whose base is an interrogative clause.

3.2.5. Departure paragraphs. The DEPARTURE paragraph is the final paragraph in a conversation, and has three nuclear tagmemes: ± LEAVE-TAKING ± STATEMENT + LEAVE-TAKING'.

LEAVE-TAKING tagmeme is manifested by Clause Base sentences whose clauses are lexically such clauses as the Totonac equivalent to such statements as "I'm going now." LEAVE-TAKING' tagmeme, which is obligatory, is manifested by such Clause Base sentences as those just mentioned and also by Particle Base sentences.<sup>10</sup> STATEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph in which only nuclear tagmemes occur (see 3.2.2).

3.2.5.1. The following are examples of DEPARTURE paragraph types.

<sup>10</sup>See 3.2.5, fn. 5.

DEPARTURE paragraph TC 40. a. (LV-TAK:CIB) Quit  
I

i'ca'mpalaya tãta'. b. (STAT:DECL) (PRON:CIB) Na'i'claktzi'mpala  
I'm-going-again father. I-will-see-again

huã' quilibcututca'n para que tuntu' nahua'.  
these our-animals in-order that nothing will-eat-them.

c. (LV-TAK':CIB) Quit i'ca'mpalaya i'ccãlaktzi'n.  
I I-am-going-again to-see-them.

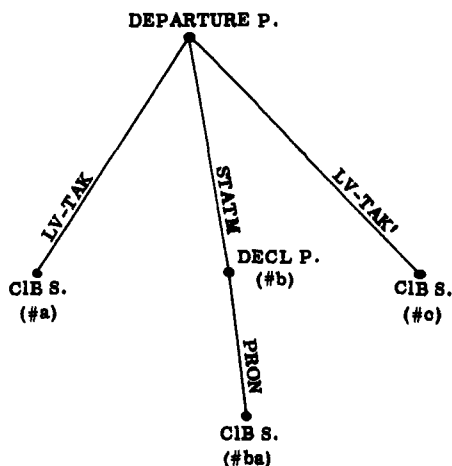


Diagram XVI. Departure Paragraph Tree

The LEAVE-TAKING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a). STATEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#b) whose declarative clause is a promise. LEAVE-TAKING' tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#c).

DEPARTURE paragraph. a. (LV-TAK:CIB) I'ca'mã'tza'.  
I'm-going-now.

b. (LV-TAK':PB) Sta lakalf.  
Until tomorrow.

LEAVE-TAKING tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#a). LEAVE-TAKING' tagmeme is manifested by a Particle Base sentence (#b).



## IV. DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

4.0. Introduction. Grammatically Totonac narrative discourses consist of a string of such tagmemes as A P E R T U R E, S T A G E, E P I S O D E, D É N O U E M E N T, A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, C L O S U R E, and F I N I S. There are, however, several contrasting discourse types. In the text analyzed in Chapter V, there seems to be evidence for at least three contrasting discourse types: E P I S O D I C, M O N O - C L I M A C T I C, and M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C. While in all narrative types A P E R T U R E, E P I S O D E, C L O S U R E, and F I N I S tagmemes may occur, S T A G E, D É N O U E M E N T, and A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T tagmemes appear to be restricted to the C L I M A C T I C discourses. In the C L I M A C T I C types, E P I S O D E S may precede or follow either D É N O U E M E N T or A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T. Possibly any discourse type may embed in any other discourse--although this is not well documented in our present corpus.

Within the three discourse types--E P I S O D I C, M O N O - C L I M A C T I C, and M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C--it is possible that there are D E P E N D E N T discourses as well as I N D E P E N D E N T discourses. In the present corpus, however, there is evidence of D E P E N D E N T discourses in the C L I M A C T I C types only. The I N D E P E N D E N T discourse is fuller in structure than the D E P E N D E N T discourse. Certain tagmemes may occur in the I N D E P E N D E N T discourse which do not occur in the D E P E N D E N T discourse. Such tagmemes are: F I N I S, and the second occurrence of C L O S U R E. Furthermore, in the A P E R T U R E of the I N D E P E N D E N T discourse the main participants are indicated, whereas in the D E P E N D E N T discourse they are merely implied.

4.1. Episodic discourse. The E P I S O D I C narrative discourse consists of a string of E P I S O D E S which do not build up to any recognizable climax. The formula for an E P I S O D I C discourse is as follows:  $+ / \pm A P E R T U R E + E P I S O D E^n \pm (+ C L O S U R E^2 \pm F I N I S)$ .

A P E R T U R E tagmeme serves to open a discourse and to introduce the main participant(s). It may also mark time and location. A P E R T U R E tagmeme may be manifested by any SIMPLE narrative paragraph type (whose FOCAL tagmeme is often a Paraphrase sentence), or by a DECLAMATORY or PRECATORY colloquy paragraph type (see 3.2 and 3.3). A P E R T U R E S consist of the Totonac equivalent of such discourse openings as: "There was a man; he played the violin a lot"; "There was a boy; he was called 'John of the Ash-pile'"; "Thus it begins

with John and the Mythical One". (See also 3.1.1 Example TF 1, and Chapter V, paragraph #1.)

Presumably, COMPOUND narrative paragraphs do not manifest A P E R T U R E. In that this tagmeme sets the time and location of a discourse, the COMPOUND narrative types--which indicate movement from one TIME HORIZON to the other or from one LOCALE to the other--would scarcely be appropriate here.

With regard to colloquy paragraphs as manifestation of the A P E R T U R E tagmeme, one example has been noted in which a PRECATORY colloquy paragraph manifests A P E R T U R E (see paragraph, #92, Chapter V). In this same discourse the C L O S U R E is manifested by a DECLAMATORY colloquy paragraph (see paragraph #101). In brief, this discourse begins and ends as a conversation but expands medially into a narrative. There seems no reason to believe that a SALUATION colloquy paragraph could not also manifest an A P E R T U R E of a discourse, or a DEPARTURE colloquy paragraph a C L O S U R E of a discourse.

A P E R T U R E tagmeme is obligatory in third person discourses but is optional in first person discourses. The A P E R T U R E of an I N D E P E N D E N T discourse must at least identify the main participant, and may specify further participants. It may also specify time-sequence and location.

E P I S O D E tagmeme indicated an event which takes place within the discourse. E P I S O D E tagmeme may be manifested by any narrative paragraph type, by a DECLAMATORY or PRECATORY colloquy paragraph, or by an embedded discourse of any type. There may be multiple occurrences of the E P I S O D E tagmeme within a discourse.

The C L O S U R E tagmeme gives a final comment on the main participants and their location. C L O S U R E tagmeme is manifested by any SIMPLE narrative paragraph, or by a DECLAMATORY or DEPARTURE colloquy paragraph. There may be two occurrences of the C L O S U R E tagmeme in a discourse. Such occurrences need not be contiguous but may be separated by one or more E P I S O D E S. C L O S U R E S consist of the Totonac equivalent of such discourse endings as: "And then the two brothers left with their wives. And the younger brother got into his car with his wife and they arrived at their home and were very happy."; "And so then the girl got married and she was always called 'White Flower'."; "And then the boy went to live in the east. There he lived, the 'Mythical Man'." (See also C L O S U R E S in Chapter V, paragraphs #30, 34, 41, 48, 102, 107, and 118.)

F I N I S tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph whose FOCAL tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, the clausal base of which is an anaphoric clause (Nos. 67-132 Appendix C, and see 1.5). F I N I S tagmeme occurs finally in a discourse and only once, and must be immediately preceded by a C L O S U R E. F I N I S tagmeme consists of the Totonac equivalent of such statements as "And thus ends the story of 'White Flower'."

While neither C L O S U R E or F I N I S is obligatory, there are certain dependencies and co-occurrence restrictions. C L O S U R E may occur without following F I N I S. In this situation C L O S U R E may



be manifested by SIMPLE EVENT or MONOLOGUE narrative paragraph, or by DECLAMATORY or DEPARTURE colloquy paragraph. FINIS, however, cannot occur without CLOSURE and no tagmeme may intervene between these two tagmemes. When FINIS follows CLOSURE, then CLOSURE is not manifested by a colloquy paragraph.

The following tree diagram outlines the tagmemes of the EPISODIC discourse "When Our God Walked on the Earth," the text of which is given in Chapter V (see 4.3 for detailed diagram). A description of these tagmemes follows the diagram.

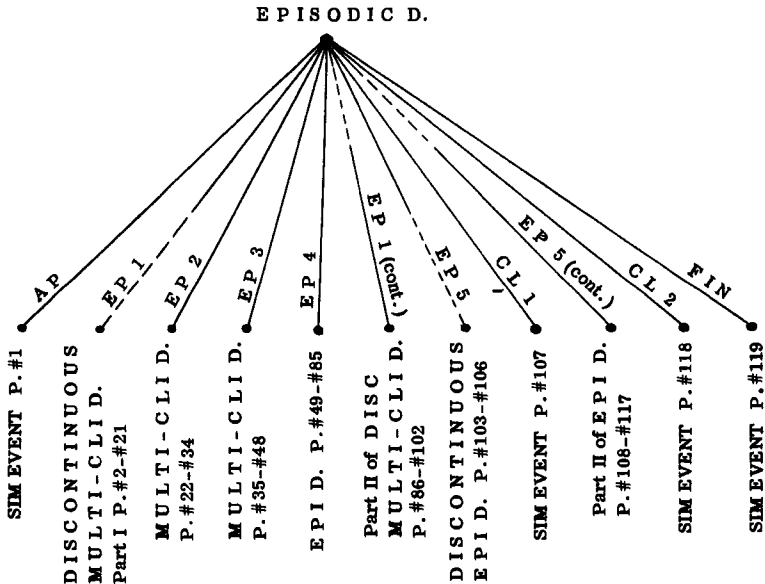


Diagram XVII. Episodic Discourse (IX outline of Chapt V.)

In the EPISODIC discourse diagramed above, the APERTURE tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#1) in which four features may be noted: (1) The main participant is introduced (paragraph ORIENTATION tagmeme manifested by a Relator-Axis sentence a'xni'ca' i'xlatlā'huan quinDiosca'n nac cā'quilhtamacuj 'when our God walked in the earth'). (2) Time and location are established (within the ORIENTATION tagmeme). (3) The role of the main participant is established (paragraph FOCAL tagmeme i'xli'taxtu i'xli'marsiyero lā' i'stā'takchoko a'kaslihuit lā' macatzātzāt 'he used to go out as a salesman (of small wares) and he used to go around selling earrings and rings'. (4) The main participant is described (paragraph DEVELOPMENT tagmeme lā' lhūhua' ā'makapitzīn catūhuā i'stā'takchoko lā' lēj lactzēhuanf't macatzātzāt 'and very pretty rings and many other things he used to go around selling'.

EPISODE 1 tagmeme of this discourse is manifested by a DISCONTINUOUS MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourse

(The Man Who Became a Donkey), which consists of two parts (viz., paragraphs #2 through #21 and paragraphs #86 through #102) between which three other E P I S O D E S occur. Part 1 of this discourse (paragraphs #2 through #21) consists of an A P E R T U R E, seventeen E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E M E N T, and a further E P I S O D E.

E P I S O D E 2 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Blacksmith, paragraphs #22 through #34). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, S T A G E, three E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E M E N T, two additional E P I S O D E S, C L O S U R E 1, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, two further E P I S O D E S, and C L O S U R E 2.

E P I S O D E 3 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Baker, paragraphs #35 through #48). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, four E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E M E N T, C L O S U R E 1, two additional E P I S O D E S, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, three further E P I S O D E S, and C L O S U R E 2.

E P I S O D E 4 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by an E P I S O D I C discourse (Planting I, paragraphs #49 through #85). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E and thirteen E P I S O D E S.

Part II (paragraphs #86 through #102) of the M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse which manifests E P I S O D E 1 tagmeme (The Man Who Became a Donkey) consists of three E P I S O D E S, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, two additional E P I S O D E S, and C L O S U R E. The final E P I S O D E contains the M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse, "The Retell of the Man Who Became a Donkey" (paragraphs #92 through #101) (see 4. 2. 1 Diagram XIX).

E P I S O D E 5 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a D I S C O N T I N U O U S E P I S O D I C discourse (Planting II), which consists of two parts (viz., paragraphs #103 through #106 and paragraphs #108 through #117) between which C L O S U R E 1 of the main discourse occurs. Part I of this discourse (paragraphs #103 through #106) consists of an A P E R T U R E and one E P I S O D E.

C L O S U R E 1 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a S I M P L E E V E N T paragraph (#107) and is non-contiguous to C L O S U R E 2.

Part II (paragraphs #108 through #117) of the E P I S O D I C discourse which manifests E P I S O D E 5 tagmeme (Planting II discourse) consists of three E P I S O D E S.

C L O S U R E 2 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a S I M P L E E V E N T paragraph (#118) and is the final C L O S U R E.

F I N I S tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a S I M P L E E V E N T paragraph (#119) whose F O C A L tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence, the clausal base of which is an anaphoric clause.

An E P I S O D I C discourse may manifest a paragraph-level SPEECH tagmeme. An example of such a backlooping manifestation follows.

SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph IQ 48. 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'  
And

como i'xtankelhtzo'kni' i'xchic, (SPE:E P I) (E P 1:SIM MONO)  
since he-had-written-on his-house,

(SPE:IndQt) lā' tuncan (IQF:C1B) huanilh que (IQ:DECL)  
and then he-told-him that

1a. (PRON:Para) tū' maktin catankelhtzo'kli i'xchic  
never (once)again he-should-write (on)his-house

chuntza'; que mas ca'tzī; que nfn ā'chā'tin ca'tzī mas que  
thus; that more he-knows; that no other knows more than

xla', porque nfn tintī' catimālacastucli quinDiosca'n, (E P 2:SIM MONO)  
he, because no one is-equal-to our-God,

(SPE:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 1b. (PRON:C1B) "Lā' tū'tza' maktintza'  
"And never-now again

quintikaksti," (QF:C1B) huanilh. (E P 3:DECL) 1c.  
will-you-find-me, " he-said-to-him.

(PRON:C1B) "Lā' camāpā'nu' huan a'ntū tankelhtzo'knf'ta' que solo  
"And take-off (the) what you-have-written that only

hui'x mas ca'tzī'ya', que nfn tintī' mas tzey tlahua pāntzi que  
you more you-know, that no one (more) better makes bread than

hui'x, porque solo Dios mas ca'tzī' que nfn tintī' ā'chā'tin  
you, because only God more he-knows than no other (any)

chi'xcu'. (C L:DEPAR) 1d. (LV-TAK':C1B) Lā' chuhua'j i'ca'natza'."  
man. And now I-am-going."

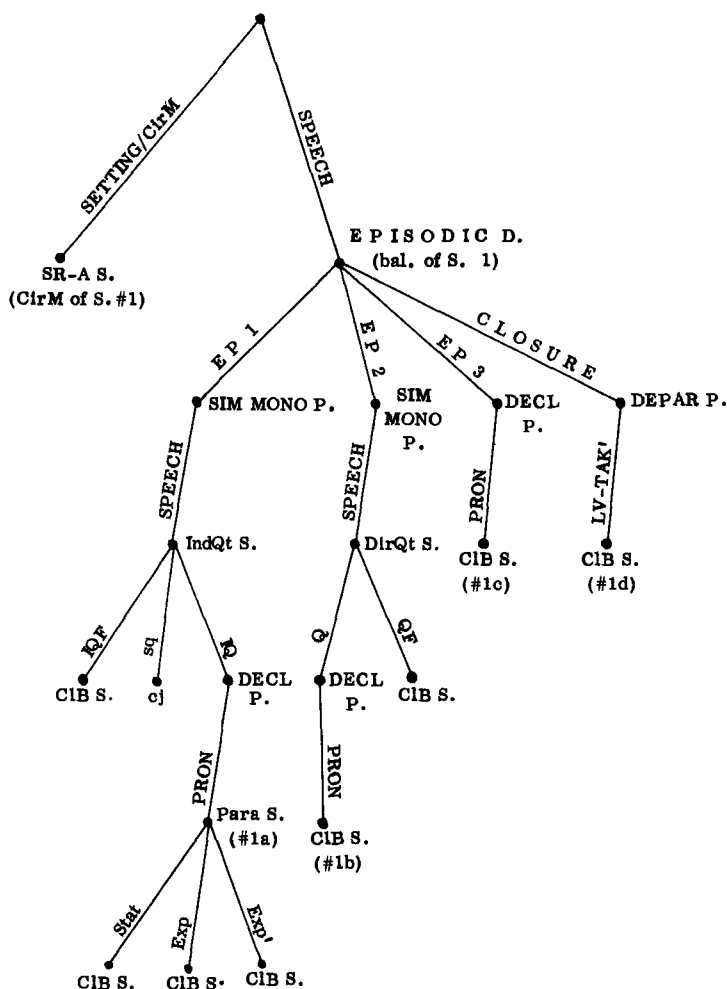


Diagram XVIII. Backlooping Structure Tree

The EPISODIC discourse diagramed above, manifests SPEECH tagmeme, and has the following structure: three EPISODE tagmemes, plus one CLOSURE tagmeme (see footnote 6 of Chapter III for criteria for colloquy paragraph boundaries).

EPISODE 1 tagmeme of this discourse is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph whose SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by an Indirect Quote sentence, the Indirect Quoted of which is, in turn, manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Paraphrase sentence (#1a).

EPISODE 2 tagmeme of this discourse is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph whose SPEECH tagmeme is manifested by a Direct Quote sentence. The Quoted of this Direct Quote sentence is manifested by a DECLAMATORY paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme

is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1b). The post-posed Quotation Formula is manifested by a Clause Base sentence.

E P I S O D E 3 tagmeme of this discourse is manifested by a DECLAMATORY colloquy paragraph whose PRONOUNCEMENT tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1c).

C L O S U R E tagmeme of this discourse is manifested by a DEPARTURE colloquy paragraph whose LEAVE-TAKING' tagmeme is manifested by a Clause Base sentence (#1d).

4.2. Climactic discourses. The C L I M A C T I C discourse may have any number of E P I S O D E S building up to a single climax or multiple climaxes. The A P E R T U R E, E P I S O D E, C L O S U R E, and F I N I S tagmemes are as described for E P I S O D I C discourses (see 4.1). In C L I M A C T I C discourses, the onset and terminus are structured in that S T A G E tagmeme requires the co-occurrence of A P E R T U R E tagmeme, and F I N I S tagmeme requires the co-occurrence of C L O S U R E tagmeme. In the discourse nucleus, E P I S O D E tagmemes may occur before and after D É N O U E M E N T and A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T tagmemes; this is not shown in the formulae of C L I M A C T I C discourses.

4.2.1. Mono-climactic discourse. The M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse has the following formula:  $\pm (+ A P E R T U R E \pm S T A G E) + E P I S O D E^n + D É N O U E M E N T \pm (+ C L O S U R E \pm F I N I S)$ .

A P E R T U R E, E P I S O D E, C L O S U R E, and F I N I S tagmemes have been discussed previously, and are subject to the same restrictions of occurrence as previously stated.

S T A G E tagmeme indicates secondary participants (in contrast to the main participants of the A P E R T U R E tagmeme) and/or setting for events, and usually time and location (see Chapter V, paragraph #23 and #93). S T A G E tagmeme occurs only in C L I M A C T I C discourses, and in such discourses it occurs only immediately following A P E R T U R E. S T A G E tagmeme is manifested by an EVENT paragraph of a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph.

The D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme embraces the climax of the discourse and indicates participants, time, and location. It may occur in either I N D E P E N D E N T or D E P E N D E N T discourse. In I N D E P E N D E N T discourse, D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme may be manifested by any narrative paragraph type except COMPOUND DIALOGUE. In D E P E N D E N T discourse (see 4.2.3), it may be manifested by any SIMPLE narrative paragraph type or by a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph type. In I N D E P E N D E N T discourse, D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by paragraphs of very full structure with careful delineation of participants, time, and location, whereas in D E P E N D E N T discourse it is less full in structure and is usually manifested by SIMPLE paragraph types or COMPOUND EVENT paragraphs. The occurrence of the D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is restricted in that it must be preceded by E P I S O D E. The D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is obligatory in the I N D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse.

A **MONO - CLIMACTIC** discourse may be embedded within another discourse. This type of embedded discourse is opened by the Totonac equivalent of such expressions as: "I'm going to tell you"; "Do you remember?" An example of such an embedded discourse is "The Retell of the Man Who Became a Donkey" (Chapter V, paragraphs #92 through #101). This example begins and ends with a colloquy paragraph although it changes medially to narrative. The tree diagram which follows outlines the tagmemes of this example.

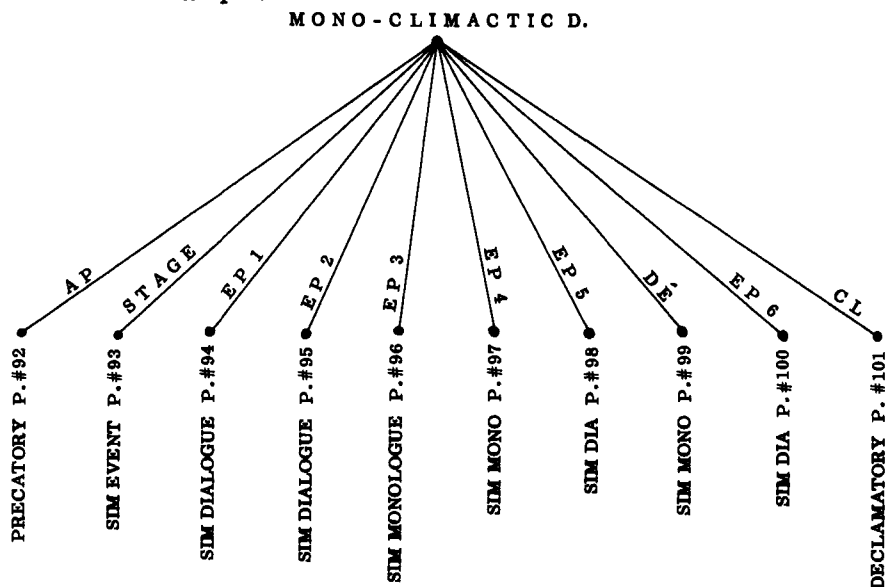


Diagram XIX. Mono-Climactic Discourse Tree

In the **MONO - CLIMACTIC** discourse diagrammed above, the **A P E R T U R E** tagmeme is manifested by a **PRECATORY** colloquy paragraph which indicates participants, time, and location (paragraph #92).

The **S T A G E** tagmeme is manifested by a narrative **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#93) in which further participants are indicated.

The five succeeding **E P I S O D E** tagmemes are manifested as follows: **E P I S O D E 1** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#94); **E P I S O D E 2** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#95); **E P I S O D E 3** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#96); **E P I S O D E 4** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#97); **E P I S O D E 5** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#98).

The **D É N O U E M E N T** tagmeme is manifested by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#99) in which participants, time, and location are indicated.

**E P I S O D E 6** tagmeme is manifested by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#100).

The **C L O S U R E** tagmeme is manifested by a **DECLAMATORY** colloquy paragraph (#101).

A **MONO - CLIMACTIC** discourse may manifest a sentence-

level Quoted tagmeme. An example of such a backlooping manifestation is "The Retell of the Chicken Killing" (Chapter V, paragraph #6).

4.2.2. Multi-climactic discourse. The MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourse has the following formula:  $\pm (+APERTURE \pm STAGE) + EPISODE^n + D\acute{E}NOUEMENT + ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT^n \pm (+CLOSURE^2 \pm FINIS)$ .

The APERTURE, STAGE, EPISODE, D\acute{E}NOUEMENT, CLOSURE, and FINIS tagmemes of the MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourse are the same tagmemes as those of the MONO-CLIMACTIC discourse and are subject to the same restrictions of occurrence.

The ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme occurs only in MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourses, and may be manifested by any narrative paragraph type except possible COMPOUND DIALOGUE, or by a DEPENDENT discourse (see Chapter V, footnote 3 with alternative analysis for paragraphs #31 through 33, and footnote 4 for paragraphs #42 through 47). ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmemes indicate participants, time, and frequently location. Although there may be multiple occurrences of the ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme within a single discourse, such occurrences cannot be contiguous but require that at least one EPISODE tagmeme intervene. The ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme requires that it be preceded by the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme, though not necessarily immediately. These two tagmemes may be separated by one or more EPISODE tagmemes or by the first of two CLOSURE tagmemes.

The D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme and the ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmeme, although similar in manifestation, differ in some respects. Whereas D\acute{E}NOUEMENT is complete in itself, ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT requires the background provided by the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT and, in this respect, is dependent upon it. The event which constitutes the climax of the manifestation of the ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT is basically the same type of event as that of the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT which occurs within the same discourse. As to participants, the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT involves the main participants while the ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT may involve either the main participants or secondary participants. A comparison of the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT and ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT tagmemes may be seen in "The Baker Story" (Chapter V, paragraphs #35 through #48). In this discourse the D\acute{E}NOUEMENT (paragraph #40) consists of: 'And since there was around there an old woman, then he went and picked her up and whoosh he put her into (the) oven. And in a while he took out a girl more beautiful than anyone there in the town.' The ANTI-D\acute{E}NOUEMENT (paragraph #44) consists of: 'And since for a long time he put her in, and when he took her out with the thing with which he took out the pans of bread, and he threw her/it and where (the) powder landed nothing but ashes landed.'

The following tree diagram outlines the tagmemes of the MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourse "The Three Frogs". (The test is not given.) A description of these tagmemes follows the diagram.

## TOTONAC: FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE

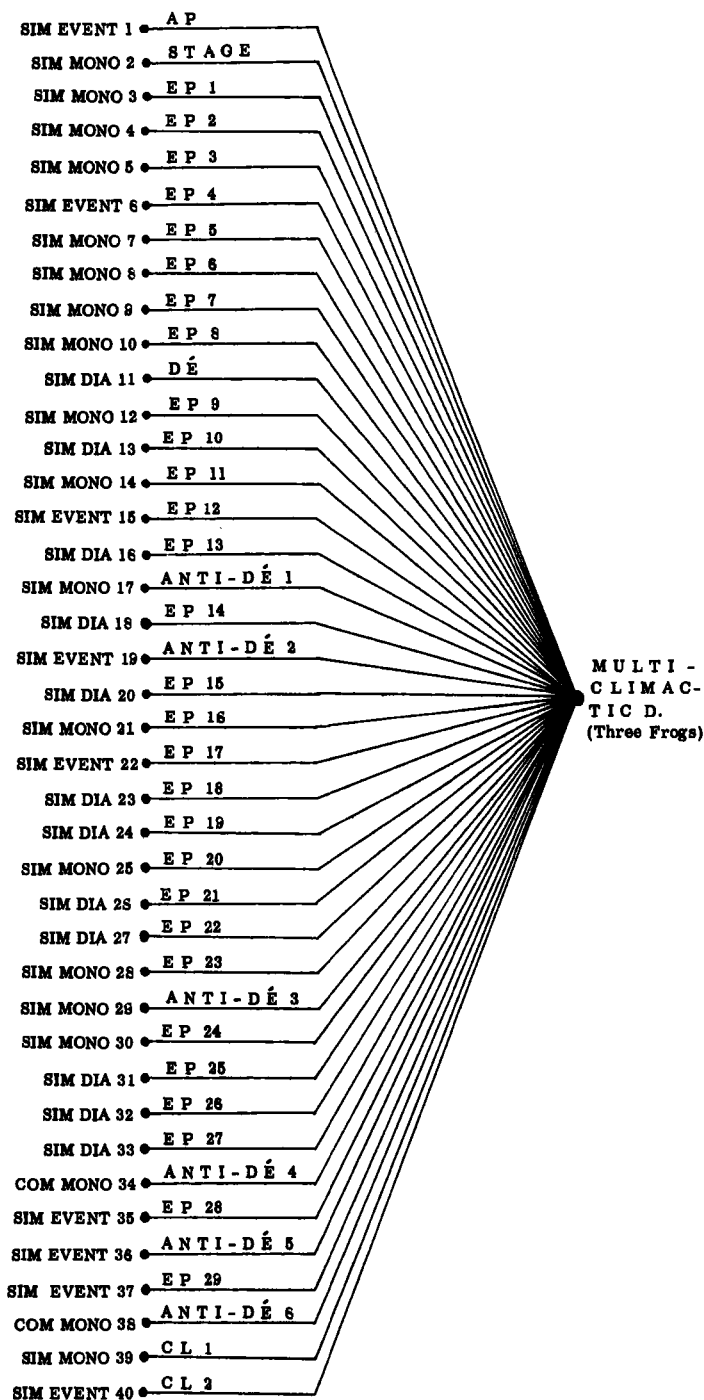


Diagram XX. Multi-Climactic Discourse Tree



In the **M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C** discourse diagramed above, the **A P E R T U R E** tagmeme is manifested by a **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#1) in which the main participants are introduced: I'xuf' kalhatin chi'xcu'; i'xka'lhf kalhatu'tun i'xo'kxa'n. 'There was a man; he had three sons.'

**S T A G E** tagmeme of the above discourse is manifested by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#2) which gives the setting for the events of this discourse: Lā' ā'calfstān pāstacī nacāmaxquf' i'xherenciaca'n. Lā' chuntza' cāmālapitzini'lh a'ntū i'xīaca'n nahuan. Lā' cāmaxquf'lh laka-tunu' i'xcahuayujca'n lā' macsti'na'j tumf. A'cxtimni cāmālapitzini'lh. 'And after a while he thought he would give them their inheritance. And thus he divided among them that which will be theirs. And he gave to each one his horse and a little money. Equally he divided it among them.'

The eight succeeding **E P I S O D E** tagmemes are manifested as follows: **E P I S O D E 1** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#3); **E P I S O D E 2** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#4); **E P I S O D E 3** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#5); **E P I S O D E 4** by a **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#6); **E P I S O D E 5** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#7); **E P I S O D E 6** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#8); **E P I S O D E 7** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#9); **E P I S O D E 8** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#10).

The **D É N O U E M E N T** tagmeme is manifested by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#11) in which the following features are noted: (1) Time of the paragraph is established as when the frog began to talk. (2) The participants are the youngest son (the hero) and the frog (which changes into a pretty girl). (3) The location is the spring into which the hero threw the frog.

The five succeeding **E P I S O D E** tagmemes are manifested as follows: **E P I S O D E 9** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#12); **E P I S O D E 10** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#13); **E P I S O D E 11** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#14); **E P I S O D E 12** by a **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#15); **E P I S O D E 13** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#16).

**A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 1** tagmeme is manifested by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#17) in which the following features are noted: (1) Time of the paragraph is indicated as when the hero, having left his house, is about to meet his brothers. (2) Location is the fork in the road which is the designated meeting place. (3) Participant is the fine horse which changes into an ugly, worthless horse.

**E P I S O D E 14** is manifested by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#18).

**A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 2** is manifested by a **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#19) in which the worthless horse changes back into a fine horse.

The nine succeeding **E P I S O D E** tagmemes are manifested as follows: **E P I S O D E 15** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#20); **E P I S O D E 16** by a **SIMPLE MONOLOGUE** paragraph (#21); **E P I S O D E 17** by a **SIMPLE EVENT** paragraph (#22); **E P I S O D E 18** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#23); **E P I S O D E 19** by a **SIMPLE DIALOGUE** paragraph (#24); **E P I S O D E 20** by a **SIMPLE MONO-**

LOGUE paragraph (#25); E P I S O D E 21 by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#26); E P I S O D E 22 by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#27); E P I S O D E 23 by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (#28).

A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 3 is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (#29) in which the hero's car changes into a turkey and his wife changes back into a frog.

The four succeeding E P I S O D E tagmemes are manifested as follows: E P I S O C E 24 by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (#30); E P I S O D E 25 by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#31); E P I S O D E 26 by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#32); E P I S O D E 27 by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#33).

A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 4 tagmeme is manifested by a COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph (#34) in which the turkey turns back into the hero's car and the frog turns back into the hero's wife as they approach the father's house.

E P I S O D E 28 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#35).

A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 5 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#36) in which the hero's wife by spilling chile sauce on herself transforms her dress into one of beautiful colors.

E P I S O D E 29 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#37).

A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T 6 tagmeme is manifested by a COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph (#38) in which the bones, having been thrown into the air by the hero's wife, turn to gold.

C L O S U R E 1 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph (#39) in which the festivities are terminated and the guests depart.

C L O S U R E 2 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#40) in which the hero returns to his house with his wife and they are happy.

4.2.3. Dependent discourse. D E P E N D E N T discourse may be either M O N O - C L I M A C T I C or M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C. The formula for the D E P E N D E N T discourse is as follows:

$\pm (+ A P E R T U R E \pm S T A G E) + E P I S O D E^n + (+ / \pm D É - N O U E M E N T \pm A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T) \pm C L O S U R E$ .

The A P E R T U R E of the D E P E N D E N T discourse marks movement through time and location-space (often indicated by -pā/-pala 'again') but does not indicate participants. Participants are implied by the parallel form of the D E P E N D E N T discourse to that of preceding embedded I N D E P E N D E N T discourses which manifest preceding E P I S O D E S of the main discourse. The D E P E N D E N T discourse is, therefore, elliptical as seen in the absence of participants in its A P E R T U R E. Verbs which occur within the manifestation of the A P E R T U R E are indefinite (see 1.4).

The D E P E N D E N T discourse should not be confused with the embedded discourse-medial I N D E P E N D E N T discourse. The latter may also indicate in its A P E R T U R E that it has been preceded by

other **E P I S O D E S**. See example of paragraph #22 in the text of Chapter V in which the main participant is indicated only by the verb morphology (in that he has previously been identified) and where the occurrence of *-pala* 'again' on two verbs in the first sentence implies a certain movement through time and location-space and therefore progress in reference to previous **E P I S O D E S**. These features presumably would not characterize the **A P E R T U R E** of a non-embedded discourse. Rather, the main participant, and possibly other participants, would be identified (compare paragraph #1 in the text of Chapter V) and there would be no implied movement relative to previous time and location-space. The embedded **I N D E P E N D E N T** discourse and the **D E P E N D E N T** discourse are alike in that in neither of these two types is the main participant indicated in the **A P E R T U R E**. They differ, however, in the matter of secondary participants. Within the embedded discourse, secondary participants may be described and even highlighted. In contrast, within the **D E P E N D E N T** discourse, no participants are actually described.

**A P E R T U R E** tagmemes in **D E P E N D E N T** discourse may have portmanteau manifestation with paragraph-level **O R I E N T A T I O N** tagmeme. In other words, for the analysis of some discourses, it may be necessary to split a paragraph and assign part of it to discourse **A P E R T U R E** and the remainder of it to **S T A G E** and/or to the first **E P I S O D E** or **D É N O U E M E N T** of the discourse. Thus, Paraphrase sentences and Relator-Axis sentences may be portmanteau manifestations of both discourse-level **A P E R T U R E** and paragraph-level **O R I E N T A T I O N**. When a Relator-Axis sentence is such a portmanteau manifestation it also simultaneously manifests sentence-level Temporal Margin as well as clause-level time, and is therefore portmanteau in reference to four levels.

**S T A G E** tagmeme in **D E P E N D E N T** discourse may also have portmanteau manifestation with paragraph-level **S E T T I N G** tagmemes. Since paragraph-level **S E T T I N G** tagmeme may occur a number of times (see 3.1), the **S T A G E** tagmeme may be manifested by a sentence or a series of sentences which simultaneously manifests **S E T T I N G** of the paragraph. (See Chapter V, footnote 3 for the alternative analysis for paragraphs #31 through 33.)

The **E P I S O D E**, **D É N O U E M E N T**, **A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T**, and **C L O S U R E** tagmemes of the **D E P E N D E N T** discourse are the same as those of the **I N D E P E N D E N T** discourse. The **D É N O U E M E N T** tagmeme is obligatory in the **D E P E N D E N T** discourse except when the particular discourse of which it is a part is a member of a series of parallel discourses (e. g., Chapter V, paragraph #49 through #85), and when it is absolutely clear from the other members of the series that the dénouement of the discourse in question actually takes place. When **A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T** occurs, **D É N O U E M E N T** must occur. **A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T** may occur only once in **D E P E N D E N T** discourses.

The following is a **D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C** discourse taken from the text in Chapter V, paragraphs #72 through #74

(The Orange Grove, E P I S O D E 9 of the Planting I discourse). The text, tree diagram and analysis of this discourse follows.

**72** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā' chu tuncan  
And so then

i'xtētāxtupala ā'lacatin huampala.  
he-passed-by another-place again.

**73** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā' i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala tuncan.  
And he-asked-them-too then.

2. (IU:DirQt) Lā' i'xcāhuanf, (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:CIB)  
And he-said-to-them,

"¿Tuchūn tlōpā'na'ntit?" i'xcāhuanf. 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'  
"What are-you-doing?" he-said-to-them. And

i'xtakalhtfni'n lā' i'xtahuan, (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) 'Quina'n  
they-answered and they-said, "We

i'ccha'mā'nahu quimpūlāxaxca'n."  
we-are-planting our-orange-grove."

**74** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) Lā' a'xni'ca' i'xtuncuf  
And when it-dawned

i'xīflakalf huampala, a'xni'ca' i'xtuncuf i'xtachā'mpalatza' na  
the-next-day again, when it-dawned they-arrived-again-now at

i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n, (FOC:CIB) i'xuf'tza' lakatintza' pūlāxax.  
their-field, there-was-already an orange-grove.

2. (DEV:Seq) Lā' tuncantza' i'xtatzucu i'xtapu'xa huan lāxax lā'  
And then-now they-began to-pick the oranges and

i'xtahua'.  
to-eat-them.

#### DEPENDENT MONO-CLIMACTIC D.

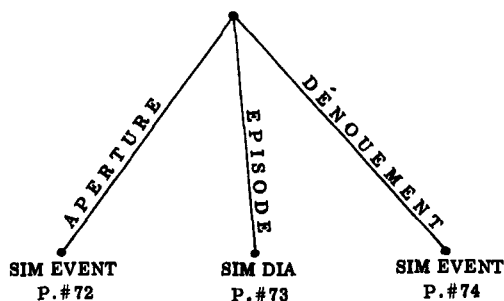


Diagram XXI. Dependent Mono-Climactic Discourse Tree

In the D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse diagramed above, the A P E R T U R E tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#72). Time and location-space is indicated by -pala 'again' (Lã' chu tuncan i'xtëtaxupala ã'lacatin huampala. 'And so then he passed by another place again. ').

The E P I S O D E tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph (#73).

The D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#74).

#### 4.3. Diagram of text of Chapter V.

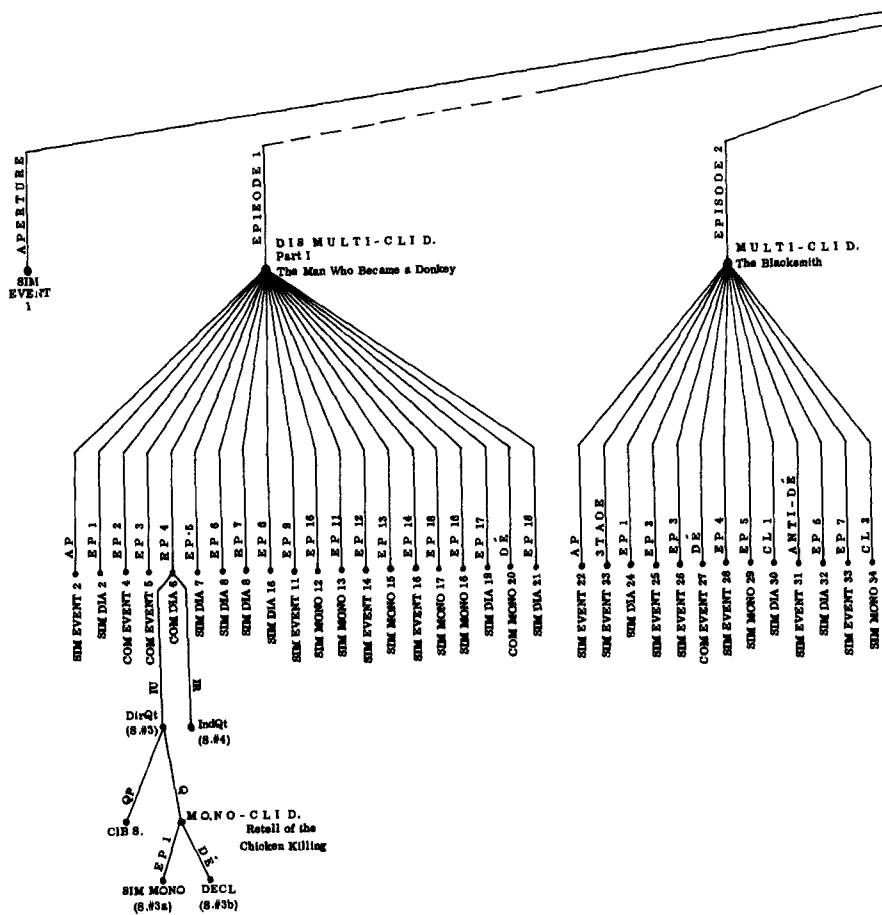
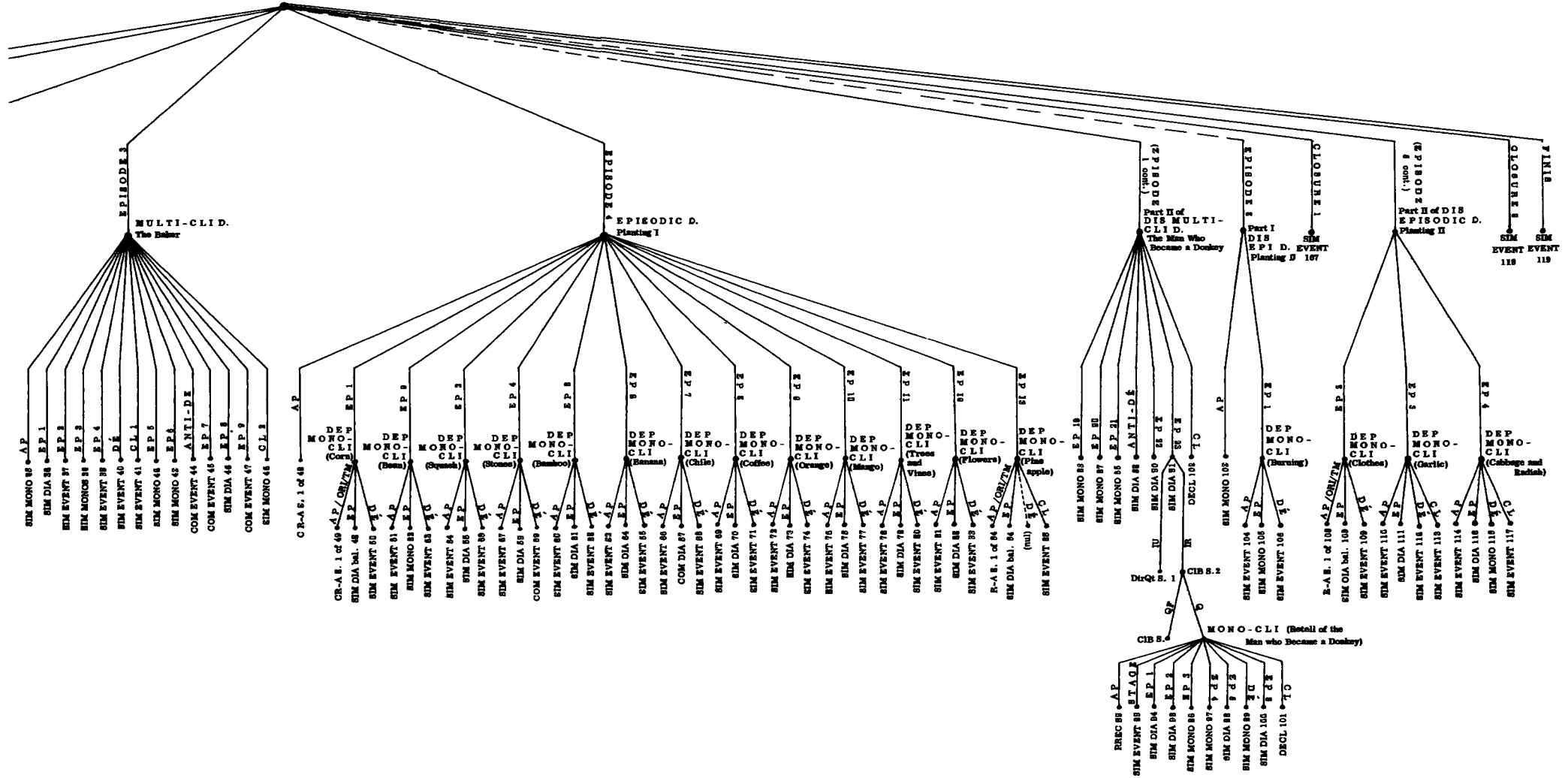


Diagram XXII. Tree of (R) Text of Chapter V.

EPISODIC D. When Our God Walked On The Earth







## V. ANALYZED TEXT

### WHEN OUR GOD WALKED ON THE EARTH

This E P I S O D I C discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, five E P I S O D E S, C L O S U R E 1, C L O S U R E 2, and F I N I S.

A P E R T U R E is manifested by a S I M P L E E V E N T paragraph (#1).

**1** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂  
i'xlatlā'huan₃ quinDiosca'n₄ nac₅ cā'quihhtamacuj₆, (FOC:Seq)  
i'xltaxtu₇ i'xlmarsiyero₈ lā'₉ i'stā'takchoko₁₀ a'kaslihuit₁₁ lā'₁₂  
macatzātzāt.₁₃ 2. (DEV:Seq) Lā'₁ lhūhua'₂ ā'makapitzin₃ catūhuā₄  
i'stā'takchoko₅ lā'₆ lēj₇ lactzēhuanf't₈ macatzātzāt₉.

E P I S O D E 1 is manifested by a D I S C O N T I N U O U S  
M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Man Who Became a Donkey,  
Part I paragraphs #2 through #21, Part II paragraphs #86 through #102).  
Part I consists of an A P E R T U R E, seventeen E P I S O D E S,  
a D É N O U E M E N T, and a further E P I S O D E.

**2** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ chā'lh₃  
nac₄ lakatin₅ i'xchic₆ kalhatin₇ chi'xcu'₈, (FOC:C1B) lā'₉ huan₁₀  
chi'xcu'₁₁ lakaxō'ko'₁₂ i'xuanf't₁₃.

**3** (E P 1:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:C1B) Lā'₁ a'ntza'₂ squi'nli₃ para₄

**1** 1. And₁ when₂ our God₄ walked₃ on₅ the earth₆, he used to go out₇ as a  
salesman (of small wares)₈ and₉ he used to go around selling₁₀ earrings₁₁ and₁₂  
rings₁₃. 2. And₅ very₇ pretty₈ rings₉ and₁ many₂ other₃ things₄ he used to go  
around selling₅.

**2** 1. And₁ when₂ he arrived₃ in₄ the₅ house of₆ a₇ (certain) man₈, and₉ the₁₀  
man₁₁ was₁₃ one-eyed₁₂.

**3** 1. And₁ there₂ he asked permission₃ to₄ sleep₅ that₆ night₇. 2. And₁

namaklhtata<sub>5</sub> huanmā'<sub>8</sub> tzī'sa<sub>7</sub>. 2. (IR:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> malo<sub>6</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>7</sub>, lā'<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> marsiyero<sub>10</sub> a'ntza'<sub>11</sub> tachokolh<sub>12</sub> huanmā'<sub>13</sub> tzī'sa<sub>14</sub> lā'<sub>15</sub> i'xka'lh<sub>16</sub> i'xtama<sub>17</sub> lā'<sub>18</sub> (Act 3:IndQt) (IQF:CIB) huanilh<sub>19</sub> que<sub>20</sub> (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) a'ntza'<sub>21</sub> catamā'lh<sub>22</sub> para<sub>23</sub> nalhtata<sub>24</sub>. 3. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> (QF:CIB) xla'<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub>, (Q:PREC) 3a. (ENTR:CIB) "Lā'<sub>4</sub> chū<sub>5</sub> hui'xina'n<sub>6</sub> lhachū<sub>7</sub> nalhtatayā'tit<sub>8</sub>?" 4. (DR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xlaa'n<sub>2</sub> takalhtfni'lh<sub>3</sub>, (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) "Nac<sub>4</sub> ti'ya't<sub>5</sub> na'i'ctamā'yāhu<sub>6</sub>."

**4** (E P 2:COM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> (LOC I) huan<sub>3</sub> nac<sub>4</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>5</sub> i'xmālacnūtlā'huan<sub>6</sub> i'xīstā't<sub>7</sub>, lējtza'<sub>8</sub> i'xtlakua'n<sub>9</sub>. 2. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> kōtanūtza'<sub>3</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>4</sub>, u'tza'<sub>5</sub> tēlīmaktachokolh<sub>6</sub> huanmā'<sub>7</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>8</sub>. 3. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> marsiyero<sub>3</sub> tamā'lh<sub>4</sub> lhtata<sub>5</sub> (LOC II) huan<sub>6</sub> nac<sub>7</sub> tama<sub>8</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> a'ntza'<sub>10</sub> i'xchf'yāhuacanf't<sub>11</sub> lakatin<sub>12</sub> cariyon<sub>13</sub>. 4. (FOC:IndQt-B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>3</sub> i'xmaktaka'lh<sub>4</sub> māmā'<sub>5</sub> palh<sub>6</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) f'lhtatamā'tza'<sub>6</sub> xa'nca<sub>7</sub>. 5. (DEV:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xtlakua'nf't<sub>3</sub>, xla'<sub>4</sub> tuncan<sub>5</sub> lhtatalh<sub>6</sub>.

**5** (E P 3:COM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A TH I) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> f'tat<sub>3</sub> tzī'sa<sub>4</sub> chō'la<sub>5</sub>, (FOC:Seq) chi'palh<sub>6</sub> i'xcariyon<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> a'cpū'lhli<sub>9</sub>

it happened that<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> man<sub>4</sub> was<sub>7</sub> very<sub>5</sub> bad<sub>6</sub>, and<sub>8</sub> there<sub>11</sub> the<sub>9</sub> salesman<sub>10</sub> stayed<sub>12</sub> that<sub>13</sub> night<sub>14</sub> and<sub>15</sub> he (host) had<sub>16</sub> his bed<sub>17</sub> and<sub>18</sub> he said to him<sub>19</sub> that<sub>20</sub> 2a. there<sub>21</sub> he should lie down<sub>22</sub> to<sub>23</sub> sleep<sub>24</sub>. 3. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said to him<sub>3</sub>, 3a. "And<sub>4</sub> what about<sub>5</sub> you(pl.)<sub>6</sub> where<sub>7</sub> will you sleep<sub>8</sub>?" 4. And<sub>1</sub> they<sub>2</sub> replied<sub>3</sub>, 4a. "On<sub>4</sub> (the) ground<sub>5</sub> we will lie down<sub>6</sub>."

**4** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> in<sub>4</sub> the<sub>3</sub> town<sub>5</sub> he walked around offering<sub>6</sub> his merchandise<sub>7</sub>, already very<sub>8</sub> tired he was<sub>9</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> it was<sub>4</sub> already late<sub>5</sub>, for this reason<sub>6</sub> he stopped over at<sub>7</sub> that<sub>7</sub> town<sub>8</sub>. 3. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> salesman<sub>3</sub> lay down<sub>4</sub> to sleep<sub>5</sub> on<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> bed<sub>9</sub>, and<sub>10</sub> there<sub>11</sub> a<sub>12</sub> rooster<sub>13</sub> had been tied<sub>14</sub>. 4. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> man (host)<sub>3</sub> he was watching him<sub>4</sub> (to see) if<sub>5</sub> 4a. he was already sleeping<sub>6</sub> well<sub>7</sub>. 5. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he was tired<sub>3</sub>, he<sub>4</sub> soon<sub>5</sub> slept<sub>6</sub>.

**5** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since (it was)<sub>2</sub> midnight<sub>3</sub>, perhaps<sub>4</sub>, he (host) grabbed<sub>5</sub> his rooster<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> he pulled its head off<sub>8</sub> and<sub>9</sub> killed it<sub>11</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he had killed

lā'<sub>10</sub> maknīlh<sub>11</sub> . 2. (DEV:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> (TH II) a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> i'xmknf-nf'ttza'<sub>3</sub> , tzuculh<sub>4</sub> makxcutni'lh<sub>5</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> a'ntza'<sub>8</sub> māmūni'lh<sub>9</sub> na<sub>10</sub> i'xdlachni'<sub>11</sub> i'xlfstā't<sub>12</sub> . 3. (TER:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> tlahualh<sub>3</sub> .

**6** (E P 4:COM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> tuncuilh<sub>3</sub> tzi'sāttza'<sub>4</sub> , (SET:Seq) (LOC I) taxtulh<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> chic<sub>9</sub> lā'<sub>10</sub> a'lh<sub>11</sub> talacapū'ni'<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> presidenti<sub>14</sub> . 2. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> (TH II) a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> chā'lh<sub>3</sub> (LOC II) nac<sub>4</sub> pāchihuīn<sub>5</sub> , lā'<sub>6</sub> huanilh<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> presidente<sub>9</sub> . 3. (IU:DirQt) Huanilh<sub>1</sub> , (Q:M O N O - C L I) (E P 1:SIM MONO) 3a. (SPE:IndQt) "Quit<sub>2</sub> i'cmimā'<sub>3</sub> i'cuaniyāni'<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> (IQ:E P I) (E P 1:SIM DIA) (IU:IndQt) 3aa. kalhatin<sub>6</sub> marsiyero<sub>7</sub> quihuanilh<sub>8</sub> que<sub>9</sub> (IQ:PREC) (ENTR:CIB) palh<sub>10</sub> tū'<sub>11</sub> i'cmaxquf'<sub>12</sub> permiso<sub>13</sub> para<sub>14</sub> namakhtata<sub>15</sub> . (IR:IndQt) 3ab. Lā'<sub>16</sub> quit<sub>17</sub> i'cuanih<sub>18</sub> que<sub>19</sub> (IQ:DECL) (PRON:PB) tzey<sub>20</sub> . (E P 2:DECL) 3ac. (PRON:CIB) Lā'<sub>21</sub> xa'i'cchfyā-huanf't<sub>22</sub> lakatin<sub>23</sub> quincariyon<sub>24</sub> na<sub>25</sub> i'xtampīn<sub>26</sub> de<sub>27</sub> huan<sub>28</sub> tama'<sub>29</sub> . (D É:DECL) 3b. (PRON:CIB) Lā'<sub>30</sub> chuhua'j<sub>31</sub> huā'<sub>32</sub> tuncuilh<sub>33</sub> , tint'ttza'<sub>34</sub> huan<sub>35</sub> cariyon<sub>36</sub> ." 4. (IR:IndQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presidenti<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) ca'a'nca<sub>7</sub> tayacan<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> marsiyero<sub>10</sub> .

**7** (E P 5:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> qufmātaxtuca<sub>3</sub>

it<sub>3</sub> , he began<sub>4</sub> to undo<sub>5</sub> his bag<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> there<sub>8</sub> he inserted for him<sub>9</sub> in<sub>10</sub> the midst of<sub>11</sub> his merchandise<sub>12</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> he did<sub>3</sub> .

**6** 1. And<sub>1</sub> early<sub>2</sub> when<sub>3</sub> it was dawn<sub>4</sub> , the<sub>5</sub> owner of<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> house<sub>8</sub> went out<sub>9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> he went<sub>11</sub> to lay a charge against him before<sub>12</sub> the<sub>13</sub> president<sub>14</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived<sub>3</sub> at<sub>4</sub> (the) town hall<sub>5</sub> , he said to<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> president<sub>9</sub> . 3. He said to him<sub>1</sub> , 3a. "I<sub>2</sub> have come<sub>3</sub> to tell you<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> 3aa. a<sub>6</sub> salesman<sub>7</sub> asked me<sub>8</sub> that<sub>9</sub> if<sub>10</sub> I would not give<sub>11,12</sub> permission<sub>13</sub> to<sub>14</sub> spend the night<sub>15</sub> . 3ab. And<sub>16</sub> I<sub>17</sub> told him<sub>18</sub> that<sub>19</sub> (it was) fine<sub>20</sub> . 3ac. And<sub>21</sub> I had tied<sub>22</sub> a<sub>23</sub> rooster of mine<sub>24</sub> underneath<sub>25-27</sub> the<sub>28</sub> bed<sub>29</sub> . 3b. And<sub>30</sub> now<sub>31</sub> this<sub>32</sub> morning<sub>33</sub> , there is no<sub>34</sub> rooster<sub>35,36</sub> ." 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> 4a. they should go<sub>7</sub> bring<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub> salesman<sub>10</sub> .

**7** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> messengers<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> police<sub>7</sub> went to bring out<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub>

huan<sub>4</sub> mayũlhnu'<sub>5</sub> lã'<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> policiasna'<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> marsiyero<sub>10</sub> , (IU:DirQt) tahuanih<sub>11</sub> , (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:Para) 'Capi't<sub>12</sub> ; kalhtñi'na'<sub>13</sub> , " tahuanih<sub>14</sub>. 2. (IR:DirQt) Huan<sub>1</sub> marsiyero<sub>2</sub> kalhtñh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:PB) "¿Lhachũ<sub>4</sub>?" 3. (DU:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:PB) 'Nac<sub>1</sub> pũchihuñ<sub>2</sub> . " 4. (TER:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> cãtã'a'lh<sub>3</sub> .

8 (E P 6:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lã'<sub>1</sub> a'xmi'ca'<sub>2</sub> talchã'lh<sub>3</sub> nac<sub>4</sub> pũchihuñ<sub>5</sub> , (IU:DirQt) tahuanih<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> presidenti<sub>8</sub> , (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) 'A'tzã'<sub>9</sub> i'clfminãhu<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> marsiyero<sub>12</sub> . " 2. (IR:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> presidenti<sub>3</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> tzuculh<sub>5</sub> kalhasqui'nñlh<sub>6</sub> que<sub>7</sub> (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchũ<sub>8</sub> i'xpãlacata<sub>9</sub> quilfmãta'satññi'na<sub>10</sub>?" 3. (DU:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> presidenti<sub>3</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> tzuculh<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> (Q:PREC) 3a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchũ<sub>7</sub> i'xpãlacata<sub>8</sub> quilfmãspi'tca<sub>9</sub>?" 4. (DR:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> kalhtñi'lh<sub>3</sub> tuchũ<sub>4</sub> i'xpãlacata<sub>5</sub> lã'<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> presidenti<sub>8</sub> huanilh<sub>9</sub> que<sub>10</sub> , (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'xpãlacata<sub>11</sub> que<sub>12</sub> makka'lhanti<sub>13</sub> i'xcariyon<sub>14</sub> huã'huf'<sub>15</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>16</sub> . " 5. (DR:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> marsiyero<sub>3</sub> kalhtñi'lh<sub>4</sub> , (Q:DECL) 5a. (PRON:CIB) 'Quit<sub>5</sub> tuntũ'<sub>6</sub> i'cka'lhani't<sub>7</sub> , " hualh<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> marsiyero<sub>10</sub> .

9 (E P 7:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> presidenti<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> i'xtẽcu'<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> cariyon<sub>7</sub> . 2. (IR:IndQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> hualh<sub>3</sub> que<sub>4</sub>

salesman<sub>10</sub> , they said to him<sub>11</sub> , 1a. "Go<sub>12</sub> ; answer (the charge)<sub>13</sub> , " they said to him<sub>14</sub> . 2. The<sub>1</sub> salesman<sub>2</sub> answered<sub>3</sub> , 2a. "Where<sub>4</sub>?" 3. "At<sub>1</sub> (the) town hall<sub>2</sub> . " 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went with them<sub>3</sub> .

8 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> they arrived with him<sub>3</sub> at<sub>4</sub> (the) town hall<sub>5</sub> , they said to<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> president<sub>8</sub> , 1a. "Here<sub>9</sub> we bring<sub>10</sub> the<sub>11</sub> salesman<sub>12</sub> . " 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>4</sub> he began<sub>5</sub> to ask<sub>6</sub> the<sub>2</sub> president<sub>3</sub> that<sub>7</sub> 2a. "For what reason<sub>8</sub> , did you have me called<sub>10</sub>?" 3. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>4</sub> he began<sub>5</sub> to say to<sub>6</sub> the<sub>2</sub> president<sub>3</sub> , 3a. "For what reason<sub>7</sub> , was I brought back<sub>8</sub>?" 4. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> told him<sub>3</sub> 4a. what<sub>4</sub> (was the) reason<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> president<sub>8</sub> told him<sub>9</sub> , 10 , 4a. "Because<sub>11</sub> , you stole from<sub>13</sub> this<sub>15</sub> man<sub>16</sub> his rooster<sub>14</sub> . " 5. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> salesman<sub>3</sub> answered<sub>4</sub> , 5a. "I<sub>5</sub> have stolen<sub>7</sub> nothing<sub>8</sub> , " said<sub>9</sub> the<sub>3</sub> salesman<sub>10</sub> .

9 1. And<sub>1</sub> (the) president<sub>2</sub> told it to<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> owner of<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> rooster<sub>7</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said<sub>3</sub> that<sub>4</sub> 2a. truly<sub>5</sub> he had stolen from him<sub>6</sub> his rooster<sub>7</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub>

(IQ:DECL) 2a. (PRON:C1B) stu'ncua<sub>5</sub> makka'lhalh<sub>8</sub> i'xcariyon<sub>7</sub> .  
 3. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> marsiyero<sub>3</sub> hualh<sub>4</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:Concl) "Palh<sub>5</sub> quit<sub>6</sub> i'cka'lhanf't<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> cariyon<sub>9</sub> , caquilāchf'hu<sub>10</sub> palh<sub>11</sub> quit<sub>12</sub> i'cka'lhanf't<sub>13</sub> huan<sub>14</sub> cariyon<sub>15</sub> ." 4. (DR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presidenti<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> , (Q:PREC) 4a. (ENTR:IndQt) "ĶLā'<sub>8</sub> chā<sub>7</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> que<sub>10</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4aa. (PRON:C1B) hui'xi<sub>11</sub> lfimpā't<sub>12</sub> i'xcariyon<sub>13</sub> ?" 5. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> marsiyero<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL) 5a. (PRON:Para) "A'nu'<sub>6</sub> quimaleta<sub>7</sub> ; camakputza'tit<sub>8</sub> . 5b. (PRON:Concl) Lā'<sub>9</sub> palh<sub>10</sub> i'clē'mā'<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> cariyon<sub>13</sub> , caquilā-chf'hu<sub>14</sub> ." 6. (TER:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> mayūlhnu'<sub>4</sub> tatzuculh<sub>5</sub> tamakxcuta<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> marsiyero<sub>10</sub> .

**10** (E P 8:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> takaksli<sub>3</sub> na<sub>4</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>5</sub> a'nlhā<sub>6</sub> i'xlē'mā'<sub>7</sub> i'xa'kaslihuin<sub>8</sub> ; i'xlaclhmānūnf'ti<sub>9</sub> i'xlf-stā't<sub>10</sub> . 2. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> hualh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> presidenti<sub>5</sub> , (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:Seq) "ĶChā<sub>6</sub> hua'na'<sub>7</sub> tū'<sub>8</sub> lfimpā't<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> cariyon<sub>11</sub> lā'<sub>12</sub> kaksca<sub>13</sub> na<sub>14</sub> mimaleta<sub>15</sub> ?" 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> marsiyero<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:Concl) "Palh<sub>6</sub> quit<sub>7</sub> i'cmaknfnf't<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> cariyon<sub>10</sub> , nahuani<sub>11</sub> palh<sub>12</sub> quit<sub>13</sub> i'cmaknfnf'ti<sub>14</sub> ." 4. (TER:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> maklhtfni'lh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub> .

salesman<sub>3</sub> said<sub>4</sub> , 3a. "If<sub>5</sub> I<sub>6</sub> have stolen<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> rooster<sub>9</sub> , take me prisoner<sub>10</sub> if<sub>11</sub> I<sub>12</sub> have stolen<sub>13</sub> the<sub>14</sub> rooster<sub>15</sub> ." 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 4a. "And<sub>6</sub> how is it<sub>7</sub> its owner<sub>8</sub> says<sub>9</sub> that<sub>10</sub> 4aa. you<sub>11</sub> are carrying off<sub>12</sub> his rooster<sub>13</sub> ?" 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> salesman<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 5a. "There is<sub>6</sub> my bag<sub>7</sub> ; look in it<sub>8</sub> . 5b. And<sub>9</sub> if<sub>10</sub> I am carrying off<sub>11</sub> the<sub>12</sub> rooster<sub>13</sub> , take me prisoner<sub>14</sub> ." 6. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> messengers<sub>4</sub> began<sub>5</sub> to undo<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> bag of<sub>8</sub> the salesman<sub>9</sub> .

**10** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they found it<sub>3</sub> in<sub>4</sub> his bag<sub>5</sub> where<sub>6</sub> he was carrying<sub>7</sub> his earrings<sub>8</sub> ; he had put it in the midst of<sub>9</sub> his merchandise<sub>10</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 2a. "How is it<sub>6</sub> you say<sub>7</sub> you are not carrying off<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub> rooster<sub>10</sub> and<sub>11</sub> they found it<sub>12</sub> in<sub>13</sub> your bag<sub>14</sub> ?" 3. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> salesman<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 3a. "If<sub>6</sub> I<sub>7</sub> have killed<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub> rooster<sub>10</sub> , it will say<sub>11</sub> if<sub>12</sub> I<sub>13</sub> killed it<sub>14</sub> ." 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he took<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> rooster<sub>5</sub> .

**11** (E P 9:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tāla'sli<sub>3</sub> mak-tu'tun<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> lhtun<sub>6</sub> mākosūlh<sub>7</sub> .

**12** (E P 10:SIM MONO)<sup>1</sup> 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> tāya-cha'<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub> , (SPE:DirQt) ta'salh<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> hualh<sub>8</sub> , (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:C1B) "Lakaxō'ko'<sub>3</sub> quimaknflh<sub>10</sub> ."

**13** (E P 11:SIM MONO) 1. (SPE:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> mar-siyero<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> , (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:IndQt) "ĶChā<sub>6</sub> huanā'tit<sub>7</sub> (IQ:DECL) 1aa. (PRON:C1B) quit<sub>8</sub> i'cmaknflh<sub>9</sub> ? 1b. (AMPLI:Concl) Lā'<sub>10</sub> palh<sub>11</sub> , i'xlfmaktu'tuni<sub>12</sub> nahuan<sub>13</sub> palh<sub>14</sub> quiti<sub>15</sub> i'cmaknfnf't<sub>16</sub> huan<sub>17</sub> cariyon<sub>18</sub> ."

**14** (E P 12:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chu<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> qufsacpa<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> tāla'spā<sub>6</sub> maktu'tun<sub>7</sub> huampala<sub>8</sub> . 2. (DEV:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> cariyon<sub>4</sub> chu<sub>5</sub> tuncan<sub>6</sub> mākosūpā<sub>7</sub> .

**15** (E P 13:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chōchi<sub>2</sub> tāyapala-cha'<sub>3</sub> , (SPE:DirQt) ta'sapā<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> huampā<sub>6</sub> , (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:C1B) "Lakaxō'ko'<sub>7</sub> quimaknflh<sub>8</sub> ."

**11** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he hit it<sub>3</sub> three times<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> whoosh<sub>6</sub> he threw it<sub>7</sub> .

**12** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the<sub>4</sub> rooster<sub>5</sub> stood there<sub>3</sub> , it crowed<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> said<sub>8</sub> , 1a. "(The) one-eyed one<sub>9</sub> he killed me<sub>10</sub> ."

**13** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> salesman<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 1a. "How is it<sub>6</sub> you say<sub>7</sub> 1aa. I<sub>8</sub> killed it<sub>9</sub> ? 1b. And<sub>10</sub> if so<sub>11</sub> , the third time<sub>12</sub> the<sub>17</sub> rooster<sub>18</sub> will say<sub>13</sub> if<sub>14</sub> I<sub>15</sub> have killed it<sub>16</sub> ."

**14** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he went and picked it up again<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> he hit it<sub>6</sub> again<sub>8</sub> three times<sub>7</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2,5,6</sub> he again threw<sub>7</sub> the<sub>3</sub> rooster<sub>4</sub> .

**15** 1. And<sub>1</sub> as soon as<sub>2</sub> it stood there again<sub>3</sub> , it crowed<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> said again<sub>6</sub> , 1a. "(The) one-eyed one<sub>7</sub> killed me<sub>8</sub> ." 2. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> it died again<sub>4</sub> .

<sup>1</sup>Alternatively, paragraphs 11 and 12 could be combined into one SIMPLE MONO-LOGUE paragraph as could also paragraphs 14 and 15, as well as 16 and 17.

**16** (E P 14:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> qufsacpā<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> tāla'spā<sub>5</sub> maktu'tun<sub>6</sub> huampala<sub>7</sub>. 2. (DEV:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> lhtun<sub>2</sub> mākosūpā<sub>3</sub>.

**17** (E P 15:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chōchi<sub>2</sub> tāyapala-cha'<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) chu<sub>6</sub> tuncan<sub>7</sub> tasa'pā<sub>8</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> huampā<sub>10</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) "Lakaxō'ko'<sub>11</sub> quimaknflh<sub>12</sub>."

**18** (E P 16:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> a'cchā'lh<sub>3</sub> a'ntū<sub>4</sub> i'xmaktu'tun<sub>5</sub> hualh<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> cariyon<sub>8</sub> que<sub>9</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>10</sub> maknfnf't<sub>11</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) tuncan<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> presidenti<sub>14</sub> hualh<sub>15</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) "Lēj<sub>16</sub> stu'ncua'<sub>17</sub> que<sub>18</sub> huā'<sub>19</sub> marsiyero<sub>20</sub> tū'<sub>21</sub> mak-nfnf't<sub>22</sub> huā'<sub>23</sub> cariyon<sub>24</sub>, porque<sub>25</sub> xla'<sub>26</sub> tū'<sub>27</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>28</sub>. 1b. (PRON:Condl) Lā'<sub>29</sub> caxa'ncalaktz'f'ntit<sub>30</sub>, palh<sub>31</sub> tū'<sub>32</sub> tzey<sub>33</sub> i'xlakastapun<sub>34</sub>."

**19** (E P 17:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> mayūlhnu'<sub>3</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> cuenta<sub>6</sub> tatlahualh<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> xla'ca'n<sub>9</sub> talaktz'f'lh<sub>10</sub>. 2. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tahualh<sub>3</sub>, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) "Tu'<sub>4</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>5</sub> huā'<sub>6</sub> marsiyero<sub>7</sub>." 3. (IR:DirQt) (Q:PREC) 3a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Entonces<sub>1</sub> tichū<sub>2</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>3</sub>?" 4. (DU:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:Para "U'tza'<sub>1</sub> a'ntf<sub>2</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>3</sub> huā'<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub>; u'tza'<sub>6</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>7</sub>," tahualh<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub>

**16** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went and picked it up again<sub>3</sub>, and<sub>4</sub> he hit it<sub>5</sub> again<sub>7</sub> three times<sub>8</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> whoosh<sub>2</sub> he threw it again<sub>3</sub>.

**17** 1. And<sub>1</sub> as soon as<sub>2</sub> the<sub>4</sub> rooster<sub>5</sub> stood there again<sub>3</sub>, then<sub>6</sub>, it crowed again<sub>8</sub> and<sub>9</sub> it said again<sub>10</sub>, 1a. "(The) one-eyed one<sub>11</sub> killed me<sub>12</sub>."

**18** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it reached<sub>3</sub> the third time<sub>4</sub>, the<sub>7</sub> rooster<sub>8</sub> said<sub>9</sub> that<sub>10</sub> (the) one-eyed one<sub>11</sub> had killed him<sub>11</sub>, then<sub>12</sub> the<sub>13</sub> president<sub>14</sub> said<sub>15</sub>, 1a. "(It is) very<sub>16</sub> true<sub>17</sub> that<sub>18</sub> this<sub>19</sub> salesman<sub>20</sub> has not killed<sub>21,22</sub> this<sub>23</sub> rooster<sub>24</sub>, because<sub>25</sub> he<sub>26</sub> is not one-eyed<sub>27,28</sub>. 1b. And<sub>29</sub> look well to see<sub>30</sub>, if<sub>31</sub> his eyes<sub>34</sub> (are) not<sub>32</sub> good<sub>33</sub>."

**19** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>4</sub> the<sub>2</sub> messengers<sub>3</sub> took very good notice<sub>5-7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> they<sub>9</sub> looked<sub>10</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they said<sub>3</sub>, 2a. "This<sub>6</sub> salesman<sub>7</sub> (is) not<sub>4</sub> one-eyed<sub>5</sub>." 3. 3a. "Then<sub>1</sub> who<sub>2</sub> (is) one-eyed<sub>3</sub>?" 4. 4a. "That one<sub>1</sub> who<sub>2</sub> (is)

mayũlhnu'<sub>10</sub> . 5. (DR:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presidenti<sub>4</sub> hualh<sub>5</sub> ,  
 (Q:DECL) 5a. (PRON:CIB) 'Chuhua'<sub>j6</sub> u'tza'<sub>7</sub> huã<sub>8</sub> lakaxõ'<sub>ko'9</sub> , camã-  
 nũ'tit<sub>10</sub> nac<sub>11</sub> pũlãchf'n<sub>12</sub> . " 6. (DU:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> lakaxõ'<sub>ko'3</sub>  
 huanil<sub>4</sub> presidenti<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL) 6a. (PRON:Para) 'Tũ'<sub>6</sub> caquilãchf'hu<sub>7</sub> ;  
 mejor<sub>8</sub> na'i'cmãpala<sub>9</sub> quimũlhta<sub>10</sub> . " 7. (DU:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> hualh<sub>3</sub>  
 huan<sub>4</sub> presidente<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL) 7a. (PRON:Para) 'Tuncan<sub>6</sub> camãpala'<sub>7</sub> ;  
 caqufta'ya'<sub>8</sub> mũlhta<sub>9</sub> . " 8. (TER:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> lakaxõ'<sub>ko'4</sub>  
 a'lh<sub>5</sub> na<sub>6</sub> i'xchic<sub>7</sub> .

**20** (D É:COM MONO) 1. (SET:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tzuculh<sub>3</sub> xaca<sub>4</sub>  
 i'xmachita<sub>5</sub> , para<sub>6</sub> na'a'n<sub>7</sub> taxtokt<sub>8</sub> (LOC I) nac<sub>9</sub> tej<sub>10</sub> para<sub>11</sub> namaknf<sub>12</sub>  
 huan<sub>13</sub> marsiyero<sub>14</sub> . 2. (SET:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tatzẽ'kli<sub>3</sub> (LOC II)  
 na<sub>4</sub> i'xkẽn<sub>5</sub> a'katin<sub>6</sub> ka'tla'<sub>7</sub> qui'hui'<sub>8</sub> a'nlhã<sub>9</sub> natẽtaxtu<sub>10</sub> . 3. (SET:CIB)  
 Lã'<sub>1</sub> (TH I) a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> laktz'f'lh<sub>3</sub> i'xmimã'cha'<sub>4</sub> , tuncan<sub>5</sub> cãxtlahualh<sub>6</sub>  
 xa'nca<sub>7</sub> i'xmachita<sub>8</sub> , para<sub>9</sub> namũcã'taxtoka<sub>10</sub> . 4. (SET:CIB) Pero<sub>1</sub>  
 (TH II) a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> i'xtẽtaxtumã'<sub>3</sub> (LOC III) pajtzu<sub>4</sub> de<sub>5</sub> a'nlhã<sub>6</sub>  
 i'xka'lhftfĩmã'<sub>7</sub> , chu<sub>8</sub> tuncan<sub>9</sub> ron<sub>10</sub> kostaxtuni'chi<sub>11</sub> (LOC II) de<sub>12</sub> nac<sub>13</sub>  
 cã'qui'huf'n<sub>14</sub> de<sub>15</sub> a'nlhã<sub>16</sub> i'xtatzẽ'kni'n'f't<sub>17</sub> . 5. (SPE:DirQt) Lã'<sub>1</sub>  
 (TH III) a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> taxtuchi<sub>3</sub> , huanilh<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> marsiyero<sub>6</sub> , (Q:DECL)  
 5a. (PRON:PB) 'O<sub>7</sub> burro<sub>8</sub> ! " 6. (DEV:CIB) Lã'<sub>1</sub> tapalajli<sub>2</sub> i'xlfburro<sub>3</sub> .

(the) owner of<sub>3</sub> this<sub>4</sub> rooster<sub>5</sub> ; that one<sub>6</sub> (is) one-eyed<sub>7</sub> , " the<sub>8</sub> messengers<sub>10</sub>  
 said<sub>9</sub> . 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 5a. "Now<sub>6</sub> that one<sub>7,8</sub> (the) one-  
 eyed one<sub>9</sub> , put him<sub>10</sub> in<sub>11</sub> jail<sub>12</sub> . " 6. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> one-eyed one<sub>3</sub> said to<sub>4</sub> (the)  
 president<sub>5</sub> , 6a. "Don't<sub>6</sub> take me prisoner<sub>7</sub> ; better<sub>8</sub> (that) I pay<sub>9</sub> my fine<sub>10</sub> . " 7.  
 And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>4</sub> president<sub>5</sub> said<sub>3</sub> , 7a. "Then<sub>6</sub> pay it<sub>7</sub> ; go get<sub>8</sub> (the)  
 fine<sub>9</sub> . " 8. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> one-eyed one<sub>4</sub> went to<sub>6</sub> his house<sub>7</sub> .

**20** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he began<sub>3</sub> to sharpen<sub>4</sub> his machete<sub>5</sub> , in order to<sub>6</sub> go<sub>7</sub> to  
 meet<sub>8</sub> the<sub>13</sub> salesman<sub>14</sub> on<sub>9</sub> (the) road<sub>10</sub> in order to<sub>11</sub> kill him<sub>12</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub>  
 he hid himself<sub>3</sub> behind<sub>4,5</sub> a<sub>6</sub> big<sub>7</sub> tree<sub>8</sub> where<sub>9</sub> he was to pass by<sub>10</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub>  
 when<sub>2</sub> he saw<sub>3</sub> he was approaching<sub>4</sub> , then<sub>5</sub> he fixed<sub>6</sub> well<sub>7</sub> his machete<sub>8</sub> , in order  
 to<sub>9</sub> cut off his head<sub>10</sub> . 4. But<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he was passing<sub>3</sub> near<sub>4</sub> where<sub>6,8</sub> he was  
 waiting to kill him<sub>7</sub> , then<sub>8,9</sub> zoom<sub>10</sub> he came out with a jump<sub>11</sub> from<sub>12,13</sub> (the)  
 woods<sub>14</sub> where<sub>15,16</sub> he had been hiding<sub>17</sub> . 5. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he came out<sub>3</sub> , the<sub>6</sub>  
 salesman<sub>8</sub> said<sub>4</sub> , 5a. "Whoa<sub>7</sub> donkey<sub>8</sub> ! " 6. And<sub>1</sub> he changed into<sub>2</sub> (a) donkey<sub>3</sub> .



7. (TER:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> mācu'quf'lh<sub>3</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> lē'lh<sub>6</sub> a'nlhā<sub>7</sub> i'xa'mā'<sub>8</sub> .

**21** (E P 18:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tlā'huan<sub>2</sub> lēj<sub>3</sub> makati<sub>4</sub> , (ORI/TM:SR-A) a'xni'ca'<sub>5</sub> pāxtokli<sub>6</sub> kalhatin<sub>7</sub> arriero<sub>8</sub> . 2. (IU:DirQt) Huanilh<sub>1</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:C1B) "Caquistā'maxqui'<sub>2</sub> miburro<sub>3</sub> ." 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:C1B) "Tu'<sub>4</sub> i'cstā'cu'tun<sub>5</sub> , porque<sub>6</sub> lēj<sub>7</sub> malo<sub>8</sub> . 3b. (PRON:Concl) Mejor<sub>9</sub> na'i'cmāsācua'nfyāni'<sub>10</sub> , palh<sub>11</sub> lacasqui'na'<sub>12</sub> . 3c. (PRON:C1B) Lā'<sub>13</sub> lēj<sub>14</sub> laka'tla'<sub>15</sub> tacu'ca'<sub>16</sub> namācu'quf'ya'<sub>17</sub> . 3d. (AMPLI:Concl) Lā'<sub>18</sub> palh<sub>19</sub> tū'<sub>20</sub> tzinca<sub>21</sub> namācu'quf'ya'<sub>22</sub> , tūlah<sub>23</sub> catili'pi'<sub>24</sub> , porque<sub>25</sub> lēj<sub>26</sub> ko'hua'jua'<sub>27</sub> la<sub>28</sub> . 3e. (AMPLI:C1B) Lā'<sub>29</sub> u'tza'<sub>30</sub> līlacasqui'ni'<sub>31</sub> namācu'quf'ya'<sub>32</sub> a'ntū<sub>33</sub> lactzinca<sub>34</sub> tacu'ca'<sub>35</sub> . 3f. (AMPLI:C1B) Lā'<sub>36</sub> chuntza'<sub>37</sub> i'clīmāmacū'yāni<sub>38</sub> ." 4. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> arriero<sub>3</sub> kalhtfni'lh<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> hualh<sub>6</sub> , (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:Para) "Tzey<sub>7</sub> ; na'i'c-lē'n<sub>8</sub> miburro<sub>9</sub> , palh<sub>10</sub> naquimāsācua'nfyāni'<sub>11</sub> ." 5. (DR:E P I) (E P 1:DECL) 5a. (PRON:C1B) "Na'i'cmāsācua'nfyāni'<sub>1</sub> por<sub>2</sub> lakatin<sub>3</sub> cā'ta<sub>4</sub> . 5b. (AMPLI:C1B) Lā'<sub>5</sub> u'tza'<sub>6</sub> huā'mā'<sub>7</sub> chi'chini'<sub>8</sub> naquimacamaxquf'ya'<sub>9</sub> ā'tza'<sub>10</sub> a'nlhā<sub>11</sub> lāpāxtokui'<sub>12</sub> huā'mā'<sub>13</sub> chi'chini'<sub>14</sub> . 5c. (PRON:C1B) Lā'<sub>15</sub> chuhua'j<sub>16</sub> cal'pi'<sub>17</sub> . (C L:DEPAR) 5d. (LV-TAK:C1B) Lā'<sub>18</sub> nā<sub>19</sub> quit<sub>20</sub> i'ca'na<sub>21</sub> nā<sub>22</sub> quit<sub>23</sub> . 5e. (LV-TAK':C1B) Hasta<sub>24</sub> ā'cā'ta<sub>25</sub>

7. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he loaded his bag on him<sub>3</sub>, and<sub>4</sub> took him<sub>5</sub> where<sub>7</sub> he was going<sub>8</sub>.

**21** 1. And<sub>1</sub> he had walked<sub>2</sub> very<sub>3</sub> far<sub>4</sub> , when<sub>5</sub> he met<sub>6</sub> a<sub>7</sub> muleteer<sub>8</sub> . 2. He said to him<sub>1</sub> , 2a. "Sell me<sub>2</sub> your donkey<sub>3</sub> ." 3. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said to him<sub>3</sub> , 3a. "I do not want to sell him<sub>4</sub>, because<sub>6</sub> (he is) very<sub>7</sub> bad<sub>8</sub> . 3b. Better<sub>9</sub> I should lend him to you<sub>10</sub> , if<sub>11</sub> you want<sub>12</sub> . 3c. And<sub>13</sub> very<sub>14</sub> big<sub>15</sub> loads<sub>16</sub> you will make him bear<sub>17</sub> . 3d. And<sub>18</sub> if<sub>19</sub> you do not load him<sub>20</sub>, heavily<sub>21</sub> , you cannot take him<sub>22</sub>, because<sub>23</sub> he becomes<sub>24</sub> very<sub>25</sub> bad<sub>26</sub> . 3e. And<sub>28</sub> for this reason<sub>29</sub> it is necessary that<sub>31</sub> you make him bear<sub>32</sub> heavy burdens<sub>33-36</sub> . 3f. And<sub>38</sub> thus<sub>37</sub> I charge you<sub>38</sub> ." 4. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> muleteer<sub>3</sub> answered<sub>4</sub> and<sub>5</sub> said<sub>6</sub> , 4a. "Fine<sub>7</sub> : I will take<sub>8</sub> your donkey<sub>9</sub> , if<sub>10</sub> you will lend him to me<sub>11</sub> ." 5. 5a. "I will lend him to you<sub>1</sub> for<sub>2</sub> one<sub>3</sub> year<sub>4</sub> . 5b. And<sub>5</sub> that<sub>6</sub>, day<sub>7</sub> you will deliver him to me<sub>8</sub> here<sub>10</sub> where<sub>11</sub> we met<sub>12</sub> this<sub>13</sub> day<sub>14</sub> . 5c. And<sub>15</sub> now<sub>16</sub> take him off<sub>17</sub> . 5d.

nalāpāxtokpalayāhu<sub>26</sub> ā'tzā'<sub>27</sub> huā'mā'<sub>28</sub> lugar<sub>29</sub> ." 6. (TER:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> marsiyero<sub>4</sub> a'h<sub>5</sub> ā'lakatin<sub>6</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>7</sub> huampala<sub>8</sub> .

At this point the Man Who Became a Donkey is interrupted.

E P I S O D E 2 is manifested by a M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Blacksmith, paragraphs #22 through #34). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, S T A G E, three E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E M E N T, two additional E P I S O D E S, C L O S U R E 1, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, two further E P I S O D E S, and C L O S U R E 2.

**22** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET/L:dep) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'nlhā<sub>2</sub> taxtupalacha'<sub>3</sub> huanmā'<sub>4</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>5</sub> (FOC:Para) i'xlahui'lapā<sub>6</sub> kalhatin<sub>7</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>8</sub> ; xla'<sub>9</sub> xmān<sub>10</sub> i'xmacahui'lni'n<sub>11</sub> lā'<sub>12</sub> chu'u'tza'<sub>13</sub> i'xltapātle'keni'<sub>14</sub> lakalfyān<sub>15</sub> .

**23** (S T A G E:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> lhūhua'<sub>2</sub> cahuayujnu'<sub>3</sub> i'xcāmacahui'lf<sub>4</sub> i'xmacalfcā'n<sub>5</sub> lā'<sub>6</sub> i'xlfmini'can<sub>7</sub> cahuayujnu'<sub>8</sub> a'ntū<sub>9</sub> sarerosnu'<sub>10</sub> . 2. (FOC:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xui'lnf'ti<sub>2</sub> na<sub>3</sub> i'xtanquilhni'<sub>4</sub> de<sub>5</sub> na<sub>6</sub> i'xchic<sub>7</sub> a'nlhā<sub>8</sub> i'xtzo'knf't<sub>9</sub><sup>2</sup> que<sub>10</sub> nñ<sub>11</sub> tintf'<sub>12</sub> i'xmāla-castuca<sub>13</sub> a'nchf'<sub>14</sub> i'xmacahui'lni'n<sub>15</sub> .

**24** (E P 1:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> lakchi'pa<sub>3</sub>

And<sub>18</sub> I<sub>20,23</sub> too<sub>19</sub>,<sub>22</sub> am leaving<sub>21</sub> . 5e. Until<sub>24</sub> a year from now<sub>25</sub> (when) we will meet again<sub>26</sub> here<sub>27</sub> (at) this<sub>28</sub> place<sub>29</sub> ." 6. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> salesman<sub>4</sub> went<sub>5</sub> to another<sub>6</sub> town<sub>7</sub> again<sub>8</sub> .

**22** 1. And<sub>1</sub> (In) that<sub>4</sub> town<sub>5</sub> where<sub>2</sub> he came to<sub>3</sub> there lived<sub>6</sub> a<sub>7</sub> man<sub>8</sub> ; he<sub>9</sub> did horseshoeing<sub>11</sub> only<sub>10</sub> and<sub>12</sub> in this way only<sub>13</sub> he supported himself<sub>14</sub> daily<sub>15</sub> .

**23** 1. And<sub>1</sub> he used to shoe<sub>4,5</sub> many<sub>2</sub> horses<sub>3</sub> and<sub>6</sub> they used to bring him<sub>7</sub> wild<sub>9,10</sub> horses<sub>8</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> he had put<sub>2</sub> on<sub>3</sub> the front of<sub>4-6</sub> his house<sub>7</sub> where<sub>8</sub> he had written<sub>9</sub> that<sub>10</sub> no one<sub>11,12</sub> was his equal<sub>13</sub> in the way in which<sub>14</sub> he shod horses<sub>15</sub> .

**24** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> our God (salesman)<sub>4</sub> came to him<sub>3</sub> , and<sub>5</sub> then<sub>6</sub> he saw<sub>7</sub>

<sup>2</sup>The Indirect Quote subtype A sentence within the FOCAL tagmeme does not determine this paragraph to be a MONOLOGUE paragraph since the Indirect Quote sentence manifests axis of a dependent clause (see 2.2.9).

quinDiosca'n<sub>4</sub> , (SET:CIB) lã'₅ tuncan₆ laktzĩ'lh₇ a'nchf₈ i'xtzo'knf't₉  
i'xchic₁₀ huan₁₁ chi'xcu'₁₂ . 2. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lã'₁ a'xni'ca'tza'₂  
ĩ'stã'₃ nñ₄ tuntũ'₅ ; xmãntza'₆ i'xputzatēlha₇ i'xlfmakscujat₈ , (IU:CIB)  
lã'₉ tuncan₁₀ squi'nf'lh₁₁ i'xlfmakscujat₁₂ . 3. (IR:IndQt) Lã'₁ xla'₂  
huanilh₃ que₄ (IQ:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) tũ'₅ ka'lhf₆ lfscujat₇ . 4.  
(DU:IndQt) Lã'₁ tuncan₂ huanipã₃ que₄ (IQ:PREC) 4a. (ENTR:CIB)  
palh₅ tũ'₆ lacasqui'n₇ natã'macahui'lfni'n₈ . 5. (DR:DirQt) Lã'₁ huan₂  
chi'xcu'₃ huanilh₄ , (Q:PREC) 5a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Chã₅ tze₆ maca-  
hui'lfni'na'₇ ?" 6. (DU:DirQt) Lã'₁ xla'₂ kalhtfni'lh₃ , (Q:DECL) 6a.  
(PRON:Adver) "Tũ'₄ lēj₅ xa'nca₆ , pero₇ makatna'₈ tze₉ i'cmacahui'lf-  
ni'n₁₀ lã'₁₁ masqui₁₂ tũ'₁₃ caquimāpala'₁₄ , masqui₁₅ xmān₁₆ quintahuā'₁₇  
na'i'ctlaja₁₈ ."

**25** (E P 2:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lã'₁ maxquf'ca₂ huan₃ mar-  
tillo₄ lã'₅ huan₆ tenazas₇ lã'₈ huan₉ cuchilu₁₀ . 2. (FOC:Seq) Tuncan₁  
chu'cutēni'lh₂ i'xmacan₃ huan₄ cahuayuj₅ lã'₆ tzuculh₇ hui'lfni'₈ i'xma-  
calfcã'n₉ . 3. (DEV:CIB) Lã'₁ chō'chi₂ macahui'lfkō'lh₃ , tuncan₄ yā-  
huanipã₅ tuncan₆ i'xmacan₇ a'nlhã₈ i'xchu'cutēni'nf't₉ . 4. (DEV:CIB)  
Lã'₁ tuncan₂ cã'tēni'pã₃ ā'kentin₄ i'xmacan₅ huampala₆ . 5. (DEV:CIB)  
Lã'₁ tuncan₂ tzucupã₃ macahui'lfpala₄ i'xmacalfcã'n₅ . 6. (DEV:CIB)

how₈ the₁₁ man₁₃ had written on₉ his house₁₀ . 2. And₁ when (at that time)₂ he was  
selling₃ nothing₄,₅ ; he was only walking around looking for₆,₇ work₈ , and₉ then₁₀  
he asked for₁₁ work₁₂ . 3. And₁ he₂ told him₃ that₄ 3a. he did not have₅,₆  
work₇ . 4. And₁ then₂ he asked him₃ that₄ 4a. if₅ he did not want him₆,₇ to help  
him shoe horses₈ . 5. And₁ the₂ man₃ said to him₄ , 5a. "Is it so that₅ you can  
shoe horses₆,₇ ?" 6. And₁ he₂ answered₃ , 6a. "Not₄ very₅ well₆ , but₇ to a  
limited degree₈ I am able to shoe horses₉,₁₀ and₁₁ even though₁₂ you do not pay  
me₁₃,₁₄ , even though₁₅ I earn₁₆ only₁₇ my meal₁₇ ."

**25** 1. And₁ he was given₂ the₃ hammer₄ and₅ the₆ pliers₇ and₈ the₉ knife₁₀ .  
2. Then₁ he cut off₂ the forefoot of₃ the₄ horse₅ and₆ he began₇ to put on it₈ its  
horseshoe₉ . 3. And₁ as soon as₂ he finished putting the shoe on₃ , then₄ he put  
his forefoot on again₅,₇ then₈ where₉ he had cut it off₃ . 4. And₁ then₂ he cut  
off₃ another₄ forefoot₅ again₆ . 5. And₁ then₂ he began again₃ to put on₄ its

Lā'₁ como₂ lacapalh₃ i'xmacahui'lf₄ , palaj₅ macahui'lkō'lh₆ lakatin₇ cahuyuj₆ .

**26** (E P 3:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tzucupā₃ macahui'lfpala₄ ā'lakatin₅ huampala₆ cahuyuj₇ mas₈ xasarero₉ . 2. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ nā₂ chuntza'₃ tlahuapā₄ . 3. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ nā₂ tuncan₃ cā'tēni'pā₄ kentin₅ i'xmacan₆ . 4. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tzucupā₃ macahui'lfpala₄ . 5. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ lacapalh₃ macahui'lfpala-kō'lh₄ . 6. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ nā₂ tuncan₃ yāhuani'palachokolh₄ i'xmacan₅ a'nlhā₆ cā'tēnilh₇ . 7. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ cā'tēni'pā₃ ā'kentin₄ huampala₅ i'xmacan₆ . 8. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tzucupā₃ macahui'lf₄ .

**27** (D É:COM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ macahui'lfpalakō'lh₃ na₄ i'xmacan'f'n₅ , (SET:CIB) tuncan₆ yāhuani'pā₇ como₈ hua'chilh₉ tū'₁₀ i'xcā'tēni'nf't₁₁ i'xmacan'f'n₁₂ . (FOC:Para) Lā'₁ tū'₂ f'sta'ja₃ i'xka'lhni'₄ ; nf₅ macsti'na'j₆ . 3. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ ca'tēni'pā₂ i'xtojonf'n₃ . 4. (DEV:Para) Nā₁ chuntza'₂ tlahuapā₃ ; nā₄ cā'tēni'lh₅ ā'nā₆ i'xtojonf'n₇ . 5. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tzucupā₃ macahui'lf₄ . 6. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ (TH II) a'xni'ca'₂ macahui'lfpalakō'lh₃ , tuncan₄ cāyāhuani'pā₅ tuncan₆ .

horseshoe₅ . 6. And₁ since₂ he put the horseshoe on₄ quickly₃ , soon₅ he finished shoeing₆ a₇ horse₆ .

**26** 1. And₁ then₂ he began again₃ to shoe₄ yet₆ another₅ wilder₈,₉ horse₇ . 2. And₁ thus₃ also₂ he did again₄ . 3. And₁ then₃ (this one) also₂ he cut off₄ one₅ (of) its forefeet₆ . 4. And₁ then₂ he began again₃ to shoe it₄ . 5. And₁ then₂ quickly₃ he finished shoeing it₄ . 6. And₁ then₃ (this one) also₂ he put his forefoot on again₄,₅ where₆ he had cut it off₇ . 7. And₁ then₂ he cut off again₃,₅ another₄ forefoot₆ . 8. And₁ then₂ he began again₃ to shoe it₄ .

**27** 1. And₁ when₂ he had finished shoeing₃ on₄ his forefeet₅ , then₆ he put them on again₇ as if₈,₉ he had not cut off₁,₁₁ his forefeet₁₂ . 2. And₁ his blood₄ did not flow₂,₃ ; not even₅ a little₆ . 3. And₁ he cut off again/also₂ his hindfeet₃ . 4. Thus₂ also₁ he did₃ , he cut off₆ also₄,₆ his hindfeet₇ . 5. And₁ then₂ he began again₃ to shoe it₄ . 6. And₁ when₂ he had finished shoeing it again₃ , then₄ he put them on again₆ then₆ .

**28** (E P 4:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ cāma-cahui'līh₃ mas₄ xalhūhua'₅ lā'₆ huan₇ i'xpatron₈ tū₉ lhūhua'₁₀ macahui'līh₁₁, porque₁₂ xla'₁₃ tūla₁₄ i'xmacahui'līni'n₁₅ a'nchī'₁₆ tlhualh₁₇ huan₁₈ i'xtasācua'₁₉, (FOC:CIB) lā'₂₀ u'tza'₂₁ lītlajaca₂₂ huan₂₃ xapatron₂₄.

**29** (E P 5:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'tza'₂ tastu'nūtlī₃, (SPE:DirQt) huanilī₄ i'xtasācua'₅, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) 'Ca'ahuitza'₈ huā'yanāhutza'₇." 2. (TER:CIB) Chuntza'₁ ta'a'lh-tza'₂ tahuā'yan₃.

**30** (C L 1:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'tza'₂ tahuā'-yankō'lh₃, (IU:DirQt) huanilī₄ i'xpatron₅ (Q:DEPAR) 1a. (LV-TAK:CIB) 'Chuhua'j₆ quit₇ i'ca'natza'₈ chuhua'j₉, porque₁₀ quit₁₁ i'cmāpalalhtza'₁₂ quintahuā'₁₃. 1b. (LV-TAK':CIB) Lā'₁₄ i'ca'na₁₅ ā'lacatin₁₈ huampala₁₇." 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ i'xpatron₂ kalhtlīh₃, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:Para) "Tzey₄; capi't₅!"

**28** 1. And₁ when₂ he shod₃ many₅ more₄ and₆ the₇ boss₈ did not shoe₉,₁₁ many₁₀, because₁₂ he₁₃ was not able₁₄ to shoe horses₁₅ as₁₆ his employee₁₆,₁₈ did₁₇, and₂₀ for this reason₂₁ he excelled over₂₂ the₂₃ boss₂₄.

**29** 1. And₁ when₂ it was noon₃, he said to₄ his employee₅, 1a. "Let us go₆ eat₇." 2. Thus₁ they went₂ to eat₃.

**30** 1. And₁ when₂ they finished eating₃, he said to₄ his boss₆, 1a. "Now₆ I₇ am going₈ now₉, because₁₀ I₁₁ have paid for₁₂ my meal₁₃. 1b. And₁₄ I am going₁₅ to another place₁₆ yet₁₇." 2. And₁ his boss₂ answered him₃, 2a. "Fine₄; go₅!"

**31** (A N T I - D É:SIM EVENT)<sup>3</sup> 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'-tza'₂ i'xa'nf'ttza'₃, (SET:CIB) tuncan₄ nā₅ xla'₆ macacā'tēlh₇ nā₈ la-katin₉ cahuyuj₁₀. 2. (SET:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tzuculh₃ sta'jni'₄ i'x-ka'lhni'₅. 3. (SET:CIB) Lā'₁ como₂ laktz'f'li₃ que₄ lēj₅ f'sta'jmā'₆ i'xka'lhni'₇, lēj₆ lacapali₉ hui'l'fni'kō'lh₁₀ i'xmacalfcā'n₁₁ huan₁₂ cahua-yuj₁₃. 4. (FOC:Para) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ tiyāhuani'cu'tulh₃ i'xmacan₄; tū-lalhtza'₅ yāhuani'lh₆. 5. (DEV:Seq) Lā'₁ tantu₂ tilali₃ tiyāhuani'cu'-tulh₄ i'xmacan₅ lā'₆ tūlalhtza'₇ yāhuani'lh₈ i'xmacanf'n₉ huan₁₀ cahua-yuj₁₁. 6. (DEV:Adver) Lā'₁ tantu₂ tilali₃, pero₄ por₅ masqui₆ i'x-puhuan₇ a'nchf₈ i'xlfāyāhuani'lh₉ i'xmacanf'n₁₀ lā'₁₁ tūlalhtza'₁₂ cāyā-huani'lh₁₃. 7. (DEV:CIB) Tuncan₁ a'lh₂ māputzanfni'n₃ huan₄ chi'xcu'₅ a'ntf₆ tēmāsu'ni'lh₇ a'nchf₈ i'xmacacā'tē₉ huan₁₀ cahuyuj₁₁, lā'₁₂ como₁₃ xla'₁₄ a'xni'ca'₁₅ i'xmacacā'tē₁₆ lā'₁₇ como₁₈ xla'₁₉ tū'₂₀ f'sta'ja₂₁ i'x-ka'lhni'₂₂ huan₂₃ cahuyuj₂₄.

**31** 1. And₁ when₂ he had gone₃, then₄ he₅ also₆ cut off the forefoot of₇ a₈ horse₁₀ also₉. 2. And₁ then₂ his blood₅ began₃ to flow₄. 3. And₁ since₂ he saw₃ that₄ his blood₇ was flowing₅ very much₆, very₈ quickly₉ he finished putting on₁₀ the shoe of₁₁ the₁₂ horse₁₃. 4. And₁ then₂ he tried to put on₃ his fore-foot₄; he could not₆ put it on₆. 5. And₁ so much₂ he tried₃ to put on₄ his fore-foot₅ and₆ he could not₇ put on₆ the forefeet of₉ the₁₀ horse₁₁. 6. And₁ so much₂ he tried₃, but₄ although₆,₈ he thought about₇ how₈ he would put on₆ its forefeet₁₀ (and) yet₁₁ he could not₁₂ put them on₁₃. 7. Then₁ he went₂ to look for₃ the₄ man₆ who₆ had passed by to show him₇ how₆ he cut the feet off₉ the₁₀ horse₁₁, and₁₂ how₁₃ he₁₄ when₁₅ he cut off the feet₁₆ and₁₇ as for₁₈ him₁₉ the blood of₂₂ the₂₃ horse₂₄ did not flow₂₀,₂₁.

<sup>3</sup>Alternatively paragraph 31 through 33 could be considered to constitute an embedded D E P E N D E N T discourse. This embedded D E P E N D E N T M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse has the following structure: the A P E R T U R E tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Relator-Axis sentence (Temporal Margin of S. #1) which simultaneously manifests ORIENTATION of paragraph #31; S T A G E tagmeme is manifested by three Clause Base sentences (bal. of S. #1 and S. #2 and 3) which simultaneously manifests a series of SETTING tagmemes of paragraph #31; D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (bal. of paragraph #31); E P I S O D E tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph #32; A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph #33. The entire embedded discourse could be considered to be the manifestation of A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T of the Blacksmith story.

32

(E P 6:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ quḡkaksli₃ huan₄ chi'xcu'₅, (IU:DirQt) huanilh₈, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:Para) 'Caquintā'pi'₇; quintā'macahui'lfpala'ya'₈ huan₃ cahuayuj₁₀. " 2. (IU:DECL) 2a. (PRON:Seq) "Pero₁ quit₂ i'ca'mā'₃ ā'lacatin₄ lā'₅ tū'tza'₆ i'ctaspi'tcu'tun₇. " 3. (DU:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) "Por₁ favor₂ ca-quintā'pi'₃, porque₄ quit₅ tūlatza'₆ i'cyāhuani'₇ i'xmacan₈ huan₃ cahuayuj₁₀. " 4. (DR:DirQt) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ huan₃ chi'xcu'₄ kalhtlh₅, (Q:PREC) 4a. (DESIRE:DECL) (PRON:CIB) "Lā'₈ chu₇ cā'tē'ni'₈ nā₉ hui'xi₁₀ i'xmacan₁₁ ? 4b. (ENTR:CIB) Lā'₁₂ a'chf₁₃ cā'tē'ni'₁₄ ? " 5. (DU:DECL) 5a. (PRON:CIB) "Como₁ hui'x₂ quimāasca'tti₃. " 6. (TER:Seq) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ taspi'tli₃ lā'₄ tā'a'lh₅.

33

(E P 7:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ chā'lh₃ na₄ i'xhic₅ huan₆ macahui'lfnī'₇, (SET:CIB) tuncan₈ laktapajtzulh₃ huan₁₀ cahuayuj₁₁. 2. (SET:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ xacani'li₃ i'xmacanf'n₄ huan₃ cahuayuj₆. 3. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ yāhuani'li₃ i'xmacanf'n₄ como₅ hua'chilh₆ tū'₇ i'xcā'tēni'canf'ti₆ i'xmacanf'n₃.

34

(C L 2:SIM MONO) 1. (SPE:DirQt) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ huanilh₃, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:IndQt) "Lā'₄ chā₅ hua'na'₆ que₇ (IQ:DECL)

32

1. And₁ when₂ he had gone and found₃ the₄ man₅, he said to him₆, 1a. "Come with me₇; help me again to shoe₈ the₉ horse₁₀. " 2. 2a. "But₁ I₂ am going₃ to another place₄ and₅ I do not want to return again₆,₇. " 3. 3a. "Please₁,₂ come with me₃, because₄ I₅ am not able₆ to put on₇ the forefoot of₈ the₉ horse₁₀. " 4. And₁ then₂ the₃ man₄ answered him₅, 4a. "And₆ surely you did not cut off₇-₁₀ its forefoot₁₁ ? 4b. And₁₂ why₁₃ did you cut it off₁₄ ? " 5. 5a. "Since₁ you₂ taught me₃. " 6. And₁ then₂ he returned₃ and₄ he went with him₅.

33

1. And₁ when₂ he arrived₃ at₄ the house of₅ the₆ Blacksmith₇, then₈ they approached₉ the₁₀ horse₁₁. 2. And₁ then₂ he rubbed₃ the forefeet of₄ the₅ horse₆. 3. And₁ then₂ he put on₃ its forefeet₄ as if₅,₆ he had not cut off₇,₈ his forefeet₉.

34

1. And₁ then₂ he said to him₃, 1a. "And₄ how is it that₅ you say₆ that₇ no one₈,₉ is your equal₁₀ in the way in which₁₁ you shoe horses₁₂ ? 1b. And₁₃

1aa. (PRON:C1B) nfn<sub>8</sub> tintf'<sub>9</sub> mālacastucāni'<sub>10</sub> a'nchf'<sub>11</sub> macahui'lfn'<sub>12</sub> na'<sub>12</sub> ? 1b. (AMPLI:C1B) Lā'<sub>13</sub> tū'<sub>14</sub> maktin<sub>15</sub> catankelhtzo'kti<sub>16</sub> min-chic<sub>17</sub> chuntza'<sub>18</sub> , porque<sub>19</sub> hui'x<sub>20</sub> tūlan<sub>21</sub> catitā'talacastucti<sub>22</sub> quinDios-ca'n<sub>23</sub> . 1c. (PRON:C1B) Lā'<sub>24</sub> xmān<sub>25</sub> Dios<sub>26</sub> tze<sub>27</sub> natlahua<sub>28</sub> huā'-mā'<sub>29</sub> . 1d. (PRON:C1B) Lā'<sub>30</sub> tū'<sub>31</sub> ā'maktin<sub>32</sub> ticā'tēni'ya'<sub>33</sub> i'xmācan<sub>34</sub> ā'lakatin<sub>35</sub> cahuyuj<sub>36</sub> , porque<sub>37</sub> quit<sub>38</sub> i'ca'mā'<sub>39</sub> lēj<sub>40</sub> makat<sub>41</sub> lā'<sub>42</sub> tū'<sub>43</sub> ā'maktin<sub>44</sub> quintikaksti<sub>45</sub> ." 2. (TER:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tzucupā<sub>3</sub> tlā'huan<sub>4</sub> .

End of E P I S O D E 2, Blacksmith discourse.

E P I S O D E 3 is manifested by a M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Baker, paragraphs #35 through #48). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, four E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E - M E N T, C L O S U R E 1, two additional E P I S O D E S, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, and C L O S U R E 2.

**35** (A P:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> chā'mpā<sub>3</sub> ā'lakatin<sub>4</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>5</sub> , (SET:C1B) i'xui'lapā<sub>6</sub> ā'kalhatin<sub>7</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>8</sub> huampala<sub>9</sub> . 2. (SPE:DirQt) Nā<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> i'xtankelhtzo'knf'ti<sub>3</sub> i'x-chic<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:C1B) "Tū'<sub>6</sub> i'xmālacastuca<sub>7</sub> ā'chā'tin<sub>8</sub> tlahuana'<sub>9</sub> pāntzi<sub>10</sub> como<sub>11</sub> hua'chi<sub>12</sub> quit<sub>13</sub> ." "

**36** (E P 1:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> lakchilh<sub>3</sub> , (IU:IndQt) huanilh<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> (IQ:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:Adver) palh<sub>6</sub> tū'<sub>7</sub> i'x-lacasqui'n<sub>8</sub> i'xmaktāyah<sub>9</sub> ka'tlā'tus<sub>10</sub> ? 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huanilh<sub>2</sub> ,

never<sub>14,15</sub> write on<sub>16</sub> your house<sub>17</sub> in this manner<sub>18</sub> , because<sub>19</sub> you<sub>20</sub> are not able<sub>21</sub> to make yourself equal with<sub>22</sub> our God<sub>23</sub> . 1c. And<sub>24</sub> only<sub>25</sub> God<sub>26</sub> is able<sub>27</sub> to do<sub>28</sub> this<sub>29</sub> . 1d. And<sub>30</sub> never again<sub>31,32</sub> are you to cut off<sub>33</sub> the foot of<sub>34</sub> another<sub>35</sub> horse<sub>36</sub> , because<sub>37</sub> I<sub>38</sub> am going<sub>39</sub> very<sub>40</sub> far<sub>41</sub> and<sub>42</sub> never again<sub>43,44</sub> will you find me<sub>45</sub> ." 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he began again<sub>3</sub> to walk<sub>4</sub> .

**35** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived<sub>3</sub> at another<sub>4</sub> town<sub>5</sub> , there was<sub>6</sub> another<sub>7</sub> man<sub>8</sub> again<sub>9</sub> . 2. Thus<sub>2</sub> also<sub>1</sub> he had written on<sub>3</sub> his house<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> 2a. "(There is) not<sub>6</sub> my equal<sub>7</sub> another<sub>8</sub> bread<sub>9</sub> maker<sub>10</sub> like<sub>11,12</sub> me<sub>13</sub> ." "

**36** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he came to him<sub>3</sub> , he asked him<sub>4,5</sub> 1a. if<sub>6</sub> he would not like<sub>7,8</sub> him to help him<sub>9</sub> a while<sub>10</sub> ? 2. And<sub>1</sub> he said to him<sub>2</sub> , 2a. "Is it so that<sub>3</sub>



(Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Chā<sub>3</sub> tze<sub>4</sub> nā<sub>5</sub> hui'xl<sub>8</sub> macchā'ya'<sub>7</sub> pān-tzi<sub>9</sub>?" 3. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> kalhtfni'lh<sub>3</sub>, (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) 'Makatna'<sub>4</sub> tze<sub>5</sub> i'ctlahua<sub>6</sub> nā<sub>7</sub> quit<sub>8</sub>."

**37** (E P 2:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> maxquf'lh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> a'ntū<sub>5</sub> lfmāxtucan<sub>6</sub> huan<sub>7</sub> lātasna'<sub>8</sub> de<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> pāntzi<sub>11</sub>. 2. (FOC:CIB) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> mas<sub>2</sub> lacapali<sub>3</sub> cāmacchāl<sub>4</sub> que<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>7</sub>.

**38** (E P 3:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> chil<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> pāntzi<sub>7</sub>, (SET:CIB) tuncan<sub>8</sub> laktzf'lh<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> a'ntf<sub>11</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>12</sub>. 2. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xmacchākō'nf't-tza'<sub>3</sub>; lēj<sub>4</sub> lacapalh<sub>5</sub> macchākō'lh<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> tantu<sub>8</sub> lhūhua'<sub>9</sub> a'ntū<sub>10</sub> i'xlf-macchāt<sub>11</sub>, (SPE:IndQt) lā'<sub>12</sub> tuncan<sub>13</sub> puhuanli<sub>14</sub> que<sub>15</sub> (IQ:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) mas<sub>16</sub> i'xca'tzf<sub>17</sub>.

**39** (E P 4:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> laka-pasli<sub>3</sub> i'xtapāstacna'<sub>4</sub> como<sub>5</sub> xla'<sub>6</sub> nfn<sub>7</sub> tintf'<sub>8</sub> i'xmālacastuca<sub>9</sub> como<sub>10</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>11</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>12</sub>, lā'<sub>13</sub> como<sub>14</sub> huan<sub>15</sub> tlahuana'<sub>16</sub> pāntzi<sub>17</sub> xla'<sub>18</sub> lēj<sub>19</sub> i'xca'tzf<sub>20</sub> i'xpuhuan<sub>21</sub> lā'<sub>22</sub> ā'calfstān<sub>23</sub> milh<sub>24</sub> a'ntf<sub>25</sub> mas<sub>26</sub> i'xca-tzf<sub>27</sub> que<sub>28</sub> xla'<sub>29</sub>, (FOC:IndQt-B) lā'<sub>30</sub> tuncan<sub>31</sub> laktzf'lh<sub>32</sub> que<sub>33</sub> (IQ:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) tū'tza'<sub>34</sub> con<sub>35</sub> tapāxuhuān<sub>36</sub> i'xtā'chihufna'n<sub>37</sub>.

you<sub>6</sub> also<sub>5</sub> are able<sub>4</sub> to bake<sub>7</sub> bread<sub>8</sub>?" 3. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> answered<sub>3</sub>, 3a. "To a limited degree<sub>4</sub> I<sub>6</sub> also<sub>7</sub> am able<sub>5</sub> to do it<sub>8</sub>."

**37** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he gave him<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> (thing) with which one takes out<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> pans<sub>8</sub> of<sub>9</sub> bread<sub>10,11</sub>. 2. Then<sub>1</sub> more<sub>2</sub> rapidly<sub>3</sub> he baked them<sub>4</sub> than<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> owner<sub>7</sub>.

**38** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> the<sub>4</sub> owner of<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> bread<sub>7</sub> arrived<sub>8</sub>, then<sub>9</sub> the<sub>10</sub> (one) who<sub>11</sub> (was) the owner<sub>12</sub> saw it<sub>9</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he had already finished baking<sub>3</sub>; very<sub>4</sub> rapidly<sub>5</sub> he finished baking<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> what<sub>10</sub> he had baked<sub>11</sub> (was) so<sub>8</sub> much<sub>9</sub>, and<sub>12</sub> then<sub>13</sub> he (owner) thought<sub>14</sub> that<sub>15</sub> 2a. he (salesman) knew<sub>17</sub> more<sub>16</sub>.

**39** 1. And<sub>1</sub> it happened that since<sub>2</sub> he (salesman) knew<sub>3</sub> his (owner's) thoughts<sub>4</sub> since<sub>5</sub> no one<sub>7,9</sub> was his equal<sub>8,9</sub> since<sub>10</sub> he was<sub>12</sub> our God<sub>11</sub>, and<sub>13</sub> since<sub>14</sub> the<sub>15</sub> bread<sub>17</sub> maker<sub>16</sub> thought<sub>21</sub> (that) he knew<sub>18,20</sub> very much<sub>19</sub> and<sub>22</sub> then<sub>23</sub> came<sub>24</sub>

**40** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xlahuf'<sub>3</sub> chā'tin<sub>4</sub> to'kotzfīn<sub>5</sub>, tuncan<sub>8</sub> qufcha'xtēlh<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> lhtun<sub>9</sub> tamacanūlh<sub>10</sub> nac<sub>11</sub> pūpān-tzi<sub>12</sub>. 2. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xlīka'tlā'tus<sub>2</sub> māxtulh<sub>3</sub> kalhatin<sub>4</sub> tzu'ma'jā-ti<sub>5</sub> mas<sub>8</sub> tzēhuanf't<sub>7</sub> que<sub>8</sub> nīn<sub>9</sub> tintf'<sub>10</sub> de<sub>11</sub> xla'<sub>12</sub> a'ntza'<sub>13</sub> huan<sub>14</sub> nac<sub>15</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>16</sub>.

**41** (C L 1:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xmāni<sub>2</sub> tētlahualh<sub>3</sub> huanmā'<sub>4</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>5</sub>. 2. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> a'mpā<sub>3</sub> de<sub>4</sub> huanmā'<sub>5</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>6</sub>.

**42** (E P 5:SIM MONO)<sup>4</sup> 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> laktzf'lh<sub>3</sub> a'nchī<sub>4</sub> tlahualh<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> to'kotzfīn<sub>7</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) nā'<sub>8</sub> tuncan<sub>9</sub> puhuanli<sub>10</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) "Nā'<sub>11</sub> quimpuscāt<sub>12</sub> tū'<sub>13</sub> tzēhuanf't<sub>14</sub>. 1b.

(one) who<sub>25</sub> knew<sub>27</sub> more<sub>28</sub> than<sub>28</sub> he<sub>29</sub>, and<sub>30</sub> then<sub>31</sub> he (salesman) saw<sub>32</sub> that<sub>33</sub>  
1a. he (baker) talked<sub>37</sub> no longer<sub>34</sub> with<sub>35</sub> joy<sub>36</sub>.

**40** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> there was around there<sub>3</sub> an<sub>4</sub> old woman<sub>5</sub>, then<sub>6</sub> he went and picked her up<sub>7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> whoosh<sub>8</sub> he put her<sub>10</sub> into<sub>11</sub> (the) oven<sub>12</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> in a while<sub>2</sub> he took out<sub>3</sub> a<sub>4</sub> girl<sub>5</sub> more<sub>6</sub> beautiful<sub>7</sub> than<sub>8</sub> anyone<sub>8-12</sub> there<sub>13</sub> in<sub>15</sub> the<sub>14</sub> town<sub>16</sub>.

**41** 1. And<sub>1</sub> only<sub>2</sub> (this) he did passing by<sub>3</sub> that<sub>4</sub> town<sub>5</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went again<sub>3</sub> from<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> town<sub>6</sub>.

**42** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he (baker) saw<sub>3</sub> how<sub>4</sub> he did to<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> old woman<sub>7</sub>, then<sub>8</sub> he too thought<sub>8,10</sub>, 1a. "My wife<sub>12</sub> (is) not<sub>13</sub> pretty<sub>14</sub> either<sub>11</sub>. 1b. I<sub>16</sub> too<sub>15</sub>

<sup>4</sup>Alternatively paragraphs 42 through 47 could be considered an embedded D E - P E N D E N T discourse which manifests the A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T of the Baker story. This embedded D E P E N D E N T M U L T I - C L I M A C T I C discourse would have the following structure: E P I S O D E 1 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph #42; E P I S O D E 2 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph #43; D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph #44; E P I S O D E 3 tagmeme is manifested by a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph #45 (sentences 1 through 4); E P I S O D E 4 tagmeme is manifested by a COMPOUND EVENT paragraph #45a (sentences 5 through 10, in which S. #8 would be the FOCAL); E P I S O D E 5 tagmeme is manifested by a SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph #46; and A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T tagmeme is manifested by COMPOUND EVENT paragraph #47.

(PRON:CIB) Nā<sub>15</sub> quit<sub>18</sub> na'i'cmān<sub>17</sub> nac<sub>18</sub> pūpāntzi<sub>19</sub>, para<sub>20</sub> que<sub>21</sub> mas<sub>23</sub> tzēhuanf't<sub>23</sub> nala<sub>24</sub>."

**43** (E P 6:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chō'chf<sub>2</sub> chilh<sub>3</sub> i'xpuscāti<sub>4</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) tuncan<sub>5</sub> huanilh<sub>6</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) "Cata't<sub>7</sub>, para<sub>8</sub> que<sub>9</sub> na'i'ccāxtlōyāni'<sub>10</sub> para<sub>11</sub> que<sub>12</sub> mas<sub>13</sub> tzēhuanf't<sub>14</sub> nala'ya'<sub>15</sub>." 2. (DEV:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> cha'xquftēlh<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> lhtun<sub>5</sub> tamacanūlh<sub>6</sub> nac<sub>7</sub> pūpāntzi<sub>8</sub>.

**44** (A N T I - D É:COM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> xlti<sub>3</sub> (LOC I) māmūlh<sub>4</sub>, (ORI/TM:SR-A) lā'<sub>5</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>6</sub> i'xmāxtu<sub>7</sub> con<sub>8</sub> huan<sub>9</sub> i'xpūmāxtucan<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> lātasna'<sub>12</sub> de<sub>13</sub> pāntzi<sub>14</sub> (FOC:Seq) lā'<sub>15</sub> i'xmākosū<sub>16</sub> lā'<sub>17</sub> (LOC II) a'nihā<sub>18</sub> i'xmacachā'n<sub>19</sub> tapok<sub>20</sub> i'xmacachā'n<sub>21</sub> puro<sub>22</sub> lhca'ca'n<sub>23</sub> i'xmacachā'n<sub>24</sub>.

FOCAL in preceding paragraph becomes SETTING in paragraph #45.

**45** (E P 7:COM EVENT) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xa'mpala<sub>3</sub> i'saca<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> lacapalh<sub>6</sub>. 2. (ORI:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> (LOC I) i'xtamacanūpala<sub>3</sub>; (TH I) ka'tlā'tusi<sub>4</sub> i'xka'lhfpala<sub>5</sub>. 3. (SET:Seq) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> i'xmāxtupala<sub>2</sub> lā'<sub>3</sub> chu<sub>4</sub> i'xmākosūpala<sub>5</sub>. 4. (TH II) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub>

will put her<sub>17</sub> into<sub>18</sub> (the) oven<sub>19</sub>, in order<sub>20</sub> that<sub>21</sub> she will become<sub>24</sub> prettier<sub>23</sub>." 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he had her brought<sub>3</sub> immediately<sub>4</sub>.

**43** 1. And<sub>1</sub> as soon as<sub>2</sub> his wife<sub>4</sub> arrived<sub>3</sub>, then<sub>5</sub> he said to her<sub>6</sub>, 1a. "Come here<sub>7</sub>, in order that<sub>8</sub>, I can fix you up<sub>10</sub>, so<sub>11</sub> that<sub>12</sub> you will become<sub>13</sub> prettier<sub>13,14</sub>." 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went and picked her up and brought her<sub>3</sub> and whoosh<sub>5</sub> he put her<sub>6</sub> into<sub>7</sub> (the) oven<sub>8</sub>.

**44** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> for a long time<sub>3</sub> he put her in<sub>4</sub>, and<sub>5</sub> when<sub>6</sub> he took her out<sub>7</sub> with<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub> thing with which he took out<sub>10</sub> the<sub>11</sub> pans<sub>12</sub> of<sub>13</sub> bread<sub>14</sub>, and<sub>15</sub> he threw her/it<sub>16</sub> and<sub>17</sub> where<sub>18</sub> (the) powder<sub>20</sub> landed<sub>19</sub> nothing but<sub>22</sub> ashes<sub>23</sub> landed<sub>21,24</sub>.

**45** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went again<sub>3</sub> very rapidly<sub>6</sub> to pick her/it up<sub>4</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he put it in again<sub>3</sub>; he waited again<sub>5</sub> a long while<sub>4</sub>. 3. Then<sub>1</sub> he took it out again<sub>2</sub> and<sub>3</sub> he threw it again<sub>4,5</sub>. 4. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it landed<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> (the)

i'xchā'mpala<sub>3</sub> (LOC II) a'nlhā<sub>4</sub> i'xmacachā'n<sub>5</sub> tapok<sub>8</sub>, (FOC:CIB) i'x-chā'mpala<sub>7</sub> puro<sub>8</sub> lhca'ca'n<sub>9</sub>. 5. (DEV:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xa'mpala<sub>3</sub> f'saca<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> lacapalh<sub>6</sub>. 6. (DEV:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xtamacanūpala<sub>3</sub> (LOC I) na<sub>4</sub> i'xpūpāntzi<sub>5</sub> lā'<sub>6</sub> (TH III) ka'tlā'tusi<sub>7</sub> i'xka'lhfpala<sub>8</sub>. 7. (DEV:Seq) Chu<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xmāxtupala<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> i'xmākosūpala<sub>5</sub>. 8. (DEV:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> (LOC II) a'nlhā<sub>2</sub> i'xmacachā'mpala<sub>3</sub> (TH IV) a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> i'x-mākosūpala<sub>5</sub> tapok<sub>8</sub>, i'xchā'n<sub>7</sub> xmān<sub>8</sub> lhca'ca'n<sub>9</sub>; i'xlani'ni'pala<sub>10</sub>. 9. (DEV:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> maktin<sub>3</sub> cāxtlōlh<sub>4</sub>; de<sub>5</sub> tantu<sub>6</sub> i'xtlahuacu'tun<sub>7</sub> a'nch<sub>8</sub> i'xmāsu'ni'canf't<sub>9</sub>, hasta<sub>10</sub> que<sub>11</sub> mejor<sub>12</sub> a'lh<sub>13</sub> putzatakchoko<sub>14</sub> huan<sub>15</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>16</sub> a'ntf'<sub>17</sub> tamāsu'ni'lh<sub>18</sub> huanmā'<sub>19</sub> a'nch<sub>20</sub> i'xcāxtlōnf't<sub>21</sub> huan<sub>22</sub> to'kotzf'n<sub>23</sub>. 10. (DEV:Resu) Lā'<sub>1</sub> de<sub>2</sub> tantu<sub>3</sub> i'xputzatlā'huan<sub>4</sub>, hasta<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> qufkaksli<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>9</sub> (LOC III) a'nlhā<sub>10</sub> i'xlatlā'huanacha'<sub>11</sub>.

**46** (E P 8:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> qufkaksli<sub>3</sub>, (SET:CIB) tuncan<sub>4</sub> tzuculh<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> a'ntū<sub>7</sub> i'xpātle'keni'nf't<sub>8</sub>. 2. (IU:IndQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tantu<sub>2</sub> f'squi'nf'<sub>3</sub> talakalhu'mān<sub>4</sub>, que<sub>5</sub> (IQ:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) ca'a'lh<sub>6</sub> tā'cāxtlō<sub>7</sub> i'xpuscāt<sub>8</sub>, porque<sub>9</sub> nā<sub>10</sub> xla'<sub>11</sub> i'xtlahuacu'tun<sub>12</sub> a'ntū<sub>13</sub> xla'<sub>14</sub> i'xmāsu'ni'nf't<sub>15</sub>. 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub>, (Q:PREC) 3a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿A'chf<sub>4</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> sca'tcu'tuna'<sub>5</sub> a'ntū<sub>7</sub> laktzf'na'<sub>8</sub>?" 4. (DEV:Resu) Lā'<sub>1</sub> de<sub>2</sub> tantu<sub>3</sub> (Stim:IndQt)

powder<sub>6</sub> landed<sub>5</sub>, nothing but<sub>8</sub> ashes<sub>9</sub> landed<sub>7</sub>. 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went again<sub>3</sub> very<sub>5</sub> rapidly<sub>6</sub> to pick it up<sub>4</sub>. 6. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he put it in again<sub>3</sub> into<sub>4</sub> his oven<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> he waited again<sub>3</sub> a long while<sub>7</sub>. 7. So<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he took it out again<sub>3</sub> and<sub>4</sub> he threw it again<sub>5</sub>. 8. And<sub>1</sub> where<sub>2</sub> it arrived again<sub>3</sub> when<sub>4</sub> he threw again<sub>5</sub> (the) powder<sub>6</sub>, only<sub>8</sub> ashes<sub>9</sub> arrived<sub>7</sub>; it happened to him again<sub>10</sub>. 9. And<sub>1</sub> he never fixed her<sub>2-4</sub>; although so very much<sub>5,6</sub> he wanted to do<sub>7</sub> as<sub>8</sub> he had been shown<sub>9</sub>, in the end<sub>10,11</sub> (he thought) better<sub>12</sub> he should go<sub>13</sub> look for<sub>14</sub> the<sub>15</sub> man<sub>16</sub> who<sub>17</sub> had taught him<sub>18</sub> this<sub>19</sub> how<sub>20</sub> he had fixed up<sub>21</sub> the<sub>22</sub> old woman<sub>23</sub>. 10. And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2,3</sub> he walked looking for him<sub>4</sub>, in the end<sub>5,6</sub> he went and found<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> man<sub>9</sub> where<sub>10</sub> he was walking around<sub>11</sub>.

**46** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he found him<sub>3</sub>, then<sub>4</sub> he began<sub>5</sub> to tell him<sub>6</sub> what<sub>7</sub> had happened to him<sub>8</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2</sub> he asked him to do him the favor<sub>3,4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> 2a. he go<sub>8</sub> help him fix up<sub>7</sub> his wife<sub>8</sub>, because<sub>9</sub> he<sub>11</sub> also<sub>10</sub> wanted to do<sub>12</sub> what<sub>13</sub> he<sub>14</sub>

f'squi'nf'<sub>4</sub> talakalhu'mān<sub>5</sub> que<sub>6</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) catā'a'lh<sub>7</sub>  
(Result:IndQt) hasta<sub>8</sub> que<sub>9</sub> huanilh<sub>10</sub> que<sub>11</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4b. (PRON:CIB)  
nachā'n<sub>12</sub> .

**47** E P 9:COM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xmi'ca'<sub>2</sub>  
tachilh<sub>3</sub> (LOC I) na<sub>4</sub> i'xchic<sub>5</sub> , (SET:CIB) laktz'f'lh<sub>6</sub> a'ntū<sub>7</sub> i'xtlahuanf't<sub>8</sub> .  
2. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> quftēlh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> lhca'ca'n<sub>5</sub> (LOC II) a'nlhā<sub>6</sub>  
i'xmacachā'ncañf't<sub>7</sub> . 3. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tamacanūlh<sub>3</sub> (LOC III)  
nac<sub>4</sub> pūpāntzi<sub>5</sub> . 4. (SET:CIB TH II) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> lēj<sub>3</sub> f'xifti<sub>4</sub> ka'lhflh<sub>5</sub> .  
5. (SET:CIB) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> lhtun<sub>2</sub> tamacaxtulh<sub>3</sub> (LOC III) de<sub>4</sub> nac<sub>5</sub> pūpāntzi<sub>6</sub> .  
6. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> (TH III) chō'chf'<sub>2</sub> tō'lacha'<sub>3</sub> (LOC II) a'nlhā<sub>4</sub> maca-  
chā'lh<sub>5</sub> , tuncan<sub>6</sub> talaktz'f'lh<sub>7</sub> kalhatin<sub>8</sub> puscāt<sub>9</sub> mastza'<sub>10</sub> xako'hua'jua'<sub>11</sub>  
que<sub>12</sub> a'nchf'<sub>13</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>14</sub> , (TH IV) a'xmi'ca'<sub>15</sub> tūna'j<sub>16</sub> i'xtamacanūcan<sub>17</sub>  
(LOC III) nac<sub>18</sub> pūpāntzi<sub>19</sub> .

**48** (C L 2:SIM MONO) 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xtankelh-  
tzo'kni'<sub>3</sub> i'xchic<sub>4</sub> , (SPE:E P I) (E P 1:SIM MONO) (SPE:IndQt) lā'<sub>5</sub>  
tuncan<sub>6</sub> huanilh<sub>7</sub> que<sub>8</sub> (IQ:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) tū<sub>9</sub> maktin<sub>10</sub> catan-  
kelhtzo'kli<sub>11</sub> i'xchic<sub>12</sub> chuntza'<sub>13</sub> que<sub>14</sub> mas<sub>15</sub> ca'tzf'<sub>16</sub> que<sub>17</sub> nfn<sub>18</sub> ā'chā'-  
tin<sub>19</sub> ca'tzf'<sub>20</sub> mas<sub>21</sub> que<sub>22</sub> xla'<sub>23</sub> , porque<sub>24</sub> nfn<sub>25</sub> tintf'<sub>26</sub> catimālacastuc-  
li<sub>27</sub> quindiosca'n<sub>28</sub> , (E P 2:SIM MONO) (SPE:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 1b.

had shown him<sub>15</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he said to him<sub>3</sub> , 3a. "Why<sub>4</sub> then<sub>5</sub> do you  
want to learn<sub>6</sub> what<sub>7</sub> you see<sub>8</sub> ?" 4. And<sub>1</sub> so much<sub>2,3</sub> he asked him to do him the  
favor<sub>4,5</sub> that<sub>6</sub> 4a. he go<sub>7</sub> in the end<sub>8,9</sub> he told him<sub>10</sub> that<sub>11</sub> 4b. he would go<sub>12</sub> .

**47** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> they arrived<sub>3</sub> at<sub>4</sub> his house<sub>5</sub> , he saw<sub>6</sub> what<sub>7</sub> he had done<sub>8</sub> .  
2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went and got<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> ashes<sub>5</sub> where<sub>6</sub> they had landed<sub>7</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub>  
then<sub>2</sub> he put it<sub>3</sub> into<sub>4</sub> (the) oven<sub>5</sub> . 4. And<sub>1</sub> he did not wait<sub>2,3</sub> very<sub>4</sub> long<sub>5</sub> . 5.  
Then<sub>1</sub> whoosh<sub>2</sub> he took it out from<sub>4,5</sub> (the) oven<sub>6</sub> . 6. And<sub>1</sub> as soon as<sub>2</sub> it sat  
there<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> it landed<sub>5</sub> , then<sub>6</sub> they saw<sub>7</sub> a<sub>8</sub> woman<sub>9</sub> uglier<sub>10,11</sub> than<sub>12</sub> the way<sub>13</sub>  
she had been<sub>14</sub> , when<sub>15</sub> they had not yet put her<sub>16,17</sub> into<sub>18</sub> (the) oven<sub>19</sub> .

**48** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he had written on<sub>3</sub> his house<sub>4</sub> , and<sub>5</sub> then<sub>6</sub> he told him<sub>7</sub>  
that<sub>8</sub> 1a. he should never write on<sub>9-11</sub> his house<sub>12</sub> thus<sub>13</sub> that<sub>14</sub> he knows<sub>15</sub>  
more<sub>16</sub> that<sub>17</sub> no<sub>18</sub> other<sub>19</sub> knows<sub>20</sub> more<sub>21</sub> than<sub>22</sub> he<sub>23</sub> , because<sub>24</sub> no one<sub>25,26</sub> is

(PRON:CIB) "Lā'<sub>28</sub> tū'tza'<sub>30</sub> maktintza'<sub>31</sub> quintikaksti'<sub>32</sub> ," huanilh<sub>33</sub> .

(E P 3:DECL) 1c. (PRON:CIB) "Lā'<sub>34</sub> camāpā'nu'<sub>35</sub> huan<sub>36</sub> a'ntū<sub>37</sub> tan-  
kelhtzo'knf'ta'<sub>38</sub> que<sub>39</sub> solo<sub>40</sub> hui'x<sub>41</sub> mas<sub>42</sub> ca'tzfi'ya'<sub>43</sub> que<sub>44</sub> nfn<sub>45</sub> tinti'<sub>46</sub>  
mas<sub>47</sub> tzey<sub>48</sub> tlahua<sub>49</sub> pāntzi<sub>50</sub> que<sub>51</sub> hui'x<sub>52</sub> , porque<sub>53</sub> solo<sub>54</sub> Dios<sub>55</sub> mas<sub>56</sub>  
ca'tzfi'<sub>57</sub> que<sub>58</sub> nfn<sub>59</sub> tinti'<sub>60</sub> ā'chā'tin<sub>61</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>62</sub> . (C L:DEPAR) 1d.

(LV-TAK':CIB) Lā'<sub>63</sub> chuhua'j<sub>64</sub> i'ca'natza'<sub>65</sub> ."

End of E P I S O D E 3, The Baker discourse.

E P I S O D E 4 is manifested by an E P I S O C I C discourse (Planting I, paragraphs #49 through #85). This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, and thirteen E P I S O D E S which in turn are each manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse. The manifestation of the A P E R T U R E tagmeme of the Planting I discourse is portmanteau in that it also manifests: (1) the A P E R T U R E of the D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse; (2) the paragraph-level ORIENTATION tagmeme; (3) the sentence-level Temporal Margin tagmeme; and (4) the clause-level time tagmeme.

E P I S O D E 1 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Corn Field, paragraphs #49 through #50).

**49** (A P-E P:SIM DIA) 1. (A P/ORI/TM/T:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'-  
tza'<sub>2</sub> a'lh<sub>3</sub> de<sub>4</sub> huanmā'<sub>5</sub> cā'lacchicni<sub>6</sub> , lā'<sub>7</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>8</sub> i'xtētāxtumā'pā-  
tza'<sub>9</sub> ā'lakatintza'<sub>10</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>11</sub> a'nlhā'<sub>12</sub> i'xcācha'mā'ca'<sub>13</sub> , (IU:DirQt)  
lā'<sub>14</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'nf<sub>15</sub> , (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn<sub>16</sub> tīōpā'-  
na'ntit<sub>17</sub> ?" i'xcāhuanf<sub>18</sub> . 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'ntf<sub>2</sub> i'xkalhtfni'n<sub>3</sub>  
xa'nca<sub>4</sub> , lā'<sub>5</sub> i'xuan<sub>6</sub> (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'ccha'mā'<sub>7</sub> cuxi<sub>8</sub> ."

equal to<sub>27</sub> our God<sub>28</sub> , 1b. "And<sub>29</sub> never again<sub>30,31</sub> will you find me<sub>32</sub> ," he said to him<sub>33</sub> . 1c. "And<sub>34</sub> take off<sub>35</sub> that<sub>36</sub> which<sub>37</sub> you have written<sub>38</sub> that<sub>39</sub> only<sub>40</sub> you<sub>41</sub> know<sub>42</sub> more<sub>43</sub> that<sub>44</sub> no one<sub>45,46</sub> makes<sub>49</sub> bread<sub>50</sub> better<sub>47,48</sub> than<sub>51</sub> you<sub>52</sub> , be-  
cause<sub>53</sub> only<sub>54</sub> God<sub>55</sub> knows<sub>57</sub> more<sub>56</sub> than<sub>58</sub> any<sub>59,60</sub> other<sub>61</sub> man<sub>62</sub> . 1d. And<sub>63</sub>  
now<sub>64</sub> I am going<sub>65</sub> ."

**49** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he went<sub>3</sub> from<sub>4</sub> that<sub>5</sub> town<sub>6</sub> , and<sub>7</sub> when<sub>8</sub> he passes by<sub>9</sub>  
another<sub>10</sub> town<sub>11</sub> where<sub>12</sub> they were planting<sub>13</sub> , and<sub>14</sub> he asked them<sub>15</sub> , 1a.  
"What<sub>16</sub> are you doing<sub>17</sub> ?" he said to them<sub>18</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> (the one) who<sub>2</sub> answered<sub>3</sub>  
(answered) well<sub>4</sub> , and<sub>5</sub> he said<sub>6</sub> , 2a. "I am planting<sub>7</sub> corn<sub>8</sub> ."

**50** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xtuncu'₃, (FOC:Para) i'xuf'tza'₄ lakatin₅ tacuxtu₆ lējtza'₇ xa'nca₈ hua'ca'₉; laka'tla'n₁₀ cuxl₁₁ hua'ca'₁₂ huan₁₃ tacuxtu₁₄.

E P I S O D E 2 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Bean Patch, paragraphs #51 through #53).

**51** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ a'nlhā₂ i'xtētaxtupala₃ ā'lacatintza'₄ huampala₅, lā'₆ cuxtumā'palaca₇.

**52** (E P:SIM MONO) 1. (SPE:DirQt) Lā'₁ i'xkalhasqui'nfnī'mpala₂, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn₃ tlōpā't₄?"

**53** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'₁ como₂ i'xuanf₃ a'ntū₄ i'xtlōmā'₅ i'xpāstapun₆, (ORI/TM:SR-A) lā'₇ a'xni'ca'₈ i'xtuncu'₉ i'xlfakalf₁₀, (FOC:CIB) tuncan₁₁ huan₁₂ pūstapun₁₃ lēj₁₄ f'scōhuamā'₁₆. 2. (DEV:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ i'xpajna'ncan₃.

E P I S O D E 3 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Squash Patch, paragraphs #54 through #56).

**54** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ i'xa'mpala₃ ā'la-catin₄ huampala₅.

**50** 1. And₁ when₂ it dawned₃, there was already₄ a₅ cornfield₆ very₇ good₈ there₉; big₁₀ ears of corn₁₁ there₁₂ (in) the₁₃ cornfield₁₄.

**51** 1. And₁ where₂ he passed by again₃ another place₄ again₅, and₆ they were weeding₇.

**52** 1. And₁ he asked again₂, 1a. "What₃ are you doing₄?"

**53** 1. And₁ since₂ he told him₃ what₄ he was making₆ (was) his bean patch₈, and₇ when₉ it dawned₉ the next day₁₀, then₁₁ the₁₂ bean patch₁₃ was drying₁₆ well₁₄. 2. And₁ then₂ they shelled the beans₃.

**54** 1. And₁ then₂ he went to₃ another place₄ again₅.

**55** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:CIB) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> i'xkalhasqui'nfn'i'mpala<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> . 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xuanipalacan<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'ccha'mā'<sub>4</sub> talhtzi'<sub>5</sub> ."

**56** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xlflakalf<sub>3</sub> huampā<sub>4</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>5</sub> i'xtuncuipala<sub>6</sub> , lā'<sub>7</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>8</sub> i'xchā'n<sub>9</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> tacuxtu<sub>12</sub> , (FOC:CIB) lējtza'<sub>13</sub> jahuajtza'<sub>14</sub> mā'<sub>15</sub> talhtzi'<sub>16</sub> .

E P I S O D E 4 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Stone Field, paragraphs #57 through #59).

**57** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:T) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xlflakalf<sub>3</sub> huampā<sub>4</sub> , (FOC:CIB) i'xtētaxupala<sub>5</sub> ā'lakatin<sub>6</sub> cā'tacuxtu<sub>7</sub> huampala<sub>8</sub> .

**58** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:CIB) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> i'xkalhasqui'nfn'i'pala<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> . 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'ntf<sub>2</sub> i'xkalhtf<sub>3</sub> , lā'<sub>4</sub> i'xuanf<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'ccha'mā'<sub>6</sub> chihuix<sub>7</sub> ."

**59** (D É:COM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtuncuipala<sub>3</sub> i'xlflakalf<sub>4</sub> huampala<sub>5</sub> , (SET:CIB) i'xa'mpala<sub>6</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> tacuxtu<sub>9</sub> . 2. (TH II) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xchā'n<sub>3</sub> na<sub>4</sub> i'xtacuxtu<sub>5</sub> , (FOC:CIB) i'xlaktz'f'n<sub>6</sub> chu<sub>7</sub> jahuajtza'<sub>8</sub> mā'<sub>9</sub> puro<sub>10</sub> chihuix<sub>11</sub> .

**55** 1. Then<sub>1,3</sub> he asked again<sub>2</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they told him again<sub>3</sub> , 2a. "I am planting<sub>4</sub> squash seed<sub>5</sub> ."

**56** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the next day<sub>3</sub> again<sub>4</sub> when<sub>5</sub> it dawned again<sub>6</sub> , and<sub>7</sub> when<sub>8</sub> (the) owner of<sub>10</sub> the<sub>11</sub> field<sub>12</sub> arrived<sub>9</sub> , (the) squash seed<sub>16</sub> was lying<sub>15</sub> in great abundance<sub>13,14</sub> .

**57** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the next day<sub>3</sub> again<sub>4</sub> , he was passing by<sub>5</sub> another<sub>8</sub> field<sub>7</sub> again<sub>6</sub> .

**58** 1. Then<sub>1</sub> he asked again<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> (the one) who<sub>2</sub> answered him<sub>3</sub> , and<sub>4</sub> he said to him<sub>5</sub> , 2a. "I am planting<sub>6</sub> stones<sub>7</sub> ."

**59** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it dawned again<sub>3</sub> the next day<sub>4</sub> again<sub>5</sub> , (the) owner of<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> field<sub>9</sub> went again<sub>6</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived<sub>3</sub> in<sub>4</sub> his field<sub>5</sub> , he saw<sub>6</sub> nothing but<sub>10</sub> stones<sub>11</sub> lying<sub>9</sub> in abundance<sub>7,8</sub> .



E P I S O D E 5 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Bamboo Field, paragraphs #60 through #62).

**60** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:C1B) Lā'₁ chu₂ tuncan₃ i'xtētaxtu-pala₄ ā'lacatin₅ huampalatza'₆ a'nlhā₇ catūhuā₈ i'xtlōmā'ca₉ .

**61** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:DirQt) Lā'₁ i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala₂ tuncan₃ , (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:C1B) "¿Tuchūn₄ tlopā'na'ntit₅ ?" 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ a'ntf₂ i'xtacā'tzanca'tz₃ tuncan₄ i'xtakalhtfni'n₅ lā'₆ i'xtahuan₇ , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:C1B) "T'ccha'mā'nahu₈ ma'tlū'c₉ ."

**62** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:Para) Tuncan₁ i'xtuncu₂ i'xlflakalf₃ huampala₄ ; i'xchā'ntza'₅ na₆ i'xcā'tacuxtu₇ . 2. (FOC:C1B) I'xuf'tza'₁ lakatin₂ ka'tla'₃ pūma'tlū'c₄ .

E P I S O D E 6 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Banana Field, paragraphs #63 through #65).

**63** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:T) Lā'₁ chu₂ tuncan₃ huan₄ i'xlflakalf₅ huampala₆ , (FOC:C1B) tuncan₇ i'xtētaxtupala₈ ā'lakatin₉ cā'tacuxtu₁₀ huampala₁₁ .

**64** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:C1B) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ i'xkalhasqui'nfnī'mpala₃ .

**60** 1. And₁ so₂ then₃ he was passing by₄ another place₅ again₆ where₇ they were doing₈ something₉ .

**61** 1. And₁ then₃ he asked them again₂ , 1a. "What₄ are you doing₅ ?" 2. And₁ those who₂ were bad₃ then₄ answered₅ and₆ said to him₇ , 2a. "We are planting₈ bamboo₉ ."

**62** 1. Then₁ it dawned₂ the next day₃ again₄ ; he arrived₅ in₆ his field₇ . 2. There was₁ a₂ great₃ bamboo patch₄ .

**63** 1. And₁ so₂ then₃ the₄ next day₅ again₆ , then₇ he was passing by₈ another₉ field₁₀ again₁₁ .

2. (IR:DirQt) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> a'ntf<sub>2</sub> i'xkalhtfni'mpala<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> i'xhuan<sub>5</sub> , (Q:DECL)  
 2a. (PRON:C1B) 'Quit<sub>6</sub> i'ccha'mā'<sub>7</sub> quimpūsē'kna'<sub>8</sub> ."

**65** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>3</sub>  
 i'xtuncuipala<sub>4</sub> i'xlakalf<sub>5</sub> huampala<sub>6</sub> , tuncan<sub>7</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>8</sub> i'xchā'n<sub>9</sub> na<sub>10</sub>  
 i'xcā'tacuxtu<sub>11</sub> , (FOC:C1B) i'xlaktz'n<sub>12</sub> lakatin<sub>13</sub> pūsē'kna'<sub>14</sub> .

E P I S O D E 7 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O -  
 C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Chile Field, paragraphs #66 through  
 #68).

**66** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET:C1B) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xa'mpala<sub>3</sub>  
 ā'lacatin<sub>4</sub> huampala<sub>5</sub> .

**67** (E P:COM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A TH I) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'x-  
 chā'mpala<sub>3</sub> , (IU:C1B) lā'<sub>4</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala<sub>5</sub> tuncan<sub>6</sub> . 2. (IR:DirQt)  
 Lā'<sub>1</sub> (TH II) a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtakalhtfni'mpala<sub>3</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> , lā'<sub>5</sub> i'xtahuan<sub>6</sub> ,  
 (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:Seq) 'Quina'n i'cyāhuana'mā'nahu<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> i'ctiō-  
 mā'nahu<sub>10</sub> quimpūpi'nca'n<sub>11</sub> ."

**68** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM.SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> xlaca'n<sub>3</sub>  
 i'xtakalhtfni'n<sub>4</sub> xa'nca<sub>5</sub> , (ORI/TM:SR-A) lā'<sub>6</sub> i'xlakalf<sub>17</sub> huampala  
 a'xni'ca'<sub>3</sub> i'xtachā'ntza'<sub>10</sub> tuncan<sub>11</sub> na<sub>12</sub> i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n<sub>13</sub> , (FOC:Para)

**64** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he asked again<sub>3</sub> . 2. Then<sub>1</sub> someone<sub>2</sub> answered again<sub>3</sub>  
 and<sub>4</sub> said<sub>5</sub> , 2a. "I<sub>6</sub> am planting<sub>7</sub> my banana patch<sub>8</sub> ."

**65** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> when<sub>3</sub> it dawned again<sub>4</sub> the next day<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub> , then<sub>7</sub> when<sub>8</sub>  
 he arrived<sub>9</sub> in<sub>10</sub> his field<sub>11</sub> , he saw<sub>12</sub> a<sub>13</sub> banana patch<sub>14</sub> .

**66** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he went to<sub>3</sub> another place<sub>4</sub> again<sub>5</sub> .

**67** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived again<sub>3</sub> , and<sub>4</sub> then<sub>5</sub> he asked them again<sub>6</sub> . 2.  
 And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> they answered him<sub>3</sub> then<sub>4</sub> , they said<sub>5,6</sub> , 2a. "We<sub>7</sub> are transplant-  
 ing<sub>8</sub> and<sub>9</sub> we are making<sub>10</sub> our chile patch<sub>11</sub> ."

**68** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> they<sub>3</sub> answered<sub>4</sub> well<sub>5</sub> , and<sub>6</sub> the next day<sub>7</sub> again<sub>8</sub> when<sub>9</sub>  
 they arrived<sub>10</sub> then<sub>11</sub> at<sub>12</sub> their field<sub>13</sub> , they saw<sub>14</sub> their chile patch<sub>15</sub> ; there

i'xtalaktz'f'ntza'<sub>14</sub> i'xpūpi'n<sub>15</sub> ; lējtza'<sub>16</sub> i'xua'ca'<sub>17</sub> huan<sub>18</sub> stakna'<sub>19</sub> .

2. (DEV:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xtatzucu<sub>3</sub> i'xtapu'xnun<sub>4</sub> .

E P I S O D E 8 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Coffee Field, paragraphs #69 through #71).

**69** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:T) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xlflakalf<sub>3</sub> huampala<sub>4</sub> , (FOC:Para) i'xa'mpala<sub>5</sub> ā'lakatintza'<sub>6</sub> cā'lacchicni'<sub>7</sub> ; i'xtētax-tupalatza'<sub>8</sub> .

**70** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtētaxtu-pala<sub>3</sub> a'nlhā<sub>4</sub> i'xtacha'mā'na<sub>5</sub> catūhuā<sub>6</sub> , (IU:CIB) lā'<sub>7</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'nf-palacan<sub>8</sub> . 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xtakalhtfni'mpala<sub>2</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'icyāhuamā'nahu<sub>3</sub> quimpūcafeca'n<sub>4</sub> ."

**71** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtuncuipalatza'<sub>3</sub> i'xlflakalf'tza'<sub>4</sub> huampala<sub>5</sub> , (FOC:Para) lā'<sub>6</sub> tuncan<sub>7</sub> i'xtalaktz'f'mpala<sub>8</sub> i'xuf'tza'<sub>9</sub> lakatintza'<sub>10</sub> pūcage<sub>11</sub> ; lējtza'<sub>12</sub> i'xua'ca'<sub>13</sub> xatō'ca't<sub>14</sub> .

E P I S O D E 9 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Orange Grove, paragraphs #72 through #74).

was<sub>17</sub> an abundance of<sub>18</sub> the<sub>18</sub> green chile<sub>19</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they began<sub>3</sub> to pick it<sub>4</sub> .

**69** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the next day<sub>3</sub> again<sub>4</sub> , he went<sub>5</sub> ; he passed by<sub>6</sub> another<sub>7</sub> town<sub>7</sub> .

**70** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he again passed by<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> they were planting<sub>5</sub> something<sub>5</sub> , and<sub>7</sub> he asked them again/too<sub>8</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> they answered him<sub>2</sub> , 2a. "We are transplanting<sub>3</sub> our coffee patch<sub>4</sub> ."

**71** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it dawned again<sub>3</sub> the next day<sub>4</sub> again<sub>5</sub> , and<sub>6</sub> then<sub>7</sub> they saw<sub>8</sub> there was<sub>9</sub> a coffee patch already<sub>10,11</sub> ; there was<sub>13</sub> an abundance of<sub>12</sub> its fruit (coffee beans)<sub>14</sub> .

**72** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chu<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> i'xtētaxtu-pala<sub>4</sub> ā'lacatin<sub>5</sub> huampala<sub>6</sub> .

**73** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> . 2. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xcāhuan<sub>2</sub> , (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn<sub>3</sub> tlōpā'na'ntit<sub>4</sub> ?" i'xcāhuan<sub>5</sub> . 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xtakalh-tfni'n<sub>2</sub> lā'<sub>3</sub> i'xtahuan<sub>4</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) "Quina'n<sub>5</sub> i'ccha'-mā'nahu<sub>6</sub> quimpūlāxaxca'n<sub>7</sub> ."

**74** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtuncu<sub>3</sub> i'xīflakal<sub>4</sub> huampala<sub>5</sub> , a'xni'ca'<sub>6</sub> i'xtuncu<sub>7</sub> i'xtachā'mpalatza'<sub>8</sub> na<sub>9</sub> i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n<sub>10</sub> , (FOC:CIB) i'xuf'tza'<sub>11</sub> lakatintza'<sub>12</sub> pūlāxax<sub>13</sub> . 2. (DEV:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncantza'<sub>2</sub> i'xtatzucu<sub>3</sub> i'xtapu'xa<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> lāxax<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> i'xtahua'<sub>8</sub> .

E P I S O D E 10 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Mango Grove, paragraphs #75 through #77).

**75** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:T) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> i'xīflakal<sub>4</sub> huampala<sub>5</sub> , (FOC:CIB) i'xtētaxtupala<sub>6</sub> ā'lakatintza'<sub>7</sub> cā'tacuxtu<sub>8</sub> .

**76** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xcāhuanīpala<sub>2</sub> , (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn<sub>3</sub> tlōpā'na'ntit<sub>4</sub> ?" 2. (IR:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) "Quina'n<sub>1</sub> i'ccha'mā'nahu<sub>2</sub> quimpūmangoca'n<sub>3</sub> ."

**72** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he passed by<sub>4</sub> another place<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub> .

**73** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he asked them again/too<sub>2</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> he said to them<sub>2</sub> , 2a. "What<sub>3</sub> are you doing<sub>4</sub> ?" he said to them<sub>5</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub> they answered<sub>2</sub> and<sub>3</sub> they said<sub>4</sub> , 3a. "We<sub>5</sub> are planting<sub>6</sub> our orange grove<sub>7</sub> ."

**74** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it dawned<sub>3</sub> the next day<sub>4</sub> again<sub>5</sub> , when<sub>6</sub> it dawned<sub>7</sub> they arrived again<sub>8</sub> at<sub>9</sub> their field<sub>10</sub> , there was already<sub>11</sub> an<sub>12</sub> orange grove<sub>13</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they began<sub>3</sub> to pick<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> oranges<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> to eat them<sub>8</sub> .

**75** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> the next day<sub>4</sub> again<sub>5</sub> , he passed by<sub>6</sub> another<sub>7</sub> field<sub>8</sub> .

**76** 1. And<sub>1</sub> he said to them again/too<sub>2</sub> , 1a. "What<sub>3</sub> are you doing<sub>4</sub> ?" 2. 2a. "We<sub>1</sub> are planting<sub>2</sub> our mango grove<sub>3</sub> ."

- 77** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'xɪɫakalf<sub>3</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> i'xtuncuf<sub>5</sub>, (SET:CIB) i'xtachā'mpala<sub>6</sub> na<sub>7</sub> i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n<sub>8</sub>.  
2. (FOC:CIB) i'xuf'tza'<sub>1</sub> i'xpūmangoca'n<sub>2</sub>.

E P I S O D E 11 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Trees and Vines, paragraphs #78 through #80).

- 78** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chu<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> i'xa'mpala<sub>4</sub> ā'lacatin<sub>5</sub> huampala<sub>6</sub>.

- 79** (EP:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xchā'm-pala<sub>3</sub>, (IU:DirQt) tuncan<sub>4</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'n<sub>5</sub>, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Lā'<sub>6</sub> tuchūn<sub>7</sub> tloṗā'na'ntit<sub>8</sub>?" 2. (IR:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'Quina'n<sub>1</sub> i'ccha'mā'nahu<sub>2</sub> qui'hui'<sub>3</sub> lā'<sub>4</sub> quimpūmayācca'n<sub>5</sub>."

- 80** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xtuncuf<sub>3</sub> i'xɪɫakalf<sub>4</sub>, (FOC:Para) i'xtachā'n<sub>5</sub> a'nlhā<sub>6</sub> i'xtacuxtumā'na<sub>7</sub>; i'xuf'-tza'<sub>8</sub> lakatin<sub>9</sub> qui'huf'n<sub>10</sub> lā'<sub>11</sub> lakatin<sub>12</sub> pūmayāc<sub>13</sub>.

E P I S O D E 12 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Flower Field, paragraphs #81 through #83).

- 81** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chu<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> i'xchā'm-pala<sub>4</sub> ā'lacatin<sub>5</sub> huampala<sub>6</sub>.

- 77** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the next day<sub>3</sub> when<sub>4</sub> it dawned<sub>5</sub>, they arrived again<sub>6</sub> at their field<sub>6</sub> 2. There was already<sub>1</sub> their mango grove<sub>2</sub>.

- 78** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he went again<sub>4</sub> to another place<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub>.

- 79** 1. Then<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived<sub>3</sub>, then<sub>4</sub> he asked them<sub>5</sub>, 1a. "And<sub>6</sub> what<sub>7</sub> are you doing<sub>8</sub>?" 2. 2a. "We<sub>1</sub> are planting<sub>2</sub> trees<sub>3</sub> and<sub>4</sub> our vine patch<sub>5</sub>."

- 80** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it dawned<sub>3</sub> the next day<sub>4</sub>, they arrived<sub>5</sub> where<sub>6</sub> they were weeding<sub>7</sub>, there was already<sub>8</sub> a<sub>9</sub> grove of trees<sub>10</sub> and<sub>11</sub> a<sub>12</sub> vine patch<sub>13</sub>.

- 81** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he arrived<sub>4</sub> at another place<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub>.

**82** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:DirQt) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ i'xcākalhasqui'nf-pala₃, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn₄ tlōpā'na'ntit₅?" i'xcā-huanf₆. 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ xlaça'n₂ i'xtakalhtfni'n₃, (Q:DECL) 2a. (ENTR:CIB) 'Quina'n₄ tlōmā'nahu₅ quimpūxa'natca'n₆."

**83** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xtuncuf₃ i'xīflakalf₄, (FOC:Para) i'xtachā'n₅ a'nihā₆ i'xtacuxtumā'na₇; i'xtalak-tzf'ntza'₈ i'xpūxa'natca'n₉; lējtza'₁₀ tzēhuanf'₁₁ i'xuf₁₂.

E P I S O D E 13 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Pineapple Field, paragraphs #84 through #85). The D É N O U E M E N T of this discourse is nul.

**84** (A P-E P:SIM DIA) 1. (A P/ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ chuntza'₂ a'xni'ca'₃ i'xa'mpala₄ ā'lacatin₅, (IR:DirQt) lā'₆ i'xcāhuanfpa₇, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchūn₈ tlōpā'na'ntit₉?" 2. (IR:DirQt) Xlaça'n₁ i'xtakalhtfni'n₂, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'T'ccha'mā'nahu₃ quimpūpīfīaca'n₄."

**85** (C L:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ i'xtapāxuhua₃.

End of E P I S O D E 4, Planting I discourse.

Part II (paragraphs #86 through #102) of the M U L T I - C L I M A C - T I C discourse which manifests E P I S O D E 1 tagmeme (The Man Who Became a Donkey) consists of three E P I S O D E S, an A N T I - D É N O U E M E N T, two additional E P I S O D E S, and C L O - S U R E. The final E P I S O D E contains the M O N O - C L I M A C -

**82** 1. And₁ then₂ he asked them again/too₃, 1a. "What₄ are you doing₅?" he said to them₆. 2. And₁ they₂ answered₃, 2a. "We₄ are making₅ our flower field₆."

**83** 1. And₁ when₂ it dawned₃ the next day₄, they arrived₅ where₆ they were weeding₇; they saw₈ their flower field₉; it was₁₂ very pretty already₁₀,₁₁.

**84** 1. And₁ thus₂ when₃ he went again₄ to another place₅, and₆ he said to them again/too₇, 1a. "What₈ are you doing₉?" 2. They₁ answered₂, 2a. "We are planting₃ our pineapple field₄."

**85** 1. And₁ then₂ they were happy₃.

T I C discourse, "The Retell of the Man Who Became a Donkey" (paragraphs #92 through #101).

**86** (E P 19:SIM MONO) 1. (SET/CirM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xa'mā'<sub>3</sub> a'nlhā'<sub>4</sub> i'xcātalāpāxtokni'<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> arrierosnu'<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> i'xcāmāsācua'nfnf't<sub>9</sub> i'xburro<sub>10</sub> lā'<sub>11</sub> como<sub>12</sub> u'tza'<sub>13</sub> huanmā'<sub>14</sub> chi'chini'<sub>15</sub> i'xtalhcan<sub>16</sub> que<sub>17</sub> a'ntza'<sub>18</sub> namaxquf'can<sub>19</sub> i'xburro<sub>20</sub>, (ORI/TM:SR-A) lā'<sub>21</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>22</sub> tachilh<sub>23</sub> huan<sub>24</sub> arrierosnu'<sub>25</sub> (SPE:E P I) (E P 1:SIM MONO) (SPE:DirQt) tahuanilh<sub>26</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (INTRO:CIB) 'Chuhua'<sub>27</sub> ā'tzā'<sub>28</sub> i'clfmini'<sub>29</sub> miburro<sub>30</sub>. 1b. (PRON:CIB) Mejor<sub>31</sub> caquistā'maxqui'<sub>32</sub>, porque<sub>33</sub> lēj<sub>34</sub> tzen<sub>35</sub> cu'ca'nan<sub>36</sub> lā'<sub>37</sub> tū'<sub>38</sub> cāmakxteka<sub>39</sub> nata'a'kapū'la<sub>40</sub> huan<sub>41</sub> cahua-yujnu'<sub>42</sub>. 1c. (AMPLI:Para) U'tza'<sub>43</sub> lēj<sub>44</sub> i'clflakat'<sub>45</sub>; major<sub>46</sub> caquistā'maxqui'<sub>47</sub> chu<sub>48</sub> maktin<sub>49</sub>. (E P 2:PREC) 1d. (ENTR:CIB) √Lā'<sub>50</sub> lhānchulā'<sub>51</sub> i'xtapalh<sub>52</sub>? 1e. (CONCL ENTR:CIB) Caquihua'ni'<sub>53</sub>."

**87** (E P 20:SIM MONO) 1. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> burro<sub>4</sub> tū'<sub>5</sub> f'stā'cu'tun<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> arriero<sub>9</sub> tantu<sub>10</sub> i'xtamāhuacu'tun<sub>11</sub>. 2. (SET:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> burro<sub>6</sub> tū'<sub>7</sub> f'stā'cu'tun<sub>8</sub>, lā'<sub>9</sub> como<sub>10</sub> tū'<sub>11</sub> f'stā'cu'tun<sub>12</sub> lā'<sub>13</sub> hasta<sub>14</sub> que<sub>15</sub> huan<sub>16</sub> a'ntfn<sub>17</sub> tantu<sub>18</sub> i'xtamāhuacu'tun<sub>19</sub> porque<sub>20</sub> huan<sub>21</sub> burro<sub>22</sub> lēj<sub>23</sub> tze<sub>24</sub> i'xcu'ca'nan<sub>25</sub> lā'<sub>26</sub> i'xtatā'lacastuca<sub>27</sub> huan<sub>28</sub> cahuayujnu'<sub>29</sub> lā'<sub>30</sub> u'tza'<sub>31</sub> huan<sub>32</sub> burro<sub>33</sub> i'x-

**86** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he was going<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> he met<sub>5</sub> the<sub>6</sub> muleteers<sub>7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> he had lent them<sub>9</sub> his donkey<sub>10</sub>, and<sub>11</sub> since<sub>12</sub> this very<sub>13,14</sub> day<sub>15</sub> they had set<sub>16</sub> that<sub>17</sub> there<sub>18</sub> they would give him<sub>19</sub> his donkey<sub>20</sub>, and<sub>21</sub> when<sub>22</sub> the<sub>24</sub> muleteers<sub>26</sub> arrived<sub>23</sub>, they said to him<sub>28</sub>. 1a. "Now<sub>27</sub> here<sub>28</sub> I brought you<sub>29</sub> your donkey<sub>30</sub>. 1b. Better<sub>31</sub> you should sell him to me<sub>32</sub>, because<sub>33</sub> he carries loads<sub>36</sub> so very<sub>34</sub> well<sub>38</sub> and<sub>37</sub> he does not let<sub>38,39</sub> the<sub>41</sub> horses<sub>42</sub> go ahead of him<sub>40</sub>. 1c. That is why<sub>43</sub> I like him<sub>45</sub> very much<sub>44</sub>; better<sub>46</sub> you should sell him to me<sub>47</sub> once and for all<sub>48,49</sub>. 1d. And<sub>50</sub> how much<sub>51</sub> is he worth<sub>52</sub>? 1e. Tell me<sub>53</sub>."

**87** 1. And<sub>1</sub> the owner of<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> donkey<sub>4</sub> did not want to sell him<sub>5,6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> the<sub>8</sub> muleteer<sub>9</sub> wanted to buy him<sub>11</sub> so much<sub>10</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> owner of<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> donkey<sub>6</sub> did not want to sell him<sub>7,8</sub>, and<sub>9</sub> since<sub>10</sub> he did not<sub>11</sub> want to sell it<sub>12</sub> and<sub>13</sub> even though<sub>14,15</sub> someone<sub>16,17</sub> wanted to buy him<sub>18</sub> so much<sub>19</sub> because<sub>19</sub> the<sub>21</sub> donkey<sub>22</sub> carried burdens<sub>26</sub> so very<sub>23</sub> well<sub>24</sub> and<sub>25</sub> he was like<sub>27</sub> the<sub>28</sub>

cāpū'lani'<sub>34</sub> huan<sub>35</sub> cahuayujnu'<sub>36</sub> lā'<sub>37</sub> tū'<sub>38</sub> i'xcāmakxteka<sub>39</sub> natalakapū'<sub>40</sub> ,  
 lā'<sub>41</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>42</sub> i'xtalakapū'lacu'tun<sub>43</sub> i'xcālacchi'nta<sub>44</sub> lā'<sub>45</sub> i'xcālacxcā<sub>46</sub>  
 lā'<sub>47</sub> u'tza'<sub>48</sub> i'xcāpū'lani'<sub>49</sub> huan<sub>50</sub> i'xtalhūhuā'<sub>51</sub> huan<sub>52</sub> cahuayujnu'<sub>53</sub>  
 lā'<sub>54</sub> i'xlfakatl'<sub>55</sub> lā'<sub>56</sub> u'tza'<sub>57</sub> tantu'<sub>58</sub> i'xlmaktamāhuacu'tun<sub>59</sub> i'xburro<sub>60</sub> .  
 3. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> tū'<sub>3</sub> stā'maxquf'lh<sub>4</sub> , (SPE:DirQt) lā'<sub>5</sub>  
 huanilh<sub>6</sub> que<sub>7</sub> (Q:DEPAR) 3a. (LV-TAK':PB) 'Chuhua'<sub>8</sub> hasta<sub>9</sub> lakal'<sub>10</sub> ?"  
 huanilh<sub>11</sub> i'xtēcu'<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> burro<sub>14</sub> . 4. (TER:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> lē'li<sub>3</sub>  
 i'xburro<sub>4</sub> .

**88** (E P 21:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> lfchā'lh<sub>3</sub>  
 a'nlhā<sub>4</sub> i'xpāxtokni'<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> quindiosca'n<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> i'xmaknfcu'tun<sub>9</sub> , (SPE:  
 DirQt) lā'<sub>10</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>11</sub> huanilh<sub>12</sub> huan<sub>13</sub> burro<sub>14</sub> , (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:  
 CIB) 'Chuhua'<sub>15</sub> ā'tzā'<sub>16</sub> i'xquimaknfcu'tuna'<sub>17</sub> . 1b. (PRON:CIB) Lā'<sub>18</sub>  
 chuhua'<sub>19</sub> tzetza'<sub>20</sub> napina'<sub>21</sub> na<sub>22</sub> minchic<sub>23</sub> , " huanilh<sub>24</sub> .

**89** (A N T I - D É:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) A'xni'ca'<sub>1</sub> i'xcāx-  
 tlōnf'ttza'<sub>2</sub> lā'<sub>3</sub> tū'tza'<sub>4</sub> burro<sub>5</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>6</sub> porque<sub>7</sub> tū'tza'<sub>8</sub> i'xtapalajni'<sub>9</sub>  
 lā'<sub>10</sub> tzetza'<sub>11</sub> i'xchihufna'n<sub>12</sub> lā'<sub>13</sub> kalhatintza'<sub>14</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>15</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>16</sub> ,  
 (SET/CirM:SR-A) lā'<sub>17</sub> como<sub>18</sub> tū'tza'<sub>19</sub> burro<sub>20</sub> i'xuanf't<sub>21</sub> , (IU:DirQt)

horses<sub>29</sub> and<sub>30</sub> this<sub>32</sub> very<sub>31</sub> donkey<sub>33</sub> went ahead of<sub>34</sub> the<sub>35</sub> horses<sub>36</sub> and<sub>37</sub> he  
 would not let them<sub>38,39</sub> get ahead of him<sub>40</sub> , and<sub>41</sub> when<sub>42</sub> they wanted to get ahead  
 of him<sub>43</sub> he kicked them<sub>44</sub> and<sub>45</sub> he bit them<sub>46</sub> and<sub>47</sub> for the reason that<sub>48</sub> he went  
 ahead of<sub>49</sub> the<sub>50</sub> whole lot of<sub>51</sub> the<sub>52</sub> horses<sub>53</sub> , (for this reason) he liked him<sub>54,55</sub>  
 and<sub>56</sub> for this reason<sub>57</sub> very much<sub>58</sub> he wanted to buy from him<sub>59</sub> his donkey<sub>60</sub> .  
 3. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he did not want to sell it<sub>3,4</sub> , and<sub>5</sub> he said to him<sub>6,7</sub> 3a. "Now  
 until<sub>8</sub> tomorrow<sub>10</sub> , he said to<sub>11</sub> (the) owner of<sub>12</sub> the<sub>13</sub> donkey<sub>14</sub> . 4. And<sub>1</sub>  
 then<sub>2</sub> he took off<sub>3</sub> his donkey<sub>4</sub> .

**88** 1. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he arrived with him<sub>3</sub> where<sub>4</sub> he (who was turned into a don-  
 key) had attacked<sub>5</sub> our God<sub>6,7</sub> and<sub>8</sub> tried to kill him<sub>9</sub> , and<sub>10</sub> then<sub>11</sub> he said to<sub>12</sub>  
 the<sub>13</sub> donkey<sub>14</sub> , 1a. "Now<sub>15</sub> here<sub>16</sub> you tried to kill me<sub>17</sub> . 1b. And<sub>18</sub> now<sub>19</sub>  
 you may go now<sub>20,21</sub> to<sub>22</sub> your house<sub>23</sub> , " he said to him<sub>24</sub> .

**89** 1. When<sub>1</sub> he had been fixed up<sub>2</sub> and<sub>3</sub> he was<sub>4</sub> no longer<sub>5</sub> (a) donkey<sub>6</sub> be-  
 cause<sub>7</sub> he was no longer changed into another form<sub>8,9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> now he was able to  
 talk<sub>11,12</sub> and<sub>13</sub> he was<sub>14</sub> now a man<sub>14,15</sub> , and<sub>17</sub> since<sub>16</sub> he was<sub>21</sub> no longer<sub>18</sub>



lā'₂₂ a'xni'ca'₂₃ tzetza'₂₄ i'xkalht'₂₅ lā'₂₆ i'xuanf'₂₇, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) 'Chuhua'₂₈ i'csqui'nf'yāni'₂₉ tamāspuṭūn₃₀. 1b. (AMPLI:CIB) Caquimāspuṭunu'ni'₃₁, porque₃₂ quillfontu₃₃ a'ntū₃₄ xa'i'ctiōni'cu'-tunāni'₃₅, lā'₃₆ xa'i'cmaknfcu'tunāni'₃₇. 1c. (ENTR:CIB) Lā'₃₈ u'tza'₃₉ i'clfsqui'nf'yāni'₄₀ tamāspuṭūn₄₁." 2. (IR:E P I) (E P:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) "Lā'₁ chuhua'₂ i'cmāspuṭunu'ni'yāni'₃. 2b. (PRON:CIB) Lā'₄ tū'₅ maktin₆ napāstaca'₇ namaknfcu'tuna'₈ catfhuā₉ i'xcaman₁₀ quinDiosca'n₁₁. 2c. (AMPLI:CIB) Lā'₁₂ u'tza'₁₃ huā'mā'₁₄ i'cuaniyāni'₁₅. (C L:DEPAR) 2d. (LV-TAK':Seq) Lā'₁₆ chuhua'₁₇ capi'ttza'₁₈ na₁₉ minchic₂₀ lā'₂₁ nā₂₂ quit₂₃ i'ca'mpalayatza'₂₄ nā₂₅ quit₂₆." 3. (TER:Para) Lā'₁ tuncan₂ ta'a'lh₃; chā'tunu'₄ tatēlh₅ i'xtējca'n₆ lā'₇ ta'a'lh₈.

**90** (E P 22:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ chā'lh₃ a'nlhā₄ i'xyā₅ i'xchic₆ huan₇ a'ntf₈ i'xlanf't₉ i'xlfurro₁₀, (SET:CIB) lā'₁₁ laktz'f'lh₁₂ i'xpuscāt₁₃. 2. (SET/Act₁:CIB) Lā'₁ laka'lh₂ (IU/Act₂:DirQt) lā'₃ huanilh₄, (Q:PREC) 2a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Lhachū₅ i'xpinf'-ta'₆?" 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ huanilh₂ i'xpuscāt₃, (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) "Pō'ktu₄ xa'i'ctētaxtu₅ huā'tza'₆. 3b. (AMPLI:Adver) Lā'₇ xa'i'c-laktz'f'nāni'₈ pero₉ tūla₁₀ xa'i'ctā'chihufna'nāni'₁₁, porque₁₂ quit₁₃ burro₁₄ xa'i'cuanf't₁₅."

(a) donkey₂₀, and₂₃ then₂₃ he was able to answer him₂₄,₂₅ and₂₆ he said to him₂₇, 1a. "Now₂₈ I ask of you₂₉ forgiveness₃₀. 1b. Forgive me₃₁, because of₃₂ my foolishness₃₃ which₃₄ I wanted to do to you₃₅, in that₃₆ I wanted to kill you₃₇. 1c. And₃₈ for this₃₉ I ask of you₄₀ forgiveness₄₁." 2. 2a. "And₁ now₂ I forgive you₃. 2b. And₄ never₅,₆ think₇ of killing₈ any₉ son of₁₀ our God₁₁. 2c. And₁₂ this very thing₁₃,₁₄ I tell you₁₅. 2d. And₁₆ now₁₇ go₁₈ to₁₉ your house₂₀ and₂₁ I₂₃ also₂₃ I will go again₂₄ I₂₆ also₂₆." 3. And₁ then₂ they went₃; each one₄ took₅ his road₆ and₇ they went₈.

**90** 1. And₁ when₂ the one who₇,₈ had been changed into₉ a donkey₁₀ arrived₃ where₄ his house₆ was standing₅, and₁₁ he saw₁₂ his wife₁₃. 2. And₁ she went to him₂ and₃ she said to him₄, 2a. "Where₅ have you been₆?" 3. And₁ he said to₂ his wife₃, 3a. "I used to pass by₅ here₆ all the time₄. 3b. And₇ I used to see you₆ but₉ I could not talk to you₁₀,₁₁, because₁₂ I₁₃ was₁₅ (a) donkey₁₄."

**91** (E P 23:SIM DIA) 1. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xpuscāt<sub>3</sub> tun-can<sub>4</sub> tzuculh<sub>5</sub> kalhasqui'n<sub>6</sub>, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Lā'<sub>7</sub> ch<sub>8</sub> lftapala'jt<sub>9</sub> ?" 2. (IR:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub> a'nch<sub>4</sub> līalh<sub>5</sub> : (Q: MONO - C L I)

The MONO - CLIMACTIC discourse which manifests the Quoted of the INITIATING RESPONSE of paragraph #91 is "The Retell of the Man Who Became a Donkey" (paragraphs #92 through #101). This discourse begins and ends with a colloquy paragraph but switches medially into narrative paragraphs. This discourse consists of an A P E R T U R E, S T A G E, five E P I S O D E S, a D É N O U E M E N T, one additional E P I S O D E, and a C L O S U R E.

**92** (A P:PREC) 1. (ENTR:Seq) "¿Chā<sub>1</sub> tū'<sub>2</sub> pāstaca'<sub>3</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> tēmakhltatalh<sub>5</sub> huan<sub>6</sub> marsiyero<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> quit<sub>9</sub> i'cmaknflh<sub>10</sub> huan<sub>11</sub> quincari-yonca'n<sub>12</sub> lā'<sub>13</sub> i'cmakxcutlh<sub>14</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>15</sub> a'ntū<sub>16</sub> i'xlfmin<sub>17</sub> lā'<sub>18</sub> a'ntza'<sub>19</sub> i'ctamakch'ni'lh<sub>20</sub> i'xlfstā't<sub>21</sub> ?

**93** (S T A G E:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> i'xlfca'tzi'sāttza'<sub>3</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>4</sub> i'xa'nf'ttza'<sub>5</sub>, (FOC:CIB) quit<sub>6</sub> i'ca'lh<sub>7</sub> i'xmālacapū'<sub>8</sub> con<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> presidenti<sub>11</sub>.

**94** (E P 1:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> i'x-qufmāspi'tcanf'ttza'<sub>3</sub>, (IU:IndQt) tuncan<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> presidenti<sub>6</sub> tzuculh<sub>7</sub> kalhasqui'n<sub>8</sub> que<sub>9</sub> (IQ:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) palh<sub>10</sub> tuntū'<sub>11</sub> lē'mā'<sub>12</sub> na<sub>13</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>14</sub>. 2. (IR:IndQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> hualh<sub>3</sub> que<sub>4</sub> (IQ:DECL)

**91** 1. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> his wife<sub>3</sub> then<sub>4</sub> began<sub>5</sub> to ask him<sub>6</sub>, 1a. "And<sub>7</sub> how<sub>8</sub> did you change form<sub>9</sub> ?" 2. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> told her<sub>3</sub> how<sub>4</sub> he did it<sub>5</sub> :

**92** 1. "Do you not<sub>1,2</sub> remember<sub>3</sub> when<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> salesman<sub>7</sub> passed by to spend the night<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> I<sub>8</sub> killed<sub>10</sub> our rooster<sub>11,12</sub> and<sub>13</sub> I undid<sub>14</sub> his bag<sub>15</sub> which<sub>16</sub> he carried<sub>17</sub> and<sub>18</sub> there<sub>19</sub> I tied it up in<sub>20</sub> his merchandise<sub>21</sub> ?

**93** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> early the next day<sub>3</sub> when<sub>4</sub> he had gone<sub>5</sub>, I<sub>6</sub> went<sub>7</sub> to lay a charge against him<sub>8</sub> before<sub>9</sub> the<sub>10</sub> president<sub>11</sub>.

**94** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> they had gone and brought him back<sub>3</sub>, then<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> president<sub>6</sub> began<sub>7</sub> to ask him<sub>8,9</sub> 1a. if<sub>10</sub> he was carrying off<sub>12</sub> something<sub>11</sub> in<sub>13</sub> his

2a. (PRON:CIB) tuntū<sub>5</sub> lē'mā'<sub>6</sub>. 3. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huanica<sub>2</sub> que<sub>3</sub>  
(Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) 'Ka'lhanf'ta'<sub>4</sub> lakatin<sub>5</sub> cariyon<sub>6</sub>. 4. (DR:  
IndQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> hualh<sub>3</sub> que<sub>4</sub> (IQ:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) tuntū<sub>5</sub>  
lē'mā<sub>6</sub>. 4b. (PRON:Condl) Lā'<sub>7</sub> palh<sub>8</sub> catūhuā<sub>9</sub> lē'mā'<sub>10</sub>, cachf'ca<sub>11</sub>  
lā'<sub>12</sub> camulhtajlfca<sub>13</sub>. 5. (DU:IndQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presidenti<sub>4</sub>  
cāhuanilh<sub>5</sub> i'xmāyūlhnu'<sub>6</sub> que<sub>7</sub> (IQ:DECL) 5a. (PRON:CIB) catamak-  
xcutli<sub>8</sub> i'xmaleta<sub>9</sub>.

## 95

(E P 2:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:CIB) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tatzuculh<sub>3</sub> tamak-  
xcuta<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> maleta<sub>6</sub>. 2. (SET:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xlaca'n<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> takaksli<sub>4</sub>  
huan<sub>5</sub> cariyontza'<sub>6</sub> xanfn<sub>7</sub>. 3. (IU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presiden-  
ti<sub>4</sub> tuncan<sub>5</sub> huanilh<sub>6</sub>, (Q:EJAC) 3a. (EXCLA:IndQt) 'ĶChā<sub>7</sub> hua'na'<sub>8</sub>  
que<sub>9</sub> (IQ:DECL) 3aa. (PRON:CIB) tuntū'<sub>10</sub> ka'lhanf'ta'<sub>11</sub> nfn<sub>12</sub> tuntū'<sub>13</sub> ?  
3b. (PLAN:CIB) Lā'<sub>14</sub> chuhua'j<sub>15</sub> camānū'tit<sub>16</sub> nac<sub>17</sub> pūlāchf'n<sub>18</sub>. 4.  
(IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> huanilh<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> presidenti<sub>5</sub>, (Q:EJAC) 4a.  
(EXCLA:CIB) 'Caka'li'<sub>6</sub> macsti'na'j<sub>7</sub>. 4b. (AMPLI:Condl) Que<sub>8</sub> palh<sub>9</sub>  
quiti<sub>10</sub> i'cmaknfnf't<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> cariyon<sub>13</sub> nahuan<sub>14</sub>. 4c. (PLAN:CIB) Lā'<sub>15</sub>  
caquima'xqui'<sub>16</sub>. 5. (TER:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> maxquf'ca<sub>3</sub> huan<sub>4</sub> cariyon<sub>5</sub>.

## 96

(E P 3:SIM MONO) 1. (SPE:DirQt) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> cāhuanilh<sub>3</sub>

bag<sub>14</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said<sub>3</sub> that<sub>4</sub> 2a. he was carrying off<sub>5</sub> nothing<sub>6</sub>. 3. And<sub>1</sub>  
they told him<sub>2,3</sub> 3a. 'You have stolen<sub>4</sub> a<sub>5</sub> rooster<sub>6</sub>. 4. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said<sub>3</sub> that<sub>4</sub>  
4a. he was taking<sub>5</sub> nothing<sub>6</sub>. 4b. And<sub>7</sub> if<sub>8</sub> he was taking<sub>10</sub> something<sub>9</sub>, let them  
take him prisoner<sub>11</sub> and<sub>12</sub> let them fine him<sub>13</sub>. 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub>  
told<sub>5</sub> his messengers<sub>6</sub> that<sub>7</sub> 5a. they should undo<sub>8</sub> his bag<sub>9</sub>.

## 95

1. "And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they began<sub>3</sub> to undo<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> bag<sub>6</sub>. 2. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>3</sub> they<sub>2</sub>  
found<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> rooster<sub>6</sub> dead<sub>7</sub>. 3. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> the<sub>3</sub> president<sub>4</sub> then<sub>5</sub> said to him<sub>6</sub>,  
3a. 'How is it that<sub>7</sub> you say<sub>8</sub> that<sub>9</sub> 3aa. you have stolen<sub>11</sub> nothing<sub>10</sub> not even<sub>12</sub>  
anything<sub>13</sub> ? 3b. And<sub>14</sub> now<sub>15</sub> put him<sub>16</sub> into<sub>17</sub> jail<sub>18</sub>. 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he said  
to<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> president<sub>5</sub>, 4a. 'Wait<sub>6</sub> a little<sub>7</sub>. 4b. If<sub>8,9</sub> I<sub>10</sub> have killed<sub>11</sub> the<sub>12</sub>  
rooster<sub>13</sub> it will say (so)<sub>14</sub>. 4c. And<sub>15</sub> give it to me<sub>16</sub>. 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> they  
gave him<sub>3</sub> the<sub>4</sub> rooster<sub>5</sub>.

## 96

1. "And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he said to them<sub>3</sub> 1a. 'Only<sub>4</sub> three times<sub>5</sub> it will say<sub>6</sub>, if<sub>7</sub>  
I<sub>8</sub> have killed<sub>9</sub> this<sub>10</sub> rooster<sub>11</sub>.'

(Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:Concl) 'Xmān<sub>4</sub> maktu'tun<sub>5</sub> nahuan<sub>6</sub> , palh<sub>7</sub> quitl<sub>8</sub> i'cmaknfn'ti<sub>9</sub> huā'<sub>10</sub> cariyon<sub>11</sub> . '

**97** (E P 4:SIM MONO) 1. (SET:Seq) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> maktu'tun<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub> tāla'sli<sub>4</sub> huan<sub>5</sub> cariyon<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> lhtun<sub>8</sub> mākosūlh<sub>9</sub> na<sub>10</sub> i'xlaclhpu'nanca'n<sub>11</sub> . 2. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> tāyacha'<sub>3</sub> , (SPE:DirQt) tuncan<sub>4</sub> ta'salh<sub>5</sub> lā'<sub>6</sub> hualh<sub>7</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'Lakaxō'ko'<sub>8</sub> quimak-nflh<sub>9</sub> , ' hualh<sub>10</sub> .

**98** (E P 5:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>3</sub> māhuanflh<sub>4</sub> i'xlmaktu'tun<sub>5</sub> , (IU:DirQt) tuncan<sub>6</sub> hualh<sub>7</sub> huan<sub>8</sub> presidenti<sub>9</sub> , (Q:PREC) 1a. (DESIRE:DECL) (PRON:CIB) '¿Chā<sub>10</sub> calaktz'f'ntit<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> marsiyero<sub>13</sub> ! 1b. (ENTR:CIB) ¿Chā<sub>14</sub> u'tza'<sub>15</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>16</sub> ? ' 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huan<sub>2</sub> mayūlhnu'<sub>3</sub> tahualh<sub>4</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:PB) 'Tū'<sub>5</sub> . ' 3. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tahualh<sub>2</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:CIB) 'I'xtēcu'<sub>3</sub> cariyon<sub>4</sub> u'tza'<sub>5</sub> lakaxō'ko'<sub>6</sub> , ' tahualh<sub>7</sub> . 4. (DR:DirQt) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> hualh<sub>2</sub> huan<sub>3</sub> presidenti<sub>4</sub> , (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:Seq) 'Chuhua'<sub>5</sub> hui'xi<sub>6</sub> natanū'ya'<sub>7</sub> nac<sub>8</sub> pūlāchf'n<sub>9</sub> lā'<sub>10</sub> namāpala'ya'<sub>11</sub> huan<sub>12</sub> mūlh<sub>13</sub>ta<sub>14</sub> , para<sub>15</sub> que<sub>16</sub> tū'<sub>17</sub> maktin<sub>18</sub> nalfyāhua'ya'<sub>19</sub> ta'a'ksa'nin<sub>20</sub> chā'tin<sub>21</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>22</sub> huampala<sub>23</sub> . ' 5. (DU:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> i'cuanilh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 5a. (PRON:CIB) 'Mejor<sub>4</sub> i'ca'na<sub>5</sub> i'ctē<sub>6</sub> quimūlh<sub>7</sub>ta<sub>8</sub> , ' i'cuanilh<sub>9</sub> huan<sub>10</sub> presidente<sub>11</sub> . 6. (DR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> quihuanilh<sub>2</sub> ,

**97** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> three times<sub>3</sub> he hit<sub>4</sub> the<sub>5</sub> rooster<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> whoosh<sub>8</sub> he threw it<sub>9</sub> in<sub>10</sub> the midst of them<sub>11</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> it stood up there<sub>3</sub> , then<sub>4</sub> it crowed<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> it said<sub>7</sub> , 2a. '(The) one-eyed one<sub>8</sub> killed me<sub>9</sub> , ' he said<sub>10</sub> .

**98** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> when<sub>3</sub> he made it say it<sub>4</sub> the third time<sub>5</sub> , then<sub>6</sub> the<sub>7</sub> president<sub>8</sub> said<sub>9</sub> , 1a. 'Look at<sub>10,11</sub> the<sub>12</sub> salesman<sub>13</sub> ! 1b. Is it so that<sub>14</sub> he<sub>15</sub> is one-eyed<sub>16</sub> ? ' 2. And<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> messengers<sub>3</sub> said<sub>4</sub> , 2a. 'No<sub>5</sub> . ' 3. And<sub>1</sub> they said<sub>2</sub> , 3a. '(The) owner of<sub>3</sub> (the) rooster<sub>4</sub> , he<sub>5</sub> is one-eyed<sub>6</sub> , ' they said<sub>7</sub> . 4. Then<sub>1</sub> the<sub>2</sub> president<sub>3</sub> said<sub>4</sub> , 4a. 'Now<sub>5</sub> you<sub>6</sub> , you are going to enter<sub>7</sub> into<sub>8</sub> jail<sub>9</sub> and<sub>10</sub> you will pay<sub>11</sub> the<sub>12</sub> fine<sub>13</sub> , in order that<sub>14,15</sub> never again<sub>16,17</sub> you will accuse<sub>18</sub> a<sub>20</sub> man<sub>21</sub> falsely<sub>19</sub> again<sub>22</sub> . ' 5. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> I said to him<sub>3</sub> , 5a. 'Better<sub>4</sub> I go<sub>5</sub> get<sub>6</sub> my fine<sub>7</sub> , ' I said to<sub>8</sub> the<sub>9</sub> president<sub>10</sub> . 6. And<sub>1</sub> he said to

(Q:DECL) 6a. (PRON:CIB) 'Capinchi<sub>9</sub> .' 7. (TER:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> quit<sub>9</sub> i'ctētēlh<sub>4</sub> quimachita<sub>9</sub> lā'<sub>9</sub> i'ca'lh<sub>7</sub> i'cka'lhft<sub>9</sub> nac<sub>9</sub> tej<sub>10</sub> .

**99** (D É:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) 'Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'tza'<sub>2</sub> lējtza'<sub>3</sub> pajtzu<sub>4</sub> i'xmimā'<sub>5</sub> , (SET:CIB) tuncan<sub>6</sub> quit<sub>7</sub> i'ctftaxtuni'lh<sub>9</sub> , para<sub>9</sub> que<sub>10</sub> na'i'cmūcā'<sub>11</sub> lā'<sub>12</sub> na'i'cmaknf<sub>13</sub> . 2. (SPE:DirQt) Pero<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> quihuanilh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:PB) 'O<sub>4</sub> burro<sub>9</sub> .' 3. (DEV:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> quimāpalajli<sub>2</sub> lā'<sub>3</sub> i'clalh<sub>4</sub> tuncan<sub>5</sub> quilburro<sub>6</sub> . 4. (TER:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> tzuculh<sub>3</sub> quinkētlapā<sub>4</sub> lā'<sub>5</sub> quimācu'quf'lh<sub>9</sub> i'xmaletasna'<sub>7</sub> .

**100** (E P 6:SIM DIA) 1. (SET:Para) 'Lā'<sub>1</sub> tuncan<sub>2</sub> quilē'lh<sub>3</sub> ; tū'<sub>4</sub> lēj<sub>5</sub> makati<sub>6</sub> quimātlā'huanfih<sub>7</sub> . 2. (SET/Act<sub>1</sub>:CIB) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> talāpāxtokli<sub>2</sub> makapitzf<sub>3</sub> arrierosnu'<sub>4</sub> (IU/Act<sub>2</sub>:DirQt) lā'<sub>5</sub> tahuanilh<sub>9</sub> , (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'Caquistā'ma'xqui'<sub>7</sub> miburro<sub>9</sub> .' 3. (IR:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> cāhuanilh<sub>2</sub> , (Q:DECL) 3a. (PRON:Para) 'Quit<sub>3</sub> tū'<sub>4</sub> i'cstā'cu'tun<sub>9</sub> ; mejor<sub>9</sub> na'i'cmāsācua'nfyāni'<sub>7</sub> .' 4. (DU:DirQt) Tuncan<sub>1</sub> xlaça'n<sub>2</sub> tahualh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:PB) 'Tzey<sub>4</sub> .' 5. (DR:E P I) (E P 1:SIM MONO) (SPE:DirQt) (Q:DECL) 5a. (PRON:IndQt) 'Pero<sub>1</sub> i'ccāhuanfyāni'<sub>3</sub> que<sub>9</sub> (IQ:DECL) 5aa. (PRON:CIB) huā'<sub>4</sub> quiburro<sub>9</sub> lēj<sub>9</sub> malo<sub>7</sub> . 5b. (PRON:CIB) Lā'<sub>9</sub> para<sub>9</sub> que<sub>10</sub> tze<sub>11</sub> nalfpinā'tit<sub>12</sub> , namācu'quf'yā'tit<sub>13</sub> a'ntū<sub>14</sub> lactzinca<sub>15</sub> tacu'ca'<sub>16</sub> . 5c. (AMPLI:CIB) Lā'<sub>17</sub>

me<sub>2</sub> . 6a. 'Go<sub>3</sub> .' 7. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> I<sub>3</sub> passed by and got<sub>4</sub> my machete<sub>9</sub> and<sub>9</sub> I went<sub>7</sub> to wait to kill him<sub>9</sub> on<sub>9</sub> (the) road<sub>10</sub> .

**99** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he was coming<sub>5</sub> very<sub>3</sub> near<sub>4</sub> , then<sub>6</sub> I<sub>7</sub> tried to come out at him<sub>9</sub> in order that<sub>9,10</sub> I might cut his head off<sub>11</sub> and<sub>12</sub> (thus) kill him<sub>13</sub> . 2. But<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he said to me<sub>3</sub> , 2a. 'Whoa<sub>4</sub> donkey<sub>9</sub> .' 3. And<sub>1</sub> he changed me<sub>3</sub> and<sub>3</sub> I became<sub>4</sub> then<sub>5</sub> a donkey<sub>9</sub> . 4. And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he began<sub>3</sub> to harness me<sub>4</sub> and<sub>9</sub> he loaded on me<sub>9</sub> his bags<sub>7</sub> .

**100** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> then<sub>2</sub> he took me<sub>3</sub> ; not<sub>4</sub> very<sub>5</sub> far<sub>9</sub> he made me walk<sub>7</sub> . 2. Then<sub>1</sub> he met<sub>2</sub> some<sub>3</sub> muleteers<sub>4</sub> and<sub>9</sub> they said to him<sub>9</sub> , 2a. 'Sell me<sub>7</sub> your donkey<sub>9</sub> .' 3. And<sub>1</sub> he said to them<sub>2</sub> , 3a. 'I<sub>3</sub> do not want to sell him<sub>4,5</sub> ; better<sub>9</sub> I should lend him to you<sub>7</sub> .' 4. Then<sub>1</sub> they<sub>2</sub> said<sub>3</sub> 4a. 'Fine<sub>4</sub> .' 5. 5a. 'But<sub>1</sub> I tell you<sub>2</sub> that<sub>3</sub> this donkey of mine<sub>4,5</sub> (is) very<sub>9</sub> bad<sub>7</sub> . 5b. And<sub>9</sub> in order that<sub>9,10</sub>

chuntza'<sub>19</sub> nalfpinā'tit<sub>19</sub> , ' cāhuanilh<sub>20</sub> . (E P 2:SIM MONO) 5d. (SPE: DirQt) (Q:DECL) (PRON:CIB) 'Lā'<sub>21</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>22</sub> nalāpāxtokpalayāhu<sub>23</sub> huā'tza'<sub>24</sub> , a'xni'ca'<sub>25</sub> na'i'clē'nchokopala<sub>26</sub> quiburro<sub>27</sub> , ' cāhuanilh<sub>28</sub> .

**101** (C L:DECL) 1. (PRON:Adver) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> por<sub>2</sub> eso<sub>3</sub> tū'<sub>4</sub> i'xquilf-laktzī'na'<sub>5</sub> , masqui<sub>6</sub> pō'ktu<sub>7</sub> xa'i'ctētāxtu<sub>8</sub> huā'tza'<sub>9</sub> . 2. (PRON:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuhua'j<sub>2</sub> cala'ktzi'<sub>3</sub> quinkētzi'tzi'<sub>4</sub> . 3. (AMPLI:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huāken<sub>2</sub> quintatla<sub>3</sub> quimaxquf'kō'lh<sub>4</sub> . 4. (PRON:DirQt) Lā'<sub>1</sub> xla'<sub>2</sub> cāhuanilh<sub>3</sub> , (Q:DECL) 4a. (PRON:CIB) 'Tū'<sub>4</sub> i'cstā'cu'tun<sub>5</sub> . ' 5. (AMPLI:Concl) Lā'<sub>1</sub> palh<sub>2</sub> i'xquistā'lh<sub>3</sub> , tū'tza'<sub>4</sub> ā'maktin<sub>5</sub> i'xquila'ktzi'<sub>6</sub> . "

Note the Retell ends.

C L O S U R E of the discourse "The Man Who Became a Donkey" is manifested by a DECLAMATORY colloquy paragraph (#102) in which the wife is talking.

**102** (C L:DECL) 1. (PRON:CIB) "Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> chō'la<sub>3</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>4</sub> porque<sub>5</sub> chichū<sub>6</sub> lfmāpalajni'<sub>7</sub> lā'<sub>8</sub> i'xlmāspi'tnī'ta'nī'<sub>9</sub> i'xlfurro<sub>10</sub> , pus<sub>11</sub> chō'la<sub>12</sub> u'tza'n<sub>13</sub> Dios<sub>14</sub> , porque<sub>15</sub> ā'chā'tin<sub>16</sub> chi'xcu'<sub>17</sub> tūla<sub>18</sub> catitla-hualh<sub>19</sub> chuntza'<sub>20</sub> . "

End of E P I S O D E 1, and Part II of Man Who Became a Donkey discourse.

E P I S O D E 5 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a DISCONTINUOUS EPISODIC discourse (Planting II, para-

you may take him<sub>11,12</sub> , you must make him carry<sub>13</sub> heavy loads<sub>14-16</sub> . 5o. And<sub>17</sub> thus<sub>18</sub> you will take him<sub>19</sub> , ' he said to them<sub>20</sub> . 5d. 'And<sub>21</sub> when<sub>22</sub> we meet again<sub>23</sub> here<sub>24</sub> then<sub>25</sub> I will take again<sub>26</sub> my donkey<sub>27</sub> , ' he said to them<sub>28</sub> .

**101** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> for this reason<sub>2,3</sub> you did not see me<sub>4,5</sub> , although<sub>6</sub> I used to pass by<sub>8</sub> here<sub>9</sub> all the time<sub>7</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> now<sub>2</sub> look at<sub>3</sub> the sores on my back<sub>4</sub> . 3. And<sub>1</sub> all<sub>2</sub> my wages<sub>3</sub> he gave them all to me<sub>4</sub> . 4. And<sub>1</sub> he<sub>2</sub> said to them<sub>3</sub> , 4a. 'I do not want to sell him<sub>4,5</sub> . ' 5. And<sub>1</sub> if<sub>2</sub> he had sold me<sub>3</sub> , never again<sub>4,5</sub> Would you have seen me<sub>6</sub> . "

**102** 1. "And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> probably<sub>3</sub> (he was) our God<sub>4</sub> because<sub>5</sub> how<sub>6</sub> did he turn you into<sub>7</sub> his donkey<sub>10</sub> and<sub>8</sub> turn you back again<sub>9</sub> , probably<sub>11,12</sub> he<sub>13</sub> (is) God<sub>14</sub> , because<sub>15</sub> another<sub>16</sub> man<sub>17</sub> is definitely not able to do<sub>18,19</sub> thus<sub>20</sub> . "

graphs #103 through #106, and #108 through #117). Part I of this discourse (paragraphs #103 through #106) consists of an A P E R T U R E and one E P I S O D E.

**103** (A P:SIM MONO) 1. (SET/CirM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> xla'<sub>3</sub>  
a'mā'pā<sub>4</sub> ā'lacatin<sub>5</sub> huampā<sub>6</sub> a'nlhān<sub>7</sub> tze<sub>8</sub> māsu'yupala<sub>9</sub>, lā'<sub>10</sub> como<sub>11</sub>  
i'xquftaspi'tnf'ttza'<sub>12</sub> a'nlhān<sub>13</sub> i'xqufxtetknf't<sub>14</sub> a'ntf<sub>15</sub> i'xmaknfcu'tun<sub>16</sub>  
lā'<sub>17</sub> i'xmāspi'tnf't<sub>18</sub> i'xlfburro<sub>19</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) chu<sub>20</sub> tuncan<sub>21</sub> a'nlhā<sub>22</sub>  
tētaxupā<sub>23</sub> lā'<sub>24</sub> i'xcālaktz'fn<sub>25</sub> ā'makapitzfn<sub>26</sub> a'ntf<sub>27</sub> catūhuā<sub>28</sub> i'xtatlō-  
mā'na<sub>29</sub> lā'<sub>30</sub> tuncan<sub>31</sub> i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala<sub>32</sub>, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:  
CIB) "¿Tuchūn<sub>33</sub> tlōpā'na'ntit<sub>34</sub>?"

E P I S O D E 1 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Burned Field, paragraphs #104 through #106).

**104** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> tuncan<sub>3</sub> i'xa'm-  
pala<sub>4</sub> ā'lacatin<sub>5</sub> huampala<sub>6</sub> lā'<sub>7</sub> i'xcālakhā'mpala<sub>8</sub> ā'makapitzfn<sub>9</sub> huam-  
pala<sub>10</sub>.

**105** (E P:SIM MONO) 1. (SET/CirM:CR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> i'xcāka-  
lhasqui'nfpala<sub>3</sub> tuncan<sub>4</sub> a'ntf<sub>5</sub> i'xcālaktz'fn<sub>6</sub> que<sub>7</sub> catūhuā<sub>8</sub> i'xtatlōmā'na<sub>9</sub>,  
lā'<sub>10</sub> como<sub>11</sub> xla'na<sub>12</sub> i'xtacā'tzanca'tzf<sub>13</sub>, (SPE:DirQt) i'xtakalhtfni'n<sub>14</sub>  
lā'<sub>15</sub> i'xtahuan<sub>16</sub>, (Q:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) "Quina'n<sub>17</sub> i'cpulhkoyu-  
nu'mā'nahu<sub>18</sub>."

**103** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> he<sub>3</sub> was going<sub>4</sub> to another place<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub> where<sub>7</sub> he  
could teach again<sub>8</sub>, and<sub>10</sub> since<sub>11</sub> he had returned<sub>12</sub> where<sub>13</sub> he had left<sub>14</sub> the  
one who<sub>15</sub> wanted to kill him<sub>16</sub> and<sub>17</sub> he had changed him back from being<sub>18</sub> his  
donkey<sub>19</sub>, so<sub>20</sub> then<sub>21</sub> where<sub>22</sub> he passed by another place again<sub>23</sub> and<sub>24</sub> saw<sub>25</sub>  
others<sub>26</sub> who<sub>27</sub> were doing<sub>28</sub> something<sub>29</sub> and<sub>30</sub> then<sub>31</sub> he asked them again/also<sub>32</sub>  
1a. "What<sub>33</sub> are you doing<sub>34</sub>?"

**104** 1. And<sub>1</sub> so<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he was going<sub>4</sub> to another place<sub>5</sub> again<sub>6</sub> and<sub>7</sub> he came  
to<sub>8</sub> some others<sub>9</sub> again<sub>10</sub>.

**105** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> then<sub>3</sub> he asked them again/also<sub>4</sub> whom<sub>5</sub> he saw<sub>6</sub> who<sub>7</sub>  
were doing<sub>8</sub> something<sub>9</sub>, and<sub>10</sub> since<sub>11</sub> they<sub>12</sub> were bad people<sub>13</sub>, they answered<sub>14</sub>  
and<sub>15</sub> they said to him<sub>16</sub>, 1a. "We<sub>17</sub> are burning this field<sub>18</sub>."

**106** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:T) Lā'<sub>1</sub> i'xlakalī'<sub>2</sub> , (FOC:Para) i'xtachā'n<sub>3</sub> ; (Exp:IndQt) i'xtalaktzī'n<sub>4</sub> (IQ:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) i'xuf'tza'<sub>5</sub> lakatin<sub>6</sub> pulhko<sub>7</sub> .

Planting II discourse is interrupted.

C L O S U R E 1 of the main discourse is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#107) and is non-contiguous to C L O S U R E 2.

**107** (C L 1:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> līanf't<sub>3</sub> , a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> i'xlatlā'huan<sub>5</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>6</sub> huā'tza'<sub>7</sub> nac<sub>8</sub> cā'quilhtamacuj<sub>9</sub> ; i'xlatlā'huan<sub>10</sub> huā'tza'<sub>11</sub> nac<sub>12</sub> cā'ti'ya'tna'<sub>13</sub> , a'xni'ca'<sub>14</sub> cāxtahui'lh<sub>15</sub> quilhtamacuj<sub>16</sub> . 2. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> a'xni'ca'<sub>2</sub> i'xmāsu'yutlā'huan<sub>3</sub> lhūhua'<sub>4</sub> catūhuā'<sub>5</sub> a'ntūn<sub>6</sub> tū'<sub>7</sub> maktin<sub>8</sub> i'xlaktzī'n<sub>9</sub> , (FOC:Para) lā'<sub>10</sub> xla'<sub>11</sub> i'xtlahua<sub>12</sub> lhūhua'<sub>13</sub> catūhuā'<sub>14</sub> a'ntūn<sub>15</sub> tūla<sub>16</sub> i'xtlahua<sub>17</sub> ā'catfhuā'<sub>18</sub> ; xmān<sub>19</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>20</sub> tze<sub>21</sub> tlahua<sub>22</sub> , porque<sub>23</sub> tintf'<sub>24</sub> i'xmālacastuca<sub>25</sub> huāke<sub>26</sub> a'ntū<sub>27</sub> māsuyulh<sub>28</sub> huā'tza'<sub>29</sub> nac<sub>30</sub> quilhtamacuj<sub>31</sub> . 3. (DEV: CIB) Nfn<sub>1</sub> tintf'<sub>2</sub> i'xca'tzī'<sub>3</sub> a'ntū<sub>4</sub> i'xtlahua<sub>5</sub> . 4. (TER:Seq) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> nfn<sub>3</sub> tintf'<sub>4</sub> cati'a'kxokoh<sub>5</sub> lā'<sub>6</sub> huāke<sub>7</sub> a'ntū<sub>8</sub> i'xkalhasqui'n<sub>9</sub> xla'<sub>10</sub> i'xcāhuanī<sub>11</sub> tuchū<sub>12</sub> i'xuanicu'tun<sub>13</sub> .

Part II (paragraphs #108 through #117) of the E P I S O D I C discourse which manifests E P I S O D E 5 tagmeme (Planting II) consists of three E P I S O D E S .

**106** 1. And<sub>1</sub> the next day<sub>2</sub> , they arrived<sub>3</sub> ; they saw that<sub>4</sub> 1a. there was already<sub>5</sub> a<sub>6</sub> burned place<sub>7</sub> .

**107** 1. And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> it happened<sub>3</sub> , when<sub>4</sub> our God<sub>5</sub> used to walk around<sub>6</sub> here<sub>7</sub> in<sub>8</sub> (the) world<sub>9</sub> ; he used to walk around<sub>10</sub> here<sub>11</sub> on<sub>12</sub> (the) earth<sub>13</sub> , when<sub>14</sub> he was fixing up<sub>15</sub> (the) world<sub>16</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> when<sub>2</sub> he used to walk teaching<sub>3</sub> many<sub>4</sub> things<sub>5</sub> which<sub>6</sub> never<sub>7</sub> had been seen<sub>8</sub> , and<sub>9</sub> he<sub>10</sub> did<sub>11</sub> many<sub>12</sub> things<sub>13</sub> which<sub>14</sub> no one else is able to do<sub>15-18</sub> ; only<sub>19</sub> our God<sub>20</sub> is able to do it<sub>21</sub> good<sub>22</sub> , because<sub>23</sub> no one<sub>24</sub> is his equal in<sub>25</sub> all<sub>26</sub> that<sub>27</sub> he taught<sub>28</sub> here<sub>29</sub> in<sub>30</sub> (the) world<sub>31</sub> . 3. No one<sub>1,2</sub> knew<sub>3</sub> what<sub>4</sub> he used to do<sub>5</sub> . 4. And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> no one<sub>3,4</sub> could deceive him<sub>5</sub> and<sub>6</sub> all<sub>7</sub> that<sub>8</sub> they asked him<sub>9</sub> he<sub>10</sub> told them<sub>11</sub> what<sub>12</sub> it meant<sub>13</sub> .



E P I S O D E 2 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Clothes, paragraphs #108 and #109).

**108** (A P-E P:SIM DIA) 1. (A P/ORI/TM/T:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xtētaxtumā'pātza'₃ ā'lakatintza'₄ cā'lacchicni'₅, (IR:DirQt) i'xcāhuani-pala₆, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchū₇ hui'xina'ni₈ līscujpāna'n-tit₉?" 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ xla'ca'n₂ i'xtahuani₃, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) "Quina'n₄ i'ctīlōmā'nahu₅ quilu'xu'ca'n₆."

**109** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:CR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'tza'₂ i'x-tuncuipalatza'₃ i'xīflakaltza'₄ huampalatza'₅, a'xni'ca'tza'₆ i'xtuncuipalatza'₇, (FOC:CIB) lūhūa'tza'₈ lu'xu'ntza'₉ i'xuf'tza'₁₀.

E P I S O D E 3 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Garlic Patch, paragraphs #110 through #113). This discourse contains A P E R T U R E, E P I S O D E, D É - N O U E M E N T, and C L O S U R E tagmemes, and each is manifested by a paragraph.

**110** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ como₂ tuncan₃ i'xa'm-pala₄ huampala₅ ā'lakatin₆ cā'lacchicni'₇ huampala₈.

**111** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-a) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xchā'n₃, (IU:DirQt) i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala₄ tuncan₅, (Q:PREC) 1a. (ENTR:CIB) "¿Tuchū₆ cha'npā'na'ntit₇?" 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ xla'ca'n₂ tuncan₃ i'x-takalhtfni'n₄, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) "Quina'n₅ i'ccha'mā'nahu₆ quimpū'ā'xuxca'n₇," i'xtakalhtf₈.

**108** 1. And₁ when₂ he was going by again₃ another town yet₄,₅, he asked them also₆, 1a. "What₇ are you working at₈,₉?" 2. And₁ they₂ said to him₃, 2a. "We₄ are making₅ our clothes₆."

**109** 1. And₁ when₂ it was dawn again₃ the next day₄ again₅, when₆ it was dawn again₇, there was₁₀ much₈ clothing already₉.

**110** 1. And₁ so₂ then₃ he went₄ again₅ (to) another₆ town₇ yet₈.

**111** 1. And₁ when₃ he arrived₃, then₅ he asked them again/also₄, 1a. "What₆ are you planting₇?" 2. And₁ then₃ they₂ answered₄, 2a. "We₅ are planting₆ our garlic patch₇," they answered him₆.

**112** (D É:SIM EVENT) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'tza'₂ i'x-tachā'ntza'₃ i'xīlākaltza'₄, (FOC:Para) chu₅ tuncan₆ i'xtalaktzī'ntza'₇ i'xtacha'nanca'n₈; lējtza'₉ tzēhuanf'ttza'₁₀ i'xmā'₁₁ i'xpū'ā'xuxca'n₁₂.

**113** (C L:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) A'xni'ca'tza'₁ con₂ tapāxuhuan₃ i'xtachimpalatza'₄ na₅ i'xchicca'n₆.

E P I S O D E 4 is manifested by a D E P E N D E N T M O N O - C L I M A C T I C discourse (The Cabbage and Radish Patch, paragraphs #114 through #117).

**114** (A P:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'₁ como₂ chu₃ tuncan₄ i'xa'mpala₅ ā'lacatin₆ huampala₇.

**115** (E P:SIM DIA) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xcālak-chā'mpala₃ ā'makapitzīn₄ huampala₅, (IU:CIB) lā'₆ tuncan₇ i'xcākalhasqui'nfpala₈ tuncan₉. 2. (IR:DirQt) Lā'₁ xlaca'n₂ i'xtakalhtfī'n₃ lā'₄ i'xtahuanf₅, (Q:DECL) 2a. (PRON:CIB) 'Quina'n₆ i'ccha'mā'nahu₇ quimpūcolhca'n₈ lā'₉ quimpūrabanuca'n₁₀."

**116** (D É:SIM MONO) 1. (ORI/TM:SR-A) Lā'₁ a'xni'ca'₂ i'xtachā'mpalatza'₃ na₄ i'xcā'tacuxtuca'n₅, (SPE:IndQt) lā'₆ tuncan₇ i'xtalak-tzī'n₈ que₉, (IQ:DECL) 1a. (PRON:CIB) lēj₁₀ tzēhuanf'ttza'₁₁ i'xtamā'-natza'₁₂ i'xpūcolhca'n₁₃ lā'₁₄ i'xpūrabanuca'n₁₅.

**112** 1. And₁ when₂ they arrived₃ the next day₄, then₅,₆ they saw₇ their planting₈; their garlic patch₁₂ was lying there₁₁ very₉ pretty already₁₀.

**113** 1. Then₁ they returned₄ with₂ joy₃ to₆ their houses₆.

**114** 1. And₁ so₂,₃ then₄ he went again₅ to another place₆ again₇.

**115** 1. And₁ when₂ he came to₃ some others₄ again₅, and₆ then₇,₈ he asked them again/also₉. 2. And₁ they₂ answered₃ and₄ they said to him₅, 2a. "We₆ are planting₇ our cabbage₈ and₉ our radish patch₁₀."

**116** 1. And₁ when₂ they arrived again₃ in₄ their field₅, and₆ then₇ they saw₈ that₉ their cabbage₁₃ and₁₄ their radish patch₁₅ were lying there₁₂ very₁₀ pretty already₁₁.

**117** (C L:SIM EVENT) 1. (SET/CirM:SR-A) Lā'<sub>1</sub> como<sub>2</sub> lējtza'<sub>3</sub> i'xtaka'lhftza'<sub>4</sub> tapāxuhuān<sub>5</sub> como<sub>6</sub> i'xtalaktzf'n<sub>7</sub> i'xtacha'ni'ca'n<sub>8</sub> , (FOC:CIB) lā'<sub>9</sub> tuncan<sub>10</sub> i'xta'a'mpalatza'<sub>11</sub> na<sub>12</sub> i'xchicca'n<sub>13</sub> con<sub>14</sub> tapāxuhuan<sub>15</sub> .

End of E P I S O D E 5, Planting II discourse.

C L O S U R E 2 tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#118) and is the final C L O S U R E.

**118** (C L 2:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:Para) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> lflalh<sub>3</sub> , a'xni'ca'<sub>4</sub> i'xlatlā'huan<sub>5</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>6</sub> huā'tza'<sub>7</sub> nac<sub>8</sub> cā'ti'ya'tna'<sub>9</sub> ; i'xcāhuanf<sub>10</sub> ; chuntza'<sub>11</sub> i'xmāsu'yulh<sub>12</sub> . 2. (DEV:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> huāke<sub>2</sub> tū<sub>3</sub> a'nan<sub>4</sub> nac<sub>5</sub> quilhtamacuj<sub>6</sub> huāk<sub>7</sub> i'xtatlahu<sub>8</sub> a'ntū<sub>9</sub> a'nan<sub>10</sub> .

F I N I S tagmeme of the main discourse is manifested by a SIMPLE EVENT paragraph (#119).

**119** (F I N:SIM EVENT) 1. (FOC:CIB) Lā'<sub>1</sub> chuntza'<sub>2</sub> lf'a'ksputli<sub>3</sub> i'xcuento<sub>4</sub> quinDiosca'n<sub>5</sub> .

**117** 1. And<sub>1</sub> since<sub>2</sub> they had<sub>4</sub> great<sub>3</sub> joy<sub>5</sub> as<sub>6</sub> they saw<sub>7</sub> their planting<sub>8</sub> , and<sub>9</sub> then<sub>10</sub> they went again<sub>11</sub> to<sub>12</sub> their houses<sub>13</sub> with<sub>14</sub> joy<sub>15</sub> .

**118** 1. And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> it happened<sub>3</sub> , when<sub>4</sub> our God<sub>5</sub> used to walk<sub>6</sub> here<sub>7</sub> on<sub>8</sub> (the) earth<sub>9</sub> ; he told them<sub>10</sub> ; thus<sub>11</sub> he taught<sub>12</sub> . 2. And<sub>1</sub> all<sub>2</sub> that<sub>3</sub> exists<sub>4</sub> in<sub>5</sub> (the) world<sub>6</sub> he made<sub>7</sub> all<sub>8</sub> that<sub>9</sub> exists<sub>10</sub> .

**119** 1. And<sub>1</sub> thus<sub>2</sub> ends<sub>3</sub> the story of<sub>4</sub> our God<sub>5</sub> .



# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Pronominal-Tense System of the Totonac Verb

One of the characteristics of Totonac is the blending of person and tense in the verb. Totonac draws no real cleavage in transitive and intransitive verbs with regard to persons. The same set of pronominal-tense affixes occur with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verb stems. The basic system of inflection of the Totonac verb consists of four sets of pronominal-tense suffixes. Ambiguities are resolved by the use of specific tense prefixes. A second system of inflection employs the same tense prefixes as the basic system but the sets of pronominal-tense suffixes differ from those of the basic system. The distinction in function between these two systems of verb inflection may be described in terms of the pronominal participants and their inter-relationship.

The basic pronominal-tense system (see Charts I and II) is used when the non-subject participant to be marked is one of the following: (1) Zero, as in the case of an intransitive non-referential verb in which the subject is the only participant. (2) Third person (singular or plural). (3) First person singular, except when the subject is second person plural.

The second pronominal-tense system (see Chart III) is essentially second-person oriented and is used when the non-subject participant is one of the following: (1) Second person (singular or plural). (2) First person plural (which is potentially inclusive in non-subject participant role). (3) First person singular if, and only if, the subject is second person plural.

The pronominal-tense affix system identifies two participants<sup>1</sup> (as to

<sup>1</sup>Verbs in which three participants are indicated as to person and number are extremely rare. In such cases the subject is third person and the other participants are first person and second person. Any or all of these participants may be plural in number. The pronominal-tense markers occurring in this sub-system are those which are given in Chart III, specifically those which indicate third person subject and second person object and which have, in addition, a first person object marker *qui-* 'me' or *quincā-* 'us'. The ambiguities of relationship between first person and second person are resolved by context. In the present corpus of text there are only two examples of verbs in which three participants are indicated as to person and number. These two examples occur in the same dialogue in which an official addresses a prisoner: *quintamacamaxquf'ni'* 'they-delivered-you-over-to-me' (*macamaxquf'* 'he-delivers-him-over-to-him'). The prisoner's reply contains essentially the same verb (except that the subject is singular): *quimacamaxquf'ni'* 'he-delivered-me-over-to-you'. There is no ambiguity in either case since the role of each speaker has been established. The more common mode of expression in such cases would be: *tamacamāstā'ni'* *con quit* 'they-delivered-you-over to me' and *quimacamāstā'lh con hui'x* 'he-delivered-me-over to you'. Here the transitive verb *macamāstā'* 'he-delivers-him-over' is substituted for the ditransitive verb *macamaxquf'* 'he-delivers-him-over-to-him'.

person and number) although a verb may have multiple participants (e.g., a verb manifesting the causative ditransitive direferential predicate, P:cV<sub>22</sub>, has six participants). One of the two identified participants must be the subject. The other may be the object, the indirect object, the referent, or the actor. With regard to the non-subject participant marked in the verb, the following rules apply:

1. No overt marking is required for third person singular. Participants are implicitly third person singular unless otherwise marked. Plurality of third person, however, is overtly marked.
2. In determining which of two or more non-subject participants is to be marked, a system of ranking of persons is applied in which first person outranks second person which, in turn, outranks third person. The occurrence of a first person participant, regardless of its function, requires the marking of that person in the verb. The occurrence of a second person participant, regardless of its function, requires the marking of that person in the verb, except when a first person non-subject participant also occurs. The co-occurrence of first person and second person as non-subject participants is extremely rare. In the case of such co-occurrence the second person is usually unmarked but can be identified by context.
3. In determining the function of the non-subject participant which is marked in a verb, the indirect object takes precedence over the object which, in turn, takes precedence over a referent. This is not a rigid rule, however, but may be followed unless the context indicates otherwise.
4. With regard to causative verbs, cV<sub>0-22</sub>, the non-subject participant marked in the verb identifies the actor. In causative verbs with indefinite actor (as in cV<sub>01-22</sub>) the non-subject participant marked in the verb identifies the referent, if occurring on an intransitive verb; the object, if occurring on a transitive verb; the indirect object, if occurring on a ditransitive verb. Such rules, however, are not rigid.

In addition to the above rules, the context must, at times, be considered in order to determine the identity and the function of the participants. Such is the case in the following clause: u'tza' quincātalflakmacamimā'ni' (u'tza' 'for-this-reason', quincā- non-subject participant 'us', ta- third person plural subject 'they', lf- anaphoric prefix with cross reference to u'tza' with the meaning 'for this', lak- referential prefix of destination 'to-someone', macamin transitive verb stem 'he-sends-him', -mā' progressive tense suffix, -ni' final suffix of second pronominal-tense system). Assuming that quincā- 'us' functions as object rather than referent (Rule 3), and considering this clause apart from context, the meaning would be 'for this reason they are sending us to him'. An examination of the context, however, reveals that the prefix lak- refers to second person singular and should be interpreted as 'to you'. a'xni'ca' talakchilh huan ka'hua'chu, tahuanf, 'Napina' kalhtini'na'. U'tza' quincātalflakmacamimā'ni'." 'When they-reached-him the boy, they-said-to-him, "Go answer (summons in court). For this reason (to serve summons) they-are-sending-us-to-you.'" In another context this clause might be interpreted as 'for this reason they are sending us to them' or 'for this reason they are sending us to you (pl.)'.

PREFIXES				SUFFIXES					
Tense		Pronominal		TENSE				Plural Subject	
		1 pers. Subj. (exol.)	3 pl. Subj.	Future	Present	Perfect	Progress. Pret.	1 pers.	2 pers.
				Imperf.	P. Perf.	P. Prog.	C. to F.		
na-							Inj.		
-									
i'x-/xa-									
ca-									
							</		

### Chart I. Pronominal-Tense Markers

This pronominal-tense system occurs with intransitive verbs or with verbs which have an implicit third person singular object. The term "object" is here used with the meaning of non-subject participant, and may be direct object, indirect object, or referent.

PREFIXES

SUFFIXES

		Tense	Pronominal				TENSE				Plural Subject	
			1 sg. Obj.	1 pers. Subj. (excl.)	Plural Obj.	3 pl. Subj.	Future				1 pers.	2 pers.
							Present	Perfect	Progress.	Pret.		
							Imperf.	P. Perf.	P. Prog.	C. to F.		
										Inj.		
na-												
-												
l'x-/xa-												
ca-												
Subject	Object											
1 sg.	3 pl.		l'c-		cā-		-	-nī't	-mā'	-lh		
1 pl.	3 pl.		l'c-		cā-		-yā	-nī'ta	-mā'na	-	-hu	
2 sg.	1 sg.		qui-				-ya'	-nī'ta'	-pā't	-'		
2 sg.	3 pl.				cā-		"	"	"	"		
2 pl.	3 pl.				cā-		-yā'	-nī'ta'n	-pā'na'n	-		-tit
3 sg.	1 sg.		qui-				-	-nī't	-mā'	-lh		
3 pl.	1 sg.		quin-				-	-nī't	-mā'na	-lh		
3 pl.	3 pl.				cā- /	ta-	"	"	"	"		
Indef.	1 sg.		qui-				-can	-canī't	-mā'ca	-ca		
Indef.	3 pl.				cā-		"	"	"	"		
							(col. 1)	(col. 2)	(col. 3)	(col. 4)		

Chart II. Pronominal-Tense Markers

This pronominal-tense system occurs with verbs which have a first person singular object or a third person plural object. Suffixes are identical with those of Chart I.

The term "object" is here used with the meaning of non-subject participant, and may be direct object, indirect object, or referent.



PREFIXES					SUFFIXES				Final Suffix
Tansa	Pronominal				TENSE				
	1 sg. Obj.	1 pers. Subj. (excl.)	Plural Obj.	3 pl. Subj.	Future				
					Present	Perfect	Progress.	Pret.	
					Imperf.	P. Perf.	P. Prog.	C. to F.	
								Inj.	
na-									
-									
i'x-/xa-									
oa-									
Subject	Object		i'c-		-yā	-nī'ta'	-mā'	-	-ni'
1 sg.	2 sg.								
1 sg.	2 pl.]								
1 pl.	2 sg.]		i'c-	oa-	"	"	"	"	"
1 pl.	2 pl.]								
3 sg.	2 sg.					"	"	"	"
3 sg.	2 pl.]			oā-	"	"	"	"	"
3 sg.	1 pl.	quin-		oā-	"	"	"	"	"
3 pl.	2 sg.				"	"	"	"	"
3 pl.	2 pl.]			oā-	"	"	"	"	"
3 pl.	1 pl.]	quin-		oā-	"	"	"	"	"
2 sg.	1 pl.]								
2 pl.	1 sg.]	qui-		lā-	"	"	-mā'na	"	-hu
2 pl.	1 pl.]								
Indef.	2 sg.				-oa'na'	-oa'nī'ta'	-pā'oa'	-ca'	-

Chart III. Pronominal-Tense Markers

This pronominal-tense system occurs with verbs of which the object is second person (first person plural potentially includes second person). The term "object" is here used with the meaning of non-subject participant, and may be direct object, indirect object, or referent.

	Obj.: 1 sg. 1 pl. 2 sg. 2 pl. 3 sg. 3 pl.					
Subj.:						
1 sg.	-	-	x	x	x	x
1 pl.	-	-	x	x	x	x
2 sg.	x	x	-	-	x	x
2 pl.	x	x	-	-	x	x
3 sg.	x	x	x	x	x	x
3 pl.	x	x	x	x	x	x
Indef.	x	-	x	-	x	x

Chart IV. Permitted Combinations of Subject and Object

The three combinations of subject and object enclosed within the single line have one common form (see Chart III): i'coā-...-nī'.

The three combinations of subject and object enclosed within the double line have one common form (see Chart III): quiā-...-hu.

The pronominal-tense affixes shown in the preceding charts occur with verbs of Class I. Verbs of the other two classes require changes as follows:

Class II:	-yā	is replaced by -ā	(col. 1)
	-ya'	" "	" -a' (col. 1)
	-yā'	" "	" -ā' (col. 1)
	-∅	" "	" -a (col. 1)
	-lh	" "	" -li (col. 4)
	-hu	" "	" -hui (col. 4)
	-i	" "	" -ti (col. 4)
Class III:	-yā	" "	" -nā (col. 1)
	-ya'	" "	" -na' (col. 1)
	-yā'	" "	" -nā' (col. 1)
	-∅	" "	" -n (col. 1)

Regardless of the class of the verb root, the suffix occurring immediately preceding the tense suffixes determines the class of tense markers. That is, if the suffix immediately preceding the tense suffix ends in a vowel, tense markers of Class I verbs are required; if the suffix ends in -n, tense markers of Class III verbs are required.

In the pronominal-tense system there are certain limitations in marking plurality of one, or both, participants (see Chart IV).

1. Plurality of two third-person participants can not be marked. Plurality of one or the other may be shown by (1) the third person plural subject marker *ta-*; or (2) the plural object marker *cā-*. Frequently the plural object marker *cā-* is used in conjunction with the indefinite subject marker *-ca/-can*. Although such a construction prohibits the occurrence of a clause-level subject, the identity of the indefinite subject may be known from the remote context. It is thus possible to express plurality of two third person participants without employing both of the specific plurality markers.

2. The indefinite subject marker *-ca/-can* can not co-occur with the first person plural object marker *quincā...-ni'* or with the second person plural object marker *cā...-ni'*. A compensatory device is the use of the third person plural subject marker *ta-* in conjunction with either of the above object markers, and the deletion of a clause-level subject.

3. The inter-relation of first and second persons when a factor of plurality is involved, is expressed by one of two affix combinations. One of these affix combinations, *i'ccā...-ni'*, occurs when the subject is first person; the other affix combination, *quā...-hu*, occurs when the subject is second person. The triple ambiguity of each of these combinations is resolved by context.

The intersection of four sets of suffixes (Chart I, col. 1-4) and three tense prefixes forms the eight tenses and the three moods of the Totonac verb. The future, present, and imperfect tenses share the same set of suffixes (col. 1). The future tense is distinguished by the prefix *na-*, and the imperfect by the prefix *i'x-* (*xa-* when immediately preceding the first

person prefix i'c-). The perfect and past perfect tenses, likewise, have the same set of suffixes (col. 2), but past perfect is distinguished by the prefix i'x-/xa-. The present progressive and the past progressive share suffix set 3 (col. 3); the latter is distinguished by the prefix i'x-/xa-. The preterite tense, the contrary-to-fact mood, and the injunctive mood share suffix set 4 (col. 4); the prefixes i'x-/xa- and ca- distinguish the latter two respectively.

The present tense expresses any non-continuous action in present time. It also follows a preterite tense verb in a verb phrase indicating purpose: a'lh scuja 'he-went he-works' ('he went to work'); a'lh laktz'n 'he-went he-sees' ('he went to see').

The future tense expresses action which is future either in relation to the present or in relation to some point of time in the past: tzuculh māsu'ni' chf nachi'pa i'xl'cu'tu'nu' i'xtāta' 'he-began he-shows-it-to-him how he-will-catch-it his-animals his-father' ('he began to show his father how he will catch his animals'). The verb 'to catch' is in the future tense because the time is future in relation to the verb 'to show'.

The imperfect tense expresses customary or repeated action in the past.

The perfect tense indicates completed action in the present, while the past perfect tense indicates completed action relative to some point of time in the past.

The progressive tenses indicate action in progress, whether in the present (present progressive) or in the past (past progressive).

The preterite tense indicates punctiliar action in the past.

The contrary-to-fact mood occurs in both the Protasis and the Apodosis of a Conditional sentence in which the statement is contrary to fact. It is also used in contrary-to-fact admonitions with the meaning 'ought to have...' or, with the negative, 'ought not to have...'.

The injunctive mood is used for commands: the hortative with first person plural; the imperative with second person; and indirect command with third person. In addition, the injunctive may be used in the Protasis of a Conditional sentence to express uncertainty.

Pronouns on the clause-level are not required in Totonac verbal clauses, in addition to the pronominal markers on the verb. Pronouns may, however, be used to add emphasis. The free form pronouns are as follows: quit 'I'; hui'x 'you (sg.)'; xla' 'he, she, it'; quina'n 'we (inclusive or exclusive)'; hui'xina'n 'you (pl.)'; xla'ca'n 'they'. Another type of pronoun may be formed by affixing to huāk 'all' one of the possessive person prefixes (qui-/quin- 'my'; mi-/min- 'your (sg.)'; i'x- 'his, her, its') and adding the pluralizer suffix -ca'n. Such possessive prefixes require, in this case, the co-occurrence of the prefix lī-. quilhuākca'n 'all-of-us, we-all'; milhuākca'n 'all-of-you, you-all'; i'xlhuākca'n 'all-of-them, they-all'. Similarly, a numeral may combine with the possessive person affixes: quintu'tunca'n 'we-three'; mintu'tunca'n 'you-three'; i'xtu'tunca'n 'they-three'. The free possessive pronouns are formed by affixing the possessive affixes to -la': quilla' 'mine'; milla' 'yours (sg.)'; i'xla' 'his, hers, its'; quilla'ca'n 'ours (inclusive or exclusive)'; milaca'n 'yours (pl.)'; i'xlaca'n 'theirs'.



## APPENDIX B

### List of Abbreviations

#### Composite List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in Chapter I, Clause Structure

Abbreviations used in Chapter II, Sentence Structure

Abbreviations used in Chapter III, Paragraph Structure

Abbreviations used in Chapter IV, Discourse Structure

#### Composite List of Abbreviations

A	actor	EXCL	EXCLAMATION
Act	Action	Exp	Expansion
adv	Adverbial Ninge	Exp'	Expansion' (prime)
Adver	Adversative sentence	FIN	FINIS
alt	Alternative Hinge	FOC	FOCAL
Alter	Alternative sentence	GREET	GREETING
AMPLI	AMPLIFICATION	i	indefinite subject
AN	anaphora	I	indirect object
Anti	Antithesele	imper	imperative
ANTI - D É	ANTI - DÉNOUEMENT	IN	instrument
A P	A P E R T U R E	Indef	indefinite
Apo	Apodosis	IndQt	Indirect Quote sentence
Ax	Axis (sentence-level tagmeme)	inj	injunctive
AX	axis (clause-level tagmeme)	Interrog	interrogative
Bc	Clause Base (sentence-level tagmeme)	intr	intransitive Clause (used in Chapt. II)
Bp	Particle Base (sentence-level tagmeme)	INTRO	INTRODUCTION
c	causative	IQ	Indirect Quoted
c'	indefinite actor causative	IQF	Indirect Quotation Formula
CaM	Cause Margin	IR	INITIATING RESPONSE
ClrM	Circumstantial Margin	IU	INITIATING UTTERANCE
cj	Conjunction	L	location
cl	clause (used in Chapt. II)	LOC	LOCALE
C L	C L O S U R E	LV-TAK	LEAVE-TAKING
CIB	Clause Base sentence	LV-TAK'	LEAVE-TAKING'
cm	Concession Marker	M	manner
CO	complement	meteor	meteorological clause
COM DIA	COMPOUND DIALOGUE paragraph	MONO - CLI	MONO - CLIMATIC discourse
COM EVENT	COMPOUND EVENT paragraph	MULTI - CLI	MULTI - CLIMATIC discourse
COM MONO	COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph	n	noun (used in Chapt. III)
CONCL ENTR	CONCLUDING ENTREATY	N	Nucleus (used in Chapt. II)
cond	Conditional Marker	Nuc	nucleus (used in Chapt. I)
Condi	Conditional sentence	O	object
CR-A	Compound Relator-Axis sentence	ORI	ORIENTATION
D	discourse	P	paragraph
D É	D É N O U E M E N T	p	predicate
DECL	DECLAMATORY paragraph	Para	Paraphrase sentence
D I S	D I S C O N T I N U O U S	PB	Particle Base sentence
dep	dependent clause (used in Chapt. III)	Pe	equative predicate
D E P	D E P E N D E N T (used in Chapt. IV)	Perl	periphery (used in Chapt. I)
DEPAR	DEPARTURE paragraph	Perl	Periphery (used in Chapter. II)
DEV	DEVELOPMENT	ph	phrase (used in Chapt. III)
DirQt	Direct Quote sentence	Pm	meteorological predicate
ditr	ditransitive clause (used in Chapt. II)	PM	Purpose Margin
DR	DEVELOPMENTAL RESPONSE	Pr	role predicate
DU	DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE	Pr,	transitive role predicate
EJAC	EJACULATORY paragraph	PREC	PRECATORY paragraph
ENTR	ENTREATY	Pro	Prothesis
E P	E P I S O D E		
E P I	E P I S O D I C discourse		
equat	equational clause (used in Chapt. II)		

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PRON	PRONOUNCEMENT	sq	Sign of Quote
Prop	Proposition	ST	Sentence Topic
PS-QTN	PSEUDO-QUESTION	Stat	Statement (sentence-level tagmeme)
Q	Quoted	STATM	STATEMENT (paragraph-level tagmeme)
QF	Quotation Formula	Stim	Stimulus
R	referent	T	time
RE	relator (clause-level tagmeme)	TER	TERMINAL
Rel	Relator (sentence-level tagmeme)	TH	TIME HORIZON
ref	referential	TM	Temporal Margin
Res	Result (sentence-level tagmeme)	trans	transitive clause (used in Chapt. II)
Resu	Result sentence	V	verb
RO	role	voc	Vocative
RS	reason	V <sub>0</sub>	intransitive clause (used in Chapt. I)
S	sentence (used in Chapt. III)	V <sub>1</sub>	transitive clause (used in Chapt. I)
S	subject (used in Chapt. I)	V <sub>2</sub>	ditransitive clause (used in Chapt. I)
SALU	SALUTATION paragraph	V <sub>01</sub>	intransitive referential clause
SET	SETTING	V <sub>02</sub>	intransitive differential clause
Ssq	Sequence sentence	V <sub>03</sub>	intransitive triferential clause
SIM DIA	SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph	V <sub>11</sub>	transitive referential clause
SIM EVENT	SIMPLE EVENT paragraph	V <sub>12</sub>	transitive differential clause
SIM MONO	SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph	V <sub>13</sub>	transitive triferential clause
SR-A	Simple Relator-Axis sentence	V <sub>21</sub>	ditransitive referential clause
SPE	SPEECH	V <sub>22</sub>	ditransitive differential clause

## Abbreviations used in Chapter I, Clause Structure

A	actor	Pr <sub>1</sub>	transitive role predicate
AN	anaphora	R	referent
AX	axis	RE	relator
c	causative	RO	role
c'	indefinite actor causative	RS	reason
CO	complement	S	subject
i	indefinite subject	T	time
I	indirect object	V	verb
IN	instrument	V <sub>0</sub>	intransitive clause
L	location	V <sub>1</sub>	transitive clause
M	manner	V <sub>2</sub>	ditransitive clause
Nuc	nucleus	V <sub>01</sub>	intransitive referential clause
O	object	V <sub>02</sub>	intransitive differential clause
P	predicate	V <sub>03</sub>	intransitive triferential clause
Pe	equative predicate	V <sub>11</sub>	transitive referential clause
Peri	periphery	V <sub>12</sub>	transitive differential clause
Pm	meteorological predicate	V <sub>13</sub>	transitive triferential clause
Pr	role predicate	V <sub>21</sub>	ditransitive referential clause
		V <sub>22</sub>	ditransitive differential clause

## Abbreviations used in Chapter II, Sentence Structure

Act	Action	Intr	intransitive clause
adv	Adverbial Hinge	IQ	Indirect Quoted
alt	Alternative Hinge	IQF	Indirect Quotation Formula
Anti	Antithesis	meteor	meteorological clause
Apo	Apodosis	N	Nucleus
AX	Axis	Peri	Periphery
Bc	Clause Base (tagmeme)	PM	Purpose Margin
Bp	Particle Base (tagmeme)	Pro	Protasis
CaM	Cause Margin	Prop	Proposition
CirM	Circumstantial Margin	Q	Quoted
cj	Conjunction	QF	Quotation Formula
cl	clause	Rel	Relator
cm	Concession Marker	ref	referential
cond	Conditional Marker	Res	Result (tagmeme)
ditr	ditransitive clause	sq	Sign of Quote
equat	equational clause	ST	Sentence Topic
Exp	Expansion	Stat	Statement
Exp'	Expansion' (prime)	Stim	Stimulus
imper	imperative	TM	Temporal Margin
indef	indefinite	trans	transitive clause
inj	injunctive	voc	Vocative
interrog	interrogative		

## Abbreviations used in Chapter III, Paragraph Structure

Adver	Adversative sentence	LOC	LOCALE
Alter	Alternative sentence	LV-TAK	LEAVE-TAKING
AMPLI	AMPLIFICATION	LV-TAK'	LEAVE-TAKING'
CIB	Clause Base sentence	n	noun
COM DIA	COMPOUND DIALOGUE paragraph	ORI	ORIENTATION
COM EVENT	COMPOUND EVENT paragraph	P	paragraph
COM MONO	COMPOUND MONOLOGUE paragraph	Para	Paraphrase sentence
CONCL ENTR	CONCLUDING ENTREATY	PB	Particle Base sentence
Condi	Conditional sentence	ph	phrase
CR-A	Compound Relator-Axis sentence	PREC	PRECATORY paragraph
DECL	DECLAMATORY paragraph	PRON	PRONOUNCEMENT
dep	dependent clause	PS-QTN	PSEUDO-QUESTION
DEPAR	DEPARTURE paragraph	Rseu	Result sentence
DEV	DEVELOPMENT	S	sentence
DirQt	Direct Quote sentence	SALU	SALUTATION paragraph
DR	DEVELOPMENTAL RESPONSE	SET	SETTING
DU	DEVELOPMENTAL UTTERANCE	Seq	Sequence sentence
EJAC	EJACULATORY paragraph	SIM DIA	SIMPLE DIALOGUE paragraph
ENTR	ENTREATY	SIM EVENT	SIMPLE EVENT paragraph
EXCL	EXCLAMATION	SIM MONO	SIMPLE MONOLOGUE paragraph
FOC	FOCAL	SR-A	Simple Relator-Axis sentence
GREET	GREETING	SPE	SPEECH
IndQt	Indirect Quote sentence	STATM	STATEMENT
INTRO	INTRODUCTION	TER	TERMINAL
IR	INITIATING RESPONSE	TH	TIME HORIZON
IU	INITIATING UTTERANCE		

## Abbreviations used in Chapter IV, Discourse Structure

ANTI-DÉ	ANTI-DÉNOUEMENT	EP	EPISODE
AP	APERTURE	EPI	EPISODIC discourse
CL	CLOSURE	FIN	FINIS
D	discourse	MONO-CLI	MONO-CLIMACTIC discourse
DÉ	DÉNOUEMENT	MULTI-CLI	MULTI-CLIMACTIC discourse
DEP	DEPENDENT		
DIS	DISCONTINUOUS		





## APPENDIX C

### List of Clause Types

1	intransitive	83	indef subj, indef actor, caus trans trirref
2	intransitive referential	84	indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr
3	intransitive direferential	85	indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref
4	intransitive trireferential	86	indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr diref
5	transitive	87	anaphoric intransitive
6	transitive referential	88	anaph intr ref
7	transitive direferential	88	anaph intr diref
8	transitive trireferential	70	anaph intr trirref
9	ditransitive	71	anaph trans
10	ditransitive referential	72	anaph trans ref
11	ditransitive direferential	73	anaph trans diref
12	definite actor, causative intransitive	74	anaph trans trirref
13	def actor, caus intr ref	75	anaph ditr
14	def actor, caus intr diref	76	anaph ditr ref
15	def actor, caus intr trirref	77	anaph ditr diref
16	def actor, caus trans	78	anaphoric, definite actor, causative intransitive
17	def actor, caus trans ref	79	anaph, def actor, caus intr ref
18	def actor, caus trans diref	80	anaph, def actor, caus intr diref
19	def actor, caus trans trirref	81	anaph, def actor, caus intr trirref
20	def actor, caus ditr	82	anaph, def actor, caus trans
21	def actor, caus ditr ref	83	anaph, def actor, caus trans ref
22	def actor, caus ditr diref	84	anaph, def actor, caus trans diref
23	indefinite actor, causative intransitive	85	anaph, def actor, caus trans trirref
24	indef actor, caus intr ref	86	anaph, def actor, caus ditr
25	indef actor, caus intr diref	87	anaph, def actor, caus ditr ref
26	indef actor, caus intr trirref	88	anaph, def actor, caus ditr diref
27	indef actor, caus trans	89	anaphoric, indefinite actor, causative intransitive
28	indef actor, caus trans ref	90	anaph, indef actor, caus intr ref
29	indef actor, caus trans diref	91	anaph, indef actor, caus intr diref
30	indef actor, caus trans trirref	92	anaph, indef actor, caus intr trirref
31	indef actor, caus ditr	93	anaph, indef actor, caus trans
32	indef actor, caus ditr ref	94	anaph, indef actor, caus trans ref
33	indef actor, caus ditr diref	95	anaph, indef actor, caus trans diref
34	indefinite subject, intransitive	96	anaph, indef actor, caus trans trirref
35	indef subj, intr ref	97	anaph, indef actor, caus ditr
36	indef subj, intr diref	98	anaph, indef actor, caus ditr ref
37	indef subj, intr trirref	99	anaph, indef actor, caus ditr diref
38	indef subj, trans	100	anaphoric, indefinite subject, intransitive
39	indef subj, trans ref	101	anaph, indef subj, intr ref
40	indef subj, trans diref	102	anaph, indef subj, intr diref
41	indef subj, trans trirref	103	anaph, indef subj, intr trirref
42	indef subj, ditr	104	anaph, indef subj, trans
43	indef subj, ditr ref	105	anaph, indef subj, trans ref
44	indef subj, ditr diref	106	anaph, indef subj, trans diref
45	indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive	107	anaph, indef subj, trans trirref
46	indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref	108	anaph, indef subj, trans
47	indef subj, def actor, caus intr diref	109	anaph, indef subj, ditr ref
48	indef subj, def actor, caus intr trirref	110	anaph, indef subj, ditr diref
49	indef subj, def actor, caus trans	111	anaphoric, indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive
50	indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref	112	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref
51	indef subj, def actor, caus trans diref	113	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr diref
52	indef subj, def actor, caus trans trirref	114	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr trirref
53	indef subj, def actor, caus ditr	115	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans
54	indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref	116	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref
55	indef subj, def actor, caus ditr diref	117	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans diref
56	indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive	118	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans trirref
57	indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref	119	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr
58	indef subj, indef actor, caus intr diref	120	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref
59	indef subj, indef actor, caus intr trirref	121	anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr diref
60	indef subj, indef actor, caus trans	122	anaphoric, indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive
61	indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref	123	anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref
62	indef subj, indef actor, caus trans diref		

- 124 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr dref  
 125 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr trirref  
 126 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans  
 127 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 128 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans dref  
 129 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans trirref  
 130 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 131 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 132 anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr dref  
 133 interrogative intransitive  
 134 interrog intr ref  
 135 interrog intr dref  
 136 interrog intr trirref  
 137 interrog trans  
 138 interrog trans ref  
 139 interrog trans dref  
 140 interrog trans trirref  
 141 interrog ditr  
 142 interrog ditr ref  
 143 interrog ditr dref  
 144 interrogative, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 145 interrog, def actor, caus intr ref  
 146 interrog, def actor, caus intr dref  
 147 interrog, def actor, caus intr trirref  
 148 interrog, def actor, caus trans  
 149 interrog, def actor, caus trans ref  
 150 interrog, def actor, caus trans dref  
 151 interrog, def actor, caus trans trirref  
 152 interrog, def actor, caus ditr  
 153 interrog, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 154 interrog, def actor, caus ditr dref  
 155 interrogative, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 156 interrog, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 157 interrog, indef actor, caus intr dref  
 158 interrog, indef actor, caus intr trirref  
 159 interrog, indef actor, caus trans  
 160 interrog, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 161 interrog, indef actor, caus trans dref  
 162 interrog, indef actor, caus trans trirref  
 163 interrog, indef actor, caus ditr  
 164 interrog, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 165 interrog, indef actor, caus ditr dref  
 166 interrogative, indefinite subject, intransitive  
 167 interrog, indef subj, intr ref  
 168 interrog, indef subj, intr dref  
 169 interrog, indef subj, intr trirref  
 170 interrog, indef subj, trans  
 171 interrog, indef subj, trans ref  
 172 interrog, indef subj, trans dref  
 173 interrog, indef subj, trans trirref  
 174 interrog, indef subj, ditr  
 175 interrog, indef subj, ditr ref  
 176 interrog, indef subj, ditr dref  
 177 interrogative, indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 178 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref  
 179 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus intr dref  
 180 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus intr trirref  
 181 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus trans  
 182 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref  
 183 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus trans dref  
 184 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus trans trirref  
 185 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr  
 186 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 187 interrog, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr dref  
 188 interrogative, indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 189 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 190 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr dref  
 191 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr trirref  
 192 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans  
 193 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 194 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans dref  
 195 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans trirref  
 196 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 197 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 198 interrog, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr dref  
 199 interrogative anaphoric intransitive  
 200 interrog anaph intr ref  
 201 interrog anaph intr dref  
 202 interrog anaph intr trirref  
 203 interrog anaph trans  
 204 interrog anaph trans ref  
 205 interrog anaph trans dref  
 206 interrog anaph trans trirref  
 207 interrog anaph ditr  
 208 interrog anaph ditr ref  
 209 interrog anaph ditr dref  
 210 interrogative anaphoric, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 211 interrog anaph, def actor, caus intr ref  
 212 interrog anaph, def actor, caus intr dref  
 213 interrog anaph, def actor, caus intr trirref  
 214 interrog anaph, def actor, caus trans  
 215 interrog anaph, def actor, caus trans ref  
 216 interrog anaph, def actor, caus trans dref  
 217 interrog anaph, def actor, caus trans trirref  
 218 interrog anaph, def actor, caus ditr  
 219 interrog anaph, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 220 interrog anaph, def actor, caus ditr dref  
 221 interrogative anaphoric, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 222 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 223 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus intr dref  
 224 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus intr trirref  
 225 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus trans  
 226 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 227 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus trans dref  
 228 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus trans trirref  
 229 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus ditr  
 230 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 231 interrog anaph, indef actor, caus ditr dref  
 232 interrogative anaphoric, indefinite subject, intransitive  
 233 interrog anaph, indef subj, intr ref  
 234 interrog anaph, indef subj, intr dref  
 235 interrog anaph, indef subj, intr trirref  
 236 interrog anaph, indef subj, trans  
 237 interrog anaph, indef subj, trans ref  
 238 interrog anaph, indef subj, trans dref  
 239 interrog anaph, indef subj, trans trirref  
 240 interrog anaph, indef subj, ditr  
 241 interrog anaph, indef subj, ditr ref  
 242 interrog anaph, indef subj, ditr dref  
 243 interrogative anaphoric, indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 244 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref  
 245 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr dref  
 246 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr trirref  
 247 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans  
 248 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref  
 249 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans dref  
 250 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans trirref  
 251 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr  
 252 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 253 interrog anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr dref  
 254 interrogative anaphoric, indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 255 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 256 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr dref  
 257 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr trirref  
 258 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans  
 259 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 260 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans dref  
 261 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans trirref  
 262 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 263 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 264 interrog anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr dref

- 265 injunctive intransitive  
 266 inj intr ref  
 267 inj intr diref  
 268 inj intr triref  
 269 inj trans  
 270 inj trans ref  
 271 inj trans diref  
 272 inj trans triref  
 273 inj ditr  
 274 inj ditr ref  
 275 inj ditr diref  
 276 injunctive, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 277 inj, def actor, caus intr ref  
 278 inj, def actor, caus intr diref  
 279 inj, def actor, caus intr triref  
 280 inj, def actor, caus trans  
 281 inj, def actor, caus trans ref  
 282 inj, def actor, caus trans diref  
 283 inj, def actor, caus trans triref  
 284 inj, def actor, caus ditr  
 285 inj, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 286 inj, def actor, caus ditr diref  
 287 injunctive, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 288 inj, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 289 inj, indef actor, caus intr diref  
 290 inj, indef actor, caus intr triref  
 291 inj, indef actor, caus trans  
 292 inj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 293 inj, indef actor, caus trans diref  
 294 inj, indef actor, caus trans triref  
 295 inj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 296 inj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 297 inj, indef actor, caus ditr diref  
 298 injunctive, indefinite subject, intransitive  
 299 inj, indef subj, intr ref  
 300 inj, indef subj, intr diref  
 301 inj, indef subj, intr triref  
 302 inj, indef subj, trans  
 303 inj, indef subj, trans ref  
 304 inj, indef subj, trans diref  
 305 inj, indef subj, trans triref  
 306 inj, indef subj, ditr  
 307 inj, indef subj, ditr ref  
 308 inj, indef subj, ditr diref  
 309 injunctive, indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 310 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref  
 311 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus intr diref  
 312 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus intr triref  
 313 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus trans  
 314 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref  
 315 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus trans diref  
 316 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus trans triref  
 317 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr  
 318 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 319 inj, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr diref  
 320 injunctive, indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 321 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 322 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr diref  
 323 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr triref  
 324 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans  
 325 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 326 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans diref  
 327 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans triref  
 328 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 329 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 330 inj, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr diref  
 331 injunctive anaphoric intransitive  
 332 inj anaph intr ref  
 333 inj anaph intr diref  
 334 inj anaph intr triref  
 335 inj anaph trans  
 336 inj anaph trans ref  
 337 inj anaph trans diref  
 338 inj anaph trans triref  
 339 inj anaph ditr  
 340 inj anaph ditr ref  
 341 inj anaph ditr diref  
 342 injunctive anaphoric, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 343 inj anaph, definite actor, caus intr ref  
 344 inj anaph, def actor, caus intr diref  
 345 inj anaph, def actor, caus intr triref  
 346 inj anaph, def actor, caus trans  
 347 inj anaph, def actor, caus trans ref  
 348 inj anaph, def actor, caus trans diref  
 349 inj anaph, def actor, caus trans triref  
 350 inj anaph, def actor, caus ditr  
 351 inj anaph, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 352 inj anaph, def actor, caus ditr diref  
 353 injunctive anaphoric, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 354 inj anaph, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 355 inj anaph, indef actor, caus intr diref  
 356 inj anaph, indef actor, caus intr triref  
 357 inj anaph, indef actor, caus trans  
 358 inj anaph, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 359 inj anaph, indef actor, caus trans diref  
 360 inj anaph, indef actor, caus trans triref  
 361 inj anaph, indef actor, caus ditr  
 362 inj anaph, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 363 inj anaph, indef actor, caus ditr diref  
 364 injunctive anaphoric, indefinite subject, intransitive  
 365 inj anaph, indef subj, intr ref  
 366 inj anaph, indef subj, intr diref  
 367 inj anaph, indef subj, intr triref  
 368 inj anaph, indef subj, trans  
 369 inj anaph, indef subj, trans ref  
 370 inj anaph, indef subj, trans diref  
 371 inj anaph, indef subj, trans triref  
 372 inj anaph, indef subj, ditr  
 373 inj anaph, indef subj, ditr ref  
 374 inj anaph, indef subj, ditr diref  
 375 injunctive anaphoric, indefinite subject, definite actor, causative intransitive  
 376 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr ref  
 377 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr diref  
 378 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus intr triref  
 379 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans  
 380 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans ref  
 381 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans diref  
 382 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus trans triref  
 383 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr  
 384 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr ref  
 385 inj anaph, indef subj, def actor, caus ditr diref  
 386 injunctive anaphoric, indefinite subject, indefinite actor, causative intransitive  
 387 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr ref  
 388 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr diref  
 389 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus intr triref  
 390 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans  
 391 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans ref  
 392 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans diref  
 393 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus trans triref  
 394 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr  
 395 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr ref  
 396 inj anaph, indef subj, indef actor, caus ditr diref  
 397 role  
 398 meteorological  
 399 equative  
 400 dependent

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