

## Some Not So Sanguine Discourse Particles In Southeastern Puebla Náhuatl Narratives

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### 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explain the uses of the discourse particles *san* and *sa* in narrative discourse of Southeastern Puebla Náhuatl (SPN)<sup>1</sup>. These parallel particles function as separate words on both the sentence level and the discourse level. Wherever either of these are found, they draw the reader's attention to the importance of a seemingly innocuous detail, or they reinforce a change in the intensity coded in the verb. Furthermore, *san-* and *sa-* occur in several fused forms with similar functions.

At the sentence level both *san* and *sa* can mean either (a) 'just' or (b) 'really', much as the word 'just' is used in these two senses in the English sentences in (1).

- (1) a. He came home from work and he was just tired.  
b. He came home from work and he was just exhausted.

Most of the native speakers of English on whom I tested these two sentences found it difficult to use the same intonation and stress on the words following 'just', because of the difference in the perceived message: in (1a) it is *limiting*, and in (1b) it is *intensifying*.

This same distinction holds for the two basic meanings of *san* and *sa* in SPN. Furthermore, the meaning of 'just' in SPN can be characterized by a range of subtle distinctions approximated by the English glosses 'merely', 'only', 'no more than', 'the less severe possibility'.<sup>2</sup> To avoid confusion in the discussion that follows, I will refer to the meaning of (1a) by the gloss 'just' and to the meaning of (1b) by the gloss 'really'.

I discuss the uses of *san* and *sa*, both of which function within the scope of the sentence in narratives, in sections 2 and 3 respectively. In section 4 I discuss the fused forms involving *san* and *sa*, one of which--*satepa*--is used as a sentence conjunction, both to signal a prolonged temporal lapse and to signal the beginning of the denouement of a narrative.

### 2. san

We shall begin with the uses of the particle *san*, which can precede any part of speech and which can have any of the meanings discussed above. Each of these meanings is exemplified in the

<sup>1</sup> Southeastern Puebla Náhuatl is spoken in the valley extending east-southeast from Tehuacán, Puebla, México and up the mountain on the northern side of this same valley.

<sup>2</sup>There is ample cognitive evidence for the semantic distinctions described here. Several of the modern dialects of Náhuatl have the same particles with corresponding meanings (Tuggy, 1991; Wolgemuth 1981; Beller 1979; Brewer 1962; H. and M. Key 1953; Mason, personal communication). Two sources representing classical Náhuatl also note this meaning for this particle (Sullivan 1976; Clavijero 1974). Furthermore, two dialects of Totonac have a related particle with a very similar meaning (Aschmann 1949, 1962; Bishop 1979; Reid 1968).

following subsections.

### 2.1. san = 'just'

In examples (2) and (3) *san* occurs with a noun and in examples (4) and (5) it occurs with a relative pronoun, all with the limiting meaning of 'just' or 'merely'.

- (2) N tekomare amitla okijto porke yej **san** tepalewi iwa okikawili  
the woman nothing said because her just helper and she.allowed

n tekowa ma kiwika icha n xoktzi.  
the owner may carry his.house the pot

'The woman said nothing because she was merely a helper and she allowed the owner to carry home the little pot.'

- (3) Ijkuakó noiwa otiktemoayah maski **san** amatl de periódico.  
then also we.looked.for even.though just paper of newspaper  
'Then we looked for something, even it it was just newspaper.'

- (4) Yej se tiempojtzi onentinemia topueblo, okinmonejneloaya iwa  
he a little.while went.around our.town visited.around and

okintlapowiaya **san** akin yetos.  
talked.to.them just whom it.will.be

'He went around our town a little while, visiting and talking to just whomever it might be.'

- (5) Iwa kemi de kostumbre yawih tlatemotiwah kan Changarros  
and as \* habit they.go to.find where Changarros

para mopajtiskah ika kalanka, anis o **san** tlan wetzi.  
for will.cure.them with *calanca* anis or just what fall

'And as was their custom they go to Changarros to look for something for a cure, using *calanca*, anis or just whatever they could find.'

In (6) the use of *san* with the verb *otikkonaniliayah* indicates 'without permission'. The author offered 'stealing' as another gloss. In other words, had the *san* not preceded this verb it would have meant 'we were getting it', implying that it was with their mother's consent.

- (6) Iwa n ikpatl, oh, **san** otikkonaniliayah nomamá.  
and the thread oh just we.were.grabbing.it my.mother  
'And the thread, oh, we were just grabbing it from my mother.'

In the preceding five examples, the meaning of 'just' as 'merely' demonstrates the use of *san* to *limit* to some degree the concept with which it is associated.

In example (7) *san* occurs with a noun and means 'just' or 'uniquely'. This further

illustrates the limiting sense of *san*.

- (7) ¿Tlanón nikonitok? Nika onka **san** matas de tomatl.  
 what I.see.there here there.are only plants of tomato  
 'What am I seeing there? Here there are only tomato plants.'

In example (8) *san* precedes a verb with the meaning 'the less severe possibility', again a limiting use of *san*.

- (8) Nopapá iwan nokniwah **san** onechajwakeh, amo onechwitekeh  
 my.father and my.brothers just they.bawled.me.out not they.hit.me  
 porke n ichkameh uyajkeh omopiatoh iwa owalmokopkeh inselti.  
 because the sheep they.went pastured and they.returned themselves

'My father and my brother just bawled me out, they did not hit me because the sheep went to graze and did return by themselves.'

## 2.2. *san* = 'really'

In example (9) *san* occurs twice, first with a relative pronoun to signal the meaning of 'merely', then with an adjective to signal the meaning 'really'. This particular example illustrates the fact that the two distinct meanings of *san* are clearly understood by native speakers of SPN even within the same sentence.

- (9) Malki amo otlajtoaya mejikano, pero yej omokajkalakiaya  
 even.though not spoke Aztec but he went.in.everywhere  
**san** akin iwan yetos iwa okatka **san** kuamimiktik.  
 just whom with it.will.be and was really crazy

'Even though he did not speak Aztec he went in everywhere with just whomever it might be; he was really crazy.'

Example (10) further illustrates the meaning 'really'. Here *san* occurs with a verb, signalling that the action referred to was intensified.

- (10) Otlankil n tlatzotzonki iwa miakeh **san** okiwewetzkilijkeh.  
 he.answered the musician and many really laughed.at.him  
 'The musician answered and many really laughed at him.'

In example (11) *san* in the time clause intensifies the narrators perception of how early it was.

- (11) Se welta n tlakasonso iwan Waxtla okatkah crudos **san** kuinal  
 one occasion the crazy.one with Skinny were hung.over very early  
 (kemi las seis).  
 approximately at six

'Once the Crazy One and the Skinny one were hung over very early, about six in the morning.'

Similarly, when *san* is used before the word for 'late' it means 'really late'. The effect of *san* in both of these time expressions, is to drive the time referred to farther from the expected. A range of time expressions from earliest to latest is shown in (12).

- (12) *san* *kuinal* 'really early'  
*kuinal* 'early'  
*tiotlak* 'late'  
*san tiotlak* 'really late'

Without *san*, the locative phrase *ik ompa* means 'somewhere behind the house'. The addition of *san* in (13) limits it to immediately behind the house.

- (13) *Ijkuakó otiayah otikonpatlanaltiyah n topapalow san ik ompa*  
 then we.went we.were.going.to.fly \* our.kites just at there  
  
*ikutlapa nocha.*  
 behind my.house

'Then we went to fly our kites just (right) behind our house.'

In the following two examples *san* is used to intensify the same verb in separate past tenses: in preterite in (14) and imperfective in (15). This establishes that the meaning of intensity is directly due to the presence of *san* and not to the tense/aspect.

- (14) *Iwa n tlakasonso ken amo kimati n mejikano,*  
 and the crazy.one how not he.knows the mexican  
  
*san kintlajtlatak.*  
 really stared.at.them

'And the Crazy One that did not speak Aztec, really stared.'

- (15) *Nej san oniktlajtlatoka iwa opé nkwewetzkilia, iwa ken sa*  
 I just I.was.looking and began I.laughed.at.him and how very  
  
*tomaktik, amo oweletia omotleloaya totoka iwa onikitaya*  
 very.fat not was.able was.running fast and I.was.seeing  
  
*ayosotlawak.*  
 already.tired

'I was really staring and I began to laugh at him and since he was very round he was not able to run very fast and I was noticing that he was already very tired.'

In example (16), the intensity modification by means of *san* is significant because the *wal* in *owalpoliwik* already means 'suddenly'. The narrator felt compelled to add further emphasis to what could have been understood by the prefix *wal*. A range of suddenness with this verb, from least

to most intense, is shown in (17).

- (16) Kuando omijkuaní n tekómare, ijkuakó san owalpoliwik n  
 when moved.closer the woman then really suddenly.went.out the  
 tletzintli, iwa n tekómare okimoli tlan kijtosneki nin.  
 little.fire and the woman said.to.herself what means this

'When the woman moved closer, really suddenly the little flame went out,  
 and the woman asked herself what that might mean.'

- (17) san opoliwik 'just disappeared'  
 opoliwik 'disappeared'  
 owalpoliwik 'suddenly disappeared'  
 san owalpoliwik 'disappeared all at once'

Example (18) also demonstrates the intensifying effect of *san* on a verb that already has coded in it some sort of emphasis. The reduplication of *tla* in *otlapotoka* 'open' to produce *otlatlapotoka* 'wide open' is instructive in that the free translation of *san otlatlapotoka* supplied by the narrator included an extra phrase meaning 'and it had no fence'.

- (18) ijkuakó okatka weyi solar, iwa san otlatlapotoka sentetl.  
 then was large lot and really it.was.open everywhere  
 'At that time there was a large lot and it was really open on all sides.'

### 3. sa

The following subsections show the parallel uses of *sa*. The difference between *san* and *sa* reflect the continuing loss of word final *n* that is prevalent in the valley floor and to a lesser extent up in the mountains where SPN is spoken.

#### 3.1. sa = 'just'

In (19) *sa* functions as *san* would to limit or underplay. Ordinarily, children of Altepexi would make their own kites, but some 'merely' bought them from the narrator or others.

- (19) iwa miakeh chochokomeh ayakmó okinchijchiwayah inpapalowah,  
 and many children no.longer they.made.them their.kites

sa okinkoayah non nej onkinchijchiwaya.  
 just they.bought.them the I I.was.making.them

'And many no longer made their own kites, but just bought those that I was making.'

#### 3.2. sa = 'really'

The examples in (20), (21), and (22) demonstrate more of the parallelism of *sa* with *san* in

that it can modify a range of parts of speech. In (20) *sa* before the verb *obiokatokah* intensifies the shaking.

- (20) *Sa obibiokatokah iwa ijkwakó mero sewaya.*  
 really were.shaking and then very cold.time  
 'They were really shaking and (then) it was winter.'

In (21) and (22) *sa* modifies two adjectives, one more generic than the other. In (21) *tomaktik* 'round' can apply to a wide range of physical objects, but in (22) *kuitlapetztik* 'fattened' can apply only to living things that are able to store fat on their bodies.

- (21) *Nej san oniktalajtlatoka iwa opé nikwewetzkilía, iwa ken sa*  
 I just I.was.looking and began I.laughed.at.him and how very  
  
*tomaktik, amo oweletia omotleloaya totoka iwa onikitaya ya*  
 large.round not was.able was.running fast and I.was.seeing already  
  
*yosotlawak.*  
 already.tired

'I was really staring and I began to laugh at him and since he was very round he was not able to run very fast and I was noticing that he was already very tired.'

- (22) *Yej uyá motlelojti, pero ken sa kuitlapetztik amo sanima okajsito,*  
 he went running but how very fat not soon found.it  
  
*iwa kuando ya kikitzkiskia, n ejékatl oksepa okipatlanalti*  
 and when already would.grab.it the wind again it.blew.it  
  
*n sombrero.*  
 the hat

'He went running, but since he was very fat he did not quickly get to the hat, and when he tried to grab it, the wind would blow it again.'

Kites getting tangled is common but occasionally they get really tangled, and that is what the *sa* before *omotzewkoyah* adds in example (23). The *kualchiwa* foreshadows this in the sense that the author is making the disclaimer that this did not happen every time.

- (23) *iwa n topapalowah kualchiwa sa omotzekoayah iwan non oksikimeh*  
 and \* our.kites sometimes really tangled.with with the others  
  
*papalomeh*  
 kites

'And sometimes our kites got really tangled with other kites.'

The last two sentences of The Crazy One story provide a nice range of meaning of *sa* from 'merely' and 'really' in (24) to 'afterward' in (25).

- (24) Pero kuando otlanki n baile n tlakasonso sa oajketoka  
but when finished the dance the crazy.one merely lying.down.face.up

sa siaktik iwa sa sojsokitik.  
really wet and really all.muddy

‘But when the dance was over, the Crazy One was just stretched out face up, soaked to the skin and completely covered with mud.’

- (25) Iwa ken otlakentitoka de iztak satepa omoka sa ken  
and since was.dressed in white afterward he.was afterward like

koliador.  
string.mop

‘And since he was dressed in white, then he was afterward like a string mop.’

In (25) *sa* reinforces that after getting drunk and falling in the mud, the man was as soiled as an old string mop from then on. Here the *satepa* marks denouement (see section 5) in this last sentence of the narrative and leaves us with the story all wrapped up describing the Crazy One's ultimate fate that night at the dance.

#### 4. San and sa- as fused forms

Fused forms that start with *sa(n)* - are a finite set that exist because the meaning of ‘just’ or ‘really’ has so frequently been used in a particular situation that the original meaning of the remainder of that word is incomplete without the *sa(n)*-. Considerations of time and space do not permit me to provide examples of the fused examples of *sa-* or *san* given in (26).

- |      |          |               |          |                 |
|------|----------|---------------|----------|-----------------|
| (26) | sanenka  | ‘useless’     | sano     | ‘my very own’   |
|      | saniyki  | ‘free’        | sanpor   | ‘just because’  |
|      | sanoiyki | ‘just alike   | saiksemi | ‘just one more’ |
|      | sanseka  | ‘together’    | sanken   | ‘only’          |
|      | sansemi  | ‘all at once’ | sawel    | ‘enough’        |

Some others, however, are found frequently enough in my corpus of texts to merit further description in this section, to demonstrate their similarity to the use of *sa(n)* and *sa(n)* - described in sections 2 and 3.

##### 4.1. sanima = ‘quickly’, ‘immediately’

The fused form *sanima* has several used which are all intensifying in nature. For example, in (27) *sanima* indicates that it was important to rescue the string and kites as soon as possible, capturing the sense of ‘really’ to intensify rather than limit the speed of the action.

- (27) Kuando ijkó omochiwayah n topapalowah, sanima tejwah pewa  
when thus were.made \* our.kites quickly we start

tikinxexeloah.  
we.sort.them.out

'When this happened to our kites, we quickly began to untangle them.'

In (28) *sanima* occurs with this same meaning, but it is negated to relate that the expectation of the owner was frustrated in that he was unable to quickly reach his hat to rescue it.

(28) Yej uyá motlelojti, pero ken sa kuitlapetztik amo *sanima* kajsito,  
he went running but how very fat not quickly found.it

iwa kuando ya kikitzkiskia, n ejékatl oksepa okipatlanalti  
and when already would.grab.it the wind again it.blew.it

n sombrero.  
the hat

'He went running, but since he was very fat he did not arrive quickly at it, the hat to grab it and the wind would blow it away again.'

In (29) the man is concerned enough about his hat that he jumps off his bicycle immediately to rescue it. Here *sanima* intensifies how quickly he started to act. In the narrative this sentence actually occurs immediately preceding (28).

(29) Ijkuakó yej *sanima* okiketzalti n bisi iwa temotíwetzki  
then he immediately stopped.it the bicycle and descended.quickly

uyá okikuito isombrero.  
went he.went.to.bring his.hat

'Then he immediately stopped his bicycle, and got off and went to bring back his hat.'

In (30) the same sort of concern for rescuing something not all that easily replaced, causes the use of *sanima* to be followed by *ijkuakó*, adding even more immediacy to the rescue.

(30) *Sanima* ijkuakó otikololoayah n tokpaw  
really soon we.rolled.up \* our.string  
'Immediately then we wound up our string.'

There are a few speakers that will say or write *san nima* as separate words and can describe the meaning of *nima* as 'immediately', with *san nima* meaning 'really immediately'. Many others, when confronted with *nima* in isolation, will repeat it as *sanima*. This would indicate that the ongoing process of attachment of *sa-* to *nima* is essentially complete. However, the process of such attachment in the fused forms *sanwel*, *satepa*, and *saman* described below is so complete that pronouncing or writing them without the *sa(n)-* produces confusion or correction. For example, if one says only *tlawel*, the speaker is corrected with *satlawel*. The fact that the *n* following *sa* is absent with many of these forms reinforces the claim that they have been used exclusively in the present forms long enough for possible previous forms with *san* to have disappeared.



#### 4.2. sanwel = 'only'

*Sanwel* is always used in a limiting sense. For example, in (31), which is taken from a rabbit and coyote story, the coyote misleads the rabbit by saying that he will only play the guitar for a little while and then return it to him, which he never did. The limiting meaning was meant to allay the rabbit's suspicion.

- (31) Ejé nimitzkopilis,                    *sanwel* nikontzotzonas achitzi moguitarra  
 yes I.will.return.it.to.you only I.will.play little your.guitar  
 iwa sanima nimitzmakas.  
 and quickly I.will.give.you.it

'Yes, I will return it to you, I will only play it a little and quickly I will give it to you.'

#### 4.3. satlawel = 'too much'

The fused form *satlawel* always has an intensifying meaning. For example, in (32) the support cable to the utility pole that should not have been capable of delivering an electric shock is described as making the narrator tremble so much that he was unable even to cry out.

- (32) ayakmó      sikiera      oniweletia onitzajtzia por      *satlawel*  
 no.longer even.just I.was.able I.shouted because too.much  
 onechbibiotzaya      n      kable.  
 it.made.me.tremble the cable

'I could no longer even cry out because the cable was shaking me too much.'

The use of *satlawel* in (33) provides more evidence that all of the uses of this word in the corpus relate to the 'really' meaning of *sa-*. In this case it intensifies the narrator's feel for how many guests typically come to a wedding.

- (33) Yika                    kuando tlatlakuah                    mololoah                    *satlawel* miakeh  
 for.this.reason when eat.the.banquet they.get.together too.much many  
 tlatlalwilteh iwa kualchiwa hasta ayakmó      akih      kan kali.  
 guests                    and sometimes even no.longer they.fit in house

'For that reason, when they eat the banquet they gather together so many guests and sometimes they don't even all fit in the house.'

#### 4.4. saman = 'by nature', 'customarily'

*Saman* has several closely related limiting meanings ranging from 'by nature' to 'bound to'; in one sense it is even slightly humorous with its application to an individual. The most straight forward meaning for *saman* is 'by nature' as illustrated in (34).

- (34) porke yej saman otlajpiaya  
 because she by.nature she.pastured  
 'because shepherding is what she did'

In (35) a similar meaning of *saman* is used to simply state the way things are. The children in this particular instance had already been enticed by the desire for the pine boughs, and once they had their hearts set on having them, they were not going to easily forget their desire.

- (35) Yejwah saman okinekeh.  
 they by.nature they.wanted  
 'They (being children) wanted it.'

In (36) *saman* takes on the sense of 'of course', due to the fact that in the real world, not well understood by the small children in the same narrative as above, adults would recognize the children whether they had changed clothes or not!

- (36) Malke nomopatlaskeh saman nomechixmatischek.  
 why you.change by.nature they.will.recognize.you  
 'Why did you change clothes? Of course they will recognize you!'

In (37) there is an underlying sense of the inevitability of fate, not just 'that is the way things are' as above, but also a powerlessness to change the outcome.

- (37) Prowesito. Iwa axa kenomi tikiskaltiskeh, mati saman  
 poor.little.thing and now how we.will.raise.it seems by.nature  
 mikis.  
 it.will.die

'Poor little thing. And now how will we raise it, it seems it's bound to die.'

The last example of *saman* in (38) is applied to an individual. It seems to be a cross between the previous shade of meaning and an attempt at some irony.

- (38) iAxa saman kualanis iwa mitzwitekis!  
 Now by.nature he.will.get.angry and will.hit.you!  
 'Now, of course he will get mad and punish you!'

The meaning here is that not only is it the referent's nature to punish you, but that is also to be your fate.

## 5.0. Satepa

In the case of *satepa*, *sa-* is so bound to the rest of the word that I have not been able to elicit a gloss for \**tepa*. This word has both *limiting* meaning and *intensifying* uses.

### 5.1. satepa = 'later'

In its limiting sense, *satepa* marks temporal progression. For example, in (39) and (40) there is a simple statement that one event follows another with no particular emphasis or marking other than the fact of stated order.

- (39) *Satepa* okalakitoh kanik "La Nueva España", iyakapa se  
 after arrived.them where the new Spain in.front.of.it a  
 tiendajtzi, ompa okitlajtlankeh copa fiado para mopajtiskeh  
 small.shop there they.asked.for glass on.credit for will.cure.them  
 pero amo okinmakakeh.  
 but not they.gave.them

'Later, they arrived at the New Spain, in front of it was a small shop, there they asked for a glass on credit to cure themselves but they did not give it to them.'

The two suffering from being hung over are essentially waiting for something to happen to relieve their suffering. Time passes and someone appears, as seen in (40).

- (40) *Satepa* ikompa opanok se tlakatl non yejwah kixmatih iwa  
 later over.there went.by a man that them they.know.him and  
 inwah mowikah, ijkuakó yejwah okitzakuilijkeh iwa okilijkeh:  
 with.them they.get.on and.then they they.halted.him and told.him

'Later, over there a man went by that knew them and they got along with, then they stopped him and said to him...'

Notice the contrast between *satepa* 'later' and *ijkuakó* 'and then' in (40). *Satepa* means that a little time had passed from the previous sentence; but when they spotted someone who might buy them a drink, *ijkuakó* is used to indicate that their sighting of the man was immediately followed by interacting with him.

In example (41) we continue with the same sense of simple chronology: for the tomatoes to be crated, they must first be picked and sorted.

- (41) *Satepa* de otlejkeh okiskeh otlapejpenatoh iwa n tlakah  
 after of cut.them went.out went.to.sort.them and the men  
 otlatetenkeh.  
 crated.them

'After they were picked they went out to sort them and the men crated them.'

In (42) we have another example from the story of the children flying kites that has two uses of *satepa* that are glossed with 'later' and 'then' to sound more natural in English.

- (42) **Satepa** owala onechajsiko kan nej onikatka iwa onechili: iwa ken  
later came he.caught.up.to.me where I I.was and he.told.me and how

otitlapatlanaltiayah semi tlakpak, **satepa** ayakmó otikmatiah iwan  
we.were.flying.them very high then no.longer we.knew with

katlin papalotl omokojtzezoaya n topapalow.  
which kite got.caught the our.kites

'Later, he caught up to me where I was and he told me, and since we were flying them so high, so then we did not know which kite it had tangled with.'

## 5.2. **satepa** = 'afterward' as denouement

Example (43) illustrates the second use of **satepa** in a narrative, one which is more than mere chronology; rather it is an intensification of the narrative by way of conclusion. As in many other examples in my corpus of texts, it occurs in the *last* sentence and clearly marks the wrap up or final statements of the narrator. The context for (43) can be found in (25) above.

- (43) Iwa ken otlakentitoka de iztak **satepa** omoka sa ken koliador.  
and since was.dressed in white after.that he.was just like string.mop  
'And since he was dressed in white, afterward he was like a string mop.'

In (44), from the story of the fat man chasing his hat that had blown off, the narrator concludes by starting the *last* sentence with **satepa** meaning 'so when it was all over (we were going along laughing)'

- (44) **Satepa** nej iwa oksikimeh ichpokameh oniwala inwah  
afterward I and others girls.15+ I.came with.them

otimowewetzkilijtiwalayah.  
we.were.coming.laughing

'Afterward, I and some teenage girls were coming back laughing.'

Example (45) is also the *last* sentence of a popular folk tale that has made its way into the local culture. Adding the blessing of the priest to the marriage of the enchanted frog and princess establishes its acculturation. Even though it was almost certainly brought in by the school teachers several decades ago, it has become part of the local repertoire and is enjoyed greatly.

- (45) Okalakeh kan tiopa. N tiópixke okinnamiktih iwa okintiochih.  
entered where church the priest married.them and blessed.them

**Satepa** omowikakeh ika pakílistli.  
afterward they.got.along with happiness

'They went into the church. The priest married them and blessed them. Afterward they lived happily.'

The story of the Doorbell clearly illustrates the two distinct meanings of *satepa*. It is a story about sisters and cousins who get into trouble on the way home from catechism class one day. *Satepa* occurs only twice. The first instance, given in (46), is simply joining two items that need to have a certain chronology imposed on them for the situation to proceed smoothly.

- (46) *Satepa*, nonkitziliniskeh n timbre, achto techtekilikah  
 later you.Pl.ring.it the doorbell first break.off.for.me  
  
 ixiwiyó n pino.  
 its.branch of pine

'Ring the doorbell later, first break me off a pine bough.'

The cousin is well aware that there will be no chance to break off a bough to carry home if the doorbell alerts the lady of the house.

The only other instance of *satepa* in this text is in the last sentence, given in (47).

- (47) *Satepa* de tlan otechili notía, tejwah hasta otiwelpakeh.  
 afterward from what she.told.us my.aunt we until we.got.really.happy  
 'Afterward, from what my aunt told us, we were really relieved.'

The lady of the house had unexpectedly come out of her house and begun to threaten the little girls with going to jail. When the aunt relieved their fears, this denouement is marked by the use of *satepa*.

Appropriately, the reader is to consider this treatment of *satepa* as the denouement of this paper.

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