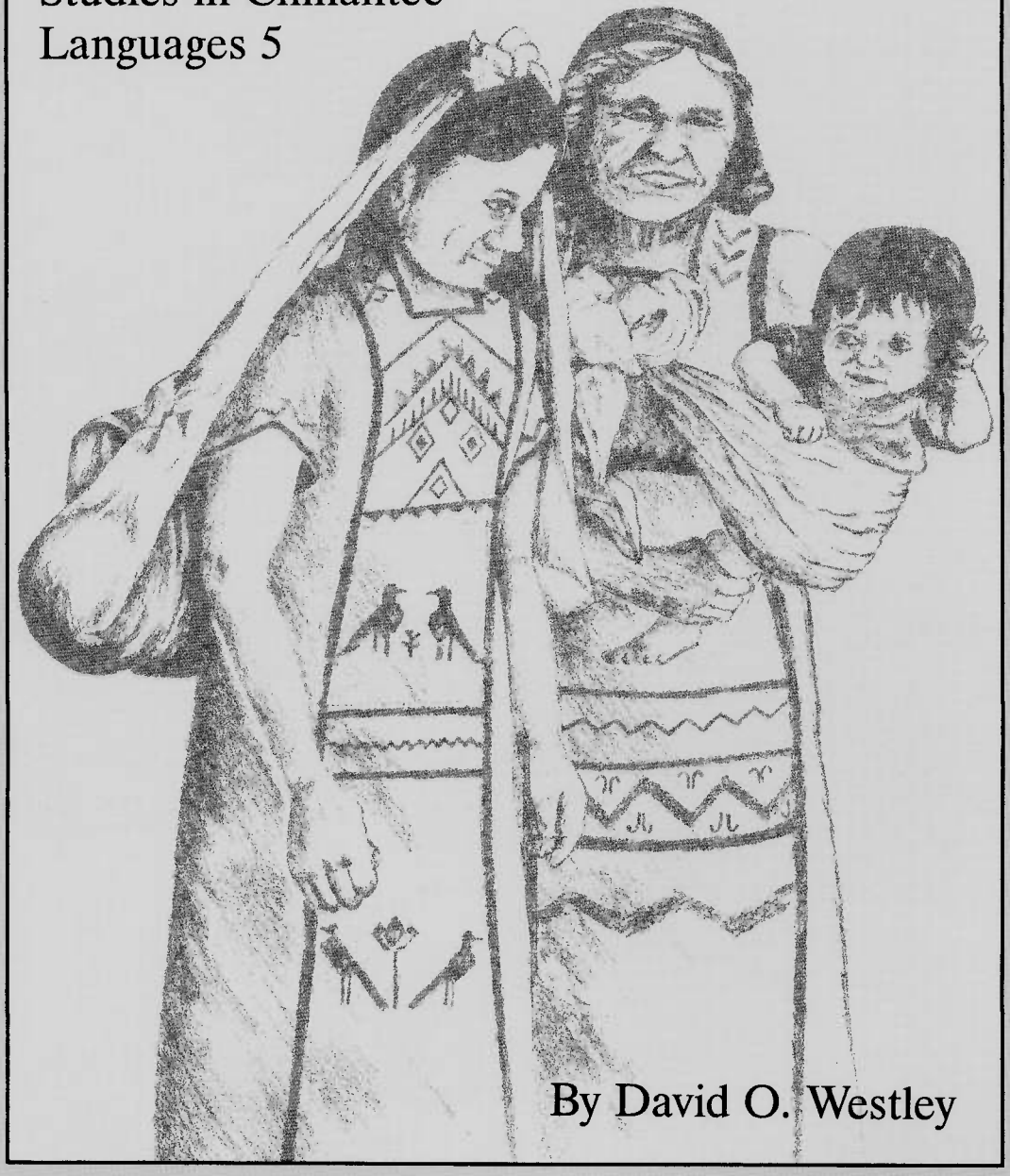
TEPETOTUTLA CHINANTEC SYNTAX

Studies in Chinantec Languages 5



By David O. Westley

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Studies in Chinantec Languages 5

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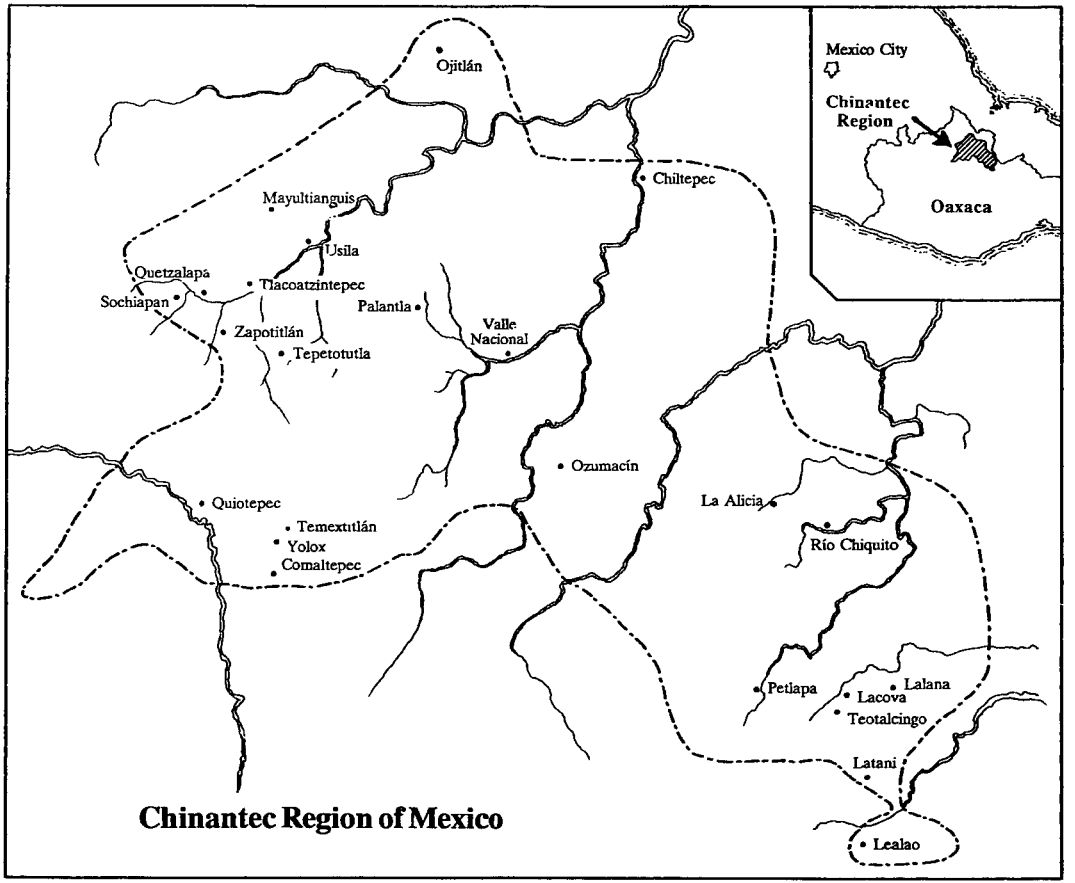
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Preface

Santa Cruz Tepetotutla is a village of about 1500 inhabitants, located in the middle of the Chinantla crescent that sweeps northern Oaxaca State, Mexico, from San Pedro Sochiapan on the west, northward to Usila and Ojitlán and southeastward to Lalana and San Juan Lealao. At 4,000 feet elevation, Tepetotutla is at the dividing line between the low-and high-country Chinantec. Its physical location is approximately seventy air miles north of Oaxaca City; politically it is a municipal agency of Usila, which in turn is a municipality that answers to the district headquarters in Tuxtepec.

Tepetotutla Chinantec is also spoken by an estimated 300 inhabitants of San Antonio del Barrio, a sister town just downhill to the north, a half hour's walk, or between one and two miles distant. Between 1935 and 1940 a large number of people left these two towns to settle in other towns to the east, notably San Pedro Tlatepusco, just over a mountain to the east, and Vega del Sol, located at the confluence of the San Cristóbal and the Valle Nacional rivers, six miles northeast of Valle Nacional. In these two towns and in a number of unsurveyed villages in the Tuxtepec area, there are approximately another 1,000 to 2,000 speakers of Tepetotutla Chinantec.

Data were collected between March, 1968, and November, 1979, during field work in Tepetotutla under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). A number of speakers provided text material for the studies, but Leoncio Hernández Osorio and Félix Osorio Martínez were my principal collaborators and resource persons for helping in my understanding of Chinantec.

This present study was prepared during a workshop involving five related Chinantec languages, conducted by William R. Merrifield at the

Tucson, Arizona center of SIL. The other four projects have been or will be reported as Anderson 1989, Anderson and Merrifield to appear, Lewis to appear, and Rupp 1989. Many of the illustrations used in this study were located in natural text material with the aid of the computerized database program FIESTA (Alsop 1990). I am indebted to Dr. Merrifield for his help in the presentation of this material.

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1
Tepetotutla Chinantec Phonology

This chapter is a summary of Westley 1971, where the phonological word was defined as having from one to four syllables, the last of which receives word-level stress (here unmarked).

(1)

$ʔua^{H}$	'soft'
$ʔi^{H}kua^{LM}$	'monkey'
$ma^{M}o^{M}lę^{L}$	'they have come'
$ca^{L}ka^{M}hme^{L}ti^{L}$	's/he/they did not conform'

Chinantec roots are almost exclusively monosyllabic; and, due to a very limited system of segmentable forms of inflection, even entire grammatical words are frequently monosyllabic. There are, nevertheless, a few affixes and proclitic grammatical words which may occur in pretonic positions with some word classes, notably verbs, and certain nouns do also occur with pretonic classifiers or participate in compounding of a sort which results in loss of stress of the first of two syllables.

Pretonic, unstressed syllables have the same general phonological structure as stressed syllables; but, being fewer in number, show a more limited distribution of phonological distinctions. The following remarks, therefore, apply primarily to stressed syllables, with this caveat that unstressed syllables have the same, but simpler form.

1.1. Vowels. A Chinantec stressed syllable consists minimally of a nuclear vowel, a tone, and a stress, although in a very high percentage of cases it also includes an onset consonant preceding the nuclear vowel. The seven Chinantec vowels are high front unrounded /i/, high back unrounded /ï/, high back rounded /u/, mid front unrounded /e/, mid back

unrounded /ë/, mid back rounded /o/, and low central /a/. Any of these may occur as the nuclear vowel of a syllable, stressed or unstressed.

(2) *tɨ́*^{LM} 'rifle' *tɨ̈ʔ*^{M} 'edge' *tu*^{M} 'chicken'
te^{M} 'leads away' *të*^{LM} 'master' *to*^{M} 'mortar'
ta^{H} 'work'

The Tepetotutla vowel system is, thus, of the common 7.2 type of the Crothers (1978) typology, with five peripheral vowels /i e a u o/ and two interior vowels /ï ë/. Of the seven vowels, only /ï e a u o/ can be nasalized directly, without influence from an adjacent nasal consonant.

(3) *tɨ̨*^{L} 'two (inan)' *ɨ́*^{M} 'three (an)'
ʔɛ̨^{LM} 'drunk' *ɔ*^{L} 'two (an)'
hą^{M} 'one (an)'

On the other hand, any of the seven vowels may follow a nasal onset consonant, in which context, the vowel is always phonetically nasal. Since there is no contrast of nasality for vowels in this position, the nasality is considered a property of the consonant and is not marked on the vowel.

(4) *ŋí*^{H} 'metal' *mɨ̈ʔ*^{M} 'snake' *mu*^{LM} 'bone'
négʔ^{MH} 'I will go home' *në*^{L} 'today' *ŋó*^{LM} 's/he went'
naʔ^{LH} 'net bag'

1.2. Consonants. Prenuclear consonants are of two types, nonlaryngeal and laryngeal. Nonlaryngeal onset consonants include voiceless and voiced stops /p t c k b d z g/, fricatives /f s r/, liquid /l/, and nasals /m n ŋ/; laryngeals are /ʔ h/. The stops are labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar, respectively, the palatal stops being affricated.

(5) *píʔ*^{H} 'little' *bí*^{M} 'strength'
té^{M} 'Steven' *do*^{MH} 'Adolfo'
co^{MH} [tso^{MH}] 'incline' *zo*^{MH} [dso^{MH}] 'sickness'
ku^{MH} 'money' *go*^{MH} 'kinsman'

The labial and alveolar fricatives /f s/ are relatively rare, especially so /f/. /r/ is lamino-domal.

(6) *fé*^{H} 'Félix' *sɔ*^{LH} 'music' *rɨ̨ʔ*^{LH} 'brother'

Lateral /l/ and nasals /m n ŋ/ form a class in respect to their distribution with laryngeals (see below), but they also may occur as simple onsets.

(7) *lï*^{H} 'flower' *mí*^{LM} 'medicine'
në^{L} 'today' *ŋá*^{LM} 'crazy'

Laryngeals /ʔ h/ may immediately precede any nuclear vowel, a liquid or nasal /l m n ŋ/, or a prenuclear glide /i u/.

(8) *ʔí*^{M} 's/he enters' *hí*^{M} 's/he scolds'
ʔï^{LM} 's/he thinks' *hî*^{H} 'gnat'
ʔúʔ^{L} 'idol' *hu*^{M} 'pigeon'
ʔe^{M} 'what?' *hęʔ*^{L} 'Usila'
ʔë^{LM} 's/he sings' *hë*^{MH} 'amid'
ʔo^{LM} 's/he cries' *hó*^{MH} 'over there'
ʔa^{M} (REL^INAN) *há*^{LM} 's/he comes'

(9) *ʔliog*^{M} 'dust' *hláʔ*^{H} 'elegant'
ʔmuʔ^{LH} 'expensive' *hmú*^{MH} 'root'
ʔne^{M} (2s) *hniá*^{M} (1s)
ʔŋa^{H} 'forest' *hŋéi*^{M} 'six (inan)'

(10) *ʔiaʔ*^{M} 'tiger' *hiáʔ*^{LM} 'loose'
ʔuaʔ^{M} 'hard' *huáʔ*^{M} 'say'

A further comment on nasal consonants needs to be made. Westley 1971 followed Rensch 1968 in treating nasals [m n ŋ] as /b d g/, respectively, occurring simultaneously with nasalization as a prosodic feature. Nasalization does appear to be a syllable-level feature which, once initiated, continues from left-to-right to the end of the syllable. It may be initiated either on a nuclear vowel or on a syllable-initial consonant. As indicated above, in syllables with /i/ or /ë/ as nuclear vowel, nasalization, when present, is always initiated with the onset consonant.

(11) *kiǫ*^{LM} [kiǫ^{LM}] 'I bring (something)'
ʔęgʔ^{LH} [ʔęŋʔ^{LH}] 'you are located (somewhere)'
hmïg^{M} [Mmïŋ^{M}] 'water'
hneiˡ^{LM} [Nnęˡ^{LM}] 'cloud'
ʔniaʔ^{M} [ʔnją̈ʔ^{M}] 'you (PL)'

Since 1968, Rensch has subsequently (1989:15f) given several reasons for reversing his earlier practice by writing /m n ŋ/ as nasal consonants in

their own right. I follow his lead here, primarily to facilitate comparison of Tepetotutla forms with those of the related Chinantec languages being reported in this publication series.

1.3. Prenuclear glides. The nuclear vowel of a syllable may be preceded by one of two glides which are palatal and labial in general articulation, respectively. These glides were termed semiconsonants /y w/ in Westley 1971 without much comment, but it was noted that their underlying feature specifications "can be considered identical to those of /i u/, respectively, phonetic differences being the function of distribution within the syllable" (1981:fn. 9). Phonological treatments of the several Chinantec languages have treated these features in a variety of ways since there seems to be no compelling reason for any particular analysis. It has seemed best, for comparative purposes, to identify them here simply as a palatal element /i/ and a labial element /u/.

The palatal glide /i/ may occur only preceding nuclear vowels /o a/, either as the first segment of a syllable or preceded by one of the onset consonants /t c k z g s l n ŋ ʔ h/, which is to say, any nonlabial onset consonant other than /d r/.

(12) *ióg*^{L} 'tomorrow' *ia*^{H} 'because'

(13)

tiog^{M}	'white'	*tiạ*^{LH}	'always'
ciog^{LH}	'his/her mother'	*cia*^{M}	'it exists'
kiǫ^{HM}	's/he brings'	*kiạ́*^{LM}	'of him/her/them'
ziog^{LM}	'pool'	*zia*^{MH}	's/he lays (things) down'
gio^{L}	'twenty'	*gial*	'ten (inan)'
sió^{M}	'it descends'	*siáʔ*^{M}	'other'
ʔliog^{M}	'dust'	*liaʔ*^{M}	'like, as'
ʔnióʔ^{LM}	'necessary'	*hniá*^{M}	(1s)
ʔŋiog^{LM}	'him/herself'	*ʔŋiá*^{M}	'five'
ʔio^{LH}	'woman'	*ʔiaʔ*^{M}	'jaguar'
hiog^{L}	's/he carried (us)'	*ʔi*^{H}*hia*^{Lm}	'spider'

While the glide /i/ only occurs contrastively before nuclear vowels /o a/, a palatal glide always precedes a front vowel /i e/ when the onset consonant is a velar /k g ŋ/. The presence of this glide is predictable and, therefore, not written.

(14)

kí^{LM}	[kyí^{LM}]	's/he pays'	*ke*^{LH}	[kye^{LH}]	'we eat'
gí^{M}	[gyí^{M}]	's/he rubs'	*ge*^{LM}	[gye^{LM}]	's/he accepts'
ŋí^{H}	[ŋyį́^{H}]	'metal'	*ŋe*^{LH}	[ŋyę^{LH}]	's/he went'

Labial glide /u/ may only occur preceding nuclear vowels /ï ë a/, either as the first segment of a syllable or immediately following velar or laryngeal onset consonants /k g ʔ h/.

(15)	*uíg*^{M}	'far'	*uë́*^{M}	'long time'	*ua*^{L}	'Edward'
	kuïg^{M}	'maize'	*kuë*^{LM}	's/he gives'	*kuá*^{L}	'river'
	guíg^{M}	'cold'	**guë*		*guá*^{LM}	's/he sits'
	ʔuïg^{LH}	'base'	*ʔuë*^{L}	'ground'	*ʔua*^{H}	'soft'
	huï^{LM}	'trail'	*huëʔ*^{M}	'large'	*huáʔ*^{M}	's/he says'

1.4. Postnuclear glides. Any of three glides may follow the nuclear vowel—palatal /i/, labial /u/, or velar /g/. The possibility of treating the velar glide as /ï/ was discussed in Westley 1971 (fn. 8), but was rejected. According to Rensch (1968:70ff), Tepetotutla postnuclear glides reflect certain Proto Chinantec long vowels; but since not all proto long vowels resulted in the development of postnuclear glides in Tepetotutla, the distribution of glides with nuclear vowels is severely restricted. With a nonnasal nuclear vowel, glide /i/ only follows /e/, glide /u/ only follows /a/, and glide /g/ only follows /ï o a/.

(16)	*zéi*^{M}	'hot'	*ŋei*^{M}	'duck'
	tau^{M}	'hole'	*lau*^{M}	'skin'
	hág^{H}	'word'	*mag*^{LH}	'Mom'
	kuïg^{M}	'maize'	*hmïg*^{M}	'water'
	mogʔ^{LH}	'leaf'	*tiog*^{M}	'white'

Of the three postnuclear glides, two of them, /i g/, can represent person-marking morphemes. This is specifically the case when the stem to which they are postposed is inflected for animate person, which is often accomplished by the presence of nasalization of the syllable nucleus. In this context, -g often marks either first-singular or second person, and -i always marks third person. The result of this morphological complexity is the occurrence of additional combinations of postnuclear glides with nuclear vowels. Specifically, in this context, /i/ may follow /u ï o e a/, and /g/ may follow /ï o e a/. Since these combinations always involve a postposed morpheme, the postposed material is placed after the syllable tone, in this study, to reflect this morphological fact. Phonologically, however, the postposed glide is fully a part of the syllable whose nucleus it follows; glottal closure, if present, phonetically follows the person-marking morpheme.

(17)	*ų́*^{M}*i*	'they three'	**ug*	
	lį́^{M}*i*	's/he thinks'	*lį́*^{M}*g*	'I think'
	gǫ^{M}	's/he rules'	*goʔ*^{LH}*g*	'you go'
	hęʔ^{LH}*i*'	's/he turns'	*ʔę*^{LH}*g*	'I am located'
	tią́ʔ^{LM}*i*	'they sit'	*gąʔ*^{L}*g*	'you are afraid'

The postnuclear glide /g/ is phonetically a velar nasal [ŋ] in a nasalized syllable.

(18) *hąg*^{MH} [Ąąŋ^{MH}] 'long' *cįǫg* [tšiǫŋ^{M}] 'we live'

1.5. Glottal closure. A syllable of any form described above can be checked by glottal or not. Many examples of both kinds of syllable have been presented above, but two maximally complex syllables are as follows.

(19) *ʔŋiaʔ*^{M}*g* 'yourself' *hŋióʔ*^{M}*i* 's/he will come home'

1.6. Stress. Tepetotutla Chinantec has two types of word stress, BALLISTIC and CONTROLLED. These terms were first used for a Chinantec language by Merrifield (1963:3), who borrowed them from a slightly different usage of Pike (1957), who took them, in turn, from Stetson (1951). In Chinantec, a ballistically-stressed syllable (marked by an acute accent /ˊ/) is characterized by a sharp burst of energy at the beginning of the syllable, followed by an uncontrolled and rapid decay of energy. The surge of energy at the beginning of the syllable results in a more fortis articulation of any consonantal syllable onset and a tendency to loss of voicing of postnuclear elements. A controlled syllable (unmarked) exhibits a more-even development and decline of energy from beginning to end without the fortis articulation or loss of voicing of late elements. Ballistic syllables tend to be shorter in duration than controlled syllables and show a greater high-low pitch variation, high tones tending to be higher and low tones lower than their counterparts in controlled syllables. Contrastive stress can be illustrated by the following pairs.[1]

[1]Tone studies in three related Chinantec languages (Anderson, Martínez, and Pace 1990; Gardner and Merrifield 1990; and Rupp 1990) appear in a companion volume in this series (Merrifield and Rensch 1990). These studies provide details concerning the effects of ballistic stress on pitch phenomena of the same sort found in Tepetotutla and as described in Merrifield 1963 for Palantla. See Bauernschmidt 1965 for a similar phenomenon in Amuzgo, a related Otomanguean language.

(20)				
	ti^{LM}	'cut'	$t\acute{i}^{LM}$	'rifle'
	ta^{H}	'work'	$t\acute{a}^{H}$	'weave'
	ha^{LM}	'foam'	$h\acute{a}^{LM}$	'yes'
	$hŋia^{LM}$	'bring'	$hŋi\acute{a}^{LM}$	'before'
	$në^{L}$	'today'	$n\acute{ê}^{L}$	'also, therefore'
	$ŋi^{M}$	'year'	$ŋ\acute{i}^{M}$	'upriver'
	$ŋi^{LM}$	'know'	$ŋ\acute{i}^{LM}$	'pig'

1.7. Tone. Tone is a syllable-level feature; each syllable has its own tone. There are three simple tones: high /H/, mid /M/, and low /L/.

(21)	**controlled**		**ballistic**	
	li^{H}	'tepejilote palm shoot'	$l\acute{i}^{H}$	'flower'
	$mïg^{M}$	'flat'	$m\acute{i}g^{M}$	'fruit'
	tag^{L}	'my foot'	$t\acute{a}g^{L}$	'it will shine'

All stressed syllables have a simple tone, or a sequence of two tones. Controlled syllables may have the two-tone upglides mid-high /MH/, low-mid /LM/, or low-high /LH/; ballistic syllables can have only mid-high /MH/ or low-mid /LM/.

(22)	**controlled**		**ballistic**	
	ti^{MH}	'cut it!'	$t\acute{i}^{MH}$	'we will cut it'
	ti^{LM}	's/he cuts it'	$t\acute{i}^{LM}$	'rifle'
	$kua?^{LH}$	'bowl'		

Two-tone downglides do not occur in ballistic syllables, although high-mid /HM/ or mid-low /ML/ may occur in controlled syllables, but only in morphologically complex environments.

(23)	**controlled**	
	$kiǫ^{HM}$	's/he brings'[2]
	$kuë^{ML}$	's/he gives'

Each of the three single tones is characterized by a lowering of pitch throughout. With controlled stress, this feature is relatively slight; with ballistic stress, the tone is initiated at a higher pitch and falls to a lower

[2][Further phonological research might support a reinterpretation of these morphologically complex downglides as single tones followed by phonologically reduced pronouns, as described for nearby highland Chinantec languages (Anderson, Martínez, and Pace 1990:9ff; Gardner and Merrifield 1990:96—103), such that $kiǫ^{HM}$'s/he brings' becomes $kiǫ^{H}o$ and $kuë^{ML}$'s/he gives' becomes $kuë^{M}ë$. Ed.]

pitch. The controlled upglides are a flat contour by comparison with controlled downglides; the mid-high /^{MH}/ is perceived as an essentially level tone.

Syllables checked by glottal truncate the normal tone contour, and in the case of ballistic syllables, elevate the pitch. A few examples of checked syllables are shown in (24), with holes in the system starred.

(24)	**controlled**		**ballistic**	
	*$cvʔ^{H}$		$píʔ^{H}$	'little'
	$cïʔ^{M}$	'moon'	$máʔ^{M}$	'mountain'
	$ziʔ^{L}$	'sour'	$ŋíʔ^{L}$	'lightning'
	$te^{H}ʔmagʔ^{MH}$	'thank you'	$ʔi^{H}ŋíʔ^{MH}$	'bread'
	*$cvʔ^{LM}$		$ʔméʔ^{LM}$	(a skin disease)
	$kuaʔ^{LH}$	'bowl'	*$cv́ʔ^{LH}$	

1.8 Intonation. Phrase features such as questioning, exclamation, and perhaps other emotional overlays, override syllable level tone structure. Notably the words ze^{L} $lï^{L}$ 'very good', when expressed with enthusiasm, occur with $lï^{L}$ on an extremely high, falling intonation that is higher in pitch than a normal high tone. Depressed or angry expression often adds a bilabial protrusion or pout that distorts vowel quality, and is manifested in variations of intonation, usually starting higher than for a normal declarative sentence and ending lower than normal, with syllable level tones fitting more-or-less into this general contour.

Question intonation typically overrides the tone of only the first syllable of a sentence, with a raised (high-falling) pitch contour that is slightly above the normal high /^{H}/ tone. The Chinantec question is discussed further in §8, but for now the simple contrast between (25) and (26) is cited. In (26), the first syllable is marked, for convenience, as if it were a very high tone, as closest to the contour just described.

(25) ca^{L}-$ʔẹi^{M}$ $tiǫʔ^{LH}$ $zi^{M}néi^{M}$
NEG-who? located^S3p inside
There is no one inside.

(26) ca^{VH}-$ʔẹi^{M}$ $tiǫʔ^{LH}$ $zi^{M}néi^{M}$
?^NEG-who? located^S3p inside
Isn't there anyone inside?

2
The Tepetotutla Chinantec Verb

The Tepetotutla Chinantec verb consists minimally of an inflectionally complex verb stem, to which from one to three inflectional prefixes may be added. In (27), the stem *gə́ʔ*^{L} is inflected for completive aspect and third-person subject (C3). It is preceded by negative (NEG), perfect (PRF), and past-tense (PST) prefixes, respectively.

(27) *ca*^{L}*-ma*^{M}*-ka*^{M}*-gə́ʔ*^{L}, NEG-PRF-PST-eat^C3, 's/he has not yet eaten'

2.1. Active vs. stative verb stems. Verb stems are of two types, based on their internal inflection and their ability to occur with prefixes. An active stem exhibits internal changes in such features as tone, stress, vowel quality, or nasalization, to mark categories of aspect, gender, and person-of-subject. The details of such inflection are presented more fully below; but, in (28), progressive-aspect forms of the stem 'pay' vary by vowel and stress to distinguish first-singular and first-plural subject; and, in (29), third-person completive-aspect forms of the stem 'abandon' vary by nasalization and vowel to distinguish inanimate and animate objects.

(28) *kí*^{LM} *hniá*^{M}, pay^P1s 1s, 'I pay'
i^{M} *hniaʔ*^{LH}, pay^P1p 1p 'we pay'

(29) *ka*^{M}*-ti*^{L} *za*^{M}, PST-abandon^TIC3 3, 's/he abandoned it'
ka^{M}*-tẹ*^{L} *za*^{M}, PST-abandon^TAC3 3, 's/he abandoned him/her'

A stative stem (marked s) may exhibit some of these changes to mark gender and person-of-subject, but does not inflect to mark aspect.

(30) *cí?^{LM} ?ma^{M}*, stand^IIS wood 'the tree stands'
cé?^{LM} za^{M}, stand^AIS3 3 's/he stands'

Certain tense-aspect prefixes may occur with either class of stem; but the two past-tense prefixes (§2.6), in particular, may only occur with an active stem, never with a stative one.

(31) *ka^{M}-liǫ^{LH}g?ne^{M}*, PST-escape^C2 2S, 'you escaped'
**ka^{M}-cé?^{LM} za^{M}*, PST-stand^S3 3, 's/he stood'

More is said further below about stative stems and about the derivation of one class of stems from the other class, but the sections which immediately follow have active stems as their primary focus.

2.2. Active verb stem inflection. The inflectional patterns of Chinantec verb stems are complex and do not easily yield to segmentation into discrete strings of phonemic material which correspond directly to morphemes, although the semantic interpretation of their various forms is relatively straightforward. The most general pattern is for a verb to have a twelve-place paradigm which marks three categories of aspect and four categories of person. The three categories of aspect are PROGRESSIVE (P), INTENTIVE (I), and COMPLETIVE (C); the four categories of person are FIRST-PERSON SINGULAR (1S), FIRST-PERSON PLURAL (1P), SECOND PERSON (2), and THIRD PERSON (3), where number is not distinguished for the last two categories.

In lieu of an analysis of these paradigms into discrete morphemes, they are presented as two-dimensional arrays, as in (32) for the transitive inanimate (TI) forms of the verb 'eat'. Note that stems are presented in these arrays without the prefixes with which some of them might normally occur.

(32)

eat	1S	1P	2	3
P	*gé?^{LM}*	*ke^{M}*	*ké?^{M}*	*gé?^{LM}*
I	*gë?^{LH}*	*ke^{LH}*	*kë?^{LH}*	*gé?^{L}*
C	*gë?^{L}*	*ke^{LH}*	*ké?^{H}*	*gé?^{L}*

As can be seen in (32), each of the twelve forms of a verb stem paradigm is not necessarily unique, but may be homophonous with one or more of the other members of the paradigm. In this example, the intentive third-person (I3) form is homophonous with the completive third-person (C3) form (except that the completive stem occurs with a past-tense suffix).

The forms which make up paradigms like (33) may differ phonologically from one another by any of several phonological features, including tone, stress, palatalization, or vowels. Sets of verb stem paradigms—differing in gender or degree of transitivity—may, in addition, differ by nasalization. Compare the transitive inanimate (TI) verb forms in (33) with the corresponding transitive animate (TA) stems in (34). The TI verb occurs with an inanimate direct object, while the TA verb occurs with an animate direct object.[3]

(33) abandon (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*tɨ́*^{LM}	*tɨ́*^{LM}	*tɨ́*^{LM}*ʔ*	*tɨ́*^{M}
I	*tɨ́*^{MH}	*tɨ́*^{MH}	*tɨ́*^{MH}*ʔ*	*tɨ́*^{M}
C	*tɨ́*^{L}	*tɨ́*^{MH}	*tɨ́*^{L}*ʔ*	*tɨ́*^{M}

(34) abandon (TA)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*tę́*^{LM}	*tę́*^{LM}	*tę́*^{LM}*ʔ*	*tę́*^{M}
I	*tę́*^{MH}	*tę́*^{MH}	*tę́*^{MH}*ʔ*	*tę́*^{M}
C	*tę́*^{L}	*tę́*^{MH}	*tę́*^{L}*ʔ*	*tę́*^{M}

Without attempting an exhaustive analysis of verb stems here, a number of typical paradigms are listed below as illustrative of the kinds of phonological patterns found. The last two paradigms (47) and (48) are of inanimate intransitive stems (II), which only occur in third-person forms inasmuch as an inanimate object may not be an interlocutor.

(35) wash (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*rąg*^{LM}	*rąg*^{M}	*rąg*^{M}*ʔ*	*rąg*^{LM}
I	*rąg*^{LH}	*rą́g*^{M}	*rą́g*^{M}*ʔ*	*rąg*^{L}
C	*rąg*^{L}	*rą́g*^{M}	*rąg*^{M}*ʔ*	*rąg*^{L}

(36) bite (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*kïg*^{LM}	*kig*^{M}*ʔ*	*kïg*^{M}*ʔ*	*kïg*^{M}*ʔ*
I	*kïg*^{LH}	*kḯg*^{M}*ʔ*	*kïg*^{M}*ʔ*	*kḯg*^{L}*ʔ*
C	*kïg*^{L}	*kḯg*^{M}	*kḯg*^{L}*ʔ*	*kḯg*^{L}*ʔ*

(37) pay (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*kɨ́*^{LM}	*ki*^{M}	*kɨ́*^{M}*ʔ*	*kɨ́*^{LM}
I	*kɨ́*^{MH}	*ki*^{LH}	*kï*$^{L\,H}$*ʔ*	*kɨ́*^{L}
C	*kɨ́*^{L}	*ki*^{LH}	*kï*^{LH}*ʔ*	*kɨ́*^{L}

[3]Transitivity is discussed further in §2.16.

(38) choose (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*kio?*^{MH}	*kio?*^{MH}	*kio?*^{LH}	*kió?*^{LM}
I	*kio?*^{MH}	*kio?*^{MH}	*kio?*^{LH}	*kió?*^{L}
C	*kio?*^{MH}	*kio?*^{LH}	*kio?*^{LH}	*kió?*^{L}

(39) burn (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*zĩ?*^{LM}	*zĩ?*^{LM}	*zĩ?*^{M}	*zĩ?*^{M}
I	*zĩ?*^{MH}	*zĩ?*^{MH}	*zĩ?*^{MH}	*zĩ?*^{M}
C	*zĩ?*^{L}	*zĩ?*^{MH}	*zĩ?*^{L}	*zĩ?*^{M}

(40) pinch (TI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*?mïï?*^{M}	*?mĩ?*^{LM}	*?mïï?*^{M}	*?mag?*^{M}
I	*?mïï?*^{MH}	*?mĩ?*^{MH}	*?mĩ?*^{MH}	*?mag?*^{L}
C	*?mĩ?*^{L}	*?mĩ?*^{MH}	*?mĩ?*^{L}	*?mag?*^{L}

(41) kill (TA)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*hŋĩ?*^{LM}	*hŋĩ?*^{LM}	*hŋĩ?*^{LM}	*hŋĩ?*^{LM}
I	*hŋĩ?*^{MH}	*hŋ̨*^{MH}	*hŋĩ?*^{MH}	*hŋĩ?*^{L}
C	*hŋĩ?*^{L}	*hŋĩ?*^{MH}	*hŋĩ?*^{L}	*hŋĩ?*^{L}

(42) catch (TA)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*hǫ́*^{LM}	*hǫ*^{M}	*hǫ*^{M}*?*	*hǫ*^{LM}
I	*hǫ́*^{MH}	*hǫ*^{LH}	*hǫ*^{LH}*?*	*hǫ*^{LH}
C	*hǫ*^{L}	*hǫ*^{L}	*hǫ*^{L}*?*	*hǫ*^{L}

(43) escape (AI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*lǫ*^{MH}	*liǫ*^{MH}	*lǫ*^{LH}*g?*	*liǫ́*^{LM}
I	*lǫ*^{MH}	*liǫ*^{MH}	*lǫ*^{LH}*g?*	*liǫ́*^{L}
C	*lǫ*^{MH}	*liǫ́*^{MH}	*liǫ*^{LH}*g?*	*liǫ́*^{M}

(44) bathe (AI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*ló?*^{LM}	*lio?*^{M}	*ló?*^{M}	*ló?*^{LM}
I	*ló?*^{MH}	*lio?*^{LH}	*lo?*^{LH}	*ló?*^{L}
C	*ló?*^{L}	*lio?*^{LH}	*lio?*^{M}	*ló?*^{M}

(45) sneeze (AI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*cuḗ*^{LM}	*cuḗ*^{LM}	*cuḗ*^{LM}*?*	*cuḗ*^{M}
I	*cuḗ*^{MH}	*cuḗ*^{MH}	*cuḗ*^{MH}*?*	*cuḗ*^{M}
C	*cuḗ*^{L}	*cuḗ*^{MH}	*cuḗ*^{L}*?*	*cuḗ*^{M}

(46) dance (AI)

	1s	1p	2	3
P	*zą́*^{LM}	*zióg*^{LM}	*zą́*^{LM}*ʔ*	*zą*^{LM}
I	*zą́*^{MH}	*zióg*^{MH}	*zą́*^{MH}*ʔ*	*zą*^{L}
C	*zą́*^{L}	*zioi*^{MH}	*zą́*^{L}*ʔ*	*zą́*^{M}

(47) turn (II)

	3
P	*hęi*^{LM}
I	*hęi*^{L}
C	*hęi*^{L}

(48) happen (II)

	3
P	*hę́ʔ*^{LM}
I	*hę́ʔ*^{MH}
C	*hę́ʔ*^{L}

2.3. Verb prefixes. All Chinantec languages tend heavily toward being isolating languages, having no suffixes and very few prefixes. With the exception of the inflected character of the verb stem and a handful of verb prefixes, Tepetotutla Chinantec is of this morphological type. Only a very small number of other words in Tepetotutla may be inflected for PERSON-OF-SUBJECT or PERSON-OF-POSSESSOR, and no others occur with affixes.

Tense and aspect are indicated in Chinantec by interaction between inflectional verb prefixes and the three inflectional categories of the verb stem described above. The verb prefixes are listed in (49).

(49)

ka^{M}-	(past)	*ca*^{L}-	(negative)
në^{M}-	(hodiernal)	*ma*^{L}-	(terminative)
ma^{M}-	(perfect)	*lï*^{H}-	(nonentailment)
hme^{H}-	(imperfect)		

Verb prefixes interact intimately with the three aspectual forms of verb stems. Their uses are described in the following sections in conjunction with these inflectional forms.

2.4. Progressive aspect. When the progressive form of a verb stem occurs without a prefix, it denotes either that an activity is habitual or that it is in progress at the time of the speech act.

(50) *ʔa*^{M}*há*^{MH}*ʔ* *ʔno*^{LM} *za*^{M} *nï*^{H}*kuï g*^{H}
where? get^P3 person firewood
Where does one acquire firewood? or
Where is the person acquiring firewood?

(51) *ʔno*^{LM} *zï*^{M}*fre*^{MH} *nï*^{H}*kuïg*^{H}
get^P3 Alfred firewood
Alfred gets the firewood, or
Alfred is getting firewood.

Depending upon the particular verb and other adverbial material in the clause, an activity marked by the progressive may be interpreted as iterative.

(52) *ʔnag*^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} *nï*^{H}*ʔí*^{LM} *ʔmaʔ*^{LH}
sell^P3 woman tortillas market
The woman sells tortillas in the market.

(53) *le*^{M}*në*^{LM} *hmo*^{LM} *za*^{M} *në*^{LM} *tią*^{LH}
thus do^P3 person that always
That's how he always does.

2.5. Intentive aspect. When the intentive form of a verb stem occurs without a prefix, it denotes a future activity which is yet to be initiated at the time of the speech act.

(54) *cą*^{LH} *hniá*^{M} *hora ŋí*^{H} *gia*^{L}
lie^down^1S 1S hour bell ten
I will go to bed at ten o'clock.

(55) *kį̈*^{L} *fé*^{H} *ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔiógL*
pick^13 Felix coffee tomorrow
Felix will pick coffee tomorrow.

2.6. Completive aspect. The completive form of the verb stem usually occurs with either past-tense prefix *ka*^{M}- or the hodiernal (past) prefix *në*^{M}-, which indicates that an activity took place earlier in the day of the speech act.

(56) *në*^{M}*-kį̈*^{L} *fé*^{H} *ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ma*^{M}*ʔmíg*^{M}
HOD-pick^C3 Felix coffee this^morning
Felix picked coffee this morning.

The past-tense prefix *ka*^{M}-, occurring with the completive form of the verb stem, on the other hand, either indicates that an activity took place prior to the day of the speech act, as in (57), or that the named action is simply past perfective (in the sense of Comrie 1976:3)—an action which

took place prior to the speech act but otherwise viewed without any other internal temporal complexity or external temporal reference, even the same day as the speech act, as in (58)–(60).

(57) *ka^{M}-kį̈^{L} fé^{H} ka^{M}fe^{LH} zióg^{M}*
PST-pick^C3 Felix coffee yesterday
Felix picked coffee yesterday.

(58) *ka^{M}-tá?^{M} nï^{H}-kąg^{H}*
PST-fall^C3 CLS-rock
The rock fell.

(59) *ka^{M}-?me?^{L} za^{M}*
PST-blink^3 person
S/he blinked.

(60) *ka^{M}-rë^{L}ne^{MH} hnia?^{LH} hme^{H}-ka^{M}-zi^{L}náu^{LM} hnia?^{LH} ma^{M}?mí̋g^{M}*
PST-find^C1p 1x when-PST-arrive^C1p 1x earlier
We found out when we arrived (there) earlier today.

2.7. Perfect aspect. The perfect prefix *ma^{M}-*, is usually translatable in English as 'already'. It occurs with verb forms inflected for progressive or completive aspect. With the progressive aspect, it indicates that an action or condition has been initiated prior to and continues at the time of the speech act. With the completive aspect, it indicates that an action or condition was initiated and completed prior to the time of the speech act. It differs from a past-tense form in directing attention to the prior inception of the action or condition as well as to its completion.

(61) *ma^{M}-uí̋g^{M} za^{M} co^{MH}*
PRF-climb^P3 3 incline
S/he/they are already climbing the hill.[4]

(62) *ma^{M}-ka^{M}-uí̋g^{M} za^{M} co^{MH}*
PRF-PST-climb^C3 3 incline
S/he has already climbed the hill.

[4]Chinantec third-person inflection is usually ambiguous in respect to gender and number. Translations in this study will not always spell out all possible English equivalents.

2.8. Imperfect aspect. The imperfect prefix *hme*^{H}- may occur with progressive or intentive forms. With a progressive form it has imperfect force, indicating that an activity was formerly in progress but no longer is at the time of the speech act or at the time of a subsequent event.

(63) *hme*^{H}*-hmo*^{LM} *hnia?*^{LH} *nï*^{H}*zïg*^{H} *ma*^{M}*lĩg?*^{M}
IMPF-do^P1p 1x jug long^ago
We used to make jugs long ago.

(64) *hme*^{H}*-hmo*^{LM} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H} *haɻ*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-i*^{H}*-bi*^{LH} *?uë*^{L}
IMPF-do^P3 3 work then PST-go^C3-shake^3 ground
They were working when the earth quaked.

It may also have imperfect force with a stative stem to indicate that a condition or state is no longer true at the time of the speech act.

(65) *hme*^{H}*-tiǫ?*^{LH} *kua*^{LM} *hë*^{MH} *?ŋa*^{H} *kią́*^{LM} *ha*^{H}*lá*^{L}
IMPF-located^S3p monkey amid forest near here
There used to be monkeys in the forest nearby here.

With an intentive form, *hme*^{H}- has a contrary-to-fact force, and occurs in both the protasis and apodasis of a contrary-to-fact condition.

(66) *hme*^{H}*-hmo*^{L} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H} *në*^{L}
IMPF-do^I3 3 work today
They were going to work today (but did not).

(67) *hme*^{H}*-ze*^{L} *hme*^{H}*-cei?*^{LH} *zï*^{M}*tą*^{LH} *le*^{M}*?uïg*^{LH}
IMPF-good^S3 IMPF-tell^I2 authority first
It would have been good had you first told the authorities.

With first-person inflection the contrary-to-fact use of the imperfect prefix with an intentive aspect stem becomes a polite request.

(68) *hme*^{H}*-?nio*^{L} *la*^{LH} *hniá*^{M} *nï*^{H}*zïg*^{H}
IMPF-want^S1s buy^I1s 1s jug
I would like to buy a jug.

The imperfect prefix is homophonous with the temporal preposition *hme*^{H}- 'when (past)', and may be derivationally related to it.[5]

[5]Prepositions are discussed in §9.

(69) *hme^{H}tiǫ?^{LH} za^{M} ha^{H}nau^{M} hme^{H}- ka^{M}-tąg^{M} hmɨ́^{LM}*
IMPF-stand^S3p 3 field when PST-fall^C3 rain
They were out in the field when it (started to) rain.

2.9. The negative prefix. The negative prefix is *ca^{L}-*. It may be prefixed to any verb or to any other element functioning as a predicate.[6]

(70) *ca^{L}-cia^{M} hmïg^{M}*
NEG-exist water
There is no water.

(71) *ca^{L}-ʔnio^{L} te^{LH} zó^{L} ʔi^{H}kuɻ̈ʔ^{M}*
NEG-want^S3 Esther go^13s Oaxaca
Esther doesn't want to go to Oaxaca.

(72) *ca^{L}-ku^{MH} kią^{LM} hniá^{M}*
NEG-money carry^P1s 1s
I'm not carrying any money.

(73) *ca^{L}-ʔe^{M} ka^{M}-huáʔ^{M} zï^{M}do^{MH}*
NEG-what? PST-say^C3 Adolfo
Adolf didn't say anything.

With the negative prefix, the perfect prefix *ma^{M}-* is comfortably translated as 'yet' when occurring either with a progressive or past-tense form. It indicates that an action or condition has not been initiated.

(74) *ca^{L}-ma^{M}-gə́ʔ^{LM}*
NEG-PRF-eat^P3
They are not yet eating.

(75) *ca^{L}-ma^{M}-ka^{M}-gə́ʔ^{L}*
NEG-PRF-PST-eat^C3
They had not yet eaten.

2.10. Terminative aspect. The terminative prefix *ma^{L}-* always occurs with the negative prefix *ca^{L}-* to indicate the termination of an activity or condition and is most easily expressed in English as 'no longer'. It is possibly related etymologically to *ma^{M}-* (perfect). When the verb stem is progressive it indicates that an activity or condition has ended prior to the

[6]See §2.20 for further discussion of negative words.

time of the speech act. When the verb stem is intentive it indicates that the activity or condition will end subsequent to the time of the speech act.

(76) *ca*^{L}-*ma*^{L}-*guá*^{LM} *ʔéi*^{M} *ha*^{H}*lá*^{L}
NEG-TRM-sit^P3 that here
S/he is no longer living here.

(77) *ca*^{L}-*ma*^{L}-*gə́ʔ*^{LM}
NEG-TRM-eat^I3
They will no longer eat.

2.11. Nonentailment. The prefix *lï*^{H}- (nonentailment) indicates that the action named by the verb stem has no necessary antecedent. The activity 'just' or 'merely' happens, or is undertaken, as at a whim, for no reason. This prefix may occur with any of the three inflectional forms of an active stem or with a stative stem.

(78) *lï*^{H}-*ka*^{M}-*kuë*^{L}
NON-PST-give^C3
He just gave (it, without being asked to or without expecting anything in exchange).

(79) *lï*^{H}-*i*^{M}-*ŋï*^{LM} *bá*^{MH} *hniá*^{M}
NON-go^P1s-walk^1s AFF 1S
I am just walking around (with no particular purpose or destination).

(80) *lï*^{H}-*nei*^{LH} *bá*^{MH} *hniá*^{M}
NON-go^I1s AFF 1s
I will just go (for no particular reason).

(81) *lï*^{H}-*tiǫ́*^{M} *hąu*^{M} *bá*^{MH} *za*^{M} *ca*^{L}-*ʔe*^{M} *ŋi*^{LM} *huáʔ*^{M}
NON-stand^S3p that AFF 3 NEG-what? know^S3 say^P3
They just stand there, not knowing what to say.

2.12. Derivational prefixes. As indicated in §2.1, a Chinantec verb stem is either active or stative, but its status can be changed by a derivational prefix. There are two activizing prefixes: *le*^{L}- indicates a change of state subsequent to the time of the speech act, and *rë*^{L}- indicates a change of state prior to the time of the speech act. The derivation of the stative root meaning 'sick' is illustrated in (82)–(84).

(82) *zo?*^{LH} *za*^{M}
sick^S3 3
S/he is sick.

(83) *le*^{L}*-zo?*^{LH} *za*^{M}
ACT^I-sick^3 3
S/he will become sick.

(84) *ka*^{M}*-rë*^{L}*-zo?*^{LH} *za*^{M}
PST-ACT^C-sick^3 3
S/he became sick.

The two stativizing prefixes are *rë*^{M}- and *ci*^{H}-. They occur with active roots to form stative stems. With some roots, but not all, the stative prefix reduces the level of transitivity of the active stem by suppressing an agent subject and promoting the patient object to subject.

(85) P S O
na^{LM} *za*^{M} *?o*^{H}*?né*^{MH}
open^P3 3 door
S/he opens the door.

(86) P S
rë^{M}*-na*^{LM} *?o*^{H}*?né*^{MH}
STA-open door
The door is open.

(87) P S
hŋia^{LM} *za*^{M}
pause^P3 3
S/he rests.

(88) P S O
ci^{H}*-hŋia*^{LM} *za*^{M} *ku*^{MH}
STA-pause^3 3 money
S/he is waiting for the money.

Each of these stativizing prefixes tends to occur with its own particular set of roots with only occasional overlap, where the same root could occur with either prefix.[7] Where such overlap does occur, a slight difference in meaning can be observed.

(89) P S O
ka^{M}*-rį̈*^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} *nï*^{H}*-zïg*^{H}
PST-fill^3 woman CLS-jug
The woman filled the jug.

(90) P S
ma^{M}*-rë*^{M}*-rį̈*^{LM} *nï*^{H}*-zïg*^{H}
PFC-STA-fill^3 CLS-jug
The jug has been filled.

(91) P S
ma^{M}*-ci*^{H}*-rį̈*^{LM} *nï*^{H}*-zïg*^{H}
PFC-STA-fill^3 CLS-jug
The jug is (now) full.

2.13. Directional verb prefixes.[8] Directional prefixes probably have their source as phonologically reduced forms of the two verbs of motion 'come' and 'go', both of which are multiply suppletive. Such prefixes occur with most verbs to indicate the direction of motion by the agent prior to the performance of the activity indicated by the main verb. Compare (92) with (93), in which the prefix *o*^{L}- indicates motion of the agent to, with attending arrival at, the place of the speech act prior to performing his search.

(92) *ka*^{M}*-ʔnioʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *kuïg*^{MH}
PST-search^C3 3 firewood
S/he sought firewood.

(93) *ka*^{M}*-o*^{L}*-ʔnioʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *kuïg*^{MH}
PST-come^C-search^3 3 firewood
S/he/they came and sought firewood.

[7]There is some evidence that these two prefixes are etymologically related to *rǫ*^{LM} 'lie prone' and *cíʔ*^{LM} 'stand upright', respectively, since the particular verb roots with which each tends to occur frequently seem to involve horizontal or vertical orientation; but the exceptions are also many.

[8]This section summarizes Westley and Merrifield 1990.

The full paradigm of directional prefixes which indicate motion away from the place of the speech act is presented in (94); prefixes which indicate motion toward the place of the speech act are presented in (95).

(94)

go	1s	1p	2	3
P	*i*^{M}-	*zï*^{M}-	*o*^{M}-	*zï*^{M}-
I	*i*^{H}-	*zï*^{H}-	*o*^{H}-	*zï*^{L}-
C	*i*^{l}	*i*^{L}-	*i*^{L}-	*i*^{L}-

(95)

come	1s	1p	2	3
P	*i*^{M}-	*ha*^{M}-	*i*^{M}-	*ha*^{M}-
I	*i*^{H}-	*ha*^{H}-	*i*^{H}-	*ha*^{L}-
C	*o*^{L}-	*o*^{L}-	*o*^{L}-	*o*^{L}-

The prefix *i*^{H}- is an additional completive form to indicate motion of the agent away from the place of the speech act and subsequent return toward the place of the speech act. A few sentences which illustrate directional prefixes follow. The tonal inflection of verb roots occurring with directional prefixes differs from their inflection apart from such prefixes. It has not yet been determined whether or how such differences in inflection might be accounted for. One fact does seem clear. If the nondirectional paradigm of a verb includes a prenuclear palatal glide as a part of the inflection of some of its forms, that glide is also present in all directional forms of that verb.

(96) *ha*^{M}-*lió?*^{LH} *hnia?*^{LH}
come^P1p-bathe^1p 1x
We come (iteratively) and bathe.

(97) *i*^{H}-*lió?*^{L} *hniá*^{M}
go/come^I1s-bathe^1s 1s
I will go/come bathe.

(98) *zï*^{L}-*lio?*^{M} *za*^{M}
go^I3-bathe^3 3
S/he will go and bathe.

(99) *ka*^{M}-*o*^{L}-*lio?*^{M} *?ne*^{M}
PST-come^C2-bathe^2 2s
You came and bathed.

(100) *ka*^{M}*-i*^{H}*-lio?*^{LH} *hnia?*^{LH}
PST-RT^C1p-bathe^1p 1x
We went and bathed (and returned).

2.14. Pseudodirectional verbs. Directional prefixes usually indicate that the agent of the action named by the verb moves away from or toward the place of the speech act in conjunction with the performance of the action so named. There are certain stems, however, which occur with such prefixes without motion by the agent of this kind being implied. Verbs based on these stems are classified as PSEUDODIRECTIONAL. The semantic content of pseudodirectional verbs usually involves a process which entails motion of one sort or another, but not motion in a certain direction in respect to the place of the speech act. The addition of a directional prefix to a stative verb root results in an active stem, and in the case of transitive roots, may reduce its transitivity by suppressing an agent, but not in all cases.

(101) *kǫ*^{M} *ci?*^{M}
long^S3 child
The child is tall.

(102) *zï*^{M}*-kǫ*^{M} *ci?*^{M}
go^P3-long^S3 child
The child is growing.

(103) *ka*^{M}*-hiog*^{L} *za*^{M} *hnia?*^{LH} *huï*^{LM} *ko*^{M}*tá*^{M}
PST-carry^C3 3 1p road Cuicatlán
They took us to Cuicatlán.

(104) *zï*^{L}*-hiog*^{LM} *zí*^{LM}
go^I3-carry heart^3
S/he/they will ponder (think about).

(105) *ka*^{M}*-bí*^{M} *za*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-?ma*^{M}
PST-shake^C3 3 CLS-wood
S/he shook the stick.

(106) *ka*^{M}*-i*^{H}*-bi*^{LH} *?uë*^{L}
PST-go^C3-shake ground
The earth quaked.

2.15. Verbs and noun gender. Every Chinantec noun is either animate or inanimate in gender. There is no overt gender inflection on the noun itself, but a verb is inflected to agree with the gender of its absolutive noun—the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. These features have already been addressed to some extent in the early sections of this chapter. Within the noun phrase (§4), moreover, all noun adjuncts—quantifier, modifier, possessor, and deictic—are inflected to agree with the head noun of the phrase.

While no single, phonologically discrete morpheme to mark animate inflection has been identified, the predominant phonological feature for marking verbs as animate is nasalization. It must be pointed out, however, that many verbs are already nasalized and, as such, may be marked for animate gender by other features. Also, some transitive animate verbs actually lose nasalization when inflected for certain person-number categories. A typical pair of TI and TA verbs, distinguished by nasalization (and vowel), are presented below. Note also that the allocational noun 'of' (§4.4) also agrees in gender with its noun head.

(107)

P	S	O	
ka^{M}-*tí*^{H}	*za*^{L}	*cï*^{H}*ʔné*^{LM}	*kióʔ*^{LM}
PST-leave^TIC3	3	house	of^3

He abandoned his house.

(108)

P	S	O	
ka^{M}*tę́*^{M}	*za*^{M}	*ʔio*^{LH}	*kią́*^{LM}*i*
PST-leave^TAC3	3	woman	of^3

He abandoned his wife.

2.16. Transitivity. A verb is defined as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, depending upon the number of nominal constituents to which it may relate directly in the clause. An intransitive verb occurs directly with one nominal constituent, a subject. It may be active or stative; and it is inanimate intransitive (II) if its subject is inanimate or it is animate intransitive (AI) if its subject is animate.

(109)

P	S	L	
cíʔ^{LM}	*cï*^{H}*-ʔné*^{LM}	*kau*^{LM}	*huï*^{LM}
stand^IIS3s	CLS-house	beside	trail

The house stands beside the trail.

(110) P S L
cę́ʔ^{LM} *zï*^{M}*-kua*^{H} *kau*^{LM} *huï*^{LM}
stand^AIS3s CLS-horse beside trail
The horse stands beside the trail.

A transitive verb may occur directly with an animate nominal as subject and a second nominal as object. The second nominal of a transitive inanimate verb (TI) is inanimate; the second nominal of a transitive animate verb (TA) is animate.

(111) P S O
kïgʔ^{M} *zï*^{M}*-hïʔ*^{LH} *nï*^{M}*-ʔí*^{LM}
eat^TIP3 CLS-dog CLS-tortilla
The dog eats tortillas.

(112) P S O
kį̈ʔ^{M} *zï*^{M}*-hïʔ*^{LH} *ʔi*^{H}*-nau*^{LH}
eat^TAP3 CLS-dog CLS-mouse
The dog eats mice.

There is a small set of ditransitive verbs which may occur with three noun phrases—an animate subject and two objects as patient and goal or instrument—but these are not common. Even with verbs which are inflected for three nouns, it is more often the case that a verb occurs with only one, or at most two. In order to bring several nouns into a narrative, it is good Chinantec style to pair sentences in such a way that two verbs share the load of relating to the two or three required nouns. Sentence (113) is syntactically correct, but the paired sentences of (114)–(116) are more commonly found.

(113) P S O O
ka^{M}*-kuéʔ*^{L} *za*^{M} *nïh-ʔí*^{LM} *zï*^{M}*-hïʔ*^{LH}
PST-give^DIC3 3 CLS-tortilla CLS-dog
S/he gave the tortilla to the dog.

(114) P S O; P O
ka^{M}*-kuë*^{L} *za*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-ʔí*^{LM}*;* *ka*^{M}*-kuéʔ*^{L} *zï*^{M}*-hïʔ*^{LH}
PST-give^TIC3 3 CLS-tortilla PST-give^DIC3 dog
S/he gave the tortilla to the dog.

(115) P S O; P S O
hme^{M}tag^{LM} të^{LM} si^{M}; hme^{M}tï^{LM} -i^{M} ci?^{M}
teach^TIP3 teacher paper teach^TAP3 3 child
The teacher instructs the child to read.

(116) O P S; P O
le^{M}në^{LM} ka^{M}-huá?^{M} za^{M}; ka^{M}-cág^{L} hnia?^{LH}
that PST-say^TIC3 3 PST-tell^TAC3 1p
That's what he told us.

Rupp (1989:23) has described a class of verbs in Lealao Chinantec which he calls TN (transitive animate nonexpressed object), which imply an animate object but dissallow that it be overtly expressed within the clause, thereby focusing upon reference to the animate third-person subject of the verb. Tepetotutla Chinantec has this same inflectional category, which is here also called TN for comparative purposes. TI, TA, and TN forms of the verb 'hit' are illustrated, respectively, in (117)–(119).

(117) P S O
ka^{M}-bá^{M} Fé^{H} ŋí^{H}
PST-hit^TIC3 Felix iron
Felix rang the bell.

(118) P S O
ka^{M}-bą́^{M} Fé^{H} zï^{M}-kua^{H}
PST-hit^TAC3 Felix CLS-horse
Felix hit the horse.

(119) P S O
ka^{M}-bóg^{M} Fé^{H} ∅
PST-hit^TNC3 Felix
Felix hit (someone).

In Lealao, the underlying semantic feature of a TN form is that an animate third-person object is always understood from context, and cannot be overtly expressed; whereas a third-person subject is always expressed and in focus. While the pairing of sentences (118) and (119) might tend to imply for Tepetotutla that both the subject and the missing object of (119) are always third persons, that is not so; the Teptetutla TN form may occur with second- or third-person subjects and may imply any animate object—first, second, or third person. In fact, the Tepetotutla TN form of a verb frequently occurs with an overt singular or plural

first-person pronoun as object. In this respect, Tepetotutla is more like its near neighbor Palantla Chinantec, which has what Merrifield (1968:48) referred to as TF and DF verb forms, verbs specifically inflected for first-person object but which can occur without an overt object to imply an object of any person (Merrifield personal communication).[9] Example (120) illustrates how first- and second-person objects can be understood just as well as third-person objects, with the same form. Examples (121)–(124) illustrate the same verb with overt objects of first, second, and third persons.

(120)

P	S	O
ʔiog^{LH}	*za*^{M}	*∅*
hate^TNP3	3	

They hate (me, us, you, him, her, them).

(121)

P	S	O
ʔiog^{LH}	*za*^{M}	*hniá*^{M}
hate^TNP3	3	1s

They hate me.

(122)

P	S	O
ʔiog^{LH}	*za*^{M}	*hniog*^{MH}
hate^TNP3	3	1i

They hate us.

(123)

P	S	O
ʔŋia^{LH}	*za*^{M}	*ʔne*^{M}
hate^TAP3	3	2s

They hate you.

(124)

P	S	O
ʔŋia^{LH}	*za*^{M}	*giʔ*^{LH}
hate^TAP3	3	old^man

They hate the old man.

A number of Chinantec verbs exhibit features of ECHO (Merrifield 1968:30f, Rupp 1989:23f, Anderson 1989:23f) which implies a redo of a previous action. This inflectional category is marked by adding to the

[9]Merrifield's 1968 reference to this inflectional category in Palantla Chinantec is very brief. A more thorough treatment of Palantla Chinantec morphology and syntax is in draft form and is projected to appear in this series in the near future.

underlying verb form such features as final glottal, vowel change, or ballistic stress. Tepetotutla has basically the same set of forms inflected for echo as its sister languages, a few of which are illustrated in (125).

(125) *hmo*^{LM} 'make' *hmó?*^{M} 'repair'
rąg^{LM} 'wash' *rį́?*^{M} 'rinse'
?me^{LM} 'sew' *?méi*^{LM} 'mend'

Directional verbs (§2.13) utilize this device to distinguish between 'going' just anywhere and 'going home', which is—in the nature of the case—the motion of an agent which follows a precedent.

(126) *nei*^{LH} 'I go' *né?*^{LM} 'I go home'
go?^{LH} 'you go' *guą́?*^{LM} 'you go home'
ŋó^{LM} 'he goes' *ŋá?*^{LM} 'he goes home'

The same sort of morphological features that mark echo appear, in a few verbs, to distinguish categories of transitivity as well. This matter is further discussed below (§3.2) in respect to paired clauses which enable individual verb forms to occur with fewer overt nominal constituents, but (127) and (128) illustrate transitive and ditransitive forms which differ by echo-like glottal and related tone and stress inflection.

(127) P S O
ka^{M}*-kuë*^{L} *za*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-?i*^{LM}
PST-give^TIC3 3 CLS-tortilla
S/he gave the tortilla.

(128) P S O O
ka^{M}*-kué?*^{L} *za*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-?i*^{LM} *zï*^{M}*-hï?*^{LH}
PST-give^DIC3 3 CLS-tortilla CLS-dog
S/he gave the dog the tortilla.

2.17. Changing transitivity. As seen in §2.12 and §2.14 above, use of stativizing and pseudodirectional prefixes sometimes reduces the degree of transitivity of a stem. Immediately above in (128), an example of echo inflection was given that distinguished a DI form from a corresponding TI form. Another prefix used in some examples above but not discussed under derivation, is the causative prefix *hme*^{M}-. This prefix adds an agent as subject, which usually entails an increase in transitivity, although it sometimes results in a semantically 'middle' form in which the subject is both agent and patient, without adding an additional nominal in cross-

reference to the verb. *hme*^{M}- (causative) may occur with either active or stative roots, but the latter become active stems in this context. This prefix looks like it may be etymologically related to the verb *hmo*^{LM} 'do, make'. Notice in (133), how *hme*^{M}- helps to form the verb 'kill' from the verb 'die'.

(129)

P	S	O
tï^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*si*^{M}
know^how^TIS3	3	paper

S/he knows how to read.

(130)

P	S	O
hmě^{M}-*tï*^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*si*^{M}
CAUS-know^how^TIP3	3	paper

S/he teaches reading.

(131)

P	S	O	O
hme^{M}-*tï*^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*ci?*^{M}	*si*^{M}
CAUS-know^how^DAP3	3	child	paper

S/he teaches the children to read.

(132)

P	S
zią́^{L}	*za*^{M}
die^AII3p	3

The people will die.

(133)

P	S	O
hme^{L}-*zią́*^{L}	*zia?*^{M}	*za*^{M}
CAUS-die^TAI3p	tiger	3

The tiger will kill people.

2.18. Plural number. Chinantec does not generally distinguish categories of number. Nouns are not inflected for number categories, nor any other inflectional categories for that matter, so that most sentences are completely ambiguous as to number unless quantifiers are present.

There are a few exceptions. First, it was noted in §2.2 that first singular and first plural are inflectionally distinguished in the verb. In §5, it is further noted that singular and plural are distinguished by separate pronouns in the first and second person, but not in the third person. Beyond this, there is a small number of verbs, especially what may be called VERBS OF POSITION, which occur in suppletive pairs, one member of the pair indicating that its subject (if intransitive) is singular, the other

that its subject is plural. For transitive verbs of this type, the number of the object is marked. Several such suppletive pairs are illustrated in (134)–(140).

(134) *ʔę^{LH} za^{M} zi^{M}néi^{M}* 'S/he is in the house.'
tiʔ^{L} za^{M} zi^{M}néi^{M} 'They are in the house.'

(135) *ka^{M}-hǫ^{L} za^{M}* 'S/he died.'
ka^{M}-zą^{L} za^{M} 'They died.'

(136) *rǫ^{LM} ha^{H}në^{LM}* 'It is lying there.'
niog^{LM} ha^{H}në^{LM} 'They are lying there.'

(137) *ka^{M}-táʔ si^{M} ʔuë^{L}* 'The book fell to the floor.'
ka^{M}-séiʔ^{M} si^{M} ʔuë^{L} 'The books fell to the floor.'

(138) *ciʔ^{LH} nï^{H}vaso ne^{MH} mesa* 'Put the glass on the table.'
tioʔ^{LH} nï^{H}vaso ne^{MH} mesa 'Put the glasses on the table.'

(139) *kauʔ^{LH} nï^{H}ʔí^{LM} ʔuë^{L}* 'Put the tortilla down.'
zia^{MH} nï^{H}ʔí^{LM} ʔuë^{L} 'Put the tortillas down.'

(140) *ka^{M}-zęʔ^{L} za^{M} háʔ^{M}* 'He let the animal out.'
ka^{M}-ʔuį́ʔ^{M} za^{M} háʔ^{M} 'He let the animals out.'

Finally, there is one additional verb prefix *ki^{M}-* (plural), not mentioned in §2.3, which indicates that an action is performed in multiple fashion, either repeatedly or by more than one agent. While this is not, in the strictest sense, a marker of plural nominal referents, it does often cover such cases. The repetitive idea may be intensified by treating the prefix phonologically as a stem and by repeating the past-tense prefix *ka^{M}-*.

(141) *ki^{M}-ka^{M}-ʔnauʔ^{M} za^{M} háʔ^{M}*
REP-PST-seek^TAC3 3 animal
S/he repeatedly hunted the animal.

(142) *ka^{M}-ki^{M} ka^{M}-bą́^{M} -i^{M} za^{M}*
PST-REP PST-hit^TAC3 3 3
S/he repeatedly hit him/her.

2.19. Doubled verbs. A small subset of Chinantec verbs are doubled, or bisyllabic, most likely derived from two stems. The following are typical.

(143) *ko^{M}gu$\acute{i}$?^{M}* 'mix' *ki^{M}?o^{LM}* 'grieve'
ki^{H}li?^{LH} 'look around' *të^{M}?o?^{M}* 'insult'
ba^{M}l$\acute{i}$?^{M} 'convulse' *të^{M}?ï^{LM}* 'babble'

2.20. Negative words. In addition to the negative verb prefix *ca^{L}-* (§2.3), Tepetotutla has a few other negative expressions that need to be mentioned.

The negative word *?ǫ^{L}* is used to negate nominals as well as verbs. It usually occurs paired with the verb *hua?^{LH}* 'say', or modal adverbs such as *gë^{MH}* (augmentation) and *gë?^{M}* (explication), and is often conjoined with a sentence negated by the negative prefix. Notice that *?ǫ^{L} hua?^{LH}* is singularly for nominals, so that to negate a verbal expression, the latter must be complementized by the relative word *?a^{M}-* (inanimate relative) or *?i^{M}-* (animate relative).

(144) *?ǫ^{L} hua?^{LH} zï^{M}-bę^{MH} ?i^{M}-há^{LM} në^{LM} ?ǫ^{L} gë^{MH} zï^{M}-bé?^{MH}*
NEG CLS-Alvino REL-come^P3s that nor AUG CLS-Beto.
It is not Alvin who is coming there, nor is it Bob.

(145) *ca^{L}-?e^{M} ka^{M}-huá?^{M} za^{M} ?ǫ^{L} gë?^{M} te^{H}?ma?^{MH}g ka^{M}-kuë^{L}*
NEG-what PST-say^3 3 NEG EXPL thanks PST-give^C3
S/he didn't say anything; not even, "Thank you."

(146) *?ǫ^{L} hua?^{LH} ?a^{M}- ?nio^{L} hniá^{M} hmo^{LH} ?éi?^{L}*
NEG REL want^P1s 1s make^11s rule
It's not that I want to be in charge.

(147) *ca^{L}-hmo^{LM} za^{M} ta^{H} huïg^{M} ?ǫ^{L} gë^{MH} hme^{M}?o^{LH}*
NEG-do^P3 3 work town NEG AUG help

ku^{MH} ?ǫ^{L} gë^{MH} kuë^{ML} má^{L} ?ǫ^{L} gë?^{M}
money NEG AUG give food NEG EXPL

o^{M}?i^{M} za^{M} zi^{M}néi^{M}
leave^P3s 3 inside
S/he does not do town work, nor contribute money, nor give food; she doesn't even leave the house.

One unusual use of the prefix *ca*^{L}- has been observed in the speech of one Tepetotutla speaker, not in everyday speech, but in narrating a traditional story. It was uttered as an independent phonological word *ca*^{L} 'no', as an emphatic response to a request or question. The normal response in such a situation would be *hą*^{L}*ʔǫ́*^{MH} 'no'.

[blank]

3
The Tepetotutla Chinantec Clause

The Tepetotutla Chinantec clause is presented here as consisting of primary and secondary constituents. The primary constituents include the predicate and those nominals which are inflectionally in cross-reference with it. Secondary constituents are adverbial and include manner, locative, associative, and vocative constituents. They are semantically adjunct to the predicate, but are not inflectionally in cross-reference with it. This chapter provides an overview of clause structure, dealing first with primary constituents and subsequently with adverbial constituents. The simple declarative form of the clause is primarily in view throughout this chapter, without reference to interrogatives, imperatives, or other special features such as topicalization.

3.1–2 Primary constituents

The nuclear element of a clause is its predicate (or predicator). It is prototypically a verb, although almost any syntactic form may so function, inflectionally cross-referencing at least one nominal constituent. The following two sections briefly discuss simple forms of predicates (§3.1) and the nominal constituents they cross-reference (§3.2).

3.1. The predicate. Tepetotutla Chinantec, like most Chinantec languages, is a vso language, where the predicator is normally the first constituent of a clause. A simple predicate can be an active verb, to predicate an action or process, a stative verb to predicate a description or state, or a noun or pronoun to predicate identification. Active verbs are the most frequently occurring predicators and can, indeed, be considered to be predicators in all their occurrences.

(148) P S O
hmo^{LM} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H}
do^P3 3 work
S/he is working.

(149) P S
tą́g^{M} *hmí*^{LM}
fall^P3 rain
It is raining.

Stative verbs may also be considered predicators in all their occurrences.

(150) P S
rë?^{M} *nï*^{H}*-tau*^{M} *në*^{LM}
green^S3 CLS-banana that
That banana is green (not ripe).

(151) P S
?uą^{M} *zï*^{M}*-kua*^{H}
weak^S3 CLS-horse
The horse is weak.

Nonverbal one-place predicates (occurring in cross-reference with just one nominal constituent, a subject) are not uncommon in Tepetotutla, often being set off as predicates by the affirmation modal adverb *bá*^{MH}. This use of *bá*^{MH} is discussed more fully in §10, but is illustrated below as forming predicates of a noun and a pronoun, respectively.

(152) P MODAL S
të^{LM} *bá*^{MH} *?i*^{M} *në*^{LM}
teacher AFF REL that
That (person) is a teacher.

(153) P MODAL S
hniá^{M} *bá*^{MH} *?éi*^{M}
1S AFF that
I am that (person).

3.2. Nominal constituents. As stated in §2.16, verb transitivity is here defined syntactically in terms of the number of nominal constituents which may occur in an inflectional relationship with the verb. A verb with one nominal is termed ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (AI) or INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (II),

a verb with two nominals is TRANSITIVE ANIMATE (TA) or TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI), and one with three nominals, though rare, is DITRANSITIVE ANIMATE (DA) or DITRANSITIVE INANIMATE (DI).

A nominal functioning as clause subject may be either animate or inanimate with an intransitive verb, but is normally animate with a transitive verb, since most transitive subjects are semantic agents and, therefore by definition, animate. The subject is virtually always overtly marked in Chinantec—if not by a noun phrase or pronoun, then by verb inflection. Pronouns may be in full or reduced form. With certain verbs, dropping of overt reference to subject is never allowed; in others, the subject may be absent (apart from verb inflection for person) when subject reference is clear from context.

(154) P S L
tiǫ́^{M} *gi?*^{LH} *ką?*^{LH} *?i*^{H}*zi*^{LM} *guá?*^{LM}
stand^S3p gentleman great^3p yard church
The (town) elders are standing in the churchyard.

(155) P S L
tiǫ́^{M} *za*^{M} *?i*^{H}*zi*^{LM} *guá?*^{LM}
stand^S3p 3 yard church
They are standing in the churchyard.

(156) P S L
tiǫ́^{M} *-i* *?i*^{H}*zi*^{LM} *guá?*^{LM}
stand^S3p 3 yard church
They are standing in the churchyard.

(157) P S O
kí?^{LM} *huą*^{LH} *ni*^{H}*-kuïg*^{H}
chop^TIP3 John CLS-firewood
John chops firewood.

(158) P S O
kí?^{LM} *za*^{M} *ni*^{H}*-kuïg*^{H}
chop^TIP3 3 CLS-firewood
He chops firewood.

(159) P S O
kí?^{LM} *∅* *ni*^{H}*-kuïg*^{H}
chop^TIP3 CLS-firewood
He chops firewood.

Two-place predicates may be active or stative verbs, with the object being either animate (TA) or inanimate (TI). Unless topicalized, the object normally follows the subject in VSO order. The following examples illustrate animate and inanimate objects with both active and stative predicators.

(160) P O
ka^{M}-hág^{L} *huą^{LH}* *nï^{H}-ʔma^{M}*
PST-see^TIC3 John CLS-tree
John looked at the tree.

(161) P S O
ka^{M}-hį́^{M} *huą^{LH}* *hmei^{M}*
PST-see^TAC3 John father^3
John looked at his father.

(162) P S O
ʔnio^{L} *huą^{LH}* *hmïg^{M}*
want^S3 John water
John wants water.

(163) P S O M
ʔnio^{L} *huą^{LH}* *ʔio^{LH}* *kią́^{LM}i*
want^S3 John woman of^3
John loves his wife.

A copular verb looks syntactically in every respect like any other transitive verb in having two nominal constituents, the difference being in role structure and coindexing.

(164) P S O
lį́^{LM} *pe^{MH}* *të^{LM}* *zę^{L}*
BE^S3 Peter teacher good
Peter is a good teacher.

Three-place predicates are rare in Chinantec, but a few ditransitive verbs are found. The verb 'do', for example, is transitive inanimate in (165), requiring the associative construction with *kiąʔ^{LH}* (§3.5) to name an instrument. In (166), however, it exhibits a different tone-stress paradigm

and adds glottal to the stem in the way characteristic of the inflectional category ECHO (§2.16). This inflection accomodates a third noun in the clause without recourse to the oblique associative construction and is, therefore, considered to be ditransitive.

(165) P S O ASSOC
hmo^{LM} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H} *kiąʔ*^{LH} *ŋi*^{H}*-tág*^{M}
do^TIP3 3 work with CLS-machete
They utilize a machete in their work.

(166) P S O O
hmóʔ^{LM} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H} *ŋi*^{H}*-tág*^{M}
do^DIP3 3 work CLS-machete
They utilize a machete in their work.

Only a few such ditransitive forms have been found to date since it is common for Chinantec to limit the number of overt nominals per clause, even when permitted by the inflectional form of a verb. The classification of ditransitive inanimate (DI) and ditransitive animate (DA), therefore, remains tentative. Both (167) and (168), for example, are probably best considered ditransitive animate because the second object is animate. The animacy of the first object is very possibly accounted for by the lexical value of the verb root.

(167) P S O O
tę́^{M} *hme*^{M}*za*^{M} *gu*^{M} *za*^{M} *zoʔ*^{LH}
touch^DA13 priest hand^3 3 sick
The priest will lay his hand on the sick person.

(168) P S O O
kuï^{LM} *-i* *diú*^{MH} *ʔne*^{M}
give^DAP3 3 God 2s
S/he greets you (gives you God).

Some verbs have been observed in Tepetotutla which optionally add a third noun, omitting the subordinating element while maintaining the same tonal paradigm. In (169), the associative construction references an instrument which, in (170), is encoded directly as a primary nominal constituent in cross-reference with the verb.

(169) P S O ASSOC
ka^{M}-bóg^{M} *za^{M} ŋe?^{M}* *∅* *kią?^{LH} nï^{H}-?mo^{M}* *ta^{LM}*
PST-beat^TNC3 3 male with CLS-wood cane
The man beat (someone) with a cane rod.

(170) P S O O
ka^{M}-bóg^{M} *za^{M}* *∅* *nï^{H}-?mo^{M}* *ta^{LM}*
PST-beat^DNC3 3 CLS-wood cane
S/he/they beat (someone) with a cane rod.[10]

Certain expressions (often with the verb 'do') use ditransitive form to express an essential two-term proposition, as in (171) and (172). In this case, the verbal paradigm would appear to be that of the TI form of the verb, but it may be that TI is homophonous with DA for 'do', which is the form one would expect when one of the two objects is animate as in these examples.

(171) P S O O
hmo^{LM} *?io^{LH}* *?i^{H}* *gẹi^{M}*
do^TIP3 woman care baby
The woman is taking care of the baby.

(172) P S O O
hmo^{LM} za^{M} mí^{LM} *?i^{H}-giǫg?^{M}*
do^TIP3 3 medicine CLS-old^lady
S/he is treating the old woman.

None of the Chinantec languages appear to be comfortable with three nominals in a single clause as a frequent phenomenon. If it is important to identify more than one nominal with any amount of attention, Chinantec prefers to use pairs of sentences for this purpose. Such sentences are described in §3.12.

[10]This verb form may represent an example of maxing out on inflection, in the sense of piling inflectional pattern upon inflectional pattern until the form can bear no more. The verb in (169) and (170) is basically transitive inanimate at its root. To this underlying TI form, animate inflection can be added and, in these examples, nonexpression of the animate object (TN) is piled on top of that. To try then to add additional inflection to mark a second object (DN) is possibly more than can be expected. The inflectional patterns are, of course, not yet well understood due to their complexity, so that this line of reasoning is only speculative. If Chinantec inflectional patterning is ever to be understood, however, it is likely that they will have to be peeled off in layers of this sort.

As the discussion above has shown, a nominal may be a noun phrase, a personal name, or a pronoun. It is also the case that an entire predication—a clause or sentence—may occupy a nominal position with a small subset of verbs. Since Chinantec has no nonfinite verb forms, all such clauses are finite and fully independent in their form. The inanimate relative word *ʔa*^{M} may in some contexts serve as complementizer.

(173)

P	S	O	O		
ka^{M}-*tság*^{L}	*za*^{M}	*hnia?*^{LH}	*ʔa*^{M}	*tsa*^{L}-*ma*^{L}-*cia*^{M}	*hmïg*^{M}
PST-tell^C3	3	1x	REL	NEG-TRM-BE^IIS	water

S/he told us there was no more water.

(174)

P	S	O				
tsa^{L}-*ŋi*^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*ʔa*^{M}	*o*^{L}-*tǫ?*^{LH}	*ʔéi*^{M}	*ha*^{H}-	*lá*^{L}
NEG-know^TIS3	3	REL	come^I3-enter^3p	that	where	this

S/he does not know that they will come in here.

(175)

P	O		
hme^{H}-*ʔnio*^{L}	*la*^{LH}	*hniá*^{M}	*ni*^{H}*zïg*^{H}
IMPF-want^S1s	buy^I1s	1s	jug

I would like to buy a jug.

3.3–6 Secondary constituents

Adverbial constituents tend to follow the predicate and any nominal constituents which may be present, unless topicalized. They are discussed and illustrated one-by-one in the sections which follow.

3.3. The manner constituent. The manner adverb *lia?*^{M} 'like' introduces a clause or can be affixed in its shortened form *le*^{M}- to one of the deictic words *la*^{M}, *në*^{LM}, *hąu*^{M}, *ʔéi*^{M}, or *ó*^{L} to form the phrases 'like this' and 'like that'. It is often topicalized to a position left of the predicate, as in (179).

(176)

P	S	Ma		
ka^{M}-*hǫ́?*^{L}	*há?*^{M}	*lia?*^{M}	*ʔi*^{MH}	*hui*^{LM}
PST-come^home^C3s	animal	like	lie^P3	trail

The animal returned home by way of the trail.

(177) P S O Ma
hmo^{LM} *zï*^{M}*-ʔiaʔ*^{M} *dại*^{LH} *le*^{M}*-hạu*^{M}
do^P3 CLS-tiger damage like-that
The tiger does damage like that.

(178) Ma P S O
le^{M}*-hạu*^{M} *hmo*^{LM} *zï*^{M}*-ʔiaʔ*^{M} *dại*^{LH}
like-that do^P3 CLS-tiger damage
That is how the tiger does damage.

The manner constituent may be a word (as above), a phrase, or a clause, oftened introduced by one of the adverbs. Adverbs of intensity may themselves form phrases, one adverb modifying another. Consider the partial inventory of *ʔŋio*^{LM} 'much', *lį̈*^{L} 'very', *ʔŋio*^{LM} *lį̈*^{L} 'very much', and its look-alike *ŋ́*^{MH} *lë*^{L} 'so much', *hmáʔ*^{L} 'only' (always preposed), *hmáʔ*^{LM} 'extremely', and 'purely' (always postposed), in (179)–(181).

(179) P Ma
léi^{MH} *ʔŋio*^{LM}
evident very
It is very obvious.

(180) Ma P S T
ʔŋio^{LM} *lį̈*^{L} *ka*^{M}*-zạ*^{L} *za*^{M} *hmïg*^{MH} *hạu*^{M}
very much PST-die^C3p 3 day that
Very much did people die in those days.
(Many people died in those days).

(181) Ma P S
ʔa^{M} *ŋ́*^{MH} *lë*^{L} *ʔnióʔ*^{LM} *mí*^{LM} *kióʔ*^{LM} *ciʔ*^{M}
REL so much need-IIS3 medicine of^3 child
Medicine is very badly needed for the child.

3.4. Locative constituents. The locative constituent locates an event in time, space, or in the abstract.[11] It normally follows any nominal constituent present in the clause and may consist of a locative adverb, as in (182), a locative noun phrase (§4.6), as in (183) and (184), a prepositional noun phrase (§4.7), as in (185), a clause introduced by a locative preposition (§9), as in (186)–(188). A deictic word (§4.5) may substitute for a clause in a locative prepositional phrase, as in (189) and (190). It is

[11]Time locatives are marked T in illustrations; space and logical locatives are marked L.

not uncommon for primary or secondary constituents to occur in apposition. This is true of locatives, as illustrated in (191), where two prepositional phrases are apposed, the second subordinated clause also being apposed to a following deictic word. If spatial and temporal locatives occur together in the same clause, the spatial locative tends to precede the temporal locative, as in (183).

(182) P S T
zó^{L} *za*^{M} *ʔióg*^{L}
go^I3 3 tomorrow
S/he is going tomorrow.

(183) P S L T
zó^{L} *za*^{M} *huï*^{LM} *hęʔ*^{L} *ʔióg*^{L}
go^I3 3 road Usila tomorrow
S/he is going to Usila tomorrow.

(184) P S T
ca^{L}*-hme*^{H}*-cia*^{M} *tí*^{LM} *hmïg*^{MH} *hąu*^{M}
NEG-IMPF-exist^S3 rifle day that
There were no rifles in those days.

(185) P S L
rǫ^{LM} *si*^{M} *ne*^{MH} *mesa*
lie^S3s book face^3 table
The book is on the table.

(186) P S L
ka^{M}*-i*^{L}*lę́*^{M} *za*^{M} *ha*^{H}*-* *tiǫ́*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-ʔma*^{M} *kï*^{M}
PST-go^C3p 3 at stand^S3p CLS-wood pine
They went to (the place) where the pine trees stand.

(187) S P T
ca^{L}*-ʔęi*^{M} *cią*^{M} *hme*^{H}*-* *ka*^{M}*-gua*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH}
NEG-who? BE^IIS when PST-arrive^C3s woman
There was no one there when the woman arrived.

(188) P S T
kuḗ^{H} *hniog*^{MH} *hë*^{H}*-* *ma*^{M}*-o*^{M}*lę*^{L} *-i*^{L}
give^IIp 1i when PRF-come^P3p 3
We will give (it to them) when they get here.

(189) P L
né^{M} *ha*^{H}- *në*^{LM}
sit^! at that
Sit there!

(190) P S L
ca^{L}-*ma*^{L}-*guá*^{LM} *gi?*^{LH} *ha*^{H}- *hąu*^{M}
NEG-TRM-sit^S1s old^man at that
The old man no longer lives there.

(191) P S L L
ka^{M}-*hǫ*^{L} *gi?*^{LH} *[ha*^{H}- *hme*^{H}-*guá*^{MH} *][ha*^{H}- *[ka*^{M}-*rë*^{L}-*zo?*^{LH}*][khąu*^{M}*]*
PST-die old^man at IMPF-sit^S3s at PST-ACT-sick that
The old man died there where he used to live, where he got sick.

3.5. The associative constituent. The associative constituent is a transitive clause with the verb *kią?*^{LH} 'with' as predicate. This verb is illustrated in (192) as the simple predicator of an independent transitive clause.

(192) P S O L
kią?^{LH} *?io*^{LH} *za*^{M} *ŋe?*^{M} *kią́*^{LM} *-i* *ha*^{H}- *nau*^{M}
with^P3 woman 3 male of^3 3 at field
The woman is with her husband in the field.

The associative constituent may mark association, instrument, or coordination. When marking association, one or two overt nominals may be cross-referenced by *kią?*^{LH}, as in (193) and (194).

(193) P S L ASSOC[P S O]
ŋó^{LM} *zï*^{M}*be?*^{LH} *?i*^{H}*kuį?*^{M} *kią?*^{LH} *-i* *té*^{H}
go^P3 Alberto Oaxaca with^S3 3 Esteban
Alberto is going to Oaxaca with Esteban.

(194) P S ASSOC[P S O] L
nei^{LH} *hniá*^{M} *kią?*^{LH} *-g* *?ne*^{M} *ha*^{H}- *nau*^{M}
go^I1s 1s with 1s 2S at field
I will go with you to the field.

In (194), the main verb 'go' clearly cross-references only the first person while the verb 'with' cross-references the second person. The hortative

main verb of (195) shows, however, that it can cross-reference both first and second person, while 'with' occurs only with the first-person pronoun.

(195)

P	ASSOC		L	
ma^{L}-zau^{LH}	*kią?^{LH}*	*hniá^{M}*	*ha^{H}-*	*nau^{M}*
HORT-^go^1lp	with	1s	at	field

Let's you and I go to the field!

With a single nominal, the associate verb may function to introduce an instrument (normally inanimate) or may serve to conjoin inanimate nominals.

(196)

P	S	O	ASSOC	
gei^{M}	*za^{M}*	*ti^{H}gua?^{LH}*	*kią?^{LH}*	*ŋí^{H}*
dig^P3	3	dirt	with	tool

He digs the dirt with a shovel.

(197)

P	S	O	ASSOC	
gé?^{LM}	*ci?^{M}*	*?i^{H}ŋí?^{MH}*	*kią?^{LH}*	*mï^{M}hnei^{M}*
eat^P3	child	bread	with	beans

The child eats bread and beans

3.6. The vocative constituent. A name or other vocative word can occur as the first or the last element of a clause.

(198)

L	P	S	Voc
?a^{M}há?^{MH}	*go^{LH}?*	*-g*	*David*
where?	go^P2	2	David

Where are you going, David?

(199)

Voc	L	P	S
David	*?a^{M}há?^{MH}*	*go^{LH}?*	*-g*
David	where?	go^P2	2

David, where are you going?

(200)

P	O	Voc
hme^{H}?o^{MH}	*hniá^{M}*	*tia^{LH}*
help^!	1s	Dad

Help me, Dad!

(201) Voc P S O
mag^{LH}, ca^{VH}-kuë^{M} -ʔ kạu^{M} ʔi^{LM}
Mom, ʔ^NEG-give^P2 2 one tortilla
Mom, may I please have a tortilla?

(202) ʔ P S Voc
ʔe^{M} hmo^{M}ʔ ʔne^{M} hǫ́^{L}
what? do^P2 2s my^child
What are you doing, my child?

3.7–13 Intersentential relations

Two clauses in sequence may be related to one another in any of several logical ways. They may name activities that take place in temporal sequence, one after the other. Or one of the clauses may name a state or activity which is an outcome of the activity named by the other clause. Or one of the clauses may name the condition under which a state or activity named by the other clause is true. In most cases, one or both of the clauses may be marked by a preposed word or phrase. In the following sections, a few illustrations are presented to show how Chinantec encodes relationships of purpose, result, cause, condition, and temporal sequence between sentences.

3.7. Purpose. The conjunction *ʔia^{H}hạu^{M}* 'in order that' introduces a purpose clause. It consists of the preposition *ʔia^{H}* 'because' and the deictic word *hạu^{M}* 'that'.

(203) GROUND PURPOSE
ŋ̀ê^{L} ʔnia ʔ^{M} ʔi^{M}në^{LM} tiá^{M} ʔia^{H}hạu^{M} ca^{L}-ma^{L}-liǫ́^{L}i tą́g^{L}
tie^! 2p 3 tight so^that NEG-TRM-escape^3 again
Tie them up tightly so they won't get away again.

(204) GROUND PURPOSE
hmo^{LM} za^{M} ʔê^{H} kuïg^{M} ʔia^{H}hạu^{M} ca^{L}-kǐg ʔ^{L} zï ʔ^{LH}
do^P3 3 care corn so^that NEG-bite^I3 parakeet
The men were guarding the corn so that the parakeets won't eat it.

(205) GROUND PURPOSE
la^{M} *huáʔ*^{MH} *hniá*^{M} *kąu*^{M} *kuẹto* *ʔia*^{H}*hąu*^{M} *le*^{L}*ŋi*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔniaʔ*^{M}
this say^I1s 1s one story so^that know^I2 2p

ʔe^{M} *ka*^{M}*-lë*^{L}
what PST-BE^C3
Now I will tell you a story so that you will know what happened.

3.8. Result. The conjuntion *hąu*^{M} *lë*^{L} 'for that reason' or 'that's why' introduces a result clause. It consists of the deictic word *hąu*^{M} 'that' and the verb *lë*^{L} (BE) and, in form, parallels the interrogative adverb of purpose *ʔe*^{M} *lë*^{L} 'why? (for what reason)' (§8.7).

(206) RESULT P S
ʔe^{M} *lë*^{L} *ʔo*^{LM} *gẹi*^{M}
what? BE^I3 cry^P3 baby
Why (to what end) is the baby crying?

(207) RESULT P S
hąu^{M} *lë*^{L} *ʔo*^{LM} *gẹi*^{M}
that BE^I3 cry^P3 baby
That's why the baby is crying.

(208) GROUND
ŋí^{LM} *náu*^{L} *bá*^{MH} *në*^{M}*-kagʔ*^{M} *huáʔ*^{M} *za*^{M}
pig wild AFF HOD-bite^C3 say^P3 3
A wild pig just bit him, they say.

RESULT
hąu^{M} *lë*^{L} *ka*^{M}*-rël-cia*^{L} *hág*^{H} *ʔa*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-hẹʔ*^{L} *giʔ*^{LH}
that reason PST-ACT-exist^C3 word REL PST-befall old^man
That's why news spread of what had happened to the old man.

(209) GROUND RESULT
ka^{M}*-hmo*^{L} *za*^{M} *ʔéiʔ*^{M} *ʔa*^{M} *ca*^{L}*-zi*^{M}*tẹ*^{LH} *hąu*^{M} *lë*^{L} *ka*^{M}*-zia*^{H}
PST-do^C3 3 order REL NEG-proper that reason PST-place^C1p

hniaʔ^{LH} *tiá*^{M} *zï*^{LM} *ʔa*^{M} *ca*^{L}*-ma*^{L}*-ʔẹi*^{M} *zó*^{L}
1x strong heart^1p REL NEG-TRM-who? go^I3s
They issued an order that was not fair. And so we took a firm stand that no one would go.

3.9. Cause. The inalienable noun *ʔuïg*^{LH} 'foundation, base', as in *ʔuïg*^{LH} *máʔ*^{M} 'foot of the mountain', is used metaphorically to introduce a causative clause.

(210) CAUSE
ʔuïg^{LH} *ʔia*^{H} *ʔa*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-hŋïʔ*^{L} *-i* *giʔ*^{LH} *rį̈ʔ*^{LH} *-i*
CAUS because REL PST-kill^C3 3 old^man brother^3 3

RESULT
ka^{M}*-ʔnáuʔ*^{M} *zíʔ*^{LM} *ʔa*^{M} *liaʔ*^{M} *hmo*^{L}
PST-seek^C3 heart^3 which like do^I3
Because they killed his brother, he thought seriously about what to do.

(211) CAUSE RESULT
ʔuïg^{LH} *hą̈u*^{M} *huį̈*^{LM} *bá*^{MH} *za*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-i*^{L}*lę́*^{M} *-i* *ha*^{H}*-* *siáʔ*^{M}
CAUS that many AFF 3 PST-go^C3p 3 at other
Because of that many people moved away.

A conditional clause (§3.10) can also function as a causal clause, as in (212).

(212) RESULT
hŋiaʔ^{LH} *ʔa*^{M} *kíʲ*^{L} *ku*^{MH} *bá*^{MH}
merely REL pay^I3 money AFF

CAUSE
në^{H}*huaʔ*^{M} *huáʔ*^{M} *uïg*^{LM} *ʔį̈*^{LM} *-i* *za*^{M} *ʔéi*^{M}
if say^P3 pain mention 3 3 that
People would only (have to) pay fines if they were to speak hurtfully of that man.

Cause of another type, identifying an agent, is expressed by the verb *hmo*^{LM} 'do, make', in a second of two clauses in sequence.

(213) RESULT CAUSE
ka^{M}*-ʔę́*^{M} *tiʲ*^{H}*hmíg*^{L} *kióʔ*^{LM} *za*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-hmo*^{L} *zï*^{M}*ʔŋio*^{M}*na*
PST-disappear liquor of^3 3 PST-do^C3 elf
The man's liquor disappeared. The elf did it.
The elf caused the man's liquor to disappear.

(214) RESULT
huį̈^{LM} l̈ą̈^{L} za^{M} ka^{M}-zą^{L} kią?^{LH} zo^{MH} hąu^{M}
many very 3 PST-die^C3p with sickness that

CAUSE
ka^{M}-hmo^{L} za^{M} ?l̈ą̈?^{LH}
PST-do^C3 3 evil
Many people died of that sickness; the evil ones (witches) did it.

3.10. Condition. Chinantec has two conditional subordinators, *ci^{M}hua?^{M}* and *në^{H}hua?^{M}*, both translatable as 'if' and occurring interchangeably in most contexts.[12]

(215) APODOSIS PROTASIS
zó^{L} bá^{MH} za^{M} ci^{M}hua?^{M} go^{LH}g?
go^I3 AFF 3 COND go^I2
S/he will go if you will.

(216) APODOSIS PROTASIS
zó^{L} bá^{MH} za^{M} në^{H}hua?^{M} go^{LH}g?
go^I3 AFF 3 COND go^I2
S/he will go if you will.

There is a strong tendency for the apodosis of a condition to precede the protasis as all the examples presented in this section show.

Conditionals occur with a variety of tense-aspects. Real conditions are common with intentive verbs in both apodosis and protasis, as in (215) and (216), but also occur with statives or imperatives in the apodosis or with completives in both apodosis and protasis, as in (217)–(221).

(217) APODOSIS PROTASIS
ze^{L} bá^{MH} ci^{M}hua?^{M} ?i^{M}kuį̈?^{M} zau^{LH} hnia?^{LH}
good^S3 AFF COND Oaxaca go^I1p IX
It is OK if it is to Oaxaca we are going.

[12]These forms are clearly complex and may be derived from the verb *huá?^{M}* 'say' preceded, respectively, by forms of the verb *cia^{M}* 'be' and either the temporal adverb *në^{L}* 'now' or, possibly the distal deictic *në^{LM}* 'that'.

(218) APODOSIS PROTASIS
ca^{L}-ze^{L} lé^{M} ci^{M}hua?^{M} ka^{M}-hę?^{M} -i rį̈?^{LH} -i zi^{M} hui^{LM}
NEG-good^S3 BE^I3 COND PST-meet^C3 3 peer 3 in road
It would not be good if they were to meet their fellows along the way.

(219) APODOSIS PROTASIS
hmo^{MH} ?i^{H} në^{H}hua?^{M} ka^{M}-tąg^{M} hmí^{LM}
make^! care IRR PST-fall^C3 rain
Be prepared in case it should rain.

(220) APODOSIS PROTASIS
ka^{M}-hme^{L}-ré^{L} hág^{H} ?a^{M} lia?^{M} lé^{M} në^{H}hua?^{M}
PST-CAUS-straight^C3 word REL like be^I3 IRR

ka^{M}-ho^{L} za^{M}
PST-catch^C3 3
They discussed what would happen if someone should catch them.

(221) APODOSIS PROTASIS
huá?^{MH} hniá^{M} kąu^{M} hág^{H} në^{H}hua?^{M} ?niog?^{M} ?nia?^{M} le^{L}ŋi^{LH}?
say^I1s 1s one word COND want^S3 2p know^I2
I'll tell you something, if you want to know.

The contrary-to-fact conditional *hua?^{LH}* 'if it were' or 'if only (wish)' is phonologically related to the other two conditional words. Simple contrary-to-fact conditions are shown in (222) and (223). A more complex example (224) employs two particles *mei?^{M} gë^{L}* that are difficult to translate in context. The word *mei?^{M}* means 'scarcely' in other contexts, but *gë^{L}* is used only in this string and is termed here a modal, being similar to the modal *gë?^{M}* (explication).

(222) APODOSIS PROTASIS
ka^{M}-hǫ^{L} hniá^{M} hua?^{LH} ca^{L}-?ne^{M} guą^{L}? *-g*
PST-die^C1s 1s CF NEG-2s arrive^C2s 2
I would have died if you had not come.

(223) PROTASIS
hua?^{LH} ca^{L}-ŋe^{LH}? *-g* *ha^{H}-* *nau^{M}*
CF NEG-go^C2s 2 at field
If only you had not gone to the field!

(224) APODOSIS PROTASIS

ca^{L}-hme^{H}-hę^{LH}?	*-g*	*uïg^{LM}*	*hua?^{LH}*	*mei?^{M}*	*gë^{L}*	*ca^{L}-ŋe^{LH}?*	*-g*
NEG-IMPF-get^I2	2	pain	if	small	more	NEG-go^C2s	2

ha^{H}- *nau^{M}*
at field
You wouldn't have gotten hurt if you hadn't gone to the field.

3.11. Temporal sequence. The two proclitic, temporal subordinators *hme^{H}-* 'when (completive)' and *hë^{H}-* 'when (intentive)' (§§3.4, 3.9) may place two events or situations in temporal relation to one another by subordinating one clause as temporal constituent of another clause, as in (225) and (226).

(225)

S	P	T		
ca^{L}-?ęi^{M}	*cią^{M}*	*hme^{H}-*	*ka^{M}-gua^{L}*	*?io^{LH}*
NEG-who?	BE^IIS	when	PST-arrive^C3s	woman

There was no one there when the woman arrived.

(226)

P	S	T		
kuế^{H}	*hniog^{MH}*	*hë^{H}-*	*ma^{M}-o^{M}lę^{L}*	*-i^{L}*
give^I1p	1i	when	PRF-come^P3p	3

We will give (it to them) when they get here.

3.12. Paired sentences. The number of Chinantec verbs that can occur with three nominals is limited to a handful. The prevailing pattern for handling a third nominal is the pairing of two sentences—one or two nominals occurring in the first sentence and the third occurring in the second sentence. The same pattern is common even for just two nominals—the verb of the first sentence cross-referencing the subject and the verb of the second sentence cross-referencing the object.

In the following illustrations of paired sentences, differing inflectional forms of the same verb cross-reference different nominals, even when there are only two. The first sentence has a nonexpressed animate object (TN verb); the second expresses the object (TA). The subject may be repeated in pronominal form in the second sentence but is more focused in the first sentence as a noun or noun phrase.

(227)

P	S;	P	O
ka^{M}-të^{L}	*ci?^{M}*	*ka^{M}-tế?^{L}*	*ciog^{LH}*
PST-call^TNC3	child	PST-call^TAC3	mother

The child called his/her mother.

(228) P S; P S O
hág^{M} *pa^{MH}* *hį́^{M}* *-i* *pe^{MH}*
see^TNP3 Paul see^TAP3 3 Peter
Paul sees Peter.

(229) P S; P S O
ka^{M}-hŋ̈i?^{L} *to^{M}má^{MH}* *ka^{M}-hŋ́i?^{L}* *-i* *si^{H}lia^{H}*
PST-kill^TNC3 Tom PST-kill^TAC3 3 Lazarus
Tom killed Lazarus.

When there are three nominals, the third is usually introduced in the second sentence. In this context, the verb of the first sentence may be transitive inanimate and the verb of the second sentence ditransitive animate with a nonexpressed inanimate object (DN).[13]

(230) P S O; P O
ka^{M}-kuë^{L} *fé^{H}* *si^{M}* *ka^{M}-kué?^{L}* *zï^{M}-tą^{LH}*
PST-give^TIC3 Felix paper PST-give^DC3 CLS-authority
Felix gave the document to the official.

(231) P S O; P O
ka^{M}-kuë^{L} *?io^{LH}* *ku^{MH}nióg^{MH}* *ka^{M}-kué?^{L}* *ha^{H}mí̱g^{MH}*
PST-give^TIC3 woman gold PST-give^DNC3 daughter^3
The woman gave the gold to her daughter.

(232) P S O; P O
ka^{M}-?ë^{L} *ci?^{M}* *si^{M}* *ka^{M}-?é?^{L}* *ciog^{LH}*
PST-show^TIC3 child paper PST-show^DNC3 mother
The child showed the paper to his mother.

(233) P S O; P S O
ka^{M}-hme^{L}tag^{LM} *të^{LM}* *si^{M}* *ka^{M}-hme^{L}tį̈^{M}* *-i^{L}* *ci?^{M}*
PST-teach^TIP3 teacher paper PST-teach^DNP3 3 child
The teacher taught the children to read.

[13]The fact that the nonexpressed nominal is inanimate reveals another place where further research of ditransitives is needed. Note that there are verbal paradigms for this verb, however, such as the DA form *kuį̈^{LM}* 'give^DAP3' of (168) where both objects are animate and expressed and the corresponding TA form, which in progressive third person, at least, is also *kuį̈^{LM}*.

Paired sentences are also used with different verbs in the two sentences, often with a verb of motion as the first.

(234) P S O; P O
ka^{M}*-o*^{L}*-kạ*^{LM} *ciog*^{LH} *má*^{L} *ka*^{M}*-kuế?*^{L} *?i*^{H}*ca*^{H}
PST-come^C3-bring^TI mother food PST-give·DNC3 Carmen
Her mother came bringing food and gave it to Carmen.

3.13. Comparison. A clause introduced by *lia?*^{M} 'like' with preposed *huï*^{H}- (irrealis) or postposed *kọ?*^{M} 'as' names a standard of comparison by which to judge the activity or state named by a matrix clause.

(235) P S O MA
ka^{M}*-hmo*^{L} *ci?*^{M} *ka*^{M}*le*^{L}*hế*^{L} *huï*^{H}*lia?*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-huá?*^{M} *cog*^{LH}
PST-do^C3 child all like PST-say mother^3
The child did everything as his mother said.

(236) S P O MA
ca^{L}*-?ẹi*^{M} *lé*^{M} *le*^{L}*hmo*^{L} *?éi?*^{M} *huï*^{H}*lia?*^{M} *hmo*^{LM} *?éi*^{M}
NEG-who? possible make^I3 rule like make·P3 that
No one can take charge like s/he does.

(237) P S MA
ca^{L}*-ka*^{M}*-hme*^{L}*ti*^{L} *za*^{M} *lia?*^{M}*kọ?*^{M} *lế*^{LM} *huá?*^{M} *si*^{M} *rọ*^{LM}
NEG-PST-fulfil^C3 3 like^as BE say paper BE
They did not conform to the way the existing document says.

[blank]

4

The Tepetotutla Chinantec Noun Phrase

The Tepetotutla noun phrase may consist of from one to five constituents—quantifier, noun head, descriptive modifier, possessor, and deictic, in that order. Each of these constituents is described in the following sections, beginning with the noun head and then proceeding from left to right with the quantifier and other adjuncts to the noun, with the exception that the descriptive modifier is only touched upon briefly in this chapter, a more thorough discussion being presented in §6. The final three sections of this chapter discuss and illustrate three subcategories of nouns—locative, prepositional, and vocative.

4.1. The noun head. The Tepetotutla Chinantec noun head normally consists of a simple, one-syllable lexeme, without morphological structure. Plural number may be expressed in the verb (§2.18), but not in the noun itself. Typical, one-syllable nouns are illustrated in (238).

(238)	*ta*^{H}	'work'	*si*^{M}	'fire, paper'
	kuá^{L}	'river'	*má?*^{M}	'squash, mountain'
	kua?^{LH}	'bowl'	*kuïg*^{M}	'maize'
	mog?^{LH}	'leaf'	*ziog*^{LM}	'pool'

The discussion of verb inflection in §2.15 indicated that most verbs are inflected for the gender of the absolutive[14] noun—the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb. A noun has no overt inflectional marking of any kind but belongs intrinsically to one gender class or the other. Animate nouns include those that name categories of

[14]The term ABSOLUTIVE is used here in the typological sense since, as stated, Chinantec nouns are never overtly inflected for any grammatical category.

people, animals, and a small subset of astronomical objects, such as sun, moon, stars, thunder, and rainbow, which accords with a traditional Chinantec view of origins as attested to in oral literature. The word meaning 'moon, month' has been observed with verbs having either animate or inanimate verb inflection, but this is exceptional. Since gender assignment is generally quite strict, this fluctuation may represent ongoing changes in worldview. A noun phrase in a nominal clause position, then, can be just a simple noun head, the absolutive noun agreeing with the gender inflection of clause predicator.

(239)

P	S
zï^{M}kǫ^{M}	*kuïg^{M}*
grow^IIP3	maize

The maize is growing.

(240)

P	S	O
ka^{M}-zḯʔ^{M}	*si^{M}*	*kuïg^{M}*
PST-burn^TIC3	fire	maize

The fire burned the maize.

Although the majority of noun roots are morphemically simple, many occur with one or another element preposed, in one of two different patterns. First, some nouns occur with a preposed CLASSIFIER, which results in a two-syllable noun. Chinantec languages vary in the frequency with which they utilize such classifiers to form two-syllable nouns. Tepetotutla probably uses them more than most Chinantec languages, with the exception of nearby Usila Chinantec (Skinner 1962).

The forms which function as classifiers are themselves often derived from noun roots, perhaps based on some physical characteristic of the referent named, such as shape. Thus, the word *mí́g^{M}* 'ball', in a phonologically-reduced form, may be preposed as a classifier to a noun which names a round object.

(241) *mí́g^{M}* 'ball' + *tí^{LM}* 'rifle' → *mï^{M}tí^{LM}* 'bullet'
za^{M} 'person' + *máʔ^{M}* 'mountain' → *zï^{M}máʔ^{M}* 'highlands native'

The morphological origin of most of the classifiers is usually clear, but not always. A few examples are presented in (240) to show classifiers and some of their possible derivational sources.

(242)

Classifiers		Source nouns	
mïᴹ-	(spherical)	*mǐgᴹ*	'fruit'
nïᴴ-	(hard, rod-shaped)	*ʔnïᴹ*	'corncob'
zïᴹ-	(male)	*zaᴹ*	'person'
ʔiᴴ-	(female)	*ʔioᴸᴴ*	'woman'
tiᴴ-	(substance)	(unknown)	
cïᴴ-	(structure)	(unknown)	
rëᴹ-	(certain body parts)	(unknown)	
ciᴴ-	(certain body parts)	(unknown)	
zïᴹ-	(certain body parts)	(unknown)	

Nouns formed with some of these classifiers are illustrated below. They do not always name objects that exhibit the exact physical characteristics associated with their classifiers; the correspondences are only partial.

(243) **Spherical:**

mïᴹráuᴹ	'orange'	*ráuᴹ*	'sweet'
mïᴹtíᴸᴹ	'bullet'	*tíᴸᴹ*	'rifle'
mïᴹkaᴹfeᴸᴴ	'coffee bean'	*kaᴹfeᴸᴴ*	'coffee'
mïᴹzíᴸᴹ	'heart (organ)'	*zíᴸᴹ*	'upper body cavity'

(244) **Hard, rod-shaped:**

niᴴkǫgᴹ	'rock, stone'	*niᴴuïgᴸᴹ*	'plate, dish'
niᴴtauᴹ	'banana'	*niᴴgɛʔᴹ*	'cigarette' (*gɛ́ʔᴸᴹ* 'suck')
nïᴴʔmaᴹ	'tree, wood'	*niᴴʔiᴸᴹ*	'tortilla'
niᴴtíᴸᴹ	'rifle'		

(245) **Male:**

zïᴹtǫᴸᴴ	'authorities'	*zïᴹʔliógᴹ*	'soldier'
zïᴹʔiaʔᴹ	'jaguar'	*zïᴹnauᴹ*	'foreigner'
zïᴹkuaᴴ	'male horse'	*zïᴹmïʔᴹ*	'snake'
zïᴹgiʔᴸᴴ	'old man'	*zïᴹ-*	(male classifier)

(246) **Female person or animal:**

ʔiᴴŋíᴸᴹ	'sow pig'	*ʔiᴴtǫᴸᴹ*	'bird'
ʔiᴴkuaᴴ	'mare'	*ʔiᴴhuᴴ*	'fish'
ʔiᴴtúᴸ	'hen'	*ʔiᴴ-*	(female classifier)

(247) **Substance:**

ti^{H}ka^{M}fe^{LH}	'coffee'	*ti^{H}cag^{M}*	'sand' (*cag^{M}* 'landslide')
ti^{H}huïg^{M}	'powder'	*ti^{H}ʔmïg^{M}*	'excrement' (*ʔmïg^{M}* 'intestine')
ti^{H}ʔliog^{M}	'dust'		

(248) **Structure:**

cï^{H}ʔné^{LM}	'house'	*cï^{H}mïʔ^{M}*	'basket'
cï^{H}gu^{LM}	'box'	*cï^{H}ʔą^{M}*	'bridge' (*ʔą^{M}* 'cross')
cï^{H}ʔmïʔ^{M}	'cloth'	*cï^{H}liá^{M}*	'trap'

While in some Chinantec languages one-syllable nouns like 'basket' and 'snake' are homophonous, Tepetotutla can easily distinguish such forms by means of classifiers. This is not obligatory, however, since context often narrows the possible interpretations, permitting the use of the noun root without a classifier. Some of the two-syllable nouns presented above are regrouped below to highlight pairs which contrast by classifier only.

(249)

cï^{H}mïʔ^{M}	'basket'	versus	*zï^{M}mïʔ^{M}*	'snake'
mï^{M}ka^{M}fe^{LH}	'coffee bean'	versus	*ti^{H}ka^{M}fe^{LH}*	'coffee (drink)'
nï^{H}tí^{LM}	'rifle'	versus	*mï^{M}tí^{LM}*	'bullet'
ti^{H}cag^{M}	'sand'	versus	*nï^{H}cag^{M}*	'nest'
nï^{H}kwïg^{M}	'corn on cob'	versus	*mï^{M}kwïg^{M}*	'shelled corn'
cï^{H}ʔné^{LM}	'house'	versus	*ʔi^{H}ʔné^{LM}*	'scorpion'

In addition to nouns with classifiers, there is a small subset of COMPOUNDS in which the first element is not reduced phonologically to a pretonic syllable. The first element of such compounds include words like 'teacher' and 'tree'. The second element can be a noun or a verb form.

(250)

të^{LM} mí^{L}	master medicine,	'doctor'
të^{LM} si^{M},	master paper,	'secretary'
të^{LM} ʔma^{M},	master wood,	'carpenter'
ʔma^{M} sï^{LH},	wood seat,	'chair'
ʔma^{M} kuïg^{M},	wood maize,	'sugar cane'
ʔma^{M} ki^{M},	wood candle,	'pine tree'
ʔi^{H} ŋíʔ^{MH},	tortilla salty,	'bread'
hmï^{H} ŋíʔ^{MH},	water salty,	'ocean'
hág^{H} ŋíʔ^{MH},	word salty,	'Spanish language'
hág^{H} hmei^{LM},	word plain,	'Chinantec language'

Animate noun classifiers have some semantic features of their own which might be worth mentioning here. When referring to animals, there does not seem to be much concern about whether the animal is male or

female; the gender classifiers seem to be used interchangeably if the animal's gender is not in focus. Larger animals tend to take the male classifier, however, and smaller animals tend to take the female classifier.

(251) *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *ʔi*^{H}*-nau*^{LH} *geiʔ*^{LH} *cï*^{H}*-ʔio*^{LM}
BE^S3 CLS-mouse up CLS-corncrib
There are mice up in the corncrib.

(252) *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *zï*^{M}*-ʔiaʔ*^{M} *hë*^{MH} *ʔŋa*^{H}
BE^S3 CLS-jaguar among forest
There are jaguars in the forest.

4.2. Quantifiers. A quantifier precedes its noun head within the noun phrase.

(253) P S O[Q H]
ka^{M}*-lą*^{L} *té*^{M} *ǫ*^{L} *zï*^{M}*-hïʔ*^{LH}
PST-buy^P3 Steve two CLS-dog
Steve bought two dogs.

(254) P S[Q H Po]
ka^{M}*-hǫ*^{L} *hą*^{M} *ŋí*^{LM} *kiá*^{L} *hniá*^{M}
PST-die^C3S one pig of^1S 1S
One of my pigs died.

Although a quantifier is strictly ordered within the noun phrase and may be considered adjunct to the noun head of the phrase, it may in fact stand alone as the sole reference to the entity that a head noun would otherwise name, if it were present, or it may stand with other of the noun adjuncts (possessor, descriptive modifier, deictic), also in the absence of the noun head.[15]

(255) P O[Q H D]
kuë^{MH} *kąu*^{M} *dúʔ*^{MH} *në*^{LM}
give^! one candy that
Give (me) one of those candies.

[15]Since this is generally the case with all constituents of the Chinantec Noun Phrase—any combination of so-called adjuncts may occur together as an NP, irrespective of the presence of a true noun head—their syntactic relation to the head within the phrase would appear to be appositive rather than modifier-head.

(256) P O[Q Po]
kuë^{MH} *kạu*^{M} *kió*^{L}
give^! one of^1s
Give one to me.

(257) P O[Q D]
kuë^{MH} *kạu*^{M} *në*^{LM}
give^! one that
Give (me) one of those.

(258) P O[Q]
kuë^{MH} *kạu*^{M}
give^! one
Give (me) one.

Numerals. A quantifier can be a numeral or a measure phrase. A complete description of numerals is not attempted here, but a brief overview is given. First, a numeral is inflected for gender to agree with the noun it modifies.

Inanimate and animate forms of the simple numerals, which name the numbers from 1–10, and 20, are presented in (259). Notice that gender is not in all cases distinctive, but runs the gamut from homophony, as in the numerals for 4, 5, 8, and 9, to suppletive, as in the numerals for 1–3. As in the case of verbal inflection for gender, nasalization appears here also to mark animate gender, as in numerals for 7, 10, and 20.

(259)

	inanimate	**animate**		**inanimate**	**animate**
1	*kạu*^{M}	*hạ*^{M}	7	*gio*^{L}	*giọ*^{L}
2	*tị̈*^{L}	*ọ*^{L}	8	*hŋia*^{L}	*hŋa*^{L}
3	*ʔnï*^{LM}	*ụ́*^{M}	9	*ŋi*^{L}	*ŋi*^{L}
4	*kẹ́*^{M}	*kẹ́*^{M}	10	*gia*^{L}	*giạ*^{L}
5	*ʔŋiá*^{M}	*ʔŋiá*^{M}	20	*giog*^{L}	*giọg*^{L}
6	*hŋéi*^{M}	*hŋí*^{M}			

The Chinantec numeral system retains certain vestiges of an earlier vigesimal system to which a decimal overlay has been introduced from Spanish. Numerals for 1–9 may stand alone or may be postposed to the numeral for 10 to name numbers 11–19, as in (260).

(260)

	inanimate	animate		inanimate	animate
11	*gia^{L}kąu^{M}*	*gia^{L}hą^{M}*	16	*gia^{L}hŋéi^{M}*	*gia^{L}hŋí^{M}*
12	*gia^{L}tį́^{M}*	*gia^{L}tį́^{M}*	17	*gia^{L}gió^{M}*	*gia^{L}gią́^{M}*
13	*gia^{L}ʔnï^{LM}*	*gia^{L}ú^{M}*	18	*gia^{L}hŋiá^{M}*	*gia^{L}hŋiá^{M}*
14	*gia^{L}kę́^{M}*	*gia^{L}kę́^{M}*	19	*gia^{L}ne^{H}*	*gia^{L}ne^{H}*
15	*gia^{L}ʔŋiá^{M}*	*gia^{L}ʔŋiá^{M}*			

At an earlier time, the numeral for 20 presumeably combined with numerals for 2–19 to name multiples of 20 up to 380, but only a few such forms remain in use today, namely, those of (261). Note that the simple numeral for twenty does not occur with a multiplier preceding it and that there is a special combining form *láu^{L}* for 20 when occurring with a multiplier. Note also that the expression for 100 has been reinterpreted as a decimal numeral by the addition of an inanimate multiplier *kąu^{M}* 'one' which we may safely presume did not occur in the earlier vigesimal system.

(261)

	inanimate	animate
20	*gióg^{M}*	*gią́g^{M}*
40	*të^{M}lau^{L}*	*tï^{M}lǫ^{M}*
100	*kąu^{M} ʔŋia^{M}láu^{L}*	*kąu^{M} ʔŋiá^{M}lǫ^{M}*

The numerals for 60 and 80 are conspicuously absent from the list above. They are formed by a phrase which uses a multiplication operator *ko^{M}ne^{M}*, whose source is unknown.

(262)

ʔnagʔ^{M}	*ko^{M}ne^{M}*	*gióg^{M}*	*kę́^{M}*	*ko^{M}ne^{M}*	*gióg^{M}*
three	times	twenty	four	times	twenty
sixty			eighty		

The numerals for 1–9 can be postposed to that for 20, and the numeral for 10 can be postposed to that for 20 and 40, but further combinations require a special addition operator, *rë^{M}zí^{M}* 'add', which is a stative form of a verb meaning to 'be on top of'. The following are all valid but many speakers now switch to Spanish numerals for the larger numbers.

(263)

	inanimate	animate		inanimate	animate
21	*giog^{L}kąu^{M}*	*giǫg^{L}hą^{M}*	27	*giog^{L}gio^{L}*	*giǫg^{L}giǫ^{L}*
22	*giog^{L}tį̈^{L}*	*giǫg^{L}tį̈^{L}*	28	*giog^{L}hŋia^{L}*	*giǫg^{L}hŋia^{L}*
23	*giog^{L}ʔnï^{LM}*	*giǫg^{L}ú^{M}*	29	*giog^{L}ŋi^{L}*	*giǫg^{L}ŋi^{L}*
24	*giog^{L}kę́^{M}*	*giǫg^{L}kę́^{M}*	30	*giog^{L}gią́^{M}*	*giǫg^{L}gią́^{M}*
25	*giog^{L}ʔŋią́^{M}*	*giǫg^{L}ʔŋią́^{M}*	50	*të^{M}lau^{M}gią́^{M}*	*tï^{M}lǫ^{M}gią́^{M}*
26	*giog^{L}hŋéi^{M}*	*giǫg^{L}hŋí^{M}*			

(264) *giog^{L}-gią́^{M}* *rë^{M}zí^{M}* *tį̈^{L}*
twenty-ten add two
thirty-two

(265) *kę́^{M}* *ko^{M}ne^{M}* *gióg^{M}* *rë^{M}zî^{M}* *gia^{L}-ʔŋią́^{M}*
four times twenty add ten-five
ninety-five

(266) *ʔnï^{LM}* *ʔŋia^{M}-láu^{L}* *rë^{M}zí^{M}* *të^{M}láu^{L}* *rë^{M}zí^{M}* *kę́^{M}*
three five-twenty add two-twenty add four
three hundred forty-four

In addition to interpretation of the numeral for 100 as decimal, the Spanish numeral *mil* 'thousand' has been borrowed into Chinantec as *mei^{LM}* and is treated in a similar way, without gender distinctions.

(267)

	inanimate	**animate**
1000	*kąu^{M} mei^{LM}*	*kąu^{M} mei^{LM}*

As is often the case in human language, the numeral 'one' in both inanimate and animate forms has other lexical functions in addition to that of simple quantification. In the quantifier position, it can focus on the uniqueness of a referent in the sense of the English word 'only'.

(268) S P L
hą^{M} *gi?^{LH}* *fé^{H}* *ma^{M}-ŋó^{LM}* *ʔi^{H}kuį̈ʔ^{M}*
one old^man Felix PRF-go^P3 Oaxaca
Only old man Felix is on his way to Oaxaca.

The inanimate form *kąu^{M}* 'one' may occupy the manner position of a clause, preceding the predicate, to mean 'continually', suggesting that 'one thing' is all the agent of the action does.

(269) Ma P S O
kąu^{M} *ŋag^{LM}* *za^{M}* *ʔęi^{M}* *ka^{M}-kuë^{L}* *hmïg^{MH}*
one ask^P3 3 who? PST-give^C3 day
They kept asking, "Who gave permission?"

Both animate and inanimate forms of this numeral may occur following a noun head to reference an object 'next to' or 'other than' one previously referenced by the interlocutors, as in (270) and (271). In this usage, it is here treated as a modifier.

(270) S[H M D MODAL] P
za^{M} *hą*^{M} *nëˈ*^{LM} *bá*^{MH} *hme*^{L}*ʔo*^{LH}
3 one that AFF help^13
The other person over there will help.

(271) P S L[H M]
guá^{LM} *giʔ*^{LH} *ziˈ*^{M}*néiˈ*^{M} *kąu*^{M}
sit^S3s old^man inside one
The gentleman lives in the next/other house.

When repeated, *hą*^{M} *hą*^{M} or *kąu*^{M} *kąu*^{M}, the numeral 'one' has the sense of 'one after another' or 'one-by-one'.

(272) P S; P O Ma
tiǫʔ^{LH} *za*^{M} *ŋau*^{M} *tíˈ*^{LM} *hą*^{M} *hą*^{M}
BE^S3p 3 shoot^P3 rifle one one
There they were, firing their rifles one person after another.

An animate numeral may be inflected for person and followed by a corresponding personal pronoun to yield a partitive interpretation. Such a numeral has the form of an inalienable noun (§4.4) and may occupy a nominal position of a clause like any other animate noun.

(273) S[H Po] P
úˈ^{M} *hnia?*^{LH} *leˈ*^{M}
three^1p 1x BE^S1p
There are three of us.

(274) S[H Po MOD] P
hą^{M}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *bá*^{MH} *go*^{LH}*gʔ*
one^2s 2s AFF go^P2s
Only you are going.

Nonnumeric quantifiers. Nonnumeric quantifiers include terms such as 'all', 'many', 'few', 'much', and 'little'. These also are inflected for gender. Animate forms, like numerals, can be inflected for person.

(275) P S O
kaˈ^{M}*-kąˈ*^{L} *ziˈ*^{M}*-ʔągˈ*^{M} *kaˈ*^{M}*leˈ*^{L}*hëˈ*^{L}
PST-take^C3 CLS-steal all
The thief took everything.

(276) S[Q H] P L
ʔliǫ́g^{M} *ʔma*^{M}*sï*^{LH} *tioʔ*^{LH} *zi*^{M}*néi*^{M}
many chair BE^IIP3p inside
There are many chairs in the house.

(277) S[Q H] P L
huį̈^{LM} *za*^{M} *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *zi*^{M}*néi*^{M}
many person BE^AIS3p inside
There are many people in the house.

The quantitative adverb *hë*^{H} 'entirely', related to the nonnumeric numeral *ka*^{M}*le*^{L}*hé*^{L} 'all', has the sense 'almost' when associated with a perfect verb.

(278) O[Comp Ma P Modal S] P S
ʔa^{M} *hë*^{H} *ma*^{M}*-hǫ́*^{M} *bá*^{MH} *hniá*^{M} *huáʔ*^{M} *giʔ*^{LH} *zoʔ*^{LH}
REL all PRF-die^C1s AFF 1s say^P3 old^man sick
"I am about to die," the sick old man said.

(279) Ma P S; Ma P S
hë^{H} *ma*^{M}*-rë*^{L}*-kẹi*^{M} *hma*^{L} *hë*^{H} *ma*^{M}*-za*^{L} *hmïg*^{M}
all PRF-ACT-dry creek all PRF-empty water
The creek is almost dry; the water is almost gone.

Measure phrases. There are two types of nouns in Tepetotutla defined by the form of quantifiers. A count noun may occur directly with a numeric quantifier of the sort described above; a mass noun is one of a small subset of nouns that require a measure phrase to be quantified. As in other languages, a mass noun typically names substances (water, dirt, sand, ashes) not readily yielding to numeric quantification.

(280) *kạu*^{M} *nï*^{H}*cí*^{LM} *hmïg*^{M}
one bottle water
a bottle of rum

A measure phrase is itself a noun phrase consisting of a numeric quantifier and a measure noun as head, the latter naming a standard of measurement appropriate to the substance named by the noun following. A measure phrase is like any other noun phrase when occurring as a nominal constituent of a clause or in other positions generally occupied by noun phrases; but when occurring as the quantifier of a mass noun, it generally has just two constituents—quantifier and head. As quantifier of

a measure word, the numeral *kąu*^{M} 'one' often occurs in a phonologically reduced form *ka*^{M}- or *ko*^{M}-.

(281) P S[Q H]
kẹ^{LM} *ko*^{M}-*mei*^{LM} *ʔéiʔ*^{L}
worthˆS3 one-thousand measure
It is valued at one thousand pesos.

(282) P S O[Q[Q H] H]
ka^{M}-*ką*^{L} *za*^{M} *ko*^{M}-*mei*^{LM} *ʔéiʔ*^{L} *ku*^{MH}
PST-takeˆC3 3 one-thousand measure money
S/he charged one thousand pesos.

(283) P S O[Q H]
ka^{M}-*kuë*^{L} *za*^{M} *ko*^{M}-*zą́ʔ*^{L} *ci*^{H}*mïg*^{M}
PST-giveˆC3 3 one-pair shoe
S/he gave a pair of shoes.

Some measure words also double as classifiers, resulting in a certain redundancy of expression in some contexts. In the examples which follow, quantified nouns occur with both a measure noun and a classifier noun. The word 'rock' is characterized as both round and as a hard object; 'ash' as a material substance as well as measured by bowlsful.

(284) *ka*^{M}-*mí́g*^{M} *nï*^{H}-*kągH*
one-ball CLS-rock
one rock

(285) *ka*^{M}-*kuaʔ*^{LH} *ti*^{H}-*huá*^{L}
one-bowl CLS-ashes
one bowl of ashes

As expected, although a count noun may be quantified directly by a numeral, it is often also quite appropriate for it to occur with a measure phrase.

(286) *ʔnï*^{LM} *cï*^{M}-*gu*^{LM} *nï*^{H}-*kągH*
three CLS-box CLS-rock
three piles of rocks

(287) *tɨ̈*^{L} *cï*^{H}*-mï?*^{M} *mï*^{M}*-hlag*^{M}
two CLS-basket CLS-egg
two baskets of eggs

4.3. The descriptive modifier. The descriptive modifier occurs immediately following the noun head it modifies, and always takes the form of a relative clause. Two illustrations of noun modifiers follow, but a more complete discussion of the relative clause is delayed until §6.

(288) H M[P S L]
cï^{H}*-?né*^{LM} *cí?*^{LM} *∅* *ó*^{L}
CLS-house stand^S3 that
the house standing over there

(289) Q H M[P S O]
hą^{M} *za*^{M} *hmo*^{L} *∅* *?i*^{H}
one person do^I3 care
a person who will take care (of something)

4.4. Possessor. A noun is of one of two types in respect to possession—alienable or inalienable. An inalienable noun is inherently inflected for person-of-possessor and usually occurs with a possessor constituent following, though the latter may be omitted under certain circumstances. The possessor constituent is a noun phrase or noun substitute without possessive inflection of its own, but accords with the person-and-number category of the possessed noun it follows.

Inalienable nouns include names for body parts, kinship terms, and certain domestic items.

(290) H PO
tag^{L} *hniá*^{M}
foot^1s 1s
my foot

(291) H PO
mï^{M}*-zei*^{M}*?* *?ne*^{M}
CLS-head^2 2s
your head

(292) H PO
ŋe?^{L} *hniá^{M}*
father^1s 1s
my father

(293) H PO
co^{M}g? *?ne^{M}*
mother^2 2s
your mother

(294) H PO
nï^{H}-?i^{L} *hniá^{M}*
CLS-tortilla^1s 1s
my tortilla(s)

(295) H PO
kú^{H} *hnia?^{LH}*
money^1p 1x
our (excl) money

The large majority of Chinantec nouns are alienable. They need not occur with a possessor constituent following and, moreover, when they do so occur, the possessor constituent may not be a simple noun phrase or noun substitute as with an inalienable noun. Following an alienable noun, the possessor constituent is itself a possessed noun phrase based on what is here termed the ALLOCATIONAL NOUN and which is glossed 'of'. The allocational noun 'of' is itself an inalienable noun, being inflected for person-of-possessor and being followed by a noun phrase or noun substitute which identifies the possessor.

(296) H PO[H PO]
zï^{M}hï?^{LH} *kią^{LM}* *zï^{M}-bé?^{MH}*
dog of^3 CLS-Beto
Beto's dog

(297) H PO[H PO]
ku^{MH} *kió?^{LM}* *za^{M}* *huïg^{M}*
money of^3 3 town
the townspeople's money

Most noun roots are either inflected for possessor as inalienable nouns or not; but there are a few roots which have both alienable and inalienable forms, such as the words for 'money' and 'tortilla'.

(298) P S O
ka^{M}-mï^{L} *za^{M}* *ku^{MH}*
PST-ask^C3 3 money
He asked for money.

(299) P S O
ka^{M}-mï^{L} *za^{M}* *ku^{MH}* *kió?^{LM}*
PST-ask^C3 3 money of^3
He asked for his money.

(300) P S O
ka^{M}-mï^{L} *za^{M}* *kú^{H}*
PST-ask^C3 3 money^3
He asked for his money.

(301) P S O
gé?^{LM} *za^{M}* *nï^{H}?í^{LM}*
eat^P3 3 tortilla
They are eating tortillas.

(302) P S O
o^{M}ké?^{M} *?nia?^{M}* *nï^{H}?í^{LM}* *kią́^{M}g?*
go^eat^! 2p tortilla of^2
Go eat your (pl) tortillas.

(303) P S O
o^{M}ké?^{M} *?nia?^{M}* *nï^{H}?ei^{M}?*
go^eat^! 2p tortilla^2
Go eat your (pl) tortillas.

The allocational noun is broadly allocational rather than narrowly possessive. It can be expressed as meaning 'belong to' or 'pertain to'. It occurs with the locative preposition *ha^{H}-* 'at', as in *ha^{H}kio?^{LM} za^{M}* to mean 'his/her home' and in the similarly constructed phrases *?o^{H}kió?^{MH}* 'for his/her sake' and *le^{L}kió?^{LM}* 'toward him/her'. When occurring as the object of a transitive inanimate verb, *kió?^{LM}* has the meaning 'his/her body', as in (304), which is an impersonal expression of (305).

(304) P S O
bą́^{M} *za^{M}* *kió?^{LM}* *ci?^{M}*
hit^TIP3 3 of^3 child
He hits the child('s body).

(305) P S O
bą̈^{M} *za^{M}* *ci?^{M}*
hit^TAP3 3 child
He hits the child.

4.5. Deictic words. There are two sets of deictic words—those which point to referents in the physical context of the speech act, and those which point to referents in the linguistic context of the speech act. The former define three degrees of physical distance from the speaker. They are *la^{M}* 'this', *në^{LM}* 'that (proximal)', and *ó^{L}* 'that (distal, but in sight)'. These three deictic words, unlike their corresponding forms in other Chinantec languages, are not inflected for gender and may have reference to either animate or inanimate objects.

(306) *za^{M} la^{M}*, person this, this person
nï^{H}?ma^{M} la^{M}, tree this, this tree

(307) *za^{M} në^{LM}*, person that, that (proximal) person
nï^{H}?ma^{M} në^{LM}, tree that, that (proximal) tree

(308) *za^{M} ó^{L}*, person that, that (distal) person
nï^{H}?ma^{M} ó^{L}, tree that, that (distal) tree

There are two deictic words which reference linguistic material away from the speech context. They are *hą̈u^{M}* 'that (inanimate)' and *?éi^{M}* 'that (animate)'. A deictic word may occur as the last element of a noun phrase, with a noun or the relative word (§6) as noun head, or it may occur adverbially with a spatial locative preposition (§3.4).

(309) H D
za^{M} *?éi^{M}*
3 that
that person

(310) H M D
za^{M} *nau*^{M} *ʔéi*^{M}
3 foreign that
that foreigner

(311) H M[P S] M[COMP P S L] D
za^{M} *nau*^{M} ∅ *ʔi*^{M} *guá*^{LM} ∅ *ʔi*^{H}*kuį̈ʔ*^{M} *ʔéi*^{M}
3 foreign REL sitˆP3 Oaxaca that
that foreigner who lives in Oaxaca

4.6. Locative nouns. Nouns may be subcategorized in a variety of ways, not all of which can be covered in this study; but one important subcategory of nouns which has important syntactic consequences is that of locative noun. A locative noun, alone or as head of a noun phrase, may occupy a locative position of a clause without a locative subordinator which another form might require to so occur. Typical of locative nouns are the spatial locative noun *huï*^{LM} 'road' and the temporal locative word *hmïg*^{MH} 'day'.

(312) P S L T
zó^{L} *za*^{M} *huï*^{LM} *hę̨ʔ*^{L} *ʔióg*^{L}
goˆ13 3 road Usila tomorrow
S/he is going to Usila tomorrow.

(313) P S T
ca^{L}*-hme*^{H}*-cia*^{M} *tí*^{LM} *hmïg*^{MH} *hą̨u*^{M}
NEG-IMPF-existˆS3 rifle day that
There were no rifles in those days.

4.7. Prepositional nouns. There is another subset of inalienable noun roots which have metaphorical senses of a sort often reserved for adpositions in other languages. This set of noun roots are thus referred to as prepositional nouns. They are syntactically a possessed noun with following possessor constituent, some of them naming body parts; but they may also function like a preposition and its object.[16]

(314) P S L
cę̨́ʔ^{LM} *zï*^{M}*kua*^{H} *koʔ*^{LH} *cï*^{H}*ʔné*^{LM}
standˆS3s horse backˆ3 house
The horse is behind the house.

[16]See §9 for a more complete treatment of words with adpositional function.

(315) P S L
rǫ^{LM} *si*^{M} *ne*^{MH} *mesa*
lie^S3s book face^3 table
The book is on the table.

(316) P S L
tiǫʔ^{LH} *ciʔ*^{M} *kǫ*^{M} *ciog*^{LH}
stand^S3p child side^3 mother^3
The children are standing next to their mother(s).

(317) P S L
cíʔ^{LM} *laʔ*^{LH} *hąu*^{M} *tag*^{MH} *krógMH*
stand^S3s waterfall that foot^3 cross
That waterfall is located at the foot of the cross.

(318) P S L
cę́ʔ^{LM} *za*^{M} *ne*^{MH} *zïMtą*^{LH}
stand^S3s 3 face^3 authority
He is standing before the authorities.

(319) P S O L
hmo^{LM} *hniá*^{M} *si*^{M} *neʔ*^{LH}
do^P1s 1s paper face^2
I am writing a letter to you.

4.8. Names and other vocative nouns. Another subcategory of nouns with important syntactic implications is that of vocative nouns. These occur in the vocative position of a clause and include personal names and a few vocative words which name kinship relationships.

(320) *tia*^{LH} 'father, Dad' *hǫ́*^{L} 'my child'
mag^{LH} 'mother, Mom' *ka*^{M}*ba*^{LH} 'coparent'

Chinantec personal names are adapted from common Spanish names, usually by taking the stressed syllable of the Spanish form and recasting it into the Chinantec phonological system. A few examples are shown in (321), with optional classifiers.

(321) *zïMsę́*^{MH} 'José' *ʔiHte*^{LH} 'Ester'
zïMbęi^{MH} 'Alvino' *ʔiHbeʔ*^{LH} 'Berta'
zïMté^{H} 'Esteban' *ʔiHliá*^{L} 'Eulalia'
zïMtę́^{MH} 'Mateo' *ʔiHbéʔ*^{MH} 'Rebeca'

zï^{M}*tęi*^{LH}	'Agustín'	*ʔi*^{H}*mei*^{LH}	'Herminia'
zï^{M}*fé*^{H}	'Félix'	*ʔi*^{H}*ko*^{LH}	'Socorro'

The use of the animate classifier on a name is said to communicate harshness or disrespect, while pronouncing the name without the classifier is gentler and more respectful.

(322)	*zï*^{M}*fre*^{MH}	'Alfred (harsh)'	*fre*^{MH}	'Alfred (gentle)'
	zï^{M}*giʔ*^{LH}	'old man (harsh)'	*giʔ*^{LH}	'sir (respectful)'

Some older people in Tepetotutla and nearby San Antonio el Barrio have a bisyllabic name adapted from two syllables of the related Spanish name or have names based on two given names, the first usually being José.

(323)	*si*^{M}*mu*^{LH}	'Simón'	*bi*^{M}*to*	'Victoriano'
	he^{M}*na*^{MH}	'Genaro'	*si*^{H}*ri*^{H}	'Cirilo'
	si^{H}*lia*^{H}	'Lázaro'		

(324)	*sëʹ*^{MH} *bi*^{M}*to*	'José Victoriano'	*sëʹ*^{MH} *liąʹ*^{LH}	'José Leandro'
	sëʹ^{MH} *bein*^{MH}	'José Alvino'	*sëʹ*^{MH} *ua*^{L}	'José Eduardo'

5
Tepetotutla Chinantec Pronouns

This section introduces the two classes of Tepetotutla Chinantec pronouns—personal and reflexive.

5.1. Personal pronouns. Tepetotutla Chinantec has five personal pronouns which distinguish two categories of number–singular and plural–and which limit their reference to the interlocutors–first and second persons. Two of the pronouns distinguish a fifth person-category beyond this two-by-two matrix by distinguishing first-person plural exclusive of second persons from first-person plural inclusive of second persons. The five personal pronouns are listed in (325).

(325)

	first	inclusive	second
singular	*hniá*^{M}	———	*ʔne*^{M}
plural	*hniaʔ*^{LH}	*hniog*^{LM}	*ʔniaʔ*^{M}

The form of the plural pronouns *hniaʔ*^{LH} 'we (excl)' and *ʔniaʔ*^{M} 'you (pl)', both in Tepetotutla and in related Chinantec languages, suggests the probability of their having derived from the corresponding singular pronouns *hniá*^{M} 'I' and *ʔne*^{M} 'you (sg)', respectively, by suffixation of something resembling *-aʔ*. The source of the inclusive pronoun is unclear, but its form suggests the category of verbal inflection Merrifield (1968:48) called FIRST-PERSON OBJECT (TF) in Palantla Chinantec and which Rupp (1989:23) has more recently called NONEXPRESSED OBJECT (TN) in Lealao Chinantec (§3.2).

Although third-persons are often encoded together with first person(s) by the first-plural exclusive pronoun *hniaʔ*^{LH}, they are not separately encoded by a third-person form which belongs peculiarly to the set of personal pronouns. This function is fulfilled by use of the noun *za*^{M}

'person', which references singular or plural humans, as in (326) and (327).

(326) P S[Q H M]
tiǫʔ^{LH} *ǫ*^{L} *za*^{M} *ŋiʔ*^{M}
BE^S3p two person male^S3
Two men are present.

(327) L P S[H M D]
në^{LM} *hǫʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *kǫ*^{M} *ʔéi*^{M}
this come^home^P3 person tall^S3 that
Here comes that tall person returning home.

This form is clearly a noun, as (326) and (327) illustrate; but it doubles for a third-person pronoun as well, not distinguishing gender or number.

(328) *zï*^{L}*-lioʔ*^{M} *za*^{M}
go^I3-bathe^3 3
He/she/they will go and bathe, or
A person (or persons) will go and bathe.

Pronouns occur as arguments of verbs in any of the nominal positions normal to the distribution of nouns and noun phrases. They are not just a part of verbal inflection which is in cross-reference with such nouns within a clause, but occur exclusive of them in any particular grammatical position that a noun might otherwise occur.

(329) *ka*^{M}*-há*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH}, PST-come^C3 woman, 'The woman came.'
ka^{M}*-há*^{L} *za*^{M}, PST-come^C3 3, 'S/he came.'
ka^{M}*-gio*^{L}*hniá*^{M}, PST-come^C1s 1s, 'I came.'

A verb is normally inflected for person-of-subject, as was detailed above in §2. Such inflectional forms of verbs are the same for pronoun subjects as for noun subjects, whether they follow closely upon the verb in neutral vso word-order or whether they are topicalized to clause-initial position.

(330) P S O
në^{M}*-lio*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *hniá*^{M}
HOD-save^C2 2s 1s
You rescued me.

(331) S P O
ʔne^{M} *bá*^{MH} *në*^{M}*-lio*^{LH}*ʔ* *hniá*^{M}
2s AFF HOD-save^C2 1s
It was you who rescued me.

Any personal pronoun may occur as any argument of a verb or as the possessor of an inalienable noun. The first-person-singular pronoun is illustrated in several of these positions in (332)–(334).

(332) P S L
nei^{LH} *hniá*^{M} *ha*^{H}- *nau*^{M}
go^P1s 1s at wild
I am going to the field.

(333) P S O
ka^{M}*-hį*^{L} *za*^{M} *hniá*^{M}
PST-see^C3 3 1s
He saw me.

(334) P S[H PO]
cią^{M} *ca*^{L} *hniá*^{M}
exist^S3 mother^1s 1s
My mother is living.

The second-person-singular pronoun *ʔne*^{M} 'you (sg)' is illustrated in a variety of grammatical positions in (335)–(337).

(335) L P S VOC
a^{M}*há*^{LM}*ʔ* *go*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *hǫ́*^{L}*g*
where? go^2s 2s child^1s
Where are you going, my child?

(336) P S O
ka^{M}*-hį*^{L} *za*^{M} *ʔne*^{M}
PST-see^P3 3 2s
He saw you.

(337) P S[H PO]
há^{LM} *ciʔ*^{M} *rį́ʔ*^{M} *ʔne*^{M}
come^P3 child peer^2 2s
Your sibling is coming.

Second-person plural *ʔnia*ʔ^{M} 'you (pl)' is illustrated in (338)–(340).

(338) P S
hme^{M}*gau*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔnia*ʔ^{M}
lie^P2 2p
You (pl) are lying.

(339) P S O
ka^{M}*-hį́*^{M} *za* *ʔnia*ʔ^{M}
PST-see^TAP3 3 2p
S/he saw you (pl).

(340) P S[H PO]
ha^{M}*lę́*^{M} *za*^{M} *go*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔnia*ʔ^{M}
come^P3p 3 homeland^2 2p
Your (pl) countrymen are coming.

The occurrence of the first-person-plural exclusive pronoun *hnia*ʔ^{LH} in various grammatical positions is illustrated in (341)–(343). In (341) the pronoun is overt in subject position but dropped in possessor position of the final inalienable noun.

(341) P S O ASSOC
zia^{M} *hnia*ʔ^{LH} *hág*^{H} *kią*ʔ^{LH} *rį̈*ʔ^{LH}
lay^P1p 1x word with peer^1p
We (ex) talk it over among ourselves.

(342) P S O
në^{M}*-lio*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *hnia*ʔ^{LH}
HOD-save^C2 2s 1x
You rescued us (ex).

(343) H S[H PO[H PO]]
ka^{M}*-káu*^{M} *cï*^{H}*ʔné*^{LM} *kią́*^{M} *hnia*ʔ^{LH}
PST-burn^C3 house of^1p 1x
Our (ex) house burned down.

The use of the first-plural inclusive pronoun is unexceptional except to point out that in vocative usage, when a speaker addresses an individual or group, using an inalienable kinship word which names his/her relationship to the addressee(s), the inclusive pronoun is used. Thus, for example, in a liturgical setting, say, where the vocative expression 'our father which

art in heaven' is used, the inclusive pronoun is required. A man standing to speak in a town assembly addresses the group as 'our brothers', again using the inclusive pronoun. This pronoun is illustrated in various grammatical positions in (344)–(346).

(344)

P	S	VOC[H	PO	]
zau?^{LH}	*bá^{MH}*	*hniog^{MH}*	*rɨ̱?^{LH}*	*hniog^{MH}*
go^home^1p	AFF	1i	peer^1p	1i

Let's go home, my brothers.

(345)

P	S	O
kią?^{LH}	*da^{M}rí^{MH}*	*hniog^{MH}*
with	Dario	1i

Dario is accompanying us (incl).

(346)

H	PO[H	PO	]
tia^{LH}	*kią́^{M}*	*hniog^{MH}*	
father	of^1p	1i	

our (incl) father

In addition to the full forms of the personal pronouns which have been discussed so far, there are two phonologically-reduced forms which may occur in their place when the referent of the pronoun is not in focus. The two forms are *-g* and *-i*; they are distributed across person-number categories as indicated in (347), only first plural lacking a reduced form.

(347)

	1	2	3
singular	*-g*	*-g*	*-i*
plural	*	*-g*	*-i*

These forms are, in most respects, like their phonologically full counterparts in occurring in the place of a noun phrase.

(348)

P	S
né?^{MH}	*-g*
go^home^1s	1s

I am going home.

(349)

P	S
ma^{M}-i^{L}lé^{M}	*-i*
PRF-go^C3p	3

They have gone.

(350) P S S[H PO]
kï^{LH}*?* *?nia?*^{M} *giǫ*^{LH}*?* *-g*
pay^I2 2p self^2 2
You yourselves will pay.

It is rare to find a reduced form of a pronoun in object position. I have two possible examples from text material. In (351), the reduced pronoun *-i*^{M} clearly references an animate object as the TA inflection of the verb indicates, but the presence of a reduced pronoun as object is apparently the trigger for the unusual vos order of the sentence.

(351) PREP V O S
hme^{H}*-* *ka*^{M}*-tį́*^{M} *-i*^{M} *mű́g*^{M}
when PST-reach^TAC3 3 ball
when the bullet struck him/her

When a subject noun phrase is topicalized, occurring as the left-most constituent of its clause, a reduced pronoun may optionally occur following the clause predicate. Such an occurrence is here interpreted as a case of apposition—two separate instantiations of the subject constituent within the same clause.

(352) S P S O
hniá^{M} *bá*^{MH} *lį́*^{LM} *-g* *?éi*^{M}
1s AFF BE^S1s 1s that
I am s/he.

(353) S P S O[P S ASSOC
?ne^{M} *bá*^{MH} *ca*^{L}*-?nio*^{M}*?* *-g* *gua*^{M} *hniá*^{M} *kią?*^{LH}
2s AFF NEG-want^S2 2 sit^I1s 1S with^S3

za^{M} *ŋe?*^{M} *?éi*^{M}]
3 male that
You are the one who does not want me to marry that man.

5.2. The reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun has six forms which completely intersect the three person categories and the two number categories. Except for the fact that a single first-plural form is used for both exclusive and inclusive first person, the reflexive pronoun pattern is more complete than that of personal pronouns, in that it includes third persons, with both singular and plural forms (354).

(354)

	1	2	3
singular	*ʔŋió*^{L}	*ʔŋiagʔ*^{M}	*ʔŋiog*^{LM}
plural	*gio*^{LH}	*giǫʔ*^{LH}	*giǫ*^{LH}

As can be seen, the six forms are based on suppletive singular and plural roots, each distinguishing the three categories of person by inflection of the sort seen in verbs and inalienable nouns. The reflexive pronoun is like an inalienable noun in a second respect also—it requires a noun phrase or noun substitute (personal pronoun) following it. It is, therefore, here treated as an inalienable noun with the meaning 'self', and the noun or pronoun which follows it is considered its possessor constituent.

(355)

P	S	S[H	PO]
ma^{M}*-i*^{L}*lę́*^{M}	*za*^{M}	*giǫ*^{LH}	*-i*
PRF-go^P3p	3	self^3	3

They have gone off by themselves.

The reflexive pronoun has three basic uses: to identify a referent emphatically, to indicate solitary existence of or action by a referent, or anaphorically to reference persons as semantic PATIENTS of actions performed reflexively or reciprocally by those same persons as AGENTS.

In the case of emphatic identification of a referent, especially as subject or object, the reflexive form is usually topicalized by occurrence at the beginning of a clause and by the presence of the modal adverb of affirmation *bá*^{MH}, as in examples (356) and (357).

(356)

S			P	O
giǫ^{LH}*ʔ*	*bá*^{MH}	*ʔnia ʔ*^{M}	*në*^{M}*-hŋ́ʔ*^{L}	*ʔéi*^{M}
self^2p	AFF	2p	HOD-kill^C2	that

You yourselves (are the ones who) killed that one.

(357)

O			P	S
ʔŋiog^{LM}	*të*^{LM}	*bá*^{MH}	*ka*^{M}*-hi̱*^{LH}	*hniá*^{M}
self^3	teacher	AFF	PST-see^C1s	1s

It was the school teacher himself whom I saw.

(358)

P	S	INSTR		
ka^{M}*-ki*^{L}	*za*^{M}	*kią ʔ*^{LH}	*kú*^{H}	*ʔŋiog*^{LM}
PST-pay^C3	3	with	money^3	self^3

He paid for it with his own money.

The various functions of the reciprocal are not distinguished formally, but rely on context to disambiguate them, although use of the adverb *kǫʔ*^{M} 'as', which marks a form as adverb of manner, yields the 'solitary action' interpretation of the reflexive, as in (361).

(359) P S S
ka^{M}*-ʔú*^{L} *hniá*^{M} *ʔŋió*^{L}*g*
PST-enter^P1s 1s self^1s
I alone went in, or I myself went in, or I went in by myself.

(360) P S S
ma^{M}*-i*^{L}*lé*^{M} *za*^{M} *giǫ*^{LH}*i*
PRF-go^C3p 3 self^3p
They alone have gone off, or they themselves have gone off, or they have gone off by themselves.

(361) P S MA
ma^{M}*-i*^{L}*lé*^{M} *za*^{M} *kǫʔ*^{M} *giǫ*^{LH}*i*
PRF-go^C3p 3 as self^3p
They have gone off by themselves.

(362) P S O[H PO]
ka^{M}*-cę*^{L} *za*^{M} *ha*^{H}*ŋiʔ*^{LH} *ʔŋiog*^{LM}
PST-send 3 son^3 self^3s
S/he sent his/her own son.

(363) P S O L
ka^{M}*-hį́ʔ*^{M} *-i* *ʔŋiog*^{LM} *ne*^{MH} *zï*^{M}*tą*^{LH}
PST-hand^over^C3 3 self^3s face^3 authority
S/he turned him/herself into the authorities.

(364) P S O S
ka^{M}*-zia*^{L} *za*^{M} *hág*^{H} *giǫ*^{LH} *-i*
PST-place^C3p 3 word self^3p 3
They talked among themselves.

The inalienable noun *rį̈ʔ*^{LH} 'peer' is also used to indicate reciprocal action.

(365) P S O T
ka^{M}*-hme*^{L}*zią*^{LM} *za*^{M} *rį̈ʔ*^{LH} *hmïg*^{MH} *hąu*^{M}
PST-kill^C3p 3 peer^3 day that
They killed each other in those days.

(366) S P O
ka^{M}*le*^{L}*hį́*^{L} *za*^{M} *huïg*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-hme*^{L}*ʔǫ*^{LH} *rį̈ʔ*^{LH}
all 3 town PST-help^C3 peer
All the townspeople helped each other.

[blank]

6
The Tepetotutla Chinantec Relative Clause

In Tepetotutla Chinantec, the descriptive modifier of a noun takes the form of a relative clause that follows that noun within the noun phrase (§4.4). This chapter discusses relative clauses in terms of how they differ in structure from declarative sentences.

6.1. The gap strategy. A simple, declarative sentence normally exhibits VSO word order. Thus, in (367), the intransitive stative verb *ze*^{L} 'good' is followed by the inanimate noun *hmïg*^{M} 'water' as subject.

(367) P S
ze^{L} *hmïg*^{M}
good water
The water is good.

The relative clause has a finite verb as predicate and has a gap at the position corresponding to the syntactic relation which the head noun has to the verb of the modifying clause. Example (368) is a restatement of (367) in the form of a noun phrase, with 'water' as the head noun and 'good' as predicate of a relative clause which has a gap at subject position.

(368) H [P S]
hmïg^{M} *ze*^{L} *∅*
water good
good water

6.2. The relative word. All but the most simple relative clauses—such as the one illustrated in (368)—tend to require a relative word as the first element of the clause. Tepetotutla has both animate and inanimate forms of the relative word, which agree in gender with the referent named by the preceding noun head. The two forms in question are *ʔa*^{M} (inanimate) and *ʔi*^{M} (animate). In (369), the noun modified is inanimate, requiring *ʔa*^{M} in the relative clause that follows; in (370), the corresponding noun is animate, requiring *ʔi*^{M}.

(369) H M[COMP P S L]
míg^{M} *ʔa*^{M} *ka*^{M}-*i*^{L}*lé*^{M} *gé*^{MH} *Ø* *kau*^{LM}
ball REL PST-go^C3p AUG aside
the bullets that went astray

(370) H M[COMP P S O]
za^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *hmo*^{LM} *Ø* *ta*^{H}
3 REL do^P3 work
s/he who works

6.3. Noun phrase accessibility to relativization. Keenan and Comrie (1977) propose a noun phrase hierarchy as a language universal—a rank ordering of syntactic positions into which main clauses can be relativized, namely, S > O > IO > Po. The claim states that if a clause can be relativized to the object position, it can also be relativized to the subject position; that if it can be relativized to the indirect object position, it can also move to direct object position, and so forth.

The following Chinantec examples demonstrate that there is no limitation in Tepetotutla in respect to noun phrase accessibility to relativization. Relativization is possible from any nominal position—subject (371), object (372), or possessor (373).

(371) P S[H M[COMP P
ca^{M}-*ʔi*^{L} *ʔia*^{ʔM} *ʔi*^{M} *há*^{LM}
PST-enter^C3s tiger REL come^P3p

S L]
Ø *të*^{M} *Huajuapan de León*
from Huajuapan de León
A tiger from Huajuapan de León entered (town).

(372) P S[H M[COMP P S O]
ka^{M}-rë^{L}-ciá^{L} hág^{H} ʔa^{M} ka^{M}-hę́ʔ^{L} giʔ^{LH} ∅
PST-ACT-exist^C3 word REL PST-befall^TIC3 old^man
The news spread of what had happened to the old man.

(373) P S[H M[COMP P
ka^{M}-gua^{L} ʔio^{LH} ʔi^{M} ka^{M}-tɛ́^{M}
PST-arrive^C3s woman REL PST-reach^TIC3

S O[H Po]]
mɨ̋g^{M} kióʔ^{LM} ∅
ball of
The woman who got shot arrived.

INDIRECT OBJECT is not here presented as a category of Chinantec grammar. Rather, certain verbs are stated to have ditransitive paradigms which cross-reference three nouns, two of which are simply labeled as objects. As the discussion of this phenomenon (§3.2) indicates, however, it is rare for there to be three such nouns in a single clause. It would be even more rare to have three nouns when one of them is part of a 'heavy' noun phrase containing a relative clause modifier. The paradigms labeled as DN (ditransitive nonexpressed object), however, do contain nouns which correspond in function to what are generally categorized as indirect objects in other languages. Sentence (374) shows that such objects are also subject to relativization in Tepetotutla Chinantec.

(374) L P S[H M[COMP
ha^{H}- në^{LM} bá^{MH} rǫ^{LM} ŋi^{H}-tág^{M} ʔa^{M}
at that AFF lie^S3 CLS-machete REL

P S O O]]
ka^{M}-bóg^{M} za^{M} ∅ ∅
PST-beat^DNC3 3
There's the machete s/he (used to) beat (someone) with.

Chinantec grammatical structure is relatively simple as far as languages go, having very limited formal marking. All verbs are finite, only verbs and a few inalienable nouns show any inflection at all, and almost any word or phrase can form a predicate. In this context, example (375) provides an interesting case for grammatical interpretation. Within the framework presented here, the allocational noun *kyą^{LM}*, together with its subject, is treated as an intransitive predicate.

(375) P S
kyą^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} *zï*^{M}*hïʔ*^{LH}
of^3 woman dog
The dog is the woman's.

It is easy to see that *kyą*^{LM} might more simply be treated as a transitive verb meaning 'own', as in (376).

(376) P S O
kyą^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} *zï*^{M}*hïʔ*^{LH}
of^3 woman dog
The woman owns (a) dog.

There is perhaps no compelling argument for one analysis over the other, except that (375) is a bit unnatural and hard to fit into a context without requiring some sort of rhetorical treatment, such as in (377), where the addition of a modal adverb appears to throw weight towards the allocational phrase being a predicate with the modal treating *kyą*^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} as a grammatical unit.

(377) P S
kyą^{LM} *ʔio*^{LH} *bá*^{MH} *zï*^{M}*hïʔ*^{LH}
of^3 woman AFF dog
The dog is the woman's (not someone else's).

All of this to lay a foundation for an analysis of (378), in which 'woman', as possessor constituent of the allocational noun 'of', is relativized as head noun from the structure represented in (375).

(378) P S[H M[COMP P[H Po] S]]]
ka^{M}*-gua*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH} *ʔi*^{M} *kyą*^{LM} *∅* *zï*^{M}*hïʔ*^{LH}
PST-arrive^C3 woman REL of^3 dog
The woman who owns the dog arrived.

6.4. Relativizing a personal pronoun. It was pointed out in §5.1. that a third-person pronoun is lacking in the inventory of Chinantec personal pronouns, and that the noun *za*^{M} 'person' serves in this function in sentences like (379).

(379) P S O
hmo^{LM} *za*^{M} *ta*^{H}
do^P3 3 work
S/he works.

In Tepetotutla, this noun also occurs as a noun in apposition to a first- or second-person pronoun when a descriptive modifier is added to such a pronoun. The modifier is, thus, structurally attached to the noun *za*^{M} rather than to the pronoun directly. In such a construction, the verb in the relative clause takes third-person inflection to agree with *za*^{M}, as in (380)–(383).

(380) H H M[COMP P S O]
hniá^{M} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *hmo*^{LM} *∅* *ta*^{H}
1s 3 REL do^P3 work
I who work

(381) H H M[COMP P S L]
ʔnia^{ʔM} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *tią́ʔ*^{LM} *∅* *zi*^{M}*néi*^{M}
2p 3 REL sit^P3p inside
you who are sitting inside

(382) H H M[COMP P S L]
hnia^{ʔLH} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *tią́ʔ*^{LM} *∅* *zi*^{MH}*huïg*^{M}
1x 3 REL sit^P3p Tepetotutla
we who live in Tepetotutla

(383) H H M[COMP P S O]
hnia^{ʔLH} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *gɛ́ʔ*^{LM} *∅* *nï*^{H}*-tau*^{M}
1x 3 REL eat^P3 CLS-banana
we who eat bananas

[blank]

7

Tepetotutla Chinantec Injunction

To this point, the description of Chinantec syntax has focused upon sentences in the indicative mood. This section presents forms which share the semantic notion of INJUNCTION, here defined to include the categories IMPERATIVE, HORTATIVE, and OPTATIVE. Imperative forms are second-person forms. There are two types, direct imperatives and negative imperatives. Hortative forms are first-person plural forms. Optative forms may be inflected for any person-number or gender category.

7.1. The direct imperative. The second-person-completive form of a verb is often, but not always, identical to that of the positive imperative form, suggesting that the verb form in this position of a verbal paradigm is the least inflected and, for this reason, the form of choice for the imperative form of a verb. The positive imperative verb form also occurs without the glottal ending characteristic of second-person indicative forms; and although its tone and stress inflection is like that of a completive form, it does not occur with either of the past-tense prefixes required of such forms in the indicative. Pairs of indicative and imperative forms are presented below to show the relationship between such forms.

(384)

P	S	T		T
ka^{M}-nau^{M}ʔ	*ʔne^{M}*	*kǫʔ^{M}*	*zi^{L}ŋíʔ^{L}*	*zióg^{M}*
PST-stand^up^C2	2S	as	noon	yesterday

You got up at about noon yesterday.

(385) L P PURP
kau^{LM} *nau*^{M} *ʔia*^{H} *ha*^{M}*lę́*^{M} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *kią*^{LM} *lio*^{LH}
aside stand^up^! because come^P3p 3 REL carry load
Get out of the way! Here come people carrying cargo.

(386) P S T L
ka^{M}*-ko*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔnia ʔ*^{M} *zióg*^{M} *ʔi*^{H}*zi*^{LM} *guáʔ*^{LM}
PST-play^C2 2p yesterday yard church
You (pl) played in the churchyard yesterday.

(387) P L
ko^{LH} *ʔi*^{H}*zi*^{LM} *guáʔ*^{LM}
play^! yard church
Play in the churchyard!

Where the final glottal of a verb form is a part of the stem itself and not simply second-person inflection, the imperative form of the verb includes the glottal as well.

(388) P S O L
ka^{M}*-kagʔ*^{LH} *ʔne*^{M} *mï*^{M}*-ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *cï*^{H}*-hmu*^{M}
PST-gather^C2 2s CLS-coffee CLS-mat
You gathered up the coffee beans from the (drying) mat.

(389) P O PURP
kagʔ^{LH} *mï*^{M}*-ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔia*^{H} *tei*^{L} *hmí*^{LM}
gather^! CLS-coffee because fall^I rain
Gather the coffee beans! It's going to rain.

(390) P S O T
ka^{M}*-kéʔ*^{M} *∅* *mï*^{M}*-hnei*^{M} *zióg*^{M}
PST-eat^C2 CLS-beans yesterday
You ate beans yesterday.

(391) P O
kéʔ^{M} *mï*^{M}*-hnei*^{M}
eat^! CLS-beans
Eat (the) beans!

There are exceptions to the simple rule that the second-person-completive form is identical to the imperative form of a verb. One set of verbs

which has a low-high tone glide in the second-person-completive form has mid-high glide on the imperative.[17]

(392) P S O
ka^{M}*-zi*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *ku*^{MH} *ʔa*^{M} *hme*^{H}*-tioʔ*^{LH} *cï*^{H}*-gu*^{MH}
PST-remove^C2 2 money REL IMPF-located^P3p CLS-box
You removed the money that was in the box.

(393) P O
zi^{MH} *mï*^{M}*-hą*^{L} *hniá*^{M}
remove^! CLS-tooth^1s 1s
Extract my tooth.

(394) Ma P S T
le^{M}*-hąu*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-hmo*^{LH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *ma*^{M}*zi*^{M}*ho*^{L}
like-that PST-do^C2 2s long^ago
That's how you did it a long time ago.

(395) P Ma O
hmo^{MH} *rë*^{M} *ʔe*^{M} *te*^{H}*ʔi*^{H} *kią*^{M}*ʔ* *ʔnia ʔ*^{M}
make^! straight what located of^2 2p
Get all your (pl) things together!

In another set of verbs, the imperative form is inflectionally the same as the second-person-intentive indicative form (less the second-person glottal ending).

(396) P S O L
bá^{MH}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-kąg*^{M} *siá*^{LM}
roll^I2 2s CLS-stone embankment
You will roll the stone down the embankment.

(397) P O L
bá^{MH} *nï*^{H}*-kąg*^{H} *siá*^{LM}
roll^! CLS-stone embankment
Roll the stone down the embankment!

[17]High-low and mid-high tones are known to be derivationally related in some Chinantec languages (Anderson, Martínez, and Pace 1990:13; Gardner and Merrifield 1990:95). This fact may account for this set of imperative forms.

Unrelated to the fact that a few imperatives look like second-person-intentive forms, is the use of intentive forms, without the removal of the second-person glottal ending, as a softer request than is implied by the imperative form. Such forms depend upon context for their being interpreted as indicative or injunctive in force.

(398) P S O
zí^{M}? *∅* *mï^{M}-hą^{L}* *hniá^{M}*
remove^I2 CLS-tooth^1s 1s
(You will) extract my tooth.

(399) L P T
ha^{H}- lá^{L} *náu^{H}?* *të^{H}lia?^{M}* *nei^{LH}* *hë^{MH}* *huïg^{M}*
at this stand^up^I2 while go^I1s into town
(You will) wait here while I go into town.

(400) P S L
káu^{M}? *∅* *?i^{H}zi^{LM}* *guá?^{LM}*
play^I2 yard church
(You will) play in the churchyard.

7.2. The negative imperative. As with positive imperatives, there are two forms of the negative imperative, one more strictly an imperative, the other an intentive form used as a soft injunction. The former usually corresponds inflectionally to the second-person-progressive form of the indicative verb, less the inflectional glottal ending of second person, but with the negative prefix *ca^{L}-* and the nonentailment prefix *lë^{L}-*.

(401) PURP P S O L
?e^{M} *lë^{L}* *zia^{M}?* *∅* *mï^{M}-ka^{M}fe^{LH}* *?uë^{L}*
what? BE place^P2p CLS-coffee ground
Why are you placing the coffee beans on the ground?

(402) P S O L
ca^{L}-lë^{H}-zia^{M} *∅* *mï^{M}-ka^{M}fe^{LH}* *?uë^{L}*
NEG-NON-place^P2p! CLS-coffee ground
Don't place the coffee beans on the ground!

Sentence (402), with the nonentailment prefix, addresses an action in progress and requests that it cease. The terminative prefix *ma^{L}-* may also occur in a negative imperative, enjoining a second person to cease the

performance of an action. With these two exceptions, *lë*^{H}- and *ma*^{L}, other aspectual prefixes occur with imperative verbs.

(403) P S O L
ca^{L}-*ma*^{L}-*zia*^{M} ∅ *mï*^{M}-*ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔuë*^{L}
NEG-HORT-place^P2p! CLS-coffee ground
Stop placing the coffee beans on the ground!

The softer negative command—as in the positive command—is a simple indicative intentive, understood as injunctive.

(404) PURP P S O L
ʔe^{M} *lë*^{L} *ca*^{L}-*ziá*^{M}*ʔ* ∅ *mï*^{M}-*ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔuë*^{L}
what? reason place^I2p CLS-coffee ground
Why won't you place the coffee beans on the ground?

(405) P S O L
ca^{L}-*ziá*^{M}*ʔ* ∅ *mï*^{M}-*ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔuë*^{L}
NEG-place^I2p CLS-coffee ground
You will not place the coffee beans on the ground; or
Don't place the coffee beans on the ground.

Addition of interrogative intonation (§8) to a negative statement/injunction like (406) yields a soft positive request.

(406) P S O L
ca^{VH}-*ziá*^{M}*ʔ* ∅ *mï*^{M}-*ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *ʔuë*^{L}
NEG^?-place^I2p CLS-coffee ground
Would you please place the coffee beans on the ground?

7.3. Hortative. The hortative prefix *ma*^{L}- occurs with the first-plural-intentive form of a verb to form a hortative verb. This prefix, used only with first person plural, is homophonous with the terminative prefix, but should not be confused with it. The latter always occurs with the negative prefix *ca*^{L}-.

(407) P S; P S O
ma^{L}-*zau*^{LH} ∅ *ma*^{L}-*zï*^{H}-*i*^{H}*nio*^{H} ∅ *ta*^{H} *ʔnei*^{M}
HORT-go^I1p HORT-go^I1p-walk work hunt
Let's go hunt!

(408) P S O
ma^{L}-zï^{H}-hag^{LH} *∅* *ʔa^{M}há^{MH}ʔ* *i^{M}lę́^{M}* *-i*
HORT-go^1p-see where? go^P3p 3
Let's go see where they go.

(409) P S L; P S O
ma^{L}-zau^{LH} *∅* *ha^{H}-* *nau^{M}* *ma^{L}-zi^{H}-ʔniogʔ^{LH}* *∅* *ni^{H}-kuïg^{H}*
HORT-go^1p at wild HORT-go^1p-seek CLS-firewood
Let's go to the field (to) get some firewood.

7.4. Optative. The optative prefix *huï^{H}-* (sometimes reduced to *o^{H}-*) expresses a desire. The stem in this configuration most often takes a low-high tone glide but on some verbs assumes the inflectional form of the second person present or intentive form (apart from the glottal ending). The optative is usually a third-person form, but a few examples are found of *huï^{H}-* with first- or second-person stems.

(410) P S
huï^{H}-nei^{LH} *∅*
OPT-hear^P3
I hope they listen.

(411) P S
huï^{H}-ha^{M}lę́^{M} *të^{LM}*
OPT-come^P3p teacher
I hope the teachers are coming.

(412) P S O
huï^{H}-kǫʔ^{MH} *hniá^{M}* *ʔne^{M}*
OPT-jump^P3 1s 2s
Let me jump over you.

An optative can express an indirect command as the object of a verb of speaking.

(413) T P O O
në^{L} *i^{M}-huïgʔ^{M}* *ŋeʔ^{L}* *huï^{H}-ha^{M}-te^{M}*
now go^!-tell father^1s OPT-come^P3-take^TN
Now go tell my father to come and take me home.

(414) P S O O
cei?^{LH} *Ø* *Ø* *hui^{H}-hme^{M}?o^{LH}*
tell^I2 OPT-help^P3
Tell them to help.

[blank]

8
Tepetotutla Chinantec Questions

The first section of this chapter describes confirmation or yes-no questions. The remaining sections, except for the last, describe information questions and give examples of the various interrogative words and phrases used in information questions. The chapter ends with a brief statement concerning the embedding of interrogatives as sentence complements to form indirect questions.

8.1. Confirmation questions. A declarative sentence may begin with any of three types of syllables in relation to stress—an unstressed syllable, a ballistically stressed syllable, or a controlled stress syllable. A confirmation (yes-no) question is formed from a declarative sentence by the addition of interrogative intonation which overrides the normal tone patterning on the first word. Phonetically such syllables are more like controlled stressed syllables than either of the other two types.

With respect to tone, Tepetotutla Chinantec has a six-way contrast on controlled stressed syllables,[18] a five-way contrast on ballistically stressed syllables, and a three-way contrast on pretonic (unstressed) syllables. Interrogative intonation may fall on either of these two syllable types. While high and mid tones can be said to be completely overridden by question intonation, other tones have been observed to retain at least part of their features. Phonetically, the word ze^{L}, for example, is on a low falling tone. The interrogative 'is it good?', starts out somewhat higher than a high tone, but glides all the way down to low before articulation of this monosyllable is complete. A similar statement can be made about mid-high, low-mid, and low-high upglides, but a more definitive study of the intonational dynamics with these tones is yet to be made.

[18]Not including morphemically-complex high-mid and mid-low downglides.

Example (408) summarizes the patterning just described, where VH (very high) symbolizes the overriding interrogative intonation.

(415)

Declarative		Interrogative	Declarative		Interrogative
H	→	VH	MH	→	VHM
M	→	VH	LM	→	LVH
L	→	VHL	LH	→	LVH

Sentences (416)–(421) illustrate pairs of declarative and interrogative sentences, using the convention of a preposed question in the vernacular line to signal interrogative intonation.

(416) *ca^{L}-ma^{M}-o^{L}-lę́^{M} za^{M}*
NEG-PRF-arrive^C3p-move 3
They haven't yet arrived.

(417) *ca^{VHL}-ma^{M}-o^{L}-lę́^{M} za^{M}*
NEG^?-PRF-arrive^C3p-move 3
Haven't they arrived yet?

(418) *ʔa^{M} ʔnio^{L} fre^{MH} cíʔ^{L} ʔné^{LM}*
REL want^P3 Alfred stand^I3 house
Alfred wants to build a house.

(419) *ʔa^{VH} ʔnio^{L} fre^{MH} cíʔ^{L} ʔné^{LM}*
REL^? want^P3 Alfred stand^I3 house
Does Alfred want to build a house?

(420) *ze^{L} ti^{H}-gwaʔ^{LH} në^{LM}*
good CLS-dirt that
That soil is good.

(421) *ze^{VHL} ti^{H}-gwaʔ^{LH} në^{LM}*
good^? CLS-dirt that
Is that soil good?

Whereas (416)–(421) provide contrast for the feature of interrogative intonation on confirmation questions, the occurrence of the negative prefix *ca^{L}-*, as in (416), is very common in this kind of question, without biasing the answer toward either yes or no.

(422) P S O
ca^{VHL}*-ʔnio*^{L} *re*^{MH} *cíʔ*^{L} *ʔné*^{LM}
NEG^?-want^P3 Alfred stand^13 house
Doesn't Alfred want to build a house?

8.2–7 Information questions

Information questions are formed by the use of interrogative words in particular grammatical positions which are then topicalized by left displacement to the beginning of the interrogative clause. Interrogative words include a pronoun, a numeral, and adverbs of space, time, manner and purpose. The following paragraphs introduce and illustrate the various interrogative words.

8.2. The interrogative pronoun. The interrogative pronoun has two forms, inanimate *ʔe*^{M} 'what?' and animate *ʔęi*^{M} 'who(m)?' It may occupy any primary nominal position of a sentence, entailing topicalization of that constituent by left displacement to the first position of the sentence. In the examples which follow, X marks the normal location of the constituent which has undergone left displacement.

(423) S P X T
ʔe^{M} *ka*^{M}*-lë*^{L} *zióg*^{M}
what? PST-happen^IIC3 yesterday
What happened yesterday?

(424) S P X O
ʔęi^{M} *ma*^{M}*-rąg*^{M} *mï*^{M}*-ka*^{M}*fe*^{LH} *la*^{M}
who? PRF-wash^TIP3 CLS-coffee this
Who has washed these coffee beans?

Left displacement transcends sentence embedding, as in (425), where an interrogative object constituent of an embedded clause is dislocated to the beginning of the matrix clause.

(425) O P S O[P S X L]
ʔe^{M} *ʔnio*^{M}*ʔ* *-g* *kióʔ*^{MH} *hniá*^{M} *ha*^{H}*-* *hąu*^{M}
what? want^P2 2 choose^11s 1s at that
What do you want me to choose there?

The interrogative pronoun may occur as a descriptive modifier of a noun, entailing double dislocation—both of the modifier constituent to

the beginning of the noun phrase and of the entire noun phrase to the beginning of the sentence. Sentence (426) has a subject noun phrase with a relative clause as descriptive modifier in a totally neutral word order; but this configuration of material would more likely have either the subject or the locative constituent topicalized, as in (427) and (428). Using the same lexical material except for the interrogative pronoun replacing the relative clause modifier, sentence (429) shows how the interrogative pronoun triggers movement of the modifier position to the left of the noun head and causes the entire subject noun phrase to be topicalized.

(426) P S[H M] L
tiąʔ^{LM} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *hmóʔ*^{M} *huï*^{LM} *le*^{L}*-ŋí*^{M}
sit^P3p 3 REL repair^P3 trail toward-uphill
Those repairing the road live (in the) uphill (part of town).

(427) S[H M MODAL] P L
za^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *hmóʔ*^{M} *huï*^{LM} *bá*^{MH} *tiąʔ*^{LM} *le*^{L}*-ŋí*^{M}
3 REL repair^P3 trail AFF sit^P3p toward-uphill
Those repairing the road live (in the) uphill (part of town).

(428) L MODAL P S[H M]
le^{L}*-ŋí*^{M} *bá*^{MH} *tiąʔ*^{LM} za^{M} *ʔi*^{M} *hmóʔ*^{M} *huï*^{LM}
toward-uphill AFF sit^P3p 3 REL repair^P3 trail
Those repairing the road live (in the) uphill (part of town).

(429) S[M H X] P X L
ʔęi^{M} *za*^{M} *tiąʔ*^{LM} *le*^{L}*-ŋí*^{M}
who? 3 sit^P3p toward-uphill
Which people live (in the) uphill (part of town)?

8.3. The interrogative numeral. There are three Tepetotutla Chinantec forms that function as interrogative numerals—inanimate *he*^{M}*láʔ*^{M} 'how much/many?' and *ʔa*^{M} *kǫʔ*^{M} 'how much/many?'[19] and animate *hąʔ*^{M} 'how many? (animate)'. Like other numerals, these interrogative forms occupy the quantifier position of a noun phrase, or may substitute for a noun phrase in any position in which the latter might occur. Since the

[19] *ʔa*^{M} 'where?' occurs in other phrases as well as an interrogative of spatial location (§8.4). The second element of this phrase, *kǫʔ*^{M}, is perhaps best treated as an adverb and is translatable in some contexts as 'approximately'.

quantifier position is normally first within the noun phrase, there is no left displacement at that level; but the presence of an interrogative numeral in a nominal position or within a noun phrase does entail left displacement of the lone numeral or the noun phrase, respectively, to the first position of the sentence.

(430) S[Q H] P X L
he^{M}lá?^{M} *mï^{M}-rau^{M}* *tio?^{LH}* *cï^{H}-gu^{LM}*
how^many? CLS-sweet located^S3p CLS-box
How many oranges are in the box?

(431) T[Q H] P S X
?a^{M} *kǫ?^{M}* *hora* *zi^{H}no^{L}* *hniog^{MH}*
which? as hour arrive^1Ip 1i
About what time will we arrive home?

(432) O[Q H] P S X
hą?^{M} *za^{M}* *ma^{M}-hme^{M}-zią^{LM}* *-i*
how^many? 3 PRF-CAUS-die^P3p 3
How many people has he killed?

8.4–7 Adverbial interrogatives

Adverbial interrogatives are listed in (433) and are, with one exception,[20] all complex forms based on the interrogative pronoun *?e^{M}* 'what?' or the interrogative adverb *?a^{M}* 'where?' *?a^{M}* is always accompanied by another word in Tepetotutla, depending upon its function; but its cognate in nearby Palantla does occur alone as a variant of *?a^{M}tïa?^{l}* 'where' (Merrifield 1968:73). The Tepetotutla form for 'where', on the otherhand, may occur in a shortened form as *há?^{M}*, without *?a^{M}-*, which in this one adverbial seems to be unstressed and pretonic rather than a stressed form as in the other three interrogatives.

(433) *?a^{M}há?^{MH}* 'where?'
líg?^{M} 'when?'
?a^{M} lia?^{M} 'how?'
?e^{M} lë^{L} 'why? (what is going on)'
?e^{M} ?uïg^{LH} 'why? (on what grounds)'

[20] *líg?^{M}* 'when?' is morphemically simple in Tepetotutla but its Palantla cognate is *?a^{M}lü?^{M}* (Merrifield 1968:73). Note, however, that linguistically more distant Comaltepec has *lï^{LH}* and *lï?^{L}* (Anderson 1989:97f) and Lealao has *hlï?^{H}* (Rupp 1989:102).

These adverbs may each occupy one or another of the adverbial constituents of a sentence as spatial locatives.

8.4. The interrogative of spatial location. The phrase *ʔa^{M}há^{MH}* 'where?' is Tepetotutla's most general spatial locative interrogative. Unlike the other adverbial interrogative phrases, the second element of this one does not currently seem to have a life apart from this usage, unless it is related to the locative preposition *ha^{H}-* 'at' (§9.4). The phrase is like other adverbials, in at least one respect, however. Whereas the interrogative pronoun triggers the double dislocation illustrated in (429), this adverbial phrase dislocates to the beginning of the sentence, but it does not bring a complement clause with it. Sentence (434) illustrates the left dislocation of a locative constituent of a matrix clause; sentence (435), on the other hand, illustrates the left dislocation of the locative constituent of an embedded object-complement clause, the bulk of which the embedded clause must remain in its unmarked position following the verb and subject of the matrix clause.

(434) L P S X
ʔa^{M}há^{MH} tiǫ^{LH} za^{M} ʔi^{M}hmó^{M} huį^{LM}
where? located^P3p3 REL repair^P3 trail
Where are the men who are maintaining the road?

(435) L P S O[COMP P
ʔa^{M}há^{MH} ʔnio^{M}ʔ ʔne^{M} ʔa^{M} zia^{LH}
where? want^P2 2s REL place^1pls

S O X]
hniá^{M} mï^{M}-ka^{M}fe^{LH} la^{M}
1s CLS-koffee this
Where do you want me to put these coffee beans?

The first element of the above adverbial, *ʔa^{M}*, also occurs with forms other than *há^{MH}* to form spatial locative interrogatives. It occurs as modifier of the locative noun *huï^{LM}* 'road', for example, to form a directional interrogative, as in (436), and as locative constituent of the inanimate intransitive verb of location 'reach', as in (437) and (438).

(436) L[M H] P S X
ʔa^{M} huï^{LM} go^{LH}ʔ -g
which? road go^P2S 2
Where (which way) are you going?

(437) L P S X
ʔa^{M} *të*^{M} *le*^{L}*-hẹi?*^{LH} *hniá*^{M} *nï*^{H}*-ŋí*^{M}
where? reach^I3 like-turn^P1 1s CLS-metal
Which direction should I turn the wrench?

(438) L P S X
ʔa^{M} *ka*^{M}*të*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-ʔnioʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *kuïg*^{MH}
where? PST-reach^C3 PST-search^C3 3 firewood
Where did s/he go to get fireword?

8.5. Interrogatives of temporal location. The most general temporal locative interrogative, the adverb *lí̱gʔ*^{M} 'when', is like its spatial locative counterpart in respect to topicalization and displacement of embedded clause constituents. The adverb moves to the beginning of the sentence (439) but leaves a complement clause from which it is extracted in the unmarked object position following the matrix verb and subject, as in (440).

(439) T P S X
lí̱gʔ^{M} *hia*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH} *kią́*^{M}*ʔ -g*
when? come^I3s woman of^2 2
When is your wife coming?

(440) T P S O[COMP P S X]
lí̱gʔ^{M} *ka*^{M}*-huáʔ*^{M} *ʔio*^{LH} *kią́*^{M}*ʔ -g* *ʔa*^{M} *hia*^{L} *∅*
when? PST-say^3 woman of^2 2 REL come^I3s
When did your wife say she was coming?

In addition to the use of the temporal interrogative adverb, the interrogative pronoun can occur as modifier of a temporal noun to query about time. In (441) and (442), the pronoun occurs as modifier of the nouns hora (the Spanish word for 'hour') and *ʔióʔ*^{MH} 'date', respectively, with the interrogative modifier being dislocated to the left of the head noun and the locative constituent as a whole being dislocated to the beginning of the sentence.

(441) S[M H X] P X
ʔe^{M} *hora* *ma*^{M}*-té*^{M}
what? hour IMPF-reach^P3
What time is it?

(442) T[M H X] P S X
ʔe^{M} *ʔió*^{MH} *hiá*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH} *kią́*^{M}*ʔ* *-g*
what? date come^13s woman of^2 2
When (what day) is your wife coming?

8.6. The interrogative of manner. The spatial locative interrogative *ʔa*^{M} occurs with the manner adverb *lia*^{M}*ʔ* 'like' (§3.3) to form an interrogative of manner meaning 'how?'. As sentences (176)–(178) show, the manner adverb often occurs with a postposed complement. In this interrogative phrase, the locative interrogative presumeably occupies this complement position following the manner adverb, but undergoes double left-dislocation which results in both the locative word preceding the manner word and the entire manner constituent occurring as the first element of the sentence.

(443) MA P S O D
ʔa^{M} *lia*^{M}*ʔ* *uíg*^{M} *za*^{M} *ni*^{H}*-ʔlau*^{M} *ó*^{L}
where? manner climb 3 CLS-cliff that
How does one climb that cliff (over there)?

8.7. Interrogatives of purpose and cause. The notions PURPOSE and CAUSE are not clearly distinguished by Tepetotutla grammatical structures, so that when the interrogative pronoun *ʔe*^{M} 'what?' combines with the intransitive inanimate verb *lë*^{L} (be) as its left-dislocated subject to form an interrogative adverbial meaning 'why?', it is left to context to determine whether purpose or cause is indicated. Even in context, however, this distinction is not always clear.

(444) CAUSE RESULT
ʔe^{M} *lë*^{L} *ʔo*^{LM} *gẹi*^{M}
what? BE^IIP3 cry^P3 baby
Why is the baby crying?

(445) CAUSE/PURPOSE RESULT
ʔe^{M} *lë*^{L} *tiọʔ*^{LH} *za*^{M} *kau*^{LM} *kuá*^{L}
what? BE^IIP3 located^P3p 3 side river
Why are the people assembled beside the river?

(446) PURPOSE RESULT
ʔe^{M} *lë*^{L} *huáʔ*^{M} *fé*^{H} *ʔa*^{M} *hia*^{L} *ciog*^{LH}
what? BE^IIP3 say^P3 Felix REL come^13s mother^3
Why does Felix say his mother is coming?

The inalienable noun of cause or purpose, *ʔuïg*^{LH} 'foundation', was discussed briefly in §3.9, where it was shown to introduce a causative clause. The interrogative pronoun as possessor of this noun forms the interrogative adverbial of cause or purpose, entailing left dislocation of the possessor and topicalization of the cause constituent to a position preceding the associated result clause. Like *ʔe*^{M} *lë*^{L} 'why?', this form does not clearly distinguish between cause and purpose.

(447) CAUSE RESULT
ʔe^{M} *ʔuïg*^{LH} *hei*^{M}*ʔ* *ʔnia*^{M}*ʔ* *nau*^{M} *ʔuë*^{L} *la*^{M}
what? basis slash^P2 2p wild land this
Why are you cutting the growth on this land?

8.8. Indirect questions. In addition to the direct questions described above, any of the questions for information may occupy the object position of certain cognitive verbs to form indirect questions, without further adjustment in form.

(448) S P O[T P S X]
ca^{L}*-ʔe̱i*^{M} *ŋi*^{LM} *lí̱gʔ*^{M} *hia*^{L} *ʔio*^{LH} *kią́*^{LM} *Fé*^{H}
NEG-who? know^S3 when? come^I3s woman of^3 Felix
No one knows when Felix's wife will come.

(449) P S O[MA P S]
ka^{M}*-ʔnauʔ*^{M} *zí*^{LM} *za*^{M} *ʔa*^{M} *liaʔ*^{M} *hmo*^{L} *za*^{M}
PST-seek^C3 heart^3 3 where? like do^I3 3
S/he thought seriously about what s/he would do.

A yes-no question may also occur as complement of a cognitive verb to form an indirect question with alternatives.

(450) P; P S O
ma^{M}*-zau*^{LH} *zï*^{L}*-hag*^{LH} *∅* *ca*^{VHL}*-cia*^{M} *hmïg*^{M} *ʔŋióʔ*^{LM} *nïh-zïg*^{H} *ó*^{L}
HORT-go^I1p go^I1p-see NEG^?-BE water inside CLS-jug that
Let's go see whether or not there is water in that jug.

[blank]

9

Tepetotutla Chinantec Prepositions

Lacking a well-developed set of adpositions, Chinantec utilizes a variety of conventions to perform adpositional functions. In previous chapters, certain preposed forms have already been described, including subordinators which mark such intersentential relations as result (§3.8) and condition (§3.10), and certain inalienable nouns which have prepositional properties (§4.4). This chapter presents an overview of words which have adpositional function, including some forms not introduced in previous chapters, but also bringing together illustrations and discussion of forms already mentioned above. Some of them are proclitic in form, being phonologically bound to the phonological words which follow them (451), but most others are phonologically free (452).

(451)

hme^{H-}	'when (completive)'	(§9.1)
hë$^{H-}$	'when (intentive)'	(§9.2)
ma^{M-}	'ago (perfective)'	(§9.3)
ha^{H-}	'at, where'	(§9.4)
të$^{M-}$	'to, from'	(§9.5)

(452)

ne^{MH}	'face^3'	(§9.6)	*zio?*^{LH}	'above'	(§9.13)
tag^{MH}	'foot^3'	(§9.7)	*?ág*^{L}	'below'	(§9.14)
kǫ^{M}	'side^3'	(§9.8)	*?uïg*^{LH}	'base'	(§9.15)
ko?^{LH}	'back^3'	(§9.9)	*cei?*^{LH}	'edge'	(§9.16)
hë^{MH}	'amid'	(§9.10)	*?nï?*^{M}	'outskirts'	(§9.17)
zi^{M-}	'on'	(§9.11)	*kau*^{LM}	'beside'	(§9.18)
né?^{L}	'under, inside'	(§9.12)			

The first three prepositions of (451) are temporal locative prepositions; the rest are spatial locatives in at least some contexts, although several

range beyond real-world space to more abstract notions of location. The following sections take up each of the prepositions, one at a time. Those which subordinate sentences function in that context much like the relative word when it complementizes a relative sentence.

9.1. The preposition *hme^{H}-* 'when (completive)'. This preposition subordinates a completive or perfective sentence, permitting it to occupy the temporal locative position of a perfective or completive matrix sentence.

(453) O P S T[PREP P S]
ca^{L}-ʔe^{M} *ka^{M}-huáʔ^{M}* *za^{M}* *hme^{H}-* *ka^{M}-zióg^{L}* *∅*
NEG-what PST-say^C3 3 when PST-arrive^C3s
He didn't say anything when he arrived there.

(454) MA P S T[PREP P S]
tei^{MH} bá^{MH} *ma^{M}-guá^{LM}* *háʔ^{M}* *hme^{H}-* *ka^{M}-zióg^{L}* *za^{M}*
quiet AFF PRF-sit^P3 animal when PST-arrive^there^C3s 3
The animal was sitting quietly when the man arrived there.

(455) P S T[PREP P S]
ka^{M}-ŋó^{L} *za^{M}* *hme^{H}-* *ma^{M}-ʔmu^{L}* *ŋi^{H}tág^{M}* *kióʔ^{LM}*
PST-go^C3s 3 when PRF-sharp^S machete of^3
The man went when his machete had become sharp.

9.2. The prepositon *hë^{H}-* 'when (intentive)'. This preposition subordinates a perfective clause, permitting it to occupy the temporal locative position of an intentive matrix clause.

(456) P S T[PREP P S]
kué^{H} *hniog^{MH}* *hë^{H}-* *ma^{M}-o^{L}lę^{L}* *-i*
give^I1p Ii when PRF-come^P3p 3
We will give (it to them) when they get here.

(457) P S T[PREP P S]
ʔo^{L} *ʔio^{LH}* *hë^{H}-* *ma^{M}-rë^{M}-ŋi^{LM}* *za^{M}*
cry^I3 woman when PRF-STA-know^S3 3
The woman will cry when the people have found out.

(458) P S ASSOC T
nei^{LH} *hniá^{M}* *kiąʔ^{LH}* *ʔne^{M}* *hë^{H}-* *ma^{M}-tế^{M}* *rë^{H}-go^{LH}ʔ* *-g*
go^I1s 1s with 2s when PRF-reach^C3 STA-go^I2 2
I will go with you when it's time for you to go.

9.3. The prefix *ma*^{M}- (perfective). This form is the same perfective prefix introduced in the discussion of verb affixation and inflection (§2.3). It differs from other verb prefixes, however, in occurring in proclitic fashion with a few nonverbal words and phrases. It differs from the two temporal prepositions listed above, on the other hand, in that they subordinate clauses rather than such words or phrases. It seems appropriate to include it here, nevertheless, because of its functional similarity to locative prepositions as a subordinator of temporal nouns and adverbs, as illustrated in (459)–(462).

(459) O P S T[PREP Q HJ
le^{M}-*në*^{LM} *ka*^{M}-*hmo*^{L} *za*^{M} *go*^{MH} *ʔnia*^{ʔM} *ma*^{M}- *ka*^{M} *ŋi*^{M}
like-that PST-do^P3 3 kinsman^2 2p PRF one year
That's what your kinsmen did a year ago.

(460) P S T
ka^{M}-*rë*^{L}-*zoʔ*^{LH} *ciʔ*^{M} *ma*^{M}-*ʔmíg*^{M}
PST-ACT-sick^S3 child PRF-early
The child got sick this morning.

(461) S P T
le^{M}-*la*^{M} *ka*^{M}-*lë*^{L} *ma*^{M}- *zi*^{L}-*ho*^{L}
like-this PST-BE^C3 PRF yesterday-day^before^yesterday
This is what happened long ago.

(462) P S T[PREP H D J
ma^{M}-*i*^{M}*lę́*^{M} *za*^{M} *ma*^{M}- *zióg*^{M} *hąu*^{M}
PRF-go^C3p 3 PRF yesterday that
They had gone out the day before.

9.4. The preposition *ha*^{H}- 'at, where'. The most common of Chinantec prepositions is *ha*^{H}- 'at, where', which subordinates sentences, a variety of phrases, certain adverbs, and deictic words.

(463) P S L[PREP P S O LJ
ma^{M}-*ŋe*^{MH} *hniáʔ*^{M} *ha*^{H}- *hme*^{M}-*zią*^{LM} *za*^{M} *ʔi*^{H}-*ŋí*^{LM} *∅*
PRF-return^P1s 1s at CAUS-die^P3p 3 CLS-pig
I have been to the place where they slaughter pigs.

(464) P S L[PREP P T]PREP Q H] L]
ka^{M}-i^{M}-hó^{M} za^{M} ha^{H}- ka^{M}-hág^{M} ma^{M}- tį̈^{L} ŋi^{M} ∅
PST-go^C3-take 3 at PST-slash^P1p PRF two year
They took us to where we had made a field two years ago.

(465) P S L[PREP P]
ka^{M}-tą̊ʔ^{M} za^{M} ha^{H}- ŋei^{LM}
PST-fall^C3s 3 at high
He fell from a high place.

(466) P S O L[PREP L]
hmo^{LM} ʔio^{LH} ta^{H} ha^{H}- si^{M}
do^P3 woman work at fire
The woman is cooking.

(467) P S L[PREP D]
rë^{m}-zoʔ^{lh} za^{m} ha^{h}- hąu^{m}
STA-sick 3 at that
People are getting sick at that place.

9.5. The preposition *të^{M}-* 'to, from'. The enclitic form *të^{M}-* 'to, from' is probably related to the inanimate intransitive verb *tḗ^{L}* 'it reaches'. It is also heard in conjunction with other prepositions to denote direction toward a location; but in almost every such case, the preposition is easily replaced by the verb 'reach', possibly indicating a mere phonological simplification of the verbal construction. Sentences (468) and (469) are equivalent.

(468) T[H D] P S L[PREP O]
hmïg^{MH} hąu^{M} ka^{M}-zióg^{M} fé^{H} të^{M}- mï^{M}lo^{MH}
day that PST-arrive^C3s Felix to Tuxtepec
That day Felix arrived in Tuxtepec.

(469) T[H D] P S L[P O]
hmïg^{MH} hąu^{M} ka^{M}-zióg^{M} fé^{H} ka^{M}-tḗ^{M} mï^{M}lo^{MH}
day that PST-arrive^C3s Felix PST-reach^C3 Tuxtepec
That day Felix reached Tuxtepec.

The 'reaching' in (468) and (469) occurs in an outbound direction because the directional verb *ka^{M}zióg^{L}* defines arrival as occurring away from the place of the speech act. The same 'reaching' can occur in the

opposite direction with a directional verb that references motion toward the place of the speech act, as in (470).

(470) P S T L[PREP O]
ka^{M}-guą?^{L} fé^{H} zióg^{M} të^{M}- ?i^{H}kuï?^{M}
PST-arrive^here^ECHO^C3s Felix yesterday from Oaxaca
Felix arrived back (here) yesterday from Oaxaca.

One final example remains as a bit of residue in terms of its possible derivational relationship to *të^{M}-* 'to, from'. These same segments with high tone and followed by what would appear to be the manner adverb *lia?^{M}* 'like' express the temporal relation 'while, during'.

(471) L P T[PREP MA P L T]
ha^{H}-la^{L} náu^{H}? të^{H}- lia?^{M} nei^{LH} hë^{MH} huïg^{M} ∅
at-this stand^up^12 to like go^11s amid town
(You will) wait here while I go into town.

9.6–18 Prepositional nouns

The remaining forms with adpositional function to be discussed in this chapter are considered to be a subset of inalienable nouns called PREPOSITIONAL NOUNS (§4.7). The interpretation of these forms as inalienable nouns is more clear for some of the forms than it is for others; but once a few have been so interpreted, there seems to be no usefulness in considering the rest of them as different. Four of the clearest cases are the nouns *ne^{MH}* 'face^3', *tag^{MH}* 'foot^3', *kǫ^{M}* 'side^3', *ko?^{LH}* 'back^3', all third-person nouns which name body parts. They each have distinct non-third-person forms as well and occur in nonmetaphorical reference to parts of human or animal anatomy. But the third-person forms can also occur with adpositional force in locative function. These four nouns are further illustrated in the four sections that follow (§§9.6–9.9).

In addition to these four clear cases, there are nine forms which are not normally used in reference to human anatomy and which do not appear to be inflected for person, but which, in other respects, have adpositional function like the first four and are, therefore, also considered to be prepositional nouns rather than pure prepositions. They occur with nominal material following them in what is equivalent to the possessor position within the noun phrase. These nine nouns are presented in §§9.10–9.18; but first the clear cases are presented.

9.6. The prepositional noun *ne*^{MH} 'face^3'. The prepositional noun *ne*^{MH} 'face^3' denotes 'on the surface of' for horizontal objects and 'in front of' for vertical objects, when used locatively. It is somewhat unique in being able to function locatively in other than the third person, as in (474).

(472) P S L
rǫ^{LM} *si*^{M} *ne*^{MH} *mesa*
lie^S3s book face^3 table
The book is on the table.

(473) P S L
cę́ʔ^{LM} *za*^{M} *ne*^{MH} *zï*^{M}*tą*^{LH}
stand^S3s 3 face^3 authority
He is standing before the authorities.

(474) P S O L
hmo^{LM} *hniá*^{M} *si*^{M} *ne*^{LH}*ʔ*
do^P1s 1s paper face^2
I am writing a letter to you.

9.7. The prepositional noun *tag*^{MH} 'foot^3'. The prepositional noun *tag*^{MH} 'foot^3' denotes the lower leg and foot in anatomical reference; in locative reference, it denotes the bottom part of a vertical object.

(475) P S L
cíʔ^{LM} *laʔ*^{LH} *hąu*^{M} *tag*^{H} *krógMH*
stand^S3s waterfall that foot^3 cross
That waterfall is located at the foot of the cross.

9.8. The prepositional noun *kǫ*^{M} 'side^3'. The prepositional noun *kǫ*^{M} 'side^3' denotes the side of the rib cage or a position alongside of someone or something.

(476) P S L
tiǫʔ^{LH} *ciʔ*^{M} *kǫ*^{M} *ciog*^{LH}
stand^S3p child side^3 mother^3
The children are standing next to their mother(s).

9.9. The prepositional noun *koʔ*^{LH} 'back^3'. The prepositional noun *koʔ*^{LH} 'back^3' references a location behind an object.

(477) P S L
cę́ʔ^{LM} *zïʲ*^{M}*kua*^{H} *koʔ*^{LH} *cïʲ*^{H}*ʔné*^{LM}
stand^S3s horse back^3 house
The horse is behind the house.

9.10. The prepositional noun *hë*^{MH}. This prepositional noun has a fairly narrow focus, subordinating a topographic noun such as *huïg*^{M} 'town', the directional noun *huï*^{LM} 'trail', or a collective or mass noun as a spatial locative constituent of a sentence. It may also occur with with a deictic pronoun in anaphoric reference.

(478) P S L[H Po]
ʔę^{LH} *giʔ*^{LH} *hë*^{MH} *huï*^{LM} *hęʔ*^{LH}
located^S3s sir amid road San^Antonio
The gentleman is on the way to San Antonio.

(479) P S O L[H Po]
hmo^{LM} *za*^{M} *mïʔ*^{LH} *hë*^{MH} *huïg*^{M}
do^P3 3 noise amid town
People are making a commotion in the middle of town.

(480) P MODAL MODAL S L[H Po]
ka^{M}*-ŋó*^{L} *bá*^{MH} *gê*^{MH} *da*^{M}*rî*^{MH} *hë*^{MH} *ʔma*^{M}*-tau*^{M} *kióʔ*^{LM}
PST-go^C3s AFF AUG Dario amid tree-banana of^3
Dario just kept on walking through his banana grove.

(481) P S O L[H Po
ka^{M}*-hęʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *ka*^{M}*ba*^{LH} *kią́*^{LM}*i* *hë*^{MH} *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *-i*
PST-meet^C3 3 coparent of^3 amid BE^S3p 3

Po]
hmo^{ML} *ta*^{H}*-huïg*^{M}
do^P3 work-town
He met his compadre in the group of men doing town work.

(482) L[H D] P T MODAL S
hë^{MH} *hąu*^{M} *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *tią́*^{M} *bá*^{MH} *háʔ*^{M}
amid that BE^S3p always AFF animal
There are always animals in there.

9.11. The prepositional noun *ziʲ*^{M}- 'in, on'. The prepositional noun *ziʲ*^{M}- denotes a location central to an object such as a road or body of

water and subordinates nominal forms that name such objects as spatial locative constituents of a clause.

(483) P S O[P S O L[H Po]]
ca^{VHL}-gą^{L}? *-g* *hę^{M}?* *-g* *?ia?^{M}* *zi^{M}-hui^{LM}*
NEG^?-fear^S2 2 meet^I2 2 jaguar on road
Aren't you afraid you will meet a jaguar on the trail?

(484) P S L; P S L[H Po]
ka^{M}-guą?^{L} *za^{M}* *kuá^{L}* *ka^{M}-kį̈?^{L}* *-i* *zi^{M}-* *hmïg^{M}*
PST-arrive^P3s 3 river PST-fall^P3ś 3 in water
He arrived at the river and fell into the water.

It occurs in a few close-knit constructions which have narrow, idiomatic reference—with a form meaning 'night', it denotes 'midnight' (*zi^{L}-nei^{LM}*); with a form meaning 'day', it denotes 'noon' (*zi^{L}-ŋí?^{L}*); and with a form that has no known separate occurrence in the language, it means 'inside of' a room or building (*zi^{M}-néi^{M}*). With the allocational noun *kió^{L}* 'of^1s', this last form denotes the inside of a person's house.

(485) *zi^{M}néi^{M} ?né^{LM} huïg^{M}* 'in the town hall'
zi^{M}néi^{M} gwá?^{LM} 'in the church'
zi^{M}néi^{M} kió^{L} 'in my home'
zi^{M}néi^{M} la^{M} 'in this place (house, room)'

9.12. The prepositional noun *né?^{L}* 'under'. The prepositional noun *né?^{L}* 'under' introduces either a spatial or temporal locative constituent. As a spatial locative it directs attention to the underside or the interior of an object. As a temporal locative it denotes prior time.

(486) P S O L[H Po]
ka^{M}-tǫ?^{M} *-i* *të^{LM}* *né?^{L}* *?má^{L}*
PST-put^C3 3 teacher inside jail
They put the teacher in jail.

(487) P S 'L[H Po]
hme^{H}-tiǫ?^{LH} *ǫ^{L}* *za^{M}* *ŋe?^{M}* *né?^{L}* *cï^{H}-mï^{M}-?ą́^{LM}*
IMPF-located^S3p two 3 male under CLS-CLS-bridge
There were two men under the bridge.

(488)

P	S	L[H	M[H	Po	D]]
ca^{M}-sió^{M}	*háʔ^{M}*	*huï^{LM}*	*néʔ^{L}*	*cï^{H}-ʔné^{LM}*	*hąu^{M}*
PST-descend^C3	animal	road	under	CLS-house	that

The animal went down under that house.

(489)

P	S	T[H	Po			]
ka^{M}-o^{L}-ʔį́^{L}	*-i*	*néʔ^{L}*	*ʔa^{M}*	*ka^{M}-tę̂^{M}*	*zi^{L}ŋíʔ^{L}*	
PST-come^C3s-exit	3	REL	PST-reach^C3	inside	midday	

He escaped before noon.

It takes any type of nominal as its object, or it can occur without an explicit object, with the context dictating between spatial and temporal interpretations. Sentence (490) illustrates a relative clause with a temporal interpretation as possessor; (491) and (492) illustrate an implicit possessor.

(490)

H	Po					
néʔ^{L}	*ʔa^{M}*	*tę̂^{M}*	*hora*	*ʔa^{M}*	*ziótg^{MH}*	*hąu^{M}*
before	REL	reach	hour	REL	arrive^I3s	that

before it is time for him to get there

(491)

P	S	L[H	Po]
ma^{M}-ʔę^{LH}	*háʔ^{M}*	*néʔ^{L}*	*Ø*
PRF-located^P3s	animal	inside	

The animal is inside.

(492)

S		P	L[H	Po]
guaʔ^{LH}	*gę́i^{M}*	*tioʔ^{LH}*	*néʔ^{L}*	*Ø*
dirt	red	BE^S3p	under	

The red dirt is located underneath.

9.13. The prepositional noun *zioʔ^{LH}* 'above (uphill from)'. This prepositional noun must have a locative noun or phrase as its object. The expression *le^{L}ŋí^{M}* 'toward uphill' is roughly synonymous but may function adverbially without an object.

(493)

H	Po
zioʔ^{LH}	*huïg^{M}*
above	town

uphill from town

(494) H Po[PREP P T[PREP O]]
zio?^{LH} ha^{H}- ka^{M}-hág^{M} ma^{M}- tį̈^{L} ŋi^{M}
above at PST-slash^C1p ago- two year
uphill from the place where we cut a field two years ago

9.14. The prepositional noun *?ág^{L}* 'below (downhill from)'. This prepositional noun is the lexical counterpart of *zio?^{LH}* 'above' and has similar syntactic characteristics to it.

(495) P O L[P S[H Po]
ka^{M}-i^{H}-ho^{LH} ?i^{H}-ŋí^{LM} ka^{M}të^{M} ?ág^{L} huï^{LM}
PST-go^C3-take CLS-pig to below trail
They took the pig to below the trail.

(496) P S L[Q H Po]
ka^{M}-i^{H}lę^{LH} -i le^{M}tą^{LH} ?ág^{L} huïg^{M} ma^{H}ha?^{LH}
PST-go^C3p 3 all below town Tlacoatzintepec
They went all along the area below Tlacuatzcintepec.

9.15. The prepositional noun *?uïg^{LH}* 'base'. The prepositional noun *?uïg^{LH}* 'base' references the foundation or undergirding of an object. As mentioned (§§3.9, 8.7), it may introduce a cause or purpose constituent, but it also serves a locative function when naming the bottom-most extremity of a vertical object, such as a tree or mountain range.

(497) P S L
ka^{M}-hǫ^{L} ?ia?^{M} ?uïg^{LH} ?ma^{M}
PST-die^C3s jaguar base wood
The jaguar died at the foot of the tree.

9.16. The prepositional noun *cei?^{LH}* 'edge'. The prepositional noun *cei?^{LH}* 'edge'[21] can reference the hem of a garment, the border of a field, or the shore of a river or other body of water.

(498) P S L[H PO]; P S O
tiǫ?^{LH} za^{M} cei?^{LH} hmïg^{M} cą́?^{M} ∅ hu^{MH}
BE^S3p 3 edge water catch^TAP3 fish
The people are on the shore fishing.

[21]Pronounced *ci?^{LH}* in Barrio.

9.17. The prepositional noun *ʔniïʔ*^{M} 'outskirts'. The prepositional noun *ʔniïʔ*^{M} 'outskirts' could also be glossed 'edge', but in reference to a center of population. It occur almost exclusively with the noun *huïg*^{M} 'town'.

(499) P S L[H PO]
ka^{M}*-kɻ́ʔ*^{M} *za*^{M} *ʔɻ*^{LM} *ʔniïʔ*^{M} *huïg*^{M}
PST-fight^C3 3 drunk edge town
The drunks fought just outside of town.

9.18. The prepositional noun *kau*^{LM} 'beside'. The prepositional noun *kau*^{LM} 'beside' may be derivationally related to *kɻ*^{M} 'side^3', as its inanimate counterpart, but in any case is more purely adpositional in all of its occurrences.

(500) P S L[H PO]
gɛ́ʔ^{LM} *za*^{M} *kau*^{LM} *huï*^{LM}
eat^P3 3 beside road
S/he is eating beside the road.

[blank]

10

Tepetotutla Chinantec Modal Adverbs

Modal adverbs are postposed to words or groups of words to add rhetorical force. The most common modals are listed in (501) and illustrated in order below.

(501)	*bá*^{MH}	(affirmation)	(§10.1)	*de?*^{M}	(priority)	(§10.6)
	gë?^{M}	(explication)	(§10.2)	*dé*^{MH}	(sequence)	(§10.7)
	gé^{L}	(contrary-to-fact)	(§10.3)	*ué*^{L}	(immediacy)	(§10.8)
	gé^{MH}	(augmentation)	(§10.4)	*né*^{L}	(agregation)	(§10.9)
	rë?^{M}	(alteration)	(§10.5)			

10.1. The modal *bá*^{MH} (affirmation). The affirmation modal *bá*^{MH} adds focus or emphasis to the construction immediately preceding it. It is the most common of the modal adverbs, occurring in fifty percent or more of common speech utterances. Some inhabitants of San Antonio pronounce it with a final glottal *bá?*^{MH}, most noticeable at sentence or utterance final.

The ability of this modal adverb to affirm a variety of sentence constituents can be illustrated in the form of responses to particular information questions.

(502) Predicate affirmation—What do people do in there?

P	MODAL	S
gé?^{LM}	*bá*^{MH}	*za*^{M}
eat^P3	AFF	3

They eat.

(503) Subject affirmation—Who eats in there?

P	S	MODAL
gə́ʔ^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*bá*^{MH}
eat^P3	3	AFF

People eat.

(504) Object affirmation—What do they eat?

P	S	O	MODAL
gə́ʔ^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*nï*^{H}*-ʔí*^{LM}	*bá*^{MH}
eat^P3	3	CLS-tortilla	AFF

They eat tortillas.

(505) Spatial locative affirmation—Where do they eat them?

P	S	L	MODAL
gə́ʔ^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*zi*^{M}*né*^{iM}	*bá*^{MH}
eat^P3	3	inside	AFF

Inside is where they eat.

(506) Temporal locative affirmation—When do people eat?

P	S	T		MODAL
gə́ʔ^{LM}	*za*^{M}	*kǫʔ*^{M}	*zi*^{L}*ŋíʔ*^{L}	*bá*^{MH}
eat^P3	3	as	noon	AFF

They eat at about noon.

The domain highlighted by the affirmation modal may be said to be the entire sentence to the left of it. That is, while a locative may be the constituent immediately preceding it, for example, the material subordinated by the locative may be considered adjunct to it. An extreme example of this principle can be demonstrated by embedding an entire sentence in a topicalized object position, highlighted by *bá*^{MH} (affirmation).

(507)

O[COMP	P	L	PURP		MODAL]	P
ʔa^{M}	*zó*^{L}	*i*^{H}*kuï*^{M}	*zi*^{L}*-liá*^{L}	*mí*^{LM}	*bá*^{MH}	*huáʔ*^{M}
REL	go^I3s	Oaxaca	go^I3-buy	medicine	AFF	say^P3

That he's going to Oaxaca to buy medicine is what he said.

10.2. The modal *gëʔ*^{M} (explication). The explication modal *gëʔ*^{M} is used to clarify or expand a statement, to acknowledge that a statement of an interlocutor is clear, or to emphasize a distinction or contrast. It often occurs together with the affirmation modal.

(508) O MODAL P S
ʔa^{M}hąu^{M} gëʔ^{M} ʔë^{LM} hniá^{M}
REL that EXPL claim 1s
Yeah, that's what I'm saying.

(509) H MODAL MODAL
ʔa^{M} hąu^{M} bá^{MH} gëʔ^{M}
REL that AFF EXPL
Yeah, that's it.

(510) P MODAL S O
ca^{L}-ŋi^{LM} gëʔ^{M} za^{M} ʔęi^{M} háʔ^{M} në^{LM}
NEG-know^S3 EXPL 3 who? animal that
I mean, they didn't even know what kind of animal it was.

(511) P L MODAL MODAL
ka^{M}-há^{L} uį́g^{M} bá^{MH} gëʔ^{M}
PST-come^C3s far AFF EXPL
I mean, he came from a LONG way off.

(512) P S L; S MODAL P L
nei^{LH} hniá^{M} huï^{LM} ŋí^{M} ʔne^{M} gëʔ^{M} hŋia^{MH} ha^{H}-lá^{L}
go^I1s 1s trail uphill 2s EXPL wait! at-this
I'll go on up; but you, wait here!

The explication modal when used in an interrogative construction has the meaning 'what about?'

(513) H PO MODAL
ʔio^{LH} kią́^{M}ʔ -g gëʔ^{M}
woman of^2 2 EXPL
What about your wife? (What is her situation?)

(514) O MODAL P S T
ʔe^{M} gëʔ^{M} kí^{L} za^{M} hë^{H}- ma^{M}-guą́ʔ^{LM} -i ha^{H}nau^{M}
what? EXPL pay^I3 3 when PRF-arrive^P3s 3 field
What, then, are they going to pay, when they return from the field?

When the explication modal occurs with a negative expression, usually following the negative verb prefix *ca^{L}-* in a string with *ǫ^{L}* 'nor', it has the force of a negative alternation.

(515) P S CONJ MODAL O P
ca^{L}-ka^{M}-kí^{L} za^{L} ǫ^{L} gë?^{M} ti^{H}?mag?^{MH} ka^{M}-kuë^{L}
NEG-PST-pay^C3 3 nor EXPL thanks PST-give^C3
He neither paid nor said thank you.

(516) P S CONJ MODAL L P S
ca^{L}-ma^{L}-lé^{M} ŋï^{L} ǫ^{L} gë?^{M} gei?^{LH} ?ma^{M} lé^{M} uíg^{M}
NEG-TRM-BE walk^I3s nor either up tree BE climb^I3
He could neither walk nor climb a tree.

10.3. The modal *gë^{L}* (contrary-to-fact). The contrary-to-fact modal *gë^{L}* is possibly derived from the explication modal *gë?^{M}*. It is extremely limited in its distribution, in that it occurs only in such contrary-to-fact expressions as *hua?^{LH} mei?^{M} gë^{L}* 'if it were the case that' and *hui^{H} ?a^{M} gë^{L}* 'even though'.

(517) P S COND[COMP MA MODAL P
hme^{H}-nei^{LH} hniá^{M} hua?^{LH} mei?^{M} gë^{L} kuë^{L}
IMPF-go^I1s 1s if little CF give^I3

S O]
ŋe?^{LH} hmïg^{M}
father^1s permission
I would go if my father would give permission (but he will not).

(518) P O S COND[COMP MODAL P
ca^{L}-tï^{L} -i míg^{M} hui^{H} ?a^{M} gë^{L} ma^{M}-tiǫ?^{LH}
NEG-reach^I3 3 ball if REL CF PRF-BE^S3p

S]
za^{M} kuë^{LM} míg^{M}
3 give^P3 ball
The bullets won't hit her, even though people are there shooting at her.

10.4. The modal *gé^{MH}* (augmentation). The augmentation modal *gé^{MH}* is easily translated as 'more, still, moreover, next'.

(519) O P S; T MODAL P S
?ŋiá^{M} tio?^{LH} ka^{M}-kuë^{L} za^{M} hąu^{M} gé^{MH} ka^{M}-tą?^{M} -i
five rounds PST-give^C3 3 that AUG PST-fall^C3s 3
They fired five rounds at him; only then did he fall.

(520) T MODAL P T
hąu^{M} *gé*^{MH} *ka*^{M}*-ŋó*^{L} *hme*^{H}- *ma*^{M}*-ʔmu*^{L} *ŋi*^{H}*tág*^{M} *kióʔ*^{LM}
that AUG PST-go^C3s when- PRF-sharp machete or^3
And then he went on, once his machete was sharp.

Like the explication modal *gëʔ*^{M} illustrated in (515) and (516), the augmentation modal also occurs with negative, where it can be glossed 'not even'. Note the sequence of modals in (521) that begins with a negative universal quantifying expression, continues with *gëʔ*^{M} (explication), and culminates with two occurrences of *gé*^{MH} (augmentation).

(521) O P; CONJ MODAL O
ʔi^{H} *kąu*^{M} *ca*^{L}*-ʔe*^{M} *líʔ*^{MH}; *ǫ*^{L} *gëʔ*^{M} *zí*^{LM} *ʔlau*^{M} *máʔ*^{M}
not one NEG-what? aware or EXPL heart rock mountain

P CONJ MODAL O P; CONJ MODAL O
kuíʔ^{LM} *ǫ*^{L} *gé*^{MH} *néʔ*^{L} *hmig*^{M} *kuíʔ*^{LM}; *ǫ*^{L} *gé*^{MH} *tau*^{M}
know or AUG under water know or AUG cave

P L
máʔ^{M} *kuíʔ*^{LM} *huï*^{H}*liaʔ*^{M} *ha*^{H}- *tiǫʔ*^{LH} *mï*^{M}*hoʔ*^{LH} *si*^{M}
mountain know like at BE^P3p rainbow light
He isn't aware of any of that stuff; I mean, he doesn't know about mountain grottos, nor of underwater realms, nor even of mountain caves like those in which rainbow spirits live.

(522) CONJ MODAL S P
ǫ^{L} *gé*^{MH} *ciʔ*^{M} *kąʔ*^{LH} *rí́ʔ*^{L} *hniá*^{M} *tiąʔ*^{LM}
nor even child big^p sibling^1s 1s able^S3
Not even my older siblings can (do that).

Alone or in a clause with the negative prefix *ca*^{L}-, but without *ǫ*^{L}, *gé*^{MH} translates 'not yet'. Example (524) is a truncated response.

(523) PREP P MODAL S L P S
të^{L} *ca*^{L}*-ka*^{M}*-ʔí*^{L} *gé*^{MH} *za*^{M} *zi*^{M}*néi*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-tąg*^{M} *hmí́*^{LM}
to NEG-PST-enter^C3s AUG 3 inside PST-fall^C3 rain
While he had not yet entered the house, it rained.

(524) P MODAL
ca^{L}- *gë*^{MH}
NEG AUG
Not yet.

10.5. The modal *rëʔ*^{M} (alteration). The alteration modal *rëʔ*^{M} indicates a corrected or revised statement. It appears in a variety of contexts, often with other modals—especially *bá*^{MH} (affirmation) or *gëʔ*^{M} (explication).

(525) P S T; O MODAL P
ka^{M}-*guą*^{L} -*i* *hora* *ŋí*^{H} *ŋi*^{L}; *hora* *ŋí*^{H} *gia*^{L} *rëʔ*^{M} *huáʔ*^{LM}
PST-arrive^P3 3 hour bell nine hour bell ten rather say^P1s
He arrived at nine o'clock—rather, ten o'clock.

(526) T[PREP P MODAL S] S
hë^{H}- *ma*^{M}-*ka*^{M}-*hǫ*^{L} *rëʔ*^{M} *hmei*^{M} *ʔŋiog*^{LM} *ʔéi*^{M} *bâ*^{MH}
when PRF-PST-die^C3s ALT father^3 REFL^3 that AFF

P O
kią^{LM} *ka*^{H}*hui*^{LM}
of^3 cow
If his father were to die, rather, he would own the cow.

(527) P MODAL S[P S O]
zau^{LM} *rëʔ*^{M} *ca*^{L}-*kuïg*^{M}*ʔ* *ʔne*^{M} *hniá*^{M}
true ALT NEG-know^P2 2s 1s
It is apparent that you don't recognize me.

10.6. The modal *deʔ*^{M} (priority). The priority modal *deʔ*^{M} marks a situation or condition that must exist before another one in the context can occur.

(528) O MODAL T P S
ku^{MH} *deʔ*^{M} *hŋiá*^{LM} *hme*^{H}-*ʔnio*^{L} *hniá*^{M}
money PRIOR before IMPF-want^S1s 1s
First the money, I want it in advance.

(529) P MODAL
hŋia^{MH} *deʔ*^{M}
wait! PRIOR
Just wait a minute!

10.7. The modal *dɛ́*^{MH} (sequence). The sequence modal *dɛ́*^{MH} signals the fact that what is about to be uttered is a description of an action that occurred or will occur in sequential tandem (directly following) the action or condition that was described in the immediately preceding sentence.

(530)

P		S;	T	MODAL	P		S		Ma	
ka^{M}-*hǫ*^{L}		*gẹi*^{M};	*hạu*^{M}	*dɛ́*^{MH}	*ka*^{M}-*ʔo*^{L}		*ciog*^{LH}		*ʔŋio*^{LM}	*lɨ̰*^{L}
PST-die^P3s		baby	that	SEQ	PST-cry^C3		mother^3		very	much

The baby died; and then its mother cried bitterly.

(531)

T		MODAL	P		MODAL	S	O	L	
ŋi^{M}	*hạu*^{M}	*dɛ́*^{MH}	*ka*^{M}-*i*^{H}-*hei*^{LH}		*bá*^{MH}	*za*^{M}	*nau*^{M}	*ha*^{H}-*hạu*^{M}	
year	that	SEQ	PST-go^C3-slash		AFF	3	field	at	that

So then that year the men went out and slashed a field there.

10.8. The modal *uɛ́*^{L} (immediacy). The immediacy modal *uɛ́*^{L} expresses the urgency of a demand in an imperative sentence.

(532)

P	MODAL	O	
*hẹi*ʔ^{LH}	*uɛ́*^{L}	*si*^{M}	*kió*^{L}
return!	IMMED	paper of^1s	

Give me back my document right now!

(533)

P	MODAL	O	
nia^{MH}	*uɛ́*^{L}	*ʔo*^{MH}	*ʔné*^{MH}
open!	IMMED	mouth^3	house

Open the door immediately!

10.9. The modal *nɛ́*^{L} (aggregation). The aggregation modal *nɛ́*^{L} is very common, and in many contexts can take the gloss 'also'. It occurs when the speaker is naming a series of items or names in a list.

(534)

P	S	ASSOC	S	S
ka^{M}-*i*^{L}*lɛ́*^{M}	*zï*^{M}-*bẹi*^{MH}	*kiạ*ʔ^{LH}	*po*^{MH}	*dré*^{MH}
PST-go^C3p	CLS-Albino	with	Leopoldo	Andres

S		MODAL
*gi*ʔ^{LH}	*tẹi*^{MH}	*nɛ́*^{L}
old^man	Agustin	AGG

Alvin and Leopold went; as well as Andrew and old man Augustin.

(535) P S O O O
ka^{M}*-hne*^{L} *té*^{H} *kuïg*^{M} *mï*^{M}*-hnei*^{M} *ku*^{H}*ŋí?*^{MH}
PST-plant^C3 Esteban corn CLS-bean cane

MODAL L O MODAL
nḗ^{L} *ha*^{H}*nau*^{M}; *si*^{H}*bë*^{L} *nḗ*
AGG field potato AGG
Esteban planted corn, beans, and cane in the field; and potatoes too.

This modal is often postposed with deictic *hạu*^{M} to express 'so then' in a sequential or consequential sense.

(536) T T P S
hạu^{M} *nḗ*^{L} *hme*^{H}*-ka*^{M}*-?lau*^{M} *hạu*^{M} *ka*^{M}*-tạg*^{M} *hmí́*^{LM}
that AGG IMPF-PST-late that PST-fall^C3 rain
So then, later that day, it rained.

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Tepetotutla Chinantec, with some 2000 speakers, is one of fourteen Chinantec languages and related dialects spoken in the northeast quadrant of the Mexican State of Oaxaca. The Chinantec languages comprise a major branch of the important Otomanguean stock of Mesoamerican tone languages. Santa Cruz Tepetotutla lies among the central lowland villages of the Chinantla, perhaps within a day's walk from the *Gran Chinantla*, a large prehispanic Chinantec ceremonial center whose approximate location is only known by conjecture.

Tepetotutla Chinantec Syntax by David O. Westley is the fifth volume of a subseries of SIL AND UTA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS dedicated to the description and interpretation of Chinantec languages and the third of five syntactic overviews prepared to date for publication in this series. Mr. Westley's study is presented in the same non-formal style as its predecessors and is designed to facilitate typological comparison with other Chinantec as well as with non-Chinantec languages.

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