LEALAO CHINANTEC SYNTAX

Studies in Chinantec Languages

Volume 2

By James E. Rupp
Lealao Chinantec Syntax

Studies in Chinantec Languages 2
Summer Institute of Linguistics and
The University of Texas at Arlington
Publications in Linguistics

Publication 88

Editors
Virgil Poulter
University of Texas
at Arlington

William R. Merrifield
Summer Institute of
Linguistics

Assistant Editors
Alan C. Wares
Iris M. Wares

Consulting Editors
Doris A. Bartholomew
Pamela M. Bendor-Samuel
Desmond C. Derbyshire
Robert A. Dooley
Jerold A. Edmondson

Austin Hale
Robert E. Longacre
Eugene E. Loos
Kenneth L. Pike
Viola G. Waterhouse
Lealao Chinantec Syntax

Studies in Chinantec Languages 2

by

James E. Rupp

A Publication of
The Summer Institute of Linguistics
and
The University of Texas at Arlington
1989
Contents

Map of Chinantec Region of Mexico ........................................ viii

Preface .................................................................................... ix

Bibliography ............................................................................. xi

1 Lealao Chinantec Phonology .................................................. 1
   1.1 Vowels ........................................................................ 1
   1.2 Consonants .................................................................. 2
   1.3 Palatalization and labialization .................................... 2
   1.4 Stress .......................................................................... 3
   1.5 Tone ............................................................................ 3
   1.6 Intonation .................................................................... 4

2 The Lealao Chinantec Verb .................................................... 5
   2.1 Active vs. stative verb stems ........................................ 5
   2.2 Active verb stem inflection .......................................... 5
   2.3 Verb prefixes ............................................................. 8
   2.4 Progressive aspect ..................................................... 9
   2.5 Intensive aspect ........................................................ 9
   2.6 Completive aspect ....................................................... 10
   2.7 Perfect aspect ............................................................ 10
   2.8 Desiderative aspect ..................................................... 11
   2.9 The negative prefix .................................................... 11
   2.10 Terminative aspect ................................................... 11
   2.11 Nonentailment ......................................................... 12
   2.12 Derivational prefixes ................................................. 12
2.13 Directional verbs .................................................. 15
2.14 Pseudodirectional verbs ......................................... 18
2.15 Verbs and noun gender ........................................... 20
2.16 Transitivity ......................................................... 21
2.17 Changing transitivity ............................................. 24
2.18 Plural numbers ..................................................... 29
2.19 Doubled verbs ....................................................... 31
2.20 Negative words ..................................................... 31

3 The Lealao Chinantec Sentences ..................................... 35
   Primary Constituents ................................................ 35
   3.1 The predicate .................................................... 36
   3.2 Nominal constituents ........................................... 38
       Secondary Constituents ......................................... 43
   3.3 The manner constituent ........................................ 44
   3.4 Locative constituents .......................................... 45
   3.5 The associative constituent ................................... 47
   3.6 The vocative constituent ...................................... 49
       Intersentential Relations ...................................... 50
   3.7 Purpose .......................................................... 50
   3.8 Result ............................................................ 50
   3.9 Cause ............................................................. 51
   3.10 The conditional constituent .................................. 52
   3.11 Temporal sequence ............................................. 53
   3.12 Paired sentences ............................................... 56
   3.13 Comparison ...................................................... 57
       Topicalization ................................................... 59

4 The Lealao Chinantec Noun Phrase .................................. 61
   4.1 The noun head ................................................... 61
   4.2 Quantifiers ....................................................... 64
   4.3 Possessor ........................................................ 68
   4.4 The descriptive modifier ...................................... 73
   4.5 Deictic words .................................................... 73
   4.6 Locative nouns .................................................. 75
   4.7 Names and other vocative nouns ............................... 77

5 Lealao Chinantec Pronouns .......................................... 79
   5.1 Personal pronouns ............................................... 79
5.2 Reflexive pronouns ........................................... 81

6 The Lealao Chinantec Relative Clause .......................... 85
  6.1 The gap strategy ........................................... 85
  6.2 Noun phrase accessibility to relativization ................. 86
  6.3 The relative word $\mathcal{M}$ ................................ 88
  6.4 Relativizing a personal pronoun ............................ 89

7 Lealao Chinantec Injunction .................................... 91
  7.1 The direct imperative ....................................... 91
  7.2 The negative imperative .................................... 93
  7.3 Hortative .................................................. 94
  7.4 Optative .................................................. 94

8 Lealao Chinantec Questions ..................................... 97
  8.1 Confirmation questions ..................................... 97
  8.2 The interrogative pronoun ................................... 99
  8.3 The interrogative numeral ................................... 101
  8.4 The interrogative adverb of spatial location ................. 101
  8.5 The interrogative adverb of temporal location ............... 102
  8.6 The interrogative adverb of manner .......................... 102
  8.7 The interrogative adverb of cause ........................... 103
  8.8 Indirect questions .......................................... 103

9 Lealao Chinantec Prepositions .................................. 105
  9.1 The preposition $\mathcal{M}$ `when (intensive)’ ................. 106
  9.2 The preposition $\mathcal{M}$ or $\mathcal{M}$ `when (completive)’ ....... 106
  9.3 The preposition `where (definite)’ .......................... 107
  9.4 The preposition `where (indefinite)’ ......................... 107
  9.5 Prepositional nouns ........................................ 109
  9.6 Miscellanea ............................................... 110

10 Lealao Chinantec Modal Adverbs ............................... 113
  10.1 Affirmation .............................................. 113
  10.2 Alteration ............................................... 114
  10.3 Augmentation ............................................. 115
  10.4 Alternation ............................................... 116
  10.5 Counter-expectation ....................................... 116
  10.6 Explication .............................................. 117
  10.7 Rhetorical ............................................... 117
Preface

Lealao Chinantec is so named for the principal town where this language is spoken—San Juan Lealao, situated in the northeast quadrant of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico, in the ex-District of Choapan, within fifteen miles of the Veracruz State line. A few Lealao speakers reside in two other nearby towns, Santa María Yahuívé and Latani, but the majority of the 1200 speakers live in the town of Lealao itself. Another small settlement between Lealao and Santa María will soon gain official status as a town. It is composed of Lealao families who have chosen to settle on their farms rather than make the daily trek from Lealao.

Lealao is situated in rugged, mountainous cloud forest at an altitude of 3500 feet above sea level, receiving approximately 70 inches of annual rainfall. The Chinantec people of the area are subsistence maize farmers, using a slash-and-burn technology, who also raise varying amounts of coffee and sugar cane for both personal use and sale. They also benefit from a variety of tropical fruits and vegetables which grow in their region. Crafts are limited to making utility items needed at home or work such as baskets, gourd bowls, and net or rope articles made from natural fibers.

Lealao Chinantec is a member of the Chinantec family of the Otomanguean stock and is located at the southeastern fringe of the Chinantla, a kidney-bean-shaped area inhabited by the twelve Chinantec language groups. All the villages in the immediate vicinity of Lealao speak either Zapotec or Mixe, effectively isolating it geographically from the rest of the Chinantla. The Lalana Chinantec people are the nearest Chinantec-speaking group, located to the north of Lealao at a distance of at least one day's travel by foot.
Data for this paper were collected between 1968 and 1981, during which time I resided in Lealao, with my wife and two daughters, for a total period of about five years. Much of the remaining time during this period was also spent in language research carried out at study centers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Mexico. Some of the data were electromagnetically recorded; the rest were written out for me by one of several native speakers of Lealao Chinantec. Five individual men have provided the bulk of the material represented here, either independently or in assisting me in the review of earlier materials. Of these men, Maximo Alonso Marcial was the outstanding contributor, as author, typist, and proofreader. This study is one of five, on five related Chinantec languages, which were drafted during the months of February through April, 1988, at a workshop designed for that purpose in Catalina, Arizona, near Tucson, under the direction of Dr. William R. Merrifield.
Bibliography

The following references deal with Lealao Chinantec or are otherwise referred to in this study.


Marcial, Máráximo A. 1972. Unos Cuentos. Mexico: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, A.C. [This small publication does not bear his name although he was responsible for putting the stories in written form.]


1

Lealao Chinantec Phonology

Lealao phonological words consist minimally of a single stressed syllable and may have up to five unstressed syllables preceding the stressed syllable and one unstressed syllable following. A more detailed study of Lealao phonology (Rupp to appear) will appear soon in a collection of articles in this same series of studies on Chinantec languages. The following sections briefly describe the vowels and consonants which make up the syllable. Then follows a description of the major features of the syllable as a unit, including palatalization, stress, and tone.¹

1.1. Vowels. Syllables have an optional onset and a peak. The peak phonemes are /i e a i u o/, as in the following examples: /lɪ PH/ 'flower', /lɛ: M/ 'echo', /la M/ 'here', /li H/ 'deceased', /lu M/ 'gnat', /fo: M/ 'alms'. The vowel system exhibits a 6.1 pattern according to Crothers' (1978) vowel typology with the vowel /i/ being the single interior vowel. The vowel /o/ is limited in its occurrence, following only a consonant with a labial feature /b f v gu ku/, glottal stop /ʔ/, or occurring in the absence of a consonantal onset in the one word /o: ʔ H i/ 'his companion'. Any of the six vowels may be short or long as in /la M/ 'here' and /la: M/ 'sandal', or /ŋi H/ 'his/her face' and /ŋi: H/ 'his/her voice'.

Any of the vowels, irrespective of length, may also be oral or nasal, as in: /tə M/ 'ladder' and /tə M/ 'bird'.

¹Tone is indicated in this study by /L/ (low), /M/ (mid), /H/ (high), /NH/ (very high), and by combinations of the first three of these, as in /LH/ (low-high).

In the absence of a consonantal onset or following any of the consonants /t d s z k g l n ñ h/, palatal /i/ may occur preceding a nuclear vowel. Examples include iu?:VH 'top', ti?:M 'early', dia:H 'sir', sia:PVH 'stall', zia:H 'patio', kiu:M 'cage', giá:L 'ten', liá:M 'trap', niá?:M 'madam', niú:L 'nine', hiá:?M 'elsewhere'.

Phonemes that follow the syllable peak include only /ʔ/, ʔ/ (which is usually associated with the marking of person and gender), or both.

1.3. Palatalization and labialization. Palatalization is a very prominent feature of Chinantec. The /i/-intrusion is usually perceptible in Lealao Chinantec as falling midway between an onset consonant and a following vowel, as in hiá:M [šia:M] 'stuck into' and gia:H [džia:H] 'his/her cheek'. The exception to this is the phonetic realization of /s z/, which are [ʃ ďʃ], respectively, as in sia:M [žaM] 'exists' and zia:H [dža:H] 'patio'; with the consonantal segment itself being the primary evidence of palatalization.

Lealao differs from some of the other Chinantec languages in the degree to which velar consonants /k g ŋ/ and /h/ are fronted when preceding palatalization all the way forward to /š ďš/ respectively, as in kiá?:M [tšíá?:H] 'of *s', giá:M [džiá:M] 'twenty', niá:L [iú:L] 'nine', hiá:?M [šiá?:M] 'toward'.

Among verbs there are two kinds of palatalization. In one, there is a pattern of /i/-intrusion between the syllable onset and the nuclear vowel in more or less predictable locations of the verb paradigm. Thus PíHnu:Mi 'you will hear', but maMniu:Mi 'you heard'. In connection with this type of palatalization an automatic vowel shift occurs with verbs whose stem vowel is /a/. Because of a syllable-final person and gender marking /i/, and the prevocalic /i/ due to palatalization, the /a/ becomes /e/ as in example (1). The vowel shift is most common in verbs but occurs whenever these conditions are met, as in (2) with a possessed noun.

1. You will throw it. 
   You threw it.

2. His load
   My load
The other major type of palatalization which verbs undergo is vowel fronting. In (3) there is a fronting of /î/ to /i/, and in (4) a fronting of /o/ to /e/.

(3) \(\pi^{H}\pi^{M}\)î You will pull it.
\(ma^{M}\pi^{M}\)î You pulled it.

(4) \(\pi^{H}\rho^{M}\)î You will read it.
\(ma^{M}\rho^{VH}i\) You read it.

The onset consonants /k g/ may be labialized as in \(ka\tilde{u}^{LH}\) ‘firewood’ and \(gua^{M}\) ‘his hand’. In their labialized form, these consonants occur only before front vowels.

There is no contrast between a palatalized and a nonpalatalized syllable-onset consonant when the consonant is velar /k g/ and the following nuclear vowel is front /i e/. All such sequences occur with intervening palatal [i], as in \(k\tilde{e}^{L}\) [ki\tilde{e}L] ‘my’. There is very likely a difference in the linguistic history of many of these forms, however. In some cases, the intervening [i] is undoubtedly an underlying part of the root; in others, it is inflectionally intrusive; and in still others, it is surely the result of a phonetic rule of neutralization. Given the incompleteness of our present understanding of these various historical sources, this completely-predictable [i] is never written in this phonological context in this study, even when other members of a particular paradigm might indicate that its presence is more than the result of a phonetic rule.

1.4. Stress. Word stress in Chinantec is either controlled (unmarked) or ballistic (marked by an acute accent ‘/’). There are many pairs of words minimally different by reason of stress, such as \(\etai^{H}\) ‘his/her voice’ and \(\rhoi^{H}\) ‘high’ or \(f^{VH}\) ‘road’ and \(f^{VH}\) ‘handle’. The salient feature of ballistic stress is the rapid fall of pitch that occurs with syllables so stressed. Unchecked short syllables with stress seem shorter than their unstressed counterparts, whereas among long syllables there is no perceptible difference in length between the checked and unchecked when accompanied by stress.

Most Chinantec words have simple roots or stems. Thus, though they may occur with several prefixes (as with verbs) the root of the word is readily identified as the syllable that receives stress—whether controlled or ballistic.

1.5. Tone. Lealao Chinantec has four level tones (low, mid, high, very high) and two upglides (low-mid and low-high). Only the level tones may occur with ballistic stress. Examples are: \(me^{VH}\) ‘Demetrius’, \(m\dot{e}^{VH}\) ‘leaf cutter ants’, \(me^{H}\) ‘flea’, \(m\dot{e}^{H}\) ‘liquor’, \(me^{M}\) ‘leaf’, \(\etai\dot{u}^{M}\) ‘many’, \(me^{L}\) ‘egg’, \(m\dot{e}^{L}\) ‘sharp’, \(me^{LM}\) ‘he rubs it’, \(me^{LH}\) ‘rub it’.
A feature unique to both low tones (low and low-mid) is that they are laryngealized, particularly on long syllables where they seem to be punctuated with a glottal stop. Thus me:\textsuperscript{LH} is phonetically [me\textsuperscript{L-eH}]. This conforms to the notion that marked phonation types occur in the highest or lowest part of the pitch range.

Both perseverative and anticipatory assimilation of tone occur in Lealao Chinantec, although the former type only occurs in conjunction with the latter. Perturbed tones are invariably associated with the higher pitch ranges.

Anticipatory assimilation involves high tone on a controlled syllable (whether high or low-high) preceding a low tone regardless of its stress (low or low-high). In that environment the high tone becomes very high.

(5) \textipa{sii\textsuperscript{H} zi\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{L}} Is it good? becomes \textipa{sii\textsuperscript{VH} zi\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{L}}
\textipa{sii\textsuperscript{H} la:\textsuperscript{LH}} Is it a mule? becomes \textipa{sii\textsuperscript{VH} la:\textsuperscript{LH}}

The context of the perseverative assimilation is a high tone (high with controlled stress or low-high) followed by a syllable with a high tone and ballistic stress. In that environment both the preceding high and the following ballistic high become very high, and the latter retains its stress.

(6) \textipa{sii\textsuperscript{H} ni\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{H}} Is it a house? becomes \textipa{sii\textsuperscript{VH} ni\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{VH}}

The anticipatory rule is blocked only rarely by perseverative assimilation but the situations when it occurs are not predictable. Thus the very common exceptions in (7).

(7) \textipa{Pa:\textsuperscript{PH} ni\textsuperscript{u}\textsuperscript{H}} (underlying form)
\textipa{Pa:\textsuperscript{PH} ni\textsuperscript{VH}} mouth of house (i.e. doorway)
*\textipa{Pa:\textsuperscript{VH} ni\textsuperscript{VH}} (does not occur)

\textipa{Pe\textsuperscript{H} ki\textsuperscript{A}\textsuperscript{PH}} (underlying form)
\textipa{Pe\textsuperscript{H} ki\textsuperscript{A}\textsuperscript{VH}} what? of "s (i.e. why?)
*\textipa{Pe\textsuperscript{VH} ki\textsuperscript{A}\textsuperscript{VH}} (does not occur)

1.6. Intonation. One of the obvious intonational features of Lealao Chinantec is falling pitch and intensity at sentence-final phonological pauses. Other intonational patterns seem to be limited to those which are spread over an entire utterance, whether it be exaggerated pitch range, or voice-quality features such as slower grunting bursts or whispery intensity with heavy laryngealization. Such devices betray anger, excitement, or dismay. Their detailed description must await further study.
The Lealao Chinantec Verb

2.1. Active vs. stative verb stems. A verb root is either active or stative, as defined by its ability to occur directly with inflectional prefixes and by its ability to undergo changes of tone or of phonological segments to mark inflectional categories. A stative root may be inflected only for gender and person-of-subject; an active verb is inflected for aspect as well. In (8), the first verb form is active completive (c), the second active intensive (i), and the third is stative (s). The last may not occur with a past-tense prefix.

(8) \( ma^{\text{M}} \cdot gu\text{;}^{\text{LH}} \cdot a^{\text{L}}, \)  \( \text{PST-sleep} \cdot \text{Cl} \cdot \text{Is}, \)  I slept.
\( ?i^{\text{H}} \cdot gu\text{;}^{\text{LH}} \cdot a^{\text{L}}, \)  \( \text{INT-sleep} \cdot \text{Is} \cdot \text{Is}, \)  I will sleep.
\( za^{\text{LH}} \cdot i, \)  \( \text{sick} \cdot \text{SIs} \cdot \text{Is}, \)  I am sick.

For the most part, the class of Chinantec stative roots corresponds to the class of adjectives of the Indo-European languages. They are mentioned again in §2.12, but a fuller statement must await further research on Chinantec adjective typology. The discussion which follows immediately here relates more directly to verbs based on active roots.

2.2. Active verb stem inflection. An active verb form consists of an active stem to which certain tense-aspect prefixes and person-marking suffixes may be added. The stem itself also ‘inflects’ through changes in tone or segments to mark inflectional categories of tense-aspect, gender, or person-of-subject. The patterns of such changes are extremely varied, to the point that a satisfactory analysis into discrete morphological units has not yet been attained. It is likely that only a broadly comparative approach to the Chinantec family of languages would provide the insights needed to unravel this structure. Suffice it to say here that active stems typically
display a paradigm of twelve forms, based upon four person-of-subject—first singular (1s), first plural (1p), second person (2), and third person (3)—and three aspectual categories—progressive (P), inteventive (I), and com- pletive (C). The verb ‘play’, for example, has the twelve forms presented in (9), apart from tense-aspect prefixes and person-of-subject suffixes.1

(9) | play (TI) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>ka:L</td>
<td>ka:LH</td>
<td>ka:M</td>
<td>ka:L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ka:LH</td>
<td>ka:H</td>
<td>ka:M</td>
<td>ka:L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ká:L</td>
<td>ka:H</td>
<td>ká:1H</td>
<td>ká:M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although every verb stem paradigm includes some homophonic forms, such as the inteventive and completive first-plural forms of (9), the variety of patterns among verbs justifies analysis of the paradigm into these twelve categories. Such homophony is often resolved by the presence of tense-aspect prefixes and person-of-subject suffixes.

Singular and plural number are distinguished in verb inflection for first person only, not second or third person. In arrays like that of (9), two columns are thus necessary to distinguish first-person-singular inflection (labeled 1s) from that of first-person-plural (labeled 1p); but one column each suffices to distinguish second person (labeled 2) and third person (labeled 3). In this study, the twelve inflectional forms of a verb will be identified by use of the labels for these four person-number categories in conjunction with P, I, or C, denoting the three aspectual categories PROGRESSIVE, INTENTIVE, and COMPLETIVE, respectively, and resulting in the combined labels of (10), presented in the same three-by-four array as in (9). Read these PROGRESSIVE FIRST SINGULAR, INTENTIVE FIRST SINGULAR, and so forth.

(10) | P1s | P1p | P2 | P3 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I1s</td>
<td>I1p</td>
<td>I2</td>
<td>I3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1s</td>
<td>C1p</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>C3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender has been mentioned as one of the inflectional categories of active verb forms. It plays a significant role in Chinantec verb inflection. All Chinantec nouns fall into one of two gender classes—inanimate or animate—and every verb is inflected correspondingly. An intransitive verb agrees in gender with its syntactic subject. Note, for example, the inflectional differences in the completive third-person forms of the verb ‘fall’ when an animate noun as subject is replaced by an inanimate noun.

---

1This is the inflectional paradigm for this verb root as a transitive inanimate stem (TI). The categories of Lealaho transitivity and gender are introduced in §2.16.
A transitive verb form, on the other hand, agrees in gender with its direct object, as illustrated by two pairs of transitive verbs in (12–15). Of these two pairs, the first differs in only two of the twelve forms while the second differs in five forms. The categories of gender and transitivity are discussed in more detail below; but, in the following example, TI denotes a transitive stem inflected for inanimate object, and TA denotes a transitive stem inflected for animate object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(12) hack (TI)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PM$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(13) hack (TA)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
<td>$kìu:PLM$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
<td>$kìu:PH$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(14) beat (TI)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
<td>$bèM$</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$baVH$</td>
<td>$baVH$</td>
<td>$bèM$</td>
<td>$baH$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(15) beat (TA)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$baLM$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$baVH$</td>
<td>$baLH$</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender inflection occurs in active and stative verbs alike, and accounts, in part, for the multiplicity of verb stem paradigms. Several more verb stem paradigms are cited to illustrate other common patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(16) erase (TI)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$bèLM$</td>
<td>$bèLM$</td>
<td>$bèLM$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$beVH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$bèL$</td>
<td>$beVH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
<td>$bèH$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(17) spy (TI)</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>$tâL$</td>
<td>$tïâLH$</td>
<td>$tâm$</td>
<td>$tïâL$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$tâLH$</td>
<td>$tïâH$</td>
<td>$tâm$</td>
<td>$tïâL$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>$tâL$</td>
<td>$tïâH$</td>
<td>$tïâLH$</td>
<td>$tïâm$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. Verb prefixes. The underlyingly active verb root can normally be inflected for any of three aspects—progressive, intentive, or completive. In addition to this inflection of the root itself, there are tense and aspect prefixes which interact with it to complete the tense and aspectual marking of a Chinantec verb. The verb prefixes are presented in (24). The following sections describe the interaction of these prefixes with the three aspectual forms of the verb stem.

(24) \( ka^M^- \) (habitual) \( di^H^- \) (desiderative)
\( P^H^- \) (intensive) \( ?a^L^- \) (negative)
\( ka^L^- \) (remote past) \( ma^P^- \) (terminative)
\( ma^M^- \) (recent past) \( li^H^- \) (nonentailment)
\( mi^P^- \) (perfect)
2.4. Progressive aspect. When a verb form is inflected for progressive and occurs without a tense-aspect prefix, it indicates that an activity is in progress.

(25) $ka:L$ $mi^VH-liu^P^H$
    play$^P_3$ DIM-child
    The child is playing

(26) $niu^{LM}$ $na^VHzi^M$
    vomit$^P_3$ dog
    The dog is vomiting.

Habitual action is in view when the habitual aspect prefix $ka^M.$ occurs with a verb inflected for progressive aspect. The activity is either characteristic or iterative.

(27) $pi^Hhi^a^M$ $ka^M.-kiuLM-a^H$
    much HAB-yawn$^P_1p$-1p
    We really yawn alot.

(28) $ka^M.-ka:L$ $lia^P^L-hi^M$ $hm^i^VH$
    HAB-play$^P_3$ every day
    He plays every day.

In direct discourse, regardless of the verb used for the act of communication (say, tell, report), the habitual aspect prefix often occurs with progressive or even intensive force.

(29) $ha^M.-ni^L$ $ka^M.-hme:L-i$ $hu:i^P^L$ $lia^M.-siu^M$ $na^L.-li^VH$
    that-now HAB-do$^P_1s$-is story like-if STA-is
    Now I will tell how it is, or Now I am telling how it is.

In narrative discourse, the progressive aspect with the habitual prefix may denote a past-progressive activity.

(30) $ho:L$ $pi^H-ka^M.-ka^M.-riL$ $ka^M.-P_i^L-i$ $giu^M$
    but REL-that HAB-think$^P_1s$ HAB-count$^P_1s$-is much
    That is why I was preoccupied.

2.5. Intensive aspect. An intensive verb form requires the intensive prefix, which has the form $pi^H-$ with a first- or second-person subject, but
is $p^L$- with a third-person subject.² An intensive verb refers to an activity which is expected to take place after the time of the speech act.

(31) $p^L$-ká:$L$ ká:$p^M$ h$g^L$mí$H$e:$M$
    int-play$^\text{13}$ again tomorrow
    He will play again tomorrow.

(32) $p^H$-ka:$L$-$H$-i
    int-play$^\text{11s-1s}$ day$^\text{after}$tomorrow
    I will play day after tomorrow.

2.6. Completive aspect. A completive verb form always occurs with one or the other of the two past-tense prefixes, which are $k^L$-, for time prior to the day of the speech act, and $m^M$-, referring to time earlier the same day as the speech act. Note that the same abbreviation ($\text{pst}$) is used in examples for both of the past tense prefixes.

(33) $k^L$-ká:$M$ h$g^M$niá:$M$ ba$H$
    pst-play$^c$3 yesterday AFF
    It was yesterday that he played.

(34) $m^M$-ká:$M$ ba$H$ mi$H$niu:$H$
    pst-play$^c$3 AFF earlier$^\text{today}$
    He did play earlier today.

2.7. Perfect aspect. The prefix $m^M$- (perfect) occurs with a progressive verb form to name an activity which is in progress at the time of the speech act, but with attention given to the inception of the activity as prior to the speech act, sometimes focusing on its recent inception.

(35) $m^M$-hme:$L$ ta$H$ dia$H$ kiá:$H$
    prf-do$^p$3 work man of$^{1s}$
    My father is working now.

In Lealao, the perfect prefix may also occur with intensive verb forms to indicate that an activity is imminent. This contrasts with the other Chinantec languages where it combines instead with completive verb forms.

(36) $m^M$-p$^L$-lá:$L$ ká:$p^M$
    prf-int-begin$^\text{13}$ again
    He is about to begin again.

---

²With certain animate intransitive verbs, especially derived ones, the intensive prefix exhibits low tone with all persons-of-subject.
2.8. Desiderative aspect. Desiderative is expressed in some Chinantec languages by the use of an imperfect prefix and intensive verb stem inflection. Lealao, however, has no imperfect prefix, as such. It, rather, has a desiderative prefix \( \text{di}^H \) \(- \) (\( \text{di}^L \) - in third person), which indicates a strong desire on the part of the subject to perform the action indicated by the verb. It occurs with an intensive verb form, replacing the intensive prefix. It may occur together with \( \text{mi}^M \). (perfect).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{pi}^H - \text{e}\text{P LH}_i \)} & \quad \text{INT-eat}^\wedge \text{I}_1 \text{s}, \quad \text{I will eat.} \\
\text{\( \text{di}^H - \text{e}\text{P LH}_i \)} & \quad \text{DES-eat}^\wedge \text{I}_1 \text{s}, \quad \text{I really want to eat.} \\
\text{\( \text{mi}^M - \text{di}^L - \text{e}\text{P H} \)} & \quad \text{PRF-DES-eat}^\wedge \text{I}_3 \text{s}, \quad \text{He wants to eat now.}
\end{align*}
\]

2.9. The negative prefix. Any active or stative verb may be negated by the prefix \( \text{pa}^L \) - (negative) or the negative word \( \text{pa}^L \text{pe}^M \) (§2.20), but the latter is more common.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{du}^P \text{M} \text{ pa}^L - \text{pi}^L - \text{ku}^P \text{Mi} \text{ mi}^L \text{ di}^A \text{P L} \)} & \quad \text{SO NEG-INT-eat}^\wedge \text{C} 3 \text{ REFLE}^3 \text{p} \text{ PL} \\
& \quad \ldots \text{so that he would not eat them.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{pa}^L \text{pe}^M \text{ sia}^M \text{ ku}^H \)} & \quad \text{NEG exist}^\wedge \text{S} 3 \text{ money} \\
& \quad \text{There is no money.}
\end{align*}
\]

2.10. Terminative aspect. The terminative prefix \( \text{ma}^P \text{L} - \) occurs with progressive or intensive verb forms, but only in conjunction with \( \text{pa}^L \text{pe}^M \) (negative) or \( \text{sii}^H \text{f\`a}^P \text{M} \) (negative interrogative). It otherwise may occur with any of the other verb prefixes, with the exception of \( \text{mi}^M \). (perfect).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{pa}^L \text{pe}^M \text{ ma}^P \text{L} - \text{di}^H - \text{e}\text{P LH}_i \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{pe}^H \)} \quad \text{NEG TRM-DES-eat}^\wedge \text{I}_1 \text{s-} \text{I}_3 \text{s} \text{ tortilla} \\
& \quad \text{I have lost my appetite (no longer desire to eat).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{pa}^L \text{pe}^M \text{ ma}^P \text{L} - \text{ka}^P \text{M} \text{ hme}^L \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{ta}^H \)} \quad \text{NEG TRM-HAB-do}^\wedge \text{P} 3 \text{ work} \\
& \quad \text{He no longer works.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{sii}^H \text{f\`a}^P \text{M} \text{ ma}^P \text{L} - \text{e}\text{P LM} \)} & \quad \text{\( \text{pe}^H \)} \quad \text{NEG INTERROG TRM-eat}^\wedge \text{P} 3 \text{ tortilla} \\
& \quad \text{You don’t suppose he is still eating, do you?}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\( ^3 \)When a person-of-subject suffix is not in focus, as in this example, it is at times not set off by a hyphen, in order to shorten and simplify the interlinear gloss.
2.11. Nonentailment. The prefix $\textit{lî}^H\cdot$ (nonentailment) is apparently more commonly heard in some other Chinantec languages than it is in Lealao. I have found only two examples of it in my entire corpus of data, both preceded by the adverb of intensity $\textit{di}^PVH$ 'very'. Nevertheless, Lealao does seem to utilize this prefix, which is best translated in English by 'just', to indicate that the action or state named has no antecedent situation of a causal nature.

(43) $\textit{di}^PVH\quad \textit{lî}^H\cdot\textit{ka}^L\cdot\textit{lî}^L\quad \textit{ba}^H$
very \quad \text{NON-PST-happen}^\wedge C_3 \quad \text{AFF}
It just happened (I didn't do it)!

(44) $\textit{di}^PVH\quad \textit{lî}^H\cdot\textit{sia}^M\quad \textit{ba}^H$
very \quad \text{NON-exist}^\wedge s_3 \quad \text{AFF}
It (fruit) is just there (purchasing is unnecessary).

A more common construction for nonentailment in Lealao than the use of this prefix makes use of the numeral $\textit{ka}^M$ 'one' functioning adverbially, or one of several phrases with $\textit{di}^PVH$ 'very'.

(45) $\textit{ka}^M\quad \textit{ka}^L\cdot\textit{tâ}^PL\quad \textit{ba}^H$
one \quad \text{PST-fall}^\wedge C_3 \quad \text{AFF}
It just fell.

(46) $\textit{pi}^M\quad \textit{di}^PVH\quad \textit{ka}^L\cdot\textit{tâ}^PL\quad \textit{ba}^H$
\text{REL} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{PST-fall}^\wedge C_3 \quad \text{AFF}
It just fell.

(47) $\textit{ka}^M\quad \textit{ba}^H\quad \textit{di}^PVH\quad \textit{ka}^L\cdot\textit{tâ}^PL$
one \quad \text{AFF} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{PST-fall}^\wedge C_3$
It fell unexpectedly.

2.12. Derivational prefixes. A verb root which is stative in its underlying form is not internally inflected by tone or segments to mark aspect, nor does it occur directly with tense-aspect prefixes. It may occur with the activizing prefix $\textit{lî}^M$. 'become', however, to form an activized stem which occurs with tense-aspect prefixes to indicate a change of state. Following the past-tense prefix $\textit{ka}^L\cdot$, the tone of the activizing prefix is lowered to $\textit{lî}^L$- and, with this change, $\textit{ka}^L\cdot$ is often omitted. The activizing prefix itself, on the other hand, is always omitted in the presence of the intensive prefix. In (48), the stative root meaning 'small' is shown in its stative and activized forms.
Lealao Chinantece

(48) \( pi^H \), \( ka^H-li^M-pi^H \), \( ?il-pi^H \), \( ma^M-li^M-pi^H \), \( li^L-pi^H \), small\( ^s_3 \), It is small.

HAB-ACT-small\( ^s_3 \), It becomes small.
INT-small\( ^s_3 \), It will become small.
PST-ACT-small\( ^s_3 \), It became small (today).
PST"ACT-small\( ^s_3 \), It became small.

The activating prefix has its source in the active intransitive verb meaning 'happen' whose three inflected forms are as in (49).

(49) happen (11) 3
P \( li^M \)
I \( li^M \)
C \( li^L \)

A derived active verb which names a change of state in progress is formed from a stative root by the prefix \( ze^M- \). As in the case of the intentive prefix, the activating prefix is absent.

(50) \( ze^M-pi^H \) \( hmi^M \)
ACT-small\( ^s_3i \) water
The stream is diminishing.

A few active verbs are derived from nouns.

(51) \( si^H \), twig
\( ma^M-li^M-si^VHi \), It became twiggy (lost its leaves).

(52) \( mi^VH \), sphere
\( ka^L-li^L-mi^VHi \), It became spheres (goose flesh).

It is also possible to derive a stative verb from an active verb, from another stative verb, or from a noun, by means of the stativizing prefix \( na^M- \). In the case of an underlying active root being made stative, it usually involves a reduction in transitivity, as in (53), where an active transitive verb becomes stative intransitive by loss of its transitive subject and promotion of its transitive object to intransitive subject.\(^4\)

(53) \( ?il-b\dot{a}^H \) \( pi\dot{u}^H \) \( mi^VH-liu^PM \)
INT-hit\( ^13 \) house DIM-little
The child will hit the house.

\(^4\)This phenomenon is discussed further in §2.17.
(54) \(na^M_{-}ba^H\) \(\etai\)h
sta-hit^s\text{i} house
The house was hit.

In the case of a stative form derived from another stative, a change to the named state is in focus.

(55) \(lia^M\) \(mi^M\)
black^s\text{i} cloth
The cloth is black.

(56) \(na^M_{-}lia^M\) \(mi^M\)
sta-black^s\text{i} cloth
The cloth has become black, or The cloth is (now) black.

In the case of a stative derived from a noun, the object referenced by the derived form is stated to have acquired the quality of the object named by the noun.

(57) \(lia^M,\) dust
\(na^M_{-}lia^M\) \(mi^VHia^M,\) sta-dust^s\text{i} pot, The pot is dusty.

There are a few cases of active verbs derived from stative verbs which carry the stative prefix \(na^M_{-}\) along with tense-aspect prefixes. In this context, \(na^M_{-}\) copies (or assimilates to) the tone—always low tone—of the preceding prefix.

(58) \(ka^M_{-}na^M_{-}ku^LH_i\)
sta-piled^s\text{i}, It gets piled up.
\(\tilde{a}^L_{-}na^M_{-}ku^LH_i\)
sta-piled^s\text{i}, It will get piled up.
\(ma^M_{-}na^M_{-}ku^LH_i\)
sta-piled^s\text{i}, It got piled up.

The perfect prefix \(mi^M_{-}\) occurs with stative verbs and derived active verbs.

(59) \(mi^M_{-}ga^M_{-}\) \(sii^M_{-}iuc^M_{-}\) \(kiu^PH_{-}u^M\)
PRF-big^s\text{a} DIM-baby POSS^2-2s
Your baby is already big.

(60) \(mi^M_{-}na^M_{-}hnia^M\)
PRF-sta-lying load there
The stuff is already ready.

(61) \(mi^M_{-}ze^M_{-}ga^M_{-}\) \(sii^M_{-}iuc^M_{-}\) \(kiu^PH_{-}u^M\)
PRF-act-big^s\text{a} DIM-baby POSS^2-2s
Your baby is now becoming big.
Another stativizing prefix is $si^{H-}$, forming active stems from stative roots. It is fairly productive in occurring with many stative roots. The prefix itself may be a reduced form of the adverb $si^{H}$ 'frequently'. The perfective prefix does not occur with this set of derived statives.

(62) $Pih\text{hi}a^{PM} si^{H-}li\text{u}^{Mi} dia^{H} ni^{M}$

very STA-talk$^\ast A13$ man PAUSE

The man is quite a talker.

(63) $Pih\text{hi}a^{PM} si^{H-}hu^{LH-aL}$

very STA-lie$^\ast A13s-1s$

I am quite a liar.

2.13. Directional verbs. Active verb stems may occur with a special set of directional prefixes to indicate locomotion of the subject of the verb in conjunction with the activity named by the verb stem, as in (64).

(64) $ma^{M-}bi^{H-}lia^{:PL}$

PST-come$^\ast C3$-bathe$^\ast 3$

He came and bathed (today).

These directional prefixes are based on three verbs of motion meaning 'come', 'go', and 'arrive'. A number of studies of such verbs in other Chinantec and closely-related languages are in print,⁵ so that it is unnecessary here to provide a detailed description of the independent verbs themselves for Lealao Chinantec, beyond noting that they are the source of directional prefixes.

A directional verb stem, then, consists of a verb root and a directional prefix, to which stem inflection and tense-aspect prefixes are added. Unlike nondirectional verbs, stem inflection of a directional verb occurs over the directional prefix rather than over what might be termed the 'main' verb root. Thus, in (65–66), aspctual inflection is found in the difference between the prefixes $za^{M-}$ (go$^{\ast P3}$) and $za^{L-}$ (go$^{\ast 13}$), respectively. Regardless of the aspctual inflection of the directional prefix, the root has the inflection (in almost all cases) of the corresponding nondirectional, same-person, completive form of the root. The form $hmei^{M}$ is the nondirectional, third-person,

⁵These include Kuiper & Merrifield 1975, Westley & Merrifield to appear, Speck & Pickett 1976, Pickett 1976, Macaulay 1985, in the order of their writing though not of their appearance in print.
completive root (Cf. $ka^L$-$hmé:M$ $ta^H$ "he worked"), but the completive force of the underlying form is not carried over into the directional form. This is as close as Chinantec comes to having an uninflected form of the verb root, with aspectual inflection carried by the directional prefix.$^6$

(65) $ka^M$-$za^M$-$hmé:M$ $ta^H$
    HAB-go$^*p3$-do work
    He goes and works (lit. does work).

(66) $za^L$-$hmé:M$ $ta^H$
    go$^*i3$-do work
    He will go and work.

(67) $ia^H$-$hmé:M$ $ta^H$
    go$^*c3$-do work
    He went and worked (lit. did work).

(68) $ma^M$-$ia^H$-$hmé:M$ $ta^H$
    PST-go$^*c3$-do work
    He went and worked today (lit. did work).

There are two twelve-place paradigms of directional prefixes, corresponding to the verbs 'come' and 'go'. Locomotion toward the location of the speech act is indicated by the forms of paradigm (69). Locomotion away from the location of the speech act is indicated by the forms of paradigm (70).

(69) come

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>$bi^M$</td>
<td>$bi^M$</td>
<td>$bi^M$</td>
<td>$bi^M$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>$ia^M$</td>
<td>$ia^M$</td>
<td>$ia^M$</td>
<td>$ia^L$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>$bi^H$</td>
<td>$bi^H$</td>
<td>$bi^H$</td>
<td>$bi^H$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(70) go

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>$ia^M$</td>
<td>$za^M$</td>
<td>$gua^M$</td>
<td>$za^M$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>$ia^M$</td>
<td>$za^M$</td>
<td>$gua^M$</td>
<td>$za^L$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>$ia^H$</td>
<td>$ia^H$</td>
<td>$ia^H$</td>
<td>$ia^H$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^6$Since the verbs 'come' and 'go' are both momentary verb roots, their progressive forms only have a habitual interpretation and always occur with the habitual prefix $ka^M$. Intensive forms of 'come' occur with the intensive prefix, in normal fashion, but intensive forms of 'go' do not. The remote past prefix also fails to show up with the forms of these verbs inflected for singular subject. The directional prefixes based on these roots retain these same peculiarities.
A few paired examples of directional verbs are listed in (71) with corresponding nondirectional verbs, showing the same-person, completive, nondirectional stem as the source of the directional main stem (except in the third person, where the tone is less predictable).

(71) beat (TA):

\[
\begin{align*}
ma^M-bå^H-a^L & \quad \text{PST-beat}^C_{1s} \quad \text{I beat it.} \\
ma^M-ia^H-bå^H-a^L & \quad \text{PST-go}^C_{1s}\text{-beat}-1s, \quad \text{I went and beat it.} \\
ma^M-båL^H-a^H & \quad \text{PST-beat}^C_{1p}\text{-beat}-1p, \quad \text{We beat it.} \\
ka^M-za^M-båL^H-a^H & \quad \text{HAB-go}^P_{1p}\text{-beat}-1p, \quad \text{We go and beat it.} \\
ma^M-bå^H-i, & \quad \text{PST-beat}^C_{2s}, \quad \text{You will beat it.} \\
gua^M-bå^H-i, & \quad \text{go}^C_{2s}\text{-beat}-2s, \quad \text{You will go and beat it.} \\
ma^M-bå^H-i, & \quad \text{PST-beat}^C_{3-3}, \quad \text{He beat it.} \\
ma^M-ia^H-bå^M-i, & \quad \text{PST-go}^C_{3-3}\text{-beat}-3, \quad \text{He went and beat it.}
\end{align*}
\]

Two additional directional prefixes gia^M- 'go\text{-}c3' and ia^M- 'come\text{-}c3' occur with completive inflection when the locomotion of the agent of the activity has occurred but the activity named by the main verb stem is still in process. These prefixes occur only with third-person subjects, since the situation in question logically excludes the interlocutors.

(72) ma^M-gia^M-hmé:M ia^H

\[
\text{PST-go}^C_{3}\text{-do} \quad \text{work}
\]

He went to work (still away).

(73) ma^M-ia^M-hmé:M ia^H

\[
\text{PST-come}^C_{3}\text{-do} \quad \text{work}
\]

He came to work (still here).

Although a clause with a directional verb can occur as the only reference to a certain activity in a narrative, it is more common for it to be preceded immediately by a corresponding clause with a motion verb in apposition to it. In such a context, the desiderative or perfect prefix, neither of which occurs directly with a directional prefix, may be affixed to the independent motion verb, as in (74).

(74) ḏï^H-ŋi:L ia^M-é:P^H-i ṅô^H

\[
\text{DES-go}^C_{1s} \quad \text{go}^C_{1s}\text{-eat}-1s \quad \text{tortilla}
\]

I really want to go and eat.
(75) \( mi^{M}-za^{LM} \ z^{M}-hm^{e}\_M \ it^{H} \)
\( \text{PRF-go}^{P1s} \ \text{go}^{P3-d} \) work
He is already on his way to work.

When a directional prefix combines with a verb root which is palatalized in one or more of its twelve inflected forms, it is then the palatalized form of the stem that occurs with the directional prefix, even though the completive aspect form for that particular person is not palatalized. Compare the following examples with the basic active verb stem 'grind' in (23).

(76) \( ma^{M}-ia^{H}-ziH\_i^{i}, \) \( \text{pst-go}^{C1s}-\text{grind}^{1s} \), I went and ground.
\( ma^{M}-ia^{H}-ziH\_a^{H}, \) \( \text{pst-go}^{C1p}-\text{grind}^{1p} \), We went and ground.
\( ma^{M}-ia^{H}-ziH\_i^{i}, \) \( \text{pst-go}^{C22}-\text{grind}^{2s} \), You went and ground.
\( ma^{M}-bi^{H}-ziH\_i^{i}, \) \( \text{pst-come}^{C33}-\text{grind}^{3} \), He came and ground.

2.14. Pseudodirectional verbs. Telic verbs like 'happen', 'sour', 'heal', and 'learn', exhibit a unique use of the directional prefix \( za^{M} \) \( (\text{go}^{P3}) \) which, when occurring with the intensive form of these roots, express present progressive aspect. No motion of the sort indicated by a true directional verb is, however, implied. Compare example (49), which shows inflection for 'happen', with (77).

(77) \( pe^{H} \ za^{M}-ib^{M} \)
what? \( \text{go}^{P3} \text{-happen} \)
What is happening?

When a telic verb stem is inflected for progressive aspect it never occurs without a prefix to give a present progressive interpretation, as is true of an atelic verb stem; it always occurs with the habitual prefix. The set of verbs in (78) illustrates, by way of reminder, how atelic verbs express aspectual categories. The set in (79) illustrates how telic verbs express them.

(78) \( he^{P2M} \)
\( \text{twitch}^{P3} \), It is twitching.
\( ka^{M}-he^{P2M} \)
\( \text{HAB-twitch}^{P3} \), It twitches.
\( \text{it}^{L}-he^{P2H} \)
\( \text{INT-twitch}^{P3} \), It will twitch.
\( ma^{M}-he^{P2H} \)
\( \text{pst-twitch}^{C3} \), It twitched.

\(^7\text{Comrie (1976:44ff) defines a telic situation as one which involves a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue. The phenomenon being described here seems to coincide with Lealao verbs which name such processes.} \)
(79) \(za^{M}.liâ^{M}\), \(go^{p3}.heal\), It is healing.
\(ka^{M}.liâ^{M}\), \(HAB-heal^{p3}\), It heals.
\(lî^{L}.liâ^{M}\), \(INT-heal^{l3}\), It will heal.
\(ma^{M}.liâ^{M}\), \(PST-heal^{c3}\), It healed.

There is also a subset of atelic verb roots which occurs with directional prefixes to form pseudodirectional verbs in which the prefix combines with all but the completive aspect form of the root. With these verbs, the perfect prefix, together with the directional prefix, expresses activity in progress. These pseudodirectional verbs imply some sort of motion by the subject of the verb, but the normal directional interpretation of the prefix as motion away from the place of the speech act is not at all in view in these cases. Two typical paradigms of this type follow in (80–81).

(80) \(ka^{M}.za^{M}.gué^{L}\), \(HAB-go^{p3}.crawl\), He crawls.
\(mi^{M}.za^{M}.gué^{L}\), \(PRF-go^{p3}.crawl\), He is crawling.
\(za^{L}.gué^{L}\), \(go^{l3}.crawl\), He will crawl.
\(ma^{M}.gué^{L}\), \(PST-crawl^{c3}\), He crawled.

(81) \(ka^{M}.za^{M}.tâ^{P^{L}}\), \(HAB-go^{p3}.extend\), It extends.
\(mi^{M}.za^{M}.tâ^{P^{L}}\), \(PRF-go^{p3}.extend\), It is extending.
\(za^{L}.tâ^{P^{L}}\), \(go^{l3}.extend\), It will extend.
\(ma^{M}.tâ^{P^{L}}\), \(PST-extend^{c3}\), It extended.

Although a directional prefix is not present in the completive forms of paradigms like (80–81), there are some verb roots which may have both a directional and a pseudodirectional form (83). The completive pseudodirectional form of such a verb does not occur with an overt directional prefix, but the corresponding directional form of the verb does. There are very few roots of this type, however, presumably because of semantic limitations.

(82) \(ma^{M}.hna^{P^{L}} za^{P^{L}} sia^{p3}.kui^{M}\)
\(PST-slam^{c3}\) against stalk-corn
It slammed against the cornstalks.

(83) \(ma^{M}.ih^{H}.hna^{P^{L}H}.a^{H} hna^{H} za^{P^{L}} sia^{p3}.kui^{M}\)
\(PST-go^{c1p}.slam^{1p.1p}\) we against stalk-corn
We went and slammed against the cornstalks.

Since pseudodirectional verbs (80-81) require the perfect prefix to form the progressive aspect, the normal way to form the imminent sense with the perfect prefix and intensive aspect inflection, as illustrated above in (36), is not possible with these verb roots. Instead, an auxiliary verb with the perfect
prefix combines with the intensive form of a pseudodirectional verb to express imminent action.

\[(84)\] \(m^M\-ia^M\-t{\ddot{a}}^L\-z^L\-t{\ddot{a}}^M\-u^M\)  
PRF-come\'\'reach\'\'go\'\'appoint 2s  
You are about to be appointed.

There are two other directional prefixes, \(gia^M\-) and \(ia^M\-\), by which other pseudodirectional verbs are derived; but these do not cause the deletion of the intensive prefix and they occur with every aspect of the verb stem. The first verb cited below shows the typical nature of a derived verb in that there is minimal difference in the inflectional pattern throughout the paradigm.

\[(85)\] \(ka^M\-gia^M\-t{\ddot{a}}^VH\-u^M\), You obligate him.  
\(p{\ddot{a}}^H\-gia^M\-t{\ddot{a}}^VH\-a^H\), I will obligate him.  
\(ma^M\-gia^M\-t{\ddot{a}}^VH\-a^H\), We obligated him.

\[(86)\] \(ka^M\-ia^M\-z{\ddot{I}}LH\-i\), I place it [on something].  
\(p{\ddot{a}}^H\-ia^M\-z{\ddot{I}}VH\-i\), You will place it [on something].  
\(ka^L\-ia^L\-z{\ddot{I}}H\), He placed it [on something].

2.15. Verbs and noun gender. All Chinantec nouns are inherently animate or inanimate, and closely correspond in gender to a view of animacy which classifies all known animal life, including man, as animate and all other entities as inanimate. There is a slight departure from a scientific conception of animal life by the Chinantec in viewing certain atmospheric phenomena (rainbow, lightning, meteor) or astronomic entities (sun, moon, star) as animate, a view based upon Chinantec oral traditions concerning human and animal origins.

Illustrations (11-15) above showed that gender is one of the categories of verb inflection. An intransitive verb agrees inflectionally with the gender of its subject nominal; a transitive verb agrees inflectionally with the gender of its object nominal, the subject nominal of a transitive verb being always animate.

In the case of intransitive verbs the contrast is limited to third-person subjects, since inanimate nominals are inadmissible as nonthird-person subjects. In this context, the difference between inanimate intransitive (\(i\)) verbs and corresponding third-person animate intransitive (\(aI\)) verbs is often syllable-final \(i\) to mark the animate verb form.

\[(87)\] \(p{\ddot{a}}^L\-k{\ddot{a}}^L\-i\), He will fall over.  
\(p{\ddot{a}}^L\-k{\ddot{a}}^L\), It will fall over.
(88) \(P\hat{l}-\text{gié}^{PH-i}\), He will arrive home.
\(P\hat{l}-\text{giá}:^{PH}\), It (say, a letter) will arrive home.

2.16. Transitivity. Active Chinantec verbs are either intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. An intransitive verb is inflected with reference to one nominal constituent of its clause, the subject. As indicated above, an inanimate intransitive verb is inflected for an inanimate third-person subject; an animate intransitive verb may be inflected for any of four animate, person-number categories—first-person singular, first-person plural, second person, or third person.

(89) \(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}b\hat{b}i\), \text{pst-move}^{AC3}, It moved.
\(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}b\hat{b}i^{H}\text{-}a\hat{l}\), \text{pst-move}^{AC1s}, I moved.
\(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}b\hat{b}i^{VH}\text{-}a\hat{H}\), \text{pst-move}^{AC1p}, We moved.
\(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}b\hat{b}i^{H}\text{-}u\hat{M}\), \text{pst-move}^{AC2}, You moved.
\(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}b\hat{b}i^{H}\text{-}i\), \text{pst-move}^{AC3}, He moved.

A transitive verb is inflected with reference to two nominal constituents of its clause, a subject and an object, agreeing with the person-number categories of the subject and with the gender of the object. These agreement relations result in two major classes of verbs, transitive inanimate (TI) and transitive animate (TA). Completive forms of two such verbs are presented in (90) and (91), respectively. Since the person-of-subject is marked by verbal inflection and suffixes, a separate subject noun phrase is frequently absent in a transitive sentence.

(90) \(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{L}\text{i} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{kù}^{VH}, \quad \text{I stepped on a rock.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{H}\text{a}\hat{H} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{kù}^{VH}, \quad \text{We stepped on a rock.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{VH}\text{i} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{kù}^{VH}, \quad \text{You stepped on a rock.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{M} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{kù}^{VH}, \quad \text{S/he stepped on a rock.}

(91) \(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{Hi} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{zi}^{M}, \quad \text{I stepped on a dog.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{LH}\text{a}\hat{H} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{zi}^{M}, \quad \text{We stepped on a dog.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{LH}\text{u}\hat{M} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{zi}^{M}, \quad \text{You stepped on a dog.}
\(k\hat{a}^{L}\text{-}\text{pe}\text{-}^{Hi} \quad n\hat{a}^{VH}\text{zi}^{M}, \quad \text{S/he stepped on a dog.}

A ditransitive verb is inflected with reference to three nominal constituents of its clause, the subject and two objects. The second object can be animate or inanimate.

(92) \(m\hat{a}^{M}\text{-}\text{hil}^{H} \quad ?\hat{D\hat{h}}\text{H}
\text{pst-cover}^{\text{AC}3} \quad \text{tortilla}
\quad \text{S/he covered the tortillas.}
(93) ma^M-hil^H i si^M-iu;i^M
pst-cover^M DAC3 baby
S/he covered the baby.

(94) ma^M-hil^H Li mi^M p^M O
pst-cover^M DIC3 cloth tortilla
S/he covered the tortillas with a cloth.

(95) ma^M-hil^H Li mi^M si^M-iu;i^M
pst-cover^M DAC3 cloth baby
S/he covered the baby with a cloth.

(96) ma^M-kuo^M tiu;i^H
pst-give^M DIC3 rifle
He gave the rifle.

(97) ma^M-kuo^M Li gu^M-nú;V^M
pst-give^M DIC3 animal
He gave the animal.

(98) ma^M-kuo^M Li za^M tiu;i^H
pst-give^M DIC3 person rifle
He gave the rifle to the person.

(99) ma^M-kuo^M Li za^M gu^M-nú;V^M
pst-give^M DAC3 person animal
He gave the animal to the person.

Listed below are several pairs of verbs which illustrate inflectional differences due to transitivity.

(100) INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE TRANSITIVE INANIMATE
It slumped. ma^M{i^L}L ma^M{i^H} He dropped it.
It fell. ma^M{kí^L}L ma^M{kí^H} He felled it.
It closed. ma^M{kú^L}i ma^M{kú^H} He closed it.
It remained. ma^M{kue;P^L}i ma^M{kue;P^M}i He left it.

(101) TRANSITIVE INANIMATE DTRANSITIVE INANIMATE
He read it. ma^M{pré}M ma^M{pré};L He taught them it.
He gave it. ma^M{kuo^L}M ma^M{kuo;i^L} He gave them it.
He covered it. ma^M{hil}H ma^M{hil};M He covered them it.

As these examples indicate, the same verb root may participate in more than one inflectional paradigm to indicate differing gender or transitivity relations. The claim that a particular verb form is, in fact, 'inflected' with
reference to a certain number of nominals within a clause is based on this ability of roots to participate in more than one such paradigm.

In this respect, then, a large number of Lealao roots participates in intransitive paradigms, an even larger number participates in transitive paradigms, but less than a half dozen roots have distinctly ditransitive forms as opposed to transitive ones. Futhermore, roots with transitive forms are of two types—those which may add a second object without either changing in form or requiring that the second object be embedded in an associative complement sentence (§3.5), and those which may not add a second object except as an associative complement sentence. A majority of Lealao sentences with two objects thus have verbal predicates which may be considered 'transitive', only a few having verb forms which are contrastively 'ditransitive'.

There is an additional form of some transitive animate verbs which focuses attention on a third-person animate subject of an action by suppressing any overt expression of the animate object. The subject of such a verb is always a third person, an animate object is implied, but only the subject noun phrase may be present. These verbs are labeled \( \text{tn} \), which in Lealao stands for transitive (animate) nonexpressed object;\(^8\) they are always followed by a corresponding \( \text{ta} \) verb. More is said of the function of these special verbs in chapter 3.

\[(102) \text{ia}^H \text{-ha}^L \quad \text{hmi}^M \quad \text{ia}^H \text{-ha}^L \text{i} \quad \text{mi}^{\text{vh}} \text{-liu}^H \]
\[\text{go}^\text{c3-carry}^\text{tn} \quad \text{father}^3 \quad \text{go}^\text{c3-carry}^\text{ta} \text{c3} \quad \text{cls-child}\]

The father went and carried; he went and carried his child.

Lealao Chinantec exhibits the same inflectional category that Merrifield (1968:30f) described for Palantla Chinantec as \( \text{echo} \). The difference in meaning between pairs of stems which differ by this inflectional category is between a first-time action as over against a repetition of a previous action. Note the following pairs:

\[(103) \text{hme}^H \quad \text{‘make’} \quad \text{hme}^L \text{H} \quad \text{‘repair’} \]
\[\text{mi}^H \quad \text{‘sew’} \quad \text{mi}^L \text{H} \quad \text{‘resew’} \]
\[\text{ni}^H \quad \text{‘sell’} \quad \text{ni}^L \text{\text{P}} \quad \text{‘resell’} \]

This inflectional category can be seen, in (103), to be marked in part by glottal closure of the root syllable, and in part by other changes such as length and tone. This same change in form occurs between a few other

---

\(^8\)This same label is used to describe a similar inflectional category in related Chinantec languages, but be aware that each language seems to define the category in a slightly different way.
derivationally-related pairs where the difference in meaning is not as in the pairs of (103), but rather in variations relating to transitivity or gender.

(104) fi:H  ‘whistle it’  fi:PH  ‘whistle at him’
    kui:H  ‘flee’  kui:PH  ‘flee from him’
    ka:H  ‘play it’  ka:PLH  ‘play with it’

2.17. Changing transitivity. It has been mentioned above that a single root may participate in any of several inflectional paradigms which differ in transitivity and gender. Several such roots were cited in (100–01), showing their participation in at least two paradigms each. Some roots participate in multiple paradigms in this way. A typical example is the root meaning ‘fall over’. Four paradigms with this root are presented in (105–08), inanimate intransitive (II), animate intransitive (AI), transitive inanimate (IT), and transitive animate (TA).

(105) fall (II)  3
P    kIPL
I    kIPL
C    kIPL

(106) fall (AI)  1s  1p  2  3
P    kIPL  kIPL  kIPL  kIPL
I    kIPL  kIPL  kIPL  kIPL
C    kIPL  kIPL  kIPL  kIPL

(107) fall (IT)  1s  1p  2  3
P    kIPL  kIPLM  kIPLM  kIPLM
I    kIPL  kIPVL  kIPVL  kIPL
C    kIPL  kIPVL  kIPL  kIPL

(108) fall (TA)  1s  1p  2  3
P    kIPLH  kIPLM  kIPLH  kIPLM
I    kIPLH  kIPLH  kIPLH  kIPLH
C    kIPLH  kIPLH  kIPLH  kIPLH

A third-person, complective-aspect example from each of the four paradigms above is presented in (109–12).

(109) maH.kIPL  nIuH
     PST-fall 2PC3  house
     The house fell.
(110) \(ma^{M}.kâ^{PLi}\) \(dia^{H}\)
\(\text{pst-fall}^{AIC3}\) man
The man fell.

(111) \(ma^{M}.kâ^{PH}\) \(\etai^{H}\) \(dia^{H}\)
\(\text{pst-fall}^{TIC3}\) house man
The man felled the house.

(112) \(ma^{M}.kâ^{PHi}\) \(na^{VHzi:M}\) \(dia^{H}\)
\(\text{pst-fall}^{TAC3}\) dog man
The man felled the dog.

The complexity of these inflectional paradigms has inhibited the identification of morphemes which, in a straight-forward way, might be considered the elements which distinguish such paradigms. There are also, however, isolable prefixes which do distinguish paradigms differing primarily in transitivity. Some of these have been introduced already as having other derivational functions as well. To these, the causative prefix \(bi^{M}\) must be added. In summary, however, the various prefixes which may affect transitivity are listed in (113).

(113) \(li^{M}\) (activizer)
\(na^{M}\) (stativizer)
\(si^{H}\) (stativizer)
\(za^{M}\) (go)
\(bi^{M}\) (causative)

The activizing prefix \(li^{M}\), which was discussed in §2.12 in its role of forming active verb stems from nouns or stative verb roots, also occurs fairly productively with active transitive verb roots to form active intransitive stems. The subject of the transitive verb is suppressed in the corresponding intransitive verb and the object of the transitive verb, whether animate or inanimate, is promoted to be the subject of the intransitive verb. While the suppressed subject of the transitive forms may not be expressed syntactically with the derived intransitive forms, an unnamed personal agency is nevertheless implied.

(114) \(ma^{M}.bâ^{Hi}\) \(hniâ^{M}\) \(mi^{VH-liu^{PH}}\)
\(\text{pst-strike}^{TAC3}\) me \(\text{dim-child}\)
The child struck me.

(115) \(ma^{M}.li^{M}.ba^{LH-a^{L}}\) \(hniâ^{M}\)
\(\text{pst-ACT-strike}^{AIC-1}\) \(\text{is}\)
I was struck (by someone).
(116) \( ma^M{-}ba^H \quad mi^VH{-}hjiu:\bar{M} \)

\( \text{pst-strike}^\sim \text{tic3 sphere-bean} \)
He threshed the beans.

(117) \( ma^M{-}li^M{-}ba^H \quad mi^VH{-}hjiu:\bar{M} \)

\( \text{pst-act-strike}^\sim \text{tic3 sphere-bean} \)
The beans were threshed (by someone).

Even though a root participates in many inflectional paradigms such as those of (105–08), it may also occur with this prefix, as (118) shows. This use of \( li^M{-} \) normally entails a change of tone on the verb root, as comparison of (118) with (106) shows.

(118) \( ma^M{-}li^M{-}ki^Pli^H \quad dia^H \)

\( \text{pst-act-fall}^\sim \text{aic3 man} \)
The man was felled (by someone).

The fact that the stativizing prefix \( na^M{-} \) reduces transitivity was already mentioned and illustrated in §2.12. Like the activizing prefix, it is fairly productive even to the point of being able to predict that the completive form of a \( \pi \) verb will provide the basis of an \( \bar{\pi} \) verb with the stativizing prefix. The root meaning 'slough off' provides an excellent example of a root which may be transitive or intransitive without a derivational prefix and which is made active intransitive with an implied agent by \( li^M{-} \) (activizer) and stative intransitive with an implied agent by \( na^M{-} \) (stativizer). While this verb is like many in this regard, it is also one of a few that permits the derivation of two stative forms with \( na^M{-} \), one which implies a personal agent but does not allow it to be syntactically overt, and one which makes no implicit reference to an agent. As in the case of \( li^M{-} \) (activizer), \( na^M{-} \) also entails changes of tone on the following verb root. This use is, however, fairly rare so that no attempt is made to generalize the way tone is affected.

(119) \( ma^M{-}la^L \quad na^VHji:\bar{L} \)

\( \text{pst-slough}^\sim \text{tic3 dirt} \)
The dirt sloughed off.

(120) \( ma^M{-}la^H \quad na^LH \quad m^M \)

\( \text{pst-slough}^\sim \text{tic3 lard woman} \)
The woman sloughed off the lard.

(121) \( ma^M{-}li^M{-}la^H \quad na^VHji:\bar{L} \)

\( \text{pst-act-slough}^\sim \text{tic3 dirt} \)
The dirt was sloughed off (by someone).
(122) na\textsuperscript{M}-la\textsuperscript{H} na\textsuperscript{VH}hi:\textsubscript{L} \\
sta\textsuperscript{-}slough\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}II3} dirt \\
The dirt is sloughed off (by someone).

(123) na\textsuperscript{M}-la\textsuperscript{L} na\textsuperscript{VH}hi:\textsubscript{L} \\
sta\textsuperscript{-}slough\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}II3} dirt \\
The dirt is sloughed off.

As many as three stative forms may be derived by the use of na\textsuperscript{M}- (stative-izer) from the root illustrated in (105-06).

(124) na\textsuperscript{M}-ki\textsuperscript{PL} \etai\textsuperscript{H} \\
sta\textsuperscript{-}fall\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}II3} house \\
The house is fallen.

(125) na\textsuperscript{M}-ki\textsuperscript{PVH} \etai\textsuperscript{H} \\
sta\textsuperscript{-}fall\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}II3} house \\
The house is fallen (by someone).

(126) na\textsuperscript{M}-ki\textsuperscript{PLH\textsuperscript{H}} m\textsuperscript{I} \\
sta\textsuperscript{-}fall\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}AI3} woman \\
The woman is fallen (by someone).

The pseudodirectional use of the directional prefix za\textsuperscript{M}- with certain telic roots, results in reduced transitivity. In (127), the verb root meaning 'appoint' is inherently transitive animate. It can occur as regular directional verbs, as in (128); but it also occurs in a separate paradigm as pseudodirectional animate intransitive verbs, with the presence of the underlying agent disallowed in the syntax as a subject, the semantic patient being promoted to that position, as in (129).

(127) ka\textsuperscript{M}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \hhab\textsuperscript{-}appoint\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}P3.3}, \quad \text{He appoints (someone).} \\
ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{appoint\textsuperscript{-}P3.3,} \quad \text{He is appointing (someone).} \\
\textit{Pl.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{int-appoint\textsuperscript{-}I3.3,} \quad \text{He will appoint (someone).} \\
a\textsuperscript{M.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{pst-appoint\textsuperscript{-}C3.3,} \quad \text{He appointed (someone).}

(128) bi\textsuperscript{H.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{LH.\textsuperscript{-}u\textsuperscript{M}} \quad \hni\textsuperscript{M} \quad \text{de:i\textsuperscript{H}} \\
\text{come\textsuperscript{-}C2-appoint\textsuperscript{-}2s} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{President} \\
You came and appointed me President.

(129) ka\textsuperscript{M}-za\textsuperscript{M.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \hhab\textsuperscript{-}go\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}P3.3-appoint\textsuperscript{-}3}, \quad \text{He gets appointed.} \\
m\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{M}-za\textsuperscript{M.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{prf-go\textsuperscript{-}P3.3-appoint\textsuperscript{-}3}, \quad \text{He is being appointed.} \\
z\textit{a}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{go\textsuperscript{-}I3-appoint\textsuperscript{-}3}, \quad \text{He will be appointed.} \\
a\textsuperscript{M.}-ti\textsuperscript{g.}\textsuperscript{M.\textsuperscript{-}i}, \quad \text{pst-appoint\textsuperscript{-}C3.3}, \quad \text{He was appointed.}
Not all pseudodirectionalals of this type can be shown so clearly to have had their transitivity reduced. The transitive root ni?H 'sell', for example, corresponds to a pseudodirectionalal intransitive verb based on a completely different root which never occurs without the directional prefixes.

\[(130) \text{ka}^M \text{-za}^M \text{-} \text{pê}^M, \text{HAB-go}^\text{P3-sell}, \text{It sells.} \]
\[\text{mi}^M \text{-za}^M \text{-} \text{pê}^M, \text{PRF-go}^\text{P3-sell}, \text{It is selling.} \]
\[\text{za}^L \text{-} \text{pê}^M, \text{go}^\text{i3-sell}, \text{It will sell.} \]
\[\text{ma}^M \text{-pê}^M, \text{PST-sell}^\text{C3}, \text{It sold.} \]

Finally, there is a causative prefix bi^M which combines with either static or active stems, raising the degree of transitivity by one noun, adding an agent as subject and denoting an original subject to first object position and any existing transitive object to the second object position of a derived ditransitive construction. In (131–32), a ditransitive verb is shown to be derived from a Ti verb.

\[(131) \text{ka}^M \text{-e}^\text{PLM} \text{rê}^H \text{dia}^H \text{HAB-eat}^\text{Tip3} \text{tortilla man} \]
The man eats tortillas.

\[(132) \text{dia}^L \text{mi}^M \text{za}^M \text{nu}^M \text{ba}^H \text{ka}^M \text{-bi}^M \text{-e}^\text{Pmi} \text{si}^M \text{mi}^M \text{ê}^H \text{PL woman foreigner AFF HAB-CAUSE-eat}^\text{Dip3} \text{baby meat} \]
Foreign women feed their babies meat.

Active transitive verbs may be derived from static intransitives. In the case of the static root meaning 'big', a single form serves for both animate and inanimate subject. It nevertheless shows separate transitive paradigms when the causative prefix is used.

\[(133) \text{gâ}^M \text{dî}^H \text{big}^\text{i3s3 man, The man is big.} \]
\[\text{gâ}^M \text{ê}^H \text{big}^\text{i1s3 house, The house is big.} \]

\[(134) \text{ma}^M \text{-bi}^M \text{-gâ}^H \text{ê}^H \text{dia}^H \text{PST-CAUSE-big}^\text{Ti3} \text{house man} \]
The man enlarged the house.

\[(135) \text{ma}^M \text{-bi}^M \text{-gâ}^M \text{ê}^H \text{mi}^H \text{mi}^M \text{PST-CAUSE-big}^\text{TAC3} \text{child woman} \]
The woman raised the child.

On the other hand, although there are distinct Ti and TA inflectional patterns for the root meaning 'grab', there is but one ditransitive paradigm
for DI and DA forms of this root derived by the causative prefix. Note that, as previously illustrated in (76), the derived verb form is palatalized.

(136) TI: $ma^M-sa^PL$
TA: $ma^M-sa^{PLM}\_i$
DI: $ma^M-bi^M-si^P\_M_i$  He caused (someone) to hold it, or
He caused (someone) to hold him.

2.18. Plural number. Plural number as an inflectional category is not highly marked in Chinantec, but it does appear in a few places. As the foregoing has indicated, active verb inflection distinguishes plural number only for first persons. Pronouns, on the other hand, distinguish plural number for both first and second persons, with only the reflexive pronoun distinguishing plurality for third persons. A noun is itself not inflected for number, but plural number may be marked within the noun phrase by the form $d\_i^M$ (plural), which precedes the noun head, or which may substitute for the noun phrase itself.\textsuperscript{9} A real-world plural referent is by no means always marked as plural in speech, but any noun phrase may be so marked.

(137) $ri^L-nj\_i^L$ $d\_i^PL$ $za^M$
INT-gather\_13 PL person
The people will gather.

(138) $ri^L-h\_i^M$-i $d\_i^PL$
INT-die\_13-3 PL
They will die.

(139) $ka^L-f\_i^P\_M$-i $d\_i^PL$ $za^M$
PST-scare\_C3-3 PL person
He scared the people.

Plural number may also be marked in the verb in one of two ways. First of all, there is a verb prefix, similar in form to the plural marker occurring in the noun phrase, which may mark a third person subject as plural. In active verbs this prefix is $da^PH$-; in stative verbs it is $di^M$-. It follows the aspectual prefixes introduced above and precedes derivational ones.

(140) $ma^M-da^PH-h\_O^H$-i $hni\_i^M$
PST-PL-see\_C3 1s
They will look at me.

\textsuperscript{9}The noun phrase is discussed in greater detail in §4.
They practiced their instrument(s).

The people are very mad.

When both the plural prefix and the plural word \( \tilde{d}i\tilde{a}^L \) occur in the same clause, the latter normally has reference to the object nominal rather than to the subject nominal. It cannot refer to the subject nominal unless it is clearly a part of the subject noun phrase itself and the object nominal is overtly present elsewhere in the sentence.

They saw them.

Those people saw you.

In §2.5, reference was made to the fact that the intensive prefix has a low tone with a third-person subject. There is, however, a special set of animate intransitive verbs for which the intensive prefix retains a low tone for all persons. These verbs do not occur with the plural prefix. To mark a plural subject with these verbs, the plural word \( \tilde{d}i\tilde{a}^L \) is used, either as a part of the subject noun phrase or placed after the verb in place of an overt subject noun phrase.

They will die.

Finally, there is a small set of verbs, most of them verbs of location, some transitive, others intransitive, which is suppletive, having one stem to mark singular subject (if intransitive) or object (if transitive) and a second one to mark plural. Typical paired stems include the following.

The vine (bridge) is very high.
(147) $na^L$-$\ddot{\text{ti}}^VH$ $mi^VH\ddot{\text{vi}}^M$
STA-PL $\text{`hang`}_{\text{m}}$ peach
There are lots of peaches hanging (on the tree).

(148) $ma^M$-$\ddot{\text{vi}}^L$ $\ddot{\text{fi}}^VH$ $ni^M$
PST-PL $\text{`ascend`}_{\text{Alc}}$ road there
They ascended that road.

(149) $ma^M$-$\text{sa:}\ddot{\text{pi}}$

$\ddot{\text{fi}}^VH$ $ni^M$
PST-So $\text{`ascend`}_{\text{Alc}}$ road there
He ascended that road.

(150) $ma^M$-$\ddot{\text{zi}}^L$-$\ddot{\text{i}}$

$k\ddot{\text{a}}^M$
PST-So $\text{`remove`}_{\text{Tc}}$ one
I removed one.

(151) $ma^M$-$\ddot{\text{vo}}^L$-$\ddot{\text{i}}$

$t\ddot{\text{u}}^L$
PST-PL $\text{`remove`}_{\text{Tc}}$ two
I removed two.

2.19 Doubled verbs. Semantically related verbs, as well as nouns and adverbs, may occur together in pairs to form a doublet, the meaning of which is more general, or in some cases, more intense a sense than that of its parts. Usually, either member of a doublet may occur independently as well, and both often exhibit identical inflectional paradigms. In a doublet, both two verbs carry the same aspectual and plural prefixes, although in rapid speech the perfect prefix is often retained only on the first one. Person-of-subject suffixes, on the other hand, only follow the second verb.

(152) $\ddot{\text{pi}}^L$-$\ddot{\text{ki}}^H$

$\ddot{\text{pi}}^L$-$\text{be:}\ddot{\text{pi}}^H$

INT-suffer $\text{`AII}_{\text{p}}$ INT-slip $\text{`AII}_{\text{p-1p}}$
We will suffer a great deal.

(153) $\ddot{\text{pi}}^H$-$\text{hi}\ddot{\text{a}}^M$

$di^M$-$\ddot{\text{pi}}^L$

$di^M$-$\text{li}\ddot{\text{u}}^L$-$\ddot{\text{i}}$

very PL-little $\text{`AIS}_{3}$ PL-little $\text{`AIS}_{3-3}$
They are all very small.

(154) $ma^M$-$\ddot{\text{ka}}^L$

$ma^M$-$\text{gi}\ddot{\text{u}}^L$-$\ddot{\text{u}}^M$
PST-mix $\text{`Tc}_{2}$ PST-wrap $\text{`Tc}_{2-3}$
You mixed it thoroughly.

2.20. Negative words. The negative verb prefix $pa^L$- was introduced above, but a further word needs to be said about negation before moving on to the next chapter. More frequent than the negative prefix $pa^L$- is the negative word $pa^L$-$\ddot{\text{fe}}^M$, which would appear to be a stem preceded by the
negative prefix itself. There are two possibilities which suggest themselves regarding the identity of the stem of this negative word. It could derive from the interrogative word \( ?e^H \) 'what?', or it could be a modified form of the relative word \( ?i^M \). It is not possible at the moment to resolve this issue, but note that \( ?a^L?e^M \) negates a sentence, the simplest analysis treating it as an intransitive predicate.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(155) } & \quad \text{S[P \ s]} \\
& \quad \text{Pa}^L\text{e}^M \quad \text{ma}^L\text{-l}\text{i}\text{l}^I \\
& \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{TRM-remember}^{*} \text{i} \text{s} \\
& \quad \text{I no longer remember.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(156) } & \quad \text{RESULT P S[P \ s]} \\
& \quad \text{du}^M \quad \text{?a}^L\text{e}^M \quad \text{ma}^L\text{i}^I \text{l}^I \\
& \quad \text{so \ NEG} \quad \text{TRM-go}^{*} \text{i} \text{s} \\
& \quad \text{So I will no longer go later on.}
\end{align*}
\]

This negative word, as a predicate, is used when the negative situation is certain or complete. The negative prefix is reserved for unfulfilled situations or less certain ones. In contrast to the last sentence above is the first one which follows. The intensive aspect alone places the negative in the future and, therefore, implies less certainty than the terminative prefix of the example above above.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(157) } & \quad \text{du}^M \quad \text{?a}^L\text{-}\text{?i}^L \text{-k} \text{u}^M \text{j} \text{i} \text{I} \\
& \quad \text{so \ NEG-INT-eat}^{*} \text{C} \text{3} \quad \text{REFL}^{*} \text{p} \text{ PL} \\
& \quad \ldots \text{so that he would not eat them.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(158) } & \quad \text{si}^M \quad \text{n} \text{I} \\
& \quad \text{?a}^L\text{-}\text{?i}^L \text{-g} \text{á} \text{i}^M \\
& \quad \text{if \ PAUSE \ NEG-INT-big}^{*} \text{3} \\
& \quad \text{If he does not get big} \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

Whatever the correct derivation of \( ?a^L?e^M \) may be, it appears to parallel the occurrence of the prefix \( ?a^L \) with the anaphoric deictics to negate the identity of a nominal referent. These deictics are \( ?i^M \) 'that (animate)' and \( h^M \) 'that (inanimate)'. They are discussed further in §4.5.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(159) } & \quad \text{S[P \ s]} \\
& \quad \text{Pa}^L\text{i}^M \quad \text{zi}^M \quad \text{n} \text{I}^M, \quad \text{zi}^M\text{nu}^M \text{A} \text{H} \quad \text{n} \text{I}^M \\
& \quad \text{NEG-that dog \ PAUSE \ COYOTE \ AFF \ PAUSE} \\
& \quad \text{That is not a dog; it is a coyote.}
\end{align*}
\]
(160) P S[H PO ]; P[H PO MODAL]
\(\text{Pa}^L-\text{ha}^M \quad \text{Pi}^M \quad \text{ka}^L \quad \text{Pi}^M \quad \text{ki}^\mu \text{Pi}^H \text{u}^M \quad \text{ba}^H \quad \text{ni}^M\)
NEG-that REL mine REL of \(\text{^2s}\) AFF PAUSE
That is not mine; it is yours rather.

The negative prefix rather than the negative word seems to be required when a sentence is relativized and embedded within a noun phrase.

(161) Q H M[P S MA ]
\(\text{di}^\mu \text{Pl} \quad \text{Pi}^M \quad \text{Pa}^L-\text{da}^H \text{nu}:^M \quad \text{Ø} \quad \text{za}^H\)
PL REL NEG-PL-hear\(^P3\) straight
those who do not obey
The Lealao Chinantec Sentence

The Lealao Chinantec sentence is presented here as consisting of primary and secondary constituents. The primary constituents include the predicate and those nominals—from one to three in number—which are inflectionally in cross-reference with it. Secondary constituents are adverbial and include manner, locative, associative, and vocative. They are semantically adjunct to the predicate, but are not inflectionally in cross-reference with it. This chapter provides an overview of sentence structure, dealing first with primary constituents, and subsequently with adverbial constituents. A final third section describes roles played by sentences in sequence—in particular, purpose, result, cause, condition, and temporal sequence. The simple, declarative form of the sentence is primarily in view throughout this chapter, without reference to topicalization or other special features, since such matters are treated later in the study.

Primary Constituents

A sentence is here taken to be a predication. By definition, then, the most nuclear element of the sentence is its predicate; no sentence occurs without one. The prototypical predicate is a verb—although other syntactic forms also function in this grammatical role as well—which inflectionally cross-references at least one nominal constituent as subject and as many as two additional nominals as objects. Since all this has been described to some

---

1 Many studies refer to this constituent as a VERB. I consider the use of the term PREDICATE, however, to be more consistent with the way other sentence constituents are normally labeled in the literature.
degree in relation to verb inflection, in chapter 2, there remain only a few things to say concerning these elements before introducing new information pertaining to adverbia l constituents.

3.1. The predicate. Chinantec is a verb-initial language, so that the predicate is normally the first constituent of the sentence. Each verb participates in one or more inflectional paradigms which define a particular verb form as to transitivity, gender of nominal constituents in cross-reference with it, and its status as active or stative. These matters have been discussed at length above, but two more intransitive verbs are illustrated in (162–63). The first is inanimate intransitive, the second animate intransitive. Both are active verbs, as the presence of the past-tense prefix $ma^M$. attests. In their intransitive form, they may only occur with one nominal, a subject.2

(162) $p$ $s$
$ma^M$-$hî^pM$ $mi^VH$-$hjîu^M$
$pst$-$sour^\text{\`i}c3$ $cls$-$bean$
The beans soured.

(163) $p$ $s$
$ma^M$-$hlâHi$ $ njì^pVH$
$pst$-$cry^\text{\`a}ic3$ $baby$
The baby cried.

Verbs, inflected for various degrees of transitivity, predicate actions, processes, or states. A $be$ verb is not usually required in Lealao to predicate semantically descriptive states (tall, sick, old) inasmuch as such notions are almost always encoded by stative verb roots.

(164) $ma$
$p$
$ghâ$-$M$ $na^VH$-$ma^M$
$very$ $big^\text{\`i}s$ $cls$-$tree$
The tree is very big.

(165) $ma$
$p$
$ghâ$-$P$ $mi^VH$-$lj$-$VH$
$very$ $pretty^\text{\`i}s$ $cls$-$flower$
The flower is very pretty.

2The focus of the discussion of transitivity in this study is syntactic. While occasional reference is made to semantic categories of voice (agent, patient, and so forth), the study of such material remains incomplete and this report makes no attempt at a comprehensive statement on the subject.
A stative be verb may, nevertheless, be employed to predicate semantically
descriptive material like that illustrated in (164–65), in which case the stative
verb (with its adjuncts) functions adverbally as a manner complement, with
an equi-subject restriction, as in (166).

(166) MÆ[MA  P ]  P  S
   ṭiːHi₄?M  gàːMᵢ  na⁵-l₄VH  na⁵VH-maM
   very  big'₁₃3  STA-be'₁₃3  CLS-tree
       The tree is very big.

In addition to verbal predicates, Lealao permits nominal or adverbial
predicates as well, often set off as such by a following pause word. One of
the two deictic words, ni₄M ‘that’ or ḥa₄M ‘aforementioned’, functions nondeicti-
cally as a pause word in these contexts. No actual pause or hesitation is
necessarily present.

(167) P  S
   ḥaːVH-₄H  ni₄M  ṭiːMmiiLM
   cousin'₁p  PAUSE  s/he
   S/he is our cousin.

(168) P  S
   ḥa₄-l₄miiH?e:M  l₄:²H  hmi⁵VHfe²M
   tomorrow  eve'₃  fiesta ·
   Tommorow is the eve of the fiesta.

The modal adverb ba₄H (affirmation)^3 is often present when nominal
material functions as a predicate. Note that nonverbal predicates are usually
found in sentence-initial position, just like verbs are.

(169) P  S
   me₄MmøːpL  ba₄H  ni₄M  ṭi?:LM  -₄H  ni₄M
   cartilage  AFF  PAUSE  NOSE'₁p  1p  PAUSE
   Our noses are cartilage.

A be verb may, with its subject nominal, also occur as a sentential predi-
cate to predicate nominal material. The analysis given below in example
(170) is based on the fact that the be verb is normally intransitive and is,
therefore, so treated here as well.

---

^3Modal adverbs are discussed in chapter 10.
3.2. Nominal constituents. It is unusual to find more than one nominal constituent expressed by a noun phrase in any given sentence, but as many as three nominals may be referenced by a verbal predicate. The two classes of active intransitive verbs are illustrated above in (162–63), with either inanimate or animate subject noun phrases following the predicate verb.

In a transitive sentence, the subject is always animate, but it is quite normal for the subject to be expressed only by verb inflection and suffix, without a free noun phrase or pronoun following the verb; while the object, which tends to reference new information, takes a prominent position, immediately following the verb. The two classes of active transitive verbs are illustrated in (171–72)—the first with an inanimate object (11), the second with an animate one (TA).

(171) P
\[\text{kal}^\text{L-l}^\text{H} \quad \text{t}^\text{L} \quad \text{na}^\text{YH} \quad \text{na}^\text{YH} \quad \text{si}^\text{VH} \]
O  
PST-buy^1TC3 two cans
S/he bought two cans.

(172) P
\[\text{kal}^\text{L-b}^\text{H} \quad \text{na}^\text{YH} \quad \text{zi}^\text{L} \quad \text{za}^\text{M} \quad \text{ni}^\text{M} \]
O  
PST-hit^1TC3 dog
S/he hit the dog.

The subject of a transitive sentence may, of course, also be present in the form of a noun phrase or pronoun. When the subject is referenced by a noun phrase, it normally occurs after the object, in VOS order. A pronoun as subject, on the other hand, normally precedes the object constituent, in VSO order.

(173) P
\[\text{kal}^\text{L-k}^\text{U}^\text{P} \quad \text{mi}^\text{VH} \quad \text{zi}^\text{L} \quad \text{za}^\text{M} \quad \text{ni}^\text{M} \]
O  
PST-strike^1TC3 cls-head^1s-1s person that
That person struck my head.

(174) P
\[\text{kal}^\text{L-b}^\text{A}^\text{H} \quad \text{h}^\text{A} \quad \text{za}^\text{M} \quad \text{ni}^\text{M} \]
O  
PST-beat^1TC3 3 child^3 person that
That person beat his child.
(175) P     S     O
ma^M-kú?L-i     hni^H     mi^VH-ma^L-ta^VH
PST-eat^TIC1S-1S  IS  CLS-pineapple
I ate a pineapple.

A noun phrase, as subject, may precede an object noun phrase in VSO order, but if it does, it is almost always marked by one of the deictic words ni^M or hå^M. The interpretation of these deictics in this context is somewhat problematic because either of them may also occur in a nondeictic sense as hesitation or pause words. In (176), it is ambiguous as to whether ni^M is to be interpreted as a deictic or simply as a marker of VSO order. In (177), however, hå^M is inanimate, not agreeing in gender with the noun, and must be interpreted simply as a marker of word order and not as a deictic.

(176) P     S     O
ka^M-hi^LM     diå^H     ni^M     hå:Ha^M
HAB-scold^TAP3  man  that  stepdaughter^3
That man scolds his stepdaughter, or
The man scolds his stepdaughter.

(177) P     S     O
ia^H-ř:H     na^VH-German     hå^M     ia^M     kia:La^H-a^VH
go^C3-roB^T13  rascal-Herman  PAUSE  bananas  of-1P
Mean old Herman went and robbed our bananas.

The difference in meaning between a noun phrase subject in VSO order and in VOS order is so slight as to be negligible. It is not a simple question of topicalization since that would result in SVO order. There seems to be very little, if any, difference in prominence between the two. There are even a few examples where VSO order occurs without the pause word, yet the norm is for it to be there. One sure reason for the subject to precede the object in (177) is that the object constituent is a phrase. There is a very strong preference for the nominal which immediately follows the predicate to be no more than one word.

A ditransitive verb inflectionally cross-references an animate subject and two objects. As in the case of transitive verbs, the animate subject is rarely included in the sentences as a free form, beyond inflection of the verb itself. In contrast to Palantla Chinantec (Anderson & Merrifield, to appear), the first object translates as an instrument, the second as patient or goal, whether the latter is animate (DA) or inanimate (DI). The first object names new information and is so marked by its position following the verb. The
exception to this is when the object naming the patient/goal is a pronoun, in which case the pronoun precedes the instrumental noun phrase.

(178) $\mathbf{p}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$

$ma^{M.-kI_{-}:PH}$  $\textit{siiP_{-}VH}gu:\textit{aM}$  $mi^{VH-ia^{M}}$

\textit{pst-touch}^{'DIC3}  \textit{finger}^{^3_3}  \textit{cls-pot}$\quad S/he touched the pot with his/her finger.$

(179) $\mathbf{p}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$

$ma^{M.-kI_{-}:P_{-}M-i}$  $\textit{siiP_{-}VH}gu:\textit{aM}$  $mi^{VH-liuPH}$

\textit{pst-touch}^{'DAC3-3}  \textit{finger}^{^3_3}  \textit{cls-little}$\quad S/he touched the child with his/her finger.$

(180) $\mathbf{p}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$  $\mathbf{0}$

$ma^{M.-kI_{-}:PLH.u^{M}}$  $\textit{hniâM}$  $\textit{siiP_{-}VH}gu:\textit{aLMi}$

\textit{pst-touch}^{'DAC2-2s}  \textit{1s}  \textit{finger}^{^2_2}$s$\quad You touched me with your finger.$

Although as many as three nominals may occur in cross-reference with a single verb, Lealac prefers not to have more than one or two nouns as the nominal constituents of any one verb. It, rather, prefers to repeat predicates in slightly altered form as paired sentences. The first sentence of such a pair is often intransitive or transitive inanimate with unspecified object, and the second sentence then specifies the object and has a transitive animate predicate. In this way the number of primary nominals related to any one predicate is kept to a minimum.\footnote{This feature of pairing sentences is treated further in the final section of this chapter.}

One of the functions of such paired sentences is to disambiguate the role of participants of a transitive animate expression, the first verb specifying the subject and the second the object, even though the TA sentence order vos is normally not ambiguous. The second of each of the following paired examples is often favored over the first, single sentence. The second pair of sentences is a classic case of the use of the nonthird-person verb (TN), described in §2.16, to name a transitive animate action with focus on the agent of the action rather than upon the animate patient.

(181) $\mathbf{p}$  $\mathbf{s}$  $\mathbf{0}$

$ka\textit{l-tle:L}$  $mi^{VH-liuPH}$  $\textit{hmi}^{M}$

\textit{pst-call}^{'TAC3}  \textit{cls-little}  \textit{father}^{^3_3}$\quad The father summoned his child.$
(182) $p$ $s;$ $p$ $o$

$kaL-téL$ $hmi:M$ $kaL-téL$ $miVH-liuPH$

PST-call$^TIC3$ father$^3$ PST-call$^TA3$ CLS-little

The father summoned his child.

(183) $p$ $o$ $s$

$ia^H-haLl$ $miVH-liuPH$ $hmi:M$

go$^c3$-carry$^TA3$ DIM-little father$^3$

The father went and carried his child.

(184) $p$ $s;$ $p$ $o$

$ia^H-haLl$ $hmi:M$ $ia^H-haLl$ $miVH-liuPH$

go$^c3$-carry$^TN$ father$^3$ go$^c3$-carry$^TA3$ CLS-child

The father went and carried his child.

Another way to avoid ambiguity even in transitive sentences, particularly when both the subject and the animate object are third persons, is to present the animate object in the form of an inanimate nominal by means of the inanimate allocational noun phrase (§4.3), with corelative adjustment of the $TA$ verb to a $TN$ inflectional pattern, as in (186). In this way, the possible misinterpretation of the roles of two animate nominal expressions within the same sentence is avoided. Also note that the $HEAVIER$ allocational phrase in the object position also tends to move to final position, following the $LIGHTER$ subject noun, resulting in $vso$ order.

(185) $p$ $o$ $s$

$kaL-kuPM:i$ $zaM$ $naVHiAPM$

PST-bite$^TA3–3$ person tiger

The tiger bit a person.

(186) $p$ $s$ $o$

$kaL-ku:PM$ $naVHiAPM$ $kiáPH$ $zaM$

PST-bite$^TN3$ tiger of$^3$ person

The tiger bit a person.

Adjusting an animate reference to inanimate by means of an allocational phrase does not, however, always result in lack of ambiguity. When sentence (189) is adjusted in this way, yielding sentence (190), it is ambiguous because of a third noun which is either the subject or the possessor of the animate object. The simplest way to disambiguate such a sentence is by dividing the nouns between two separate predicates, as in the sequence of sentences in (191).
(189) \(P \quad O \quad O \quad s\)
\(ma^{M-\eta}:{P_L} \quad hmi:{M} \quad h\ddot{u}:{P_L} \quad mi^{VH-liu?H}\)
PST-ask\(^{DAC3}\) father\(^{3}\) word \(\text{cls-little}\)
The child asked his father a question.

(190) \(P \quad O \quad O \quad \{\text{PREP N} \quad \} \quad \Sigma[\quad \}, \text{ or}\)
\(P \quad O \quad O \quad \{\text{PREP H} \quad \PO\quad \}\)
\(ma^{M-\eta}:{M} \quad h\ddot{u}:{P_L} \quad ki\acute{a}?{H} \quad hmi:{M} \quad mi^{VH-liu?H}\)
PST-ask\(^{DIC3}\) word \(\text{of}^{3}\) father\(^{3}\) \(\text{cls-little}\)
The child asked a question of his/her father, \text{or}
S/he asked a question of the child's father.

(191) \(P \quad S;\quad P \quad O \quad O\)
\(ma^{M-\eta}:{M} \quad mi^{VH-liu?H}; \quad ma^{M-\eta}:{P_L} \quad hmi:{M} \quad h\ddot{u}:{P_L}\)
PST-ask\(^{DIC3}\) \(\text{cls-little}\) PST-ask\(^{DAC3}\) father\(^{3}\) word
The child asked his father a question.

A nominal constituent may be a single word, a phrase, or a sentence.
Words include personal pronouns and numerals.

(192) \(P \quad O\)
\(ma^{M-ba{_L-H-u}{M}} \quad hni\ddot{a}{M}\)
PST-hit\(^{TAC2-2s}\) is
You hit me.

(193) \(P \quad s\)
\(ka{_L-h\ddot{u}-{L-i}} \quad za^{M} \quad \ddot{p}\ddot{i}{M}\)
PST-die\(^{AIC3-3}\) person that
He died.

(194) \(P \quad s\)
\(ma^{M-t\ddot{a}?{M}} \quad k\ddot{a}:{M}\)
PST-fall\(^{\Pi3}\) one
One fell.

Phrases and even sentences, referred to as sentential complements, may also occur as primary nominal constituents of a sentence.

(195) \(P \quad O\)
\(ma^{M-\eta}:{M} \quad t\ddot{u}{L} \quad li\ddot{a}^{VH} \quad ku\ddot{i}:{L}\)
PST-sell\(^{\PiC3}\) two load firewood
He sold two loads of firewood.
A sentential complement may occupy either the subject or an object position. Cognition verbs—know, see, sense, suppose—and utterance verbs take sentential objects. When such a verb occurs sentence finally, as in the last example above, a complementizer is not used. But when the sentential object follows its verb, it must be introduced by the relative word $p^M$ as complementizer.

An exception to this is when a verb with a sentential object is not the main verb of the sentence. In the following illustration, a cognition verb is embedded in a phrase which would normally function as the locative constituent of a matrix sentence. Such an embedded clause lacks the complementizer.

Secondary Constituents

It is rare that more than two adverbial constituents would appear in a single sentence. As in the case of nominal constituents, adverbial constituents tend to follow the predicate unless topicalized, in which case any of them can precede the predicate. The manner constituent is exceptional in not appearing to exhibit differences in prominence when preceding the predicate, unless it is affirmed by a modal adverb or otherwise marked as prominent. When following the verb, as the adverbial most intimately associated with the predicate, the manner constituent tends to follow it immediately, while other adverbials tend to occur at more distant positions.
3.3. **The manner constituent.** The manner constituent may be a word, phrase, or sentence. Words which occur in this position are, for the most part, adverbs of manner or intensity. Adverbs of intensity may themselves form phrases, one adverb modifying another. Some adverbs of intensity only occur before the word they modify, some are always postposed, and a few can take either position. The adverb $\text{di}^\text{PVH}$ 'very', for example, may occur only before the word it modifies, whereas $\text{fa}^\text{PLie:i}^\text{VH}$ 'extremely' may occur before or after.

(199) MA P S $\text{di}^\text{PVH}$ $\text{li}^\text{PH}$ $\text{mi}^\text{PVH}^\text{li}^\text{PH}$
very pretty 3CLS-flower
The flower is very pretty.

(200) MA[М] H P $\text{fa}^\text{PLie:i}^\text{VH}$ $\text{di}^\text{PVH}$ $\text{li}^\text{PH}$
extremely very pretty
It is extremely pretty.

(201) P MA S $\text{li}^\text{M}$ $\text{fa}^\text{PLie:i}^\text{VH}$ $\text{zi}^\text{M}$
hang 3extremely wind
The wind is really blowing.

The adverb $\text{bi}^\text{L}$ 'very' is another one which may occur before or after the word it modifies.

(202) NEG P MA O $\text{ra}^\text{L}^\text{PeM}$ $\text{ma}^\text{M-da}^\text{PH}^\text{ku}^\text{PM}$ $\text{bi}^\text{L}$ $\text{l}^\text{aH}$
NEG PST-PL-eat 3very corn
They did not eat a great deal of roasting ears.

(203) NEG MA P S $\text{ra}^\text{L}^\text{PeM}$ $\text{bi}^\text{L}$ $\text{si}^\text{aM}$ $\text{ta}^\text{H}$
NEG very exist 3work
There is not much work.

It is not uncommon to find adverbs of intensity strung together with semantically similar words to increase the degree of intensity.

(204) MA P S $\text{hm}^\text{i}^\text{PM}$ $\text{zi}^\text{L}$ $\text{di}^\text{PVH}$ $\text{hla}^\text{PH}$ $\text{pe}^\text{H}$ $\text{dia}^\text{PL}$ $\text{kue}^\text{M}^\text{u}^\text{PLM}$
truly good very wide mouth 3PL monkey
The monkeys' mouths are really, really wide.
Stative sentences may also occur as manner constituents and may, themselves, include a manner adverbal. This was illustrated above in the context of predicating semantically descriptive states, in §3.1; but they may also occur as manner adverbials with other stative or active predicates, either preceding or following the predicate, as indicated in (205–08).

(205) MA[MA P S] P
\[Pi\text{H}\text{hi}\text{a}\text{M} \quad li\text{H} \quad va\text{H} \quad ha\text{M} \quad la\text{M}\]
very pretty soft this cotton
This cotton is very gratifyingly soft.

(206) MA[MA P S] P
\[ka\text{M} \quad Pa\text{L-iia}\text{H} \quad zi\text{M} \quad ba\text{H} \quad Pi\text{H}\text{-Pa}\text{L-M-aH}\]
one NEG-put wind AFF INT-pass ACC-p-1p
We will pass without making any noise.

(207) P MA
\[ka\text{M}-g\text{-Li-i} \quad na\text{M}-h\text{eH}\]
HAB-sleep STA-mouth
I sleep on my back.

(208) P MA
\[Pi\text{H}\text{-q}\text{-LH-i} \quad zi\text{uL}\]
INT-wash good
I will wash it well.

A noun phrase may, on occasion, function as a manner constituent.

(209) MA[Q H] P
\[ka\text{q}: \\ kuq:i\text{VH}n\text{aH} \\ ka\text{L-}liu\text{VHi}\]
one account pst-speak ACC
You spoke carelessly.

3.4. Locative constituents. Another large set of secondary constituents includes locatives of both space (L) and time (T). If both should be present together in the same sentence, following the predicate, the locative of space tends to be nearer to the predicate than the locative of time.

(210) P T
\[ma\text{M-q}\text{-LH-aH} \\ mi\text{M}\text{iu}:H\]
PST-go earlier
I went earlier.
(211) **P**  
**L**  
\(ma^M\-\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{VH}}\)  
\(hi^M\-nu^M\)\(M\)  
\(ki^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{PH}}\)  
\(\text{PST-go}^A\)\(\text{IC3}\)  
\(\text{ranch of}^3\)  
He went to his ranch.

(212) **S**  
**P**  
**L**  
**T**  
\(?e^H\)  
\(ma^M\-\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{Ll}}\)  
\(gua^M\)\(M\)  
\(ni^M\)\(M\)  
\(mi^M\-\eta^M_{\text{ju:}^H}\)  
\(\text{what? PST-happen}^A\)\(\text{IC3}\)  
\(\text{church PAUSE earlier}\)  
What happened at the church a while ago?

A temporal locative may be an adverb, a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a sentence.

(213) **T**  
**P**  
**S**  
**L**  
\(ha^M\-\eta^M_{\text{Mn}}\)\(\eta^M\)  
\(mi^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?o:?}}\)  
\(ia^M\)\(M\)  
\(za^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{L}}\)  
\(ia^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(M\)  
\(\text{now PRF-shine}^A\)\(\text{IC3}\)  
\(\text{sun against wall}\)  
The sunshine is striking the wall now.

(214) **TQ**  
**H**  
**M**  
**P**  
**O**  
\(ki^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(M\)  
\(hm^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{VH}}\)  
\(ba^H\)\(M\)  
\(nii^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?VH}}\)  
\(pi^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{hme:}^L^Mhi}\)\(M\)  
\(ta^H\)\(M\)  
\(\text{four day AFF only INT-do}^A\)\(\text{IC3s work}\)  
I will only work for four days.

(215) **TP**  
**S**  
**P**  
\(mi^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?l--hme:}^L}\)\(M\)  
\(ka^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{gia:}^M}\)\(M\)  
\(ka^L\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?l--}^Mh-a^L}\)\(M\)  
\(\text{PRF-INT-do}^A\)\(\text{IC3 week PST-shoot}^A\)\(\text{IC3s-1s}\)  
It has been just about a week since I shot it.

A spatial locative may have similar realizations, as word, phrase, or sentence.

(216) **?**  
**P**  
**L**  
\(sii^H\)  
\(ma^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{iaH-kâ:}^M\text{VHi}}\)\(M\)  
\(gua^M\)\(M\)  
\(\text{INTERR PST-go}^A\)\(\text{IC2-play church}\)  
Did you go play in the plaza?

(217) **L**  
**P**  
**S**  
\(la^M\)\(M\)  
\(li^M\)\(M\)  
\(bi^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?H}}\)  
\(nii^M\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{?H}}\)  
\(za^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{ja:}^M}\)\(M\)  
\(\text{here very limit sound}^A\)\(\text{IC3s go}^A\)\(\text{IC3-explode}\)  
The explosions are heard all the way here.

(218) **L**  
**P**  
**S**  
\(na^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{kâ:}^M\text{Ll}}\)\(M\)  
\(zia^H\)\(M\)  
\(\text{escuela }^M\)\(M\)  
\(ni^M\)\(M\)  
\(ka^L\)\(\eta^M\)\(\eta^M_{\text{naL-má?L}}\)\(M\)  
\(za^M\)\(M\)  
\(\text{throughout patio school PAUSE PST-STA-amass}^A\)\(\text{IC3 person}\)
People gathered all over the schoolyard at the fiesta.

Don’t go near where the tree is being chopped down.

Locative constituents may intervene between the predicate and primary nominals. In (220) the focus upon time is crucial to the sentence; in the second, the focus is on the goal of the verb send.

There is still enough corn to eat for one more month.

The man ought to send his child to school.

One sentence was found to have an unusual number of secondary constituents.

Earlier I passed silently through the people’s field while they were there harvesting corn.

3.5. The associative constituent. The associative position of the sentence is occupied by a sentence complement which has the stative transitive verb ‘accompany’ as predicate. This verb has just three inflected forms and does not distinguish between animate or inanimate object.
(223) accompany 1p 2 3
kiq:PLH kiq:PH kiq:PVH ké:PH

The interpretation of 'accompany' as a transitive verb is based upon its occurrence as the predicate of an independent clause. The underlying root is stative, but it may become a derived active stem by means of the activizing prefix (§2.12) with intensive or optative force.

(224) P   S  O
kiq:PLH-aH hniM piM zit:M
with"TAS1s 1s REL hot"S3
I have a fever.

(225) P   O   S
ké:PVH-i niuM fi:LM-aH
with"S3-3 you owner"1p-1p
The Lord is with you.

(226) P   O   S
jiiL-ké:PVH-i niuM fi:LM-aH
INT"ACT-with"S3-3 you owner"1p-1p
The Lord will be with you.

(227) P   O   S
kuaH-liM-ké:PVH-i niuM Dio
OPT-ACT-with"S3-3 you God
May God be with you.

When a sentence with this verb functions as the associative constituent of a matrix sentence and the matrix verb is intransitive, the associative verb normally exhibits an equi subject with the matrix verb.

(228) P  ASSOC[P
eta:L kiq:PLH-aH niuM
go"Aff1s with"S1s-1s you
I will go with you.

(229) P  ASSOC[P
gua:LMi kiq:PVH-uM ó:PH-uM
go"Aff2s with"S2s-2s companion"2s-2s
You will go with your companion.
(230) \( P \) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{ASSOC}[^{P}] & \quad O \\
ma^{M} & \quad \eta^{H} \quad VH \\
k^{e} & \quad PVH \quad i \\
hni^{M} & \quad
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
PST & \quad \text{go}^{C} \\
\text{with} & \quad \text{S}^{3-3} \\
1s & \quad
\end{align*}
\]
S/he went with me.

When the matrix sentence is transitive, however, the object of the associative verb is usually inanimate and is semantically interpretable as an instrument rather than as associative. Since the inanimate object is by definition third person, there is no equi subject in this context.

(231) \( P \) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{INSTR}[^{P}] & \quad O \\
ma^{M} & \quad \text{bá}^{H} \quad a^L \\
k^{e} & \quad PVH \quad i \\
na^{VH} & \quad ma^{M} \\
PST & \quad \text{beat}^{T} \\
\text{with} & \quad \text{S}^{3-3} \\
\text{stick} & \quad
\end{align*}
\]
I beat him with a stick.

While this distinction between transitive and intransitive sentences holds for the majority of cases, there are exceptions. The transitive sentences of (232–33) seem to be somewhat idiomatic so that the embedded associative sentences might be interpreted as objects rather than associative constituents. In any case, they are exceptional and do exhibit equi subjects.

(232) \( MA \) \[
\begin{align*}
P & \quad \text{ASSOC}[^{P}] \\
\text{祁}hiá^{P} & \quad M \\
ná^{L} & \quad \text{L} \quad i \\
k^{e} & \quad PVH \quad a^H \\
diá & \quad PL \\
z^a & \quad M \\
\text{very} & \quad \text{like}^{T} \\
\text{with} & \quad \text{S}^{1-1s} \\
\text{PL} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{I} & \quad \text{really} \quad \text{get} \quad \text{along} \quad \text{well} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{people.}
\end{align*}
\]

(233) \( MA \) \[
\begin{align*}
P & \quad \text{ASSOC}[^{P}] \\
\text{祁}hiá^{P} & \quad M \\
ni^{L} & \quad \text{L} \\
k^{e} & \quad PVH \quad i \\
diá & \quad PL \\
z^a & \quad M \\
\text{very} & \quad \text{like}^{T} \\
\text{with} & \quad \text{S}^{3-3} \\
\text{PL} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{S/he} & \quad \text{really} \quad \text{gets} \quad \text{along} \quad \text{well} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{people.}
\end{align*}
\]

There is also a set of sentences having to do with color or composition of objects which have an intransitive be verb as predicate and nonequi associative constituent as instrument.

(234) \( s \) \[
\begin{align*}
P & \quad \text{INSTR}[^{P}] \\
mesa & \quad n^{i}^{M} \\
nal & \quad \text{L} \quad VH \\
k^{e} & \quad PVH \quad i \\
na^{VH} & \quad \eta^{VH} \\
\text{table} & \quad \text{pause} \\
\text{STA-\text{be}^{T} \text{Ii}^{3}} & \quad \text{with}^{T} \quad \text{S}^{3-3} \\
\text{metal} & \quad
\end{align*}
\]
The table is made of metal.

3.6. The vocative constituent. A vocative noun or a name may occupy the vocative position, which may be inserted almost anywhere in the sentence as long as it does not intrude within a phrase.
Intersentential Relations

Two sentences 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 sentences may name a state or activity which is an outcome of the activity named by the other sentence. Or one of the sentences may name the condition under which a state or activity named by the other sentence is true.

In most cases, one or both of the sentences may be marked by a preposed word or phrase. In the following sections, a few illustrations are presented to show how Chinantec encodes the sentential relationships of purpose, result, cause, condition, and temporal sequence.

3.7. Purpose. A sentence indicating the purpose of an antecedent action follows the sentence naming such action (here labeled ‘ground’), and is introduced by duM ‘so’ or duM hM ‘so that’.

3.8. Result. A sentence which names the result of an antecedent action follows the sentence which names that action and is introduced by the phrase riM hM ‘therefore’, which is the relative word riM and the deictic pronoun hM ‘that’.
3.9. Cause. A sentence naming the cause of a state or activity is introduced by *kia:*?\textsuperscript{PH} ‘because’ and follows the ‘ground’ sentence which names the consequent situation.

(239) GROUND  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{f}i\textsuperscript{PLH} & \textit{zi?H} & \textit{kia:*PH} & \textit{?iM} & \textit{ka\textsuperscript{L-}ka:*M} & \textit{?iuH}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

sad heart\textsuperscript{3} because REL PST-burn\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{HIC}3} house\textsuperscript{3}  
S/he is sad because his/her house burned down.

The cause sentence normally includes the relative word \textit{?iM} as complementizer, with certain exceptions. If another adverb precedes the embedded verb, for example, \textit{?iM} is not required.

(240) GROUND  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{h\textsuperscript{M}ni\textsuperscript{L}} & \textit{ni\textsuperscript{L}} & \textit{kia:*PH} & \textit{lia?Mha:*M} & \textit{ka\textsuperscript{L-si:*PL}} & \textit{?iM} & \textit{hnia:*M}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

now go\textsuperscript{11s} because like\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{so}C3} I  
I am going today because that’s how he told me.

The complementizer does occur when the negative prefix \textit{pa\textsuperscript{L-}} introduces the cause sentence, but it does not occur with the negative word \textit{pa\textsuperscript{L-pe}}.

(241) GROUND  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\textit{g\textsuperscript{A}\textsuperscript{Mi}} & \textit{taH} & \textit{kia:*PH} & \textit{?iM} & \textit{pa\textsuperscript{L-si:a}} & \textit{ku:*H}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

big\textsuperscript{3} work because REL NEG-exists money  
It is very difficult because there is a lack of money.

(242) GROUND  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{f}i\textsuperscript{PLH} & \textit{zi\textsuperscript{L-i}} & \textit{kia:*PH} & \textit{pa\textsuperscript{L-pe}} & \textit{na\textsuperscript{Mf\textsuperscript{PLi}}} & \textit{h\textsuperscript{M}ni\textsuperscript{L-a\textsuperscript{L}}}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

sad heart-1s because NEG significant pay-1s  
I am sad because my wages aren’t significant.

Apart from these cases, if the actions or states predicated in both the ground and cause sentences are existing or completed situations, the complementizer must occur in the cause sentence. If the cause is unrealized at the time of the speech act, the complementizer does not occur.

(243) GROUND  
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\textit{ka\textsuperscript{L\textsuperscript{L-}za:*PLH}} & \textit{kia:*PH} & \textit{?iM} & \textit{ka\textsuperscript{L-da?H-f\textsuperscript{PH-i}}}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

PST-ACT-sick\textsuperscript{3} because REL PST-PL-scare\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{C3-3}}  
He got sick because they scared him.
(244) GROUND
\[P^iHMh^M \text{ ziú}\text{L} \text{ hmi}^M \text{ ni}^M \text{ kia} \cdot PVH \text{ pi}^M \text{ bi} \cdot L \text{ hi}Mi^3\]
very good\textsuperscript{^s3} water PAUSE because REL very clear\textsuperscript{^s3}
The water is very good because it is so clear.

(245) GROUND
\[Pa^L Pe^M \text{ ná} \cdot i^L \text{ pi}^M \text{ ni}^M \text{ kia} \cdot PVH \text{ pi}^M \text{ mi}^M \text{-na}^M \text{-kiú} \cdot VH\]
NEG want\textsuperscript{^s1s} REL that because REL PRF-STA-dry\textsuperscript{^3}
I do not want that one because it is dry.

(246) GROUND
\[Pa^L \text{-pi}^M \text{ ká} \cdot ?Mi^3 \text{ pi}^M \text{ ni}^M \text{ kia} \cdot PVH \text{ pi}^L \text{-ié} \cdot Li\]
NEG-REL play\textsuperscript{^p2} REL that because INT-ruin\textsuperscript{^t3}
Don't play with that because it will become ruined.

When the cause sentence precedes the ground sentence, the complementizer must occur and the ground sentence must take the form of a result sentence with \(Pi^M h^M\) 'therefore' introducing it.

(247) CAUSE
\[kia \cdot PVH \text{ pi}^M \text{ di}^M \text{-niá} \cdot L \text{ pi}^L \text{-da}^H \cdot é \cdot ?H\]
because REL PL-want\textsuperscript{^t3} INT-PL-eat\textsuperscript{^t3}

RESULT
\[Pi^M h^M \text{ ni}^M \text{ ka}^M \text{-da}^H \cdot híi \cdot M \text{ ni}^M\]
therefore PAUSE HAB-PL-prepare\textsuperscript{^s}field PAUSE
Because they want to eat therefore they prepare a field.

3.10. The conditional constituent. The protasis of a condition is an independent sentence introduced by \(Li^{u}Mu^{H}síi^{M}\) or simply \(síi^{M}\) 'if'. It may precede or follow the apodosis, but when the apodosis follows, it is usually introduced by \(mi^{H}h^M\) 'then', from the preposition \(mi^{H}\) 'when' and the deictic pronoun \(h^M\) 'that'.

(248) APODOSIS
\[h^Ml \text{-mi}^{H}p^e^M \text{ ni}^L \text{ Li}^{u}Mu^{H}síi^{M} \text{ sia}^M \text{ he}^H \text{ ké}^L\]
tomorrow go\textsuperscript{^1s} if exist\textsuperscript{^t3s} time of\textsuperscript{^1s}
I will go tomorrow if I have time.

(249) PROTASIS
\[síi^{M} \text{ pi}^L \text{-gá}^M \text{Mi} \text{ mi}^{H}h^M \text{ pi}^L \text{-li} \cdot L \text{ ka}^M \text{liu}^H \text{ ku}^H\]
if INT-big\textsuperscript{^A3s} then INT-regain\textsuperscript{^t3s} little money
If he grows up then some money will be recuperated.
The contrary-to-fact sentence is formed by adding the modal adverb $\text{?u}^H$ (irrealsis) and the manner adverb phrase $\text{lia?Mh}_2^M$ 'like that' at the end of the apodosis of a condition.

(250) PROTASIS

\[ \text{liu}_2^M \text{mu}_2^H \text{ssi}_2^M \quad \text{ma}_2^M \text{-}\text{nji}_2^V \text{-} \text{h-u}_2^M \]

if PST-go*C2–2s

APODOSIS

\[ \text{mi}_2^H \text{h}_2^M \quad \text{?a}_2^L \text{pe}_2^M \quad \text{ma}_2^M \text{-}\text{nji}_2^L \text{-} \text{h-a}_2^H \quad \text{?u}_2^H \quad \text{lia}_2^M \text{mu}_2^M \]

then NEG PST-go*C1s–1s IRR like^* that

If you had gone I would not have gone.

Another way to form the contrary-to-fact sentence is to introduce the apodosis with the phrase $\text{?u}^H \text{k}_a^M$ 'if only'.

(251) PROTASIS

\[ \text{?a}_2^L \text{pe}_2^M \quad \text{ma}_2 \text{-}\text{nji}_2^L \text{-} \text{h-i}_2^H \quad \text{?u}_2^H \quad \text{k}_a^M \]

NEG PST-go*C1s–1s IRR one PST-go*C2s–2s

I would not have gone if you had gone.

The 'if only' phrase may also occur with the protasis, in which case, the apodosis is optionally introduced with 'then' and the phrase 'if that were so' may be tagged on at the end, especially if either of the sentences is lengthy.

(252) $\text{?u}_2^H \quad \text{k}_a^M$ PROTASIS $\text{mi}_2^H \text{h}_2^M$ APODOSIS $\text{?u}_2^H \quad \text{lia}_2^M \text{mu}_2^M$

If only X, then Y if that were so.

3.11. Temporal sequence. There are several methods by which Lealao Chinantec joins sentences which have a relationship of temporal sequence. One way is to simply order successive independent sentences to match the temporal order of successive events. The verb of any two sentences in sequence must be inflected for the same aspect, whether progressive, intensive, or completive, to show temporal sequence, and the second of any two sentences is introduced by temporal constructions based on the deictic word $\text{ha}_2^M$ meaning 'then' or 'then at last'.

(253) T \quad \text{P} \quad \text{S;} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{ha}_2^L \text{-mi}_2^H \text{pe}_2^M \quad \text{?i}_2^L \text{-li}_2^M \quad \text{baile;} \quad \text{mi}_2^H \text{h}_2^M \quad \text{?i}_2^H \text{-} \text{zia}_2^V \text{ha}_2^H$

tomorrow INT-be^*13 dance then INT-dance^*11p

Tomorrow the dance will take place; then we will dance.
The more common structure for temporal sequence is a dependent sentence followed by an independent sentence introduced with \( \text{mi}^H\text{ha}^M \) ‘then’ (as in the apodosis of a conditional sentence). The sentences may be ordered to match the actual temporal sequence (when/after X, then Y), in which case the second sentence must have the temporal preposition \( \text{mi}^H \) ‘when’. There are two choices for marking the dependent sentence. If, in relation to the speech act, the sentence content is viewed as past or concurrent, the adverb phrase \( \text{lia}^PM\text{kâ}:^PM \) or \( \text{lia}^PM \) ‘when’ is used, as in (255–56). If the content is viewed as something yet future with respect to the speech act, \( \text{mi}^H \) ‘when’ is used, as in (257). In (258), note the presence of the perfect prefix with the intensive aspect to show imminence (§2.7) between the two predications.

(255) \( \text{T} \)
\[ \text{lia}^PM\text{kâ}:^PM \text{ ma}^M\text{li}^M\text{gui}:^PL, \text{ mi}^H . \text{ ha}^M \text{ ma}^M\text{ú}:^PL-i \] when PST-ACT-COOL\(^{\text{s3}} \) when then PST-drink\(^{\text{cis-1s}} \)
When it cooled, then I drank it.

(256) \( \text{T} \)
\[ \text{lia}^PM \text{ pil-l}^M \text{ hmi}^VM\text{fe}^PM, \]
when INT-happen\(^{\text{13}} \) fiesta
\[ \text{mi}^H \text{ pil-}\text{ni}:^PL \text{ lia}^PM\text{hi}^Mi \text{ diá}^PL \text{ za}^M \] when then INT-gather\(^{\text{13}} \) all\(^3 \) PL person
Whenever the fiesta occurs, then everyone gathers.

(257) \( \text{T} \)
\[ \text{mi}^H . \text{ ma}^M\text{ra}:^M \text{ ni}^M, \text{ mi}^H . \text{ ha}^M \text{ pil-}\text{ra}^H \] when PST-mature\(^{\text{c3}} \) PAUSE then that INT-harvest\(^{\text{13}} \)
When it has matured, then it will be harvested.

(258) \( \text{T} \)
\[ \text{mi}^H . \text{ mi}^P\text{ká}:^M \text{ mi}^H . \text{ ha}^M \text{ pil-}\text{ié}:^L \text{i} \] when PRF-INT-burn\(^{\text{13}} \) then that INT-ruin\(^{\text{13}} \)
When it will have burned, it will be ruined.
Either temporal word may occur in the first of two sentences when the verbs are inflected for progressive aspect.

If the order of two successive sentences does not match the temporal order of the events they name, the first sentence may be marked by lia^Mhë^M gi^VH ‘when yet’, sometimes accompanied by the temporal adverb za^Mhëi^L ‘first’; and the second sentence requires no temporal marker.

(259) T,
za^Mhëi^L lia^M hë^M gi^VH p^H. p^VH a^H nì^M,
first when that more int-paint*ii_p pause

p
S
ga^Mhmi-e^L p^H-l-hëi^M zìù^L necessary int-clean*13 good
Before we paint it, it should be cleaned well.

To express the fact that two events are concurrent with each other, there are a couple of adverb phrases, kë^Mlia^P^M ‘while’ and lia^Mkë^P^M ‘when’, which may mark either the first or second of two sentences. With the first of these phrases, hë^M ba^H ‘right then’ introduces the second sentence.

(260) T
kë^Mlia^P^M ka-l-pë^H a^H, hë^M ba^H ka-l-pë^H i
while pst-shoot*ci_s then aff pst-shoot*c3 he
He shot right when I shot.

(261) P;
ëi^M la^M; lia^P^Mkë^P^M ia^M. ka:*l
sit*! here when go*11s-play
Sit here while I go play.

When the first of two sentences is dependent, it does not normally present new information but often recapitulates the preceding independent sentence of the discourse. When the second of two sentences is dependent, it is interpreted as a secondary adverbal constituent.

(262) P
he^VH i ba^H fa:i^LM lia^P^Mkë^P^M ka-l-lù-za:lH-i
present*3 aff John when pst-act-sick*11s-1s
John was here when I got sick.
3.12. Paired sentences. It was shown above that paired sentences often occur in order to reduce the number of noun phrases which occur with any particular verb. This same strategy is also used for other grammatical ends.

In the following sentences, for example, an intransitive verb, which cannot occur directly with a nominal as goal, is paired with a transitive sentence with the semantically depleted verb 'do' which permits such a nominal.

(263) \(\text{P; } \text{mi}^M\text{-bi}^M\text{-ná:}^L \text{hmé:}^L \text{hnía}^M\)
PRF-CAUS-explode^AIC3 do^TAC3 1s
S/he bellowed; s/he did it to me. or S/he bellowed at me.

(264) \(\text{P } \text{ma}^M\text{-lá}^Hi \text{gua:}^LM-i \text{ma}^M\text{-hmé}^{:\text{P}^\text{VH}-i} \text{hnía}^H\)
PST-slough^TIC3 hand-3 PST-do^TAC3-3 me
S/he dropped his/her hand; s/he did it to me. or
S/he beckoned to me (to come).

The only constituent that may occur between the paired predicates is a primary nominal; adverbial constituents do not intervene here.

This same structure, with 'do', is also used to eliminate ambiguity when two animate nominals could occur with a single predicate.

(265) \(\text{P } \text{hi}^LM \text{hnía}^H \text{ží}^M\)
scold^TAP3 me dog
The dog is scolding (barking at) me.

(266) \(\text{P } \text{hi}^LM \text{ží}^M \text{hmé:}^L \text{hnía}^H\)
scold^TAP3 dog do^TAP3 me
The dog is barking at me.

Various adverbial relationships can also be expressed by paired sentences of this type, where other languages might require a preposition or nonfinite verb.

(267) \(\text{MA } \text{bi}^L \text{bál-}^i \text{ka}^M\text{-kq}^L \text{liá}^{:\text{VH}}\)
very strong^AIS3-3 HAB-carry^TIP3 load
S/he is very strong; s/he carries loads. or
S/he has a lot of strength for carrying loads.
(268) **MA**
\[ \text{p:iHhiá?M } \text{na}^M_{-} \text{ba}^M_{-} \text{i } \text{kal}^M{}^-{}^? \text{?H } \text{hmú:}^M \]
very STA-fill^A13=3 PST-drink^TIC3 water
S/he is very full; s/he drank. or S/he is bloated from drinking.

The initial sentence in each of the last two examples above might also be interpreted as a manner constituent of a larger sentence with the following verb as predicate. This is especially true whenever the second verb is transitive. The following sentence, with the semantically depleted ‘do’ verb, certainly lends itself to such an interpretation. On the other hand, the frequent use of paired sentences in sequence, for a variety of relationships, also allows for a different parsing of the sentences as being syntactically coordinate rather than the first being a constituent of the second.

(269) **MA[MA**
\[ \text{hiHhiá?M } \text{vé}^M_{-} \text{mi } \text{kal}^M{}^-{}^? \text{hmé:}^M_{-} \text{i } \text{ta}^H \text{h¿Mziá:}^M \]
very strong^II3 PST-do^TIC1s-Is work yesterday
I worked very hard yesterday.

### 3.13. Comparison.
An integral part of the comparison sentence is the manner constituent of the clause and, in particular, the manner adverb liá?M ‘as, like’ which forms a phrase with either the conditional word siíM or one of the deictic words laM, niM, h¿M, ‘this, that, that (anaphoric)’, respectively. The sentence which follows is a fully-expanded comparative sentence in which an embedded sentence is a manner constituent of a matrix sentence and presents the grounds for a simile. A second, manner constituent in apposition with the first completes the simile by anaphoric reference, ‘in that way’. The ground of the comparison must always be stated first, as in this illustration.

(270) **MA[MA[Q**
\[ \text{h¿M } \text{ba}^H \text{ liá?M } \text{siíM } \text{hme:}^L_{-} \text{I } \text{AFF } \text{like } \text{if } \text{do}^{}_{-} \text{Pi}^{}_{-} \text{s} \]
that AFF like if do^Pi_is
\[ \text{MA[Q } \text{h¿M } \text{ba}^H \text{ liá?M } \text{niíM spga}^M{}_{-} \text{hme:}^L \text{ ?H-hme:}^M_{-} \text{Mi } \text{niúM } \]
that AFF like that need^3 INT-do^2s 2s
Just as I am doing it, just like that you must do it.

Even in sentences which are not fully comparative, like those which follow, the manner word precedes the predicate.
I see (repeatedly) how they do it.

The way they are doing it is not good.

Two additional examples illustrate the required form of a comparative sentence when a full simile is expressed. Sentence (273) is one which might be expected to follow immediately after sentence (272). In (274-75), two nouns are compared, rather than two activities.

They are doing like babies do.

Mojarra does not taste like trout does.

They use the vine-bean for soap.

When a differential comparison is made, in which one item is unequal in some respect to another, the ground of the comparison comes last.

I feel that trout is tastier than mojarra.
(277)  
\[ \text{one} \quad \text{trout} \quad \text{PAUSE} \quad \text{AFF} \quad \text{HAB-be}_3 \quad \text{more} \quad \text{heart}_1 \]  
\[ \text{like if other more REL in}_3 \quad \text{water} \]  
I like trout best compared with any other fish.

**Topicalization**

3.14. To topicalize a constituent, it is moved to sentence-initial position and, usually, is made emphatic by means of the affirmation modal \( ba^H \). In the following sentence, the object of the associative verb 'with' is moved to the beginning of its clause and the associative constituent is fronted as a whole to the beginning of the matrix clause.

(278) **INSTR** 
\[ \text{only} \quad \text{leaf} \quad \text{AFF} \quad \text{with}_3 \quad \text{PST-CAUS-fear}_C^1 \]  
With just a leaf I frightened him.

The affirmation modal affirms and topicalizes the predicate of the first sentence below and the time constituent of the second one.

(279) **T** 
\[ \text{I will go during June.} \]  
\[ \text{It will be in June that I go.} \]  
Further elaboration of this important subject must be postponed for the time being.
4

The Lealao Chinantec Noun Phrase

The constituents of the Lealao noun phrase are five in number: quantifier, head, modifier, possessor, and deictic, occurring in that order. Any of these elements may occur alone, or in any combination, to represent a noun phrase, although it is uncommon for more than three of them to occur together within a given phrase. It is not necessary for the noun head to be present for the noun phrase to occur.

In the following sections of this chapter, each of the five constituents of the noun phrase is described, beginning with the noun head and then taking each of the other constituents in the linear order they occur—quantifier, descriptive modifier, possessor, and deictic. The final sections of the chapter discuss two of the more salient subcategories of nouns—locative and vocative nouns.

4.1. The noun head. Most Lealao nouns are simple monosyllabic lexemes.

(280) $hi^M$  fire, book  $ia?:^M$  tiger
    $hmi:\linebreak^M$  water  $zii:^H$  vapor
    $ka:^H$  dough  $hm\lambda:^L$  root
    $fi^VH$  road  $za:\linebreak^LH$  corncrib
    $me:^H$  flea  $t\breve{a}:^H$  thorn

Some nouns, however, do occur with an optional pretonic classifier, which is itself based on a noun root. The classifier noun is sometimes morphophonemically modified from its form as an independent noun, but the
form of the noun being classified is not affected when the classifier occurs. Typical classifiers, with their probable sources, are presented in (281).

(281) | CLASSIFIER | MEANING | SOURCE | MEANING |
     | mi⁷ VH | sphere | mi⁷ VH | sphere |
     | na⁷ VH | piece | na⁷ VH | piece |
     | lā⁷ ʔ VH | woven | lā⁷ ʔ VH | ends of woven article |
     | ha⁷ VH | piece | ha⁷ VH | piece (long) |

Two of these classifiers have extended meanings and can be interchanged with the same noun, depending upon the speaker’s mood. The classifier mi⁷ VH has a positive affective connotation while the classifier na⁷ VH has a negative connotation. The first of these is also used with a great variety of objects which are small enough to handle; and, with certain nouns, it is obligatory.

(282) | mi⁷ VH-ʔiʔ⁴ M | peach |
     | mi⁷ VH-hmʲ³ H | nice rain |
     | na⁷ VH-hmʲ³ H | dumb rain |
     | na⁷ VH-ma⁷ M | piece of tree (a stick) |
     | na⁷ VH-zi⁷ M | dumb dog |
     | lā⁷ ʔ VH-ŋju⁷ H | roof (thatched) |
     | lā⁷ ʔ VH-mi⁷ M | basket |
     | ku⁷ M | ear of corn |
     | mi⁷ VH-ki⁷ M | kernel(s) of corn |
     | hniu⁷ M | bean plant(s) |
     | mi⁷ VH-hniu⁷ M | beans |
     | ha⁷ VH-ki⁷ L | pitch pine |
     | ha⁷ VH-ɦi⁷ H | wooden stool |

Sometimes there is not a clear-cut reason for the choice of a classifier as with na⁷ VH-ku⁷ VH ‘rock’ or na⁷ VH-ng⁴ VH ‘metal’.

The two most common classifiers exhibit a long, ballistic stressed variant when the noun carries high tone and ballistic stress. It would appear that this change occurs rather than reduction to a pretonic syllable in order to avoid a phonological situation which would result in perturbed tones on the following noun. There are also a few other noun roots which unpredictably cause this same shift.

(283) | mi⁵ VH hmi⁷ M | tomato |
     | mi⁵ VH tā⁷ H | orange |
     | nā⁷ VH mé⁷ H | leaf-cutter ants |
     | mi⁵ VH zia⁷ M | chocolate beans |
A noun head may also be a two-word idiom, commonly of the form noun
noun, noun verb, or verb noun. Except where normal rules of tone pertur-
bation apply, the tone of a noun in such idioms is the same as when it
occurs singly, but the tone of a verb is (so far) unpredictable.

(284) siú:VH lá:VH  deer + beard → goat
ηιáH ηιVM  house + iron → jail
zaM peL  person + read → teacher
zaM ṃiM  person + steal → thief
tíLM iaM  expert + wall → mason
kiu?LM ṅiVM  hit + iron → blacksmith
fa?L hú?VH  word + die → death
fa?L ho:LM  word + see → appearance

There are also doubled nouns, like the doubled verbs (§2.19), where two
nouns of similar semantic domains together form an idiom which is more
inclusive in reference than that of either noun by itself.

(285) gua:M tí:H  hand 3 + foot 3 → his tools/assistants
fa:H vi?M  trout + minnow → fish in general
maM vi?M  tree + vine → forest growth
ha:VH na:VH  piece + piece → bits and pieces
fa?L híHtíáVH  fa?L híH?PVH, word + think word + count → thought

Noun gender. Animate and inanimate categories were introduced in
§2.15. The gender of a noun is seen by the gender of the words which
stand in some relation to it—whether predicate, quantifier, modifier, or
dctic. The posttonic ending -i is the most common inflectional marker of
animacy in such words, although this is not an inviolable rule. The noun
phrases of (285) include every kind of noun phrase constituent—quantifier,
modifier, possessor, and deictic—all of which agree in gender with the
head noun of the phrase.

(286) Q H M PO D
a:Hí ta:L tíé:Lí  kiā:H  πíM-πíLMí
three mule white of is REL-that
those three white mules of mine

(287) Q H M PO D
niHM  mi?M  tía:M  kéL  πíM-níHM
three basket white of is REL-that
those three white baskets of mine
4.2. Quantifiers. A quantifier may be a numeral, numeral phrase, or measure phrase. These are each represented below.

\[(288) \text{tǔ}^H \text{hi}^M, \quad \text{two year, two years} \]
\[
\text{gi}^l-\text{tǔ}^H \text{hi}^M, \quad \text{ten-two year, twelve years} \\
\text{na}^l-\text{kē}^L\text{i} \text{hi}^M, \quad \text{all year, all year} \\
\]

A quantifier may stand alone in any position a noun phrase might occur, or it may occur as the first constituent of a noun phrase, with or without any of the other constituents in particular—noun head, descriptive modifier, possessor, or deictic.

\[(289) \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{PO} \]
\[
\text{ma}^M-\text{hū}^M\text{Mi} \quad \text{hēMi} \quad \text{nū}^P^H \quad \text{kē}^Hi \\
\text{PST-die}^C3 \quad \text{one chicken} \quad \text{of}^3 \]
One of his chickens died.

\[(290) \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{PO} \]
\[
\text{ka}^l-\text{ku}^P^M \quad \text{ka}^M \quad \text{kiū}^P^H\text{u}^M \\
\text{PST-eat}^C3 \quad \text{one} \quad \text{of}^2^s \]
He ate one of yours.

\[(291) \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{PO} \quad \text{D} \]
\[
\text{ka}^M \quad \text{kē}^L \quad \text{la}^M \quad \text{ba}^H \quad \text{sia}^M \\
\text{one} \quad \text{of}^1^s \quad \text{this} \quad \text{AFF exist}^3 \]
This is the only one I have.

\[(292) \quad \text{T} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{S[Q} \quad \text{M[COMP} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{]}} \]
\[
\text{mi}^M\text{nu}^H \quad \text{li}^L-\text{hnia}^L \quad \text{ka}^M \quad \text{pi}^M \quad \text{ka}^l-\text{iē}^L\text{i} \\
\text{earlier} \quad \text{ACT}^C-\text{appear}^3 \quad \text{one} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{PST-ruin}^C3 \]
Earlier one that was lost came to light.

Numerals. A numeral, whether simple or complex, may occupy the quantifier position of a noun phrase or, in the absence of other elements of a noun phrase, may occupy any position a noun phrase might otherwise occupy.

The numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are monosyllables inflected for gender.

\[(293) \quad \text{INANIMATE} \quad \text{ANIMATE} \]
\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad \text{ka}^M & \quad \text{hē}^M\text{Mi} \\
2 & \quad \text{tǔ}^L & \quad \text{â}^L\text{i} \\
3 & \quad \text{nū}^M & \quad \text{a}^M\text{Mi} \\
4 & \quad \text{kiū}^M & \quad \text{kiū}^M\text{Mi} \\
5 & \quad \text{ŋiā}^M & \quad \text{ŋē}^M\text{Mi} \\
6 & \quad \text{hŋiū}^M & \quad \text{hŋiū}^M\text{Mi}
\end{align*}
\]
Lealao has separate abstract forms for the first three numerals, namely, kāː PM ‘one’, tuː PL ‘two’, and niː PL ‘three’.

(294) siaM tuː PL ʔvH hiH naM-icːLi
existʔs3 two place where sta-ruinʔs3
There are two places where it is ruined.

A doublet based on the abstract numeral ‘one’ means ‘sometimes’.

(295) T P
kāː PM kāː PM  baH zaːLM
one one AFF goʔp3
Once in a while he goes.

The numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ are phrases consisting of ‘ten’ followed by the numerals from ‘one’ to ‘nine’. The first three numerals are now palatalized like ‘four’ through ‘ten’. Also, the tones of the numerals without mid tone are changed to mid tone.

(296) 11 giaLkiaːM
12 giaLtiːM
13 giaLnːiM
14 giaLkiaːM
15 giaLniːM
16 giaLniːM
17 giaLgiaːM
18 giaLkiaːM
19 giaLniːM

The numerals from ‘twenty’ through ‘twenty-nine’ are phrases consisting of the numeral giaːM ‘twenty’ followed by the numerals from ‘one’ to ‘nine’ without phonological reshaping of any kind, as in giaːM tuːL ‘twenty-two’.

Chinantec numerals were originally based upon a vigesimal system, but influence from decimal systems have apparently caused major reshaping. There remain a few numerals based on the combining form laːM ‘twenty’, such as tuːL-laːM ‘forty’ (two twenties) and giaL-laːM ‘hundred’ (five twenties). The numeral ‘fifty’, tuːL-naL-giaM (two twenties? and ten), adds the numeral ‘ten’ to what would apparently be ‘two twenties’ but the form for ‘twenty’ has changed for some reason. The numeral ‘thirty’ is based upon the
primary form of ‘twenty’ and the numeral ‘ten’, namely, gia\textsuperscript{L}giå\textsuperscript{M} (twenty and ten), on the phonological pattern of the numerals from ‘eleven’ through ‘nineteen’ rather than those from ‘twenty-one’ through ‘twenty-nine’.

Other combinations of such primary numerals require the stative verb zi\textsuperscript{LM} ‘on top of’ to mark addition, as in gia\textsuperscript{L}giå\textsuperscript{M} zi\textsuperscript{LM} giå\textsuperscript{M} ‘thirty-five’ (twenty and ten plus five) or tu\textsuperscript{L}-na\textsuperscript{L}-giå\textsuperscript{M} zi\textsuperscript{LM} giå\textsuperscript{M} zi\textsuperscript{LM} giå\textsuperscript{M} ‘eighty-five’ (two twenties and ten plus twenty and ten plus five).

After ‘five twenties’ a simple numeral is preposed as a multiplier, as in ka\textsuperscript{M} giå\textsuperscript{L}-lá\textsuperscript{M} zi\textsuperscript{LM} tu\textsuperscript{L}-na\textsuperscript{L}-giå\textsuperscript{M} ‘one hundred fifty’ (one times five twenties plus two twenties and ten).

Numerals borrowed from Spanish, such as noventa ‘ninety’ or mil ‘thousand’ simplify many otherwise complex numerals.

When a quantifier includes a whole plus a part, the unit of measure (if included in the quantifier phrase) follows the whole numeral and precedes the fraction.

\[(297) k\textsuperscript{M}a: kilo zi\textsuperscript{LM} t\textsuperscript{L}-zå:\textsuperscript{PH} fi:\textsuperscript{PH}H giå\textsuperscript{H}]

one kilo add\textsuperscript{3} half piece salt
one and one-half kilos of salt

A numeral agrees in gender with the noun it quantifies and, by definition, is third-person when occurring as the quantifier of a noun. Some of the lower-number, animate numerals also have non-third-person nominal forms which may occupy any position a noun phrase might occupy.

\[(298) \begin{array}{ll}
\text{FIRST PERSON} & \text{SECOND PERSON} \\
2 & a:\textsuperscript{L}a\textsuperscript{H} \\
3 & a:\textsuperscript{L}M\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{H} \\
4 & kiå\textsuperscript{M}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{H} \\
5 & yå\textsuperscript{M}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{H} \\
\end{array}]

\[(299) \begin{array}{ll}
? & s\textsuperscript{Q} a\textsuperscript{M}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{?M} niå:\textsuperscript{L}a\textsuperscript{?M} ba\textsuperscript{H} mi\textsuperscript{M}\textsuperscript{M-}li\textsuperscript{M-}a\textsuperscript{?M}
\end{array}]

Do only three of you know how?

\[(300) \begin{array}{ll}
P & s\textsuperscript{ASSOC}\textsuperscript{P} o \\
\end{array}]

exist\textsuperscript{1p} four\textsuperscript{1p} with\textsuperscript{1p} president

There are four of us counting the president.
A numeric doublet is used to name an approximate number. For single-digit numbers, consecutive numerals are used; for double-digit numbers, intervals of five or ten occur. Occasionally even three numerals are put in series for approximate numbers.

(301) $k\,\text{a}:M\ t\,\text{u}^{L}\ m\,\text{i}^{YH}$ one or two spheres
    $\text{ki}^{\mu}M\ \text{ni}^{A}M\ \text{hnu}^{\mu}:M$ several (four five six)
    $\text{gi}^{\mu}\text{ni}^{A}M\ \text{gi}^{A}:M$ fifteen or twenty
    $k\,\text{a}:M\ t\,\text{u}^{L}\ \text{ni}^{A}L\,\text{l}^{A}:M$ one or two hundred

In addition to numerical quantifiers there are general, nonnumeric quantifiers which may also occur in the quantifier position.

(302) $k\,\text{a}^{M}\text{iu}^{PH}\ k\,\text{u}^{H}$ a little money
    $k\,\text{a}^{M}\text{ha}^{VH}$ half a sheet
    $k\,\text{a}^{M}\text{na}^{YH}$ half (day, year)
    $t\,\text{u}^{L}\text{i}-\text{z}^{A}:H$ half (kilo, multiple units)
    $\text{lia}^{L}\text{h}\,\text{i}^{M}$ all, every (inanimate)
    $\text{na}^{M}\text{ki}^{A}:L\,\text{i}$ entire (day, year)
    $\text{lia}^{L}\text{ka}^{M}:\text{M}$ each (inanimate)
    $\text{ni}^{A}:M$ many (inanimate)
    $\text{fi}^{L}$ many (animate)
    $t\,\text{g}^{L}\text{na}^{L}-\text{zi}^{L}:H$ some (inanimate)

(303) $\text{H}$ $\text{Po}$ $\text{M}$
    $\text{lia}^{L}\text{h}\,\text{i}^{\text{M}}\text{ka}^{\text{P}}\text{M}$ $\text{ni}^{A}:L-\text{a}^{\text{P}}\text{M}$ $\text{za}^{M}\text{pe}^{L}$
    all$^{2p}$ $2p$ teacher

(304) $\text{O}$ $\text{H}$
    $t\,\text{g}^{L}\text{na}^{L}-\text{zi}^{L}:H\,\text{a}^{VH}$ $\text{h}^{\text{ni}^{V}}\text{a}^{PH}$
    some$^{1x}$ $1x$
    some of us

(305) $\text{TQ}$ $\text{H}$ $\text{MOD}$ $\text{P}$ $\text{O}$
    $\text{lia}^{L}\text{ka}^{\text{M}}\text{a}^{M}$ $\text{hme}^{VH}$ $\text{lia}^{L}\text{ka}^{\text{M}}\text{a}^{M}$ $\text{hme}^{VH}$ $k\,\text{a}^{M}-\text{hme}^{L}:\text{i}$ $t\,\text{a}^{H}$
    each day each day HAB-do$^{P}\text{i}$s work

I work each and every day.

(306) $\text{TQ}$ $\text{H}$ $\text{MOD}$ $\text{P}$
    $n\,\text{a}^{M}\text{ka}^{\mu}:\text{L}$ $\text{vo}^{L}$ $b\,\text{a}^{H}$ $k\,\text{a}^{L}-\text{gu}^{\mu}:\text{Mi}$
    entire night AFF FST-sleep$^{\text{c}3}$
He slept all night long.
Count and mass nouns. A count noun may occur directly with any numeral as quantifier. A mass noun, on the other hand, may occur with certain nonnumeric quantifiers but require a measure phrase to be quantified by a numeral.

(307) \(kɑːM\)  \(niu\) one house
\(kɑːM fɨːPLH\)  \(ni\) one piece of meat
\(kaMliu\)  \(qo\) a little meat
\(kaMliu\)  \(hmiː\) a little water
\(kɑːM zuːH\)  \(hmiː\) a pitcher of water
\(kɑːM meːPVH\)  \(meʔVHhiːM\) a sheet of paper

Measure words include \(fɨːPLH\) ‘piece’ (used for bananas, meat, and salt), \(ʔ\) ‘measure’, and the various units of measures for distance, volume, and weights that are borrowed from Spanish. The following examples illustrate a few other common measure words used with the mass noun ‘corn’.

(308) \(niM\ liːVH\)  \(miVHkuː\) three loads of corn
\(niM\ qiːVH\)  \(miVHkuː\) three pounds of corn
\(niM\ miVHkueʔ\)  \(miVHkuː\) three bowls of corn
\(kɑːM guʔ\)  \(miVHkuː\) one handful of corn

A measure phrase is a generic noun phrase and may occupy any position other noun phrases may occupy except the possessor position of an allocational noun phrase. When occupying the quantifier position of a noun phrase it may only have two constituents, quantifier and head.

(309) [Q H \(kɑːM\)  \(hmaː\) \(miʔ\) \(ʔ\) \(siʔVHi\) \(ni\) one piece cloth REL hold◊2s that
M[COMP P D]

4.3. Possessor. The possessor follows the head noun, with the form of the possessor constituent depending upon whether the noun head is alienable or inalienable. An inalienable noun is inherently possessed, being inflected for person-of-possessor. If the possessor is third person, a noun phrase may follow to further identify the possessor. If the possessor is first or second person, the corresponding personal pronoun may follow, but since this is redundant, it is added only to give emphasis.

(310) \(p\)  \(Q[\ H \(ma-ʔoːH\)  \(siːVH\)  \(diʔPL\)  \(siʔM[iuː]\) PST-see◊2s mother◊3 PL baby
PO[Q H ]]
I saw the babies’ mother(s)
The personal pronouns are discussed in detail in §5.1, but in the two examples of inalienable possession which follow, CLASS I pronominal endings are presented in (312) and CLASS II pronominal endings in (313).

(312) gua:Li          my hand(s)
gua:LMaH          our hands
gua:LMi           your hand(s)
gua:LMaPM        your (pl) hands
gua:M            his hand(s)
gua:M diá?PL  their hands

(313) ó?:PHaL       my companion(s)
ó?:PHaH         our companion(s)
ó?:PHuM         your companion(s)
ó?:PHaPM       your (pl) companion(s)
oH              his companion(s)
oH diá?PL    their companion(s)

An alienable noun, on the other hand, is not inflected for person-of-possession, often occurs unpossessed, and requires an allocational noun phrase when it is possessed. The allocational noun phrase has the allocational noun "of" as head. This noun is a special inalienable noun which is inflected both for gender and for person-of-possession.

(314) ANIMATE       INANIMATE       PERSON-OF-POSSESSOR
    kiá:H          kéli           of first-person singular
    kiá:LMaH       kia:LMaH       of first-person inclusive
    kiá:LMaPVH     kia:LMaPVH     of first-person exclusive
    kiú:PHuM       kiú:PHuM       of second-person singular
    kiú:MaPM       kiú:MaPM       of second-person plural
    kÉHi           kíá?PH        of third-person singular
    kÉHi diá?PL    kíá?PH diá?PL  of third-person plural

The possessor of an allocation noun phrase may be a personal pronoun, a reflexive pronoun phrase, or a noun phrase. The possessor agrees in number and gender with the allocational noun, where applicable.

(315) kiá?PH liá?PL-hiMi diá?PL zaM
      of "3 all PL people
      of/for all the people
(316) kiá:H2PM niá:L2PM ?iM maM-kuMla:PL-aPM
     of 2p 2p REL PST-be late 2p
     of for you who were late

(317) kiá:LH9H vo:LMaH
     of 1p REFL 1p
     of our own (animate)

The primary function of an allocational noun phrase is to modify alienable nouns. In this context, it agrees with the noun it modifies. It may stand alone in the absence of a noun head.

(318) NEG P S[H PO ]
     ?aL?eM siaM mìMh.kuM kéL
     NEG exist s3 CLS-corn of 1s
     I don't have any corn.

(319) NEG P S[H PO ]
     ?aL?eM sìeMi la:LH kiá:H
     NEG exist s3 mule of 1s
     I don't have any mules.

The possessor of the allocational noun is not a possessor in the narrow sense of the word. This relation includes possession as one of its meanings, but is genitive in the broad sense.

(320) mìLM kiá?H mé:VH medicine for leaf-cutter ants
     mìLM kiá?H mé:H medicine for liquor (habit)

(321) O H PO[H M[COMP P ]
     tiL metro kiá?H ?iM kue:M
     two meter of 3 REL long
     two meters of length

An inanimate allocational noun may occur in the locative position of a sentence, in idiomatic reference to one's home.

(322) ní:L kuá?HuM
     go 1s of 2s
     I will go to your (house).

A transitive inanimate verb which semantically entails source or goal but which normally has a semantic patient as object (in the form of an inanimate
noun phrase), in lieu of the patient noun phrase, may have an allocational noun phrase as object to overtly indicate the source or goal.

(323) p o
    ni:H kē:L
    sell*! of*is
Sell it to me.

(324) p o
    ?iH-käLHi kē:L
    INT-take*1is of*1is
    I will take it for me (make it mine).

When the allocational noun occurs as subject of a transitive verb which does not necessarily entail a semantic source or goal, and when its possessor is coreferential with the agent of the transitive verb, reference to the patient is accomplished anaphorically by the manner phrase lia?M ni?M 'like that', and the force of the allocational noun phrase is 'continuative' action.

(325) p s ma
    ?iH-hme;LHi kē:L lia?M ni?M.
    INT-do*1is of*1is like that
    I will keep on doing like that.

(326) p s ma
    do*12p of*2p like that
    Keep on doing like that!

(327) p s assoc ma
    STA-together*1is of*1is ASSOC*1is like that
    I will continue being together with him like that.

In the case of a psychological verb such as 'like', which is stative, and where the coreferential subject is experiencer rather than agent, this construction seems to lend emphatic affirmation of the state, reenforcing the emphasis of the intensifying adverb.

(328) ma p s
    ?iHhiá?M nā:l-i kē:L
    very like*1is of*1is
    I really like it (It is pleasing to me).
(329) MA P S
\[\text{P}\text{H} \text{ná}:\text{H-a}\text{L} \quad \text{ki}:\text{H} \]
very like of
I really like it (animate).

Inalienable nouns, for the most part, name body parts or kinship relationships; but a few other nouns—like ‘wages’, ‘dog’, and ‘house’—are also inalienable because of their intimate association with the possessor. The nouns of this latter group which occur with class I pronominal endings have alternate alienable forms which may occur without reference to possessor or which may be possessed by use of the allocational noun phrase.

(330) \(\text{zǐ}^{\text{L}}\text{i}\) or \(\text{zǐ}^{\text{M}} \text{ki}:\text{H}\) my dog
\(\text{nú}^{\text{H}}\) or \(\text{nú}^{\text{H}} \text{ki}:\text{P}\text{H}\) his/her house
\(\text{tá}^{\text{H}}\) or \(\text{tá}^{\text{M}} \text{ki}:\text{P}\text{H}\) its den/hole

Since the occurrence of a pronoun as possessor of an inalienable noun is redundant, it is invariably emphatic, as opposed to a third-person noun phrase as possessor. Note in example (331) the use of a personal pronoun modifying an inalienable noun and, in the comparison constituent, an allocational noun phrase marking possession of an unnamed referent.

(331) \(\text{gá}^{\text{M}}\text{ mi}^{\text{H}} \text{gí}^{\text{VH}} \text{ti}^{\text{VH}} \text{nú}^{\text{M}} \text{lia}^{\text{P}}\text{M} \text{sú}^{\text{M}} \text{ké}^{\text{L}} \text{hni}^{\text{J}}^{\text{M}}\) big more foot you like as of
your foot is bigger than mine.

In the case of an alienable noun, a descriptive modifier may also follow the head noun.

(332) Q H M[COMP P S L ]
\(\text{á}:\text{L}^{\text{i}} \text{za}^{\text{M}} \text{P}^{\text{M}} \text{di}^{\text{M}}\text{-ti}:\text{VH} \text{hi}^{\text{H}}\text{nú}^{\text{M}}\)
two person REL PL-present ranch
people who are at the ranch

(333) H M[COMP P O S L ]
\(\text{nú}^{\text{H}} \text{P}^{\text{M}} \text{ka}^{\text{M}}\text{-da}^{\text{P}}\text{H-e}^{\text{P}}\text{L} \text{dí}^{\text{A}}\text{P}^{\text{L}} \text{za}^{\text{M}}\)
meat REL HAB-PL-eat PL person
meat which they ate

When both modifier and possessor occur together within the same noun phrase, following an alienable noun, the modifier may precede or follow the possessor if it is a single word. In all others, the modifier must follow the possessor and must be introduced by the relative word \(\text{P}^{\text{M}}\). In (334), note how size of constituents affects both order and composition.
4.4. The descriptive modifier. A descriptive modifier is always a relative clause. An example is seen in (38). The description of the structure of relative clauses is complex, and is reserved for a chapter of its own, chapter 6.

4.5. Deictic words. A deictic, when present, is the final constituent of a noun phrase. It modifies a noun or the relative word which stands for the noun.

There are three spatial deictic words which indicate three degrees of distance from the speaker—la^M 'here', ni^M 'there' and nî^L 'way over there'. They are used adverbially to point to actual locations of relative distance from the place of the speech act.
The first two of these deictic words may occur in the noun phrase with a noun as head, or with the relative word ?z? as a semantically empty head, in lieu of a semantically more specific noun. In the latter case, these deictic words are inflected for gender by the ending -i, marking them as animate, when reference is to an animate object.

(341) zaM laM this person hiM laM this book
?z? laLMi this one (an) ?z? laM this one (inan)

(342) zaM n?M that person hiM n?M that book
?z? nLMi that one (an) ?z? n?M that one (inan)

(343) [Q H D MODAL] P
kaM-liu?H ?z? laM baH ná:L-i
one-little REL here AFF wanti
I want just a bit of this.

(344) NEQ P S[H PO[Q H D ] ]
NEQ existi money ofi PL REL that
Those do not have any money.

There are two additional deictics, ?z? 'that (animate)' and h?M 'that (inanimate)', which have anaphoric rather than spatial reference.

(345) P S[H D ]
maM-tá?Mzi zaM ?z?M
pst-falli person that
The aforementioned person fell.

(346) P S[Q H D ]
pst-falli all very money that
Every bit of the aforementioned money fell.

The anaphoric deictics may also occur in the noun phrase with the relative word as a semantically empty head, in lieu of a semantically more specific noun as head.
The anaphoric deictics may also occur in the noun phrase with the relative word as a semantically empty head, in lieu of a semantically more specific noun as head.

(347) \[ O[O \quad H[COMP \quad D \quad ] ] \]
\[ ma^M-h\dot{o}^L.a^L \quad di\dot{a}^L \quad \tilde{p}^M \quad \tilde{p}^M \]
PST-see CLS-1s PL REL that
I saw the aforementioned (animate) ones.

(348) \[ O[COMP \quad D \quad ] \quad P \]
\[ \tilde{p}^M \quad h\breve{a}^M \quad n\breve{i}^M \quad ka^M-Po^L-i \]
REL that PAUSE HAB-show CLS-1s
The aforementioned is what I mean.

It is not uncommon for an anaphoric deictic to occur modified by the affirmation modal with cataphoric reference to a noun phrase which immediately follows.

(349) \[ S[D \quad MODAL \quad H \quad ] \quad P \]
\[ \tilde{p}^M \quad ba^H \quad na^{VH}-gu^L-n\breve{u}^{VH} \quad n\breve{i}^M \quad ka^L-hm\breve{e}^M-Mi \]
that AFF CLS-animal PAUSE PST-do CLS-3
That is the (same) animal that did it.

(350) \[ S[D \quad MODAL \quad H \quad ] \quad P \]
\[ h\breve{a}^M \quad ba^H \quad hm\breve{i}^M \quad n\breve{i}^M \quad ma-\tilde{p}^M \]
that AFF water PAUSE PST-drink CLS-3
That is the (same) water that s/he drank.

4.6. Locative nouns. Names for certain locations or times meet the criteria of nounhood by functioning normally as primary nominals of sentences, but they also may occupy the locative positions of many sentences, either alone or as the head of a variety of noun phrases. The following sentences illustrate a variety of positions in the sentence which may be occupied by common temporal-locative nouns.

(351) \[ T \quad P \quad S \]
\[ ha^L-m\breve{i}^M-H\breve{e}^M \quad ?i^M-zi\breve{e}^Mi \quad si^M \]
tomorrow INT-end CLS-13 month
The month terminates tomorrow.

(352) \[ T\breve{q} \quad H \quad P \]
\[ t\breve{u}^L \quad h\breve{i}^M \quad ba^H \quad n\breve{i}^{PVH} \quad ma^M-ti\breve{a}^L \]
two year AFF limit PST-last CLS-3
It only worked for two years.
(353) \[ S[H \; PO[COMP \; Q \; H] \; ] \]
\[ P[L-li:H \; kiăpHy \; hiM \; kq^M \; hm\dot{e}VH \]
int-reach^13 of^3 REL one day
It will be enough for one day.

(354) \[ T[\; H \; M \; MODAL] \; P \; S \]
\[ h\dot{m}i\dot{e}VH \; ma\dot{p}H \; baH \; hiL-liM \; taHzia:PVH \]
day market AFF INT-be^13 town^work
There will be town work on Saturday(s).

(355) \[ T[\; D \; H \; MODAL] \; P \]
\[ h\dot{q}^M \; ma\dot{p}^M \; baH \; nji^L \]
this Saturday AFF go^13s
I will go on Saturday.

Similarly, some nouns occupy spatial-locative positions within the sentence, and in fact they occur more often in that position than as subject or object. These are called toponymic nouns. They include words such as ‘town’, ‘church’, and ‘ranch’.

(356) \[ P \; L \]
\[ d\dot{i}M-ti\dot{e}:PVHi \; njiuHgi\dot{e}VH \]
PL-present^3 jail
They are in jail.

(357) \[ O[\; Q \; H] \; L[H \; PO] \]
\[ ma\dot{M}-ho:HaL \; h\dot{q}^M \; kue\nuu:MA \; hi\nuu:MA \; keL \]
pst-see^13 one deer ranch of^13
I saw a deer at my ranch.

Then there is a small class of inalienable nouns which are preposition-like in usage. Most name body parts and have a directional interpretation when occupying the spatial-locative position of the sentence (§9.5).

(358) \[ P \; L[H \; PO] \]
\[ na\dot{M}-hnia:MA \; nji^H \; mesa \]
STA-lie^3 face^3 table
It is lying on the table.

(359) \[ L[H \; PO[H \; D] \; P \; O \]
\[ zii\dot{H} \; na\dot{VH}-ma\dot{M} \; ni\dot{M} \; ki\dot{p}LH \; pitzi\dot{H}VHi \]
head CLS-wood there hang^1 hat^2s
Hang your hat on that stick.
Finally there are a couple of nouns, here classified as directional nouns, which occur as the head of noun phrases occupying the locative position of sentences having a motion or directional verb as predicate. One of these nouns is 'road'; the other is 'region'.

(360) liH PO MODAL] P O
kaMha:VH vol-ia:M baH iaM-hm:e:Li taH
region ground-sun AFF go°11s-do work
I am going to work in hot country.

(361) liH PO ] P
kaMha:VH hiH ieLi ηi?H baH maM-ηa:LM
region where emerge sun AFF PST-go°c3
He went off towards the east.

(362) P O[H PO ] P
kaL-káL fiVH hiHnu:M ηá:H
pst-take°c3 road ranch go°c3
He went off taking the ranch road.

4.7. Names and other vocative nouns. Personal names are derived from Spanish names, by borrowing one or two syllables and adding one of several appropriate tones or tone sequences. Some consonants are also altered but no attempt will be made here to account for such changes. Vocative nouns, other than names, are kinship terms or everyday terms for people according to age and sex. Some examples are listed below.

(363) fe:H Felix h¿:Li my child
b¿:H Urbano diaH sir
kaMpi:H Agapito ni¿:M woman
gú:VH Augurio mi°VHliu?H kid
5
Lealao Chinantec Pronouns

5.1. Personal pronouns. There are five personal pronouns in Lealao, marking first or second person, singular or plural, and—for first-person plural—inclusive or exclusive. The five pronouns are presented in (1).

(364) \( hni\acute{a}M \) first-person singular (1s)
\( hni\acute{a}H \) first-person plural inclusive (1I)
\( hni\acute{a}:P^{VH} \) first-person plural exclusive (1x)
\( niuM \) second-person singular (2s)
\( ni\acute{a}:L-a^{PM} \) second-person plural (2p)

The three plural pronouns are based on the two singular pronouns by the addition of endings which are common to all words inflected for person—verbs, inalienable nouns, and pronouns. These endings are \(-a^{H} \) (1I),\(^1\) \(-a^{PVH} \) (1x), and \(-a^{PM} \) (2p), respectively.

A personal pronoun may occur, generally, wherever a noun phrase might occur. It is not uncommon, however, for the first-person plural form of the pronoun to occur in object position where the first-singular form is expected. The first-person singular pronoun is also unique in having an emphatic form \( hni\acute{a}H \).

\(^1\)As it happens, this ending is not as clear in its form with the first-plural inclusive pronoun as it is in most other places, as for example in verbs. Apart from this pronoun, I have encountered only three other words, all verb forms, which fail to show the form \(-a^{H} \) as the inclusive ending. They are the intensive aspect forms: \( \text{\( P^{H}hta^{LH} \) 'we (incl) will eat'} \), \( P^{H}nia^{LH} \) ‘we (incl) will see (know)’, and \( za^{L-gia^{LH}} \) ‘we (incl) will go’.
(365) \( S \) \( P \) \( O \)  
\( hni\(\tilde{a}\)M \) \( miM-\Pi;i:PL-aL \) \( \Pi\tilde{i}H-\text{kwo}LHi \) \( \text{PIl-da}PH-\text{é:PH} \)  
1s PRF-owe's1s INT-give^11s INT-PL-eat^13  
It is my turn to feed the people.

(366) \( P \) \( S \) MODAL  
\( \etai:L \) \( hni\(\tilde{a}\)H \) \( baH \)  
g0^11s 1s AFF  
I am the one who will go.

(367) MA \( P \) \( S \) T  
\( \text{PIl-hi\(\tilde{a}\)}PM \) \( liaPM \) \( zi:LM \) \( hni\(\tilde{a}\)H \) \( \text{MIH} \) \( maM-hyuLM \) \( -aH \)  
very poor^s3 heart ii when PST-die^clp ii  
Our (incl) hearts [= we] are very bad off when we die.

(368) \( P \) \( O \) \( O \)  
\( h\(\tilde{i}\)PH \) \( hni\(\tilde{a}\)H \) \( ba:PH \) \( k\(\tilde{e}\)L \) \( niM \)  
deliver^1 ! 1s machete of^1s PAUSE  
Give me back my machete!

(369) \( P \) \( S \) MODAL  
\( \text{PIlM} \) \( k\(\tilde{i}\)PM \) \( -uM \) \( niuM \) \( baH \)  
REL of^2 2s 2s AFF  
It is yours.

In lieu of a third-person pronoun, the phrase \( \text{PIlM-niLMi} \), consisting of the relative word \( \text{PIlM} \) and the deictic pronoun \( \text{niLMi} \) 'that' is employed.

(370) \( P \) \( S \)  
\( maM-\text{hl\(\tilde{e}\)}Hi \) \( \text{PIlMniLMi} \)  
PST-cry^c3 3  
S/he cried.

(371) \( P \) ASSOC  
\( \etai:L \) \( k\(\tilde{i}\)PM \( \text{PL-aH} \) \( \text{PIlMniLMi} \)  
g0^11s with^s1s 3  
I will go with him/her.

The plural word \( \text{di\(\tilde{a}\)}PL \) functions in lieu of a third-person plural personal pronoun in any of the nominal positions.
5.2. Reflexive pronouns. There are seven reflexive pronouns.

Reflective pronouns occur alone or with a following noun phrase, structurally having the form of a one-place predicate or of an inalienable noun head with following nominal possessor. There are actual cases in which a reflexive functions as predicate, like a stative verb. In (376), for example, paired sentences have reflexive pronouns as predicate with the meaning ‘alone’. In (377), the meaning ‘alone’ refers to marital status for a reflexive functioning as predicate of a relative clause.

(376)  ? P MODAL; P MODAL

Are you alone (by yourself)? I am alone.

(377)  Q H M[COMP MA P S ]

the young ones who are still single
But almost any form can be a predicate in one context or another, including personal pronouns, as (378) shows, so occurrence as a predicate is not a compelling reason to consider reflexive pronouns to be verbs.

(378) ? P; P
SiH niuM niM; hiáM niM
? 2s PAUSE 1s PAUSE
Is that you? It is I.

Reflexives more often occupy nominal positions and are therefore analyzed here as consisting of a head and following possessor. Since the pronoun is itself inflected for PERSON OF POSSESSOR, the noun phrase naming the possessor is not obligatorily present.

(379) T P S[PH PO J
háM baH kaL-ziá:H niá:H híPH
then AFF PST-arrive^C3 REFL^3s thunder
Then Thunder himself arrived.

There appear to be three primary uses of reflexive pronouns in Lealao. One function when occupying the object position, is to mark an action as reflexive, the subject acting upon itself as object.

(380) P O
PiL-lié:Pi mi:L
INT-rescue^13 REFL^3p
They will rescue themselves.

Another common function of the reflexive pronoun is to emphasize the identity of a referent.

(381) MA P O S
PiHiáPM nié:iH hniáM niá:H
very like^s3 1s REFL^3s
He himself likes me a lot.

(382) P O[H PO J T
miM-PiL-hmé:L hiHiuH niá:H zaMhéLi
PRF-INT-do^13 ranch^house^3 REFL^3s first
He is about to make his own ranch house first.
In showing emphasis, the pronoun may occur alone, as in (381–82) above; or it may occur with a nominal following, in the case of a third-person pronoun, as in (379) above.

The third primary function of a reflexive pronoun is to predicate solitary existence or action of a referent.

(383) $p$ $s$
$mₐ^{M,kue:PLi} \eta₁₃,₄^{H}$
$\text{PST-remain}^{\text{AIC3}} \text{ REFL}^{\text{3s}}$
He alone remained.

Related to the use of the reflexive pronoun as a predicate, it may occur with a manner adverb as possessor in the manner position of an intransitive sentence. Compare sentences (384–85).

(384) $p$ $s$
$\eta₁₃,₄^{H} \text{ ba}^{H} \text{ za}^{M,pL}$
$\text{REFL}^{\text{3s}} \text{ AFF teacher}$
The teacher is single.

(385) $\text{MAH}$ $\text{PO MODAL P}$ $s$
$\eta₁₃,₄^{H} \text{ lia}^{M,ni₃L} \text{ ba}^{H} \text{ ma}^{M,kue:PL₄} \text{ za}^{M,pL}$
$\text{REFL}^{\text{3s}} \text{ like}^{*S0} \text{ AFF PST-remain}^{\text{AIC3}} \text{ teacher}$
The teacher just remained single.

The three uses of the reflexive pronoun are not, in all contexts, distinguished structurally. A few intransitive sentences are presented in (386–88), and a few transitive ones in (389–92), to show how some are ambiguous and others are not.

(386) $p$ $s$
$\eta₁₃,₄^{H} \text{ za}^{M,pL} \ni^{M}$
$\text{REFL}^{\text{3s}} \text{ teacher PAUSE}$
The teacher is single, or the teacher himself

(387) $p$ $s[H \text{ PO }]$
$mₐ^{M,kue:PLi} \eta₁₃,₄^{H} \text{ za}^{M,pL}$
$\text{PST-remain}^{\text{AIC3}} \text{ REFL}^{\text{3s}} \text{ teacher}$
The teacher remained alone. [preferred interpretation] or
The teacher himself stayed. [possible]
The teacher himself stayed, or The teacher remained single.

He beat the teacher himself, or less likely He beat the teacher himself.

It was the teacher himself who beat the dog, or The teacher beat the dog all by himself.

The teacher beat the dog all by himself.

It was the teacher himself who beat the dog.
The primary role of the relative clause in Lealao is to encode descriptive material as a modifier within the noun phrase or, since any element of a noun phrase may stand alone in lieu of a noun (chapter 4), to nominalize descriptive material for that purpose. The role and structure of noun phrases is discussed in chapter 4. This chapter focusses upon the structure of the relative clause.

6.1. The gap strategy. The descriptive modifier of the head noun in a noun phrase always follows the head and is in every case a relative clause, normally marked as such by the relative word \( \tilde{r} {}^M \). In addition to the relative word, Lealao Chinantec employs a gap strategy to form a relative clause, which is to say, within the relative clause there is a gap—the absence of any overt marking—at the grammatical position which corresponds to the syntactic relation of the modifying clause to the noun phrase head. In (393–94), for example, a normal clause is compared with a noun phrase having a relative clause as modifier. The relative clause is relativized on its object, leaving a gap at that position.

(393) \[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{p} & \text{o} & \text{s} \\
\text{ka} & \text{lá} & \text{mi} & \text{mi} \\
\text{ PST-buy\-c3} & \text{clothes} & \text{CLS-little} \\
\end{array} \]

The child bought clothes.
There are only a few situations where the relative word is not required. Stated in the most general terms, it is not required where the relative clause is little more than a stative verb.

6.2. Noun phrase accessibility to relativization. Any of the three primary nominal constituents of the clause—the subject or either of two objects—may be relativized, as illustrated in (397–98).

Temporal- or spatial-locative nouns may also be relativized. For the spatial-locative, however, the preposition hiH or ṭiH ‘where’ is used in place of ṭiM.

It did produce (fruit) this year.
(400) $H M[COMP \ P T]$
$h^iM \ P^M \ ka^L-kuo^M \ \emptyset$
year REL PST-give^c3

the year that it produced (fruit)

(401) $P S L$
$ka^L-li^M \ h^iH \ gua^M \ ni^M$
PST-happen^c3 dance church PAUSE
A dance took place downtown.

(402) $H M[COMP \ P S L]$
$gua^M \ h^iH \ ka^L-li^M \ h^iH \ \emptyset$
church where PST-happen^c3 dance
downtown where the dance took place

An inalienable noun possessor may be relativized, with the following limitation. When the verb of the relative clause is inflected for animate third person-of-subject and the noun that is modified by the relative clause is also third person, there is necessarily an equi subject. Thus, the attempt to form 'the child whose father died' in (406) from (405) breaks down because it must be interpreted as 'the child who died'.

(403) $P [S[H \ PO]]$
$si^M i \ \dot{o:hi^i} \ dia^H \ ni^M$
exist^Ais3 companion^3 man PAUSE
The man has companions.

(404) $H M[COMP \ P S[H \ PO]}$
$dia^H \ P^M \ si^M i \ \dot{o:hi^i} \ \emptyset$
man REL exist^Ais3 companion^3
the man who has companions

(405) $P [S[H \ PO]}$
$ma^M-hu^M i \ hmi^M \ mi^VH-liu^PH$
PST-die^c3 father^3 CLS-little
The child's father died.

(406) $H M[COMP \ P S]}$
$mi^VH-liu^PH \ P^M \ ma^M-hu^M i \ \emptyset *[/hmi:M]}$

CLS-little REL PST-die^c3 [father^3]
the child who died

In (408), the inalienable noun possessor following the allocational pronoun of (407) is relativized, but the equi subject limitation mentioned above also
applies. Any attempt to form a phrase like ‘the person whose chicken died’ from a sentence like (409) would be interpreted as ‘the person who died’, as in (410).

\[
\begin{align*}
(407) & \text{P} \quad S[H \quad PO[H \quad PO \quad ] ] \\
& ma^M-iê:L-i \quad ku:H \quad kîá?H \quad za^M \\
& \text{pст-руин'3 money of'3 3} \\
& \text{The person’s money was ruined.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(408) & \text{H M[COMP P \quad S[H \quad PO[H \quad PO \quad ] ] ]} \\
& za^M \quad pi^M \quad ma^M-iê:L-i \quad ku:H \quad kîá?H \quad \emptyset \\
& 3 \quad \text{REL pст-руин'3 money of'3} \\
& \text{the person whose money was ruined}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(409) & \text{P} \quad S[H \quad PO[H \quad PO \quad ] ] \\
& ma^M-hû^M_i \quad ni:i?H \quad kê^H_i \quad za^M \\
& \text{pст-дие'3 chicken or'3 person} \\
& \text{The person’s chicken died.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(410) & \text{H M[COMP P \quad S]} \\
& za^M \quad pi^M \quad ma^M-hû^M_i \quad \emptyset \quad [ni:i?H \quad kê^M_i] \\
& \text{person REL pст-дие'3 chicken [of'3]} \\
& \text{the person who died}
\end{align*}
\]

An associative (instrument) constituent may also be relativized, which is to say ‘the object’ of the associative verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
(411) & \text{P} \quad O \quad \text{INSTR[P} \quad O \quad ] \\
& pi^L-hmê:L \quad viahe \quad kiê:PHi \quad \text{burro} \\
& \text{INT-do'13 trip with'3 donkey} \\
& \text{He will make a [business] trip using donkeys.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(412) & \text{P} \quad O[COMP P \quad O \quad \text{INSTR[P} \quad O \quad ]} \\
& niê:Hi \quad pi^M \quad pi^L-hmê:L \quad viahe \quad kiê:PHi \quad \emptyset \\
& \text{want'3AS3 REL INT-do'13 trip with'3} \\
& \text{He wants them (donkeys) for making a [business] trip.}
\end{align*}
\]

6.3. The relative word \(pi^M\). As stated in §6.1, there are only a few circumstances in which the relative word is not used in the formation of relative clauses. A brief, name-like expression like ‘white corn’, cited in (395), cannot occur with the relative word. The noun phrase cited in (396), however, (‘the clothes lying there’) would not improperly be formed if the relative word were included. In fact, when the phrase is topicalized, the relative word is preferred.
Sentence (412) illustrates the occurrence of the relative word in the absence of a head noun when the reference is to animate objects. An instance of the relative word occurring in the absence of a head noun, when the reference is inanimate, is given in (414).

(414) NEG P-Q[COMP P S D] ?aL-niM k?8-?iL-1i PiM naL-hiA?PH ?O niM NEG-REL take*P2s REL STA-totten*II33 that Don’t take the rotten one!

6.4. Relativizing a personal pronoun. Since Lealao Chinantec has person-of-subject suffixes, personal pronouns which occur in the sentence are usually occupying the object position unless, as subjects, they are given special prominence. It is the personal pronoun occupying the object position, therefore, which most frequently undergoes relativization. In (415), nia:i-aPiM (2p) is optional; but in (416), since it is relativized, it cannot occur at the end of the phrase.


When the first- or second-person personal pronouns are relativized, they generally occur without the relative word (417); but the third-person-plural word diA?L, standing in place of the (nonexistent) third-person personal pronoun, requires the relative word when it is relativized (418–21).

They are very stubborn.

They who are stubborn

I met them along the road.

those whom I met along the road
Chinantec verbs are either indicative or injunctive, by which I mean imperative, hortative, or optative. Imperative verb forms address second persons and are of two types—either direct or negative. Hortative forms address first and second persons inclusively. The optative form may have any person-number category as subject. Each of these four types of injunction is formed in a distinct way. This chapter presents them one at a time, starting with the direct imperative.

7.1. The direct imperative. By use of the direct imperative, the second person, singular or plural, is enjoined to accomplish what is denoted by that verb. The form of the direct imperative is, almost without exception, the verb stem inflected for second-person completive aspect. By comparing (422–26) below with paradigms (12), (13), and (17) of chapter 2, the relationship between second-person completive and the imperative forms of the respective verbs is obvious. It bears repeating that this (second-person completive) is one form of the verb stem which is palatalized if there are such alternate forms anywhere within the paradigm of a particular verb. With verbs which carry the p second-person ending -i in the indicative mood, this ending is absent in the imperative mood; with verbs which carry the a1 second-person ending -u in the indicative mood, the ending -i occurs instead of -u in the imperative mood.

(422) maM-kiu:pLHi  naVH-maM
pST-hack"tic21  cls-wood
You hacked the tree.
(423) kiu:₂LH na^VH·maM
   hack^!   CLS-wood
   Hack the stick!

(424) maM·kiu:₂LH·uM na^VH·ziM
   PST-hack^ TAC2·2s   CLS-dog
   You hacked the dog.

(425) kiu:ɔiLH na^VH·ziM
   hack^!  CLS-dog
   Hack the dog!

(426) tiaHapM maMkₙ:Li vo:L
   spy^!L₂p   entire   night
   [You (pl)] Spy the whole night!

Sentences (427–28) show that the suffixing of -i is blocked by the second-
person plural ending. Sentence (428) also includes the full, second-person
plural pronoun, which may occur optionally, in addition to the second-plural
verb ending. The second-person singular personal pronoun, on the other
hand, is seldom used with an imperative verb.

(427) sie:₂Li  ṥ:ₕuM
   drag^!  companion^2s
   Drag your companion!

(428) sie:₂L_aM  niₐ:₂L_aM  ṣ:ₕapM
   drag^ L₂p   2p companion^2p
   You (pl) drag your companions!

The verb forms of (429) appear to present an exception to the rules that
an imperative is based on the second-person completeme form of the indicati-
ve verb. The underlying tone of this indicative verb is high, however, and
the ballistic very-high tone represents automatic tone sandhi caused by the
presence of the ending -i (see chapter 1).

(429) maMkₙ:VHi  You played.
   ka:H
   Play!

Directive prefixes combine freely with imperative forms, as shown in (430).

(430) guaM·liuLHi kih:ₕuM,  go^!-talk^2s with^ s2s,  Go talk with him!
    iaM·liuLHi kih:ₕuM,  come^!-talk^2s with^ s2s,  Come talk with him!
An indicative sentence which may be used with mild, injunctive force has a second-person progressive-aspect verb as predicate and is preceded by the relative word ʔim in the manner of a complementizer, even though there is no overt matrix clause of which the sentence is a complement. This form is used in contexts where the speaker is not expecting an immediate response. In the following sentences, compare a true imperative with this form of mild injunction.

(431) ʔiaM  laM
      come^! here
      Come here (now)!

(432) ʔim  haLMi  ʔim  iaM-ŋiLuM  hniåM
      REL come^p2s REL come^p2s-visit^p2s  is
      Come and visit me (sometime).

Another way to soften a command is through paired commands in which the first injunction is to do a favor—something like saying, "Please."

(433) P  O;
      hme:H  hmiH?e;VH  hme:H  kq:M  kél
      do^! favor do^! one my
      Do me a favor; make one for me! or Please, make one for me!

Still another way for the speaker to enjoin a person to action in a nonauthoritarian tone is to use a first-person inclusive intitative verb, thus including himself in the injunction, along with the second person(s). The second half of the sentence in (434) is a paraphrase of the first half, which is optative (described below in §7.4).

(434) ma
      kg:M  naM-ŋi:L  baH  guaH-tia:ʔHalaH  taH  laM
      one STA-stretch^3 AFF OPT-be^s1p work here

    NEG  P  O
      ʔalʔeM  ʔiH-tie:HalaH  zilMaH
      NEG INT-rest^1p heart^1p
      Let's just stay at this work until it is done; let's not rest.

7.2. The negative imperative. The negative imperative is formed in the same way as the mild injunction illustrated above in (432), but with the negative prefix ʔaL- preposed to the relative word (435). It is, thus, an indicative, second-person progressive form rather than a true imperative. Sentence (436) illustrates the position of the terminative prefix when it is
part of the negative imperative construction and it implies that the activity being prohibited is already in progress.

(435) ?aL-riM kiM
    NEG-REL dream^P2s
    Don't dream!

(436) ?aL-maL-riM ho:MaM
    NEG-TRM-REL watch^P2p
    [You (pl)] stop watching!

A mild negative injunction which corresponds to the positive injunction mentioned in §7.1 which does not imply immediate action, formed with the relative word and illustrated in (437), is formed by the addition of the prefix liH- (nonentailment) to the negated relative word.

(437) ?aL-liH-riM kiLmi na^VHmaM riM
    NEG-NON-REL fell^P2s tree that
    Don't fell the tree yet!

7.3. Hortative. The hortative enjoins first and second persons to engage in the activity specified by the verb. To form a hortative verb, the prefix maL- (hortative) is prepended to a first-person plural inclusive, intitive verb form. It is implicit that the speaker expects the activity to occur immediately and that some motion will be involved, as if the prefix were a directional one.

(438) zaM-giaLH, go^P1p-go, We will go.
    maL-giaLH, HORT-go^P1p, Let's go!
    maL-hme:H^aH, HORT-do^P1p, Let's do it!

The prefix maL- can also stand alone as a phonologically tonic syllable, in which case the injunction is to motion or to a known activity, either 'let's go!' or 'let's do it!'.

7.4. Optative. An optative verb expresses a desire that the subject accomplish or continue the action denoted by that verb. To form the optative, the prefix kuaH- combines with a completive-aspect (active) verb stem. A pseudodirectional verb in which the directional prefix is used to mark progressive aspect (see §2.14) may also occur as an optative with kuaH-. The stress and tone of the third person stem are not always predictable at this stage in the analysis. As with the directional prefixes, this prefix requires stem palatalization where such alternates exist within a verb paradigm.
Leala Chinantec

(439) ma\textsuperscript{M}-nu:\textsuperscript{Li}  I heard it.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-niu:\textsuperscript{Li}  May I hear it!
ma\textsuperscript{M}-ká:\textsuperscript{M}  S/he played.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-ká:\textsuperscript{M} ba\textsuperscript{H}  kiá\textsuperscript{PH}  May s/he keep playing!
ká\textsuperscript{L}-se\textsuperscript{PM}  S/he uprooted it.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-síe\textsuperscript{PM}  May s/he uproot it.

Stative verbs do not all combine with the optative prefix. Those which refer to unalterable states, such as ‘black’, ‘threshed’, or ‘big’, do not occur with the optative prefix. Some of them may occur with it, however, as derived active verbs, where a process is in view.

(440)  
gá:\textsuperscript{Mj}  It is big.
ma\textsuperscript{M}-li\textsuperscript{M}-gá:\textsuperscript{Mj}  It became big.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-li\textsuperscript{M}-gá:\textsuperscript{Mj}  May it become big!
na\textsuperscript{M}-ba\textsuperscript{H}  They are threshed.
*ku\textsuperscript{A}-na\textsuperscript{M}-ba\textsuperscript{H}  [Does not occur.]

Other stative verbs, such as ‘lying’, ‘dry’, or ‘dumb’, may occur with the optative, inasmuch as they represent an alterable state.

(441)  
n\textsuperscript{A}-hnia\textsuperscript{:M} ni\textsuperscript{M}  It is lying there.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-na\textsuperscript{M}-hnia\textsuperscript{:M} ni\textsuperscript{M}  May it lie there!

(442)  
ha?\textsuperscript{Mi}  He is dumb.
kua\textsuperscript{H}-ha?\textsuperscript{Mi}  May he become dumb!
kua\textsuperscript{H}-ha?\textsuperscript{PLaL}  May I become dumb!
kua\textsuperscript{H}-ha?\textsuperscript{LMaH}  May we become dumb!
kua\textsuperscript{H}-ha?\textsuperscript{MuM}  May you become dumb!
8

Lealao Chinantec Questions

Lealao Chinantec is one of the few Chinantec languages that is vos, most others being vso. Nevertheless, Lealao patterns of question formation conform completely to our expectations for a verb-initial language. All questions, whether for confirmation (yes-no) or information, require the presence of an interrogative word at the beginning of the sentence. In the case of information questions, this usually involves left dislocation from a position following the verb, as will be discussed in detail below. As a tone language for which tone carries a relatively heavy load of both grammatical and lexical information, Lealao has no special intonational patterns superimposed over the tonal system to mark questions. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that all Lealao interrogative words carry a high tone which is one that is perturbed to very high in certain well-defined environments.

The following description of Lealao interrogative sentences begins with confirmation or yes-no questions, followed by the introduction of each of the interrogative words that define the various kinds of information questions. The chapter closes with a brief statement concerning the form of indirect questions.

8.1. Confirmation questions. The interrogative word which initiates a yes-no question is $siH$. It would appear to be closely associated with the conditional word $siM$. 

97
(443) PROTASIS                      APODOSIS
  ṭiʔH’hiaʔM  ziúl  sitiM  ṭiʔH-tiá:l  voʔM
very good if int-last'13 long
It would be nice if it would last a long time.

(444) ?  P  MA  S[H  PO  ]
  sitiH  maM-záM  kaʔMjiM  kaH  kiaM-LhaM
  ?  pst-run'out'c3 completely money of'1p
Has our money completely run out?

In (445), note how the interrogative is repeated in order to separate it from the embedded temporal sentence.

(445) ?  TIT  P  T  ]
  sitiH  liaʔMkáʔM  kaH-LhaM  haM-ziaM
  ?  when  play'1p yesterday
  ?  T  P
  sitiH  miʔHhaM  niM  kaH-giM
  ?  then  pause  pst-puncture'c3
Was it when we were playing yesterday (was it then) that it got punctured?

The confirmation question word followed by the negative response word ṭaʔH may occur at the end of an otherwise declarative sentence to form a tag question, "Isn’t that right?"

(446) P  S  TAG
  naM-baH  niuH  sitiH  ṭaH
STA-hit'13 house  ?  NEG
The house was hit, was it not?

Another way to form a question which implies a positive response is by use of the negative prefix ṭaM- on the main verb of the sentence.

(447) ?  P  S
  sitiH  ṭaM-guaM  niuM
  ?  NEG-go'12s  2s
Are you not going?

A rhetorical question which implies a contrary-to-fact condition is formed by use of the negative interrogative word sitiʔHfaʔM.
Like the yes-no question, a question for information begins with an interrogative word. In this case, however, there are several different interrogative words, each of which may be conceived of as occupying a particular grammatical position in the sentence which might otherwise be occupied by a noninterrogative expression. To illustrate this fact in the following discussion, interrogative words are introduced along with a noninterrogative counterpart. Examples illustrate the fact, as well, that the occurrence of an interrogative usually entails left dislocation of the grammatical position it occupies if that position does not normally precede the verb.

8.2. The interrogative pronoun. The interrogative pronoun has two forms, $\pi^H$ 'who(m)?' and $\pi^E$ 'what?', which correspond to animate and inanimate gender, respectively. This pronoun may substitute for a noun in the head position of a noun phrase, in which case it is normal for the deictic word $ni^M$ 'that' or $ni^Lmi$ 'that (animate)' to also occur. These pronouns are first illustrated in their roles as primary nominals of the sentence. Note that the entire nominal constituent is dislocated left as a unit. In the examples which follow, X marks the normal linear position of the constituent which has undergone left dislocation. The noninterrogative sentence in (449) is a bit heavy since it is uncommon for Lealao to have three nominals overtly present in this way, but it is presented to illustrate normal, noninterrogative word order.

(449) $p \quad o \quad o \quad s$

$ka^L\text{-}ku^L: \quad ni^M \quad ku^H \quad pi^M \quad ni^Lmi$

PST-give$^C_3$ 2s money REL that

That one gave you the money.

(450) $s \quad p \quad o \quad o \quad x$

$\pi^H \quad ni^Lmi \quad ka^L\text{-}ku^L: \quad ni^M \quad ku^H \quad ni^M$

who? that PST-give$^C_3$ 2s money PAUSE

Who gave you the money?

Without an accompanying deictic, the interrogative pronoun carries a rhetorical flavor of incredulity.
If, on the other hand, the anaphoric deictic, ?iM 'that (animate)', is used rather than ni^LMi, the force is either one of strong denial or scolding.

Who ever could do it?

What ever do you want?

The interrogative pronoun may also occupy the descriptive modifier position of a noun phrase in place of a relative clause. In this construction, the pronoun is twice removed from the normal syntactic position. It first moves to the front of the noun phrase, preceding rather than following the head noun, the position that the descriptive modifier normally takes. The entire noun phrase—the interrogative pronoun together with any other noun-phrase constituents which may be present—is then left dislocated to the initial position of the sentence. The deictic word in this usage is na^Hni^VHi or na^Hni^VHi (animate); it is left dislocated within the noun phrase together with the interrogative pronoun. In addition to the deictic and the noun head, the only other noun-phrase constituent that may occur in this context is the possessor. With two levels of dislocation, the examples which follow show X in two places—once where the nominal is normally located in the matrix clause, and once where the modifier is normally located in the noun phrase.

Who of that died?

Which of the books do you want?
With regard to the interrogative pronoun occupying the possessor position of a noun phrase, Lealao Chinantec represents the flip side of the Palantla Chinantec situation (Anderson & Merrifield to appear). The pronoun only substitutes for the possessor of an inalienable noun, but never for the inalienable, allocational noun.

(456) \(O[PO H X] P X L\)

\(\begin{array}{llllll}
?H & ziaH & niM & gua:LMi & taHzia:PVH \\
\text{who} & \text{place}^3 & \text{go}^12s & \text{town work}
\end{array}\)

Whose place are you going to take at town work?

8.3. The interrogative numeral. The interrogative numeral is \(haP^H\) ‘how many?’ or \(háPVHi\) ‘how many? (animate)’, and the corresponding noninterrogative forms are \(háPM\) and \(háPMi\). The interrogative numeral may occur wherever a quantifier of a noun phrase may occur, but in every case the interrogative is dislocated to the beginning of the sentence. This interrogative word is unique in that it does not occur with a deictic. Since the quantifier of a noun normally precedes the noun within the noun phrase, left dislocation within the phrase is not required.

(457) \(P s[Q H L]\)

\(\begin{array}{llll}
tie:PVHi & a:Mi & la:LMi & niM \\
\text{present}^3 & \text{three mules} & \text{there}
\end{array}\)

There are three mules are over there.

(458) \(s[Q H P X L]\)

\(\begin{array}{llll}
háPVHi & la:LMi & tie:PVHi & niM \\
\text{how}^1 & \text{mules} & \text{present}^3 & \text{there}
\end{array}\)

How many mules are over there?

(459) \(O[Q H P X]\)

\(\begin{array}{llll}
háPH & guá:H & ma:LMhme:PVHi \\
\text{how}^1 & \text{box} & \text{pst-do}^c2s
\end{array}\)

How many boxes have you made?

(460) \(T[Q H P]\)

\(\begin{array}{llll}
háPH & tie:PH & gua:LMi \\
\text{how}^1 & \text{times} & \text{go}^12s
\end{array}\)

How many times are you going?

8.4. The interrogative adverb of spatial location. The four remaining interrogative words are adverbs. They address spatial location, temporal location, manner, and cause.
The interrogative adverb of spatial location is \( l \) where?; its noninterrogative count part is \( hiâ?M \). The interrogative \( /s \) occurs sentence initially and is followed by an appropriate deictic.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(461)} & \quad \text{L} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{na}^M \cdot \text{Pa}:^M \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{at} \quad \text{STA-buried}^3 \\
\text{Where} & \quad \text{buried}^3?
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(462)} & \quad \text{L} \quad \text{P} \\
\text{hiâ?H} & \quad \text{ma}^M \cdot \text{hnie}:^M_i \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{at} \quad \text{PST-put}^c_c \text{s} \\
\text{Where} & \quad \text{did you put it}?
\end{align*}
\]

There is a special interrogative stative \( niVH \) of spatial location that is used when the learner inquired about it thought to be nearby—within arm's reach for a recent, within earshot for a person.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(463)} & \quad \text{P} \quad \text{s} \\
\text{ni}^VH & \quad \text{ba}:^VH \quad k\dot{e}^L \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{machete of}^1 \text{?} \\
\text{Where} \quad \text{my machete} \text{?}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(464)} & \quad \text{P} \\
\text{ni}^VH & \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{are you}?
\end{align*}
\]

8.5. The interrogative adverb of temporal location. The interrogative adverb of temporal location \( ni?H \) 'when?'. It occurs sentence initially in place of temporal location

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(465)} & \quad \text{T} \quad \text{P} \quad \text{O} \\
\text{hl} & \quad \text{ni}^M \quad \text{ne}:^M_i \quad \text{hma}^H \\
\text{w} \quad \text{that} & \quad \text{O}^c \text{r}^c \text{s} \quad \text{plant} \\
\text{Where} \quad \text{are you } & \quad \text{to plant}?
\end{align*}
\]

8.6. The interrogative adverb of manner. This interrogative is \( hmi:PL^H \) 'how?'. occurs with the stative verb \( naL\text{ni}^VH \) 'is/are' in the absence of another verb.
(466) MA  P  
\[ hmi:LP \text{ si}^LHuM \]
how?  name's
tWhat is your name?

(467) MA  P  S
\[ hmi:LP \text{ na}^L-li^VH \text{ hi}^HnuM \text{ ki}^LHuM \]
how?  sta-be' \text{ ranch of''s} 2s
What is your ranch like?

This interrogative also occurs with the measure word \( n\text{u}^P \text{VH} \) 'amount' and the construction serves as an interrogative numeral for mass nouns.

(468) s\{Q  H  P
\[ hmi:LP \text{ n}^L \text{VH} \text{ ku}^H \text{ sis}^M \]
how?  cls  money exist's
How much money is there?

8.7. The interrogative adverb of cause. This interrogative is \( ?e^H \text{ ksi}^P \text{VH} \) 'why?'. It is based on the inanimate form of the interrogative pronoun 'what?' and the inanimate third-person allocational noun 'of'. It could also be called an adverb of purpose, but since \( \text{ksi}^P \text{VH} \) 'because' is the conjunction previously named cause (§3.9), that same term is used here to label this complex adverb. It too occurs sentence initially and the relative word follows unless there is only a modal present.

(469) \text{CAUSE}  \text{GROUND}
\[ ?e^H \text{ ksi}^P \text{VH} \text{ ri}^M \text{ ma}^M-k\text{u}^P \text{VH} \text{ hnia}^H \]
what?  cause  REL  PST-flee''s 2s  1s
Why did you run from me?

(470) \text{CAUSE}  \text{MODAL}
\[ ?e^H \text{ ksi}^P \text{VH} \text{ za}^M \text{hu}^VH \]
what?  cause  they'say
You might ask why? (rhetorical)

8.8. Indirect questions. A sentence in ordinary interrogative form, when functioning as the object of a cognitive verb, becomes an indirect question. No change in form is required.

(471) P  O\{S[M  H  X]\  P  X]\n\[ ?L-\text{is}^M \text{ pi}^L-\text{pi}^M \text{ pe}^H \text{ ta}^H \text{ zii}^L \]
INT-think''13  INT-think''13 what?  work  good
He will decide what a good project would be.
If the matrix clause is negative, the indirect question must be introduced by the conditional subordinator \textit{sii}^M 'if'.

(472) \textbf{NEG} \quad \textbf{P} \quad \textbf{O(COMP)} \quad \textbf{S} \quad \textbf{P} \quad \textbf{X}

\textit{?a}^L \textit{?e}^M \quad \textit{ma}:^L \textit{i} \quad \textit{sii}^M \quad \textit{?e}^M \quad \textit{ni}^M \quad \textit{ni}:^H

\textbf{NEG} \quad \textit{know}^\text{^1s} \quad \textit{if} \quad \textit{what?} \quad \text{PAUSE} \quad \textit{want}^\text{^sii3}

I don't know what he wants.
9
Lealao Chinantec Prepositions

The Chinantec forms treated in this chapter correspond both to the
prepositions and to certain subordinating conjunctions of many traditional
statements. The difference between these two categories in such traditional
presentations is probably best summed up in terms of conjunctions
subordinating clauses while prepositions subordinate words and phrases.
This distinction is not clear in all Chinantec subordinators—some may
subordinate clauses as well as words or phrases—although this may be more
ture of other Chinantec languages than of Lealao Chinantec. It is also true
that each subordinator is ultimately unique in respect to the objects it
subordinates and the grammatical roles it may play. For these reasons and
because this study is only one of many which are planned to appear in this
series treating several related Chinantec languages, these subordinators are
discussed here in a single chapter, somewhat arbitrarily labeled Lealao
Chinantec Prepositions.

In this chapter a brief survey is made of the prepositions and their objects
which occupy temporal and spatial locative constituents of sentences. The
prepositions discussed here are listed in (473).

(473) \( mih \) 'when (intentive)'
\( lia^m \) or \( lia^m kąʔ \) 'when (completive)'
\( hi^h \) or \( pi^h \) 'where (definite)'
\( hią^m \) 'where (indefinite)'

The first two of these prepositions were introduced as temporal
subordinators which mark sentences in temporal sequence (§3.11). The third
and fourth are subordinators of spatial locatives. All four are alike in that
they subordinate sentences in the same general way as the relative word does when it complementizes a relative sentence (§8.2).

This chapter discusses each of these four prepositions, followed by a discussion of a small class of inalienable locative nouns, here termed prepositional nouns, and closes with a brief mention of partitive and distributive constructions.

9.1. The preposition \( mi^H \). 'when (intensive)'. The (phonologically proclitic) preposition \( mi^H \) 'when (intensive)' and its object occupy the temporal locative position of a sentence. The object may be a subordinated clause, or it may be nominal or deictic. Although the verb of a subordinated temporal clause may be inflected for any aspect, the viewpoint is nonetheless future from the time of the speech act.

(474) P O T[COMP P X] | pi^H-la^Hi ziâ:jH mi^H maM-iê:jL int-buy"Il another when pst-ruin"C3 I will buy another when it ruins.

(475) T[COMP D ] P S[ | mi^H heM paL-teM maP-l-gu:j:Mi when that NEG TRM-INT-sleep"T3 After that he won't sleep.

(476) MA P S T[COMP H | pi^H-hia\M heL ziLM-2H mi^H hfH iaM very happy heart"Ip when time sun We are very happy in the springtime.

9.2. The preposition \( liaM \) or \( liaMkâ:M \) 'when (completive)'. The preposition \( liaM \) or \( liaMkâ:M \) 'when (completive)' has as its object another sentence and references past time. It is not unusual to find the intensive prepositional phrase with \( mi^H \) embedded within a prepositional phrase with this completive preposition.

(477) T[COMP P X] MA P | liaM maM-fiM pi^H-hia\M miM-hlaLMi when pst-break"C3 very prf-cry"P3 When it broke she really began to cry.
(478) MA P S T[COMP] MA P X | pʰHiá⁵M hmá⁵M lá⁴H liá⁵M k̪á⁵M ru⁴PL sít⁵M very tasty corn when yet young Roasting ears are delicious when they are tender.

(479) T[COMP] O[COMP] T P | liá⁵M mi⁴H há⁴M ziá⁴M lâ⁴-kiu⁴:PLH ni⁴M... when when yesterday ACT"C-cut"113 PAUSE The day after it will have been cut, ...

9.3. The preposition hiH ‘where (definite)’. A prepositional phrase based on the locative preposition hiH (or pʰH) ‘where (definite)’ requires a clause (minimally a verb) as object (480–82) or a prepositional noun (483). As its gloss indicates, this preposition references particular locations, rather than indefinite ones. It may modify a noun or be a locative constituent of a sentence.

(480) H M[COMP] P X | guá⁴M hiH gumá⁵P:PLH ni⁴M gulch where dark‘3 PAUSE gulch where it is dark

(481) NEG P L[COMP] P O X | pá⁴-Pi⁴M niú⁴:PVH₄M hiH zii⁴L₄-aH mi⁴VH-káfe la⁴M NEG-REL shade‘2s where sort‘1p CLS-coffee this Don’t cast a shadow here where we are sorting this coffee.

(482) MA P S[COMP] P S X L | pʰHiá⁵M zí⁴M hiH po²PL iá⁴M la⁴M very hot where shine‘p sunshine here It is very hot here where the sun is shining.

(483) PREP O[PREP] H | hiH he:PLH na⁴VH-ká⁴VH where among CLS-rock where it is rocky

9.4. The preposition hiá⁵M ‘where (indefinite)’ This preposition appears to be the reduced form of the indefinite locative word hiá:⁵M ‘elsewhere’ which would seem, in at least some contexts, to be a stative verb, but which may also occur directly as a locative constituent of a sentence.
(484) H M P S
zaM hiá:PM fi:M Ø
person other town
a person from another town

(485) P L MODAL
ŋi:L hiá:PM baH
go^ns other AFF
I'm going elsewhere.

(486) P L L T P
kaL-hó:H hiá:PM hiá:PM hëM baH kaL-P'M
pST-see^c3 other other then AFF pST-enter^c3
He looked this way and that; then he entered.

When the preposition hiá:PM occurs with a sentence as object, it usually translates best as 'where' and reference is indefinite. This is especially clear in (487), where the prepositional phrase is subordinated by siìM "if" as the complement of a cognitive verb. This preposition must, in fact, always be so subordinated by siìM or be preceded by a negative, as in (488).

(487) ? P O(COMQ PREP P)
siìH mà:Mi siìM hiá:PM maM-ŋa:L'M
? know^2s if where PST-go^c3
Do you know where s/he went?

(488) NEG L P S
NEG TRM-where INT-exist^3 CLS-CORN
Corn will no longer exist anywhere.

This preposition may also occur with locative adverbs or deictic words as object, with the meaning 'towards'. A number of typical phrases are presented in (489). The forms ŋi:L'M and kììLM only occur following hiá:PM, although the source of the first form is obviously ŋi:H 'high'.

(489) hiá:PM ŋi:L'M
towards above
hiá:PM kììLM
towards below
hiá:PM ŋìM
towards there
hiá:PM laM
towards here
hiá:PM siìVHŋà:P'L
towards inside
hiá:PM tì:H
towards outside
9.5. Prepositional nouns. There are a number of Lealao forms which translate into English as prepositions but which are syntactically indistinguishable from inalienable nouns. Such forms are here termed \textit{prepositional nouns}. What might otherwise be considered the object of such a form is not unlike the possessor of an inalienable noun, except that it tends to be inanimate, whereas the possessor of an ordinary inalienable noun is usually animate. Thus, for example, the inalienable noun meaning ‘hand’ usually has an animate noun phrase as possessor, while \textit{he:}\textsuperscript{LH} ‘among’ usually does not.

(491) \textit{guna}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{sii}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{miu}\textsuperscript{M}i ‘hand(s) of a baby’
\textit{he:}\textsuperscript{LH} \textit{nu}\textsuperscript{M} ‘among the weeds’

Prepositional nouns belong to the class of nouns called \textit{locative nouns} (§4.6), in that they tend to occupy locative positions within sentences. This is, perhaps, one of the factors contributing to their similarity to prepositions. Typical prepositional nouns are listed in (492) and illustrated in (493–501).

(492) \textit{he:}\textsuperscript{LH} among
\textit{\textgamma:}\textsuperscript{P}L under, inside
\texti\textgamma:}\textsuperscript{PM} in (space or liquid)
\texti\textv:}\textsuperscript{P}L on, against (vertical surface)
\texti\textn:}\textsuperscript{PH} on
\texti\textv:}\textsuperscript{PH} base of (tree, wall)

(493) \textit{L[H} \textit{PO H PO MODAL]} \textit{P}
\textit{he:}\textsuperscript{LH} \textit{me:}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{he:}\textsuperscript{LH} \textit{nu:}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{ba}\textsuperscript{PH} \textit{ma}\textsuperscript{M}\textsuperscript{PM}
among leaves among weeds \textit{AFF PST-enter\textsuperscript{C3}}
He entered among the plants and weeds.

(494) \textit{MA P L[H} \textit{PO ]}
\textit{\textgamma\textgamma:}\textsuperscript{MP}\textit{hi}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{ka}\textsuperscript{PM}\textsuperscript{LMa}\textsuperscript{H} \textit{nu}\textsuperscript{P}L \textit{karro}
very HAB-jostle\textsuperscript{IP} inside truck
We really got bounced around (riding) in a truck.

(495) \textit{P L[H} \textit{PO ]}
\textit{ia}\textsuperscript{M} \textit{zi}\textsuperscript{LM} \textit{\textgamma:}\textsuperscript{P}L \textit{mesa} \textit{ni}\textsuperscript{M}
sweep\textsuperscript{!*} good under table \textit{PAUSE}
Sweep well under the table!
(496) P L[H PO ]
na_M-
hnia:M ?ê:PMi guá:H kél
STA-lie^3 inside box of^s
It is inside my box.

(497) P L[H PO ]
ziaH ?ê:PMi laM
put^! in this
Put it into this!

(498) P L[H PO ]
?iH-?iPHaH za:PL laM
INT-prick^i1p on this
Let's prick this (surface).

(499) P O[H M[COMP P L[H PO ]]
?i:Li gui:Li ?iM ta:Li za:PL naVH-maM
shoot^! squirrel REL cling^3 against CLS-wood
Shoot the squirrel that is clinging to the tree!

(500) P L[H PO ]
ìaM ?iH-ia:HaaH ñi:PH hliH laM
sit^! INT-sit^1p on bench this
Sit down! We will sit on this bench.

(501) P O L[H PO ]
tia:PL hi:L vi:H tê:H naVH-maM
put^! dirt base foot^3 CLS-wood
Throw some dirt around the base of the tree.

The directional nature of the meaning of some of these nouns gives rise
to the possible occurrence of an adverb of intensity to indicate the relative
range of reference in the direction such a noun specifies. This is true of the
nouns ?ê:PMi 'in' and ñaa:PL 'under', whereas nouns like ñi:PH 'on' and za:PH
'against' name absolute positions and may not be intensified.

(502) P L MA
naM-hnia:M ?ê:PMi lfl
STA-lie^3 in very
It is way inside.

9.6. Miscellanea. There are two forms which have preposition-like
characteristics but which are also somewhat unique. The are briefly
mentioned here.
A quantitative phrase may occur with preposed ma$^H$- to give partitive force.

(503) ?  P  O  O[Q  H ]
   sii$^H$  ?i$^H$-kuo:VHi  hnia$^H$  ma$^H$-ka:$^M$  peso  ta:$^M$
   ?  INT-give$^I25$  1s  PRT-one  peso  banana
Will you give me one peso’s worth of bananas?

The form ma$^P$L- may be preposed to a quantifier to give distributive force, functioning either nominally or adverbially.

(504) O[Q  H ]  P  S[P  X]
   ma$^P$L-gia$^L$-ña$^M$  vo$^M$  ka$^M$.hme:$^L$  ?i$^H$.kiu:$^P$LHa$^H$
  DIST-fifteen  pole  HAB-need$^I23$  INT-cut$^I1p$
We must each cut fifteen poles.

(505) ma$^P$L-pi$^H$  ma$^P$L-liu$^H$  ba$^H$  ?i$^L$.k pérd
   DIST-little  DIST-little  AFF  INT-pay$^I13$
S/he will pay little by little.
10
Lealao Chinantec Modal Adverbs

Lealao Chinantec has a special set of adverbs which are here termed modal adverbs. These adverbs are postposed to a variety of grammatical forms, adding one or another rhetorical sense to that element. Seven of the more common modals are listed in (506).

(506) \( ba^H \) affirmation
    \( bi?^VH \) alteration
    \( gi?^VH \) augmentation
    \( gi?^M \) alternation
    \( ru?^M \) counter-expectation
    \( i?^VH \) explication
    \( f?;^VH \) rhetorical

10.1. Affirmation. The affirmation modal has the most extensive usage. It may affirm quantifiers, nouns, adverbs, predicates, or entire sentences. It does not affirm a negative construction. This adverb is frequently associated with topicalized elements which occur as the first constituent of a sentence. Note the variety of sentence-initial constituents that are affirmed in the following examples.

(507) \( s[i?H ]\) [MODAL] \( b[i?H ]\) [H[Q ]\( M ]\) [P
    \( lia?^L hi?^M i \) \( ba^H \) \( di?^P L \) \( fi?^VH \) \( ni?^M \) \( na?^M-gu?;^M i \)
    \( all^3 \) [AFF] \( PL \) lazy [PAUSE] STA-sleep^3

ALL the lazy ones are asleep.
(508) T[H MODAL] P S O
   haMziá:M baH kaL-í:jí:PLMaL karta
   yesterday AFF PST-receive-ci3 letter

   It was YESTERDAY I received the letter.

(509) L[H PO MODAL] P S
   kiá?H zaM baH heśHaH
   of"3 person AFF present"is

   I am living at SOMEONE ELSE'S house.

(510) O[H MODAL] P S
   ?M laM baH ná:Li
   REL this AFF want"is

   THIS is what I want.

(511) P[H MODAL] S[P S ]
   loL-ho:iM baH niL hniáM
   INT-possible"13 AFF go"11s is

   I CAN go.

   When the affirmation modal occurs near or at the end of the sentence, the question naturally arises regarding its scope. How much of the preceding material, within the sentence, is being affirmed? Or is everything from the beginning of the sentence to the modal adverb being affirmed? The affirmation modal in (512) seems to affirm the quantity in particular. Nonetheless, the object constituent being affirmed is an integral part of the entire sentence and since there is no structural evidence which clearly delimits the scope of the modal, it is assumed that the modal affirms the whole.

(512) H[IT MODAL] P O ]
   miSHgaM kaL-kuóM kaB:M peso baH
   then PST-give-ci3 one peso AFF

   Then he paid him just one peso.

10.2. Alteration. The alteration modal biḑVH indicates that a recent change in situation is in view. Adverbs, locatives, quantifiers, and verbs occur with this postposed modal.

(513) S[O[H MODAL] H ] P
   hqMi á:Lí biḑVH zaM maM-kue:PLi
   one"3 two"3 ALTR person PST-remain"c3

   NOW just a few people remain.
(514) [H MODAL] P  
  \[la^M \text{ bi}^{PVH} \text{ he}^{VH}a^H\]  
  this ALTR present^is  
  now I am here.

(515) [CAUSE P MA MODAL MODAL]  
  \[kia^{PVH} \text{ mi}^{M}.\text{na}^{M}.\text{pi}^{H} \text{ ziu}^{L} \text{ ka}^{P}\text{mi}^{L}M \text{ bi}^{PVH} \text{ ba}^{H}\]  
  because PRF-STA-dye^is good complete ALTR AFF  
  because they are now dyed quite well.

10.3. Augmentation. The augmentation modal gi^{PVH} ‘more’ also combines with a variety of grammatical forms. The same word is used to make comparative statements (§3.13). As a modal adverb it highlights a difference in degree (new or existing) or what is lacking to reach a desired state. The following examples illustrate this modal following a noun phrase (516), an interrogative (517), an adverb (518), and a predicate (519).

(516) [Q H MODAL] P  
  \[k\dot{s}\cdot\text{pi}^{M} \text{ hi}^{P}Ma^{H} \text{ gi}^{PVH} \text{ za}^{M}.\text{gia}^{L}H\]  
  one trip^1p AUG go^1p-go  
  We will make one more trip.

(517) [H MODAL] P T  
  \[pe^{H} \text{ gi}^{PVH} \text{ pi}^{H}.\text{ila}^{L}H^{a}H \text{ ha}^{M}m^{L}\]  
  what? AUG INT-buy^1p now  
  What more shall we buy?

(518) [H MODAL] P S  
  \[ha^{M}m^{L} \text{ gi}^{PVH} \text{ ma}^{M}.k^{M}m^{i} \text{ si}^{P}\text{mi}^{U}.m^{i}\]  
  now AUG PST-quiet^c3 baby  
  Now at last the baby has hushed.

The augmentation modal, on rare occasions, is inflected for person-of-subject.

(519) [H[S P P] MODAL] O  
  \[\text{si}^{H} \text{ pa}^{L}.\text{ma}^{L}.\text{ni}^{U}M \text{ la}^{P}L^{u}M \text{ gi}^{PVH}u^{M} \text{ mi}^{VH}.\text{ni}^{U}.m^{i}\]  
  ? NEG-TRM-2s have^2s AUG-2s CLA-bean  
  Do you not have beans any more?

A frequently-used idiom formed with the augmentation modal following one of several expressions for ‘little’ means ‘just about’. In this context, the matrix verb is always negated.
10.4. Alternation. The alternation modal adverb also functions as the conjunction 'or', as in (521). As a modal it highlights a contrast (522) or comparison (523). Given certain lexical contexts, the alternation modal implies dissatisfaction as well. The alternation modal often follows the affirmation modal as in (522) and (524).

(521) P S MODAL MODAL S
zaL-?iM zi:M ?uH giPM zaM?i:M
go^13-enter dog IRR or thief
A dog or a thief will enter.

(522) P S[Q MODAL MODAL H ]
p?iL-tiá:L h?Mi baH giPM la:LH
INT-endure^13 one AFF or mule
A single mule will be able to do it.

(523) P[MA MODAL ] S;
lià?MH?eM giPM ta:M
like^1 that or banana

P S[H M[COMP P S ]
very many PL REL HAB-PL-plant^p3
So it is with bananas, there are many [people] who plant them.

(524) ? S MODAL MODAL P
siiH h?eM à:L-aH baH giPM zaM-gia:LHaH
? one two-1p AFF or go^1p-go

COORD NEG P S
but NEG go^13-go^3p PL half^3
Are just a few of us going but not the rest?

10.5. Counter-expectation. The counter-expectation modal ru?M occurs quite frequently following imperatives. Common to the use of this modal is that, in the mind of the speaker, some information is unknown or otherwise not appropriated by the hearer or the speaker. For example, an incredulous response based on this modal is ?á:VHaL ru?M 'really?' or 'I just can't believe it'.
(525) P MODAL O
ho: LH ru PM na VH-gui: LH
look^! cx squirrel
Look at the squirrel, would you!

(526) T MODAL P O
zaMHéi ru PM zie: LH i tíL ha: VH na VH-maM
first cx split^! two piece CLA-wood
Split the log first, of course!

This modal also follows verbs in the indicative mood and nouns as well.

(527) O [O MODAL P ] P S
ni:PH ru PM píH-kiuPHaH fóPM diáL niM
chicken cx int-eat^11p say^p3 dad PAUSE
Imagine that! Dad says we will eat CHICKEN.

(528) T MODAL P MOD MA
háM baH kaL-na: PLhaL ru PM ká:PM
then AFF PST-arise^Cl1s cx again
Then I got right back up again. Can you believe it?

10.6. Explication. The explication modal iáPH signals a change of topic and as one would expect this modal usually occurs with a constituent that has been left-dislocated to the beginning of the sentence.

(529) S MODAL MA P
hniáM iáPH píH-iaM ru PL za: LH i
is EXPL very yet sick^1s
As for me, I am still very sick.

(530) S[H PO M[COMP P O ] ] MODAL
kaMHa- VH kiáPH plM píH-hme: HAH hmaH iáPH
side of^-3 that int-do^11p plant EXPL
Now with regard to planting,

10.7. Rhetorical. There is rhetorical modal adverb and a couple of rhetorical phrases that function similarly. The rhetorical modal fó:PH expresses high probability and occurs either sentence-initially or finally.

(531) MODAL P S. P MODAL
fó:PH piL-ziáM hmiH liaPMhaM fó:PH
likely int-rain^13 rain like^that likely
It looks like it will rain. I think so too.
The rhetorical phrases that are similar to the response use of *fó:*P¥H, as in (531), are illustrated below. They occur sentence finally. One expresses conciliation (533) and the other is neutral (534) in that regard.

(533) P MODAL PROTASIS
\( \text{ηι}\text{-L} \quad \text{σια}\text{-M} \quad \text{ηα}\text{-M} \quad \text{σιι}\text{-M} \quad \text{ηι}\text{-M} \quad \text{ηα}\text{-M} \quad \text{ηι}\text{-L} \)
go\( ^{11s} \) then if \text{PAUSE} want\( ^{2s} \) REL to\( ^{11s} \)
I'll go then if that is what you want.

P MODAL
\( \text{λια}\text{-Mηα}\text{-M} \quad \text{σια} \quad \text{ηα}\text{-M} \)
like\( ^{\text{that}} \) then
Okay then.

(534) P O
\( \text{sιι}\text{-H} \quad \text{μα}\text{-Mι} \quad \text{ηι}\text{-M} \quad \text{μα}\text{-M} \cdot \text{ηυLι} \quad \text{δε}\text{-Hι} \quad \text{ηι}\text{-M} \)
\( ? \) know\( ^{52s} \) REL PST-die\( ^{C3} \) president \text{PAUSE}
Did you know that the President died?

P MODAL P MODAL
\( \text{λια}\text{-Mηα}\text{-M} \quad \text{ζα}\text{-MηυVH} \quad \text{πε}\text{-Hκια}\text{-P¥H} \quad \text{ζα}\text{-MηυVH} \)
like\( ^{\text{that}} \) they\( ^{\text{say}} \) why? they\( ^{\text{say}} \)
That's what they say. Why (no cause, it seems)?
Studies in Chinantec Languages 2
Publications in Linguistics Number 88

*Lealao Chinantec Syntax* by James E. Rupp is the second volume of a subseries of SIL and UTA Publications in Linguistics which focuses upon the Chinantec languages of Mexico, one of the major branches of the important Otomanguecan stock of tone language of Mesoamerica. The Chinantec languages comprise fourteen languages spoken by an excess of 60,000 people who reside in the northeast quadrant of the southern Mexican State of Oaxaca.

Mr. Rupp's study of Lealao syntax is the first of several planned for this series which will present an overview of the major morphological and syntactic features of the Chinantec languages in a nonformal style designed to facilitate their typological comparison with one another as well as with non-Chinantec languages.

Additional volumes already projected for this series include syntactic overviews of the Chinantec languages spoken in Comaltepec, Palantla, Tepetotutla, and Tlacoatzintepec, and a compilation of articles ranging over a variety of phonological and syntactic topics.

ISBN: 0-88312-103-4