

LEALAO CHINANTEC SYNTAX

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Languages

Volume 2



By James E. Rupp

Lealao Chinantec Syntax

Studies in Chinantec Languages 2

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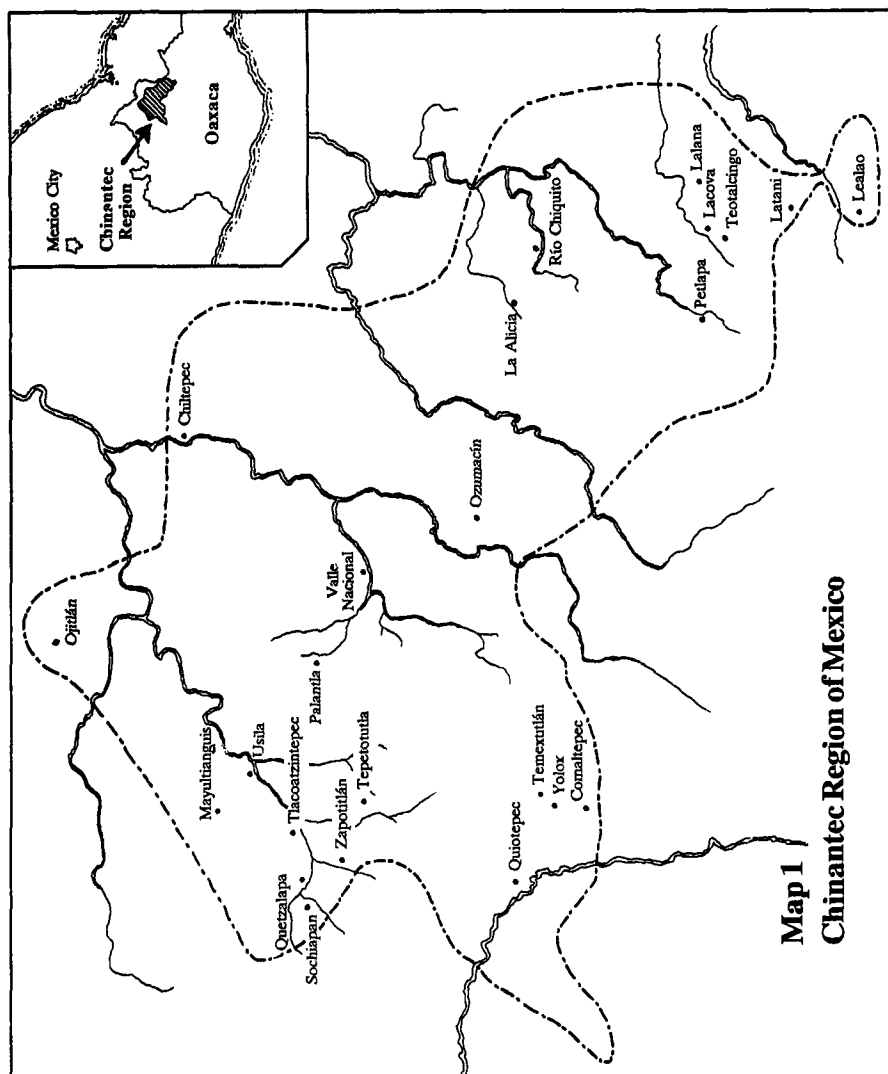
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Preface

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 Yahúivé 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 Otomanguan 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.

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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 ĩ u o/, as in the following examples: *li^{VH}* 'flower', *lé^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:^{PH}i* 'his companion'. Any of the six vowels may be short or long as in *la^M* 'here' and *la:^M* 'sandal', or *ɲi^H* 'his/her face' and *ɲi:^H* 'his/her voice'.

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

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

1.2. Consonants. The consonants which may occur in the onset position of the syllable are /p t k ʔ b d g s z l r m n ŋ f v h/. Examples are: *piʔ^H* ‘little’, *tu^{PM}* ‘buzzard’, *kúʔ^H* ‘bite!’, *ʔúʔ^H* ‘his/her fingernail’, *biʔ^{VH}* ‘now’, *du^{PM}* ‘in order to’, *gíʔ^H* ‘candle’, *síʔ^{PM}* ‘month’, *zu:^H* ‘pitcher’, *lu^M* ‘gnat’, *rúʔ^L* ‘still’, *míʔ^{PM}* ‘basket’, *ní:^{ʔH}* ‘chicken’, *ŋí:^{ʔH}* ‘ask for it!’, *fí:^{ʔLH}* ‘piece’, *víʔ^{PM}* ‘slippery’, *huʔ^M* ‘deep’.

In the absence of a consonantal onset or following any of the consonants /t d s z k g l n ŋ h/, palatal /i/ may occur preceding a nuclear vowel. Examples include *iu:^{VH}* ‘top’, *tiá^M* ‘early’, *dia^H* ‘sir’, *sia:^{VH}* ‘stalk’, *zia:^H* ‘patio’, *kiu:^M* ‘cage’, *giá^L* ‘ten’, *líá^M* ‘trap’, *niá^{PM}* ‘madam’, *ŋiú^L* ‘nine’, *hiá:^{PM}* ‘elsewhere’.

Phonemes that follow the syllable peak include only /ʔ/, /i/ (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 *hia:^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 [š dž], respectively, as in *sia^M* [ža^M] ‘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 /tš dž š/, respectively, as in *kiáʔ^H* [tšiaʔ^H] ‘of 3’, *giá:^M* [džia:^M] ‘twenty’, *ŋiú^L* [iú^L] ‘nine’, *hiáʔ^M* [šiaʔ^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 *ʔi^Hnu:^{Mi}* ‘you will hear’, but *ma^Mniu:^{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) *ʔi^Htq:^{Mi}* You will throw it.
 ma^Mtiq:^{Mi} You threw it.
- (2) *líá:^{VH}* his load
 lie:^{Li} my load

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

- (3) $\text{ʔi}^H\text{ʔi}^M\text{i}$ You will pull it.
 $\text{ma}^M\text{ʔi}^M\text{i}$ You pulled it.
- (4) $\text{ʔi}^H\text{ʔo}^M\text{i}$ You will read it.
 $\text{ma}^M\text{ʔe}^V\text{H}\text{i}$ You read it.

The onset consonants /k g/ may be labialized as in kui^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 ŋ/ and the following nuclear vowel is front /i e/. All such sequences occur with intervening palatal [i], as in ké^L [kié^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 ŋi^H ‘his/her voice’ and ŋi^H ‘high’ or fi^VH ‘road’ and fi^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’, $\text{mé}^V\text{H}$ ‘leaf cutter ants’, me^H ‘flea’, mé^H ‘liquor’, me^M ‘leaf’, ŋiú^M ‘many’, me^L ‘egg’, mé^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:LH* is phonetically [meʔ^Le^H]. 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) | <i>sii^H ziú^L</i> | Is it good? | becomes | <i>sii^{VH} ziú^L</i> |
| | <i>sii^H la:LH</i> | Is it a mule? | becomes | <i>sii^{VH} la:LH</i> |

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) | <i>sii^H ɲiú^H</i> | Is it a house? | becomes | <i>sii^{VH} ɲiú^{VH}</i> |
|-----|--|----------------|---------|--|

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) | <i>ʔa:ʔ^H ɲiú^H</i> | (underlying form) |
| | <i>ʔa:ʔ^H ɲiu^{VH}</i> | mouth of house (i.e. doorway) |
| | <i>*ʔa:ʔ^{VH} ɲiú^{VH}</i> | (does not occur) |
| | <i>ʔe^H kiá^{ʔH}</i> | (underlying form) |
| | <i>ʔe^H kia:ʔ^{VH}</i> | what? of ³ (i.e. why?) |
| | <i>*ʔe^{VH} kiá^{ʔVH}</i> | (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.

2

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) | <i>ma^M-guj̃:^{LH-aL},</i> | PST-sleep [^] C1s-1s, | I slept. |
| | <i>ʔi^H-guj̃:^{LH-aL},</i> | INT-sleep [^] I1s-1s, | I will sleep. |
| | <i>za:^{LH-i},</i> | sick [^] S1s-1s, | 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), intensive (I), and completive (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
	P	<i>ka:L</i>	<i>ka:LH</i>	<i>ka:M</i>	<i>ka:L</i>
	I	<i>ka:LH</i>	<i>ka:H</i>	<i>ka:M</i>	<i>ká:L</i>
	C	<i>ká:L</i>	<i>ka:H</i>	<i>ká:VH</i>	<i>ká:M</i>

Although every verb stem paradigm includes some homophonous forms, such as the intensive 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
	I1s	I1p	I2	I3
	C1s	C1p	C2	C3

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 Lealao transitivity and gender are introduced in §2.16.

- (11) *ma^M-tá^{PM} mi^{VH}liu^{PH}*, PST-fall[^]C3 child, The child fell.
ma^M-tá^{PM} na^{VH}kú^{VH}, PST-fall[^]C3 rock, The rock fell.

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, π denotes a transitive stem inflected for inanimate object, and τ denotes a transitive stem inflected for animate object.

(12) hack (π)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>kiu:PLM</i>	<i>kiu:PLM</i>	<i>kiú:PM</i>	<i>kiu:PLM</i>
I	<i>kiu:PVH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiú:PM</i>	<i>kiú:PH</i>
C	<i>kiú:PH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiú:PH</i>

(13) hack (τ)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>kiu:PLM</i>	<i>kiu:PLM</i>	<i>kiu:PL</i>	<i>kiu:PLM</i>
I	<i>kiu:PVH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiu:PL</i>	<i>kiú:PH</i>
C	<i>kiú:PH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiu:PLH</i>	<i>kiú:PH</i>

(14) beat (π)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>bá^{LM}</i>	<i>bá^{LM}</i>	<i>bá^M</i>	<i>bá^{LM}</i>
I	<i>bá^{VH}</i>	<i>bá^{VH}</i>	<i>bá^M</i>	<i>bá^H</i>
C	<i>bá^H</i>	<i>bá^{VH}</i>	<i>bá^H</i>	<i>bá^H</i>

(15) beat (τ)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>bá^{LM}</i>	<i>bá^{LM}</i>	<i>bá^L</i>	<i>bá^{LM}</i>
I	<i>bá^{VH}</i>	<i>bá^{LH}</i>	<i>bá^L</i>	<i>bá^H</i>
C	<i>bá^H</i>	<i>bá^{LH}</i>	<i>bá^L</i>	<i>bá^H</i>

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.

(16) erase (π)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>bé^L</i>	<i>bé^{LM}</i>	<i>bé^{LM}</i>	<i>bé^{LM}</i>
I	<i>bé^L</i>	<i>bé^{VH}</i>	<i>bé^{VH}</i>	<i>bé^H</i>
C	<i>bé^L</i>	<i>bé^{VH}</i>	<i>bé^H</i>	<i>bé^H</i>

(17) spy (π)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>tá^L</i>	<i>tia^{LH}</i>	<i>tá^M</i>	<i>tia^L</i>
I	<i>tá^{LH}</i>	<i>tia^H</i>	<i>tá^M</i>	<i>tia^L</i>
C	<i>tá^L</i>	<i>tia^H</i>	<i>tia^{VH}</i>	<i>tia^M</i>

- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (18) hang (TI) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:LM</i> | <i>ʔi:M</i> | <i>ʔi:M</i> |
| I | <i>ʔi:LH</i> | <i>ʔi:H</i> | <i>ʔi:M</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> |
| C | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:H</i> | <i>ʔi:M</i> | <i>ʔi:M</i> |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (19) hang (TA) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:LH</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> |
| I | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:LH</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> |
| C | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:LH</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> | <i>ʔi:L</i> |
-
- | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (20) afraid (AI) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>foʔLH</i> | <i>foʔLH</i> | <i>foʔL</i> | <i>foʔL</i> |
| I | <i>feʔLH</i> | <i>feʔLH</i> | <i>feʔL</i> | <i>feʔL</i> |
| C | <i>foʔLH</i> | <i>foʔLH</i> | <i>foʔL</i> | <i>foʔL</i> |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (21) give (DI) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>kuó:L</i> | <i>kuó:L</i> | <i>kuo:LM</i> | <i>kuó:L</i> |
| I | <i>kuó:L</i> | <i>kuo:H</i> | <i>kuo:VH</i> | <i>kuó:L</i> |
| C | <i>kuó:L</i> | <i>kuo:H</i> | <i>kuó:VH</i> | <i>kuó:L</i> |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (22) give (DA) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>kuóL</i> | <i>kuoLM</i> | <i>kuoLM</i> | <i>kuoLM</i> |
| I | <i>kuóL</i> | <i>kuoH</i> | <i>kuoVH</i> | <i>kuóH</i> |
| C | <i>kuóL</i> | <i>kuoH</i> | <i>kuóVH</i> | <i>kuóH</i> |
-
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| (23) grind (TI) | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>guaL</i> | <i>ziLM</i> | <i>guaM</i> | <i>ziM</i> |
| I | <i>guaLH</i> | <i>giH</i> | <i>guaM</i> | <i>ziL</i> |
| C | <i>guáL</i> | <i>giH</i> | <i>giM</i> | <i>ziM</i> |

2.3. Verb prefixes. The underlyingly active verb root can normally be inflected for any of three aspects—progressive, intensive, 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) <i>ka</i> ^M - | (habitual) | <i>di</i> ^H - | (desiderative) |
| <i>ʔi</i> ^H - | (intensive) | <i>ʔa</i> ^L - | (negative) |
| <i>ka</i> ^L - | (remote past) | <i>maʔ</i> ^L - | (terminative) |
| <i>ma</i> ^M - | (recent past) | <i>li</i> ^H - | (nonentailment) |
| <i>mi</i> ^M - | (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^{PH}*
 play^{^P3} DIM-child
 The child is playing

- (26) *ŋiu^{LM} na^{VHzi:M}*
 vomit^{^P3} 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^Hhiá^{PM} ka^M-kue^{LM-aH}*
 much HAB-yawn^{^P1p-1p}
 We really yawn alot.

- (28) *ka^M-ka:L lia^{PL}-hi^M hmí^{VH}*
 HAB-play^{^P3} 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) *hə^M-ni^L ka^M-hme:L-i hú:^{PL} lia^{PM}-sií^M na^L-li^{VH}*
 that-now HAB-do^{^P1s-1s} 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) *hó:L pi^M-hə^M ka^M-ta^L ka^M-pi^L-i ŋiú:^M*
 but REL-that HAB-think^{^P1s} HAB-COUNT^{^P1s-1s} 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 ?i^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) $\text{?i}^L\text{-k}^A\text{:}^L$ $\text{k}^A\text{:}^?M$ $\text{h}^A\text{L}\text{-m}^i\text{H?e}^M$
 INT-play¹³ again tomorrow
 He will play again tomorrow.
- (32) $\text{?i}^H\text{-k}^A\text{:}^L\text{H}\text{-}i$ $i^A\text{:}^H$
 INT-play^{11s-1s} day[^]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 $\text{k}^A\text{L-}$, for time prior to the day of the speech act, and $\text{m}^A\text{M-}$, referring to time earlier the same day as the speech act. Note that the same abbreviation (PST) is used in examples for both of the past tense prefixes.

- (33) $\text{k}^A\text{L-}\text{k}^A\text{:}^M$ $\text{h}^A\text{M}\text{zi}^A\text{:}^M$ b^AH
 PST-play^{C3} yesterday AFF
 It was yesterday that he played.
- (34) $\text{m}^A\text{M-}\text{k}^A\text{:}^M$ b^AH $\text{m}^i\text{M}\eta\text{iu}^H$
 PST-play^{C3} AFF earlier[^]today
 He did play earlier today.

2.7. Perfect aspect. The prefix $\text{m}^i\text{M-}$ (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) $\text{m}^i\text{M-hme}^L$ t^AH d^ia^H $\text{k}^i\eta\text{:}^H$
 PRF-do^{P3} 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) $\text{m}^i\text{M-}\text{?i}^L\text{-l}^A\text{:}^L$ $\text{k}^A\text{:}^?M$
 PRF-INT-begin¹³ 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 *dī^H-* (*dī^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 *mī^M-* (perfect).

- (37) *ṛi^H-e:ṛLHi³* INT-eat[^]1s, I will eat.
 dī^H-e:ṛLHi³, DES-eat[^]1s, I really want to eat.
 mī^M-dī^L-é:ṛH, PRF-DES-eat[^]1s, He wants to eat now.

2.9. The negative prefix. Any active or stative verb may be negated by the prefix *ṛa^L-* (negative) or the negative word *ṛa^Lṛe^M* (§2.20), but the latter is more common.

- (38) *duṛ^M ṛa^L-ṛi^L-kuṛ^Mi mi:^L diá^{ṛL}*
 SO NEG-INT-eat[^]C3 REFL[^]3p PL
 ... so that he would not eat them.

- (39) *ṛa^Lṛe^M sia^M ku:^H*
 NEG exist[^]s3 money
 There is no money.

2.10. Terminative aspect. The terminative prefix *maṛ^L-* occurs with progressive or intensive verb forms, but only in conjunction with *ṛa^Lṛe^M* (negative) or *sii^Hfā^{ṛM}* (negative interrogative). It otherwise may occur with any of the other verb prefixes, with the exception of *mī^M-* (perfect).

- (40) *ṛa^Lṛe^M maṛ^L-dī^H-e:ṛLH-i ṛó^H*
 NEG TRM-DES-eat[^]1s-1s tortilla
 I have lost my appetite (no longer desire to eat).

- (41) *ṛa^Lṛe^M maṛ^L-ka^M-hme:^L ta^H*
 NEG TRM-HAB-do[^]P3 work
 He no longer works.

- (42) *sii^H-fā^{ṛM} maṛ^L-e:ṛLM ṛó^H*
 NEG[^]INTERROG TRM-eat[^]P3 tortilla
 You don't suppose he is still eating, do you?

³When 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 *li^H-* (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 *di^ɣʔ^{VH}* '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) *di^ɣʔ^{VH} li^H-kaL-li^L ba^H*
 very NON-PST-happen^C3 AFF
 It just happened (I didn't do it)!

- (44) *di^ɣʔ^{VH} li^H-sia^M ba^H*
 very NON-exist^S3 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 *kə:^M* 'one' functioning adverbially, or one of several phrases with *di^ɣʔ^{VH}* 'very'.

- (45) *kə:^M kaL-táʔ^L ba^H*
 one PST-fall^C3 AFF
 It just fell.

- (46) *ʔi^M di^ɣʔ^{VH} kaL-táʔ^L ba^H*
 REL very PST-fall^C3 AFF
 It just fell.

- (47) *kə:^M ba^H di^ɣʔ^{VH} kaL-táʔ^L*
 one AFF very PST-fall^C3
 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 activating prefix *li^M-* 'become', however, to form an activated stem which occurs with tense-aspect prefixes to indicate a change of state. Following the past-tense prefix *kaL-*, the tone of the activating prefix is lowered to *li^L-* and, with this change, *kaL-* is often omitted. The activating 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 activated forms.

- (48)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------------|
| <i>piʔH</i> , | small [^] s3, | It is small. |
| <i>kaM-liM-piʔH</i> , | HAB-ACT-small [^] s3, | It becomes small. |
| <i>ʔiL-piʔH</i> , | INT-small [^] s3, | It will become small. |
| <i>maM-liM-piʔH</i> , | PST-ACT-small [^] s3, | It became small (today). |
| <i>ʔiL-piʔH</i> , | PST [^] ACT-small [^] s3, | It became small. |

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

- (49) happen (11) 3
- | | |
|---|------------|
| P | <i>ʔiM</i> |
| I | <i>ʔiM</i> |
| C | <i>ʔiL</i> |

A derived active verb which names a change of state in progress is formed from a stative root by the prefix *zeM-*. As in the case of the intensive prefix, the activizing prefix is absent.

- (50) *zeM-piʔH* *hmi:M*
 ACT-small[^]s3i water
 The stream is diminishing.

A few active verbs are derived from nouns.

- (51) *si:H*, twig
maM-liM-si:VHi, It became twiggy (lost its leaves).

- (52) *mi:VH*, sphere
kaL-liL-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 *naM-*. 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) *ʔiL-báH* *ʔiúH* *miVH-liuʔM*
 INT-hit[^]13 house DIM-little
 The child will hit the house.

⁴This phenomenon is discussed further in §2.17.

- (54) *na^M-ba^H* *ŋiú^H*
 STA-hit[^]s3i 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}* *mĩ^{?M}*
 black[^]s3i cloth
 The cloth is black.

- (56) *na^M-lia^{?M}* *mĩ^{?M}*
 STA-black[^]s3i 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} mĩ[^] VHi^M, STA-dust[^]s3i 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-kuá^{:?LHi}*, HAB-STA-piled[^]up[^]s3i, It gets piled up.
?i^L-na^L-kuá^{:?LHi}, INT-STA-piled[^]up[^]s3i, It will get piled up.
ma^M-na^M-kuá^{:?LHi}, PST-STA-piled[^]up[^]s3i, It got piled up.

The perfect prefix *mĩ^M-* occurs with stative verbs and derived active verbs.

- (59) *mĩ^M-gá^{:Mi}* *sĩĩ^M-iú^{:Mi}* *kiú^{?H-u^M}*
 PRF-big[^]s3a DIM-baby POSS[^]2-2s
 Your baby is already big.

- (60) *mĩ^M-na^M-hnia^{:M}* *liá^{:VH}* *nĩ^M*
 PRF-STA-lying load there
 The stuff is already ready.

- (61) *mĩ^M-ze^M-gá^{:Mi}* *sĩĩ^M-iú^{:Mi}* *kiú^{?H-u^M}*
 PRF-ACT-big[^]s3a 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^t:^H* 'frequently'. The perfective prefix does not occur with this set of derived statives.

- (62) *ʔi^Hhiáʔ^M si^H-liú^Mi dia^H ni^M*
 very STA-talk^{AI3} man PAUSE
 The man is quite a talker.

- (63) *ʔi^Hhiáʔ^M si^H-hu-LH-aL*
 very STA-lie^{AI1s-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:ʔ^L*
 PST-come^{c3}-bathe³
 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), aspectual inflection is found in the difference between the prefixes *za^M-* (*go^ʔʔ3*) and *za^L-* (*go^ʔʔ3*), respectively. Regardless of the aspectual 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 *hmé:^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	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>bi^M</i>	<i>bi^M</i>	<i>bi^M</i>	<i>bi^M</i>
I	<i>ia^M</i>	<i>ia^M</i>	<i>ia^M</i>	<i>ia^L</i>
C	<i>bi^H</i>	<i>bi^H</i>	<i>bi^H</i>	<i>bi^H</i>

(70) go	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>ia^M</i>	<i>za^M</i>	<i>gua^M</i>	<i>za^M</i>
I	<i>ia^M</i>	<i>za^M</i>	<i>gua^M</i>	<i>za^L</i>
C	<i>ia^H</i>	<i>ia^H</i>	<i>ia^H</i>	<i>ia^H</i>

⁶Since 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, non-directional stem as the source of the directional MAIN stem (except in the third person, where the tone is less predictable).

(71) beat (TA):

<i>ma^M-bá^H-a^L</i>	PST-beat [^] C1s-1s	I beat it.
<i>ma^M-ia^H-bá^H-a^L</i> ,	PST-go [^] C1s-beat-1s,	I went and beat it.
<i>ma^M-ba^{LH}-a^H</i> ,	PST-beat [^] C1p-1p,	We beat it.
<i>ka^M-za^M-ba^{LH}-a^H</i> ,	HAB-go [^] P1p-beat-1p,	We go and beat it.
<i>ma^M-bá^H-i</i> ,	PST-beat [^] C2-2s	You will beat it.
<i>gua^M-bá^H-i</i> ,	go [^] I2-beat-2s,	You will go and beat it.
<i>ma^M-bá^H-i</i> ,	PST-beat [^] C3-3,	He beat it.
<i>ma^M-ia^H-ba^M-i</i> ,	PST-go [^] C3-beat-3,	He went and beat it.

Two additional directional prefixes *gia^M-* 'go[^]C3' and *ia^M-* 'come[^]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 ta^H*
 PST-go[^]C3-do work
 He went to work (still away).

(73) *ma^M-ia^M-hmé^M ta^H*
 PST-come[^]C3-do 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) *dí^H-ŋi^L ia^M-é^{PH}-i ʔó^H*
 DES-go[^]I1s go[^]I1s-eat-1s tortilla
 I really want to go and eat.

- (75) *mī^M-za:^{LM} za^M-hmé:^M ta^H*
 PRF-go[^]P1s go[^]P3-do 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-ziī^L-i,* PST-go[^]C1s-grind-1s, I went and ground.
ma^M-ia^H-ziī^H-a^H, PST-go[^]C1p-grind-1p, We went and ground.
ma^M-ia^H-ziī^M-i, PST-go[^]C2-grind-2s, You went and ground.
ma^M-bi^H-ziī^M, PST-come[^]C3-grind[^]3, He came and ground.

2.14. Pseudodirectional verbs. Telic⁷ verbs like 'happen', 'sour', 'heal', and 'learn', exhibit a unique use of the directional prefix *za^M-* (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) *ʔe^H za^M-li^M*
 what? go[^]P3-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^{?LM},* twitch[^]P3, It is twitching.
ka^M-he^{?LM}, HAB-twitch[^]P3, It twitches.
ʔi^L-hé^{?H}, INT-twitch[^]B, It will twitch.
ma^M-hé^{?H}, PST-twitch[^]C3, It twitched.

⁷Comrie (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) | <i>za^M-liá:^M,</i> | go [^] P3-heal, | It is healing. |
| | <i>ka^M-lá:^M,</i> | HAB-heal [^] P3, | It heals. |
| | <i>ʔi^L-liá:^M,</i> | INT-heal [^] I3, | It will heal. |
| | <i>ma^M-lá:^M,</i> | 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) | <i>ka^M-za^M-gué:^L,</i> | HAB-go [^] P3-crawl, | He crawls. |
| | <i>mi^M-za^M-gué:^L,</i> | PRF-go [^] P3-crawl, | He is crawling. |
| | <i>za^L-gué:^L,</i> | go [^] I3-crawl, | He will crawl. |
| | <i>ma^M-gué:^L,</i> | PST-crawl [^] C3, | He crawled. |
-
- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------------------|------------------|
| (81) | <i>ka^M-za^M-tá^{ʔL},</i> | HAB-go [^] P3-extend, | It extends. |
| | <i>mi^M-za^M-tá^{ʔL},</i> | PRF-go [^] P3-extend, | It is extending. |
| | <i>za^L-tá^{ʔL},</i> | go [^] I3-extend, | It will extend. |
| | <i>ma^M-tá^{ʔL},</i> | 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, presumeably because of semantic limitations.

- | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|--|
| (82) | <i>ma^M-hna:^{ʔL}</i> | <i>za:^{ʔL}</i> | <i>sia:^{ʔVH}-kui:^M</i> |
| | PST-slam [^] C3 | against | stalk-corn |
| | It slammed against the cornstalks. | | |
-
- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| (83) | <i>ma^M-ia^H-hna:^{ʔLH}-a^H</i> | <i>hnia^H</i> | <i>za:^{ʔL}</i> | <i>sia:^{ʔVH}-kui:^M</i> |
| | 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) $m\ddot{m}^M\text{-}ia^M\text{-}t\ddot{t}^L$ $za^L\text{-}t\ddot{a}^M$ $-u^M$
 PRF-come^{^13}-reach^{^3} go^{^13}-appoint 2s
 You are about to be appointed.

There are two other directional prefixes, $gia^M\text{-}$ and $ia^M\text{-}$, 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) $ka^M\text{-}gia^M\text{-}ti\ddot{a}^{\cdot VH}\text{-}u^M$, You obligate him.
 $\ddot{t}i^H\text{-}gia^M\text{-}ti\ddot{a}^{\cdot VH}\text{-}a^H$, I will obligate him.
 $ma^M\text{-}gia^M\text{-}ti\ddot{a}^{\cdot VH}\text{-}a^H$, We obligated him.
- (86) $ka^M\text{-}ia^M\text{-}zi^LH\text{-}i$, I place it [on something].
 $\ddot{t}i^H\text{-}ia^M\text{-}zi^{\cdot VH}\text{-}i$, You will place it [on something].
 $ka^L\text{-}ia^L\text{-}zi^{\cdot H}$, 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 (II) verbs and corresponding third-person animate intransitive (AI) verbs is often syllable-final *i* to mark the animate verb form.

- (87) $\ddot{t}i^L\text{-}k\ddot{f}^{\cdot L}\text{-}i$, He will fall over.
 $\ddot{t}i^L\text{-}k\ddot{f}^{\cdot L}$, It will fall over.

- (88) *ʔiL-giéʔH-i*, He will arrive home.
 ʔiL-giá:ʔH, 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) *maM-biʔH*, PST-move[^]IIC3, It moved.
 maM-biʔH-aL, PST-move[^]AIC1s, I moved.
 maM-biʔH-aH, PST-move[^]AIC1p, We moved.
 maM-biʔH-uM, PST-move[^]AIC2, You moved.
 maM-biʔH-i, PST-move[^]AIC3, 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) *kaLʔé:Li* *naVHkú:VH*, I stepped on a rock.
 kaLʔé:HaH *naVHkú:VH*, We stepped on a rock.
 kaLʔé:VHi *naVHkú:VH*, You stepped on a rock.
 kaLʔé:M *naVHkú:VH*, S/he stepped on a rock.

- (91) *kaLʔé:Hi* *naVHzü:M*, I stepped on a dog.
 kaLʔé:LHaH *naVHzü:M*, We stepped on a dog.
 kaLʔé:LHuM *naVHzü:M*, You stepped on a dog.
 kaLʔé:Hi *naVHzü:M*, 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) *maM-hliʔH* *ʔóH*
 PST-cover[^]TIC3 tortilla
 S/he covered the tortillas.

- (93) *ma^M-hlí^Hi* *sii^MiiⁱM*
 PST-cover[^]TAC3 baby
 S/he covered the baby.
- (94) *ma^M-hlí^L* *mí^{PM}* *íó^H*
 PST-cover[^]DIC3 cloth tortilla
 S/he covered the tortillas with a cloth.
- (95) *ma^M-hlí^Hi* *mí^{PM}* *sii^MiiⁱM*
 PST-cover[^]DAC3 cloth baby
 S/he covered the baby with a cloth.
- (96) *ma^M-kuó^M* *tiú^H*
 PST-give[^]TIC3 rifle
 He gave the rifle.
- (97) *ma^M-kuó^Hi* *gu^Mnú^{VH}*
 PST-give[^]DIC 3 animal
 He gave the animal.
- (98) *ma^M-kuó^L* *za^M* *tiú^H*
 PST-give[^]DIC3 person rifle
 He gave the rifle to the person.
- (99) *ma^M-kuó^Hi* *za^M* *gu^Mnú^{VH}*
 PST-give[^]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. <i>ma^Mlá^L</i> | | <i>ma^Mlá^H</i> He dropped it. |
| | It fell. <i>ma^Mkí^íL</i> | | <i>ma^Mkí^íH</i> He felled it. |
| | It closed. <i>ma^Mkú^Li</i> | | <i>ma^Mkú^Hi</i> He closed it. |
| | It remained. <i>ma^Mkue^íL</i> | | <i>ma^Mkue^íM</i> He left it. |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|---|
| (101) | TRANSITIVE INANIMATE | | DITRANSITIVE INANIMATE |
| | He read it. <i>ma^Mí^éM</i> | | <i>ma^Mí^éL</i> He taught them it. |
| | He gave it. <i>ma^Mkuó^M</i> | | <i>ma^Mkuó^L</i> He gave them it. |
| | He covered it. <i>ma^Mhlí^H</i> | | <i>ma^Mhlí^íM</i> 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. Furthermore, 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 *TN*, which in Lealao stands for transitive (animate) nonexpressed object;⁸ they are always followed by a corresponding *TA* verb. More is said of the function of these special verbs in chapter 3.

- (102) *ia^H-ha:^L* *hmi:^M* *ia^H-ha^Li* *mi^{VH}-liu^{PH}*
 go[^]C3-carry[^]*TN* father[^]₃ go[^]C3-carry[^]*TAC3* 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 *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) *hme:^H* ‘make’ *hme:^{?LH}* ‘repair’
 mi^H ‘sew’ *mi:^{LH}* ‘resew’
 ni:^H ‘sell’ *ni:^{?L}* ‘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

⁸This 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) *fɪ:H* 'whistle it' *fɪ:ʔH* 'whistle at him'
kuɿ:H 'flee' *kuɿ:ʔH* 'flee from him'
ka:H 'play it' *ka:ʔLH* '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 (TI), and transitive animate (TA).

- (105) fall (II) 3
 P *kɪʔL*
 I *kɪʔL*
 C *kɪʔL*

- (106) fall (AI) 1s 1p 2 3
 P *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL*
 I *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL*
 C *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL* *kɪʔL*

- (107) fall (TI) 1s 1p 2 3
 P *kɪʔL* *kɪʔLM* *kɪʔLM* *kɪʔLM*
 I *kɪʔL* *kɪʔVH* *kɪʔVH* *kɪʔH*
 C *kɪʔL* *kɪʔVH* *kɪʔH* *kɪʔH*

- (108) fall (TA) 1s 1p 2 3
 P *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLM* *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLM*
 I *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔH*
 C *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔLH* *kɪʔH*

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

- (109) *maM-kɪʔL* *ɲiúH*
 PST-fall^II C3 house
 The house fell.

- (110) *ma^M-kʰʔLi* *dia^H*
 PST-fall[^]AIC3 man
 The man fell.
- (111) *ma^M-kʰʔH* *ŋiú^H* *dia^H*
 PST-fall[^]TIC3 house man
 The man felled the house.
- (112) *ma^M-kʰʔHi* *na^{VHzi:M}* *dia^H*
 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 activating 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-báHi* *hniá^M* *mi^{VH}-liu^{ʔH}*
 PST-strike[^]TAC3 me DIM-child
 The child struck me.
- (115) *ma^M-li^M-ba^{LH}-a^L* *hniá^M*
 PST-ACT-strike[^]AIC-1 1s
 I was struck (by someone).

- (116) *ma^M-bá^H* *mi^{VH}-hɲiu:^M*
 PST-strike[^]TIC3 sphere-bean
 He threshed the beans.

- (117) *ma^M-lí^M-ba^H* *mi^{VH}-hɲiu:^M*
 PST-ACT-strike[^]IIC3 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 *lí^M-* normally entails a change of tone on the verb root, as comparison of (118) with (106) shows.

- (118) *ma^M-lí^M-kí[?]LHí* *diá^H*
 PST-ACT-fall[^]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 π verb will provide the basis of an Π 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 *lí^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 *lí^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-lá^L* *na^{VH}hí:^L*
 PST-slough[^]IIC3 dirt
 The dirt sloughed off.

- (120) *ma^M-lá^H* *na:^{LH}* *mí^M*
 PST-slough[^]TIC3 lard woman
 The woman sloughed off the lard.

- (121) *ma^M-lí^M-lá^H* *na^{VH}hí:^L*
 PST-ACT-slough[^]IIC3 dirt
 The dirt was sloughed off (by someone).

- (122) *na^M-la^H* *na^{VH}hi:L*
 STA-slough[^]II3 dirt
 The dirt is sloughed off (by someone).

- (123) *na^M-la^L* *na^{VH}hi:L*
 STA-slough[^]II3 dirt
 The dirt is sloughed off.

As many as three stative forms may be derived by the use of *na^M-* (stativizer) from the root illustrated in (105–06).

- (124) *na^M-ki^PL* *ɲiú^H*
 STA-fall[^]II3 house
 The house is fallen.

- (125) *na^M-ki^PVH* *ɲiú^H*
 STA-fall[^]II3 house
 The house is fallen (by someone).

- (126) *na^M-ki^PLHi* *mí^M*
 STA-fall[^]AI3 woman
 The woman is fallen (by someone).

The pseudodirectional use of the directional prefix *za^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^M-tiq̣:M-i,* HAB-appoint[^]P3-3, He appoints (someone).
 tiq̣:M-i, appoint[^]P3-3, He is appointing (someone).
 ʔiL-tiq̣:M-i, INT-appoint[^]I3-3, He will appoint (someone).
 ma^M-tiq̣:M-i, PST-appoint[^]C3-3, He appointed (someone).

- (128) *biH-tiq̣:LH-uM* *hniá^M* *dɛ:i^H*
 come[^]C2-appoint-2s 1s President
 You came and appointed me President.

- (129) *ka^M-za^M-tq̣:M-i,* HAB-go[^]P3-appoint-3, He gets appointed.
 mí^M-za^M-tq̣:M-i, PRF-go[^]P3-appoint-3, He is being appointed.
 za^L-tq̣:M-i, go[^]I3-appoint-3, He will be appointed.
 ma^M-tq̣:M-i, PST-appoint[^]C3-3, He was appointed.

Not all pseudodirectionals of this type can be shown so clearly to have had their transitivity reduced. The transitive root *nĩ:ʔ^H* ‘sell’, for example, corresponds to a pseudodirectional intransitive verb based on a completely different root which never occurs without the directional prefixes.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|----------------|
| (130) | <i>ka^M-za^M-ʔéʔ^M</i> , | HAB-go [^] P3-sell, | It sells. |
| | <i>mĩ^M-za^M-ʔéʔ^M</i> , | PRF-go [^] P3-sell, | It is selling. |
| | <i>za^L-ʔéʔ^M</i> , | go [^] I3-sell, | It will sell. |
| | <i>ma^M-ʔéʔ^M</i> , | PST-sell [^] c3, | It sold. |

Finally, there is a causative prefix *bi^M*- which combines with either stative or active stems, raising the degree of transitivity by one noun, adding an agent as subject and demoting 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 π verb.

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (131) | <i>ka^M-e:ʔ^{LM}</i> | <i>ʔó^H</i> | <i>dia^H</i> |
| | HAB-eat [^] TIP3 | tortilla | man |
| | The man eats tortillas. | | |
-
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (132) | <i>dia^{ʔL}</i> | <i>mĩ^M</i> | <i>za^Mnũ:^M</i> | <i>ba^H</i> | <i>ka^M-bi^M-é:ʔ^Mi</i> | <i>sĩĩMiũ:^{iM}</i> | <i>ŋiũ^H</i> |
| | PL | woman | foreigner | AFF | HAB-CAUSE-eat [^] DIP3 | baby | meat |
| | Foreign women feed their babies meat. | | | | | | |

Active transitive verbs may be derived from stative intransitives. In the case of the stative 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) | <i>gá:^Mi</i> | <i>dia^H</i> , | big [^] AIS3 | man, | The man is big. |
| | <i>gá:^Mi</i> | <i>ŋiũ^H</i> , | big [^] IIS3 | house, | The house is big. |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| (134) | <i>ma^M-bi^M-gá:^Hi</i> | <i>ŋiũ^H</i> | <i>dia^H</i> |
| | PST-CAUSE-big [^] TIC3 | house | man |
| | The man enlarged the house. | | |
-
- | | | | |
|-------|---|--|-----------------------|
| (135) | <i>ma^M-bi^M-gá:^Mi</i> | <i>mi^VHliũ^{ʔH}</i> | <i>mĩ^M</i> |
| | PST-CAUSE-big [^] TAC3 | child | woman |
| | The woman raised the child. | | |

On the other hand, although there are distinct π and τ_A 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}* He held it.
 TA: *ma^M.sa^{PL}mi* He held him.
 DI: *ma^M.bi^M.si^{PL}mi* 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 *diá^{PL}* (plural), which precedes the noun head, or which may substitute for the noun phrase itself.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) *ʔi^L-ŋi:ʔ^L diáʔ^L za^M*
 INT-gather^I3 PL person
 The people will gather.
- (138) *ʔi^L-hɨ́^M-i diáʔ^L*
 INT-die^I3-3 PL
 They will die.
- (139) *ka^L-fěʔ^H-i diáʔ^L 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 *daʔ^H*; in stative verbs it is *di^M*. It follows the aspectual prefixes introduced above and precedes derivational ones.

- (140) *ma^M-da^{PH}-hó:^{Hi} hniá^M*
 PST-PL-see[^]C3 1s
 They will look at me.

⁹The noun phrase is discussed in greater detail in §4.

- (141) *ma^M-daʔ^H-bi^Mzǎ:ʔ^H* *na^{VH}ŋi^{VH}*
 PST-PL-practice[^]c3 instrument
 They practiced their instrument(s).

- (142) *ʔi^Hhiǎ^M* *dī^M-kǝ:LM-i* *za^M*
 very PL-mad[^]s3-3 person
 The people are very mad.

When both the plural prefix and the plural word *diǎ^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.

- (143) *ka^L-daʔ^H-hó:Hi* *diǎ^L*
 PST-PL-see[^]TAC3 PL
 They saw them.

- (144) *diǎ^L* *za^M* *ni^M* *ka^L-daʔ^H-hó:Hi* *niu^M*
 PL person PAUSE PST-PL-see[^]TAC3 2s
 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 *diǎ^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.

- (145) *ʔi^L-hiǎ^M-i* *diǎ^L*
 INT-die[^]I3-3 PL
 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.

- (146) *ʔi^Hhiǎ^M* *ŋi:Ḑ* *na^L-hi:Ḑ* *na^{VH}vǝ:M*
 very high STA-SG·hang·113 vine
 The vine (bridge) is very high.

- (147) *na^L-ʔi:ʋ^H* *mi^{ʋ^Hvi^{ʔM}}*
 STA-PL ^hang ^Π3 peach
 There are lots of peaches hanging (on the tree).

- (148) *ma^M-vi:ʔ^Li* *fi^{ʋ^H}* *ni^M*
 PST-PL ^ascend ^AIC3 road there
 They ascended that road.

- (149) *ma^M-sa:ʔi* *fi^{ʋ^H}* *ni^M*
 PST-SG ^ascend ^AIC3 road there
 He ascended that road.

- (150) *ma^M-ziʔ^Li* *kə:ʔ^M*
 PST-SG ^remove ^TIC1s one
 I removed one.

- (151) *ma^M-vó:ʔ^Li* *tʃ^L*
 PST-PL ^remove ^TIC1s 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) *ʔi^L-kʃ:ʔ^H* *ʔi^L-bé:ʔ^H-a^H*
 INT-suffer ^AII1p INT-slip ^AII1p-1p
 We will suffer a great deal.

- (153) *ʔi^Hhiáʔ^M* *dʔi^M-piʔ^L* *dʔi^M-liúʔ^L-i*
 very PL-little ^AIS3 PL-little ^AIS3-3
 They are all very small.

- (154) *ma^M-ká:ʔ^L* *ma^M-giú:ʔ^L-u^M*
 PST-mix ^TIC2 PST-wrap ^TIC2-2s
 You mixed it thoroughly.

2.20. Negative words. The negative verb prefix *ʔa^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 *ʔa^L-* is the negative word *ʔa^Lʔe^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 $\text{?a}^L\text{?e}^M$ negates a sentence, the simplest analysis treating it as an intransitive predicate.

- (155) P S[P S]
 $\text{?a}^L\text{?e}^M$ $\text{ma?}^L\text{-li?}^Li$
 NEG TRM-remember^1s
 I no longer remember.

- (156) RESULT P S[P S T]
 du?^M $\text{?a}^L\text{?e}^M$ $\text{ma?}^L\text{?i}^Li$ $\text{za}^M\text{kü}^M$
 SO NEG TRM-go^11s later
 So I will no longer go later on.

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.

- (157) du?^M $\text{?a}^L\text{-?i}^L\text{-ku?}^Mi$ mi^L diá?^L
 SO NEG-INT-eat^C3 REFL^3p PL
 ... so that he would not eat them.

- (158) si?^M nü $\text{?a}^L\text{-?i}^L\text{-gá?}^iM$
 if PAUSE NEG-INT-big^3
 If he does not get big...

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

- (159) P S; P
 $\text{?a}^L\text{?i}^M$ zi^M nü^M , zi^Mnu^M ba^H nü^M
 NEG-that dog PAUSE coyote AFF PAUSE
 That is not a dog; it is a coyote.

- (160) P S[H PO]; P[H PO MODAL]
 ʔa^L-hə^M ʔi^M kɛ^L ʔi^M kiɰ^{ʔH}u^M ba^H ni^M
 NEG-that REL mine REL Of^{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]
 diá^{ʔL} ʔi^M ʔa^L-da^{ʔH}-nu^M Ø zá^H
 PL REL NEG-PL-hear^{P3} straight
 those who do not obey

3

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.¹ 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

¹Many 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.

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

- (163) P S
ma^M-hláHí *ŋiʔVH*
PST-criy' AIC3 baby
The baby cried.

(164) MA P S
ʔi^Hhiá²ʔ^M *gáːMi* *na^{VH}-ma^M*
 very big^IIS3 CLS-tree
 The tree is very big.

- 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.

(166) MA[MA P P S
 ʔiHhiáʔ^M gá:Mi naL-li^{VH} na^{VH}-ma^M
 very big STA-be CLS-tree
 The tree is very big.

(167) P S
hâ:VH-aH nîM ʔiMnüLM
 cousin^1p PAUSE s/he
 S/he is our cousin.

The modal adverb *ba^H* (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.

A BE verb may, with its subject nominal, also occur as a sentential predicate 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.

- 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 *h_a^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, *h_a^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.

- (177) P S O
ia^H.ʔi:^H *na^{VH}.German* *hə^M* *ta:^M* *kia:^{LH}-a^{PVH}*
 go[^]c3-rob[^]ti3 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

- (196) O[MA P S] P
 ʔiHhiáʔM *zaM-míʔL* *hmíʔH* *maM-hó:H-i*
 very go^P3-thick^I13 rain PST-see^C1s-1s
 I saw that the rain was really getting heavy.

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 *ʔiM* as complementizer.

- (197) P O[COMP P[P S] S]
 taMʔiM *ʔiM* *ʔé:iʔM* *baH* *zaM* *baH* *həM*
 think^P3 that truly AFF person AFF that
 S/he is thinking that that one is a real person.

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.

- (198) PREP [P O[P S]]
 hiH- *maM-hó:H* *heVHi* *siú:VH*
 where PST-see^C3 present^s3 deer
 ... where he saw a deer had been.

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.⁵ 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.

⁵As in many other languages, Chinantec spatial and temporal locatives frequently occur at the beginning of sentences to mark transitions between sections of narrative. Since such matters are beyond the scope of this study, this type of fronting is informally considered to be the same as topicalization of nominal material.

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 *díʔ^{VH}* 'very', for example, may occur only before the word it modifies, whereas *faʔLie:i^{VH}* 'extremely' may occur before or after.

- (199) MA P S
díʔ^{VH} *li:ʔ^H* *mi^{VH}li^{VH}*
 very pretty CLS-flower
 The flower is very pretty.

- (200) MA[M H] P
faʔLie:i^{VH} *díʔ^{VH}* *li:ʔ^H*
 extremely very pretty
 It is extremely pretty.

- (201) P MA S
ʔi:M *faʔLie:i^{VH}* *zi^M*
 hang[^]_{P3} extremely wind
 The wind is really blowing.

The adverb *bí:L* 'very' is another one which may occur before or after the word it modifies.

- (202) NEG P MA O
ʔaLʔe^M *ma^M.daʔ^H.kuʔ^M* *bí:L* *lá^H*
 NEG PST-PL-eat[^]_{C3} very corn
 They did not eat a great deal of roasting ears.

- (203) NEG MA P S
ʔaLʔe^M *bí:L* *sia^M* *ta^H*
 NEG very exist[^]₃ work
 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
hmi:i^{PM} *ziú^L* *díʔ^{VH}* *hla^H* *ʔa:^H* *diáʔ^L* *kue^Mʔu^{LM}*
 truly good very wide mouth[^]₃ PL monkey
 The monkeys' mouths are really, really wide.

Stative sentences may also occur as manner constituents and may, themselves, include a manner adverbial. 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 I P S
ʔiHhiáʔM li:ʔH vaH ha:M laM
 very pretty^s3 soft^s3 cotton this
 This cotton is very gratifyingly soft.
- (206) MA [MA P S] P
kə:M ʔaL-tia:ʔH ziíM baH ʔiH-ʔaLM-aH
 one NEG-put^IIS3 wind AFF INT-pass^AII1p-1p
 We will pass without making any noise.
- (207) P MA
kəM-a:L-i naM-héH
 HAB-sleep^P1s-1s STA-mouth^up^3
 I sleep on my back.
- (208) P MA
ʔiH-ɥ:LH-i ziúL
 INT-wash^IIS-1s good^3i
 I will wash it well.

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

- (209) MA[Q H I P
 kə: *kuə:i^{VH}nə^H* *ka^L-liu^{VH}i*
 one account PST-speak[^]TIC_{2s}
 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^M-ŋi:LH-a^H *mi^Mŋiu:^H*
PST-go ^ AIC1s-1 s earlier
I went earlier.

- (211) P L
ma^M-ŋi^{VH} hi^Hnu^M kiá^{PH}
 PST-go[^]AIC3 ranch of³
 He went to his ranch.
- (212) S P L T
ʔe^H ma^M-li^L gua^{PM} ni^M mi^Mŋiu^H
 what? PST-happen[^]C3 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
hə^Mnŋ^L mi^M-ʔó^ʔ ia^M za^{ʔL} ia^{PM}
 now PRF-shine[^]3 sun against wall
 The sunshine is striking the wall now.
- (214) TQ H M J P O
kiú^M hm^{ŋVH} ba^H ni^{ʔVH} ʔi^H-hme^{LHi} ta^H
 four day AFF only INT-do[^]11s work
 I will only work for four days.
- (215) TP S J P
mi^M-ʔi^L-hme^L kə^Mgia^M ka^L-ʔi^H-a^L
 PRF-INT-do[^]13 week PST-shoot[^]C1s-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
si^H ma^M-ia^H-ká^{VHi} gua^{PM}
 INTERR PST-go[^]C2-play church
 Did you go play in the plaza?
- (217) L P S
la^M li^L bi^{PM} niú^{PH} za^M-ŋa^M
 here very limit sound[^]11s3 go[^]P3-explode
 The explosions are heard all the way here.
- (218) L P S
na^Mká^{iL} zia^H escuela ni^M ka^L-na^L-má^{ʔLi} za^M
 throughout patio school PAUSE PST-STA-amass[^]C3 person

- (223) accompany 1s 1p 2 3
kiā:ʔLH kiā:ʔH kiā:ʔVH kē:ʔVH

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 activating prefix (§2.12) with intentive or optative force.

- (224) P S O
kiā:ʔLH-aH hniāM ʔiM zii:M
 with[^]TAS1s 1s REL hot[^]s3
 I have a fever.

- (225) P O S
kē:ʔVH-i niuM fi:LM-aH
 with[^]s3-3 you owner[^]1p-1p
 The Lord is with you.

- (226) P O S
ʔiL-kē:ʔVH-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-l̥iM-kē:ʔVH-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 O]
ʔi:L kiā:ʔLH-aH niuM
 go[^]AII1s with[^]s1s-1s you
 I will go with you.

- (229) P ASSOC[P O]
gua:LMi kiā:ʔVH-uM ó:ʔH-uM
 go[^]AII2s with[^]s2s-2s companion[^]2s-2s
 You will go with your companion.

- (230) P ASSOC[P O]
ma^M-ŋi:VH *ké:PVH-i* *hniá^M*
 PST-go[^]C3 with[^]s3-3 1s
 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 INSTR[P O]
ma^M-báH-aL *ké:PVH-i* *na^{VH}ma^M*
 PST-beat[^]TAC1s-1s with[^]s3-3 stick
 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 P ASSOC[P O]
piHhiá^{PM} *ná:L-i* *kiá:PLH-aH* *diá^{PL}* *za^M*
 very like[^]TIS1s with-s1s-1s PL person
 I really get along well with people.

- (233) MA P ASSOC[P O]
piHhiá^{PM} *niá:L* *ké:PVH-i* *diá^{PL}* *za^M*
 very like[^]TIS3 with-s3-3 PL person
 S/he really gets along well with people.

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 P INSTR[P O]
mesa *ní^M* *naL-liVH* *ké:PVH-i* *na^{VH}ŋiVH*
 table PAUSE STA-be[^]II3 with[^]s3-3 metal
 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

(238) GROUND RESULT
ma^M.hi^{VH}-a^H *ʔi^Mhə^M* *ni^M* *ma^M.li^M.kəⁱ.mi*
 PST-scold[^]TAC1s-1s therefore PAUSE PST-ACT-mad[^]AI3
 I scolded him, therefore he got mad.

3.9. Cause. A sentence naming the cause of a state or activity is introduced by *kia:PVH* 'because' and follows the 'ground' sentence which names the consequent situation.

- (239) GROUND CAUSE
fĩ:PLH zĩ^H kia:PVH ʔi^M kaL-ká:M ɲiu^H
 sad heart³ because REL PST-burn¹IC3 house³
 S/he is sad because his/her house burned down.

The cause sentence normally includes the relative word *ʔi^M* as complementizer, with certain exceptions. If another adverb precedes the embedded verb, for example, *ʔi^M* is not required.

- (240) GROUND CAUSE
hə^Mnĩ^L ɲi:^L kia:PVH lia^Mhə^M kaL-sĩ:^{PL} hniá^M
 now go¹IS because like¹so PST-tell¹C3 I
 I am going today because that's how he told me.

The complementizer does occur when the negative prefix *ʔaL-* introduces the cause sentence, but it does not occur with the negative word *ʔaLʔe^M*.

- (241) GROUND CAUSE
gá:^Mi ta^H kia:PVH ʔi^M ʔaL-sia^M ku:^H
 big¹s3 work because REL NEG-exists money
 It is very difficult because there is a lack of money.

- (242) GROUND CAUSE
fĩ:PLH zĩ^L-i kia:PVH ʔaLʔe^M na^Mfá^{PL}i hɲi:^{LH}-a^L
 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 CAUSE
kaL-li^L-za:PLH kia:PVH ʔi^M kaL-da^{PH}-fě^{PH}-i
 PST-ACT-sick¹s3 because REL PST-PL-scare¹C3-3
 He got sick because they scared him.

- (244) GROUND CAUSE
ʔiHhiáʔM *ziúL* *hmĩ:M* *niM* *kia:ʔVH* *ʔiM* *bɪ:L* *hiM*
 very good^s3 water PAUSE because REL very clear^s3
 The water is very good because it is so clear.

- (245) GROUND CAUSE
ʔaLʔeM *ná:Lɪ* *ʔiM* *niM* *kia:ʔVH* *ʔiM* *miM-naM-kiú:VH*
 NEG want^s1s REL that because REL PRF-STA-dry^3
 I do not want that one because it is dry.

- (246) GROUND CAUSE
ʔaL-ʔiM *ká:ʔMi* *ʔiM* *niM* *kia:ʔVH* *ʔiL-ié:Lɪ*
 NEG-REL play^P2 REL that because INT-ruin^I3
 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 *ʔiMhəM* 'therefore' introducing it.

- (247) CAUSE
kia:ʔVH *ʔiM* *dĩM-niá:L* *ʔiL-daʔH-é:ʔH*
 because REL PL-want^3 INT-PL-eat^I3

 RESULT
ʔiMhəM *niM* *kaM-daʔH-hĩ:M* *niM*
 therefore PAUSE HAB-PL-prepare^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 *liuMuHsɪiM* or simply *sɪiM* 'if'. It may precede or follow the apodosis, but when the apodosis follows, it is usually introduced by *miHhəM* 'then', from the preposition *miH-* 'when' and the deictic pronoun *həM* 'that'.

- (248) APODOSIS PROTASIS
həLmiHʔe:M *ni:L* *liuMuHsɪiM* *siaM* *heH* *kéL*
 tomorrow go^I1s if exist^I1s3 time of^1s
 I will go tomorrow if I have time.

- (249) PROTASIS APODOSIS
sɪiM *ʔiL-gá:Mɪ* *miHhəM* *ʔiL-li:L* *kaMliuʔH* *ku:H*
 if INT-big^AIS3 then INT-regain^I1s3 little money
 If he grows up then some money will be recuperated.

The contrary-to-fact sentence is formed by adding the modal adverb ?u^H (irrealis) and the manner adverb phrase $\text{lia}^M\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ 'like that' at the end of the apodosis of a condition.

(250) PROTASIS

$\text{liu}^M\text{u}^H\text{sii}^M$ $\text{ma}^M\text{-}\eta\text{i}^M\text{:VH-}\text{u}^M$
if PST-go[^]C2-2s

APODOSIS

$\text{mi}^H\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ $\text{?a}^L\text{?e}^M$ $\text{ma}^M\text{-}\eta\text{i}^M\text{:LH-}\text{a}^H$?u^H $\text{lia}^M\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$
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 $\text{?u}^H \text{k}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ 'if only'.

(251) PROTASIS

$\text{?a}^L\text{?e}^M$ $\text{ma-}\eta\text{i}^M\text{:LH-}\text{i}^H$ $\text{?u}^H \text{k}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ $\text{ma}^M\text{-}\eta\text{i}^M\text{:VH-}\text{u}^M$
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) $\text{?u}^H \text{k}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ PROTASIS $\text{mi}^H\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ APODOSIS $\text{?u}^H \text{lia}^M\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$
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 $\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ meaning 'then' or 'then at last'.

(253) T

$\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^L\text{mi}^H\text{?e}^M$ P S; T P
 $\text{?i}^L\text{-li}^M$ baile; $\text{mi}^H\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^M$ $\text{?i}^H\text{-zia}^V\text{h}\hat{\text{a}}^H$
tomorrow INT-be[^]I3 dance then INT-dance[^]I1p
Tomorrow the dance will take place; then we will dance.

- (254) T P; T P S
nū:ʔL h̥j:ʔLMaL ɲi:ʔLHaL; h̥aM giʔVH maM-ieMi faʔLliuL
 three times^{1s} go^{C1s} then more PST-end^{C3} word
 I went three times; finally the matter was settled.

The more common structure for temporal sequence is a dependent sentence followed by an independent sentence introduced with *mi^Hh̥a^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 *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 *liaʔMk̥a:ʔM* or *liaʔM* ‘when’ is used, as in (255–56). If the content is viewed as something yet future with respect to the speech act, *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) T, T P
liaʔMk̥a:ʔM maM-liM-gui:ʔL, mi^H- h̥aM maM-ú:ʔL-i
 when PST-ACT-COOL^{s3} when then PST-drink^{C1S-1s}
 When it cooled, then I drank it.

- (256) T,
liaʔM ʔiL-liM hmi^{VH}feʔM,
 when INT-happen^{I3} fiesta
- T P S
mi^H- h̥aM ʔiL-ɲi:ʔL liaʔMhiMi diáʔL zaM
 when then INT-gather^{I3} all³ PL person
 Whenever the fiesta occurs, then everyone gathers.

- (257) T, T P
mi^H- maM-ra:M niM, mi^H- h̥aM ʔiL-ʔa:H
 when PST-mature^{C3} PAUSE then that INT-harvest^{I3}
 When it has matured, then it will be harvested.

- (258) T, T P
mi^H- miM-ʔiL-ka:M, mi^H- h̥aM ʔiL-ié:Li
 when PRF-INT-burn^{I3} then that INT-ruin^{I3}
 When it will have burned, it will be ruined.

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*^{PM} *hə*^M *gi*^{PVH} 'when yet', sometimes accompanied by the temporal adverb *za*^{Mhél} 'first'; and the second sentence requires no temporal marker.

- To express the fact that two events are concurrent with each other, there are a couple of adverb phrases, $kə^{M}lia^{?M}$ ‘while’ and $lia^{?M}kə^{?M}$ ‘when’, which may mark either the first or second of two sentences. With the first of these phrases, $ha^{M}ba^{H}$ ‘right then’ introduces the second sentence.

- (261) P: T P
ŋi^{2M} la^{2M} lia^{2M}ka².?^{2M} ia^M.ka.Li
 sit[^]! here when go[^]us-play
 Sit here while I go play.

(262) P S T
he^{VHI} *ba^H* *fa:iLM* *lia?M.kə:pM* *kaL-ljL-za:LH-i*
present^s3 AFF John when PST-ACT-sick^S1S-1s
John was here when I got sick.

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.

- (267) MA P; P O
bí:L *báL-i* *ka^M-kə:L* *líá: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 P; P O
ʔiHhiáʔM na^M-ba^M-i ka^L-ʔiʔ^H hmi:^M
 very STA-fill^{AI3-3} 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 P] P O T
hiHhiáʔM véʔMi ka^L-hme:^L-i ta^H hq^Mziá:^M
 very strong^{II3} PST-do^{TIC1s-1s} 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 *liaʔM* 'as, like' which forms a phrase with either the conditional word *sii^M* or one of the deictic words *la^M*, *ni^M*, *ha^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 H] P]
hq^M ba^H liaʔM sii^M hme:^Li
 that AFF like if do^{P1s}
- MA[Q H2] P S[P S]
hq^M ba^H liaʔM ni^M ga^Mhme:^L ʔiH-hme:^Mi niu^M
 that AFF like that need³ 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.

- (271) O[MA P] P
liaʔ^M hã^M ka^M-daʔ^H-hme:^L ka^M-ho:^{LMi}
 like that HAB-PL-do[^]P3 HAB-see[^]P1s
 I see (repeatedly) how they do it.

- (272) NEG P S[MA P]
ʔaLʔe^M ziú^L liaʔ^M siü^M ka^M-daʔ^H-hme:^L
 NEG good like if HAB-PL-do[^]P3
 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.

- (273) MA[MA P S] P
liaʔ^M siü^M hme:^L iü.^{Mi} ba^H daʔ^H-hme:^L
 like if do[^]P3 baby AFF PL-do[^]P3
 They are doing like babies do.

- (274) NEG P MA[MA S] S
ʔaLʔe^M li^Li liaʔ^M siü^M fa:^H maʔ^M ni^M
 NEG flavor[^]3 like if trout mojarra PAUSE
 Mojarra does not taste like trout does.

- (275) P O MA O
ka^M-daʔ^H-hme:^{ʔL} ta^H liaʔ^M siü^M niu:^L mi:^{VH} mi^{VH}-hi^{ʔM}
 HAB-PL-use[^]P3 work like if soap ball CLA-bean
 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.

- (276) O[P S] O[COMPARE S] P
hme:^{Mi} gi^{ʔVH} fa:^H liaʔ^M siü^M maʔ^M ni^M ka^M-hí:^{Li}
 tasty[^]3 more trout like if mojarra PAUSE HAB-feel[^]1s
 I feel that trout is tastier than mojarra.

- (277) O P S
həi^M fa.^H ni^M ba^H ka^M-li^M gi^{PVH} zi^{Li}
 one trout PAUSE AFF HAB-be[^]₃ more heart[^]_{1s}
- O[COMPARE H M]
lia^{PM} sii^M zie:^{PLi} gi^{PVH} ʔi^M tié:^{PVHi} hmi:^M
 like if other more REL in[^]₃ 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[O P X] P X
ni:^{PVH} na^{VHme:M} ba^H ké:^{PVHi} ma^M-bi^M-ŋá:^{PVHaH}
 only leaf AFF with[^]₃ PST-CAUS-fear[^]_{C1s}
 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) P T P
ŋe^{PLMaL} ba^H si^{PM} hunio
 go[^]_{11s} AFF month June
 I will go during June.
- T P
si^{PM} hunio ba^H ŋe^{PLMaL}
 month June AFF go[^]_{11s}
 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) <i>hi^M</i>	fire, book	<i>ia^{PM}</i>	tiger
<i>hmi:^M</i>	water	<i>ziŋ:^H</i>	vapor
<i>kə^H</i>	dough	<i>hmá:^L</i>	root
<i>fī^{VH}</i>	road	<i>za:^{LH}</i>	corncrib
<i>me:^H</i>	flea	<i>tə:^H</i>	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
<i>mī^{VH}</i>	sphere	<i>mī:^{VH}</i>	sphere
<i>na^{VH}</i>	piece	<i>na:^{VH}</i>	piece
<i>lá^{PH}</i>	woven	<i>lá:^{PH}</i>	ends of woven article
<i>ha^{VH}</i>	piece	<i>ha:^{VH}</i>	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 *mī^{VH}* has a positive affective connotation while the classifier *na^{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) <i>mī^{VH}-vī^{PM}</i>	peach
<i>mī^{VH}-hmī^{PH}</i>	nice rain
<i>na^{VH}-hmī^{PH}</i>	dumb rain
<i>na^{VH}-ma^M</i>	piece of tree (a stick)
<i>na^{VH}-zī:^M</i>	dumb dog
<i>lá^{PH}-ŋī^{PH}</i>	roof (thatched)
<i>lá^{PH}-mī^{PM}</i>	basket
<i>kuī:^M</i>	ear of corn
<i>mī^{VH}-kuī:^M</i>	kernel(s) of corn
<i>hŋiu:^M</i>	bean plant(s)
<i>mī^{VH}-hŋiu:^M</i>	beans
<i>ha^{VH}-kī:^L</i>	pitch pine
<i>ha^{VH}-hlī^{PH}</i>	wooden stool

Sometimes there is not a clear-cut reason for the choice of a classifier as with *na^{VH}kū:^{VH}* 'rock' or *na^{VH}ŋi^{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) <i>mī:^{VH} hmī^{PH}</i>	tomato
<i>mī:^{VH} tá^{PH}</i>	orange
<i>ná:^{VH} mé:^H</i>	leaf-cutter ants
<i>mī:^{VH} zia^{PM}</i>	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 perturbation 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) *siŋiːVH láːVH* deer + beard → goat
ŋiúːH ŋiːVH house + iron → jail
zaːM ʔeːL person + read → teacher
zaːM ʔiːM person + steal → thief
tɪːLM iaːPM expert + wall → mason
kiuːPLH ŋiːVH hit + iron → blacksmith
faːPL hɪːVHi word + die → death
faːPL hoːL 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) *guaːM tiːːH* hand³ + foot³ → his tools/assistants
faːH viːPM trout + minnow → fish in general
maːM viːːM tree + vine → forest growth
haːVH naːVH piece + piece → bits and pieces
faːPLiːHtiːaːVH faːPLiːHʔiːVH, 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 deictic. 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
aːMi *laːL* *tiéːLi* *kiŋiːH* *ʔiM-niːLMi*
 three mule white of^{1s} REL-that
 those three white mules of mine

- (287) Q H M PO D
niːM *miːPM* *tiaːM* *kéːL* *ʔiM-niːM*
 three basket white of^{1s} 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) *tɕ^H hɿ^M*, two year, two years
 giə^L-tɕ^H hɿ^M, ten-two year, twelve years
 na^L-kə^L:Li hɿ^M, 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) Q H PO
 ma^M-hɿ^MMi *hə^MMi* *nɿ:^{PH}* *kɛ^HHi*
 PST-die[^]c3 one chicken of[^]3
 One of his chickens died.

- (290) Q PO
 ka^L-ku^{PM} *kə^M* *kiɿ^{PH}u^M*
 PST-eat[^]c3 one of[^]2s
 He ate one of yours.

- (291) Q PO D
 kə^M *kɛ^L* *la^M* *ba^H* *sia^M*
 one of[^]1s this AFF exist[^]3
 This is the only one I have.

- (292) T P S[Q M[COMP P]
 mɿ^Mŋu:^H *li^L-hnia:^L* *kə^M* *ɿi^M* *ka^L-iɛ:^Li*
 earlier ACT[^]c-appear[^]3 one that 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) INANIMATE ANIMATE
 1 *kə^M* *hə^MMi*
 2 *tɕ^L* *á:^Li*
 3 *nɿ^M* *a:^Mi*
 4 *kiɿ^M* *kiɿ^MMi*
 5 *ŋiá^M* *ŋɛ^MMi*
 6 *hŋiú:^M* *hŋiú:^Mi*

7	giá:L	gé:Li
8	hɲiáL	hɲé:Li
9	ɲiúL	ɲiúL
10	giáL	géLi

(294) *sia^M tu:ʔ^L ʔi^{VH} hi^H na^M-ie-*Li**
 exist³s two place where STA-ruin³s
 There are two places where it is ruined.

(295) T P
ká:ʔM ká:ʔM ba^H za:LM
 one one AFF go[^]P3
 Once in a while he goes.

(296) 11 *giaLkia:M*
12 *giaLtiũM*
13 *giaLniũM*
14 *giaLkiũM*
15 *giaLŋiãM*
16 *giaLhŋiũ:M*
17 *giaLgiã:M*
18 *giaLhŋiãM*
19 *giaLŋiũM*

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 *láː^M* 'twenty', such as *tuːláː^M* 'forty' (two twenties) and *ɲiaːláː^M* 'hundred' (five twenties). The numeral 'fifty', *tuːnaːgiáː^M* (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, *giaLgiá^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^{LM}* 'on top of' to mark addition, as in *giaLgiá^M zi^{LM} ηiá^M* 'thirty-five' (twenty and ten plus five) or *tɥLnaLgiá^M zi^{LM} giaLgiá^M zi^{LM} ηiá^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 *kə:^M ηiaLlá:^M zi^{LM} tɥLnaLgiá^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) *kə:^M kilo zi^{LM} tɥLzá:^{PH} fi:^{PH} ηi^H*
 one kilo add³ 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 nonthird-person nominal forms which may occupy any position a noun phrase might occupy.

- (298)
- | | FIRST PERSON | SECOND PERSON |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 2 | <i>á:^La^H</i> | <i>á:^La^{PM}</i> |
| 3 | <i>a:^LMa^H</i> | <i>a:^Ma^{PM}</i> |
| 4 | <i>kiɥ^Ma^H</i> | <i>kiɥ^Ma^{PM}</i> |
| 5 | <i>ηá^Ma^H</i> | <i>ηá^Ma^{PM}</i> |
- (299) ? S[Q H I P
sii^H a:^Ma^{PM} niá:^La^{PM} ba^H mi^M-lɥ^M-a^{PM}
 ? three^{2p} you^{2p} AFF PRF-know^{12-2p}
 Do only three of you know how?

- (300) P S ASSOC[P O I
siə^{LM}a^H kiɥ^Ma^H kiə:^{PH}a^H dɛ:^{iH}
 exist^{1p} four^{1p} with^{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) *kə:M tɕ^L mɨ:^{VH}* one or two spheres
kiɕ^M ŋiá^M hŋiú:^M several (four five six)
giá^Lŋiá^M giá:^M fifteen or twenty
kə:M tɕ^L ŋia^Llá:^M one or two hundred

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

- (302) *ka^Mliu^{PH} ku:^H* a little money
ka^Mha:^{VH} half a sheet
ka^Mna:^{VH} half (day, year)
tɕ^Lzá:^{PH} half (kilo, multiple units)
lia^{PL}hi^M all, every (inanimate)
na^Mkə:^{Li} entire (day, year)
lia^{PM}kə:^M each (inanimate)
ŋiú:^M many (inanimate)
fɨ:^{iL} many (animate)
tɕ:^Hna^Lzi^{LH} some (inanimate)

- (303) H Po M
lia^{PL}hi^Ma^{PM} niá:^{La}PM za^MPe^L
all^2p 2p teacher
all of you teachers

- (304) Q H
tɕ:^Hna^Lzi^{LH}a^{PH} hnia^{VH}a^P
some^1x 1x
some of us

- (305) TQ H J TQ H J P O
lia^{PM}kə:^M hmi:^{VH} lia^{PM}kə:^M hmi:^{VH} ka^M.hme:^{Li} ta^H
each day each day HAB-do^P1s work
I work each and every day.

- (306) TQ H MOD J P
na^Mkə:^{Li} vo:^L ba^H ka^L.guⁱ:^{Mi}
entire night AFF PST-sleep^c3
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) $k\dot{a}^M$ $\eta i\acute{u}^H$ one house
 $k\dot{a}^M$ $f\ddot{i}:\dot{P}LH$ $\eta i\acute{u}^H$ one piece of meat
 $ka^M li\acute{u}^H$ $\eta i\acute{u}^H$ a little meat
 $ka^M li\acute{u}^H$ $hm\ddot{i}^M$ a little water
 $k\dot{a}^M$ zu^H $hm\ddot{i}^M$ a pitcher of water
 $k\dot{a}^M$ $me:\dot{P}VH$ $me^{\dot{P}VH}hi^M$ a sheet of paper

Measure words include $f\ddot{i}:\dot{P}LH$ 'piece' (used for bananas, meat, and salt), $\dot{P}i^M$ '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) $n\ddot{i}^M$ $li\acute{a}^VH$ mi^VHkui^M , three loads of corn
 $n\ddot{i}^M$ ηi^VH mi^VHkui^M , three pounds of corn
 $n\ddot{i}^M$ $mi^VHkue^{\dot{P}H}$ mi^VHkui^M , three bowls of corn
 $k\dot{a}^M$ $gui^{\dot{P}M}$ mi^VHkui^M 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[Q H] H M[COMP P D]
 $k\dot{a}^M$ hma^H $mi^{\dot{P}M}$ $\dot{P}i^M$ $si\acute{e}^{\dot{P}VHi}$ $n\ddot{i}^M$
 one piece cloth REL hold^{s2s} that
 a piece of the material you are holding there

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 O[H PO[Q H]]
 $ma-h\acute{o}^Ha^L$ $si\acute{a}^VH$ $di\acute{a}^{\dot{P}L}$ $s\ddot{i}^Mi\acute{u}^Mi$
 PST-see^{C1s} mother³ PL baby
 I saw the babies' mother(s)

- (311) P O[H PO2]
ma-hó:Ha^L *zi:VHi* *niu^M*
 PST-see[^]C1s dog[^]2s you
 I saw YOUR dog

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:LMa^H our hands
gua:LMi your hand(s)
gua:LMa^{PM} your (pl) hands
gua:M his hand(s)
gua:M diá^{PL} their hands
- (313) *ó:PHa^L* my companion(s)
ó:PHa^H our companion(s)
ó:PHu^M your companion(s)
ó:PHa^{PM} your (pl) companion(s)
ó:PHi his companion(s)
ó:PHi diá^{PL} their companion(s)

An alienable noun, on the other hand, is not inflected for person-of-possessor, 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-possessor.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| (314) ANIMATE | INANIMATE | PERSON-OF-POSSESSOR |
| <i>kiá:H</i> | <i>kéLi</i> | of first-person singular |
| <i>kiá:LHa^H</i> | <i>kiá:LHa^H</i> | of first-person inclusive |
| <i>kiá:LHa^{PH}</i> | <i>kiá:LHa^{PH}</i> | of first-person exclusive |
| <i>kiú^{PHu^M}</i> | <i>kiú^{PHu^M}</i> | of second-person singular |
| <i>kiá:H^{PM}</i> | <i>kiá:H^{PM}</i> | of second-person plural |
| <i>kéHi</i> | <i>kiá^{PH}</i> | of third-person singular |
| <i>kéHi diá^{PL}</i> | <i>kiá^{PH} diá^{PL}</i> | 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}* *lia^{PL}hi^{Mi}* *diá^{PL}* *za^M*
 of[^]3 all PL people
 of/for all the people

- (316) *kiá:H_a?^M niá:L_a?^M ?i^M ma^M-ku^Mla:?^La?^M*
 of[^]2p 2p REL PST-be[^]late[^]C2p
 of/for you who were late

- (317) *kiá:LH_aH vo:L^Ma^H*
 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?e^M sia^M mi^{VH}-kui:^M ké^L
 NEG exist[^]s3 CLS-corn of[^]1s
 I don't have any corn.

- (319) NEG P S[H PO]
?aL?e^M siɛ^Mi la:L^H 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) *mi^{LM} kiá?^{PH} mé:^{VH}* medicine for leaf-cutter ants
mi^{LM} kiá?^{PH} mé:^H medicine for liquor (habit)
mi^{LM} kiá?^{PH} mé:^{VH} medicine of Demetrius.

- (321) Q H PO[H M[COMP P]]
tú^L metro kiá?^{PH} ?i^M 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) *ɲi:^L kiú?^{PH}u^M*
 go[^]1Is 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
 nĩːH *kéL*
 sell[^]! of[^]1s
 Sell it to me.

- (324) P O
 ʔiH.kəLHi *kéL*
 INT-take[^]1s of[^]1s
 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 *liaʔM nĩM* 'like that', and the force of the allocational noun phrase is 'continuative' action.

- (325) P S MA
 ʔiH.hme:LHi *kéL* *liaʔM* *nĩM*.
 INT-do[^]1s of[^]1s like that
 I will keep on doing like that.

- (326) P S MA
 hme:HaʔM *kiəːVHaʔM* *liaʔM* *nĩM*
 do[^]!2p of[^]2p like that
 Keep on doing like that!

- (327) P S ASSOC MA
 nəM-kʷʔLHaH *kéL* *kiəːʔLHaH* *liaʔM* *nĩM*
 STA-together[^]1s of[^]1s ASSOC[^]1s 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
 ʔiHhiáʔM *náːLi* *kéL*
 very like[^]s1s of[^]1s
 I really like it (It is pleasing to me).

- (329) MA P S
ʔi^Hhiá^{ʔM} *náːL a^L* *kiáː^H*
 very like[^]_{S1s} of[^]_{1s}
 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 1 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) *ziː^Li* or *ziː^M kiáː^H* my dog
ŋu^H or *ŋú^H kiá^{ʔH}* his/her house
táː^H or *taː^M kiá^{ʔH}* 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) *gáː^Mi* *gi^{ʔVH}* *tíː^{VH}i* *niu^M* *lia^{ʔM}* *sü^M* *ké^L* *hniá^M*
 big[^]_{S3} more foot[^]_{2s} you like as of[^]_{1s} 1s
 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]
áː^Li *za^M* *ʔi^M* *dí^M-tiéː^{VH}i* *Ø* *hi^Hnuːː^M*
 two person REL PL-present[^]₃ ranch
 two people who are at the ranch

- (333) H M[COMP P O S]
ŋú^H *ʔi^M* *ka^M-da^{ʔH}-eː^{ʔLM}* *Ø* *diá^{ʔL}* *za^M*
 meat REL HAB-PL-eat[^]_{P3} 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 *ʔi^M*. In (334), note how size of constituents affects both order and composition.

- (334) H M[P S] PO
mĩ^{PM} *mĩ^M-zá:iLi* Ø *kiú^{PHuM}*
 clothes PRF-old³ your^{2s}
 your old clothes

- (335) H PO M[COMP P MA S]
mĩ^{PM} *kiú^{PHuM}* *pi^M* *mĩ^M-zá:iLi* *ka^{Mliu^{PH}}* Ø
 clothes your^{2s} REL PRF-old³ little
 your clothes that are somewhat old

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.

- (336) H D
me^{PH}-hi^M *la^M*
 CLS-paper this
 this paper
- (337) Q H D
diá^{PL} *pi^M* *ni^{LMi}*
 PL REL that
 those ones

There are three spatial deictic words which indicate three degrees of distance from the speaker—*la^M* ‘here’, *ni^M*, ‘there’ and *ni^L* ‘way over there’. They are used adverbially to point to actual locations of relative distance from the place of the speech act.

- (338) P S L
na^M-ka^{PLMi} *si^{Mi}u^{Mi}* *la^M*
 STA-lie³ baby here
 The baby is lying right here.
- (339) P S L
na^M-ka^{PLMi} *si^{Mi}u^{Mi}* *ni^M*
 STA-lie³ baby there
 The baby is lying right there.

- (340) L P S
hiá?M ní:L ba^H na^M-ka?LMi siíMiü:Mí
 toward there AFF STA-lie³ baby
 The baby is lying way over there.

The first two of these deictic words may occur in the noun phrase with a noun as head, or with the relative word *?i^M* 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) *za^M la^M* this person *hi^M la^M* this book
?i^M la^{LMi} this one (an) *?i^M la^M* this one (inan)

- (342) *za^M ni^M* that person *hi^M ni^M* that book
?i^M ni^{LMi} that one (an) *?i^M ni^M* that one (inan)

- (343) O[Q H D MODAL] P
ka^M-liu?H ?i^M la^M ba^H ná:Lí
 one-little REL here AFF want^{1s}
 I want just a bit of this.

- (344) NEG P S[H PO[H M[Q H D]]]
?aL?e^M sia^M ku:H kiá?H diá?L ?i^M ni^{LMi}
 NEG exist^{s3} money of³ PL REL that
 Those do not have any money.

There are two additional deictics, *?i^M* ‘that (animate)’ and *hã^M* ‘that (inanimate)’, which have anaphoric rather than spatial reference.

- (345) P S[H D]
ma^M-tã?Mi za^M ?i^M
 PST-fall^{c3} person that
 The aforementioned person fell.

- (346) P S[Q H D]
ma^M-sã:L lia?Lhi^M lîL ku:H hã^M
 PST-fall³ 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) P O[Q H[COMP D]]
ma^M-hó:H-a^L diá^{PL} ?i^M ?i^M
 PST-see[^]C1s-1s PL REL that
 I saw the aforementioned (animate) ones.

- (348) O[COMP D] P
?i^M hã^M ni^M ka^M-?o^Li
 REL that PAUSE HAB-show[^]P1s
 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 MODAL H] P
?i^M ba^H na^{VH}-gu^Lnú:^{VH} ni^M ka^L-hmé:^{Mi}
 that AFF CLS-animal PAUSE PST-do[^]C3
 That is the (same) animal that did it.

- (350) S[D MODAL H] P
hã^M ba^H hmĩ:^M ni^M ma-?i^PM
 that AFF water PAUSE PST-drink[^]C3
 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 P S
hã^Lmi^H?e:^M ?i^L-zié^{Mi} si^PM
 tomorrow INT-end[^]I3 month
 The month terminates tomorrow.

- (352) T[Q H] P
tũ^L hi:^M ba^H ni:^{PVH} ma^M-tiá:^L
 two year AFF limit PST-last[^]C3
 It only worked for two years.

- (353) P S[H PO[COMP Q H]]
ʔiL-lí:H *kiáʔH* *ʔiM* *kə:M* *hmi:VH*
 INT-reach^13 of^3 REL one day
 It will be enough for one day.

- (354) T[H M MODAL] P S
hmi:VH *maʔH* *baH* *ʔiL-líM* *taHzia:PVH*
 day market AFF INT-be^13 town^work
 There will be town work on Saturday(s).

- (355) T[D H MODAL] P
həM *maʔM* *baH* *ʔi:L*
 this Saturday AFF go^11s
 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
díM-tié:ʔVHi *ʔiuHʔiVH*
 PL-present^s3 jail
 They are in jail.

- (357) P O[Q H] L[H PO]
maM-hó:HəL *həMi* *kueHnu:M* *hiHnu:M* *kéL*
 PST-see^C1s one deer ranch of^1s
 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]
naM-hnia:M *ʔiH* *mesa*
 STA-lie^s3 face^3 table
 It is lying on the table.

- (359) L[H PO[H D]] P O
ziüH *naVH-maM* *níM* *kiʔLH* *ʔiHziü VHí*
 head CLS-wood there hang^! 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) L[H PO MODAL] P O
 ka^Mha:VH *vóL-ia:M* *ba^H* *ia^M-hme:Li* *ta^H*
 region ground-sun AFF go[^]11s-do work
 I am going to work in hot country.

- (361) L[H PO] P
 ka^Mha:VH *hi^H* *ieLi* *ŋí?H* *ba^H* *ma^M-ŋa:LM*
 region where emerge sun AFF PST-go[^]C3
 He went off towards the east.

- (362) P O[H PO] P
 kaL-káL *fíVH* *hiHnu:M* *ŋá: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 *hə:Li* my child
 bə:H Urbano *día^H* sir
 ka^Mpi:H Agapito *niá?M* woman
 gú:VH Augurio *mĩ 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) <i>hniá^M</i>	first-person singular (1s)
<i>hniá^H</i>	first-person plural inclusive (1i)
<i>hniá:p^{VH}</i>	first-person plural exclusive (1x)
<i>niú^M</i>	second-person singular (2s)
<i>niá:Lá^M</i>	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 *hniá^H*.

¹As 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: *ʔi^Hkia^{LH}* 'we (incl) will eat', *ʔi^Hnia^{LH}* 'we (incl) will see (know)', and *za^Lgia^{LH}* 'we (incl) will go'.

- (365) S P O
hniá^M *mi^M-ʔi:ʔL-aL* *ʔi^H-kuo^{LH}i* *ʔiL-daʔ^H-é:ʔ^H*
 1s PRF-OWE[^]S-1s INT-give[^]I1s INT-PL-eat[^]I3
 It is my turn to feed the people.

- (366) P S MODAL
ʔi:L *hniá^H* *ba^H*
 go[^]I1s 1s AFF
 I am the one who will go.

- (367) MA P S T
ʔi^Hhiá^{ʔM} *lia^{ʔM}* *zi:L^{LM}* *hnia^H* *mi^H-* *ma^M-hɥ^{LH}* *-a^H*
 very poor[^]S3 heart 1i when PST-die[^]C1p 1i
 Our (incl) hearts [= we] are very bad off when we die.

- (368) P O O
hɥi:ʔ^H *hnia^H* *ba:ʔ^{VH}* *ké^L* *ni^M*
 deliver[^]! 1s machete of[^]1s PAUSE
 Give me back my machete!

- (369) P S MODAL
ʔi^M *kiɥ^{ʔH}* *-u^M* *ni^{uM}* *ba^H*
 REL Of[^]2 2s 2s AFF
 It is yours.

In lieu of a third-person pronoun, the phrase *ʔi^M-ni^{LM}i*, consisting of the relative word *ʔi^M* and the deictic pronoun *ni^{LM}i* ‘that’ is employed.

- (370) P S
ma^M-hlá^{Hi} *ʔi^Mni^{LM}i*
 PST-cry[^]C3 3
 S/he cried.

- (371) P ASSOC
ʔi:L *kiá:ʔ^{LH}a^H* *ʔi^Mni^{LM}i*
 go[^]I1s with[^]S1s 3
 I will go with him/her.

The plural word *diá^{ʔL}* functions in lieu of a third-person plural personal pronoun in any of the nominal positions.

- (372) MA P P S
ʔi^Hhiá^{ʔM} *ma^M.kí:^{ʔH}* *ma^M-bé:^{ʔHi}* *diá^{ʔL}*
 very PST-suffer[^]C3 PST-slip[^]C3 PL
 They really suffered.

- (373) P O
ka^L-bi^L-kí:^La^L *diá^{ʔL}*
 PST-CAUSE-pay[^]Cls PL
 I punished them.

- (374) H PO
ku:^H *kiá^{ʔH}* *diá^{ʔL}*
 money of[^]3 PL
 their money

5.2. Reflexive pronouns. There are seven reflexive pronouns.

- (375) *ŋé:^{Li}* myself (REFL[^]1s)
vó^{ʔHu^M} yourself (REFL[^]2s)
ŋiá:^H himself (REFL[^]3s)
vo:^{LMa^H} ourselves (incl) (REFL[^]1i)
vo:^{LMa^{ʔVH}} ourselves (excl) (REFL[^]1x)
vó^{ʔHa^{ʔM}} yourselves (REFL[^]2p)
mi:^L themselves (REFL[^]3p)

Reflexive 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
si^{iH} *vó^{ʔHu^M}* *ba^H;* *ŋé:^{Li}* *ba^H*
 ? REFL[^]2s AFF REFL[^]1s AFF
 Are you alone (by yourself)? I am alone.

- (377) Q H M[COMP MA P S]
diá^{ʔL} *mi^{VH}-liu^{ʔH}* *ʔi^M* *nú^{ʔL}* *dí^M-mi:^L* *Ø*
 PL CLS-little REL still PL-REFL[^]3p
 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
 sü^H *niu^M* *ni^M*; *hniá^M* *ni^M*
 ? 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[H PO]
 hə^M *ba^H* *ka^L-ziá:^H* *ŋiá:^H* *ŋí^P*
 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
 ʔi^L-lié:^ʔLi *mi:^L*
 INT-rescue[^]I3 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
 ʔi^Hhiá^ʔM *nié:ⁱH* *hniá^M* *ŋiá:^H*
 very like[^]s3 1s REFL[^]3s
 He himself likes me a lot.

- (382) P O[H PO] T
 mí^M-ʔi^L-hmé:^L *hi^Hŋiu^H* *ŋiá:^H* *za^Mhé^Li*
 PRF-INT-do[^]I3 ranch[^]house[^]3 REFL[^]3s first
 He is about to make his own ranch house first.

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

- 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).

- (385) MA[H PO MODAL] P S
ŋiá:H liaʔMniM baH maM-kue:ʔiL zaMʔeM
 REFL ^3s like ^SO AFF PST-remain ^AIC3 teacher
 The teacher just remained single.

(386) P S
 niá:H *zaM?eL* *niM*
 REFL[^]_{3s} teacher PAUSE
 The teacher is single, or the teacher himself

- (387) P S[H PO |
ma^M-kue:^PLi ŋiá:^H za^MpeL
PST-remain^AIC3 REFL^3s teacher
The teacher remained alone. [preferred interpretation] or
The teacher himself stayed. [possible]

- (388) s[H PO MODAL] P
 ɲiá:H za^Mʔe^M ba^H ma^M-kue:ʔi^L
 REFL ^3s teacher AFF PST-remain ^AIC3
 The teacher himself stayed, *or* The teacher remained single.
- (389) P O S
 P O[H PO]
 ma^M-báHi ɲiá:H za^Mʔe^L
 PST-beat ^TAC3 REFL ^3s teacher
 The teacher beat himself, *or less likely* He beat the teacher himself.
- (390) s[H PO MODAL] P O
 ɲiá:H za^Mʔe^L ba^H ma^M-báHi zĩ:M
 REFL ^3s teacher AFF PST-beat ^TAC3 dog
 It was the teacher himself who beat the dog, *or*
 The teacher beat the dog all by himself.
- (391) MA P O S
 ɲiá:H lia^Mni^M ba^H ma^M-báHi zĩ:M za^Mʔe^L
 REFL ^3s like ^SO AFF PST-beat ^TAC3 dog teacher
 The teacher beat the dog all by himself.
- (392) s[Q H PO] P O
 ʔi^M ba^H ɲiá:H za^Mʔe^L ni^M ma^M-báHi zĩ:M
 that AFF REFL ^3s teacher PAUSE PST-beat ^TAC3 dog
 It was the teacher himself who beat the dog.

6

The Lealao Chinantec Relative Clause

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 *ʔi^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) P O S
 kaL-lá^H *mĩ^{ʔM}* *mĩ^{VH}-liu^{ʔH}*
 PST-buy[^]C3 clothes CLS-little
 The child bought clothes.

- (394) H M[COMP P O S]
mĩʔ^M *ʔi^M* *ka^L-lá^H* \emptyset *mĩ^{VH}-liu^{ʔH}*
 clothes REL PST-buy[^]C3 CLS-little
 the clothes that the child bought

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.

- (395) H M[P S]
mĩ^{VH}-kui:^M *tia:^M* \emptyset
 CLS-corn white
 white corn

- (396) H M[P S]
mĩʔ^M *na^M-hnia:^M* \emptyset *nĩ^M*
 clothes STA-lie[^]S3 PAUSE
 the clothes lying there

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).

- (397) P O[Q H M[COMP MA P S]]
ka^M-lá^Li *hmá^{ʔH}i* *mĩʔ^M* *ʔi^M* *bí:^L* *za^Li* \emptyset
 HAB-buy[^]Pls only clothes REL very cheap
 I only buy clothes that are very cheap.

- (398) H M[COMP P O O]
sii^Lmĩ:^{LH} *ʔi^M* *ʔi^H-bi^M-siá^{ʔVH}a^H* *ŋi^{ʔVH}* \emptyset
 girl REL INT-CAUSE-hold[^]Ilp baby
 the girl in whose care we place the baby

Temporal- or spatial-locative nouns may also be relativized. For the spatial-locative, however, the preposition *hi^H* or *ʔi^H* ‘where’ is used in place of *ʔi^M*.

- (399) P T
ka^L-kuó^M *bá^H* *hĩ:^M* *lá^M* *hã^Mnĩ^ʔ*
 PST-give[^]C3 AFF year here now
 It did produce (fruit) this year.

- In (408), the alienable 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).

- (407) P S[H PO[H PO]]
ma^M-ié:L_i ku:H kiá^{PH} za^M
 PST-ruin³ money of³ 3
 The person’s money was ruined.

- (408) H M[COMP P S[H PO[H PO]]]
za^M ?i^M ma^M-ié:L_i ku:H kiá^{PH} Ø
 3 REL PST-ruin³ money of³
 the person whose money was ruined

- (409) P S[H PO[H PO]]
ma^M-hü^Mi nü:^{PH} ké^{Hi} za^M
 PST-die³ chicken or³ person
 The person’s chicken died.

- (410) H M[COMP P S]
*za^M ?i^M ma^M-hü^Mi Ø *[nü:^{PH} ké^Mi]*
 person REL PST-die³ chicken [of³]
 the person who died

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

- (411) P O INSTR[P O]
?iL-hmé:L viahe kié:^{PH}i burro
 INT-do³ trip with³ donkey
 He will make a [business] trip using donkeys.

- (412) P O[COMP P O INSTR[P O]
nié:^{Hi} ?i^M ?iL-hmé:L viahe kié:^{PH}i Ø
 want^{TAS3} REL INT-do³ trip with³
 He wants them (donkeys) for making a [business] trip.

6.3. The relative word *?i^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.

- (413) O[H M[COMP P S] MODAL] P
 miʔ^M *ʔi^M* *na^M-hnia:^M* *∅* *ni^M* *ba^H* *na:^Li*
 clothes REL STA-lie[^]IIS3 PAUSE AFF want[^]TIS1s
 I want the clothes that are lying there.

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 O[COMP P S D]
 ʔaL-ʔi^M *kʔ:^Li* *ʔi^M* *naL-hiáʔ^{VH}* *∅* *ni^M*
 NEG-REL take[^]P2s REL STA-rotten[^]IIS3 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:^La^{PM}* (2p) is optional; but in (416), since it is relativized, it cannot occur at the end of the phrase.

- (415) MA P S[H PO]
 ʔi^Hhiáʔ^{PM} *ba^M* *ʔáHa^{PM}* *niá:^La^{PM}*
 very hard heart[^]2p 2p
 You (pl) are very stubborn.

- (416) H M[COMP P S[H PO]]
 niá:^La^{PM} *ʔi^M* *ba^M* *ʔáHa^{PM}* *∅*
 2p REL hard heart[^]2p
 you who are stubborn

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

- (417) H M[P S L]
 niá:^La^{PM} *nia:^{PL}Ha^{PM}* *∅* *hi^Hnu:^M*
 2p live[^]AIS2p ranch
 you who live on (your) ranches

(418) MA P S[H PO]
 ʔiʰhiáʔM *dĩM-baM* *ziʰH* *diáʔL*
 very PL-hard^IIS3 heart^3 PL
 They are very stubborn.

(419) H M[COMP P S[H PO]
 diáʔL *ʔiM* *dĩM-baM* *ziʰH* Ø
 PL REL PL-hard^IIS3 heart^3
 they who are stubborn

(420) P O L
 maM-hj:ʔLHaL *diáʔL* *ziaʔH-fiVH*
 PST-meet^C1s PL mid-road
 I met them along the road.

(421) H M[COMP P O L]
 diáʔL *ʔiM* *maM-hj:ʔLHaL* Ø *ziaʔH-fiVH*
 PL REL PST-meet^C1s mid-road
 those whom I met along the road

7

Lealao Chinantec Injunction

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 π second-person ending *-i* in the indicative mood, this ending is absent in the imperative mood; with verbs which carry the AI second-person ending *-u* in the indicative mood, the ending *-i* occurs instead of *-u* in the imperative mood.

- (422) *ma^M-kiu:ʔ^{LH}i* *na^{VH}.ma^M*
 PST-hack[^]TIC2s CLS-wood
 You hacked the tree.

- (423) *kiu:ʔ^{LH} na^{VH}-ma^M*
 hack^! CLS-wood
 Hack the stick!

- (424) *ma^M-kiu:ʔ^{LH}-u^M na^{VH}-zi:^M*
 PST-hack^TAC2-2s CLS-dog
 You hacked the dog.

- (425) *kiu:ʔi^{LH} na^{VH}-zi:^M*
 hack^! CLS-dog
 Hack the dog!

- (426) *tia^{Ha}ʔ^M na^Mká:^Li vo:^L*
 spy^!2p 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:ʔ^Li ó:ʔ^Hu^M*
 drag^! companion^2s
 Drag your companion!

- (428) *sie:ʔ^La^{ʔM} niá:^La^{ʔM} ó:ʔ^Ha^{ʔM}*
 drag^!2p 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 completive form of the indicative 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) *ma^Mká:^{VH}i ka:^H* You played.
 Play!

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

- (430) *gua^M-liu^{LH}i kiá:^{ʔVH}u^M, go^!-talk^2s with^s2s, Go talk with him!*
ia^M-liu^{LH}i kiá:^{ʔVH}u^M, 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 *ʔi^M* 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) *ʔia^M la^M*
 come[^]! here
 Come here (now)!

- (432) *ʔi^M ha^{LM}i ʔi^M ia^M-ʔi^Lu^M hniá^M*
 REL come[^]P2s REL come[^]P2s-visit[^]2s 1s
 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; P O
hme:^H hmi^Hʔé:^{VH} hme:^H kə:^M ké^L
 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 intentive 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 P O
kə:^M na^M-ʔi:^L ba^H gua^H-tia:^{ʔH}a^H ta^H la^M
 one STA-stretch[^]3 AFF OPT-be[^]s1p work here
 NEG P O
ʔa^Lʔe^M ʔi^H-tiē:^Ha^H zi^{LM}a^H
 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 *ʔa^L-* 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) *ʔa^L-ʔi^M ki^Mi*
 NEG-REL dream[^]P_{2s}
 Don't dream!
- (436) *ʔa^L-ma^ʔL-ʔi^M hó:^MMa^ʔM*
 NEG-TRM-REL watch[^]P_{2p}
 [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 *li^H-* (nonentailment) to the negated relative word.

- (437) *ʔa^L-li^H-ʔi^M ki^ʔLMi na^{VH}ma^M ni^M*
 NEG-NON-REL fell[^]P_{2s} 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 *ma^L-* (hortative) is preposed to a first-person plural inclusive, intensive 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) *za^M-gia^{LH}, go[^]I_{1p}-go, We will go.*
ma^L-gia^{LH}, HORT-go[^]I_{1p}, Let's go!
ma^L-hme:^{HaH}, HORT-do[^]I_{1p}, Let's do it!

The prefix *ma^L-* 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 *kua^H-* 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 *kua^H-*. 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.

- (439) *ma^M-nú:^Li* I heard it.
kua^H-niú:^Li May I hear it!
ma^M-ká:^M S/he played.
kua^H-ká:^M ba^H kiá^{PH} May s/he keep playing!
ka^L-se^{PM} S/he uprooted it.
kua^H-sie^{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:^Mi* It is big.
ma^M-li^M-gá:^Mi It became big.
kua^H-li^M-gá:^Mi May it become big!
na^M-ba^H They are threshed.
**kua^H-na^M-ba^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) *na^M-hnia:^M ni^M* It is lying there.
kua^H-na^M-hnia:^M ni^M May it lie there!
- (442) *hla^{PM}i* He is dumb.
kua^H-hla^{PM}i May he become dumb!
kua^H-hla^{PLHaL} May I become dumb!
kua^H-hla^{PLMaH} May we become dumb!
kua^H-hla^{PMuM} 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 *sii^H*. It would appear to be closely associated with the conditional word *sii^M*.

- (443) PROTASIS APODOSIS
ʔiʰhiáʔ^M *ziú^L* *sii^M* *ʔi^L-tiá^L* *vó^M*
 very good if INT-last[^]I3 long
 It would be nice if it would last a long time.

- (444) ? P MA S(H) PO]
sii^H *ma^M-zá^L* *kaʔ^MtiLM* *ku^H* *kia^L:LH^aH*
 ? 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) ? TTT P T]
sii^H *liaʔ^Mka^L:ʔ^M* *ka^L:LH^aH* *h^a^Mziá^L:M*
 ? when play[^]P1p yesterday

 ? T P
 sii^H *mi^Hh^a^M* *nü^M* *ka^L-gi^L:M*
 ? 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 *ʔá^H* may occur at the end of an otherwise declarative sentence to form a tag question, “Isn’t that right?”

- (446) P S TAG
na^M-ba^H *ŋiú^H* *sii^H* *ʔá^H*
 STA-hit[^]I3 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 *ʔa^M-* on the main verb of the sentence.

- (447) ? P S
sii^H *ʔa^L-gua^L:LMi* *niu^M*
 ? 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 *sii^Hfá^Lʔ^M*.

- (448) ? P S
 siɪ^Hfə^{PM} *ziú^L* *ʔi^M* *nĩ^M*
 ? good REL that
 You don't consider that good, do you?

Information questions

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, *ʔi^H* 'who(m)?' and *ʔe^H* '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 *nĩ^M* 'that' or *nĩ^{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 O O S
 ka^L-kuó^L *niú^M* *ku^H* *ʔi^M* *nĩ^{LMi}*
 PST-give[^]C3 2s money REL that
 That one gave you the money.
- (450) s P O O X
 ʔi^H *nĩ^{LMi}* *ka^L-kuó^L* *niú^M* *ku^H* *nĩ^M*
 who? that PST-give[^]C3 2s money PAUSE
 Who gave you the money?

Without an accompanying deictic, the interrogative pronoun carries a rhetorical flavor of incredulity.

- (451) s P O X MA
 ʔi^H *ma^M-sɛːʔ^L* *niáːLa^{ʔM}* *lia^{ʔM}hɛ^M*
 who? PST-tell[^]C3 2p like[^]that
 Who ever would have told you any such thing?

If, on the other hand, the anaphoric deictic, *ʔi^M* 'that (animate)', is used rather than *ni^LMi*, the force is either one of strong denial or scolding.

- (452) s P S[P X]
 ʔi^H *ʔi^M* *ʔi^L-hoːMi* *ʔi^L-hméːL*
 who? that INT-able[^]I3 INT-do[^]I3
 Who could ever do it?

- (453) o P X S
 ʔe^H *hɛ^M* *náːMi* *niu^M*
 what? that want[^]2s 2s
 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^{VH}* or *na^Hni^{VH}i* (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.

- (454) s[M D Q H X PO] P X
 ʔi^H *na^Hni^{VH}i* *diá^{ʔL}* *mozos* *kiú^{ʔHu^M}* *ka^L-hú^Li*
 who? of[^]that PL mozos of[^]2s PST-die[^]C3
 Which of your hired hands died?

- (455) o[M D Q H X] P X
 ʔe^H *na^Hni^{VH}* *diá^{ʔL}* *hi^M* *nĩ^M* *náːMi*
 what of[^]that PL book PAUSE want[^]2s
 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
 ʔi^H zia^H ni^M gua:LMi ta^Hzia:ʔ^{VH}
 who place³ PAUSE go^{12s} town^{work}
 Whose place are you going to take at town work?

8.3. The interrogative numeral. The interrogative numeral is *haʔ^H* 'how many?' or *háʔ^{VH}i* 'how many? (animate)', and the corresponding noninterrogative forms are *háʔ^M* and *háʔ^Mi*. 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
 tié:ʔ^{VH}i a:^Mi la:^{LH} ni^M
 present³ three mules there
 There are three mules are over there.

- (458) s[Q H] P X L
 háʔ^{VH}i la:^{LH} tié:ʔ^{VH}i ni^M
 how^{many?} mules present³ there
 How many mules are over there?

- (459) O[Q H] P X
 haʔ^H guá:^H ma^M-hmé:^{VH}i
 how^{many?} box PST-do^{C2s}
 How many boxes have you made?

- (460) T[Q H] P
 haʔ^H tia:ʔ^H gua:LMi
 how^{many?} times go^{12s}
 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 count is *hiáʔ^{PH}* 'where?'; its noninterrogative occurs sentence initially and is followed by an appropriate deictic.

- (461) L P
hiáʔ^{PH} *na^M-ʔa:^M*
 where it STA-buried³
 Where buried?

- (462) L P
hiáʔ^{PH} *ma^M-hnie:^{Mi}*
 where at PST-put^{C2s}
 Where did you put it?

There is an interrogative stative of spatial location that is used when the location inquired about is thought to be nearby—within arm's reach for a person, within earshot for a person.

- (463) P S
ni^{VH} *ba:^{ʔVH}* *ké^L*
 where machete of¹
 Where my machete?

- (464) P
ni^{Vh}
 where
 Where are you?

8.5. The interrogative adverb of temporal location. The interrogative adverb of temporal location is *iliʔ^{PH}* 'when?'. It occurs sentence initially in place of temporal locative.

- (465) T P O
hi^L *ni^M* *ne:^{Mi}* *hma^H*
 what that O^{12s} plant
 What are you for to plant?

8.6. The interrogative adverb of manner. This interrogative is *hmi:^{ʔLH}* 'how?'. It occurs verb-initially in the absence of another.

- (466) MA P
hmi:PLH sji: LH_uM
 how? name^s_{2s}
 What is your name?

- (467) MA P S
hmi:PLH naL-li^{VH} hi^{Hnu:}M ki^q PH_uM
 how? STA-be³ ranch of^{2s}
 What is your ranch like?

This interrogative also occurs with the measure word *nü:PVH* 'amount' and the construction serves as an interrogative numeral for mass nouns.

- (468) s[Q H] P
hmi:PLH nü:PVH ku:H sia^M
 how? CLS money exist^s₃
 How much money is there?

8.7. The interrogative adverb of cause. This interrogative is *pe^H kia:PVH* '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 *kia:PVH* '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) CAUSE GROUND
pe^H kia:PVH pi^M ma^M-kuf:PVH hnia^H
 what? cause REL PST-flee^{2s} 1s
 Why did you run from me?

- (470) CAUSE MODAL
pe^H kia:PVH za^Mhü^{VH}
 what? cause they³ 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]
piL-ta^M piL-pi^M pe^H ta^H ziü^L
 INT-think¹³ INT-think¹³ 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 *sii^M* ‘if’.

(472) NEG P O[COMP S P X]
paL?e^M *ma:Li* *sii^M* *?e^M* *ni^M* *niá:H*
NEG know^{1s} if what? PAUSE want^{SIH3}
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 true 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) <i>mī^H</i> - | | 'when (intensive)' |
| <i>lia^{PM}</i> or <i>lia^{PM}kā^{PM}</i> | | 'when (completive)' |
| <i>hi^H</i> or <i>pi^H</i> | | 'where (definite)' |
| <i>hiā^{PM}</i> | | '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]
ʔi^H-la^{VH}i *ziá:^{ʔH}* *mi^H-* *ma^M-ié:^{iL}*
 INT-buy[^]IIs another when PST-ruin[^]C3
 I will buy another when it ruins.

- (475) T[COMP D] P S[P]
mi^H- *hə^M* *ʔa^Lʔe^M* *ma^{ʔL}-ʔi^L-gu:ⁱMi*
 when that NEG TRM-INT-sleep[^]I3
 After that he won't sleep.

- (476) MA P S T[COMP H]
ʔi^Hhiá^{ʔM} *hé^L* *zi^LM-a^H* *mi^H-* *hiⁱʔ^H* *ia:^M*
 very happy heart[^]1p when time sun
 We are very happy in the springtime.

9.2. The preposition *lia^{ʔM}* or *lia^{ʔM}ká:^{ʔM}* ‘when (completive)’. The preposition *lia^{ʔM}* or *lia^{ʔM}ká:^{ʔM}* ‘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
lia^{ʔM} *ma^M-fʃ^M* *ʔi^Hhiá^{ʔM}* *miⁱM-hla^LMi*
 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]
<i>ʔi^Hhiáʔ^M</i>	<i>hmé^M</i>	<i>lá^H</i>	<i>liaʔ^Mká:ʔ^M</i>	<i>rúʔ^L</i>	<i>sifʔ^M</i>	
very	tasty	corn	when	yet	young	

Roasting ears are delicious when they are tender.

(479)

T[COMP	O[COMP	T	P	I
<i>liaʔ^M</i>	<i>mi^H-</i>	<i>há^Mziá:^M</i>	<i>li^L-kiu:ʔ^{LH}</i>	<i>ni^M...</i>
when	when	yesterday	ACT [^] C-cut [^] I13	PAUSE

The day after it will have been cut, ...

9.3. The preposition *hi^H* ‘where (definite)’. A prepositional phrase based on the locative preposition *hi^H* (or *ʔi^H*) ‘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]
<i>guá:^M</i>	<i>hi^H</i>	<i>ŋu^Mʔá:ʔ^M</i>	<i>ni^M</i>
gulch	where	dark [^] 3	PAUSE

gulch where it is dark

(481)

NEG	P	L[COMP	P	O	X]
<i>ʔa^L-ʔi^M</i>	<i>niú:ʔ^{VH}u^M</i>	<i>hi^H</i>	<i>zii^LM-a^H</i>	<i>mi^{VH}-kafe</i>	<i>la^M</i>
NEG-REL	shade [^] P2s	where	sort [^] P1p	CLS-coffee	this

Don’t cast a shadow here where we are sorting this coffee.

(482)

MA	P	S[COMP	P	S	X	L]
<i>ʔi^Hhiáʔ^M</i>	<i>zií:^M</i>	<i>hi^H</i>	<i>ʔo:ʔ^L</i>	<i>ia:^M</i>		<i>la^M</i>
very	hot	where	shine [^] P	sunshine		here

It is very hot here where the sun is shining.

(483)

PREP	O[PREP	H]
<i>hi^H</i>	<i>he:^{LH}</i>	<i>na^{VH}-kú:^{VH}</i>	
where	among	CLS-rock	

where it is rocky

9.4. The preposition *hiáʔ^M* ‘where (indefinite)’ This preposition appears to be the reduced form of the indefinite locative word *hiá:ʔ^M* ‘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]
 za^M $hiá:ʔ^M$ $fĩ:M$ \emptyset
 person other town
 a person from another town

- (485) P L MODAL
 $\eta i:L$ $hiá:ʔ^M$ ba^H
 go^\wedge_{11s} other AFF
 I'm going elsewhere.

- (486) P L L T P
 $kaL-hó:H$ $hiá:ʔ^M$ $hiá:ʔ^M$ h_a^M ba^H $kaL-ʔi^M$
 PST-see $^\wedge_{C3}$ other other then AFF PST-enter $^\wedge_{C3}$
 He looked this way and that; then he entered.

When the preposition $hiá:ʔ^M$ 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 sii^M 'if' as the complement of a cognitive verb. This preposition must, in fact, always be so subordinated by sii^M or be preceded by a negative, as in (488).

- (487) ? P O[COMP PREP P]
 sii^H $má:M_i$ sii^M $hiá:ʔ^M$ $ma^M-\eta a:LM$
 ? know $^\wedge_{2s}$ if where PST-go $^\wedge_{C3}$
 Do you know where s/he went?

- (488) NEG L P S
 $\eta aL-\eta e^M$ $má^L-hiá:ʔ^M$ $\eta iL-sa^M$ $mi^{VH}-kui:M$
 NEG TRM-where INT-exist $^\wedge_3$ 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 $\eta i:LM$ and $kiá:LM$ only occur following $hiá:ʔ^M$, although the source of the first form is obviously $\eta i:H$ 'high'.

- (489) $hiá:ʔ^M \eta i:LM$ towards above
 $hiá:ʔ^M kiá:LM$ towards below
 $hiá:ʔ^M nĩ^M$ towards there
 $hiá:ʔ^M la^M$ towards here
 $hiá:ʔ^M sii^{VH}\eta u^L$ towards inside
 $hiá:ʔ^M ti:H$ towards outside

- (496) P L[H PO]
na^M-hnia:^M ʔɛ:^{ʔM}i guá:^H ké^L
 STA-lie³ inside box of^{1s}
 It is inside my box.

- (497) P L[H PO]
zia^H ʔɛ:^{ʔM}i la^M
 put¹! in this
 Put it into this!

- (498) P L[H PO]
ʔiH-ʔiʔHa^H za:^{ʔL} la^M
 INT-prick^{11p} on this
 Let's prick this (surface).

- (499) P O[H M[COMP P L[H PO]]]
ʔi:^{LH}i gui:^{LH} ʔi^M tɔ:^Li za:^{ʔL} na^{VH}-ma^M
 shoot¹! squirrel REL cling³ against CLS-wood
 Shoot the squirrel that is clinging to the tree!

- (500) P L[H PO]
ɲa^M ʔiH-ia:^Ha^H ɲi:^{ʔH} hli^H la^M
 sit¹! INT-sit^{11p} on bench this
 Sit down! We will sit on this bench.

- (501) P O L[H PO]
tia:^{ʔL} hɟ:^L vi:^{ʔH} tĩ:^H na^{VH}-ma^M
 put¹! dirt base foot³ 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 *ʔɛ:^{ʔM}i* 'in' and *ɲi:^{ʔH}* 'on', whereas nouns like *ɲi:^{ʔH}* 'on' and *za:^{ʔH}* 'against' name absolute positions and may not be intensified.

- (502) P L MA
na^M-hnia:^M ʔɛ:^{ʔM}i lĩ^L
 STA-lie³ 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.

(503) ? P O O/Q H]
sii^H *ʔiH-kuo:^{VHi}* *hnia^H* *ma^H-kə:^M* *peso* *ta:^M*
? INT-give^I2s 1s PRT-one peso banana
Will you give me one peso's worth of bananas?

(504) oIQ	H]	P	S[P	X]
<i>ma^PL-giaLŋá^M</i>	<i>vo^M</i>	<i>ka^M.hme:L</i>	<i>ʔiH.kiu:ʔLHaH</i>	
DIST-fifteen	pole	HAB-need ^P3	INT-cut ^tiP	
We must each cut fifteen poles.				

(505) MA P
maʔL-piʔH *maʔL-liuʔH* *baʔ* *ʔiL-kɛL*
 DIST-little DIST-little AFF INT-pay^13
 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)	<i>ba^H</i>	affirmation
	<i>biʔ^{VH}</i>	alteration
	<i>giʔ^{VH}</i>	augmentation
	<i>giʔ^M</i>	alternation
	<i>ruʔ^M</i>	counter-expectation
	<i>iáʔ^{VH}</i>	explication
	<i>fó:ʔ^{VH}</i>	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[Q[H	MODAL]	H[Q	M]	P
	<i>liaʔ^Lhi^Mi</i>	<i>ba^H</i>	<i>diáʔ^L</i>	<i>fiʔ^{VH}</i>	<i>ni^M</i>	<i>na^M-gu^ĩ:^Mi</i>
	all [^] 3	AFF	PL	lazy	PAUSE	STA-sleep [^] 3
	ALL the lazy ones are asleep.					

- (508) T[H MODAL] P S O
hə^Mziá:^M ba^H kaL-t̃:[?]LMaL karta
 yesterday AFF PST-receive[^]C1s letter
 It was YESTERDAY I received the letter.

- (509) L[H PO MODAL] P S
kiá^PH za^M ba^H he^VHa^H
 of[^]3 person AFF present[^]1s
 I am living at SOMEONE ELSE'S house.

- (510) O[H MODAL] P S
ʔi^M la^M ba^H ná:^{Li}
 REL this AFF want[^]1s
 THIS is what I want.

- (511) P[H MODAL] S[P S]
ʔi^L-ho:i^M ba^H ʔi:^L hniá^M
 INT-possible[^]I3 AFF go[^]I1s 1s
 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[T P O] MODAL
mi^Hhə^M kaL-kuó^M kə:^M peso ba^H
 then PST-give[^]C3 one peso AFF
 Then he paid him just one peso.

10.2. Alteration. The alteration modal *bĩ[?]VH* indicates that a recent change in situation is in view. Adverbs, locatives, quantifiers, and verbs occur with this postposed modal.

- (513) S[Q[H MODAL] H] P
hə^Mi á:^{Li} bĩ[?]VH za^M ma^M-kue:[?]Li
 one[^]3 two[^]3 ALTR person PST-remain[^]C3
 NOW just a few people remain.

- (520) P[^H MODAL] S
 kə:M *mi^{VH}-pi^{PH}* *gi^{PH}* *pi^M* *pa^L-ma^M-sá:pi* *hmi:M*
 one little AUG REL NEG-PST-drown[^]C1s water
 I just about drowned.

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
 za^L-pi^M *zi:M* *pu^H* *gi^{PM}* *za^Mpi:M*
 go[^]I3-enter dog IRR or thief
 A dog or a thief will enter.

- (522) P S[Q MODAL MODAL H]
 pi^L-tiá:L *ha^Mi* *ba^H* *gi^{PM}* *la:LH*
 INT-endure[^]I3 one AFF or mule
 A single mule will be able to do it.

- (523) P[MA MODAL] S;
 lia^{PM}ha^M *gi^{PM}* *ta:M*
 like[^]that or banana
- P S[^H M[COMP P S]
 pi^Hhiá^{PM} *fí:Li* *diá^{PL}* *pi^M* *ka^M-da^{PH}-pa:LM* \emptyset
 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
 sii^H *ha^M* *á:L-a^H* *ba^H* *gi^{PM}* *za^M-gia:LHa^H*
 ? one two-1p AFF or go[^]I1p-go
- COORD NEG P S
 bá:L *pa^Lpe^M* *za^L-zi^L* *diá^{PL}* *tú^Lza^{PL}Hi*
 but NEG go[^]I3-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^{PM}* 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 *pa:VHa^L ru^{PM}* '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
za^MhéLi ru^{PM} zie:LHi tɔ́L ha:VH na^{VH}-ma^M
 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
nĩ:PH ru^{PM} PiH-kiu^{PH}aH fẽ^{PM} diáL nĩ^M
 chicken CX INT-eat^11p say^P3 dad PAUSE
 Imagine that! Dad says we will eat CHICKEN.

- (528) T MODAL P MOD MA
hẽ^M ba^H kaL-na:PHaL ru^{PM} kẽ:PM
 then AFF PST-arise^C1s CX again
 Then I got right back up again. Can you believe it?

10.6. Explication. The explication modal *iá^{PH}* 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
hniá^M iá^{PH} Pi^Hhiá^{PM} rú^{PL} za:LHi
 1s EXPL very yet sick^1s
 As for me, I am still very sick.

- (530) s[H PO M[COMP P O | | MODAL
kaMha:VH kiá^{PH} Pi^M PiH-hme:HaH hma^H iá^{PH}
 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-ziá^M hmĩ^H lia^{PM}hẽ^M fó:PH
 likely INT-rain^13 rain like^that likely
 It looks like it will rain. I think so too.

- (532) GROUND CAUSE MODAL P
ʔa^L-ʔi^M *ká:ʔMi* *kia:ʔ^{VH}* *fó:ʔ^{VH}* *ʔi^L-fi^M*
 NEG-REL play[^]P2 because likely INT-break[^]13
 Don't be playing with it lest it break.

The rhetorical phrases that are similar to the response use of *fó:ʔ^{VH}*, 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
ʔi:^L *sia^M* *hə^M* *sii^M* *nĩ^M* *ná:Mi* *ʔi^M* *ʔi:^L*
 go[^]11s then if PAUSE want[^]2s REL to[^]11s
 I'll go then if that is what you want.

P MODAL
lia^{ʔM}hə^M *sia^M* *hə^M*
 like[^]that then
 Okay then.

- (534) ? P O
sii^H *má:Mi* *ʔi^M* *ma^M-hɿ^Li* *dɛ:^{Hi}* *nĩ^M*
 ? know[^]s2s REL PST-die[^]c3 president PAUSE
 Did you know that the President died?

P MODAL P MODAL
lia^{ʔM}hə^M *za^Mhú^{VH}* *ʔe^Hkia:ʔ^{VH}* *za^Mhú^{VH}*
 like[^]that they[^]say why? they[^]say
 That's what they say. Why (no cause, it seems)?

Studies in Chinantec Languages 2

Publications in Linguistics Number 88

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