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# **The Tlatepuzco Chinantec Language**

**by**

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**2008**

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## Abbreviations

- ..... (follows gloss of hyphen)	II ..... Inanimate Intransitive
= ..... (complex gloss ligature)	Impf ..... imperfect
/ .....or	Impv, ! ..... imperative
\ ..... (inflectional categories follow)	Indef ..... indefinite
!, Impv ..... imperative	Interr ..... interrogative
¡ ... ! ..... (flanks exclamation)	Intns ..... intensification
¿ ... ? ..... (flanks interrogative)	L ..... locative
1,2,3 ..... first, second, third person	LD ..... left dislocation
1i ..... first person inclusive	LJA ..... Lucio José Antonio
1x ..... first person exclusive	M ..... modifier
a ..... animate	Ma ..... manner
Act ..... activizer	MJA ..... Marcelo José Antonio
AEA ..... Alfred E. Anderson	MJM ..... Mario José Martínez
Aff ..... affirmation	MMM ..... Mardonio Martínez Miguel
AGJ ..... Agustín Gregorio Justo	Mxn ..... Mexican pesos
AI ..... Animate Intransitive	μ ..... null representation
Ana ..... anaphor	neg impv, neg! ..... negative imperative
APS ..... Alejandro Pérez Sixto	Neg ..... negative
Asv ..... asseveration	NP ..... noun phrase
BJM ..... Bonifacio José Martínez	Ø ..... gap
C ..... completive, complementizer, conjunction	O ..... object
CF ..... counter factual	O <sup>1</sup> , O <sup>2</sup> ..... first, second object
CGP ..... Camilo García Pérez	Opt ..... optative
Cls ..... classifier	p ..... plural
Cnt ..... (dis)continuative	P ..... predicate, predicator, progressive
D ..... deictic, directional	Po ..... possessor, allocation
D1 ..... near distal deictic	Prf ..... perfect
D2 ..... far distal deictic	Prot ..... protestation
DA ..... Ditransitive Animate	Prx ..... proximal
DB ..... databook	Pst ..... past
DCT . Diccionario Chinanteco de S.P.Tlatapuzco	PVP ..... Porfirio Velasco Pérez
DI ..... Ditransitive Inanimate	R ..... round-trip
DM ..... Ditransitive Middle	Refl ..... reflexive
DN ..... Transitive Nonexpressed Object	Rhet ..... rhetorical
Dr ..... dramatic anaphor	s ..... singular
Enun ..... enunciation	S ..... stative, subject
Expl ..... explication	Sta ..... stativizer
Fem ..... feminine	T ..... time
FLM ..... Francisco Lorenzo Mendoza	TA ..... Transitive Animate
H ..... head	TI ..... Transitive Inanimate
Hod ..... hodierno	TM ..... Transitive Middle
i ..... inanimate	TN ..... Transitive Nonexpressed Object
I ..... intensitive	TXT ..... text

# 1. Tlapepuzco Chinantec Phonology

Among those who have given serious study to any of the Chinantec languages, the family has earned a reputation for having a most difficult phonological system to learn and analyze. The allophonic interplay of tones, stress, and vowel qualities, and the phonetic subtlety of tonal distinctions, have presented a significant challenge to outsiders for gaining fluency and the ability to accurately hear and reproduce Chinantec speech at a satisfactory level. Although the writer has numerous colleagues who have spent significant time in Chinantec linguistic research—many years of research—and who are able to understand and speak ‘satisfactorily’ one or another of the dozen or more Chinantec languages. I do not believe a single one would claim to have fully mastered the complexity of verbal conjugations which exhibit a truly bewildering variety of tonal and accentual configurations. This must be my own confession, at least, even after prolonged exposure to the language over half a century, including several years of residence in the Tlapepuzcan community of Palantla.

To help the reader follow further discussion of the phonemes, I simply list them here, with their associated graphemes presented in braces ({...}). The syllable onset phonemes are voiceless stops: /p t ts{ts} k{c,qu}/, voiced stops /b d ɗ{ds} g/, spirants /ɸ(f) r s/, sonorants /m n l ŋ/, and laryngeals /ʔ{h} h{j}/. Prevocalic glides are /y{i} w{u}/ and postvocalic glides are /y{i} w{g} a/. There are six tones—low /<sup>1</sup>/, low-mid /<sup>12</sup>/, low-high /<sup>13</sup>/, mid /<sup>2</sup>/, high /<sup>3</sup>/, and high-low /<sup>31</sup>/. There are two degrees of nasalization—light /./ and heavy /~/, both written as post-vocalic {n}. And there are two types of word stress, ballistic /' and controlled (unmarked). Proclitics and prefixes only have simple tones—low, mid, high. Enclitics lack contrastive tone. Apart from tone, nasalization, and stress, the maximal segmental template of the Tlapepuzcan stressed syllable may be represented as LCGVGʔ, as in /ʔŋiewʔ<sup>12</sup>/ {hŋiengh<sup>12</sup>} ‘you bind me’ or /hŋiáwʔ<sup>12</sup>/ {jŋiánggh<sup>12</sup>} ‘he moves it aside’.

Chinantec is, thus, not a good candidate for a syllabic writing system. If all combinations of vowels, glides, and nasalization occurred, they would number 126 distinct syllable peaks, of which half—sixty—are *actually known to occur* (including core vowel, prevocalic and postvocalic glides, and full nasalization). Twenty-five consonantal onsets and five tones occur, not counting the very infrequent *f* from Spanish or the high-low tone /<sup>31</sup>/ used for only a handful of loans from Spanish.

With controlled and ballistic stress, and postvocalic glottal, there is a potential for 30,000 phonologically distinct tonic syllables, of which some 3345 (11%) are currently represented in the Chinantec database (Merrifield and Anderson 2000).

An attempt is made in this section to detail some of this phonological complexity with special attention to the dynamics of vowels, tone, accent, and nasalization, as these occur together in stressed syllables. As a context for this, a brief description is first given of syllable types and how these occur in strings within stress units here referred to as phonological words. The system has been previously described in Merrifield 1963a, Merrifield 1963b, Merrifield and Anderson 1999, and Merrifield and Edmondson 1999, but nowhere in as much detail as here.

### 1.1 Phonological Word Structure

Tlatepuzco Chinantec is a highly isolating language in which lexical material is predominantly expressed monosyllabically. My lexical database, which continues to evolve since its publication in hardcopy (Merrifield and Anderson 1999), currently includes over 9200 entries. Of these, 30% (2731) are multi-word idioms, expressed by more than one stressed syllable, and 70% (6389) are expressed as single words having only one stressed syllable. A typical example of Chinantec text is presented in (1), written as in the dictionary, Chinantec literature, and the Chinantec lexical database. This writing system is used throughout this study except when phonological questions are being addressed, as in this chapter, and phonological forms are placed between diagonals or in phonetic brackets, as in /tew<sup>3</sup>/ [tɛy<sup>3</sup>] ‘blind’.

- (1) Jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ɲioh<sup>12</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa,  
 story ofTIS3 one\A woman and man ofTAS3 3
- dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>dsánh<sup>12</sup> guio<sup>1</sup>juói<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup>.  
 person Impf-return-home\AIsP3 hell long-ago  
 A story about a woman and her husband, a person who used to go visit her home in hell a long time ago. (TXT-07.001)

Several orthographic conventions are found in this illustration. In the text line, for words such as *mi<sup>3</sup>dsánh<sup>12</sup>* ‘used to return home’ that include prefixes, the gloss in the gloss line for the prefix *mi<sup>3</sup>-* (Impf) is set off by a hyphen (-). Pretonic roots or stem-formatives, such as *guio<sup>1</sup>juói<sup>1</sup>* ‘hell’, on the other hand, are not. Idioms of more than one word, such as *dsa<sup>2</sup> ɲioh<sup>12</sup>* ‘man’, are matched

in the gloss line by a single gloss. In addition to hyphen, the gloss line may contain two other conventions, both of which occur with *mi<sup>3</sup>dsánh<sup>12</sup>*; namely, the double hyphen (=) links the parts of complex English glosses like ‘return-home’, and backslash (\) precedes inflectional details like AISP3 to mark such things as gender, person, number, grammatical subcategorization, and aspect. While *ma<sup>2</sup>-* (Prf) of *ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup>* is a common prefix, it is not in this instance part of a productive verbal paradigm, and is therefore represented in the gloss without a hyphen, as a frozen lexical form.

Some of the lexical material in the database occurs in various forms due to various kinds of inflection (such as tonal changes). It is, therefore, revealing to look at just a subset of the lexicon to get a handle on the isolating nature of the language.

For example, of more than 2340 nouns in the database, some 300 are personal names based on Spanish names (such as *Be<sup>13</sup>* ‘Roberto’), 55 others are miscellaneous words borrowed from Spanish (such as *cai<sup>31</sup>* ‘street’ from Sp. *calle*), and just under 2000 are based on native roots. Of these native roots, over half (55%) are idioms formed of two or more roots, as in (2).

(2) *tøa<sup>12</sup> hmá<sup>1</sup>* ‘carpenter’ from *tøa<sup>12</sup>* ‘expert’ and *hma<sup>2</sup>* ‘wood’.

This leaves 879 native one-word noun roots, of which two-thirds are of one syllable (*jmøi<sup>2</sup>* ‘water’) and one-third of two (*ca<sup>3</sup>juu<sup>2</sup>* ‘cattle’). Of the two-syllable roots, a large number are derived from idioms in having two roots as their source; but with the first root having been phonologically reduced to an unstressed syllable, as in (3).

(3) *møi<sup>1</sup>ñi<sup>3</sup>* ‘nail’ from *mói<sup>2</sup>* ‘ball’ and *ñi<sup>3</sup>* ‘metal’.

As for verbs, of some 1600 distinct, one-word verbal conjugations (not counting the multiple inflectional variants within conjugations), over 80% are based on one-syllable roots, such as *bá<sup>2</sup>* ‘hit\TI’, most of the remainder (18.5%) being formed from an unstressed stem-formative such as *chi<sup>2</sup>-*, that is prefixed to a verb root, as in *chi<sup>2</sup>dsán<sup>2</sup>* ‘dance\AI’.

There are, however, a few verbal prefixes and a larger number of nominal stem formatives that combine with verb and noun roots, respectively, to form additional words of more than one syllable. There is, furthermore, a grammatical phenomenon in which certain pronouns and a few nouns, all of which occur in the lexicon as stressed roots with contrastive tone, lose stress and

tone contrasts under particular circumstances when following a verb or noun as one or another of its arguments. The sum of these facts is that a phonological word may entail unstressed syllables both preceding and following a stressed syllable. The range in forms of phonological words may, thus, be summarized as in (4).

- (4) A MINIMAL PHONOLOGICAL WORD comprises a single stressed syllable, as in *ɨGuʔ!* ‘Go!’ or *bøah<sup>13</sup>* ‘lump’. NONMINIMAL WORDS with as many as four unstressed syllables preceding or following the stressed syllable have been observed. Hereinafter, these three types of syllable will be referred to as PRETONIC, TONIC, and POSTTONIC syllables, respectively.

Posttonic syllables are invariably derived from lexical elements that carry lexical stress and tone that are absent when realized posttonically. As posttonic syllables, they are unstressed, they display a pitch register lower than the lowest contrastive pitch of preceding tonic syllables, and they are articulated with less intensity than preceding material. Grammatically, posttonic syllables are enclitic. Since they are derived from lexical roots and function grammatically as words, they are written bounded by space like any other grammatical word, but without tone or stress, as in sentence (5), which contains phonological reduced forms of the noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘person’ and the pronoun *jni<sup>2</sup>* (first-person singular).

- (5) Ca<sup>1</sup>hiéih<sup>2</sup>                      dsa jni.  
       Pst-receive\TNC3 3      1s  
       They welcomed me.

Posttonic syllables are clearly identifiable as such in the writing system, since they are the only syllables represented without an overt tone notation.

Pretonic syllables also lack some of the phonological complexity of tonic syllables, but do display contrastive tone and intonation. All true prefixes consist of one consonant followed by one vowel and carry low, mid, or high tone /<sup>1 2 3</sup>/. Pretonic stem formatives may be more complex in their underlying source; but any postvocalic /w/ or /y/ or syllable-final glottal stop tend to be lost on pretonic stem formatives unless their pronunciation is deliberately slowed for some special purpose, in which case they take on the full form of tonic syllables, including one of the two types of stress that distinguish them. A typical string of unstressed pretonic syllables is illustrated in (6).

- (6) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiíng<sup>1</sup>.  
 Neg-Prf-Pst-Act\C-dry\IIC3  
 It has not yet become dried.

The general patterns of Tlatepuzcan Chinantec intonation have not been studied beyond the way yes-no interrogative intonation affects lexical tone and will receive no further mention in this study. But interrogative intonation, which generally consists of a rise in pitch on the initial syllable of a sentence (informally indicated here by ‘+’), is also contrastive on both tonic and pretonic syllables, as indicated in (7) and (8). A fuller account of interrogative intonation is given below, in chapter 15, where Yes-no questions are described.

- (7) ¿Tsa<sup>3+</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiíng<sup>1</sup>?  
 Neg\Interr-Prf-Pst-Act\C-dry\IIC3  
 Hasn’t it become dried yet?

- (8) ¿Gúh<sup>3+</sup> hning?  
 go\AIsI2\Interr 2s  
 Are you going to go?

Since stress is lexically restricted to root morphemes, and since Chinantec has a few prefixes but no suffixes, and since word formatives always precede the root, the tonic syllable is always the final syllable of a grammatical word. On the other hand, since post-tonic enclitic forms may follow a stressed syllable, the tonic syllable is not always the final syllable of a phonological word. Nevertheless, on the basis of the over-all phonetic characteristics of pretonic, tonic, and posttonic syllables, it is possible to identify phonological word boundaries within a speech continuum as follows:

a. Since a word has one and only one tonic syllable, two contiguous tonic syllables belong to two phonological words and define a word boundary occurring between them. This is true whether the lexical stress is controlled or ballistic, as in (9) and (10), respectively.

- (9) cuø<sup>3</sup> nung<sup>2</sup> [kue<sup>3</sup>#nuŋ<sup>2</sup>] ‘white-tailed deer’, an idiom of cuø<sup>3</sup> ‘horse’ and nung<sup>2</sup> ‘forest’

- (10) lí<sup>3</sup> píh<sup>3</sup> [lí<sup>3</sup>#pí<sup>3</sup>] ‘tiny flower’, a phrase of lí<sup>3</sup> ‘flower’ and píh<sup>3</sup> ‘tiny’

b. Such a word boundary may be identified unambiguously due to the phonetic differences between syllable onset and peak phonemes, with one exception. Utterance-medial glottal stop, unless the final element of a ballistic syllable or followed immediately by a stop or spirant,

cannot be unambiguously assigned, *on purely phonological grounds*, to a preceding or following tonic syllable. Thus, the syllable-initial glottal stop in (11) and the syllable-final glottal stop in (12), at a normal rate of speech, do not provide *phonological* clues concerning the phonological placement of the glottal in respect to the syllable that precedes and the syllable that follows (tone notation not included in the phonetic transcription).

- (11) ꞑCuø³ hlég²! [kueʔléx]                      a phrase of *cuø³* ‘give\TI!’ and *hlég²* ‘soldier’  
Give it to the soldier!
- (12) ꞑCuøh³ lég² dsa! [kueʔléy#ɬə]                      a phrase of *cuøh³* ‘give\DA!’ and *lég²* ‘free\TNI3’  
Let him free her!

c. One or more unstressed syllables are grouped with preceding or following tonic syllables to form words on the basis of relative pitch and relative articulatory force as described above. Differences of this type have proved sufficient to preclude difficulty in such grouping. While they do not rely on lexical information, such information does, in fact, corroborate them.

## 1.2 Syllable Structure

Phonological words are thus seen to define three types of syllable—pretonic, tonic, and posttonic—on the basis of their distribution within words and their accentual and tonal characteristics. Unstressed syllables contain no element and show no contrast that is not demonstrable in stressed syllables. Stressed syllables are of two types, ballistic and controlled.

Apart from stress and tone, syllables may be considered to consist of an optional ONSET and an obligatory PEAK. All posttonic syllables are reduced to a low, noncontrastive pitch; but, otherwise, a minimum syllable consists of a PEAK which has two elements, a VOWEL and a TONE. This minimal configuration, however, only occurs in a few pretonic syllables, such as the directional prefix *u¹-* ‘come (completive)’, as in (13).

- (13) Ca¹u¹quieng²                      dsa cog³    sø³hlég³.  
Pst-come\C-bring-with\TIC3 3    money yesterday-afternoon  
He brought the money here yesterday.

The phonologically simplest tonic syllable in the lexicon has, in addition to tone, either an initial consonant before the vowel of the peak (very common) or a postvocalic glide following the peak vowel (very few, in the absence of other elements). This is illustrated in (14).

(14) gu<sup>1</sup> ‘my hand’

og<sup>1</sup> ‘two (animate)’

Additional elements of nonminimal peaks, beyond a consonant, a vowel, tone, and stress, include nasalization, a prevocalic glide, a postvocalic glide, and glottal stop. The onset, when present, may consist of one or two consonants. All of these may occur together in a single syllable, as in *hjiengh*<sup>12</sup> ‘you bind me’ or *jjiángh*<sup>12</sup> ‘he moves it aside’.

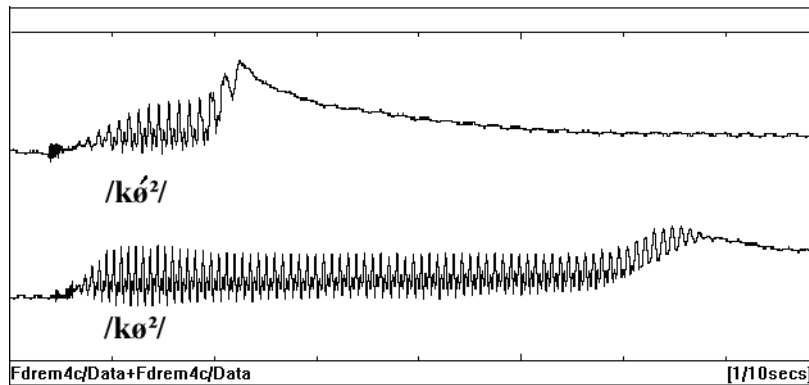
### 1.3 Ballistic and Controlled Stress

As indicated in the previous section, the presence of a single stressed syllable is the primary defining feature of a phonological word in Chinantec, but the type of stress with which a particular root is to be articulated is defined in the lexicon as either BALLISTIC STRESS (marked with an acute accent /'/) or CONTROLLED STRESS (unmarked), terms taken from Pike 1957 and Stetson 1951 but used in a slightly different way. Here, these two kinds of stress define two types of tonic syllable: ballistic syllables and controlled syllables.

Although controlled syllables lack an overt stress symbol in written notation, they are nevertheless as easily distinguishable from posttonic syllables in written notation as they are in oral speech, since the tonic syllable is always a toned syllable that precedes word space. Posttonic syllables also precede word space, but lack a tone notation. Even if the notation were more strictly in accordance with the phonological facts and posttonic syllables were joined to the preceding tonic syllable without an intervening space, the distinction between the unmarked controlled syllable and following posttonic syllables would be clear due to the tone notation. Under such a notational convention, the tonic syllable, whether or not it carries an overt stress notation, is identifiable as the first toned syllable preceding word space. If marked by /'/, it is ballistic; if not, it is controlled.

The characteristics that distinguish ballistic and controlled syllables are documented through oral airflow analysis in Merrifield and Edmondson 1999:310ff, whose findings are summarized here by referencing their Figure 4 (reproduced here as Plate 1) and related commentary. As indicated, oral airflow can be decomposed into two components, a relatively steady-state, DC component that remains more or less constant over a syllable; and a varying, AC component that reflects oscillating airflow values that respond to vibrating objects in the throat. In Plate 1, the DC component is indicated by the long-term slope or ‘trend line’ of the signal, whereas the AC component is seen in its oscillating short-





**Plate 1. Ballistic and Controlled Oral Air Flow**

term variation. The Plate compares the oral airflow signals of the ballistic syllable /kʰ²/ ‘it ceased (raining)’ and a corresponding controlled syllable /kø²/ ‘we are dreaming about it’. Several differences in airflow characteristics between the two syllables are readily seen.

In the lower signal, the controlled-syllable AC airflow component quickly attains a maximum level of amplitude and then continues, with very gradual loss of amplitude to a point just beyond the maximum level of DC flow, before it collapses into voicelessness, while the DC component remains steady across at least 75% of the controlled syllable and then rises moderately through the final portion of the syllable to a level significantly above that of the first portion.

In the upper, ballistic signal, the relatively steady-state portion of the DC airflow component is much shorter, the upward slope of the surge that follows is much more rapid, and a slightly higher maximum is achieved than in the corresponding controlled syllable, after which the airflow declines gradually. The peak is achieved at a point corresponding to 25% of the position of the peak in the controlled syllable. Its AC airflow component, on the other hand, increases more slowly at the onset, attaining maximum amplitude as the DC component begins its more rapid upward surge, at which juncture the AC component rapidly declines in amplitude, abruptly ending at the peak of the DC surge, followed by voicelessness to the end of the syllable.

In respect to over-all timing, both syllables may be nearly of the same length when one includes the time it takes for airflow to dissipate, but the ballistic syllable is unvoiced for much of its duration. The timing of the ballistic surge of pressure varies in other recorded examples studied, from a position of 25% to 45% of the duration of the syllable, but this general configuration is typical for all tones. (It is possible, that the decline in pressure after the surge is only an artifact; in which case, the ballistic syllables may, in fact, be shorter than controlled syllables.)

The choice of tone on a syllable does not affect perceptibly its length. Allophonic conditioning of vowels, of postvocalic elements, and of tones, also definable in terms of distribution with syllable types, is described in greater detail below.

#### 1.4 Syllable Onsets

A syllable onset, when present, consists of one or two consonants. Seventeen consonant phonemes which occur as single consonants in syllable onsets are presented in (15).

(15) Stops:	Voiceless	p	t	ts{ts}	k{c,qu}	ʔ{h}
	Voiced	b	d	ɬ{ds}	g	
Spirants		ɸ(f)	r	s		h{j}
Sonorants:	Nasal	m	n		ŋ	
	Non-nasal		l			

The examples in (16) show the seventeen consonants to be in contrast. Initial glottal is also in contrast with the absence of an onset consonant, as in /aw<sup>1</sup>/ [aʔ<sup>1</sup>] ‘two of us’.

(16) /pa <sup>3</sup> /	‘thick\IIS’	/ɬa <sup>2</sup> /	‘someone’	/na <sup>1</sup> /	‘now’
/ta <sup>3</sup> /	‘work’	/ga <sup>1</sup> /	‘afraid\AIS3’	/ŋá <sup>12</sup> /	‘crazy\AIS3’
/tsa <sup>3</sup> /	‘scratch\TI!’	/ɸe <sup>3</sup> /	‘Felix’	/la <sup>2</sup> /	‘this’i’
/ka <sup>3</sup> /	‘pozole’	/sa <sup>31</sup> /	‘Saturday’	/ʔa <sup>2</sup> /	‘where?’
/sø <sup>2</sup> rø <sup>2</sup> ba <sup>3</sup> /	‘Cerberus’	/rəw <sup>12</sup> /	‘wash\TIP3’	/hə <sup>3</sup> /	‘tooth’3’
/ma <sup>2</sup> da <sup>13</sup> /	‘errand’	/má <sup>1</sup> /	‘food’		

Clusters of: two consonants consist of /h/ or /ʔ/ followed by a sonorant /l m n ŋ/. In Spanish loans, a few additional clusters occur with /l/ and /r/ as second member after a stop, as in (17).

(17) /lǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘think\AIP3’	/ʔnǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘sell\TAP2’	/ʔmǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘pinch\TAP3’
/hlǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘cover\TAP3’	/dré <sup>3</sup> /	‘Andrew’	/ŋǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘strain\TIP2’
/ʔlǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘crave\TIP3’	/sø <sup>3</sup> pla <sup>13</sup> /	‘Plácido’	/hŋǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘kill\TAP3’
/nǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘swallow\TAP2’	/mǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘ask\TAP3’	/ʔŋo <sup>2</sup> /	‘across’
/hnǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘fence\TAP2’	/hmǽ <sup>2</sup> /	‘dissolve\IIP3’	/krów <sup>13</sup> /	‘cross’

The phonetic value of most onset consonants coincides in general with the phonetic value for which each symbol is normally used. Exceptions to this are summarized below.

In most environments, /ts/ and /ɬ/ are apico-alveolar affricates, but before prevocalic /y/ they are lamino-alveolar [tʃ ɕ].

(18) /tso <sup>12</sup> /	[tso <sup>12</sup> ]	‘boil\TIP3’	/tso <sup>12</sup> /	[tʃio <sup>12</sup> ]	‘lift\TIP3’
/ɬo <sup>2</sup> /	[ɬo <sup>2</sup> ]	‘sick\AIS3’	/ɬyo <sup>2</sup> /	[ɕio <sup>2</sup> ]	‘distribute\TIP3’

Consonants /k g ŋ/ are typically dorso-velar, but are centro-domal before prevocalic /y/.

- |                           |                      |                |                        |                        |                     |
|---------------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| (19) /kaʔ <sup>12</sup> / | [kaʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘beeswax’      | /kyaʔ <sup>12</sup> /  | [kyaʔ <sup>12</sup> ]  | ‘of\3in’            |
| /ga <sup>1</sup> /        | [ga <sup>1</sup> ]   | ‘fear\AIP3’    | /gya <sup>12</sup> /   | [gya <sup>12</sup> ]   | ‘mix together\TIP3’ |
| /ŋáʔ <sup>12</sup> /      | [ŋáʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘go home\AIP3’ | /ʔŋyaʔ <sup>12</sup> / | [ʔŋyaʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘Ref\3s’            |

Of the spirants, /ɸ/ is typically bilabial, though it may vary to labio-dental in some idiolects. As a single consonant in a syllable onset, /r/ varies from lenis voiced lamino-domal spirant to a more fortis voiced apico-domal trill. As the second of two consonants in a syllable onset, it is an apico-alveolar tap. /h/ is the voiceless counterpart of the phone it immediately precedes. Glottal stop in syllable onset is sometimes actualized as laryngealization of the following vowel.

### 1.5 Syllable Peaks

The most difficult problems in Tlapeuzco Chinantec phonological analysis are found in syllable peaks. An intricate network of relationships between vowels, glides, nasalization, tone, and stress, and subtle nuances of sound, have made it a complicated task to unravel. The analysis will be presented here and the phonetic detail will be addressed later. For purposes of analysis, it is convenient to segment the syllable peak into four positions. All segmental peak phonemes are discussed in terms of these four positions. Tone and nasalization are not assigned a position.

The first position of the syllable peak is the prevocalic position, in which either of the two glides /y w/ may occur. The second position is the central vowel position. This is the obligatory core of the peak, in which any one of the seven vowels: /i ø e ë a o u/ may occur. The third position is the postvocalic position, in which either of three glides /y w a/ may occur, where /a/ which is not normally considered a glide in phonetic terms, is here so treated phonologically. The fourth position may be occupied by glottal stop.

There is little need to discuss this fourth and final position except to note that final glottal stop phonetically conditions the postvocalic glide /w/ as well as tones, details of which will be discussed further below. Otherwise, as the last element of a syllable, glottal stop has no significant distributional limitations with other phonemes within the syllable. Most configurations of phonemes which occur in syllables unchecked by glottal stop also occur in syllables checked by glottal stop, gaps in the pattern appearing to be nonsystematic.

In addition to vowels, glides, and glottal stop, prosodic features of nasalization and tone also impact the syllable peak, as does stress, which has already been mentioned. These prosodies and

segmental elements of the peak will be introduced in the following sections, beginning with the vowels which are the nucleus of a syllable.

## 1.6 Vowels

The seven Tlapeuzco Chinantec vowels listed in (20) form a two-dimensional system with three tongue heights and a three-way contrast at all but the lowest height, of front unrounded, back unrounded, and back rounded. Vowels are presented using the standard Chinantec writing system, but are associated here with their most common phonetic equivalents:

- (20)
- |         |         |         |
|---------|---------|---------|
| /i/ [i] | /ø/ [œ] | /u/ [u] |
| /e/ [e] | /ë/ [ɸ] | /o/ [o] |
|         | /a/ [ə] |         |

Within the Crothers 1978 typology, Chinantec has a 7.2 vowel system—out of a total of seven vowels, two, /ø ë/, are typologically peripheral. Upon examination it is evident that /ë/ occurs almost exclusively with animate gender marked by nasalization within the syllable. Thus, on purely phonological grounds, except for a very few known lexical items, the system is a 6.1, a more typical pattern in the family of languages. Note also that though back-unrounded /ø/ is treated typologically as peripheral, it is in Chinantec the most common of the seven vowels.

As the obligatory core of any Tlapeuzco Chinantec syllable, any of the seven vowels may occur in the vowel position of a simple syllable peak:

- (21)
- |                                 |                                   |                             |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| /ti <sup>3</sup> / (plural)     | /tø <sup>2</sup> / ‘short\IIS’    | /tu <sup>2</sup> / ‘turkey’ |
| /te <sup>13</sup> / ‘light\TI!’ | /të <sup>2</sup> / ‘learned\AIS3’ | /to <sup>2</sup> / ‘metate’ |
|                                 | /ta <sup>3</sup> / ‘work’         |                             |

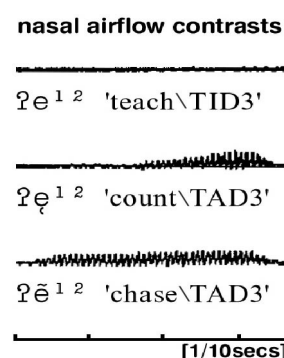
## 1.7 Nasalization

Any vowel may be nasalized, albeit nasalized /u/ is very rare unless the nasalization is due to a preceding nasal consonant. All vowels are phonetically nasal following a nasal onset consonant, but never contrastively in this context. The position is here taken that nasalization occurs contrastively only once in any given syllable, either as a feature of an onset consonant or as a feature of a peak vowel; not as a feature of both in the same syllable.

- (22)
- |                |                 |                       |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| /ʔiʔ²/ ‘shade’ | /ʔøw²/ ‘chili’  | /bɯw²/ ‘stupid\AIS3’  |
| /ʔe¹²/ ‘paint’ | /ʔë²/ ‘rarely’  | /ʔq¹²/ ‘harvest\TIP3’ |
|                | /ʔaʔ³/ ‘papaya’ |                       |

Tlapepuzco Chinantec demonstrates the rather unusual feature of distinguishing two degrees of nasalization in tonic syllables. This was first reported in Merrifield 1963, based on auditory perceptions. It was then verified instrumentally by Peter Ladefoged and Bill Wang (Ladefoged 1971:34–35), and confirmed instrumentally a second time by Merrifield and Edmondson (1999). The essence of the distinction is that, whereas full nasalization is actualized by a strong and steady nasal airflow throughout a syllable, light nasalization is actualized by a late initiation of nasal airflow which begins weakly and gradually builds in strength until **nasal airflow contrasts** it rapidly declines at the end of the syllable.

These minimal contrasts are demonstrated in Plate 2, abbreviated from Figures 1–3 of Merrifield and Edmondson 1999:307–08, which shows nasal airflow over the tonic syllable of three typical phrases. The first line is flat, indicating the complete absence of nasal airflow in the non-nasal syllable /ʔe<sup>12</sup>/ ‘he goes and teaches it’. On the second line



## Plate 1

there is nasal airflow of growing intensity that begins about halfway through and lasts to the end of the ‘lightly’ nasalized syllable /ʔɛ<sup>12</sup>/ ‘he goes and counts them’. And on the third line there is nasal airflow that begins shortly after the release of the initial glottal stop and continues at a relatively constant level to the end of the ‘fully’ nasalized syllable /ʔẽ<sup>12</sup>/ ‘he goes chasing them’.

The linguistic interpretation of full nasalization in Chinantec presents no difficulty. This is simply one of several features which may combine in the phonological realization of lexical roots. It is a minimal element of contrast, for example, in roots such as /ta<sup>12</sup>/ ‘ladder’ and /tã<sup>12</sup>/ ‘bird’.

Light nasalization, on the other hand, is undoubtedly associated, at least historically, with a separate inflectional morpheme, such as animate gender, or perhaps person and number. Anderson, Martínez, and Pace 1990 report an oral-nasal contrast in addition to a postvocalic nasal consonant, and provide examples like /ha:n¹/ ‘one\à’ and /hə:n¹/ ‘await\TAP3’, where both forms have a postvocalic /n/ associated with animate gender, while the second form also has nasalization as a feature of the verb root (1990:5–6). Rensch and Rensch (1966) also find a ‘syllable-final’ /n/ in

Lalana Chinantec that differs from nasalization; *cf.*  $be:\text{ʔ}^2$  ‘big\i’ and  $be:\text{ʔ}n^2$  ‘big\la’, in which the postvocalic /n/ marks animate gender (1966:458). Rensch also provides data, in training materials, that appear to implicate postvocalic /n/ as part of how Lalana Chinantec marks singular subjects in at least some nonthird-person verbforms; *e.g.*,  $/\text{ʔi}:\text{ʔ}n^{32}/$  ‘receive\TIP1s/2s’ versus  $/\text{ʔi}:\text{ʔ}^{32}/$  ‘receive\TIP1p/2p’ (Merrifield, Naish, Rensch, and Story 2003, dataset 73).

In Tlatepuzco Chinantec, in neither light nor full nasalization, do “final consonants appear in the phonetic output” (Ladefoged 1971:35). The phonetic mechanism is nasal airflow for both, but in the differing configurations represented above. The question, then, is how to account for this phenomenon for contemporary Tlatepuzco speech within linguistic theory, without reference to an *ad hoc* underlying ‘consonant’ that is never realized phonetically as such. I leave this for others to argue.

It has been difficult to pin down the full extent to which this three-way contrast extends in Tlatepuzco, since light nasalization does not at present seem to be the consistent exponent of any particular grammatical category, and because it is not found in the speech of every family in the community. It was found, as described above, in the speech of several members of the families of Agustín Gregorio and of Mariano Martínez Domínguez; but in the speech of three generations of the Florentino José Cabrera family the expected lightly nasalized forms are fully oral; and in the speech of at least one other person, Mardonio Martínez Miguel, the expected lightly nasalized words are fully nasalized.

In the remainder of this study, a polish hook beneath the vowel is used indiscriminately to mark any form of nasalization in phonological citations. In other sections of this study, in accordance with the standard way that Chinantec is written by and for Chinantec readers, an ‘n’ following a vowel is the convention that signals both kinds of nasalization, without distinguishing them.

## 1.8 Glides

The pretonic and posttonic glides have systematic restrictions of occurrence with vowels, onset consonants, and nasalization. In the absence of nasalization, the following combinations are found:

- (23)
- |     |     |     |     |     |    |    |  |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|--|-----|-----|-----|
| yi  | ye  | ya  | yo  | yu  |    |    |  | we  | wø  | wa  |
| iw  | ew  | aw  | ow  | uw  | øw | øa |  | ey  | øy  | ay  |
| yiw | yew | yaw | yow | yuw |    |    |  | yey | wøy | way |

In the presence of nasalization, all of the above combinations are found, except for the following four:

- (24)
- |  |      |      |  |     |  |  |  |      |
|--|------|------|--|-----|--|--|--|------|
|  | *yqw | *yqw |  | *øa |  |  |  | *way |
|--|------|------|--|-----|--|--|--|------|

Note, however, that of these four combinations that never occur with nasalization localized strictly within the syllable peak, the combination /øa/ does occur in numerous forms following any of the three nasal onset consonants /m n ŋ/.

- (25) /møa<sup>12</sup>/ ‘medicine’      /nøa<sup>12</sup>/ ‘withered’    /ŋøa<sup>12</sup>/ ‘erysipelas’

There are also systematic restrictions of occurrence between prevocalic glides and preceding onset consonants. Prevocalic /y/ may occur following any onset consonant except bilabials /p b f m/ and the alveolar tap /ɾ/, but only with voiced alveolar stop /d/, which is extremely rare in native roots, in the single Spanish loan /dyú<sup>13</sup>/ ‘god’ (*Sp.* dios).

On the other hand, prevocalic /y/ is always a concomitant of velar onset consonants /k g ŋ/ when they precede peak front vowels /i e/; such that sequences \*ki \*ke \*gi \*ge \*ŋi \*ŋe never occur without an intervening /y/. While this /y/ can be formally accounted for by phonetic rule, it is included in the lexicon in these contexts, as a practical matter, for purposes of popular use of the database by Chinantec readers, as in (26).

- (26)
- |                                  |                                |                                  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| /kyi <sup>12</sup> / ‘refuse’    | /gyiw <sup>2</sup> / ‘tear\TI’ | /ŋyi <sup>12</sup> / ‘know\TIS3’ |
| /kye <sup>12</sup> / ‘eat\TIP1p’ | /gye <sup>1</sup> / ‘ten\i’    | /ŋyé <sup>12</sup> / ‘hog’       |

Prevocalic /w/ may only initiate a syllable (without consonantal onset) or follow immediately upon onset velar consonants /k g/ or laryngeals /ʔ h/, as in (27).

- (27)
- |                                   |                                 |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| /kwó <sup>2</sup> / ‘sneeze\AIC3’ | /ʔwó <sup>1</sup> / ‘exit\III3’ | /wó <sup>2</sup> / ‘long-time\IIS’ |
| /gwó <sup>2</sup> / ‘sit\AIsC3’   | /hwó <sup>2</sup> / ‘stir\TIC3’ |                                    |

The phonetic realization of glides is discussed in detail in §1.11.

## 1.9 Tone

Pitch is a feature of lexical contrast in Tlapeuzco Chinantec which, along with other phonological features, distinguishes both simple lexemes and inflectional categories. There are

six tones: low /<sup>1</sup>/, low-mid /<sup>12</sup>/, low-high /<sup>13</sup>/, mid /<sup>2</sup>/, high /<sup>3</sup>/, and high-low /<sup>31</sup>/, as illustrated in (28). The high-low tone is uniquely found only on words of Spanish origin.

(28)	/ta <sup>1</sup> /	‘shave\TII3’	/ta <sup>1</sup> /	‘to’
	/ta <sup>12</sup> /	‘shave\TIP1s’	/ta <sup>12</sup> /	‘ladder’
	/ta <sup>13</sup> /	‘shave\TII1s’	/tia <sup>13</sup> /	‘Daddy’
	/ta <sup>2</sup> /	‘shave\TIP1p’	/ta <sup>2</sup> /	‘reed grass’
	/ta <sup>3</sup> /	‘shave\TI!’	/ta <sup>3</sup> /	‘work’
	/sa <sup>13</sup> /	‘rosary ( <i>Sp.</i> rosario)’	/sa <sup>31</sup> /	‘Saturday ( <i>Sp.</i> sábado)’

The phonetic realization of tones in tonic syllables varies (a) in reference to ballistic versus controlled stress, (b) in relation to sequences of tone in adjacent tonic syllables, and (c) in relation to whether a tonic syllable is phonological word-final or closed by glottal stop.

Although tones are represented as level /<sup>1 2 3</sup>/ or gliding /<sup>12 13 31</sup>/, Plate 3 shows typical level and falling tones in controlled and ballistic syllables, revealing the tendency for all of them to entail a descending trajectory at least at some point in their realization:<sup>1</sup> Spoken in isolation, the pitch of a high tone rises to the highest point of its trajectory before falling to the end of the syllable. A mid tone may also rise before falling, but the rise may not be as significant as that of the high tone. Even the low tone may have a slight rise in pitch at the beginning, but this tone shows an even stronger tendency than high and mid to descend in pitch during the greatest part of its trajectory.

In ballistic syllables, these tones attain higher pitch than in corresponding controlled syllables and tend to have a more dramatic change of direction from rising to falling. Since the voiced portion of ballistic syllables tends to be shorter than those of controlled syllables, recordable tone trajectories also tend to be shorter in duration in this context.

When high controlled tones occur in sequence, a tone that follows is initiated lower than the tone that precedes it; but this lowering of the second of two high tones on adjacent controlled syllables does not invoke a register change or otherwise affect the pitch of subsequent tones beyond normal pitch drift that may occur as a part of a normal intonational contour. This is not the case with controlled mid tones in sequence, as Plate 4 shows.

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<sup>1</sup> See Merrifield and Edmondson 1999 for further discussion. Tone trajectories were recorded and analyzed using CECIL speech analysis software and are presented graphically using Microsoft Excel charting. These trajectories are drawn from recordings of the speech of Camilo García Pérez (CGP), a nineteen-year-old male.



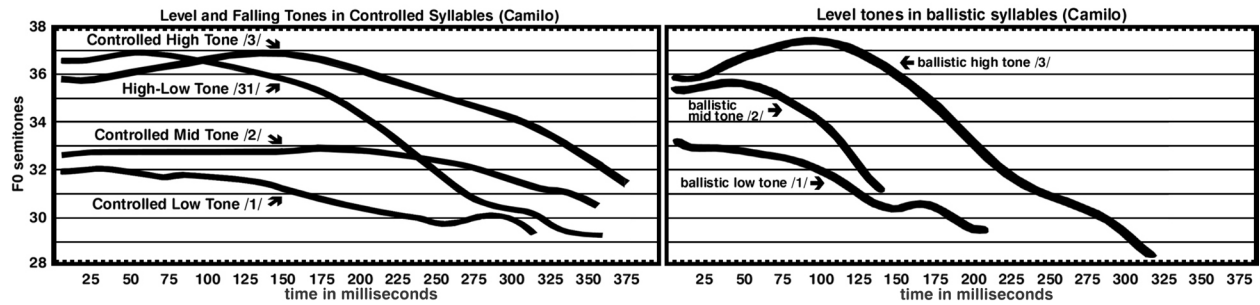


Plate 3. Level and Falling tones in controlled and ballistic syllables

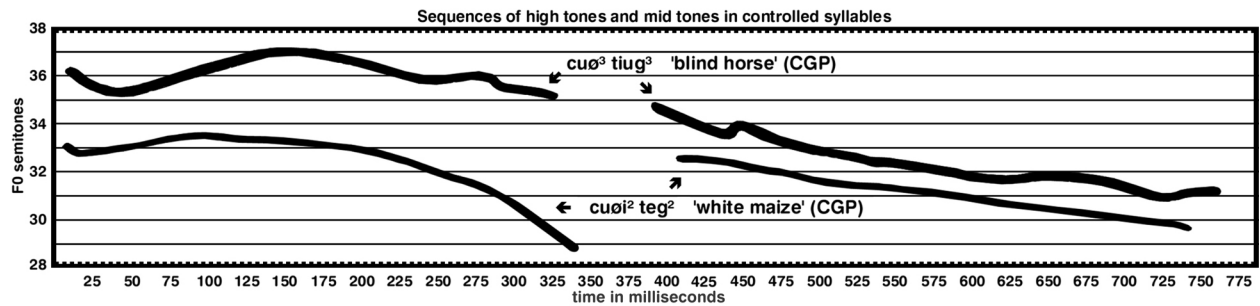


Plate 4. Sequences of high-high and mid-mid tones in controlled syllables

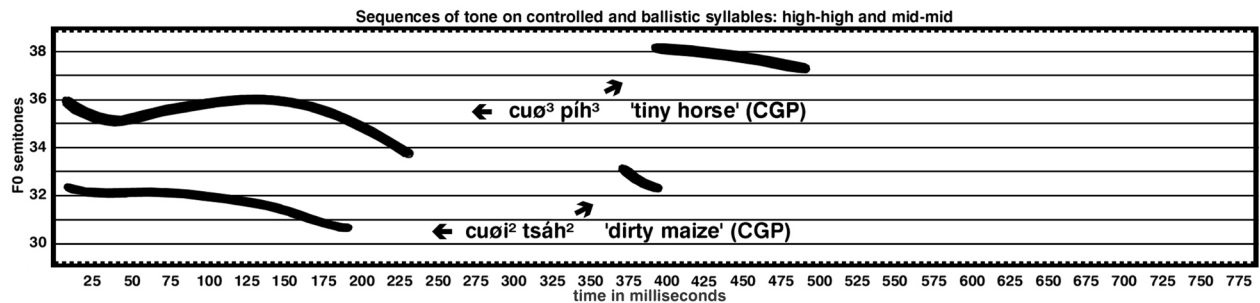


Plate 5 Sequences of high-high and mid-mid tones in controlled and ballistic syllables

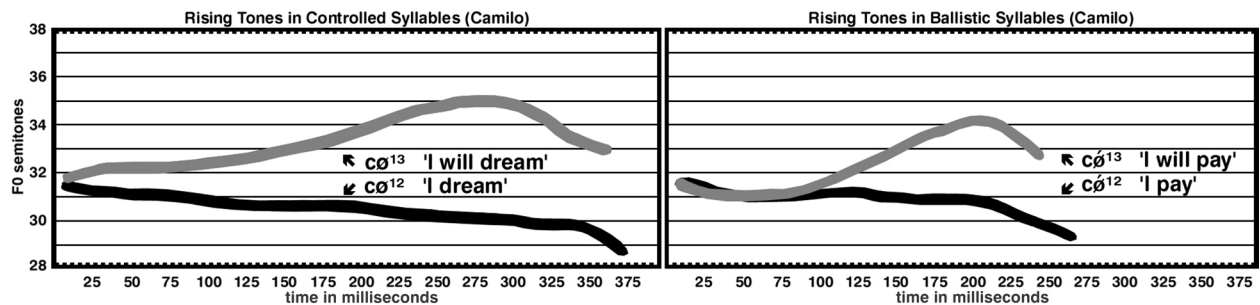


Plate 6. Rising tones in controlled and ballistic syllables

When a controlled syllable precedes a ballistic syllable, however, the tone on the ballistic syllable is markedly higher in pitch than a corresponding tone on the preceding controlled syllable, as seen in Plate 5.

The low-high tone /<sup>13</sup>/ is the one that rises significantly in pitch in both controlled and ballistic syllables. The low-mid tone /<sup>12</sup>/ was considered a very shallow rising glide in early analysis based on auditory interpretation of spoken and whistled words and phrases. Acoustically, this glide turns out to be more flat than rising but appears to fight the natural tendency to fall to which other tones readily yield, as indicated in Plate 6.

Tones /<sup>12</sup>/ and /<sup>13</sup>/ do not contrast phonetically between controlled and ballistic syllables when checked by a final glottal, although this limitation may not be true of all idiolects. At one stage of the analysis a few forms were recorded which seemed to demonstrate a contrast. Later, in checking with Isidro Martínez Antonio, the contrasts could not be found.

In spite of this lack of phonetic contrast, the reader will note that checked syllables bearing these tones do occur in illustrative material both with and without a ballistic accent. This is done based on lexical evidence, where other forms of a verb having other tones, indicate that the underlying root is either ballistic or controlled. For example, third-person intensive forms differ phonetically (and phonologically) in the following verbs; the progressive forms do not, but are marked for an underlying lexical contrast.

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| (29) /cøʔ <sup>1</sup> / ‘fall-over\III3’ | /cøʔ <sup>1</sup> / ‘wedged\III3’  |
| /cøʔ <sup>12</sup> / ‘fall-over\IIP3’     | /cøʔ <sup>12</sup> / ‘wedged\IIP3’ |

## 1.10 Intonation

The writer has not attempted a general analysis of Chinantec intonation and none will be presented here. Yes–No interrogative sentences, however, are uniquely marked by special intonation which can roughly be summarized, as follows:

- Yes–No interrogative sentences entail a slight, upward key shift of the entire sentence in relation to any which may precede or follow it.
- The six possible tones of the first syllable of a Yes–No interrogative sentence are changed to one of three, higher-than-normal pitch contours, based on the underlying tone:

Underlying mid /<sup>2</sup>/ or high /<sup>3</sup>/ tone become a level high pitch contour /<sup>3+</sup>/.

Underlying low /<sup>1</sup>/ or high-low /<sup>31</sup>/ tone become a high-falling pitch contour /<sup>31+</sup>/.

Underlying low-mid /<sup>12</sup>/ or low-high /<sup>13</sup>/ tone become a low-rising pitch contour /<sup>13+</sup>/.

- Ballistic versus controlled stress contrasts are lost on the intonation-bearing syllable.

The presence of Yes–No interrogative intonation is represented orthographically, as in Spanish, by an inverted question mark /¿/ at the beginning of the sentence as well as with a normal question mark at the end of the sentence. The normal representations of underlying tone and stress of the first syllable of a Yes-No sentence is retained:

- (30) ¿Tøa<sup>12</sup> [tøa<sup>13+</sup>] hogh<sup>12</sup> hning lálh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2?</sup>  
‘Are you O.K. with that?’

### 1.11 Communication Conspiracies

The Chinantec tonic syllable is phonologically complex and carries a great deal of information, given (a) the preponderance of roots that are of one-syllable length, (b) a relative dearth of affixation, and (c) limited patterns of word formation. A syllable like /ʔlyágʔ<sup>12</sup>/ ‘stoke\TIP3’ is the ‘simple’ present-tense citation form of a transitive inanimate verb root, and yet it is phonologically represented by two onset consonants, a pretonic glide, a vowel, a posttonic glide, syllable-final glottal, ballistic stress, and tone. Nasalization may also be present as a contrastive element of the syllable peak, as in /gyágʔ<sup>2?</sup>/ ‘whip\TNP3’ (cf. /gyágʔ<sup>12</sup>/ ‘discard\TNpP3’). In regard to this complexity and the subtlety of the tone and stress system, in particular, I have come to realize, over time, that many details of subphonemic timing, tone, and vowel quality *conspire together* to assist speakers of Tlatepuzcan Chinantec in their efforts to communicate with one another, distinguishing phonological contrasts within syllables that would otherwise be more difficult to recognize, not only for outsiders like me, but for native speakers as well. This is not the traditional sense in which linguists speak of phonological conspiracies, but the metaphor seems apt to me for describing how such elements mutually vary, in union with each other, to strengthen the phonetic distinctiveness of various phonological contrasts. Several such ‘conspiracies’ are discussed in the following sections.

## 1.12 Postvocalic Glide Conspiracies

I have chosen the same two symbols, /y w/, to represent prevocalic glides as I have for the two postvocalic glides, but I do not by that intend to imply that they are the same phonological units in these two separate positions. Pretonic glides are normally realized as [<sup>j</sup> w], respectively, as in /ʔyey<sup>3</sup>/ [ʔ<sup>j</sup>ei<sup>3</sup>] ‘take it!’ and /kway<sup>3</sup>/ [kΩei<sup>3</sup>] ‘firewood’.

Postvocalic /y/, on the other hand, is realized phonetically as a high front unrounded vocoid [i], whereas postvocalic /w/ is realized as a decidedly consonantal high back unrounded contoid that has a variety of phonetic norms defined by context. What may be considered to be the default realization of /w/, in a controlled syllable, is a very lightly voiced (unrounded) velar fricative [ɣ], as in /tøw<sup>2</sup>/ [tɿɣ<sup>2</sup>] ‘banana’. This same realization occurs in utterance-nonfinal ballistic syllables; but, in utterance-final ballistic syllables, postvocalic /w/ is a voiceless velar fricative [x], as in /tów<sup>2</sup>/ [tóx<sup>2</sup>] ‘bake\TIC3’. In all non-nasal syllables terminated by glottal stop [ʔ], however, it tends to be realized as a voiceless velar stop [k], as in /tøw<sup>2</sup>ʔ/ [tikʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘bake\TIP2’. Finally, in nasal syllables, in all contexts, it is realized as a voiced velar nasal [ŋ], as in /tøw<sup>2</sup>/ [tɿŋ<sup>2</sup>] ‘spill\IIP3’.

Rensch 1976 finds that an earlier Proto-Chinantec language, from which contemporary Chinantec languages descend, distinguished long and short vowels, a distinction that remains today in several daughter languages, but not in Tlapezco in that straightforward form. Rather, Rensch finds Tlapezco postvocalic glides /y w/ to be the modern reflexes of Proto-Chinantec long vowels. This may be seen in the selection of cognate set data extrapolated in (31) from Rensch’s 1989 etymological dictionary, with minor orthographic adjustments, where Pa = Tlapezco (Palantla), Ll = Lalana, Qi = Quiotepec, and Co = Comaltepec.

(31)	28. *tu:n <sup>H</sup> , *tiu:n <sup>H</sup> ‘blind’	Pa /tyuw <sup>H</sup> /	Ll /tu:n <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /tú: <sup>LH</sup> /	Co /tiũ:n <sup>H</sup> /
	41. *-ta: <sup>H</sup> ‘sapote seed’	Pa /taw <sup>H</sup> /	Ll /-to: <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /-to: <sup>H</sup> /	Co /-to: <sup>LM</sup> /
	43. *ta: <sup>L</sup> ‘banana’	Pa /tøw <sup>M</sup> /	Ll /to: <sup>L</sup> /	Qi /to: <sup>M</sup> /	Co /to: <sup>M</sup> /
	76. *tǎ: <sup>LH</sup> ‘thorn’	Pa /tǎw <sup>LM</sup> /	Ll /tǒ: <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /tǒ: <sup>LM</sup> /	Co /tǒ: <sup>LM</sup> /
	97. *ku: <sup>H</sup> ‘money’	Pa /kow <sup>H</sup> /	Ll /-ku: <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /ku: <sup>H</sup> /	Co /ku: <sup>H</sup> /
	120. *kia: <sup>H</sup> ‘fishtail palm’	Pa /kyew <sup>H</sup> /	Ll /-kya: <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /tya: <sup>H</sup> /	
	178. *ʔi: <sup>L</sup> ‘bear fruit’	Pa /ʔay <sup>LM</sup> /	Ll /ʔi: <sup>L</sup> /	Qi /ʔi: <sup>L</sup> /	Co /ʔi: <sup>LM</sup> /
	273. *ɕi: <sup>L</sup> ‘dog’	Pa /ɕøw <sup>M</sup> /	Ll /ɕi: <sup>L</sup> /	Qi /tsi: <sup>M</sup> /	Co /di: <sup>M</sup> /
	284. *ɕí: <sup>L</sup> ‘hotli’	Pa /ɕíw <sup>M</sup> /	Ll /ɕí: <sup>L</sup> /	Qi /tyí: <sup>L</sup> /	Co /gí: <sup>M</sup> /
	300. *ɕá: <sup>LH</sup> ‘straight’	Pa /ɕøw <sup>LM</sup> /	Ll /ɕó: <sup>M</sup> /	Qi /tsa: <sup>L</sup> /	Co /dé: <sup>M</sup> /

This development of posttonic glides from long vowels in Tlatepuzco Chinantec can be viewed, at least in its effect, as a conspiracy that increases earlier subphonemic contrasts between short and long vowels that were based primarily on duration. With the development of posttonic glides, the differences between these Tlatepuzco ‘long’ forms and corresponding ‘short’ forms have become considerably less subtle.

The phonological differences between modern Tlatepuzco /køʔ<sup>13</sup>/ ‘lizard’ (from short 85 \*kǎʔ<sup>LH</sup>) and /káyʔ<sup>12</sup>/ ‘dress\TIP3’ (from long 88 \*kǎ:ʔ) have clearly increased with the development of postvocalic /y/. Similarly, there are clear differences between modern reflexes of long and short vowels that show the presence and absence of postvocalic /w/, as in /ʔma<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>2</sup>/ ‘reed grass’ (from etymon 33 \*ta:<sup>L</sup>) and /tøw<sup>2</sup>/ ‘banana’ (from etymon 43 \*ta:<sup>L</sup>).

### 1.13 Vowel and Mid Tone Conspiracies

In controlled syllables with mid tone /2/, certain vowels have unique realizations which help to distinguish these particular configurations from others. High front /i/, for example, is normally a near-close [ɪ] in stressed syllables; but in controlled syllables with mid-tone /2/, it is close [i] (as is normal for unstressed syllables), which conspires to distinguish the mid tone from other tones in this context, as in (32).

(32)	/miʔ <sup>12</sup> / [mǐʔ <sup>12</sup> ] ‘wasp’	/miʔ <sup>2</sup> / [mǐʔ <sup>2</sup> ] ‘smalli’
------	--	--

Mid front /e/ in almost all contexts is an open-mid front /ɛ/, but is near-close central [ɨ4] before the velar postvocalic /w/ in a controlled syllable with mid-tone /2/, as in (33).

- (33) /tew<sup>1</sup>/ [tɛy<sup>1</sup>] ‘defecate\TID1s’      /tew<sup>2</sup>/ [ti4y<sup>2</sup>] ‘defecate\TIP1p’  
 /tew<sup>3</sup>/ [tɛy<sup>3</sup>] ‘bake\TI!’      /tew<sup>2</sup>/ [ti4y<sup>2</sup>] ‘bake\TIP1p’  
 /tew<sup>3</sup>/ [tɛy<sup>3</sup>] ‘blind\AIS3’      /tew<sup>2</sup>/ [ti4y<sup>2</sup>] ‘white\IIS’  
 /ɖyew<sup>3</sup>/ [ɖɛy<sup>3</sup>] ‘steam’      /ɖyew<sup>2</sup>/ [ɖɛi4y<sup>2</sup>] ‘planted field’  
 /kyew<sup>1</sup>/ [kɛy<sup>1</sup>] ‘mine\i’      /kyew<sup>2</sup>/ [kɛi4y<sup>2</sup>] ‘lay-down\TIs!’

High back unrounded /ø/ in controlled syllables with tone /2/ enters into three separate conspiracies with prevocalic and postvocalic /w/. First, /ø/ is normally realized as close-mid [ə] when followed by postvocalic /w/ in either a controlled or a ballistic syllable; but in a controlled syllable with tone /2/, it is realized as close-central [ɨ], as in (34).

- (34) /tów<sup>2</sup>/ [tɨy<sup>2</sup>] ‘defecate\TIC3’      /tøw<sup>2</sup>/ [tiy<sup>2</sup>] ‘hole’  
 /lów<sup>12</sup>/ [ləy<sup>12</sup>] ‘musical instrument’      /løw<sup>2</sup>/ [liy<sup>2</sup>] ‘skin’  
 /ʔnów<sup>2</sup>/ [ʔnɨy<sup>2</sup>] ‘seek\TIC3’      /ʔnøw<sup>2</sup>/ [ʔniy<sup>2</sup>] ‘seek\TIneg!’

Second, when /ø/ follows pretonic /w/ without a posttonic glide following (*i.e.*, /y/) in a controlled syllable with tone /2/, the sequence /wø/ coalesces to [u:], as in (35).

- (35) /wøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [u:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘smooth\IIS3’      /gwøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [g<sup>w</sup>u:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘sit\AIsP3’  
 /kwøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [k<sup>w</sup>u:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘cooked\IIS3’      /ʔwøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [ʔu:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘night’  
 /kwøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [k<sup>w</sup>u:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘youngest\AIS3’      /hwøʔ<sup>2</sup>/ [ɥu:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘pus’

And thirdly, when /ø/ follows pretonic /w/ and precedes posttonic glide /y/ in a controlled syllable with tone /2/, the sequence /wøy/ coalesces to [w<sup>i</sup>:], as in (36).

- (36) /kwøy<sup>2</sup>/ [k<sup>w</sup>i:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘maize’      /gwøy<sup>2</sup>/ [g<sup>w</sup>i:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘cool\IIS3’  
 /gwøy<sup>2</sup>/ [g<sup>w</sup>i:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘beech’      /hwøy<sup>2</sup>/ [ɥ<sup>w</sup>i:ʔ<sup>2</sup>] ‘community’

## 1.14 Prevocalic /y/ Timing Conspiracies

Prevocalic /y/ has formed a conspiracy with vowels in respect to timing within the syllable. When /y/ precedes the core vowel of a tonic syllabic peak, it may share a more-or-less equal level of syllabicity with the vowel (as [i]), it may be a quick palatal glide (as [j]) with the following vowel carrying the primary syllabic force of the syllable, or it may be reduced to a very slight palatal trace on a preceding onset consonant (as, for example, [t̪]). These various realizations are well defined by context, as follows:

- (a) Prevocalic /y/ essentially shares syllabicity equally with a following /i e u o/ in oral or nasal syllables in the absence of a postvocalic glide, as in (37).

- |                            |                       |                   |                       |                        |                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (37) /ʔyiʔ <sup>12</sup> / | [ʔirʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘carry\TIS3’      | /kyiʔ <sup>2</sup> /  | [kɪrʔ <sup>2</sup> ]   | ‘dry\IIS3’        |
| /tyeʔ <sup>12</sup> /      | [tiɛʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘drop\TIsP3’      | gyɛʔ <sup>12</sup> /  | [gɪɛʔ <sup>12</sup> ]  | ‘bend=over\TIP1s’ |
| /hyuʔ <sup>12</sup> /      | [liuʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘accomplice\AIS3’ | tsyuʔ <sup>12</sup> / | [tʃiʔ <sup>2</sup> ]   | ‘kiss\TIP3’       |
| /lióʔ <sup>12</sup> /      | [lióʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘bathe\AIP1p’     | tsyqʔ <sup>12</sup> / | [tʃiqʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘stick\TIP3’      |

- (b) Prevocalic /y/ is a quick, nonsyllabic palatal transition [j] preceding the vowel /a/ in an oral or nasal syllable in the absence of a postvocalic glide. It has this same nonsyllabic realization whenever postvocalics /y w/ are present, unless the onset consonant is an alveolar /t l n/, as in (38).

- |                           |                        |                     |                       |                       |                 |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (38) /kyaʔ <sup>1</sup> / | [kʲaʔ <sup>12</sup> ]  | ‘of\3in’            | /tsyew <sup>3</sup> / | [tʃʲɛy <sup>3</sup> ] | ‘Mazatec’       |
| /ɲyaʔ <sup>1</sup> /      | [ʔɲʲaʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘Refl\3s’           | /kyuw <sup>1</sup> /  | [kʲuɥ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘humorous\AIS3’ |
| /yéyʔ <sup>1</sup> /      | [jéiʔ <sup>12</sup> ]  | ‘grind\TIP3’        | /gyow <sup>1</sup> /  | [gʲoɥ <sup>13</sup> ] | ‘Refl\3p’       |
| /kyɛy <sup>12</sup> /     | [kʲɛiʔ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘leave-behind\TNP3’ | /ʔyaw <sup>3</sup> /  | [ʔʲay <sup>3</sup> ]  | ‘hate\TIS1s’    |
| /gyey <sup>1</sup> /      | [gʲei <sup>1</sup> ]   | ‘tear\TID1s’        | /gyaw <sup>3</sup> /  | [gʲaŋ <sup>3</sup> ]  | ‘know\TIS1s’    |

- (c) When prevocalic /y/ follows alveolar consonants /t n l/ in any of the above stated contexts in which it is nonsyllabic, /y/ is realized as palatalization of the consonant itself without an appreciable palatal interim transition to the following vowel. It also has a fronting impact on following /u o a/, which are rendered, in this context, as [ü ö æ],<sup>2</sup> as in (39).

- |  |                                    |                |                       |                        |               |
|--|------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| (39) /tyo <sup>7</sup> <sup>12</sup> / | [tʲö <sup>12</sup> ]               | ‘attach\DAP3’  | /hnya <sup>12</sup> / | [N̥n̥æ <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘obtain\TAP3’ |
| /tyow <sup>7</sup> <sup>12</sup> /     | [tʲök <sup>7</sup> <sup>12</sup> ] | ‘insert\DApD3’ | /lyaw <sup>12</sup> / | [l̥æɥ <sup>12</sup> ]  | ‘wrap\DNP3’   |
| /tyáw <sup>2</sup> /                   | [tʲæŋ <sup>2</sup> ]               | ‘put\TNsP3’    | /lyúw <sup>2</sup> /  | [l̥úx <sup>2</sup> ]   | ‘save\TAP3’   |

### 1.15 Front Vowel Neutralization after Prevocalic /y/

Following prevocalic /y/, front vowels /i/ and /e/ fail to contrast after certain initial consonants, with /yi/ occurring in certain tone-stress contexts and /ye/ in others. Specifically, with initial consonants /t l n s ts dz g h/ in the configuration Cy, in controlled syllables,

- (a) only /i/ occurs with tone /<sup>2</sup>/ (as high close [i]), and

- (b) only /e/ occurs with tones /<sup>1 3 12 13 31</sup>/;

whereas, in ballistic syllables,

- (c) only /i/ occurs with tones /<sup>1 2 3</sup>/ (as high open [ɪ]), and

- (d) only /e/ occurs with tones /<sup>12 13</sup>/

The grammatical impact of this distributional limitation between the two front vowels is that individual members of many verb paradigms, which differ in great measure by tone and stress, also differ in their vowel, as the following examples show. The phonological impact is that the

<sup>2</sup> I.e., IPA [y ø æ]. I return briefly to the interpretation of these three phones in the next section.

change of vowel, based on a tone-stress configuration, conspires to aid language users in distinguishing very subtle differences in tone and stress.<sup>3</sup>

- |      |                     |              |                      |              |                     |              |
|------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (40) | /ɖye <sup>1</sup> / | ‘put\TIpC1s’ | /ɖye <sup>12</sup> / | ‘put\TIpP1s’ | /ɖyí <sup>1</sup> / | ‘put\TipD3’  |
|      | /ɖyi <sup>2</sup> / | ‘put\TIpP1p’ | /ɖye <sup>13</sup> / | ‘put\TIpI1s’ | /ɖyí <sup>3</sup> / | ‘put\TipI1p’ |
|      | /ɖye <sup>3</sup> / | ‘put\Tip!’   |                      |              |                     |              |
- 
- |      |                     |              |                      |              |  |  |
|------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|--|--|
| (41) | /tyí <sup>1</sup> / | ‘put\TIsC1s’ | /tyé <sup>12</sup> / | ‘put\TIsP1s’ |  |  |
|      | /tyí <sup>2</sup> / | ‘put\TIsI3’  | /tyé <sup>13</sup> / | ‘put\TIsI1s’ |  |  |
- 
- |      |                                  |               |                                   |               |  |  |
|------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--|--|
| (42) | /tye <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> / | ‘drop\TIsI3’  | /tye <sup>?</sup> <sup>12</sup> / | ‘drop\TIsP3’  |  |  |
|      | /tyi <sup>?</sup> <sup>2</sup> / | ‘drop\TisP1p’ | /tyí <sup>?</sup> <sup>3</sup> /  | ‘drop\TisI1p’ |  |  |
|      | /tye <sup>?</sup> <sup>3</sup> / | ‘drop\TIs!’   |                                   |               |  |  |

On the other hand, following initial consonants /k ɲ ʔ/, /yi ye/ are in clear contrast. In the case of /k ɲ/, this may be due to the fact that the presence of /y/ between velar consonants and front vowels is purely automatic; but this does not account for the absence of /g/ from this group or for the presence of /ʔ/. And with /ʔ/ in the group, we might also expect /h/. A possible reason for /g/ being absent from the group is that voiced plosives are generally much more rare in Chinantec than their voiceless counterparts, resulting in very few sequences /gyi gye/ in the lexicon. Sequences with /hy/ are also limited in number, and even the contrast with /ʔy/ is not established by nearly as many exemplars as with /ky ɲy/.

- |      |                     |                    |                     |               |
|------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (43) | /kyɛ <sup>1</sup> / | ‘calm\TAC1s’       | /kyí <sup>1</sup> / | ‘carry\TID1s’ |
|      | /kyɛ <sup>2</sup> / | ‘fall-behind\TM!’  | /kyí <sup>2</sup> / | ‘carry\TIP1p’ |
|      | /kyé <sup>1</sup> / | ‘fall-behind\TMI3’ | /kyí <sup>1</sup> / | ‘carry\TIC1s’ |
|      | /kyé <sup>2</sup> / | ‘calm\AI13’        | /kyí <sup>2</sup> / | ‘carry\TID3’  |
- 
- |      |                                   |              |                                   |                     |
|------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| (44) | /ɲyi <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> /  | ‘come\AIsC2’ | /ɲye <sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup> /  | ‘receive\TII2’      |
|      | /ɲyi <sup>?</sup> <sup>3</sup> /  | ‘know\TIS2’  | /ɲye <sup>?</sup> <sup>3</sup> /  | ‘go-and-come\AIsC2’ |
|      | /ɲyi <sup>?</sup> <sup>13</sup> / | ‘early’      | /ɲye <sup>?</sup> <sup>13</sup> / | ‘awaken\TAC2’       |
- 
- |      |                                  |              |                                   |                      |
|------|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (45) | /ʔyi <sup>?</sup> <sup>3</sup> / | ‘timid\AIS3’ | /ʔye <sup>3</sup> /               | ‘occasion’           |
|      | /ʔyi <sup>13</sup> /             | ‘hammock’    | /ʔye <sup>?</sup> <sup>13</sup> / | ‘San Felipe de León’ |

## 1.16 Prevocalic /w/ Timing Conspiracies

Prevocalic /w/ has a much more limited distribution than prevocalic /y/. It only occurs in syllables without an onset consonant or following onset consonants /k g ʔ h/, and only preceding

<sup>3</sup> Note that this is purely a phonological phenomenon and differs from other vowel alternations within verbal paradigms discussed below, which are lexically motivated.



/e ɛ a ɔ ʊ ɔy ɔy ɔy/. Like prevocalic /y/, in some contexts it may share a more-or-less equal level of syllabicity with the core vowel that follows, or it may be a quick glide.

This quick glide realization is the more common one, in the case of prevocalic /w/, being found preceding /ɛ ɔ ay ɔy ɔy/.

(46)	/kwɛʔ <sup>12</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɛʔ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘know\TIS2’	/kwá <sup>12</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘give\TAP3’
	/kwɛʔ <sup>2</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɛʔ <sup>2</sup> ]	‘flee\TAP3’	/kwá <sup>12</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘give\TAP1s’
	/gwɛ <sup>3</sup> /	[g <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>3</sup> ]	‘deaf\AIS3’	/ʔwá <sup>13</sup> /	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>13</sup> ]	‘soft\AIS3’
	/gwɛ <sup>1</sup> /	[g <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>1</sup> ]	‘sleep\AII3’	/ʔwá <sup>2</sup> /	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>2</sup> ]	‘strong\AIS3’
	/ʔwɛʔ <sup>1</sup> /	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> ɛʔ <sup>1</sup> ]	‘dark\AIS3’	/hwá <sup>12</sup> /	[ʊ <sup>w</sup> ɛʔ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘large\AIS3’
	/hwɛ <sup>2</sup> /	[ʌ <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>2</sup> ]	‘tough\AIS3’	/hwá <sup>2</sup> /	[ʊ <sup>w</sup> ɛ <sup>2</sup> ]	‘frighten\TAP3’
(47)	/kway <sup>3</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɛi <sup>3</sup> ]	‘firewood’	/kwɔy <sup>3</sup> /	[k <sup>w</sup> ɔi <sup>3</sup> ]	‘wart’
	/gway <sup>3</sup> /	[g <sup>w</sup> ɛi <sup>3</sup> ]	‘grey squirrel’	/gwɔy <sup>2</sup> /	[g <sup>w</sup> ɔi <sup>2</sup> ]	‘cold\IIS3’
	/ʔwáy <sup>12</sup> /	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> ɛi <sup>12</sup> ]	‘peel\TIP1s’	/ʔwɔy <sup>3</sup> /	[ʔ <sup>w</sup> ɔi <sup>3</sup> ]	‘lacewing’
	/hway <sup>3</sup> /	[ʊ <sup>w</sup> ɛi <sup>3</sup> ]	‘fragile\IIS3’	/hwɔy <sup>12</sup> /	[ʊ <sup>w</sup> ɔi <sup>12</sup> ]	‘supple\IIS3’

The contexts in which prevocalic /w/ shares a more-or-less equal level of syllabicity with the core vowel that follows are /wa wɔ wɔ/.

(48)	/kwa <sup>1</sup> /	[kue <sup>1</sup> ]	‘give\TIC1s’	/ʔwa <sup>1</sup> /	[ʔue <sup>1</sup> ]	‘ground’
	/kwa <sup>2</sup> /	[kue <sup>2</sup> ]	‘gourd’	/ʔwá <sup>12</sup> /	[ʔue <sup>12</sup> ]	‘extract\TIP3’
	/gwá <sup>12</sup> /	[gué <sup>12</sup> ]	‘sit\AIS3’	/hwá <sup>12</sup> /	[ʊgué <sup>12</sup> ]	‘stir\TIP1s’
	/gwa <sup>12</sup> /	[gue <sup>12</sup> ]	‘church house’	/hwa <sup>12</sup> /	[ʊgue <sup>12</sup> ]	‘precept’
(49)	/wɔʔ <sup>3</sup> /	[uəʔ <sup>3</sup> ]	‘hurt\AIS3’	/gwɔʔ <sup>12</sup> /	[guəʔ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘scar’
	/wɔ <sup>2</sup> /	[uə <sup>2</sup> ]	‘long-time\IIS3’	/gwɔ <sup>2</sup> /	[guə <sup>2</sup> ]	‘cold\IIS3’
	/kwɔ <sup>12</sup> /	[kuə <sup>12</sup> ]	‘sneeze\AID3’	/gwɔ <sup>1</sup> /	[guə <sup>1</sup> ]	‘arrive-here\AISC3’
	/kwɔ <sup>1</sup> /	[kuə <sup>1</sup> ]	‘valley’	/ʔwɔʔ <sup>12</sup> /	[ʔuəʔ <sup>12</sup> ]	‘orange’
	/kwɔ <sup>12</sup> /	[kuə <sup>12</sup> ]	‘reed grass’	/hwɔʔ <sup>3</sup> /	[ʊuəʔ <sup>3</sup> ]	‘shucked\IIS3’
	/kwɔʔ <sup>13</sup> /	[kuəʔ <sup>13</sup> ]	‘shoot’	/hwɔ <sup>2</sup> /	[ʊuə <sup>2</sup> ]	‘stir\TIP3’
	/gwɔ <sup>12</sup> /	[guə <sup>12</sup> ]	‘gray fox’	/hwɔʔ <sup>3</sup> /	[ʊuəʔ <sup>3</sup> ]	‘toucan’

### 1.17 The Three Additional Front Vowels of Other Chinantec Languages

The phonological status of [ü ö æ] as realizations of /u o a/ in certain contexts following /y/ deserves special comment inasmuch as all three of these phones are considered to represent distinct phonemes in certain other Chinantec languages. For this brief side bar, I will refer to these three additional vowels as /ü ö ä/

Rensch 1989 (prepared in the late 1960s) found the primary Proto-Chinantec source of these three vowels in modern Chinantec languages generally to be \*iV (with or without length,

nasalization, or final glottal). More specifically, in regard to /ü ö/, he found /ü/ in Quiotepec and /ö/ in Comaltepec, Lalana, and Ozumacín to be reflexes of \*iu. He does not mention Tlapezco because, in the 1960s, I was already treating any data that I might have given him involving these phones as /yu yo/, an analysis that continues to stand.

The analysis of [æ] as a realization of /ya/, for Tlapezco, however, is not as firm. In the historical record, Rensch 1989 found only Lalana and Ozumacín Chinantec to have developed an /ä/ from \*ia; but both Anderson, Martínez, and Pace 1990 and Anderson 1989 include /ä/ in the Comaltepec Chinantec vowel inventory, with Anderson 1989:6 saying explicitly that /ä/ “is in near complementary distribution with the sequence /ia/, only contrasting after laryngeal consonants,” which is to say, /h ʔ/. (Note that Rensch's 1989 report represents work done many years prior to this work in Comaltepec.) A now deceased student of Ozumacín Chinantec, Evelyn Krotzer, once drafted an unpublished phonological analysis for that language that asserted that /ä/ was also in contrast with /ya/ in at least some contexts. James Rupp, who has more recently pursued the study of Ozumacín Chinantec indicates (personal communication) that he continues to consider /ä/ to be contrastive in Ozumacín and offers /lá<sup>M</sup>/ ‘trap’ and /lä:ʔ<sup>L</sup>/ ‘black’ as examples of its occurrence. With this information, we can update Rensch's two corresponding cognate sets (1989:96f) for these five languages as in (50).

- (50) 680 \*liá<sup>L</sup> ‘trap’      Pa /lí<sup>M</sup>/   Oz /lá<sup>M</sup>/   Li /lá<sup>L</sup>/   Qi /la<sup>M</sup>/   Co /lá<sup>L</sup>/.  
 684 \*lia:ʔ<sup>L</sup> ‘black\SII’   Pa /liʔ<sup>M</sup>/   Oz /lä:ʔ<sup>L</sup>/   Li /lä:ʔ<sup>L</sup>/   Qi /laʔ<sup>M</sup>/   Co /leʔ<sup>L</sup>/.

The Tlapezco situation, restated in a slightly different way, is that an /a/ following /y/ is normally realized as [ɐ] in all contexts, except when /y/ is preceded by /t l n/ or when /y/ is preceded by /ʔ/ in the absence of nasalization or postvocalic /w/. The same might possibly be said about /h/ if it were to be found in these contexts, but it is not. When, however, either /ʔ/ or /h/ precede /ya/ in the presence of either nasalization or postvocalic /w/, /a/ is realized as [ɐ]. There is complementation here, but the complementation is not at all pretty, and is represented only by three lexical entries, listed in (51).

- (51) /ʔya<sup>12</sup>/ [ʔæ<sup>12</sup>] ‘point-out\TAP3’  
 /ʔyá<sup>12</sup>/ [ʔé<sup>12</sup>] ‘pull\TIP3’  
 /ʔyá<sup>1</sup>/ [ʔé<sup>1</sup>] ‘tomorrow’

## 1.18 Onset–Peak Combinations

In summary, all known combinations of vowels, glides, and nasalization in syllable peaks are listed in the following three tables with the onsets that may accompany them listed in the first column. Nasal consonants are treated as occurring with nonnasal vowels, assigning the inevitable presence of phonetic nasalization of such peaks to the nasalizing influence of the onset consonants they follow. The symbol ‘s’ indicates that a given consonant only occurs in the stated environment in words that are obviously of Spanish origin. The symbol ‘R’ indicates that a syllable formation is very rare, with only one or two native, non-Spanish-related exemplars. And the default ‘X’ indicates native exemplars are frequent and productive.

	i	e	ø	ë	u	o	a	ĩ	ẽ	ø̃	ë̃	ũ	õ	ã	yi	ye	yu	yo	ya	yĩ	yẽ	yũ	yõ	yā
p	R	s	R			s	R					R	R	R										
b	×	R	×		×	R	×		×		×			×										
f	s	s																						
m	×	×	×	×	×	×	×																	
t	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×		s	×	×	×
d	R		R		s	R	s											s						
l	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×		×			×	×	×	×	×	s		s	s		×
n	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								×	×	×	×	×					
r	s	×	×		×	×	s	s	×				×	×										
s	×	×	×			×	s	×	s	×		s	s		×	×	×	s	×		s	s		×
c	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×
z	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×		×			×	×	×	×	×						×
k			×	R	×	×	×			×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
g			×	R	×	×							×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×
ŋ			×	×		×	×								×	×	×	×	×					
h	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×					×
ʔ	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×			×

	we wø wa	wɛ wø wɔ	ey øy ay	ɛy øy ɔy	yey yɛy	wøy way wøy
p				s s		
b			x	s		
f			s			
m			s x x			
t			x x x	s		
d						
l			x x x			
n			x x x			
r			R s	s R		
s			x s	s		
c			x x x	x		
z			x x x			
k	x x	x x x	x x	x	x x	x x x
g	x x	x x	x	s		x x
ŋ			x	x	x	
h	s x x	x x x	x x x	x x x		x x x
ʔ	x x	x x	x x x	x x	x	x x x

	iw ew øw uw ow aw øa	ɪw ɛw øw ɯw ɔw ɔw	yiw yew yuw yow yaw yɪw yɛw yɔw
p			s
b		x x	
f			
m		x x x	
t	x x x x x x	x x	x x x x
d		s	s
l	x x x x x x	R	x x x
n	x x x x x x		x
r	x x	s	
s		s	x x x x
c	x x x x x x	x	x x x x x x
z	x x x x x x		x x x x
k	x x x x x x	x x x x	x x x x x x x x
g	x x x x x x	s	x x x x x x x x
ŋ	x x x x		x x x x
h	x x x x x x	x x x	x x x x
ʔ	x x x x x x	x x	x x x x

## 2. Active Verb Inflection

An understanding of the form and function of verbs is central to the interpretation of the rest of Tlapeuzco Chinantec syntax and is, therefore, presented early in this study. Chinantec exhibits a major inflectional division between ACTIVE and STATIVE verbs, which are easily distinguished by a simple diagnostic test. Active verb roots may occur directly with the past-tense prefix *ca*<sup>1</sup>-, as in *ca<sup>1</sup>bën<sup>1</sup>* ‘it curled up’. Stative roots require the completive form *lø*<sup>1</sup>- of the activating prefix in order to occur with past-tense *ca*<sup>1</sup>-, as in *ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>banh<sup>2</sup>* ‘it became plump’. This chapter focuses on Active Verbs. Stative Verbs are discussed in chapter 4.

Chinantec Active verbforms exhibit clearly defineable morphological properties; but cannot, in general, be segmented productively into morphological components. A typical active verbform like *hnángh*<sup>3</sup>, for example, is here glossed as ‘search\TII2’, where the symbols following backslash (\) indicate that it is the Transitive Inanimate (TI), Intensive Aspect (I), Second-Person (2) form of the verb whose lexical meaning is ‘search’. No attempt is made in this study to divide and allocate the phonological components of *hnángh*<sup>3</sup>, or any other active verbforms like it, among individual morphemes of transitivity, gender, aspect, person, voice, or lexical force. To do so would require a separate study of its own that would, at the very least, compare the verbforms of several other Chinantec languages in an attempt to uncover how modern Chinantec verbs may possibly have developed historically from earlier ones that exhibited more discrete strings of morphological units than are currently found in any of the Chinantec languages.

The study, rather, assembles and assigns active verbforms to well-defined PARADIGMS and associated PARADIGM SETS as a framework for presenting Active Verb Stem Inflection, by which is meant the variations in phonological makeup that active verb stems exhibit, apart from affixation, to mark grammatical categories of transitivity, voice, aspect, gender, person, number, motion, and sequence.

All Chinantec verbforms are finite. No infinitive or participial form exists. The various forms of active verb stems can be identified in terms of a twenty-two-place PARADIGM, based on the intersection of five ASPECTS—PROGRESSIVE (P), INTENSIVE (I), COMPLETIVE (C), DIRECTIONAL (D),

and RETURN (R)—four PERSON-NUMBER CATEGORIES—FIRST-SINGULAR (1s), FIRST-PLURAL (1p), SECOND PERSON (2), and THIRD PERSON (3)—and two IMPERATIVES—POSITIVE and NEGATIVE. Such paradigms may be displayed in a two-dimensional array with person-number categories defining four columns, categories of aspect defining five rows, with the two imperatives in an additional sixth row. Three typical paradigms are presented in (52)–(54), for the active Chinantec verbs meaning ‘fold\TI’, ‘push\TA’, and ‘bathe\AI’, respectively (where TI is ‘transitive inanimate’, TA is ‘transitive animate’, and AI is ‘animate intransitive’).

(52) fold\TI	1s	1p	2	3
P	jánh <sup>12</sup>	jánh <sup>12</sup>	jánh <sup>12</sup>	jánh <sup>2</sup>
I	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>2</sup>
C	jánh <sup>1</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>1</sup>	jánh <sup>2</sup>
D	jánh <sup>1</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>1</sup>	jánh <sup>1</sup>
R	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>	jánh <sup>13</sup>
	impv jánh <sup>1</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> jánh <sup>12</sup>			

(53) push\TA	1s	1p	2	3
P	hliánh <sup>12</sup>	hliánh <sup>12</sup>	hliánh <sup>12</sup>	hlian <sup>12</sup>
I	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hlian <sup>1</sup>
C	hliánh <sup>1</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hlian <sup>1</sup>
D	hliánh <sup>1</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hlian <sup>12</sup>
R	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hliánh <sup>13</sup>	hlian <sup>12</sup>
	impv hliánh <sup>13</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> hliánh <sup>12</sup>			

(54) bathe\AI	1s	1p	2	3
P	lóh <sup>12</sup>	lióh <sup>12</sup>	lóh <sup>2</sup>	lóh <sup>12</sup>
I	lóh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lóh <sup>3</sup>	lóh <sup>1</sup>
C	lóh <sup>1</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>12</sup>	lóh <sup>1</sup>
D	lióh <sup>1</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>12</sup>	lióh <sup>12</sup>
R	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>	lióh <sup>13</sup>
	impv lióh <sup>12</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> lóh <sup>2</sup>			

An examination of these three paradigms reveals that each represents a slightly different pattern of inflection and that, while there are twenty-two positions, no paradigm includes anywhere near that many distinct forms. The first paradigm above has just four distinct forms (*jánh<sup>1</sup>*, *jánh<sup>12</sup>*, *jánh<sup>13</sup>*, *jánh<sup>2</sup>*), the second has only three (*hliánh<sup>1</sup>*, *hliánh<sup>12</sup>*, *hliánh<sup>13</sup>*), and the third has eight (*lóh<sup>1</sup>*, *lóh<sup>12</sup>*, *lóh<sup>13</sup>*, *lóh<sup>2</sup>*, *lóh<sup>3</sup>*, *lióh<sup>1</sup>*, *lióh<sup>12</sup>*, *lióh<sup>13</sup>*). Many verbforms within a paradigm are homophonous and, therefore, ambiguous in reference. Most of this ambiguity is reduced in context by the presence of inflectional prefixes and nominal expressions.

An alternate way to present such paradigms is in list form, listing each distinct form separately with as many glosses as are associated with it. The last paradigm above, for ‘bathe\AI’, with eight forms, can be displayed in list form as in (55).

- (55) lóh<sup>1</sup> ‘bathe\AIC1s\AII3\AIC3’  
 lóh<sup>12</sup> ‘bathe\AIP1s\AIP3’  
 lóh<sup>13</sup> ‘bathe\AII1s’  
 lóh<sup>2</sup> ‘batheh\AIP2\AIneg!’  
 lóh<sup>3</sup> ‘bathe\AII2’  
 lióh<sup>1</sup> ‘bathe\AID1s’  
 lióh<sup>12</sup> ‘bathe\AIP1p\AIC2\AID2\AID3\AI!’  
 lióh<sup>13</sup> ‘bathe\AII1p\AIC1p\AID1p\AIR’

In respect to segmental variation, note in the three paradigms listed above, that the first uniformly lacks the prevocalic glide /y/ (written ‘i’), the second uniformly shows /y/ in all forms, and the third displays /y/ in a restricted ‘L’-shaped configuration comprising the first three rows of the first-plural column and the third row of second-person column (in addition to the entire fourth and fifth rows and the positive imperative form).

Other configurations of segmental variation are represented in paradigms (56)–(58).

(56) hear\TI

	1s	1p	2	3
P	nang <sup>12</sup>	neng <sup>2</sup>	nøng <sup>2</sup>	nang <sup>12</sup>
I	nang <sup>13</sup>	néng <sup>3</sup>	nóng <sup>3</sup>	nang <sup>1</sup>
C	nang <sup>1</sup>	néng <sup>3</sup>	neng <sup>2</sup>	nóng <sup>2</sup>
D	neng <sup>1</sup>	néng <sup>3</sup>	neng <sup>2</sup>	neng <sup>2</sup>
R	neng <sup>1</sup>	néng <sup>3</sup>	neng <sup>2</sup>	néng <sup>3</sup>
		impv neng <sup>2</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> nøng <sup>2</sup>		

(57) lift\TI

	1s	1p	2	3
P	chio <sup>12</sup>	chieg <sup>2</sup>	chieg <sup>2</sup>	chio <sup>12</sup>
I	chio <sup>13</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>	chio <sup>1</sup>
C	chio <sup>1</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>	chiag <sup>3</sup>	chio <sup>1</sup>
D	chio <sup>1</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>	chiag <sup>3</sup>	chiég <sup>2</sup>
R	chio <sup>1</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>	chiag <sup>3</sup>	chiég <sup>3</sup>
		impv chiag <sup>3</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> chieg <sup>2</sup>		

(58) stand\TI	1s	1p	2	3
P	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>12</sup>	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>12</sup>
I	tsóh <sup>3</sup>	tsih <sup>13</sup>	tsóh <sup>3</sup>	tsih <sup>1</sup>
C	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>1</sup>
D	tsíh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>2</sup>	tsih <sup>12</sup>
R	tsíh <sup>3</sup>	tsih <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>3</sup>	tsih <sup>13</sup>
		impv tsíh <sup>2</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> tsóh <sup>2</sup>		

These segmental stem variations do not reflect active morphological processes. They are found throughout the Chinantec family of languages and predate the emergence of Tlapepuzco Chinantec as a separate language.

Eighty-nine distinct TONE-STRESS PARADIGMS are listed in this same graphic form in the grammatical sketch at the back of the Tlapepuzco Chinantec dictionary (Merrifield and Anderson 1999; also <http://www.sil.org/mexico/chinanteca/tlapepuzco/S039b-DiccChinTlapepuzco-cpa.pdf>) with reference only to tone and stress in the first three rows (P, I, C) of verb paradigms. This is completely apart from numerous patterns of segmental variation, such as *lóh/lióh* of the verb ‘bathe\AI’, which are also exemplified in the dictionary. It is necessary to consult the Shoebox electronic version upon which the print version of the dictionary is based (Merrifield and Anderson 2000) to find a listing of the full range of reference of each individual verbform as presented in list (55).

Any given active verb paradigm presents the Aspectual and Person-Number forms of a verb for just one category of gender, transitivity, voice, and sequence. Any given verb root may participate in one or more such paradigms that distinguish various categories of gender, transitivity, voice, and sequence, as the following sections will elucidate.

## 2.1 Gender and Transitivity.

Gender and Transitivity are inextricably bound together in active verb inflection and are, therefore, introduced together in this section.

Tlapepuzco Chinantec has two genders, ANIMATE and INANIMATE. All nouns in the language are assigned to one of these two gender categories in the lexicon, without morphological marking to identify them. The animate class of nouns names persons, animals, heavenly bodies, and certain atmospheric phenonema. The classification of the latter with persons and animals is due



to traditional Chinantec beliefs, as reflected in origin stories that treat heavenly bodies and certain atmospheric phenomena as having common origin with people and animals. All other nouns are inanimate.

Verbs, numerals, and deictic words do not inherently belong to gender classes, as do nouns, but are inflected for gender, in some cases by suppletion, and must occur in concord with nouns in specific syntactic positions. Numerals and deictic words are discussed in Chapter 5.

There are three degrees of transitivity: INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE, and DITRANSITIVE (to which must be added NONEXPRESSED TRANSITIVE and NONEXPRESSED DITRANSITIVE (§2.2). These inflectional categories are defined by verbal cross-referencing with nominal constituents in a clause. They intersect with the two gender categories, yielding six major inflectional classes of verbs: INANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (II), ANIMATE INTRANSITIVE (AI), TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI), TRANSITIVE ANIMATE (TA), DITRANSITIVE INANIMATE (DI), and DITRANSITIVE ANIMATE (DA). This terminology is adapted from long-standing Americanist practice in Algonquian language studies (*e.g.*, Bloomfield 1962), adding only the two additional ditransitive categories.

An Intransitive verb inflectionally cross-references the person-number and gender of one nominal constituent of its clause, the clause Subject. An Inanimate Intransitive (II) verb cross-references an Inanimate Subject, invariably a ‘third-person’ which in the ‘real world’ may never engage in speech acts as first or second person. An Animate Intransitive (AI) verb, on the other hand, cross-references an animate Subject in any of the four Chinantec person-number categories. In many of the demonstration paradigms that follow, Imperative forms will normally be left unlisted and some are defective in respect to Directional and Return forms. This is particularly true of II verbs such as *siih*<sup>2</sup> ‘rotIIP3’, presented in paradigmatic form in (59), and illustrated by a sentence in (60). Notations such as (AGJ-06 095), in (60), reference the source of the sentence; in this case: page 95 of databook 6 of Chinantec language associate Agustín Gregorio Justo.

(59)	rotII	1s	1p	2	3
	P				<i>siih</i> <sup>2</sup>
	I				<i>síh</i> <sup>1</sup>
	C				<i>siih</i> <sup>2</sup>

- (60) Ca<sup>1</sup>siih<sup>2</sup>    gug<sup>2</sup>    ja<sup>3</sup>ŋiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>cøgh<sup>2</sup>    møh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-rot\IIC3 hand\3 son\3    3    where Pst-bite\TIC3 viper  
 The hand of his son rotted where he was bitten by a snake. (AGJ-06.095)

The paradigm of the verb *siog*<sup>2</sup> ‘descend\AIP3’ is presented in (61) and its use is illustrated in (62), where the fronted Source–Goal constituent huø<sup>1</sup> ‘ground’, also entailed by *siog*<sup>2</sup> as a verb of motion, is not treated as having relevance to transitivity.

(61)	descend\AI	1s	1p	2	3
	P	sióg <sup>2</sup>	siág <sup>2</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>
	I	sióg <sup>3</sup>	siág <sup>3</sup>	sióg <sup>3</sup>	siog <sup>1</sup>
	C	sióg <sup>2</sup>	siág <sup>3</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>
	D	sióg <sup>2</sup>	siág <sup>3</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>
	R	sióg <sup>3</sup>	siág <sup>3</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>	siog <sup>2</sup>

- (62) Huø<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>siog<sup>2</sup>                      tan<sup>12</sup>.  
 ground Prf-Hod-descend\AIC3 bird  
 The bird has just descended to the ground. (BJM-04.054)

A great many intransitive roots participate in both an II and an AI paradigms, as illustrated by (63)–(66).

(63)	fall-over\II	1s	1p	2	3
	P				cěnh <sup>12</sup>
	I				cěnh <sup>1</sup>
	C				cěnh <sup>1</sup>

- (64) Hug<sup>12</sup>    dsa hma<sup>2</sup> chiúh<sup>3</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup>    díh<sup>3</sup>    jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>cěnh<sup>1</sup>.  
 prop\TIP3 3    post    plant\3 banana    because Ana\i    Neg-fall-over\III3  
 He props up the banana plant so that it will not fall over. (BJM-01.073)

(65)	fall-over\AI	1s	1p	2	3
	P	canh <sup>12</sup>	canh <sup>12</sup>	canh <sup>12</sup>	canh <sup>12</sup>
	I	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	canh <sup>1</sup>
	C	cánh <sup>1</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>1</sup>	canh <sup>1</sup>
	D	cánh <sup>1</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>1</sup>	canh <sup>12</sup>
	R	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>	cánh <sup>13</sup>

- (66) Ca<sup>1</sup>canh<sup>1</sup>    dsa mi<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>nung<sup>2</sup>                      dsa mi<sup>3</sup>hiúg<sup>3</sup>                      dsa hii<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-fall\AIC3 3    when Pst-stand\AIC3 3    Impf-be\AIsS3 3    hammock  
He fell over when getting up out of the hammock. (DB-02.046)

A TRANSITIVE verb inflectionally cross-references two nominal constituents of its clause, the Person and Number of an Animate Subject and the Gender of its Direct Object. The fact that intransitive verbs mark subjects for animacy while transitive verbs mark objects for animacy is

the only gesture to ergativity found in Chinantec, which lacks any other grammatical apparatus that might relate to this phenomenon (but see §7.1).

TRANSITIVE INANIMATE (TI) verbs occur with Inanimate Direct Objects, Transitive Animate verbs with Animate Direct Objects. A great many transitive roots participate in both a TI and a TA inflectional paradigm, as illustrated in (67)–(70).

(67) strike\TI	1s	1p	2	3
P	bá <sup>2</sup>	ba <sup>12</sup>	bá <sup>2</sup>	bá <sup>2</sup>
I	bá <sup>3</sup>	ba <sup>13</sup>	bá <sup>3</sup>	bá <sup>2</sup>
C	bá <sup>2</sup>	ba <sup>13</sup>	bá <sup>1</sup>	bá <sup>2</sup>
D	bá <sup>2</sup>	ba <sup>13</sup>	bá <sup>1</sup>	ba <sup>12</sup>
R	bá <sup>3</sup>	ba <sup>13</sup>	bá <sup>3</sup>	ba <sup>13</sup>

- (68) Bá<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>meh<sup>2</sup> tøh<sup>12</sup> tióh<sup>13</sup> møi<sup>1</sup>røg<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>juen<sup>1</sup>.  
 strike\TIP3 child pot contain\IIP3 candy until when Pst-break\IIC3  
 The children strike the piñata until it breaks. (DB-04.037)

(69) strike\TA	1s	1p	2	3
P	bán <sup>2</sup>	ban <sup>12</sup>	bán <sup>2</sup>	bán <sup>2</sup>
I	bán <sup>3</sup>	ban <sup>13</sup>	bán <sup>3</sup>	bán <sup>2</sup>
C	bán <sup>2</sup>	ban <sup>13</sup>	bán <sup>1</sup>	bán <sup>2</sup>
D	bán <sup>2</sup>	ban <sup>13</sup>	bán <sup>1</sup>	ban <sup>12</sup>
R	bán <sup>3</sup>	ban <sup>13</sup>	bán <sup>3</sup>	ban <sup>13</sup>

- (70) Bán<sup>3</sup> jni jáh<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ηøa<sup>1</sup> jah gu<sup>1</sup>hei<sup>12</sup>.  
 strike\TAI1s 1s animal so that run\AII3 animal fast  
 I will strike the animal so that it will run. (MJA-01.065)

In comparing the TI and TA paradigms for the verb ‘strike’, it can be seen that there is only one difference between the two, namely, that the TA paradigm adds nasalization to the non-nasal form of the TI verb. This is a case where it is possible to identify a discrete morpheme that marks animate gender. And it is true that nasalization is ubiquitous in animate verbs. Unfortunately, however, it is not always the only distinguishing characteristic between inanimate and animate forms, as it is here and does not, always provide so straightforward an analysis as it does here.

In the verb for ‘buy’, for example, in addition to nasalization, the TA paradigm displays a different pattern of tone inflection from that of the TI paradigm in some third-person forms.

(71)	buy\TI	1s	1p	2	3
	P	lá <sup>2</sup>	lie <sup>12</sup>	láh <sup>2</sup>	lá <sup>12</sup>
	I	lá <sup>3</sup>	lie <sup>13</sup>	láh <sup>3</sup>	lá <sup>1</sup>
	C	lá <sup>2</sup>	lie <sup>13</sup>	lí <sup>1</sup>	lá <sup>1</sup>
	D	lí <sup>2</sup>	lie <sup>13</sup>	lí <sup>1</sup>	lie <sup>12</sup>
	R	lí <sup>3</sup>	lie <sup>13</sup>	lí <sup>3</sup>	lie <sup>13</sup>

(72) Huóh<sup>12</sup> dsa lio<sup>13</sup> tióh<sup>13</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup>løg<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa  
 extract\TIpP3 3 supplies contain\IIPs3 within Cls-knapsack of\TIS3 3

hi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>lie<sup>13</sup> dsa jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>.

that Hod-come\R-buy\TIR3 3 Valle=Nacional

He takes the things from his knapsack that he went to Valle Nacional and purchased. (RPA-01.026)

(73)	buy\TA	1s	1p	2	3
	P	lán <sup>2</sup>	lian <sup>12</sup>	lán <sup>2</sup>	lán <sup>2</sup>
	I	lán <sup>3</sup>	lian <sup>13</sup>	lán <sup>3</sup>	lán <sup>2</sup>
	C	lán <sup>2</sup>	lian <sup>13</sup>	lián <sup>1</sup>	lán <sup>2</sup>
	D	lián <sup>2</sup>	lian <sup>13</sup>	lián <sup>1</sup>	lian <sup>12</sup>
	R	lián <sup>3</sup>	lian <sup>13</sup>	lián <sup>3</sup>	lian <sup>12</sup>

(74) Ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hñi<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lian<sup>13</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> guian<sup>1</sup>hñi<sup>2</sup> jah<sup>1</sup>chiih<sup>2</sup>.  
 about Prf-five year Pst-buy\TAC1p 1x fifteen\ sheep  
 About five years ago we bought fifteen sheep. (MJM-03.081)

A DITRANSITIVE verb cross-references three nominals, an Animate Subject and two Objects. With a DITRANSITIVE INANIMATE (DI) verb, both Objects are Inanimate; with a DITRANSITIVE ANIMATE verb, the first is Animate and the second is Inanimate. Note that an animacy hierarchy comes into play when there are two objects. When both are inanimate, as in (76), the nominal functioning as Instrument normally precedes the nominal functioning as inanimate Patient. When one of the objects is animate, however, as in (76), it is this animate ‘patient’ that normally occurs first, followed by the inanimate object expressing the Instrument role. There are only a few more than fifty known DITRANSITIVE verb roots.

(75)	slit\DI	1s	1p	2	3
	P	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsíh <sup>12</sup>	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsíh <sup>12</sup>
	I	tsóh <sup>3</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsóh <sup>3</sup>	tsíh <sup>1</sup>
	C	tsóh <sup>2</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>2</sup>	tsíh <sup>1</sup>
	D	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>2</sup>	tsíh <sup>12</sup>
	R	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>	tsíh <sup>13</sup>

- (76) Tsíh<sup>12</sup> dsa ɲi<sup>3</sup> togh<sup>12</sup> dsa na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tiu<sup>1</sup> dsa togh<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 slit\|DIP3 3 metal abdomen\|3 3 when Prf-Pst-reach\|IC3 when cut\|TII3 3 abdomen\|3 3  
 They slit a person's stomach with a knife when it is time to operate on him/her. (LJA-01.034)

(77)	slit\ DA	1s	1p	2	3
	P	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>12</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>
	I	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>3</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>13</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>3</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>
	C	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>13</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>
	D	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>13</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>2</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>12</sup>
	R	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>3</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>13</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>3</sup>	tsé <sup>h</sup> h <sup>12</sup>

- (78) Ca<sup>1</sup>tsé<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> dsa já<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> ɲi<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>jog<sup>12</sup> dsa já<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-slit\|DAC3 3 animal metal when Pst-dress\|TAC3 3 animal  
 He slit open the animal with a knife after he had dressed it. (APS-03.027)

A number of expressions, in which a particular transitive verb occurs with a particular noun object, results in idioms that permit the occurrence of a second object within the clause. For example, the TI verb *dsie*<sup>12</sup> 'place\|TipP3' occurs with a variety of nouns, such *jóg*<sup>3</sup> 'word', *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> 'heart', *héh*<sup>1</sup> 'measure', and *loh*<sup>2</sup> 'pile', to form ditransitive expressions, as in (79)–(82).

- (79) Dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa jó<sup>g</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lá<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>a</sup><sup>1</sup>.  
 discuss\|DIP3 how Prf-Pst-be\|IC3  
 They discuss what has happened. (TXT-07.178)
- (80) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>h</sup>h<sup>3</sup> hning hog<sup>h</sup>h<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jó<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> hning.  
 Neg-may consider\|DID2 that die\|AIsI2 2s  
 Don't even begin to think that you might die! (TXT-11.807)
- (81) Quianh<sup>13</sup> tsó<sup>a</sup>h<sup>12</sup> dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa hé<sup>h</sup>h<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>i</sup>h<sup>2</sup> hón<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hen<sup>12</sup>.  
 with tumbler measure\|DipP3 liquor drink\|TIP3 3 drunkard  
 Drunkards measure out their liquor with a glass tumbler. (AGJ-01 080)
- (82) Ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jlán<sup>h</sup>h<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>dsieh<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> loh<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>h</sup>h<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup>.  
 abundant that precious\|IIS3 Prf-Pst-accumulate\|DIC2 of\|TIS2 2p  
 You have accumulated a lot of fancy things for yourselves. (James 5:3)

As in the case of Intransitive Verbs and Transitive Verbs based on the same root, Ditransitive Verbs also share the same root with verbs of other degrees of transitivity. This is demonstrated by two paradigms for verbs meaning 'drink'. The TI verb *hónh*<sup>2</sup> 'drink\|TI', which is suppletive in the first person, is nevertheless based on the same root in second and third persons as the corresponding DA verb *henh*<sup>12</sup> 'drink\|DA'.

(83)	drink (TI)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	gøh <sup>12</sup>	hniuh <sup>2</sup>	hógh <sup>2</sup>	hónh <sup>2</sup>
	I	gøh <sup>13</sup>	hniúh <sup>3</sup>	hógh <sup>3</sup>	hónh <sup>2</sup>
	C	gøh <sup>1</sup>	hniúh <sup>3</sup>	hính <sup>2</sup>	hónh <sup>2</sup>
	D	gøh <sup>1</sup>	hniúh <sup>3</sup>	hính <sup>2</sup>	hính <sup>1</sup>
	R	gøh <sup>1</sup>	hniúh <sup>3</sup>	hính <sup>3</sup>	hinh <sup>22</sup>

- (84) Tsa<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>1</sup> hónh<sup>2</sup> dsa jmø<sup>3</sup>cuó<sup>13</sup> di<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>jai<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 bad\IIS3 drink\TIP3 3 river=water because Neg-CONT-clean\IIS3 water  
 It is bad to drink river water because it is contaminated. (AGJ-08.019)

(85)	drink (DA)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>12</sup>
	I	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>1</sup>
	C	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>1</sup>
	D	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>1</sup>
	R	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>13</sup>	henh <sup>1</sup>

- (86) Henh<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> guúh<sup>2</sup> róg<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dsíg<sup>2</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>.  
 drink\DAP3 3 people water cold\IIS3 sweet\IIS3 day when hot\IIS3 sun  
 He provides ade for people to drink when it gets hot. (BJM-03.036)

Some verbs, on the other hand, may participate in two degrees of transitivity, or mark two distinct genders, ambiguously, with no change in paradigm, as in (87)–(89).

- (87) Ca<sup>1</sup>rón<sup>2</sup> lög<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>jløh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-lift\IIC3 skin where Pst-Act\C-moist\IIS3  
 The skin lifted off where it had become moist. (V0876)

- (88) Ca<sup>1</sup>rón<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>quian<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-arise\AIC3 people lying=down\AIS3  
 Those who were lying down, got up. (V0875)

- (89) Ca<sup>1</sup>rón<sup>2</sup> tø<sup>2</sup>móa<sup>12</sup> lög<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>jløh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-remove\TIC3 doctor skin where Pst-Act\C-moist\IIS3  
 The doctor removed the skin where it had become moist. (V0874)

In this specific case, the complete homophony only holds for third-person forms. The AI verb continues to have *rón<sup>2</sup>* for all persons and aspects (though lacking directional and return forms), but the TI verb has *ron<sup>3</sup>* for all nonthird-person forms and all directional and return forms.

Some verbs may also ambiguously mark two degrees of transitivity. All forms of the TI verb *han<sup>12</sup>* ‘cross\TI’ are the same as their corresponding DA forms meaning ‘take across’.

(90) Ca<sup>1</sup>han<sup>13</sup> jni hnøa<sup>12</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñie<sup>3</sup> jni Jmø<sup>2</sup>jløa<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-cross\TIC1s 1s three river when Pst-been\AIsC1s 1s Arroyo=de=Banco  
 I crossed three streams when I went to Arroyo de Banco. (BJM-04.012)

(91) Han<sup>12</sup> dsa guing<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>chiénh<sup>12</sup> dsa gug<sup>2</sup> guing.  
 take=across\DAP3 3 child river Sta\s-hold\TIS3 3 hand\3 child  
 He takes the child across the river holding its hand. (BJM-01.081)

## 2.2 Nonexpressed Objects

In addition to regular TA and DA verbs in Chinantec, there are two other subtypes of Transitive and Ditransitive verbs that merit extended discussion concerning their narrative function in Chinantec discourse; namely, NONEXPRESSED TRANSITIVES (TN) and NONEXPRESSED DITRANSITIVES (DN).

A TRANSITIVE NONEXPRESSED (TN) verb always references both a Subject and a Direct Object; but, apart from the Subject Nominal which is always present, only a FIRST-PERSON DIRECT OBJECT may be overtly expressed in the clause. The overt expression of Second-Person or Third-Person Direct Objects is syntactically blocked. Furthermore, there is an apparent difference in usage with these verbs in respect to Person-of-Subject. Most TN paradigms in the database lack forms for FIRST-PERSON SUBJECT. Some speakers apparently balk at using TN verbs with Second-Person Subjects as well.

Note that the following TN stem *bú<sup>2</sup>* is yet another form of the TI and TA stems *bá<sup>2</sup>* and *bán<sup>2</sup>*, meaning ‘strike’, that were illustrated above. It is defective in First-Person columns. In interpreting the illustrative sentence that follows, note that *tsih* ‘youngster’ in the first clause is not a Direct Object; rather, *mi<sup>3</sup>chiég<sup>3</sup> tsih* ‘the child’s mother’ is Subject and the Direct Object is unexpressed.

(92) strike\TN	1s	1p	2	3
P			bú <sup>2</sup>	bú <sup>2</sup>
I			bú <sup>3</sup>	bú <sup>2</sup>
C			bú <sup>12</sup>	bú <sup>2</sup>
D			bú <sup>12</sup>	bú <sup>1</sup>
R			bú <sup>13</sup>	bú <sup>13</sup>

(93) Ca<sup>1</sup>bú<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>chiég<sup>3</sup> tsih, díh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>niuh<sup>3</sup> tsih dsø<sup>1</sup>quiín<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-strike\TNC3 mother\3 youngster because disobey\AIP3 youngster go\I3-bring\TID3 water  
 The child’s mother struck (him) because he refuses to fetch water. (DB-02.058)

The suppression of a Direct Object in this way often marks the Subject of the TN clause as a Nontopic Subject. In the two-sentence sequence (94), the Locative noun ‘Palantla’ is topicalized in the first sentence (by fronting and by presence of the AFFIRMATION MODAL *báh<sup>3</sup>*), leaving the subject ‘they’ out of focus. A new subject in the second sentence, ‘Mr. José Villar’ is also then kept out of focus by use of a TN verb, which marks its own Direct Object as UNEXPRESSED, here naturally identified with the preceding nontopic subject ‘they’ (> ‘them’).

- (94) Jøng<sup>2</sup> Jmø<sup>1</sup>dsag<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsiag<sup>1</sup> dsa juøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\I Palantla Aff Pst-reestablish\TIC3 3 town  
 So it was to Palantla that they relocated the town. (TXT-34.105)
- Dóh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tøa<sup>1</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> Sóa<sup>13</sup> Villar.  
 because Pst-call\TNC3 Sir José Villar  
 Because Mr. José Villar invited them. (TXT-34.106)

Sentence (95) is the response of a parent who has been asked to give his daughter in marriage. Reference to the daughter is implied but unexpressed. This is a clear instance, from a traditional text, of a TN verb with First-Person Subject.

- (95) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jính<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsie<sup>12</sup> jni dsøa<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cuai<sup>13</sup> jni.  
 Neg-Aff Prf-think=about\TIP\1s that give\TNI1s 1s  
 I have not yet given thought to giving her away. (TXT-22.067)

In (96), a father has arrived at the river’s edge in search of his child only to find that a water spirit has ‘spirited’ the child down into the depths of the river. The child is overtly expressed as subject of the verb *ηó<sup>12</sup>* ‘go\AIsP3’, but is suppressed as object of *cang<sup>2</sup>* ‘take home\TNP3’.

- (96) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> dsa, ηó<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>tsih<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>1</sup>,  
 When Pst-arrive\AIsC3 3 go\AIsP3 Aff youngster to beneath water
- ca<sup>1</sup>cang<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-take=home\TNC3 person river  
 When he arrived, the child had gone down into the water, carried off by a river spirit. (TXT-21.014)

In the sequence of three sentences (97)–(99), a man has been out hunting when a jaguar comes upon him at night and starts sniffing at his chest while he is trying to sleep. The hunter has been the topic of the foregoing narrative and continues to be so identified in this first sentence as both the topic and the subject by the third-person pronoun *dsa* ‘he’. The jaguar sniffing around



him of the embedded complement clause is then marked as a nontopic subject by its TN verb *cang*<sup>12</sup> that entails a suppressed Direct Object naturally identified with the ‘he’ of the main verb.

- (97) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> lø<sup>2</sup>lîh<sup>13</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> cang<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 because that Act\P-perceive\TIS3 3 that listen\TNP3 jaguar  
 Because he realizes that the jaguar is listening (for his heart beat). (TXT-01.014)

Then the jaguar becomes the subject of the two sentences that follow with the hunter continuing as topic, setting up the syntactic situation that calls for TN verbs. No TN form exists, however, for the verb in (98), so the TA form must be used (or we might decide that TA and TN forms of this verb are homophonous), but a TN form of the verb in (99) does exist and is used.

- (98) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tái<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> cah<sup>3</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-take=with\TAC3 jaguar road back\3 jaguar  
 Then the jaguar took (him) away on his back. (TXT-01.015)

- (99) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> máh<sup>2</sup> uóin<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-go\C-carry=away\TND3 jaguar Pst-reach\IIC3 mountain far\IIS3  
 The jaguar took (him) off to a distant mountain. (TXT-01.016)

The narrative continues in the next three sentences (100)–(102), with the hunter, referred to twice as topic by the continuing use of the third-person pronoun *dsa* ‘he’, and with the jaguar as the nontopic subject of two more TN verbs.

- (100) Hnøa<sup>12</sup> máh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsø<sup>3</sup>juen<sup>13</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup>.  
 three mountain Pst-pass\AIC3 3 where dark\IIS3  
 He passed by three mountains in the night. (TXT-01.017)

- (101) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>quiag<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> chiúh<sup>3</sup> hma<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-place\TNsC3 jaguar foot\3 trunk\3 tree  
 Then the jaguar laid him down at the foot of a tree. (TXT-01.018)

- (102) Ja<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>quian<sup>12</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>jlói<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> moh<sup>13</sup> høg<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup>.  
 where lying-down\AIS3 3 Ana\i Pst-cover\TNC3 jaguar leaf herb much  
 There where he lay, the jaguar covered (him) with a great many dry leaves. (TXT-01.019)

The use of TN verbs with an overt first-person Direct Object does not appear to mark narrative structure in the same way as their use with suppressed Direct Objects. This usage appears to be more selective and only to explicitly identify the person of the Direct Object as first-person. Nothing more.

The following selection of sentences is drawn from a woman's drinking song and was reportedly composed by a Chinantec lady while somewhat under the influence. In the opening sentence of her song, in (103), which she repeats twice, she asks her desired lover, José de la Cruz Antonio, if he will marry her. Since she is the first-person Direct Object of the verb, she could have used the TN form *jagh*<sup>13</sup> but did not. Her choice.

- (103) Tsa<sup>3</sup>janh<sup>13</sup>                      hning jni<sup>2</sup> Sóa<sup>13</sup> Antonio jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg\Interr-marry\TAI2-2 2s    1s Joe Antonio Ana<sup>1</sup>i  
 Will you marry me?, Joe Cross Antonio, thus. (Song-02.001)

In sentences (104) that follows, however, she chooses the TN form *jjiangh*<sup>13</sup> 'go wait for me' without the overt first-singular pronoun which she could have used.

- (104) Ió<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>    jjiangh<sup>13</sup>    hning ni<sup>3</sup>    hløg<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>jmøi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, Sóa<sup>13</sup> Cróg<sup>13</sup> Antón.  
 D2 go\AIs! await\TND2 2s    top\3 cliff river    Asv Joe Cross Antonio  
 Go wait for me there on the cliff by the river, OK?, Joe Cross Antonio. (Song-02.003)

After a couple of lyrical lines about a Jacana bird and a white-winged tanager, here omitted, our vocalist professes her desire to marry and repeats her initial proposal in almost identical form as in (103), but this time chooses the TN form of the verb, as indicated in (105). She also includes the first-person pronoun, which in this sentence cannot successfully be suppressed.

- (105) Tsa<sup>3</sup>jagh<sup>13</sup>                      hning jni<sup>2</sup>, Sóa<sup>13</sup> Cróg<sup>13</sup> Antonio.  
 Neg-Interr-marry\TNI2 2s    1s Joe Cross Antonio  
 Won't you marry me, Joe Cross Antonio? (Song-02.008)

As for DITRANSITIVE NONEXPRESSED (DN) VERBS, with only some fifty known DA verbs, only a handful of DN verbs are known, almost all of their observed occurrences with first-person objects, as in examples (106) and (107).

- (106) Ca<sup>1</sup>quii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tóg<sup>2</sup> dsa jni<sup>2</sup> huuh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-pelt\DNC3 3    1s orange  
 She pelted me with oranges. (DCT.289)
- (107) Ca<sup>1</sup>liagh<sup>3</sup>                      hning jni<sup>2</sup> hmøah<sup>12</sup> chiih<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-wrap\TNC2 2s    1s cloth wool  
 You covered me with a blanket. (DCT.226)

I do not recall having observed the use of a ditransitive verb with suppressed third-person object having the function of marking a Nontopic Subject. A TN verb would, presumably be

sufficient for that even in the context of a situation where three nominal referents are involved. The point of suppressing nominals is to leave the subject in a nontopic relation and a TN form is sufficient for that purpose.

I have uncovered one instance, however, of an Unexpressed Object with the two-word verbal idiom *tónh<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup>* ‘pay attention\DIp3’, in which *juu<sup>12</sup>* ‘road’ is a built-in Direct Object, as in (108), where the second object is ‘to what people say’.

- (108) Tsa<sup>1</sup>tónh<sup>12</sup> jni juu<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-pay\DIp3 1s attention word speak\TIpP3 people  
 I don't pay attention to what people say. (APS-03.009)

No corresponding TA verb to TI *tónh<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup>* is known, but the DN form is *tangh<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup>*, as in (109), where *jní<sup>2</sup>* (1s) is the animate first object and *juu<sup>12</sup>* is the inanimate second object, followed by an adverbial clause.

- (109) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tangh<sup>12</sup> dsa jní<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>dsog<sup>3</sup> jni.  
 Neg-Pst-pay\DNC3 3 1s attention when Impf-sick\AIS1s 1s  
 They did not attend to me when I was sick. (DB-03.015)

This same DN verb is illustrated in (110) with a suppressed object. The context is that the king's daughter is giving her full attention to determine whether a certain person is the same one who had earlier saved her out of a difficult circumstance.

- (110) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> tangh<sup>12</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa,  
 then then while pay\DNP3 3 attention say\TIP3 3  
 a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>, hei<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 not-be\IS3 Neg\AIS3 person Ana\ a say\TIP3 daughter king  
 Now then, paying close attention (to him), she says, “No, he is not the one,” says the princess. (TXT-25.348)

## 2.3 Voice

Transitivity addresses the number of nominal constituents that are inflectionally cross-referenced by a verb, but does not address the functional relationships that exist between them and the verb. The term VOICE, in syntax, is traditionally limited to distinct inflections of verbs to indicate the relation of the Subject of a verb to the action expressed by that verb. The concept is used more widely here to indicate the functional relation of Objects as well as Subject to verbal

action. Chinantec verb roots not only participate in distinct paradigms to distinguish gender and transitivity, but they also do so to distinguish categories of voice (Kroeger 2004:9ff).

Recall from illustrations (76) and (78) above, reprised here as in (111) and (112), that the first object of Ditransitive Inanimate *tsíh*<sup>12</sup> ‘slit\DI’ is functionally an Instrument and the second object a Patient, whereas the order is reversed with Ditransitive Animate *tsénh*<sup>2</sup> ‘slit\DA’, where the animate Patient precedes the inanimate instrument.

(111) Tsíh<sup>12</sup> dsa ɲí<sup>3</sup> togh<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 slit\DIP3 3 metal abdomen\3 3  
 They slit a person's stomach with a knife. (LJA-01.034)

(112) Ca<sup>1</sup>tsénh<sup>2</sup> dsa jáh<sup>2</sup> ɲí<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>jog<sup>12</sup> dsa jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-slit\DAC3 3 animal metal when Pst-dress\TAC3 3 animal  
 He slit open the animal with a knife after he had dressed it. (APS-03.027)

This represents a common configuration for ditransitive verbs, but other configurations also occur. In (113) and (114), the first nominal is a PATIENT and the second is a THEME.

(113) Quian<sup>12</sup> dsa jáh<sup>2</sup> lio<sup>13</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>can<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>2</sup>fe<sup>13</sup>.  
 load\DAP3 3 animal supplies time where go\P3-take\TID3 3 coffee  
 He loads the animals with supplies whenever he transports coffee. (BJM-02.016)

(114) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>héh<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>.  
 afterwards now Pst-show\DAC3 3 person Ana<sup>1</sup> money  
 After that then, he showed that fellow the money. (TXT-40.149)

In examples (115) and (116), the first nominal is a RECIPIENT and the second is a THEME.

(115) Mi<sup>2</sup>ténh<sup>2</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> huuh<sup>12</sup>.  
 deprive\DAP3 3 person orange  
 S/he deprives him/her of oranges. (DCT.247)

(116) Ca<sup>1</sup>cuóh<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> hé<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>1</sup>hiég<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-give\DAC3 3 person meal when Pst-reach\IIC3 noon  
 They gave them food at noon. (BJM-03.033)

In examples (117) and (118), the verbs are semantically complex, with the Subject playing an Agentive role in respect to the animate first Object, while that first object may be considered a Recipient or Beneficiary of the action of the agent, but is also at another level an Agent of the underlying actions of ‘drinking’ and ‘crossing’.

(117) Henh<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> guúh<sup>2</sup> róg<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dsíg<sup>2</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>.  
 drink\DAP3 3 people water cold\IIS3 sweet\IIS3 day when hot\SII3 sun  
 He provides ade for the people to drink when it gets hot. (BJM-03.036)

(118) Han<sup>12</sup> dsa guing<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>chiénh<sup>12</sup> dsa gug<sup>2</sup> guing.  
 take-across\DAP3 3 child river Sta\s-hold\TIS3 3 hand\3 child  
 He takes the child across the river holding its hand. (BJM-01.081)

A set of related verbs meaning ‘to cover’ is an example of multiple paradigms with differing functional relationships between the verb and its terms. In (119), *jló<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\TIP3’ governs an Agent and a Patient. The instrument phrase is oblique, requiring the preposition *quianh<sup>13</sup>* ‘with’ and is not governed by the verb.

(119) Ca<sup>1</sup>jló<sup>2</sup> dsa cuai<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> mu<sup>3</sup>si<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-cover\TIC3 3 firewood with plastic=sheet  
 He covered the firewood with a sheet of plastic. (FLM-01.018)

A second transitive verbform *jløa<sup>12</sup>* ‘cover\TIP3’, in (120), is unusual in governing an inanimate subject as Instrument along with, the more normal inanimate object as Patient. It is specifically distinguished from *jló<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\TIP3’ in that its subject corresponds to the latter’s instrumental adjunct.

(120) Ca<sup>1</sup>jløa<sup>1</sup> hmøah<sup>12</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-cover\TIC3 cloth face\3 3  
 The cloth covered his face. (DCT.176)

A third verbform, *jlán<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\DAP3’, has a full inflectional paradigm and the syntactic form of a ditransitive animate verb, with its terms functioning as Agent, Patient, and Instrument, respectively, as in (121).

(121) Jlán<sup>2</sup> dsa guing<sup>2</sup> hmøah<sup>12</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>rø<sup>2</sup>güén<sup>1</sup> guing.  
 cover\DAP3 3 child blanket when Prf-asleep\AIS3 child  
 S/he covers the child with a blanket after it goes to sleep. (DCT.175)

This same paradigm, however, completely homophonous with that of *jlán<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\DAP3’, may also have a transitive middle reading, *jlán<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\TMP3’, in which its two terms function as Patient and Instrument, respectively, as in (122).

(122) Ca<sup>1</sup>jlán<sup>2</sup> dsa ñí<sup>3</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>ñøa<sup>12</sup> dsa jøa<sup>3</sup> cai<sup>31</sup>.  
 Pst-run=over\TIC3 3 metal while Impf-walk\AIsP3 3 in street  
 He got run down by a vehicle while walking in the street. (MJM-04.035)

(123) Jlói<sup>2</sup> dsa hmøah<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> guíng<sup>1</sup> di<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> güen<sup>1</sup> guíng.  
 cover\DNF3 3 blanket of\TIS3 infant so that\i sleep\TAI3 infant  
They put a blanket on the infant so it will sleep. (BJM-03.026)

(124) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>      nung<sup>2</sup> røh<sup>2</sup>      chii<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>      lóa<sup>12</sup>      huø<sup>1</sup>      quing<sup>2</sup>.  
not\IIS3      vegetation      green exist\IIS3      where be\IIS3 ground  
dry\IIS3  
Desert land has no plant life. (AGJ-08.010)

(126) Mi<sup>3</sup>quiín<sup>3</sup> jni ηó<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>si<sup>2</sup>.  
dry\TIIIs 1s meat hearth  
I will roast the meat over the fire. (DCT.247)

(128) Mi<sup>2</sup>quíónh<sup>2</sup> dsa jog<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> cúgh<sup>12</sup> dsa jah jmai<sup>3</sup> sílh<sup>3</sup>.  
dry\TAP3 3 trout so that\i eat\TAI3 3 animal day other\IIS3  
He dries the trout so that he can eat it at another time. (BJM-01.077)

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## 2.4 Sequent Verbs

A number of verbs exhibit, by inflection, an action is other than an initial occurrence. This is not an active inflectional process in Tlapepuzco Chinantec, but it pairs lexical verbs that reference initial versus subsequent action or new versus renewed situations. Thus, in each of the paired examples that follow, in (130)–(132), the same verb is present in both members of each pair, to name initial and non-initial actions or situations, respectively.

- (130) Chian<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tióh<sup>12</sup> chio<sup>1</sup> dsa ton<sup>1</sup> lúg<sup>1</sup> gui<sup>2</sup> kilo.  
exist\AIS3 people able\TIP3 lift\TII3 3 fifty kilo  
Some people can lift fifty kilos. (MJA-08.006)

Ca<sup>1</sup>chiágh<sup>1</sup> dsa chiúh<sup>3</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>gug<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup>.  
Pst-lift-again\TIC3 3 plant\3 banana Pst-fall\IIC3 by wind  
He lifted back up the banana plant that the wind had pushed over. (DB-03.005)

- (131) Chionh<sup>12</sup> dsa mu<sup>3</sup>si<sup>2</sup> dsóh<sup>12</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> je<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ηó<sup>2</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup>.  
fasten\TIP3 3 paper side\3 wood corkwood=sp. so that\i Neg-pass\IIsI3 wind  
He glues paper to the corkwood wall so that the wind will not pass through it. (MJA-03.039)

Chiáng<sup>12</sup> dsa jmø<sup>3</sup>ηi<sup>3</sup> tø<sup>2</sup>ηi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>chi<sup>3</sup>gói<sup>1</sup>.  
refasten\TIP3 3 solder bucket Prf-Sta-torn\IIS3  
He solders back together the torn buckets. (MJA-05.041)

- (132) Dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> lé<sup>2</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
discuss\DIP3 how do\TII3 3 that become\III3 good\II3 work that do\TII3 3  
They discuss ways to make their work succeed. (AGJ-01.058)

Chi<sup>3</sup>dsiag<sup>12</sup> dsa cøng<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>dsan<sup>1</sup>.  
Sta-discuss-again\TIP3 3 one matter Prf-Pst-end\IIP3C3  
He is harping on something that has already been decided. (AGJ-01.094)

While these verbs are not formed by active morphological processes in Chinantec today, and while they resist morphological analysis in the same way as other inflected forms of verbs, common phonological features found in Sequent verbs are final glottal and syllable lengthening (expressed as postvocalic /w/, written as ‘g’).

I currently have a few more than fifty Sequent Verbs in my Chinantec database. A few more of these initial-action and sequent-action pairs are listed in (133):

(133)	cán <sup>2</sup>	‘take\TIP3’	cang <sup>2</sup>	‘take=back\TIP3’
	hóh <sup>2</sup>	‘bury\TIP3’	hagh <sup>2</sup>	‘rebury\TIP3’
	hai <sup>12</sup>	‘hang\TIP3’	haih <sup>2</sup>	‘rehang\TIP3’
	hian <sup>2</sup>	‘appear\AIP3’	hiog <sup>2</sup>	‘reappear\AIP3’
	hme <sup>12</sup>	‘sew\TIP3’	hmei <sup>12</sup>	‘mend\TIP3’
	hnái <sup>12</sup>	‘sell\TIP3’	hnáih <sup>12</sup>	‘resell\TIP3’
	huø <sup>1</sup>	‘take=out\TIpP3’	huøh <sup>12</sup>	‘take=back=out\TIpP3’
	lán <sup>12</sup>	‘be\AIP3’	lan <sup>2</sup>	‘recover\AIP3P3’
	møa <sup>12</sup>	‘request\TIP3’	mái <sup>12</sup>	‘request=return=of\TIP3’

As a final illustration of Sequent verbs, note that Verbs of Motion and Arrival, which will be discussed more fully in a later section, come in initial-action and sequent-action pairs, as in (134).

(134)	ŋó <sup>12</sup>	‘go\AIsP3’	ŋáh <sup>12</sup>	‘go=home\AIsP3’
	dsø <sup>2</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>	‘go\AIpP3’	dsø <sup>2</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>	‘go=home\AIpP3’
	já <sup>12</sup>	‘come\AIsP3’	jógh <sup>12</sup>	‘come=again\AIsP3’
	ja <sup>2</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>	‘come\AIpP3’	ja <sup>2</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>	‘come=again\AIpP3’
	dsié <sup>g</sup> <sup>12</sup>	‘arrive=there\AIsP3’	dsiánh <sup>12</sup>	‘arrive=back=there\AIsP3’
	dsii <sup>2</sup> lén	‘arrive=there\AIpP3’	dsii <sup>2</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>	‘arrive=back=there\AIpP3’
	guøn <sup>12</sup>	‘arrive=here\AIsP3’	guøn <sup>h</sup> <sup>12</sup>	‘arrive=back=here\AIsP3’
	u <sup>1</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>	‘arrive=here\AIpP3’	u <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>	‘arrive=back=here\AIpP3’

## 2.5 Bisyllabic Verb Paradigms

Eighty-five percent of all active verb paradigms are based on monosyllabic verb roots. The other fifteen percent are bisyllabic with an unstressed syllable preceding a tonic syllable. The plural verbs of motion and arrival in the list immediately above are included in this fifteen percent. Some thirty of the 170 bisyllabic active verb stems in the database are verbs of motion and arrival.

There is much less variety in inflectional structure among bisyllabic verb paradigms than among monosyllabic verb stems. In the majority of cases, there are at most two forms of the tonic syllable—a third-person form and a nonthird-person form. Beyond these two forms, tone inflection occurs on the pretonic syllable in a highly regular fashion, as the examples in (135) and (136) show.



(135) confirm\TI	1s	1p	2	3
P	mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>12</sup>
I	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>1</sup> dsøg <sup>12</sup>
C	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>1</sup> dsøg <sup>12</sup>
D	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>
R	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>
		impv: mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup> ; neg impv: tsa <sup>1</sup> mi <sup>2</sup> dsøg <sup>13</sup>		
(136) reheat\TI	1s	1p	2	3
P	mi <sup>2</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>2</sup> dsiagh <sup>1</sup>
I	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>1</sup> dsiagh <sup>1</sup>
C	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>1</sup> dsiagh <sup>1</sup>
D	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>
R	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>	mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>
		impv: mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup> ; neg impv: tsa <sup>1</sup> mi <sup>3</sup> dsiagh <sup>3</sup>		

Directional (D) and Return (R) stems are inflected like nonthird-person stems in all person-number categories. The Progressive pretonic syllable always carries a mid tone /<sup>2</sup>/, third-person Intensive and Completive pretonic syllables always carry low tone /<sup>1</sup>/, and all other pretonic syllables carry high tone /<sup>3</sup>/.

The two verbs illustrated in (135) and (136) are CAUSATIVE verbs that take an inflected form of the causative stem formative *mi<sup>2</sup>-* as their first syllable and a monosyllabic verb stem as tonic syllable. The underlying roots for the tonic syllable of these two verbs are *dsøg<sup>12</sup>* ‘straight\IIS3’ and *dsíg<sup>2</sup>* ‘hot\IIS3’. A less inflected bisyllabic verb based on *dsíg<sup>2</sup>* is *mi<sup>2</sup>dsíg<sup>2</sup>* ‘heat\TIP3’; but *mi<sup>2</sup>dsiagh<sup>1</sup>* ‘reheat\TIP3’ has the additional overlay of inflection of a sequent verb, evidence that all the inflectional parameters available to monosyllabic verbs are also available to bisyllabic verbs. *Mi<sup>2</sup>dsiagh<sup>12</sup>* ‘kill\TNP3’, for example, illustrates a nonexpressed transitive verb based on *dsan<sup>2</sup>* ‘die\AIpP3’.

Almost half of the bisyllabic stems in the Chinantec database are causative verbs with this pretonic form. This is a highly productive construction, although the writer is unable to say whether it is an active word-formation process. At the least, it is a construction that begs for neologistic activity.

The reader will have noted that these causative verbs are transitive but are based on intransitive roots. This is in fact the primary pattern for these verbs. Two more typical verb pairs are illustrated in (137) and (138).

- |       |  |  |   |
|-------|--|--|---|
| (137) | jmé <sup>2</sup> móa <sup>12</sup><br>mi <sup>2</sup> jmé <sup>2</sup> dsa móa <sup>12</sup> | dissolve\IIP3 medicine<br>Caus-dissolve\TI3 3 medicine | The medicine dissolves.<br>He dissolves the medicine. |
| (138) | ha <sup>12</sup> dsa,<br>mi <sup>2</sup> ha <sup>12</sup> dsa dsa <sup>2</sup>               | delay\AIP3 3<br>Caus-delay\TAP3 3 3                    | She delays.<br>She delays someone.                    |

A variety of verb prefixes will be introduced in chapter 3, including directional prefixes of the type already seen above in plural verbs of motion and various forms of prefixes to indicate plurality of action. Some of these fall into the pattern of bisyllabic stem formatives like those illustrated above. They are more closely knit than stems simply preceded by prefixes, as the tone inflection associated with bisyllabic stems clearly shows. Many of these stems do not have a known monosyllabic source, and even those that do, do not entail a change in transitivity in the way CAUSATIVE verb formation does. A few examples are listed in (139).

- |       |  |   |  |
|-------|--|---|--|
| (139) | chi <sup>2</sup> lánh <sup>2</sup> dsa dsa<br>quii <sup>2</sup> tóg <sup>2</sup> dsa cang <sup>3</sup><br>tsø <sup>2</sup> jan <sup>12</sup> dsa | touch\TAP3 3 3<br>pelt\DNP3 3 rock<br>scatter\AIpP3 3 | He touches him.<br>He pelts (him) with rocks.<br>They are scattered about. |
|-------|--|---|--|

Another small set of bisyllabic stems consist of two verb roots. Compare the bisyllabic stems in (140) with *høa*<sup>12</sup> ‘step-on\TIP3’, *bán*<sup>2</sup> ‘strike\TAP3’, and *guu*<sup>2</sup> ‘sit\AIsP3’.

- |       |   |  |  |
|-------|---|--|--|
| (140) | hø <sup>2</sup> tsóh <sup>12</sup> dsa si <sup>2</sup><br>bø <sup>2</sup> jmé <sup>2</sup> dsa guing <sup>2</sup><br>guu <sup>2</sup> dsén <sup>13</sup> dsa cuø <sup>3</sup> | trample\TIP3 3 book<br>beat\TAP3 3 child<br>mount\TAP3 3 horse | He tramples on the books.<br>He beats the child.<br>He mounts the horse. |
|-------|---|--|--|

These last two types of bisyllabic stem are of syntactic interest in that the two parts of the stem separate when an additional prefix is added, and the added prefix is repeated with each part, as in (141) and (142).

- (141) Ca<sup>1</sup>quii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tóg<sup>2</sup> dsa jni<sup>2</sup> cang<sup>3</sup> dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>hie<sup>1</sup> jni hi<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
Pst-p-pelt\DNC3 3 1s rock because Neg-Pst-accept\TIC1s 1s that Opt-give\TII3 3  
They stoned me because I did not accept what they wanted to give me. (MJM-04.020)

- (142) Ma<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>tsø<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>jan<sup>12</sup> dsa ta<sup>3</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guøi<sup>1</sup>.  
Prf-p-scatter\AIpP3 3 throughout earth  
They are scattered throughout the earth. (AGJ-04.013)

## 2.6 Summary

Chinantec verb roots may participate in a variety of paradigms to mark differences in gender, transitivity, voice, and sequence. Some roots occur in only one such paradigm; others occur in

many. The complexity of the inflectional patterns that distinguish these categories of inflection as well as those of person-and-number of subject and of aspect make it unproductive, if not impossible, to reduce paradigms into phonologically discrete morphemes, although that might be an interesting diachronic challenge which would entail study of other related Otomanguean languages beyond the more than a dozen Chinantec languages.

With this introduction to the variety of active verb paradigms found in Chinantec, we now turn to a closer look at individual elements within these paradigms—the categories of person-number and of aspect—as well as the verb prefixes which occur with them.

### 3. Tense and Aspect

Having explored the variety of inflectional forms that active verbs take we can now look at the categories of Person and Aspect that define these paradigms and introduce the verb prefixes which mark additional categories of tense and aspect.

#### 3.1 Person-Number inflection

There are seven person-number categories in Chinantec. Personal pronouns define five categories, dividing first person into singular, plural inclusive and plural exclusive categories, and second person into singular and plural categories. There is no third-person personal pronoun per se, but the atonic noun *dsa* ‘said person’ functions as such to define a sixth category (Cf. §6). In addition, reflexive pronouns divide third person into singular and plural, defining six categories when aided by the final glottal of second-person inflection. But verb inflection distinguishes only four person-number categories, as indicated by the four columns of the standard paradigms presented above: first singular, first plural, second person, and third person, once again with the addition of second-person final –h distinguishing singular and plural second person for stems not otherwise ending in –h. In (143), note how these pronouns line up with verb inflection. In this verb, final –h represents an alternant stem rather than second-person inflection.

(143) Ca <sup>1</sup> cuø <sup>1</sup> jni hñiéng <sup>1</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC1s 1s Refl\1s	‘I struck it.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>13</sup> jniang <sup>3</sup> guiag <sup>13</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC1p 1i Refl\1p	‘We (in) struck it.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>13</sup> jnieh <sup>3</sup> guiag <sup>13</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC1p 1x Refl\1p	‘We (ex) struck it.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>3</sup> hning hñiah <sup>1</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC2 2s Refl\2s	‘You (sg) struck it.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>3</sup> hñiah <sup>12</sup> guiogh <sup>13</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC2 2p Refl\2p	‘You (pl) struck it.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>1</sup> dsa hñiah <sup>12</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC3 3 Refl\3s	‘She struck herself.’
Ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>1</sup> dsa guiogh <sup>13</sup>	Pst-strike\TAC3 3 Refl\3p	‘They struck themselves.’

#### 3.2 Second-Person Inflection

As sample paradigms presented in chapter 2 indicate, verb inflection alone does not consistently distinguish the four person-number categories of the verb, with one significant exception. In non-imperative verbforms, second-person is invariably marked inflectionally by suffixation of a final glottal catch (-h). With roots that have a final glottal in their underlying lexical form, as in (143), second-person forms are no different in this respect from nonsecond-

person forms; but with roots that lack final glottal in their underlying form, second-person verbs always add final -h inflectionally. Note the following partial paradigm:

(144) Tsóí <sup>2</sup> jni si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP1s 1s paper	‘I am writing.’
Tsøi <sup>12</sup> jniang <sup>3</sup> si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP1p 1i paper	‘We (in) are writing.’
Tsøi <sup>12</sup> jnieh <sup>3</sup> si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP1p 1x paper	‘We (ex) are writing.’
Tsøih <sup>12</sup> hning si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP2 2s paper	‘You (sg) are writing.’
Tsøih <sup>12</sup> hniah <sup>12</sup> si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP2 2p paper	‘You (pl) are writing.’
Tsøi <sup>12</sup> dsa si <sup>2</sup> .	write\TIP3 3 paper	‘She is writing.’

### 3.3 Progressive Aspect

In review, the six rows of the standard verb paradigm define PROGRESSIVE, INTENTIVE, COMPLETIVE, DIRECTIONAL, RETURN, and IMPERATIVE verbforms. The use of these forms will be introduced, row by row, in this section and those that follow.

The first row is marked ‘P’ for Progressive Aspect. A Progressive verb stem occurring without an inflectional prefix may name a situation that is HABITUAL or IN PROGRESS at the time of the speech act. It is also frequently found in narrative as a NARRATIVE PRESENT (Comrie 1976:73ff) to record past situations that are nevertheless current in respect to the unfolding of the narrative itself. With MOMENTARY verbs (Fillmore 1969:112), an otherwise progressive or habitual reading might better be characterized as ITERATIVE.

There are ten active verbs in the sentences listed in (145)–(148), drawn from a single traditional tale. The utterance verb *juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘say\TIP3’ occurs three time, in Narrative Present. The motion verb *dsø<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup>* ‘go\AIpP3’ in (145) and the verb *jmo<sup>12</sup>* ‘do\TIP3’ in (148) are in Progressive Present. The same verb *jmo<sup>12</sup>* ‘do\TIP3’, however, is in Habitual Present in (146). The momentary verb *léh<sup>2</sup>* ‘win\TAP2’ in (144) is in Habitual or Iterative Present, and momentary verb *jén<sup>2</sup>* ‘meet\TAP3/1p’ in (147) and (148) is in Progressive or Iterative Present.

- (145) Ni<sup>3</sup>ηó<sup>13</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa máh<sup>2</sup>.  
 awhile go\AIpP3 3 mountain  
 They had been walking in the mountains for a long time. (TXT-05.029)

- (146) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> jmoh<sup>2</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, léh<sup>2</sup> hning jáh<sup>2</sup>?  
 how? do\TIP2 2s say\TIP3 3 win\TAP2 2s animal  
 “What do you do,” he said, “to bag game?” (TXT-05.009)

- (147) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>ηó<sup>13</sup>,  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 person just awhile  
 Then the fellow who was going for the first time said,

he<sup>2</sup> ləa<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> jén<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.

why? no-one animal meet\TAP3 li say\TIP3 3

“Why are we not encountering any game,” he said. (TXT-05.032)

(148) Jáh<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> bíh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>jén<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup>.

animal D2 Aff do\TIP3 Neg-meet\TAP1p li animal good\AIS3

It is that animal over there that is preventing us from finding game. (TXT-05.044)

Prefixes that may occur with Progressive verbforms will be presented below in §3.6.

### 3.4 Intensive Aspect

The second row of a paradigm is marked ‘I’ for INTENSIVE Aspect. An INTENSIVE verb stem occurring without a prefix names a situation that is to occur after the time of the speech act. In second person, it is used as an instruction or polite command. These uses are illustrated in three consecutive sentences from the same text sampled above.

(149) Jøng<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>tiíh<sup>1</sup> hning cong<sup>12</sup> hning tøg<sup>2</sup> hieih<sup>12</sup> dsa.

Ana<sup>i</sup> go\I2-put\TIsD2 2s tail 2s nostril\3 3

“Then go stick your tail up his nose. (TXT-05.367)

(150) Dóh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> cuú<sup>2</sup> dsa, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.

because Ana<sup>i</sup> sneeze\AII3 3 say\TIP3 3

So that he will sneeze,” he says, (TXT-05.368)

(151) Ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> guiéi<sup>1</sup> rón<sup>2</sup> anillo lé<sup>2</sup>.

until tear\III3 lift\III3 ring happen\III3

“And the ring will tear loose and fly up.” (TXT-05.369)

### 3.5 Completive Aspect and Past Tense

The third row of a paradigm is marked ‘C’ for COMPLETIVE Aspect. A COMPLETIVE verb stem names a situation that has occurred prior to the time of the speech act. Unlike Progressive and Intensive forms, Completive forms almost never occur without one or the other of the two past-tense prefixes listed in (152), which, in turn, never occur with other than COMPLETIVE stems.

(152) na<sup>2</sup>- (hodiernal past)

ca<sup>1</sup>- (past)

The hodiernal past prefix *na*<sup>2</sup>-indicates a prior activity initiated on the same day as the speech act, as illustrated in (153). The prefix *ca*<sup>1</sup>-normally implies activity prior to the day of the speech act, as illustrated in (154).

(153) Dsa<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>ηó<sup>1</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>lag<sup>3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>dsøg<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup>

person Hod-go\AIsC3 Tuxtepec Hod-ascertain\TIC3

ha<sup>2</sup> lóih<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>1</sup>      dsa cog<sup>3</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>2</sup>fe<sup>13</sup>.  
 when    give\TII3 3    money of\TIS3 coffee  
 Someone went off to Tuxtepec today to find out when coffee futures are to be paid. (AGJ-10.021)

- (154) Ca<sup>1</sup>mé<sup>1</sup>                      jni jan<sup>2</sup>    chi<sup>3</sup>ηié<sup>12</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>nung<sup>2</sup>    chi<sup>3</sup>mé<sup>13</sup>;  
 Pst-request\TAC1s 1s    one\A Fem-hog animal Pst-be\AIC3 borrowed\AIS3

jøng<sup>2</sup>    jēnh<sup>13</sup>                      jni guing<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>                      guing.  
 Ana\i    hand-over\TAI1s 1s    baby    when Prf-have\TMS3    baby  
 I requested a sow, a borrowed animal (some of) whose babies I will give back when born.  
 (MJA-02.031)

Completive verbs of motion or arrival provide a particular exception in occasionally occurring without a past tense prefix and no change in meaning from forms with them. In the narrative segment illustrated in (155)–(157), completive verbs of arrival and motion without an overt past-tense prefix flank the completive nonmotion verb jái<sup>1</sup> ‘see\TIC1s’ with the hodiernal prefix *na*<sup>2</sup>-, in (156). In the first verb of arrival in (155), the perfect prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>-also normally expects a past-tense prefix, in this case as *ʔtsa<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>dsiánh<sup>1</sup>*? ‘had you not already arrived back home?’ In sentence (157), the more complete form of *ηie*<sup>3</sup> would be *na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>ηie<sup>3</sup>* ‘I have been’, with *na*<sup>2</sup>-and a directional *u*<sup>3</sup>-.

- (155) Lén<sup>2</sup>                      jni, ʔTsa<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>dsiánh<sup>1</sup>                                      hning ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>?  
 think\AIS1s 1s    Neg\Interr-Prf-arrive=home=there\AIsC2 2s    here  
 “I was thinking, ‘Perhaps you have already arrived back home.’ (TXT-05.475)

- (156) Jøng<sup>2</sup>    na<sup>2</sup>jái<sup>1</sup>                      jni, juúh<sup>2</sup>    hio<sup>13</sup>.  
 Ana\i    Hod-see\TIC1s    1s    say\TIP3    woman  
 So I came to see,” says the woman. (TXT-05.476)

- (157) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>    ηie<sup>3</sup>                                      jni, juúh<sup>2</sup>    Gabino.  
 not\IIS3    where go\ad=come\AIsC1s 1s    say\TIP3    Gabino  
 “I have not been anywhere,” replies Gabino. (TXT-05.477)

The prefix *ca*<sup>1</sup>-(past) is more generic than *na*<sup>2</sup>-(hodiernal past). It often indicates a situation that took place prior to the day of the speech act, therein contrasting directly with *na*<sup>2</sup>-; or, it may simply address a situation as TELIC (Comrie 1976:44ff)—as accomplished—with no temporal reference beyond the real-world limitation that reports of telic situations normally follow their accomplishment. If time is not in focus, *ca*<sup>1</sup>-can be used for an event that took place during the same day as the speech act, especially as the immediate verbal response to such an event.

- (158) Ca<sup>1</sup>lòh<sup>1</sup> Gabino cog<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-win\TIC3 Gabino money  
 Gabino won the money. (TXT-05.501)
- (159) Chii<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> cúg<sup>3</sup> Gabino ca<sup>1</sup>lòa<sup>1</sup>,  
 be\IIS3 much money\3 Gabino Pst-happen\IIC3  
 Gabino came into a great deal of money. (TXT-05.505)

In the sequence of events illustrated in (160)–(162), a hodiernal past is used in reference to the return home of a woman on a certain day, having earlier, in the past, stolen her husband's money, as indicated in (161). She then dies on the same day of her return. Her return is reported as hodiernal past with *na*<sup>2</sup>-in (160), and her immediate death, that same day, is reported telically by a past-tense verb with *ca*<sup>1</sup>-in (162).

- (160) Na<sup>2</sup>jógh<sup>1</sup> dsa, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Hod-come=back\AIsC3 3 say\TIP3 3  
 She came back home, they say. (TXT-05.498)
- (161) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> høin<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>.  
 because that\A D1\A Aff Pst-do\TIC3 robbery money  
 Because it was she who committed the robbery of the money. (TXT-05.499)
- (162) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-die\AIsC3 Aff woman such\i be\IIS3 Ana\i  
 So the woman died when that happened. (TXT-05.500)

### 3.6 Secondary Aspects

PROGRESSIVE, INTENTIVE, and COMPLETIVE are the three primary aspectual categories marked inflectionally, with the two past-tense prefixes being particularly associated with COMPLETIVE inflection. Three other aspectual prefixes, listed in (163), also occur with specific aspectual categories of verbs to enlarge the Chinantec system of aspectual expression to include PERFECT, IMPERFECT, and CONTINUATIVE. These are introduced in §§3.7–3.9.

- (163) ma<sup>2</sup>- (perfect)  
 mi<sup>3</sup>- (imperfect)  
 ma<sup>1</sup>- (continuative)

### 3.7 Perfect Aspect

The PERFECT prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>-may occur directly with either active or stative stems. With stative or active progressive stems it indicates a situation that began prior to and continues at the time of the speech act with a focus on the current situation, as illustrated in (164) and (165). In some



contexts, it is translated very well by the English words ‘now’ or ‘already’. With a negative, it translates well as ‘not yet’ and indicates that the expressed situation has not begun nor is it a fact at the time of the speech act.

- (164) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>3</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> cøh<sup>3</sup>.  
 no\IIS3 gable\3 house exist\IIS3 house masonry Prf-construct\TIP3 Tlatepuzcan  
 The masonry houses that Tlatepuzcan Chinantecs now make have no gables.

- (165) Jinh<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> mõi<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 sour\IIS3 Aff mango if Neg-Prf-ripe\IIS3  
 Mangoes are sour if they have not yet ripened. (MJA-02.020)

The perfect prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>-is normally incompatible with most verbs inflected for intensive aspect, since perfect implies a *realis* situation whereas intensive implies an *irrealis* one. The sentence in (166), however, provides an acceptable counter example, in which the stem *lé*<sup>2</sup> ‘able\III3’ is indisputably the morphological intensive form of the verb *lò*<sup>2</sup> ‘be\IIP3’) which, in its various inflectional forms (*lò*<sup>2</sup>, *lóa*<sup>12</sup>, *lé*<sup>2</sup>, *lóa*<sup>1</sup>), translates as English ‘happen, occur, become, yield, able, result, complete’. While *lé*<sup>2</sup> is lexically intensive, its ‘sense’ here, with *ma*<sup>2</sup>-, is that of a presently existing situation that permits the expression of irrealis outcomes as clausal subject complements such as, ‘will sell coffee’.

- (166) Ma<sup>2</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> uõnh<sup>2</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> tag<sup>3</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jain<sup>3</sup> hma.  
 Prf-be\III3 cut\III3 onion=cordia=tree because Prf-tall\IIS3 tree  
 The onion cordia can now be harvested because it is tall. (BJM-01 041)

The perfect prefix in a main clause also marks the main-clause situation as true both prior to and continuing to the time of a situation expressed by a completive subordinate temporal clause, as in (167) and (168).

- (167) Ma<sup>2</sup>neng<sup>12</sup> hé<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsiánh<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ñioh<sup>12</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Prf-lie\IIS3 tortilla many when Pst-arrive=home\AIsC3 husband of\TAS3 3  
 There were a huge number of tortillas by the time her husband arrived home. ((TXT-08.038)
- (168) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> dsa Jinh<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ron<sup>12</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>jon<sup>13</sup> Jinh<sup>1</sup>.  
 when Pst-arrive=here\AIsC3 3 Usila person Prf-lie\AIsS3 dead\AIsS3 Usila  
 When he got to Usila, there was already dead body lying there. (TXT-20.023)

In the case of a subordinate spatial locative clause, however, as in (169), a perfect prefix in the main clause makes no claim of temporal priority in respect to the situation expressed by the locative clause.

- (169) Hein<sup>3</sup> Gabino ma<sup>2</sup>tseñh<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>tseñh<sup>12</sup> dsa mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hó<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 that! Gabino Prf-stand\AIsP3 where Impf-stand\AIsP3 3 when Pst-go\AIsC3 3  
 That Gabino was now standing there where he had been before he had gone off. (TXT-05.217)

The perfect prefix may occur together with either of the two past-tense prefixes on the completive stem of an active verb. With past tense, *ma*<sup>2</sup>-marks a situation that has continuing effect in the present, but the focus of the event is in the past, as in (170) and (171).

- (170) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>liagh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>.  
 but 2s Aff Prf-Hod-deliver\TNC2 1s  
 But you have saved my life. (TXT-05.112)
- (171) Hi<sup>2</sup> tágh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup>.  
 that replace\DII2 Aff 2s all\3i that Prf-Pst-go\C-get=lost\IID3  
 You will recover everything that was lost. (TXT-05.434)

Future past perfect is expressed by a perfect clause subordinated by the conjunction *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (subsequent)’ that places the subordinate expression subsequent to the time of the speech act. In (172), the main-clause perfect predicts that a situation will be true when the subordinate clause expression is true, which is to say, in one week’s time.

- (172) Ma<sup>2</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> cog<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-Be\IIS3 much money of\TIS2 2s when Prf-Pst-reach\IIC3 eight day  
 You will have a great deal of money in one week’s time. (TXT-05.225)

The perfect prefix within a temporal subordinate clause, does not restrict the aspect of the main clause, but merely claims that the situation expressed by the subordinate clause exists at the time expressed by the tense-aspect inflection of the main clause, whether stative (173), progressive (174), habitual (175), intensive (176), or completive (177).

- (173) Mi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>quién<sup>13</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> tsih<sup>12</sup> hløg<sup>2</sup> cágh<sup>12</sup>,  
 when Prf-approach\IIC3 arrive-there\AIsP3 3 where stand\TIsP3 cliff eat\TNP3  
 ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hløg<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup>.  
 not\IIS3 cliff be\IIS3  
 When they had gotten close to arriving where the rock trap was, there was no rock. (TXT-19.416)
- (174) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hieí<sup>12</sup> dsa góah<sup>1</sup> dsa mi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>løa<sup>1</sup> má<sup>1</sup>.  
 but Neg-receive\TIP3 3 eat\TII3 3 when Prf-Hod-happen\IIC3 meal  
 But he was unwilling to eat when the meal was ready. (TXT-02.111)
- (175) Cu<sup>2</sup> hñiah<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> mói<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dság<sup>12</sup> dsa na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup>  
 alone\3 just=one Aff person go\AIsP3 3 when Prf-Pst-reach\IIC3

ja<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>1</sup>jmó<sup>2</sup>dsa ta<sup>3</sup>.

when go\I3-do\TID3 work

Just he alone goes off when it is time to go to work. (TXT-12.004)

(176) ʔTsa<sup>3</sup>jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning jóg<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> gúh<sup>3</sup>?

Neg\Interr-advise\TII2 when Prf-reach\IIC3 when go\AIsI2

Would you please let me know when you intend to go? (TXT-05.017)

(177) Jøng<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>sen<sup>1</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup>, jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>quiag<sup>12</sup> dsa ni<sup>3</sup> mesa.

Ana\i when Prf-Hod-bathe\TAC3 3 Ana\i Ana\i Pst-place\TNsC3 3 on table

Then when they had bathed her, they laid her out on a table. (TXT-08.128)

While the primary syntactic function of *ma<sup>2</sup>*-(perfect) is that of verb prefix, it occasionally finds a suitable context in which to function as the preposed subordinator of a temporal noun phrase, as in (178), that is related to the clause *ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>dsa<sup>1</sup> sø<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>* ‘the week is passed’.

(178) Ma<sup>2</sup>sø<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsa<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>liág<sup>13</sup> jni huóh<sup>13</sup> jni guóh<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>13</sup>.

Prf-week Pst-go\IIC3 Pst-begin\TIC1s 1s extract\TIpI1s 1s brick

It was back last week that I began to make block.

### 3.8 Imperfect Aspect

Like the perfect prefix *ma<sup>2</sup>*-, the IMPERFECT prefix *mi<sup>3</sup>*-may occur directly with both active and stative stems. But whereas the perfect prefix is normally incompatible with intensive stems, the imperfect prefix is normally incompatible with completive stems. With stative or progressive stems, it indicates a situation that existed—was habitual or was in progress—at an earlier time, but which no longer exists at the time of the speech act or of a subsequent event referenced in the immediate context. Progressive and stative imperfects are illustrated in (179) and (180), respectively.

(179) Mi<sup>3</sup>dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa héh<sup>1</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> cuøh<sup>3</sup> dsó<sup>2</sup> quiún<sup>2</sup>.

Impf-measure\TIpP3 maize long-ago with quart-sized=gourd

In times past corn was measured using a quart-sized gourd. (APS-05.006)

(180) Mi<sup>3</sup>neng<sup>12</sup> finca Cuú<sup>1</sup> Dsai<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup> cøg<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa Te<sup>3</sup>ja.

Impf-Be\IIsS3 plantation Providencia long-ago next-to road go\AIpP3 3 Tejas

Providencia used to be a ranch years ago, located along the trail to Tejas. (MMM-02.007)

With intensive stems, imperfect *mi<sup>3</sup>*- has OPTATIVE force, expressing a desire or intended outcome, as in (181) and (182).

(181) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hói<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> tiú<sup>12</sup>. Mi<sup>3</sup>jñeh<sup>1</sup> dsa Gabino.

Ana\i Pst-point\TIC3 person Ana\ a rifle Opt-kill\TAsI3 3 Gabino

Then that fellow raised his rifle, intending to kill Gabino. (TXT-05.099–100)

- (182) Mi<sup>3</sup>jón<sup>2</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>tsei<sup>1</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup>jøng<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>.  
 Opt-die\AIsI3 3 Pst-send\TNC3 3 at Ana\i face\3 war  
 They sent him there to the war to be killed. (TXT-09.161)

One way to express a polite request is to use the imperfect prefix with a first-or second-person intensive stem, as in (183) and (184).

- (183) Jøng<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>canh<sup>13</sup> hning. Jøng<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 Ana\i Opt-take\TII2 2s Ana\i Opt-go\AIpI1p 1i  
 You could go get it and we could go off together. (TXT-05.269–70)

- (184) Ta<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>hno<sup>1</sup> jni mi<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>13</sup> jni cøng<sup>2</sup> sø<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>31</sup>.  
 work Opt-want\TIS1s 1s Opt-do\TII1s 1s one\i week  
 I am looking for one week of work. (TXT-11.175)

The optative (imperfect prefix with intensive stem) occurs in the apodosis of a counter-factual condition (§10.8), as in (185) and (186).

- (185) Mi<sup>3</sup>jlán<sup>2</sup> dsa ju<sup>3</sup>jmai<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>ganh<sup>13</sup> dsa ni<sup>3</sup> jein<sup>3</sup>.  
 Opt-cover\TMI3 3 if day lying=down\AIpS3 3 on\3 bed  
 They would have been crushed if they had been lying on the bed. (TXT-47.233)

- (186) Si<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hñi<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>høa<sup>13</sup> jni ju<sup>3</sup>jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hú<sup>1</sup> jín<sup>3</sup> jni<sup>2</sup>  
 fifth=grade Opt-read\TII1s 1s if Ana\i Pst-enter\AIsC1s Aff 1s  
 quiah<sup>12</sup> tøa<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>2</sup>.  
 of\TIS3 teacher long=ago  
 I would have entered fifth grade if I had continued in school years ago. (AGJ-10.014)

### 3.9 Continuative Aspect

The prefix *ma<sup>1</sup>-* (continuative) is almost always found in constructions with the negative prefix *tša<sup>1</sup>-* or the negative verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘not be\IS3’, in which case it marks a discontinuity, that a situation ceases to be valid or true, as in (187).

- (187) Tša<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lé<sup>2</sup> hiá<sup>1</sup> hiég<sup>1</sup>, hi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>jniang<sup>1</sup>  
 Neg-know\TIS1phow be\III3 future that\i-Interr Cnt-reappear\AII3  
 ho<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> tša<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>jniang<sup>1</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>.  
 or that\i-Interr Neg-Cnt-reappear\AII3 sun  
 We do not know whether the sun will still shine in the days ahead or not. (MMM-06.012)

This prefix may occur together with stative, progressive, intensive, or completive verbs, as illustrated in (188)–(191).

- (188) Tša<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup> cog<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa ni<sup>3</sup>jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-Cnt-Be\IS3 Prf-Pst-happen\IIC3 money of\TIS3 3 afterward  
 Nothing else happened to his money after that. (TXT-05.515)

- (189) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>lán<sup>12</sup> dsa lán<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>lán<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Neg-Cnt-be\TMP3 3 such\i about Impf-be\TMP3 3  
 He is no longer like he used to be. (TXT-06.204)
- (190) Jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>dsø<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning.  
 Ana\i Neg-Cnt-go\I3-get=lost\IID3 money of\TIS2 2s  
 Then you won't lose your money anymore. (TXT-05.433)
- (191) Mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>cáng<sup>1</sup> jni dsí<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 therefore Neg-Cnt-Pst-breathe\TIC1s Pst-pretend\TIC1s 1s  
 So I pretended to have stopped breathing. (TXT-01.073)

In a negative command, it urges termination of an action, as in (192).

- (192) ;Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>hógh<sup>3</sup> hning! juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Neg-TRM-cry\AII2 2s say\TIP3 3  
 “Stop crying!” he said. (TXT-05.429)

The phonological similarity of *ma<sup>1</sup>-* ([dis]continuative) to *ma<sup>2</sup>-* (perfect), as well as their semantic similarity, begs speculation about a possible derivational relationship between them. The perfect prefix marks a situation as having begun prior to the time of a speech act and continuing in force at that time. The prefix *ma<sup>1</sup>-*, on the other hand, marks a situation as having been in force prior to the time of the speech act but, aided by a negative in the near context, as being no longer in force at that time.

### 3.10 The Negation Prefix

Negation is marked by any of several negative verbs (§14.6) or by the negative prefix *tsa<sup>1</sup>-* (Neg), which may occur as the first prefix, preceding all other prefixes, on any active or stative verb. Stative, progressive, habitual, intensive, and completive verbs are shown with the negative prefix in (193)–(197).

- (193) Tsa<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>, juóh<sup>12</sup> jni.  
 bad\IIS3 Aff say\TIP1s 1s  
 I say that that's wrong. (TXT-05.085)
- (194) Lán<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ηai<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 such\i Neg-answer\TIP3 ANA\i Aff 3  
 He's just not answering. (TXT-02.116)
- (195) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jñéh<sup>2</sup> jni jáh<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>jma<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-kill\TAsP1s 1s animal bad\AIS3 Aff animal Neg-tasty\IIS3  
 I do not kill bad animals, ones that are not good to eat. (TXT-05.038)

- (196) Tsa<sup>1</sup>tiúh<sup>1</sup>            dsa jmo<sup>1</sup>    dsa hí<sup>3</sup>.  
 Neg-suffice\III3 3    do\TII3 3    care  
 They will not be able to cure him. (TXT-26.072)
- (197) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>cuøh<sup>3</sup>            hning jóg<sup>3</sup> jñéh<sup>3</sup>            jni jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-Pst-give\TIC2 2s    word kill\TAsIIs 1s    animal  
 You did not let me kill the animals. (TXT-05.082)

The negative prefix is an essential element in the formation of the negative imperative, as illustrated in (198). As indicated in greater detail in §16.2, the negative imperative form of the verb differs from that of a positive imperative verb, almost always having the same inflectional form as the second-person progressive form of the verb, but without the ubiquitous second-person final glottal.

- (198) Tsa<sup>1</sup>høg<sup>2</sup>            hning.  
 Neg-cry\ANeg! 2s  
 Don't cry! (TXT-25.271)

With overlaid interrogative intonation and a second-person intensive verb, *tsa<sup>1</sup>-* is used to form a polite request, as in (199).

- (199) ʔTsa<sup>3</sup>gu<sup>3</sup>jiagh<sup>12</sup>            hning jni hí<sup>2</sup>    jan<sup>3</sup>            jni cøng<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>?  
 Neg\Interr-go\I2-carry\TND22s    1s    that see\TAIIs 1s    one\i    king  
 Won't you please conduct me in to brief audience with the king? (TXT-26.283)

The negative prefix *tsa<sup>1</sup>-* is a verb prefix, but it can also negate a fronted nominal constituent, as in (200)–(202), where subject, object, and temporal constituents, respectively, are negated.

- (200) ... ju<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>jáh<sup>2</sup>            héi<sup>2</sup>    báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lei<sup>12</sup>            jni niúh<sup>1</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup>.  
          if Neg-animal    Ana\A Aff    Pst-extract\TNsC3 1s    within pit  
          ... if it were not for that animal having extracted me from the pit. (TXT-26.163)
- (201) Ju<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup>            quiánh<sup>2</sup> jmoh<sup>3</sup>            lách<sup>1</sup>    hnøngh<sup>2</sup>, ...  
          if Neg-cofather of\TIS2 hurt\TAI2 such\i    want\TIS2  
          Even if it were not your own compadre you would harm at will, ... (TXT-01.179)

Negative prefix *tsa<sup>1</sup>-* with adverbial *tan<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>1</sup>*

- (202) Tsa<sup>1</sup>tan<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>1</sup>            ñieh<sup>13</sup>            hning.  
 NEG-immediately go-and-come-home\AIsI2 2s  
 Do not come home right away! (TXT-47 194)

### 3.11 Plurality

Number is not highly marked in Chinantec. Nouns are not inflectionally marked for number, as they are in many languages of the world. Nouns like *dsøi<sup>2</sup>* ‘dog’ and *hma<sup>2</sup>* ‘wood, tree’

translate as singulars or plurals based solely on context and are usually completely ambiguous for number due to a lack of focus on this semantic feature. Personal pronouns distinguish number for first- and second-persons as do reflexive pronouns for all persons; but nouns do not. Nor do verbs, for the most part. There are, however, a small number of Positional Verbs, Verbs of Motion and Arrival, and a few others, that occur in suppletive pairs, with separate singular and plural stems. A few examples are listed in (203)–(208). As in the case of animate inflection, number inflection follows an ergative pattern, marking subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs.

(203)	dság <sup>12</sup> dsa dsø <sup>2</sup> lén <sup>2</sup> dsa	go\AIsP3 3 go\AIpP3 3	‘S/he goes.’ ‘They go.’
(204)	ca <sup>1</sup> guónh <sup>1</sup> hning ca <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>1</sup> hniah <sup>12</sup>	Pst-come=home\AIsC2 2s Pst-come=home\AIpC2 2p	‘You (sg) came home.’ ‘You (pl) came home.’
(205)	guó <sup>12</sup> dsa tiogh <sup>3</sup> dsa	reside\AIsP3 3 reside\AIpP3 3	‘He is at home.’ ‘They are at home.’
(206)	ca <sup>1</sup> hí <sup>2</sup> dsa ca <sup>1</sup> túgh <sup>2</sup> dsa	Pst-enter\AIsC3 3 Pst-enter\AIpC3 3	‘S/he entered.’ ‘They entered.’
(207)	ca <sup>1</sup> co <sup>1</sup> jni ca <sup>1</sup> dsie <sup>1</sup> jni	Pst-place\TIsC1s 1s Pst-place\TIpC1s 1s	‘I placed it.’ ‘I placed them.’
(208)	ca <sup>1</sup> jñē <sup>1</sup> dsa ca <sup>1</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> dsian <sup>12</sup> dsa	Pst-kill\TAsC3 3 Pst-kill\TApC3 3	‘S/he killed him/her.’ ‘S/he killed them.’

In addition to the few verbs of this type, there is another small set of binomial verbs like those in (209)–(211), in which stem formatives, such as *quii*<sup>2</sup>-, *cø*<sup>2</sup>-, and *cu*<sup>2</sup>-, mark a verb as entailing repetitive action.

- (209) Quii<sup>2</sup>tág<sup>12</sup> jni cang<sup>3</sup> huuh<sup>12</sup> di<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup>.  
pelt\DIp1s 1s stone orange so Ana<sup>1</sup> fall\IIP13  
I throw rocks at the oranges to make them fall.
- (210) Dsa<sup>2</sup> cø<sup>2</sup>cáng<sup>12</sup> bá<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> hløah<sup>12</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>.  
3 stutter\AIP3 Aff person Neg-happen\IIP3 that speak\TIP3 proper\IIS3  
Someone who stutters is someone who is unable to speak correctly. (MJA-04.116)
- (211) Cu<sup>2</sup>giénh<sup>2</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hiug<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>12</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup>.  
mix\TIP3 3 word present\TIpP3 person because ill=will\AIS3 3 word  
They caused confusion of the topic under discussion because they disagreed with it. (AGJ-01.061)

Finally, there is a much more productive plural prefix that appears with interchangeable prefixes, *ni*<sup>3</sup>-/ti<sup>3</sup>- (plural), that can mark virtually any verb as plural. Strictly speaking, it may be

argued from verbs like that in (212) that it is the action denoted by the verb that is pluralized, but the plain effect is often to imply a plural subject, as in (213), or both plural subjects and objects, as in (214). The form *ti*<sup>3</sup>-may occur in any of these examples without any change of meaning.

(212) Ni<sup>3</sup>hmih<sup>3</sup> hning jmóh<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cōng<sup>2</sup> hora ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ηii<sup>3</sup> méih<sup>1</sup>.  
 p-closed=eyes\AIP2 2s do\THI2 such\i about one\i hour or if exceed\IIS3 more  
 Keep your eyes closed for about one hour or perhaps a little more. (TXT-11.473)

(213) Ca<sup>1</sup>tót<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> jōng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>jní<sup>2</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-reach\IIC3 where bad Ana\i Aff p-appear\IIP3 house  
The houses can be seen all the way from hell. (TXT-07.167)

(214) Jmáh<sup>1</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> uuh<sup>2</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> hō<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa ni<sup>3</sup>chiénh<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 just stick smooth\IIS3 walking=stick of\TIS3 3 p-hold\TIS3 3  
They were all holding smooth, wooden walking sticks. (TXT-26.143)

When the plural prefix *ni*<sup>3</sup>-/*ti*<sup>3</sup>- occurs with binomial verbs like those illustrated above in (209)–(211), the loose-knit relationship that exists between the two syllables of such verbs is seen by their separation into two separate phonological words, each with its own plural prefix, as in illustration (215).

(215) Ca<sup>1</sup>lách<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> canh<sup>13</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>quii<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>hñio<sup>12</sup> tsí<sup>2</sup>, ni<sup>3</sup>ganh<sup>13</sup>  
 all\3a animal large\AIPs3 animal p-p p-bound\AIS3 snare lying=down\AIPs3  
 jah, ni<sup>3</sup>cu<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>guian<sup>12</sup> jah mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 animal p-p p-mingle\TIpP3 animal when Pst-arrive=there\AIsC3 3  
 There was every kind of large animal, animals all bound up in snares, fallen animals all mixed up together, when he arrived. (TXT-39.054)

### 3.12 Motion

The fourth and fifth rows of the Active Verb Paradigms presented in chapter 2 represent verbforms that entail motion of persons or objects referenced by the terms of a verb in conjunction with the performance of the action expressed by the verb, as in *dsø*<sup>2</sup>*chiánh*<sup>2</sup> ‘goes hunting’. In Chinantec narrative it is good style to pair a verb of motion, such as *dság*<sup>12</sup> ‘he goes’, with a following directional verb having a directional prefix that corresponds to the motion verb, as in illustrations (216) and (217), where the motion verb *dság*<sup>12</sup> ‘go\AIsP3’ combines with the directional prefix *dsø*<sup>2</sup>- ‘go\P3’, and the motion verb *nei*<sup>13</sup> ‘go\AIsI1s’ combines with the directional prefix *ηii*<sup>3</sup>- ‘go\I1s’.



(216) Dság<sup>12</sup> dsa máh<sup>2</sup>, máh<sup>2</sup> uóin<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup>, dsø<sup>2</sup>chiánh<sup>2</sup> dsa jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIsP3 3 mountain mountain far\IIS3 very go\P3-bag\TAD3 3 animal  
He goes into the hills, to a distant mountain, and goes hunting. (TXT-05.003–04)

(217) Nei<sup>13</sup> jni nii<sup>3</sup>quii<sup>1</sup> li<sup>3</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> jøh<sup>2</sup> máh<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIsIIs 1s go\IIs-bring\TID1s tepejilote road concave\IIS3 mountain  
I am going to go get some tepejilote in mountain hollows. (TXT-25.017)

Verbforms listed in the fourth row of verbal paradigms occur with DIRECTIONAL prefixes that indicate unidirectional motion toward or away from the place of the speech act. Forms listed in the fifth row occur with RETURN prefixes that indicate ROUND-TRIP motion that both begins and ends either at the place of the speech act or away from the place of the speech act.

DIRECTIONAL prefixes modeled in part on the highly suppletive motion verb *nei<sup>12</sup>/dsøg<sup>2</sup>/góg<sup>12</sup>/dság<sup>12</sup>* meaning ‘go’ are listed in (218) and indicate that the subject of a verb moves away from the place of the speech act in connection with his or her performance of the activity named by the verb.

(218) go (directional)	1s	1p	2	3
H	ηii <sup>2</sup> -	dsø <sup>2</sup> -	gu <sup>2</sup> -	dsø <sup>2</sup> -
P	ηii <sup>2</sup> -	dsø <sup>2</sup> -	gu <sup>2</sup> -	ηii <sup>2</sup> -
I	ηii <sup>3</sup> -	dsø <sup>3</sup> -	gu <sup>3</sup> -	dsø <sup>1</sup> -
C	ηii <sup>1</sup> -	ηii <sup>1</sup> -	ηii <sup>1</sup> -	ηii <sup>1</sup> -
R	ηii <sup>3</sup> -	ηii <sup>3</sup> -	ηii <sup>3</sup> -	ηii <sup>3</sup> -

This verb prefix paradigm differs in two ways from the verb root paradigms listed in chapter 2. Whereas verb roots are the progressive ambiguously habitual or progressive, there are distinct third-person forms of the directional prefix for these two categories. The paradigm of directional prefixes thus has an additional row marked ‘H’ for ‘habitual’ which has the same prefixes as the ‘progressive’ row marked ‘P’, except in the third-person column. The verb stem that occurs with the HABITUAL, PROGRESSIVE, INTENTIVE, and COMPLETIVE prefixes is drawn from the DIRECTIONAL ‘D’ fourth row of the verb root paradigms, and there is no corresponding DIRECTIONAL row in the directional prefix paradigm.

The verb stem that occurs with the RETURN prefixes listed in the fifth row of the directional prefix paradigm marked ‘R’ are drawn from the corresponding fifth row of the verb stem paradigm, also marked ‘R’, to express motion away from the place of the speech act and subsequent return back to that same location. The RETURN prefix is the same for all persons and is

modeled on a highly defective verb *ɲie*<sup>3</sup> ‘go and come\AIC’ and does not change from person to person and is, by definition, always completive and past to mark a completed round trip.

A few directional verbs with directional prefixes listed in (218) to indicate initial motion away from the place of the speech act, are presented in (219).

(219)	dsø <sup>2</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa	go\H3-place\TID3 3	‘He goes and places it.’
	ɲii <sup>2</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa	go\P3-place\TID3 3	‘He is on his way to place it.’
	dsø <sup>1</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa	go\I3-place\TID3 3	‘He will go and place it.’
	ca <sup>1</sup> ɲii <sup>1</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa	Pst-go\C-place\TID3 3	‘He went to place it.’
	ca <sup>1</sup> ɲii <sup>3</sup> quieg <sup>2</sup> dsa	Pst-go\R-place\TIR3 3	‘He went, placed it, and came.’

The distinction between the completive DIRECTIONAL forms and completive RETURN forms of these prefixes meaning ‘go’ is that the DIRECTIONAL forms indicate only that the agent has gone to perform the action. If the destination is in sight of the place of the speech act this form is not used until the action can be seen to have been performed off in the distance. If the destination is out of sight of the place of the speech act, it is used any time after the agent is out of sight since it can not normally be known when the action is actually completed at the site of the intended destination. The RETURN forms, on the other hand, are not used until the agent has completed the action at the intended place away from that of the speech act and has returned to the place of the speech act.

Corresponding directional prefixes modeled on the motion verb *guio*<sup>12</sup>/*ɲii*<sup>2</sup>/*já*<sup>12</sup> ‘come’, that indicate that the subject of a verb moves toward the place of the speech act in connection with the performance of the activity expressed by the verb stem, are shown in (220). Since the motion verb meaning ‘come’ is less suppletive than the one meaning ‘go’, the paradigm of these prefixes has fewer diverse forms, distinctively marking person only in third-person intensive forms. Use of these prefixes is illustrated in (221).

(220)	come(directional)	non3	3
	H	ja <sup>2</sup> -	ja <sup>2</sup> -
	P	ja <sup>1</sup> -	ja <sup>1</sup> -
	I	ɲii <sup>3</sup> -	ji <sup>1</sup> -
	C	ja <sup>1</sup> -	ja <sup>1</sup> -
	R	u <sup>3</sup> -	u <sup>3</sup> -

- |       |  |                         |                                 |
|-------|--|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (221) | ja <sup>2</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa                 | come\H-place\AID3 3     | 'He comes to place it.'         |
|       | ja <sup>1</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa                 | come\P-place\AID3 3     | 'He is coming to place it.'     |
|       | ji <sup>1</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa                 | come\I3-place\AID3 3    | 'He will come and place it.'    |
|       | ca <sup>1</sup> ja <sup>1</sup> quiég <sup>1</sup> dsa | Pst-come\C-place\AID3 3 | 'He came and placed it.'        |
|       | ca <sup>1</sup> u <sup>3</sup> quieg <sup>2</sup> dsa  | Pst-come\R-place\AIR3 3 | 'He came, placed it, and went.' |

The distinction between the completive DIRECTIONAL forms and completive RETURN forms of these prefixes meaning 'come' is that the DIRECTIONAL forms indicate only that the agent has come to the place of the speech act and has performed the action, whereas the RETURN forms also indicate that the agent, having completed the stated action at the place of the speech act, has also left that place and is now at least out of sight, if not already back where he came from.

Both RETURN prefixes, *ηii<sup>3</sup>* 'go and come' and *u<sup>3</sup>* 'come and go', are known to occur with the past prefix *ca<sup>1</sup>*-, but the hodiernal past prefix *na<sup>2</sup>*-, has only been observed with *u<sup>3</sup>*-. Known uses are illustrated in (222) and (223). Both *ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>*- and *na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>*-may be used to indicate motion away from the place of the speech act to bring something back toward that place.

- (222) Ca<sup>1</sup>guónh<sup>1</sup> jni cø<sup>2</sup>néng<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ηie<sup>3</sup> jni jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>,  
 Pst-arrive=home=\AIsC1s 1s last=night that\i go=and=come\AIsC1s 1s Valle=Nacional
- hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>quiin<sup>1</sup> jni lio<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hniuh<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup>.  
 that Pst-go\R-bring\TIR1s 1s supplies that\i needed\IIS3 home  
 I arrived home last night having gone to Valle Nacional to bring back things needed at home. (APS-02.008)

- (223) iCuø<sup>3</sup> tsóa<sup>12</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>! Di<sup>3</sup>jøng<sup>2</sup> ηii<sup>3</sup>cáng<sup>1</sup> jni ja<sup>3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>quiin<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 give\TI! glass that so Ana\i go\IIs-take=back\TID1s 1s where Hod-come\R-bring\TIR1s 1s  
 Give me that bottle so I can return it to the place from which I brought it! (BJM-04.181)

The sequence *ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>*- indicates travel away from the place of the speech act and subsequent return, but it makes no assertion concerning the direction of other entities entailed by the verb. Sentences (222) and (223), illustrate situations where objects are carried back to the place from which earlier motion was initiated. In (224), the subject moves away and returns, but a 'report' is taken away from the place of the speech act rather than being brought back toward it.

- (224) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>can<sup>13</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Pst-go\R-take\TIR3 3 word town=hall say\TIP3 3  
 Then she went and reported it at the town hall, they say. (TXT-48.032)

Similarly, both sequences can be used to indicate a trip to perform an activity somewhere with a subsequent return home, as illustrated in (225) and (226).

(225) Ma<sup>2</sup>tsøa<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guønh<sup>1</sup> jni  
 Prf-nightfall Pst-arrive=home=here\AIsC3 1s  
 dɪh<sup>3</sup> uøin<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> jni ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 because far\IIS3 where Pst-go\R-do\TIR1s 1s work  
 It had gotten dark when I arrived home because I had gone a long way to work. (BJM-01.055)

(226) Ma<sup>2</sup>hmøi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>ηie<sup>1</sup> jni  
 Prf-earlier=today\IIS3 Hod-come\R-go=and=come\AIsR1s 1s  
 na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>guiei<sup>1</sup> jni jneng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hod-come\R-tear\TIR1s 1s bean  
 Earlier today I went and tore out my bean plants (before returning home). (MJA-08.025)

The sequence *ca<sup>1</sup>u<sup>3</sup>*- can be used to indicate motion of an agent toward the place of the speech act, where an activity then takes place, with subsequent retreat away from the place of the speech act. But the corresponding sequence *na<sup>2</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>*-, for what ever reason, is not known to occur.

(227) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>léi<sup>13</sup> jni mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guønh<sup>1</sup> hŋa<sup>3</sup>  
 Pst-Act\C-perceive\TIS1s 1s when Pst-arrive=here=again\AIsC3 paca  
 ca<sup>1</sup>u<sup>3</sup>cøgh<sup>1</sup> jah cuøi<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>neng<sup>13</sup> juú<sup>3</sup> jah.  
 Pst-come\R-eat\TID3 animal maize Impf-Be\IIS3 trace\3 animal  
 I became aware after the spotted cavy had come back again that it had come and eaten the maize that was in its path and had then left. (MMM-05.042)

### 3.13 Pseudo Motion

Directional prefixes occur very productively with nonmotion verbs to indicate locomotion on the part of the agent as indicated in the previous section. A subset of three of these prefixes, listed in (228), also occurs with some fifty roots to form stems that usually imply motion of some kind, but not motion toward or away from the place of the speech act as in true directional verbs.

(228) go (pseudo directional)  
 P dsø<sup>2</sup>-  
 I dsø<sup>1</sup>-  
 C ηii<sup>1</sup>-

Such verbs are here termed PSEUDODIRECTIONAL. Most of them only have DIRECTIONAL forms (those from the fourth row of a standard verb paradigm), since progressive, intentive, and completive aspects are marked by the pseudodirectional prefixes themselves. A few illustrations follow in (229).

(229) dsø <sup>2</sup> bá <sup>1</sup> cang <sup>3</sup>	go\P-roll\IID3 stone	‘The stone rolls.’
dsø <sup>2</sup> jiag <sup>12</sup> dsøa <sup>1</sup>	go\P-carry\TND3 heart\1s	‘I am thinking.’
dsø <sup>1</sup> cón <sup>3</sup> cuøi <sup>2</sup>	go\I-grow\IIPD3 maize	‘The maize will grow.’
dsø <sup>1</sup> ganh <sup>13</sup> dsa	go\I-fall\AIpD3 3	‘They will fall down.’
ca <sup>1</sup> ñii <sup>1</sup> heh <sup>13</sup> tang <sup>12</sup>	Pst-go\C-enter\IID3 thorn	‘The thorn entered.’
ca <sup>1</sup> ñii <sup>1</sup> cogh <sup>12</sup> dsa juu <sup>12</sup>	Pst-go\C-get=lost\AID3 3 road	‘He lost his way.’

One possible effect of a directional prefix in a pseudodirectional verb is to reduce the degree of transitivity of the verb. Very few verb roots participate directly in both intransitive and transitive paradigms without a derivational prefix, though there are a few. The examples in (230)–(233) pair a transitive verb with a corresponding pseudodirectional intransitive verb.

(230) ca <sup>1</sup> bán <sup>2</sup> dsa cang <sup>3</sup>	Pst-roll\TIC3 3 rock	‘He rolled the rock.’
ca <sup>1</sup> ñii <sup>1</sup> ba <sup>1</sup> cang <sup>3</sup>	Pst-go\C-roll\IID3 rock	‘The rock rolled.’
(231) ca <sup>1</sup> ián <sup>2</sup> dsa jah	Pst-float\TAC3 3 animal	‘He floated the animal.’
ca <sup>1</sup> ñii <sup>1</sup> ian <sup>1</sup> dsa	Pst-go\C-float=off\AID3 3	‘He floated off.’
(232) ca <sup>1</sup> ie <sup>2</sup> dsa mong <sup>12</sup>	Pst-float\TIC3 3 boat	‘He floated the boat.’
ca <sup>1</sup> ñii <sup>1</sup> ie <sup>1</sup> mong <sup>12</sup>	Pst-go\C-float=off\IID3 boat	‘The boat floated off.’
(233) ja <sup>12</sup> dsa hag <sup>3</sup> dsa	open=wide\TIP3 3 mouth\3 3	‘He opens his mouth wide.’
dsø <sup>2</sup> já <sup>3</sup> tang <sup>12</sup>	go\P-extend\IID3	‘The plant extends itself.’

## 4. Stative Verbs

This is the section in the study that would introduce Chinantec adjectives if Chinantec had any. But the contention is here made that Chinantec is one of those languages of the world that has no adjectives. In the Chinantec case, stative verbs play the role of the adjectives of other languages.

### 4.1 Adjective Typology

As long ago as 1921, Edward Sapir made the following claim: “No language wholly fails to distinguish noun and verb, though in particular cases the nature of the distinction may be an elusive one. It is different with the other parts of speech. Not one of them is imperatively required for the life of a language” (Sapir 1921:119). For a brief period beginning less than twenty years following Sapir’s universality claim concerning nouns and verbs, it began to be suspected that even this distinction might not always be present in human language at the level of parts of speech (for example, Sapir and Swadesh 1939, Hockett 1958:224); but further research into the alleged counter-examples now leads many to reject them as exceptions to this rule (Dixon 1982:2, Schachter 1985:7). Adjective, on the other hand, has long been known to be a part-of-speech category for which numerous languages find differing encoding strategies which allows them to function quite well with only a few adjectives or even with none at all. Chinantec is one of the latter; there is no need to define a category of Adjectives for Chinantec.

Since Dixon 1977 asked that burning 1970s question about adjectives, I have wanted to apply his semantic classification to Palantla Chinantec data.<sup>4</sup> Especially so since, in my first major exploration into Chinantec syntax (Merrifield 1968), I found the category ADJECTIVE inapposite and did not even employ it there. With a little more foreknowledge of the interest there would be in the following decade over whether this or that language should be analyzed as having such a category, I might at the time have mustered the arguments for not mentioning it for Chinantec. But my earlier report merely notes in the briefest of terms that “the descriptive modifier [of a

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<sup>4</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was presented under the title “Whither Chinantec Adjectives” at the 22nd annual meeting of The Linguistic Association of the Southwest, hosted by the Linguistics Department of the University of Texas at Arlington, 22–24 October, 1993.

noun phrase head] may be an independent clause, a clause reduced through attributive transformation, an ordinal phrase, a (smaller) noun phrase, a personal or demonstrative pronoun, or a pronoun phrase” (1968:55). Subsequent research into the syntax of other Chinantec languages (Anderson 1989, Lewis 1988, Rupp 1989, Westley 1991) supports the same analysis for Chinantec languages as a family, but still does not provide substantive detail concerning Chinantec forms that correspond in function to the adjectives of languages like English which do have large inventories of words for which the term Adjective is apposite.

This discussion, therefore, seeks to demonstrate that Palantla Chinantec is a solid example of what Schachter (1985:17) has called an ADJECTIVAL-VERB language, in which adjectival meanings are expressed primarily by verbs, and presents a fairly complete inventory of the Palantla Chinantec lexical forms which belong to the universal semantic types proposed for (semantic) adjectives by Dixon.

The position taken here is that “the *part-of-speech system* of a language is the classification of all its stems on the basis of similarities and differences of inflectional and syntactic behavior” (Hockett 1958:221). It conforms to that of Schachter when he affirms that “the primary criteria for parts-of-speech classification are grammatical, not semantic” (1985:3) whereas “the *name* that is chosen for a particular parts-of-speech class in a language may appropriately reflect universal semantic considerations” (1985:4).

Chinantec has two MAJOR parts of speech and several MINOR ones. The former are large, relatively open classes, theoretically more likely for speakers to add to; the latter are small, relatively closed classes, theoretically less likely for speakers to add to. The two major classes are, predictably, NOUNS and VERBS. The minor classes of stems include ADVERBS, DEICTICS, PREPOSITIONS, PRONOUNS, and QUANTIFIERS.

Chinantec VERB ROOTS divide into two major categories—ACTIVE and STATIVE. The participation of active verb roots in Active Verb Paradigms was described above in Chapters 2 and 3. Stative Verb Roots are defined and illustrated in this chapter, along with derivational prefixes that change Stative Roots to Active Stems and Active Roots to Stative Stems. As indicated at the beginning of Chapter 2, the difference between Active and Stative verbs is

primarily a question of morphology and of inflection rather than one of syntax. Both types of verb may function either as the predicate of a clause or as an attributive modifier of a noun.

Sentences (234) and (235) illustrate typical active and stative verbs, respectively, both as main clause predicates and as attributive modifiers of the main clause subject.

(234) Ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>guónh<sup>1</sup>                      jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>    na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>ñje<sup>1</sup>                      Ma<sup>1</sup>róh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-Hod-arrive-home\AIsC3 one\A person    Hod-come\R-been\AIsR3 Arroyo=Palomo  
 A person who went to Arroyo Palomo today has now returned.

(235) Ma<sup>2</sup>dsóh<sup>3</sup>    jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>    guó<sup>12</sup>                      Ma<sup>1</sup>róh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-sick\AIS3 one\A person live\AIsS3 Arroyo=Palomo  
 A person who lives in Arroyo Palomo has become sick.

Clausal syntax including that of attributive clauses will be discussed in later chapters, but there is no syntactic distinction between attributive clauses based on whether a verb is active or stative. Moreover, all attributive modifiers may be treated as relative clauses. Without going into the details of relative clause formation here, the examples of modified nouns in (236) include active and stative verbs with various degrees of transitivity inflection.

(236) jmøi <sup>2</sup> ma <sup>2</sup> cuu <sup>2</sup>	water Prf-cooked\IIS3	‘boiled water’
dsa <sup>2</sup> ñøa <sup>12</sup> gu <sup>1</sup> hei <sup>12</sup>	person walk\AIsP3 fast	‘person who walks fast’
hmøah <sup>12</sup> teg <sup>2</sup>	cloth white\IIS3	‘white cloth’
hmøah <sup>12</sup> ca <sup>1</sup> cuø <sup>1</sup> hio <sup>13</sup>	cloth Pst-give\TIC3 woman	‘cloth the woman gave’
cog <sup>3</sup> ca <sup>1</sup> cuøh <sup>1</sup> dsa hning <sup>2</sup>	money Pst-give\DIC3 3 2s	‘money he gave you’

I believe that this brief discussion, which will be amply borne out throughout this study, makes it clear that deep adjectives, in Dixon’s sense, are syntactic verbs in Chinantec. I will now first give attention to the morphological characteristics of stative verbs, before turning to the specific ways in which Chinantec expresses notional adjectives.

## 4.2 Stative Verbs Defined

For the most part, Chinantec stative roots tend to name conditions or qualities without implication of action or change of state. For the present, however, it is important to note that the term STATIVE is based, in these pages, on morphological and syntactic considerations rather than on semantic ones. Chinantec stative verbs can be intransitive or transitive, they can inflectionally cross-reference animate or inanimate nominals and person-and-number of subject within a



clause, just as active verbs do; but a CHINANTEC STATIVE ROOT is a verb form that does not inflect internally to mark categories of tense-aspect, or directly occur with a past-tense prefix.

By way of reminder, note, for example, how Active verb forms are inflected for tense-aspect and occur with past-tense prefixes in the pairs of Progressive (P) and Completive (C) verb forms listed in (237)–(239), where the Completive forms always occurs with a past-tense prefix, the primary past-tense prefix *caʔ-* being shown here.

- |       |   |  |                                      |
|-------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| (237) | Nái <sup>12</sup> jni.<br>Caʔnái <sup>1</sup> jni.      | laugh\AIP1s 1s,<br>Pst-laugh\AIC1s 1s, | ‘I am laughing.’<br>‘I laughed.’     |
| (238) | Høgh <sup>2</sup> hning.<br>Caʔhagh <sup>3</sup> hning. | cry\AIP2-2 2s,<br>Pst-cry\AIC2-2 2s,   | ‘You are crying.’<br>‘You laughed.’  |
| (239) | Loh <sup>12</sup> dsa.<br>Caʔlöh <sup>1</sup> dsa.      | bathe\AIP3 3,<br>Pst-bathe\AIC3 3,     | ‘S/he is bathing.’<br>‘S/he bathed.’ |

Such inflection and affixation does not occur with stative verb forms. A few stative roots are illustrated in (240)–(243), with animate and inanimate Subject of intransitive roots and animate and inanimate Direct Objects of transitive roots. There are no known Ditransitive stative roots.

- |       |  |   |   |
|-------|--|---|---|
| (240) | uuh <sup>2</sup> hma <sup>2</sup> ,<br>quing <sup>2</sup> hma <sup>2</sup> ,<br>teg <sup>2</sup> hma <sup>2</sup> ,                  | smooth\IIS3 wood<br>dry\IIS3 wood<br>white\IIS3 wood        | ‘The wood is smooth.’<br>‘The wood is dry.’<br>‘The wood is white.’           |
| (241) | uenh <sup>2</sup> jáh <sup>2</sup> ,<br>quion <sup>2</sup> jáh <sup>2</sup> ,<br>tiug <sup>2</sup> jáh <sup>2</sup> ,                | smooth\AIS3 animal<br>dry\AIS3 animal<br>white\AIS3 animal  | ‘The animal is hairless.’<br>‘The animal is dried.’<br>‘The animal is white.’ |
| (242) | cuúh <sup>12</sup> dsa hõng <sup>2</sup> ,<br>hniu <sup>1</sup> dsa hõng <sup>2</sup> ,<br>hioh <sup>3</sup> dsa hõng <sup>2</sup> , | know\TIS3 3 chili<br>like\TIS3 3 chili<br>hate\TIS3 3 chili | ‘He is acquainted with chili.’<br>‘He likes chili.’<br>‘He hates chili.’      |
| (243) | cuen <sup>12</sup> dsa hio <sup>13</sup> ,<br>hnio <sup>1</sup> dsa hio <sup>13</sup> ,<br>dsen <sup>1</sup> dsa hio <sup>13</sup> , | know\TAS3 3 woman<br>love\TAS3 3 woman<br>envy\TAS3 3 woman | ‘He knows the woman.’<br>‘He loves the woman.’<br>‘He envies the woman.’      |

### 4.3 Activizing Stative Roots

A derivational prefix may redefine a stative root as an active stem which is inflected for aspect like an active root, allowing it to occur with the past-tense prefixes, among other things.

The activizing prefix  $l\phi^2$ - ‘Act\’P’ occurs with a stative root to indicate a CHANGE-OF-STATE. The prefix has three inflectional forms which correspond to the three aspectual categories Progressive, Intensive, and Completive, for which active stems may be inflected. These forms have their source in the inflectional forms of the corresponding Inanimate Intransitive verb  $l\phi^2$  ‘happen\IIP3’, as the following set of three illustrations shows. The first illustration is of the active verb itself; the second and third are of the use of the prefix with two typical stative roots. The root itself often retains the same phonological form in all aspects, but as the final example below shows can also vary in form, especially with completive aspect.

- |       |   |                       |                           |
|-------|---|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| (244) | $l\phi^2$ báh <sup>3</sup> ,                                  | happen\’P3 Aff        | ‘It happens.’             |
|       | lé <sup>2</sup> báh <sup>3</sup> ,                            | happen\’I3 Aff        | ‘It will happen.’         |
|       | ca <sup>1</sup> l $\phi$ a <sup>1</sup> báh <sup>3</sup> ,    | Pst-happen\’C3 Aff    | ‘It happened.’            |
| (245) | dsóh <sup>3</sup> dsa,  | sick\’S3-3            | ‘They are sick.’          |
|       | $l\phi^2$ dsóh <sup>3</sup> dsa,                              | Act\’P-sick\’S3-3     | ‘They become sick.’       |
|       | li <sup>1</sup> dsóh <sup>3</sup> dsa,                        | Act\’I-sick\’S3-3     | ‘They will become sick.’  |
|       | ca <sup>1</sup> l $\phi$ <sup>1</sup> dsóh <sup>3</sup> dsa,  | Pst-Act\’C-sick\’S3-3 | ‘They became sick.’       |
| (246) | chian <sup>2</sup> dsa,                                       | be\’3-3               | ‘He is alive, he exists.’ |
|       | $l\phi^2$ chian <sup>2</sup> dsa,                             | Act\’P-be\’3-3        | ‘He is being born.’       |
|       | li <sup>1</sup> chian <sup>2</sup> dsa,                       | Act\’I-be\’3-3        | ‘He will be born.’        |
|       | ca <sup>1</sup> l $\phi$ <sup>1</sup> chián <sup>1</sup> dsa, | Pst-Act\’C-be\’3-3    | ‘He was born.’            |

I have found one exception, in text, to the rule that a stative verb may not occur with  $ca^1$ - (Pst) in the absence of  $l\phi^1$ - (Act\’C). The verb *juanh*<sup>12</sup> ‘grown\’AIS3’ is clearly stative, normally occurring with the activizing prefix in expressions like *li<sup>1</sup>juanh*<sup>12</sup> dsa ‘he will grow up’, *ca<sup>1</sup>l $\phi$ <sup>1</sup>juanh*<sup>12</sup> dsa ‘he grew up’, as expected. It is also found, not totally unexpectedly, with the pseudodirectional prefix *ds $\phi$ <sup>2</sup>*- (§3.13), which occurs with numerous verbs to express an intransitive process, as in the expression *ds $\phi$ <sup>2</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>* ‘it rolls’. In particular, the completive form *ñii<sup>1</sup>*- of this pseudodirectional prefix is found in (247), focusing on the process of growing, rather than the result as expressed by *ca<sup>1</sup>l $\phi$ <sup>1</sup>juanh*<sup>12</sup> ‘he grew up’.

- (247) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>juanh<sup>12</sup>                      guing.  
       Pst-go\’C-grown\’AIsS3 child  
       The child grew up. (TXT-09.073)

So far so good. But then, following the clause of (247), in two temporal adjuncts of two consecutive clauses, shown here as (248) and (249), the form *ca'juanh*<sup>12</sup> occurs to express the temporal setting for each main verb—namely, ‘when he had grown’—without either the activizing or pseudodirectional prefix. This is unusual and, in to my knowledge, unique.

(248) Ca'lø<sup>1tē</sup>                      guing si<sup>2</sup>                      jøng<sup>2</sup> ca'juanh<sup>12</sup>                      guing.  
 Pst-Act\C-learn\TID3 child    reading Ana\i PST-grown\AIsS3 child  
 The child had learned how to read when he had grown. (TXT-09.076)

(249) Hne<sup>2</sup>                      hlaih<sup>13</sup>                      guing mi<sup>3</sup>                      ca'juanh<sup>12</sup>                      guing.  
 fierce\AIS3 very\IIS3 child    when Pst-grown\AIsS3 child  
 The child was extremely wild when he had grown. (TXT-09.077)

#### 4.4 Stativizing Active Roots

A derivational prefix may also redefine an active root as a stative stem that can not be inflected for aspect or occur with a past-tense prefix.

There are four stativizing prefixes for deriving stative stems from active roots—*rø*<sup>2</sup>- (Sta), *chi*<sup>3</sup>- (Sta\ s), and *ti*<sup>3</sup>- or *ni*<sup>3</sup>- (Sta\ p). The first of these is opposed to the others which form a set, *chi*<sup>3</sup>- specifically denoting ‘singular’, and *ti*<sup>3</sup>- and *ni*<sup>3</sup>- interchangeably denoting ‘plural’. Each of the sets appears to have certain active roots with which it more comfortably occurs. A few roots are known to occur with either of the two, with the same grammatical result and with no perceptible semantic difference.

Unlike the activizing prefix, the stativizing prefixes *rø*<sup>2</sup>- and *chi*<sup>3</sup>- frequently change the voice of a verb by reducing the number of terms with which it may occur. Partial paradigm (250) illustrates the two-term, transitive inanimate active root *jlø*<sup>2</sup> ‘cover\TIP3’ which, with the stativizing prefix *rø*<sup>2</sup>-, is reduced to a single-term, inanimate intransitive stative stem, promoting the Direct Object of the transitive verb to Subject of the intransitive verb.

(250)      jlø<sup>12</sup> jni cuai<sup>3</sup>,                      cover\TIP1s 1s firewood      ‘I am covering the firewood.’  
             jlø<sup>13</sup> jni cuai<sup>3</sup>,                      cover\TII1s 1s firewood      ‘I will cover the firewood.’  
             ca'jlø<sup>1</sup> jni cuai<sup>3</sup>,                      Pst-cover\TIC1s 1s firewood      ‘I covered the firewood.’

(251)      rø<sup>2</sup>jlø<sup>12</sup> cuai<sup>3</sup>,                      Sta-cover\IIS3 firewood      ‘The firewood is covered.’

A few additional examples of change of transitivity are shown in (252)–(256) with the stativizing prefixes *rø²-* and *chi³-*.

(252)	juh <sup>12</sup> dsa si <sup>2</sup> , rø²juh <sup>13</sup> si <sup>2</sup> ,	fold\TIP3 3 paper, Sta-fold\IIS3 paper,	‘She folds the paper.’ ‘The paper is folded.’
(253)	hlóg <sup>12</sup> dsa hma <sup>2</sup> , rø²hlóg <sup>12</sup> hma <sup>2</sup> ,	strap\TIP3 3 pole, Sta-strap\IIS3 pole,	‘He straps the poles together.’ ‘The poles are strapped together.’
(254)	quian <sup>12</sup> dsa jáh <sup>2</sup> , rø²quian <sup>12</sup> jáh <sup>2</sup> ,	place\TAP3 3 animal Sta-place\AIS3 animal	‘They put the animals down.’ ‘The animals are lying down.’
(255)	ná² jni hniú <sup>12</sup> , chi³ná¹ hniú <sup>12</sup> ,	open\TIP1s 1s house Sta-open\IIS3 house	‘I open the house.’ ‘The house is open.’
(256)	jñiú² dsa hōng², chi³jñiu <sup>12</sup> hōng²,	grind\TIP3 3 chili, Sta-grind\IIS3 chili,	‘She grinds up the chili.’ ‘The chili is ground up.’

These prefixes do not always change the number of terms that occur with roots. In (257)–(260), all forms are one-term stems, whether active or stative. In (258), the singular prefix *chi³-* is incompatible with the plural root *dsan<sup>12</sup>* ‘die\AIpS3’.

(257)	ca¹cáng <sup>h12</sup> tø²ñi <sup>3</sup> , chi³cáng <sup>h2</sup> tø²ñi <sup>3</sup> , ni³cáng <sup>h2</sup> tø²ñi <sup>3</sup> ,	Pst-fill\IIC3 bucket Sta\s-fill\IIS3 bucket Sta\p-fill\IIS3 bucket	The bucket(s) became full. The bucket is full. The buckets are full.
(258)	ca¹dsan² dsa, ni³dsan <sup>12</sup> dsa, *chi³dsan <sup>12</sup> dsa,	Pst-die\AIpC3 3 Sta\p-die\AIpS3 3 *Sta\s-die\AIpS3 3	‘They died.’ ‘They are dead.’
(259)	Ca¹jøg² tai³ dsa, rø²jag <sup>12</sup> tai³ dsa,	Pst-break\IIC3 foot\3 3 Sta-break\IIS3 foot\3 3	‘He broke his foot.’ ‘His foot is broken.’
(260)	Ca¹jug² jni, rø²jog¹ jni,	Pst-break\AIC1s Sta-break\AIS1s	‘I have broken a bone.’ ‘I have a broken bone.’

#### 4.5 Universal Deep Adjective Types

Dixon (1977:31) proposed seven universal types of DEEP ADJECTIVES based on English and tested against a variety of other languages. His seven types are DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOR, HUMAN PROPENSITY, AGE, VALUE, and SPEED. While supporting this classification using data from English and then discussing the way other languages fit the classification, Dixon does not otherwise attempt a systematic justification of it. It is clear that further work needs to be done

to confirm or modify this classification, but that is not the focus of the present study, which accepts the classification as a given for the purpose of explicating Chinantec.

In his proposal, Dixon distinguishes three levels of description: (a) UNIVERSAL SEMANTIC TYPES to which lexical items belong, (b) a BASIC or DEEP-LEVEL, normative association between a particular semantic type and a single PART-OF-SPEECH within a particular language, and (c) SURFACE-LEVEL FORMS which, through derivational process, may result in a lexical item belonging to a nonnormative part-of-speech. For example, the universal semantic type ADJECTIVE is normally expressed by English adjectives, but a specific adjective, say *black*, can in the derived form *blacken* belong to the syntactic class of English verbs.

The following sections present the seven semantic types of notional adjectives, one at a time, to show how they are expressed in Chinantec.

#### 4.6 Speed

Deep adjectives of the SPEED type occur in Palantla Chinantec only in adverbial form with verbs of motion. They are complex adverbs based on two or three roots and vary in derivation from transparent to opaque, which is not of particular relevance here and is, in any case, highly speculative.

- |  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| (261) ta <sup>1</sup> huø <sup>3</sup>                                     | ‘slowly, carefully’          |
| gu <sup>1</sup> hei <sup>12</sup>  | ‘quickly’                    |
| cu <sup>2</sup> nii <sup>3</sup> juu <sup>13</sup>                         | ‘very quickly’               |
|  |                              |
| (262) Nøa <sup>12</sup> dsa ta <sup>1</sup> huø <sup>3</sup> .             | ‘He walks slowly/carefully.’ |
| Nøa <sup>12</sup> dsa gu <sup>1</sup> hei <sup>12</sup> .                  | ‘He walks quickly.’          |
| Nøa <sup>12</sup> dsa cu <sup>2</sup> nii <sup>3</sup> juu <sup>13</sup> . | ‘He walks very quickly.’     |

#### 4.7 Value

The Chinantec pair of value words meaning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are simple stative verbs, which occur both as predicates (*dsiog<sup>1</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>* ‘the woman is good’) and as descriptive modifiers (*hio<sup>13</sup> dsiog<sup>1</sup>* ‘good woman’). As is normal for verbal inflection generally, both of these stative verbs have inanimate and animate forms.

- |                         |             |                    |           |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (263) dsio <sup>1</sup> | ‘good\IIS’, | dsiog <sup>1</sup> | ‘good\AIS |
| hlaih <sup>13</sup>     | ‘bad\IIS’,  | hlanh <sup>3</sup> | ‘bad\AIS’ |

## 4.8 Color

Palantla Chinantec is a standard Type-IVa language in respect to basic color words (Kay, Berlin, and Merrifield 1991:19), having just five basic terms for ‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’, ‘yellow’, and ‘grue’. Each basic color word has an inanimate and animate form and all are stative verbs.

(264) lih <sup>2</sup>	‘black\IIS3’,	lianh <sup>2</sup>	‘black\AIS3’
teg <sup>2</sup>	‘white\IIS3’,	tiug <sup>2</sup>	‘white\AIS3’
guiéng <sup>2</sup>	‘red\IIS3’,	guión <sup>2</sup>	‘red\AIS3’
røh <sup>2</sup>	‘green\IIS3’,	reh <sup>2</sup>	‘green\AIS3’
néng <sup>2</sup>	‘yellow\IIS3’,	nió <sup>2</sup>	‘yellow\AIS3’

There are, in addition, a few other words that reference nonbasic colors in one way or another. I list them in (265) as members of this category, although it would be possible to classify some of them as PROPERTIES since they do not all directly reference a particular hue (e.g., *tsíg*<sup>3</sup> ‘stripped’).

(265) huenh <sup>1</sup>	‘dark\AIS3’
huuh <sup>1</sup>	‘dark\IIS3’
mi <sup>3</sup> chiun <sup>3</sup>	‘blue\IIS3/AIS3’
tsih <sup>13</sup>	‘striped\IIS3/AIS3’
pein <sup>3</sup>	‘spotted\IIS3/AIS3’ [Sp. pinto]
chion <sup>3</sup>	‘mottled\IIPs’
niáng <sup>13</sup>	‘golden\IIS3’
tsíg <sup>3</sup>	‘striped\IIS3’
nioh <sup>12</sup>	‘dark\IIS3’ (nighttime)
tsøa <sup>12</sup>	‘dark\IIS3’ (nightfall)

## 4.9 Age

I have assigned deep adjectives to the AGE type on the basis of their referencing, in some way, to the life cycle of a syntactically associated object. All such words are stative verbs in Chinantec.

(266) hog <sup>12</sup>	‘ancient\IIS3’	hóg <sup>1</sup>	‘ancient\AIS3’
mih <sup>2</sup>	‘small\IIS3’	meh <sup>2</sup>	‘young\AIS3’
tsígh <sup>2</sup>	‘unripe\IIS3’	tsih <sup>2</sup>	‘young\AIS3’
juøh <sup>12</sup>	‘grown\IIS3’	juanh <sup>12</sup>	‘grown\AIS3’
cah <sup>3</sup>	‘grown\IIPs3’	canh <sup>13</sup>	‘grown\AIpS3’
hág <sup>12</sup>	‘old\IIS3’	húg <sup>3</sup>	‘aged\AIS3’
nó <sup>12</sup>	‘tender\IIS3’	guiuh <sup>13</sup>	‘old\AIS3masc’
juøi <sup>2</sup>	‘ripe\IIS3’	guiugh <sup>2</sup>	‘old\AIS3fem’
rug <sup>2</sup>	‘mature\IIS3’	ne <sup>13</sup>	‘firstborn\AIS3’
hmě <sup>2</sup>	‘new\IIS3’	je <sup>3</sup>	‘newborn\AIS3’
		cuuh <sup>2</sup>	‘lastborn\AIS3’

In addition to Stative Verbs, stages of life are marked by the set of animate nouns listed in (267).

(267) guing <sup>2</sup>	‘infant’
hi <sup>2</sup> meh <sup>2</sup>	‘child’
ɲiɸ <sup>3</sup>	‘child (primarily vocative)’
tsih <sup>2</sup>	‘youth’
guiuh <sup>13</sup>	‘adult male’
tie <sup>3</sup>	‘Senior Male (primarily vocative)’
hio <sup>13</sup>	‘adult woman’
hio <sup>3</sup>	‘postmenopausal woman’

Dixon (1977:55) noted that SPEED, VALUE, COLOR, and AGE types have restricted size, from two to half-a-dozen or a dozen words each. Chinantec conforms to this pattern.

#### 4.10 Dimension

Deep adjectives of the DIMENSION type are stative verbs in Chinantec, without known exceptions. Dixon’s eight representative concepts of this type find clear reflexes in Chinantec, which fall into four antonymic pairs, as in English, except that there is an additional singular-plural distinction made between suppletive forms for ‘big’.

(268) juøh <sup>12</sup>	‘big\IIs3’	juanh <sup>12</sup>	‘big\AIs3’
cah <sup>3</sup>	‘big\IIP3’	canh <sup>13</sup>	‘big\AIp3’
mih <sup>2</sup>	‘small\IIS3’	meh <sup>2</sup>	‘small\AIS’
cug <sup>2</sup>	‘long\IIS3’	cug <sup>2</sup>	‘tall\AIS’
tø <sup>2</sup>	‘short\IIS3’		
hø <sup>2</sup>	‘wide\IIS3’		
dsøg <sup>2</sup>	‘narrow\IIS3’		
hie <sup>2</sup>	‘deep\IIS3’		
dsø <sup>2</sup>	‘shallow\IIS3’		

I had some difficulty deciding what to include in an extended list of Chinantec words of this type since the dimension of an object is easily considered one of its PHYSICAL PROPERTIES and since SIZE and SHAPE can both be thought of as elements of DIMENSION. Additional Chinantec words that seem to relate primarily to size or to shape are here included, at least tentatively, as pertaining to the class of concepts considered under the rubric DIMENSION, although I suspect that Dixon would have placed some of them under the rubric PHYSICAL PROPERTY, since he rarely found more than a dozen words of this type (Dixon 1977:55).

The DIMENSION words in (269) relate to SIZE.

(269) bēnh <sup>13</sup>	‘squat\AIS3’	tsøh <sup>2</sup>	‘thin\IIS3’
bøah <sup>13</sup>	‘squat\AIS3’	huanh <sup>2</sup>	‘stunted\IIS3’
bøih <sup>3</sup>	‘shortened\IIS3’	jain <sup>3</sup>	‘tall\IIS3’
bong <sup>13</sup>	‘bobbled\IIS3’	jøh <sup>2</sup>	‘deep\IIS3’
cah <sup>3</sup>	‘large\IIPs3’	juøh <sup>12</sup>	‘large\IIsS3’
cug <sup>2</sup>	‘tall\AIS3/IIS3’	juanh <sup>12</sup>	‘large\AIsS3’
cuøin <sup>13</sup>	‘fat\AIS3’	mih <sup>2</sup>	‘small\IIS3’
dsén <sup>2</sup>	‘shallow\IIS3’	meh <sup>2</sup>	‘small\AIS3’
guieng <sup>2</sup>	‘swollen\IIS3’	pa <sup>3</sup>	‘fat\IIS3’
guion <sup>2</sup>	‘bloated\AIS3’	pan <sup>13</sup>	‘fat\AIS3’
hie <sup>3</sup>	‘deep\IIS3’	pánh <sup>2</sup>	‘inflated\IIS3’
hmøh <sup>3</sup>	‘thick\IIS3’	píh <sup>3</sup>	‘tiny\AIS3/IIS3’
honh <sup>13</sup>	‘edematous\AIS3’	banh <sup>2</sup>	‘plump\AIS3’
hjieng <sup>2</sup>	‘thick\IIS3’	ŋiei <sup>12</sup>	‘tall\IIS3’
hø <sup>2</sup>	‘wide\IIS3’	tø <sup>2</sup>	‘short\IIS3’
huan <sup>1</sup>	‘short\AIS3’		

The DIMENSION words in (270) relate to SHAPE.

(270) bong <sup>1</sup>	‘curved\IIS3’	jøh <sup>2</sup>	‘hollow\IIS3’
chiunh <sup>2</sup>	‘pointed\IIS3’	løg <sup>2</sup>	‘skinny\AIS3’
cugh <sup>12</sup>	‘uniform\TIpS3’	lug <sup>2</sup>	‘skinny\AIS3’
dsió <sup>13</sup>	‘precipitous\IIS3’	møi <sup>2</sup>	‘flat\IIS3’
dsøg <sup>12</sup>	‘straight\IIS3’	mú <sup>1</sup>	‘skinny\AIS3’
dsøg <sup>2</sup>	‘narrow\IIS3’	nah <sup>3</sup>	‘hollowed\IIS3’
dsúgh <sup>2</sup>	‘contracted\IIS3’	pø <sup>2</sup>	‘bloated\IIS3’
guiúnh <sup>12</sup>	‘twisted\IIS3’	ba <sup>12</sup>	‘round\IIS3’
guø <sup>1</sup>	‘twisted\IIS3’	teh <sup>3</sup>	‘flat\IIS3’
héh <sup>2</sup>	‘hollow\IIS3’	ŋiei <sup>12</sup>	‘tall\IIS3’
hmøh <sup>3</sup>	‘dense\IIS3’	tig <sup>2</sup>	‘thin\IIS3’
jián <sup>1</sup>	‘flat\IIS3’	ten <sup>2</sup>	‘thin\AIS3’
jiuh <sup>3</sup>	‘stocky\AIS3/IIS3’	tiogh <sup>3</sup>	‘twisted\IIS3’
jla <sup>3</sup>	‘wide\IIS3’	tøh <sup>2</sup>	‘squared\IIS3’
jlé <sup>2</sup>	‘gluttonous\AIS3’	tsøh <sup>13</sup>	‘rough\IIS3’
jliu <sup>12</sup>	‘crooked\IIS3’	tsonh <sup>13</sup>	‘flat\IIS3’
jlúgh <sup>3</sup>	‘rough\IIS3’		

Some dimension words involve neutralization between semantic types (Dixon 1977:64). The distinction between DIMENSION, AGE, and PROPERTY is lost in the animate forms *juanh*<sup>12</sup> ‘big\AIsS3’ and *canh*<sup>13</sup> ‘big\AIpS3’, which may reference physical size, maturity, or importance in regard to persons, although the basic reference of these roots can safely be considered to be of the DIMENSION type. The animate form *guion*<sup>2</sup> ‘swollen, immature’ associates DIMENSION and AGE through the natural phenomenon of young children tending to plumpness. The inanimate



form *mih*<sup>2</sup> ‘small’, on the other hand, may have a QUANTITY reading ‘few’ with countable objects. SIZE and SHAPE are closely associated in *jøh*<sup>2</sup> ‘concave\IIS3, deep\IIS3’, which may reference the depth of water in a hollow of a river bottom, as well as in several other Dimensional Statives. *hlé*<sup>2</sup> ‘big\IIS3, gluttonous\AIS3’ references a wide object such as a flat, wide basket in inanimate reference, but a wide person in animate reference with overtones of the category HUMAN PROPENSITY. At least two stative forms, *hliú*<sup>2</sup> ‘many\IIS3’, and *tsug*<sup>2</sup> ‘excessive\IIS3, abundant\IIS3’, appear to belong to a completely different semantic type, that of QUANTITY. These and other quantifying statives are discussed in greater detail in §00.6. Whether they correspond to adjectives in other languages, I do not know.

#### 4.11 Physical properties

Of the eleven deep adjectives chosen by Dixon as representative of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY type, seven are simple stative roots in Palantla Chinantec and two are derived Statives from active roots. The remaining two (‘dull’ and ‘light’) are normally expressed by the negation of their complements *hmo*<sup>1</sup> ‘sharp’ and *hiig*<sup>2</sup> ‘heavy’, respectively; although the phrase *pa*<sup>3</sup> *hag*<sup>3</sup> (literally, ‘fat mouthed’), based on the simple stative root *pa*<sup>3</sup> ‘fat\IIS3’, also expresses the concept ‘dull’ in respect to a blade.

Curiously, the animate forms *dsén*<sup>2</sup> ‘hot\AIP3’ and *hien*<sup>2</sup> ‘heavy\AIP3’ are not Statives, inflecting directly for aspect, as in *ca*<sup>1</sup>*dsén*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* ‘he got hot’. There are many words meaning ‘cooked’ as the complement of ‘raw’, depending on what is being cooked. Most of them are active verbs, but a few are basis Statives as well.

(271) <i>hli</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘wet\IIS3’	<i>hlian</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘wet\AIS3’
<i>quii</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘dry\IIS3’	<i>quion</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘dry\AIS3’
<i>dsíg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘hot\IIS3’	<i>dsén</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘hot\AIP3’
<i>guúh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘cold\IIS3’	<i>guuh</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘cold\AIS3’
<i>juúh</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘raw\IIS3’	<i>juénh</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘raw\AIS3’
<i>hiig</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘heavy\IIS3’	<i>hien</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘heavy\AIP3’
<i>tsa</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hiig</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘light\IIS3’	<i>tsa</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hien</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘light\AIP3’
<i>ti</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hian</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘complete\AIS3/IIS3’		
<i>hmo</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘sharp\IIS3’		
<i>tsa</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hmo</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘dull\IIS3’		
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ja</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘open\IIS3’		

The term *chi<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>13</sup>* ‘open\IIS3’ references objects which open by spreading (*e.g.*, bag, mouth), as opposed to *rø<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>* ‘open\IIS3’ which references objects with a door or other independent means of obstructing entrance (*e.g.*, box, house). Both are derived from active transitive verbs by stativizing prefixes. The complement of *chi<sup>3</sup>ja<sup>13</sup>* ‘open\IIS3’ is *chi<sup>3</sup>cágh<sup>12</sup>* ‘closed\IIS3’ which has both intransitive *cágh<sup>12</sup>* ‘close\IIP3’ and transitive *cágh<sup>12</sup>* ‘close\TIP3’ as inflectional partners. The complements of *rø<sup>2</sup>na<sup>1</sup>* ‘open\IIS3’ are *chi<sup>3</sup>jnëí<sup>13</sup>* ‘closed\IIS3’ and *rø<sup>2</sup>jnëí<sup>12</sup>* ‘closed\IIS3’ which also have both intransitive and transitive inflectional partners *jnëí<sup>12</sup>* ‘close\IIP3’ and *jnëí<sup>12</sup>* ‘close\TIP3’. From the point of view of Chinantec, then, this dyad of concepts is verbal rather than adjectival, challenging the assignment of the concept ‘open’ to the deep class of adjectives rather than to deep verbs (ACTIONS).

An additional list of stative verbs, most of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY type, is presented in (272).

(272) bén <sup>2</sup> ‘strong\AIS3’	dsih <sup>1</sup> ‘bitter\IIS3’	hiig <sup>2</sup> ‘heavy\IIS3’
bén <sup>2</sup> ‘strong\IIS3’	dsih <sup>12</sup> ‘jealous\AIS3’	hiog <sup>3</sup> ‘hired=out\AIS3’
cág <sup>12</sup> ‘cooked\IIS3’	dsiúg <sup>2</sup> ‘warm\IIS3’	hiu <sup>3</sup> ‘be=in\IIS3’
cag <sup>3</sup> ‘mute\AIS3’	dsøg <sup>12</sup> ‘true\IIS3’	hiug <sup>12</sup> ‘strong\AIS3’
cagh <sup>12</sup> ‘ache\IIS3’	dsog <sup>3</sup> ‘septic\IIS3’	hiug <sup>12</sup> ‘strong\IIS3’
cágh <sup>12</sup> ‘closed\IIS3’	dsoh <sup>3</sup> ‘sick\AIS3’	hiúg <sup>3</sup> ‘be=in\AIS3’
cánh <sup>2</sup> ‘full\IIS3’	dsú <sup>2</sup> ‘male\AIS3’	hiugh <sup>13</sup> ‘possible\IIS3’
canh <sup>13</sup> ‘grown\AIP3’	gøg <sup>2</sup> ‘fearsome\IIS3’	hli <sup>2</sup> ‘wet\IIS3’
chian <sup>2</sup> ‘living\AIS3’	guienh <sup>3</sup> ‘lame\AIS3’	hlian <sup>2</sup> ‘wet\AIS3’
chiang <sup>3</sup> ‘toasted\IIS3’	guiuh <sup>13</sup> ‘adult=male\AIS3’	hlian <sup>13</sup> ‘employed\AIS3’
chii <sup>2</sup> ‘existing\IIS3’	guiunh <sup>12</sup> ‘resinaceous\IIS3’	hlieh <sup>3</sup> ‘priced\IIS3’
chiih <sup>1</sup> ‘soft\IIS3’	guøih <sup>2</sup> ‘cooled\IIS3’	hmo <sup>1</sup> ‘sharp\IIS3’
chion <sup>3</sup> ‘toasted\AIS3’	guøn <sup>12</sup> ‘germinated\IIS3’	hmó <sup>2</sup> ‘warm\IIS3’
chiugh <sup>2</sup> ‘itchy\AIS3’	guø <sup>12</sup> ‘half-cooked\IIS3’	hmóh <sup>3</sup> ‘expensive\IIS3’
chiuh <sup>2</sup> ‘itchy\IIS3’	guuh <sup>12</sup> ‘cold\AIS3’	hnio <sup>3</sup> ‘hunting\AIS3’
chiunh <sup>12</sup> ‘curly\IIS3’	guúh <sup>2</sup> ‘cold\IIS3’	hnióh <sup>12</sup> ‘needed\AIS3’
cog <sup>3</sup> ‘mute\AIS3’	guúh <sup>2</sup> ‘wet\IIS3’	hniuh <sup>12</sup> ‘needed\IIS3’
cøh <sup>2</sup> ‘ache\IIS3’	guøi <sup>2</sup> ‘cold\IIS3 (weather)’	hoh <sup>12</sup> ‘buried\IIS3’
cugh <sup>2</sup> ‘ache\AIS3’	han <sup>13</sup> ‘holy\AIS3’	høh <sup>12</sup> ‘planted\IIS3’
cuu <sup>2</sup> ‘alkaline\IIS3’	he <sup>12</sup> ‘be\IIS3’	hóh <sup>3</sup> ‘fertile\IIS3’
cuu <sup>2</sup> ‘cooked\IIS3’	hé <sup>2</sup> ‘leaning\IIS3’	hñjoh <sup>3</sup> ‘belted\AIS3’
cuuh <sup>2</sup> ‘bald\IIS3’	hei <sup>1</sup> ‘NEG\AIS3’	huái <sup>12</sup> ‘husked\IIS3’
cuuh <sup>2</sup> ‘bare\AIS3’	héi <sup>2</sup> ‘hanging\IIS3’	huan <sup>13</sup> ‘soft\AIS3’
cuuh <sup>2</sup> ‘barren\IIS3’	hen <sup>12</sup> ‘drunk\AIS3’	huan <sup>13</sup> ‘weak\AIS3’
dsié <sup>2</sup> ‘warm\IIS3’	hen <sup>13</sup> ‘inhabit\AIS3’	huanh <sup>2</sup> ‘strong\AIS3’
dsíg <sup>2</sup> ‘hot\IIS3’	hí <sup>3</sup> ‘recited\IIS3’	huenh <sup>12</sup> ‘worn\IIS3’

høg <sup>3</sup>	‘spoiled\IIS3’	juøin <sup>12</sup>	‘smoked\IIS3’	té <sup>12</sup>	‘reach\IIS3’
huh <sup>2</sup>	‘hard\IIS3’	juøin <sup>2</sup>	‘elastic\IIS3’	té <sup>12</sup>	‘true\IIS3’
huø <sup>3</sup>	‘soft\IIS3’	juu <sup>3</sup>	‘barren\AIS3’	teg <sup>3</sup>	‘blind\AIS3’
huøi <sup>12</sup>	‘husked\IIS3’	juu <sup>3</sup>	‘decayed\IIS3’	teh <sup>12</sup>	‘castrated\AIS3’
jan <sup>13</sup>	‘idle\AIS3’	juúh <sup>1</sup>	‘raw\IIS3’	tén <sup>12</sup>	‘pertaining\IIS3’
jein <sup>1</sup>	‘turning\IIS3’	juuh <sup>12</sup>	‘lazy\AIS3’	ten <sup>12</sup>	‘pertaining\TMS3’
jinh <sup>2</sup>	‘sour\IIS3’	juuh <sup>12</sup>	‘useless\IIS3’	teng <sup>12</sup>	‘elegant\AIS3’
jiuh <sup>12</sup>	‘accomplice\AIS3’	juuh <sup>2</sup>	‘spoiled\IIS3’	ñié <sup>2</sup>	‘penniless\AIS3’
jlánh <sup>3</sup>	‘elegant\AIS3’	juuh <sup>3</sup>	‘shucked\IIS3’	ñii <sup>1</sup>	‘jerked\IIS3’
jlánh <sup>3</sup>	‘elegant\IIS3’	juøi <sup>2</sup>	‘unfortunate\AIS3’	ñiú <sup>2</sup>	‘block=up\IIS3’
jlěnh <sup>12</sup>	‘soaked\AIS3’	lá <sup>12</sup>	‘ripe\IIS3’	ñiú <sup>2</sup>	‘interfered=in\AIS3’
jlěnh <sup>3</sup>	‘soaked\AIS3’	lai <sup>3</sup>	‘restored\IIS3’	ñøi <sup>2</sup>	‘intelligible\IIS3’
jløh <sup>3</sup>	‘moist\IIS3’	lán <sup>1</sup>	‘empty\IIS3’	tính <sup>2</sup>	‘tart\IIS3’
jlø <sup>3</sup>	‘split\IIS3’	lán <sup>13</sup>	‘be\TMS3’	tio <sup>1</sup>	‘sticky\IIS3’
jmá <sup>2</sup>	‘tasty\AIS3’	léi <sup>13</sup>	‘manifest\IIS3’	tiogh <sup>3</sup>	‘seated\AIP3’
jmá <sup>2</sup>	‘tasty\IIS3’	len <sup>13</sup>	‘manifest\TMS3’	tióh <sup>13</sup>	‘be=in\IIP3’
jmai <sup>3</sup>	‘unfertilized\IIS3’	lóh <sup>3</sup>	‘worn\IIS3’	tiú <sup>12</sup>	‘tight\IIS3’
jmě <sup>2</sup>	‘wet\IIS3’	lø <sup>1</sup>	‘empty\IIS3’	tiug <sup>3</sup>	‘blind\AIS3’
jmei <sup>3</sup>	‘tasteless\IIS3’	løa <sup>12</sup>	‘happen\IIS3’	ton <sup>12</sup>	‘be=used=to\TAS3’
jmě <sup>2</sup>	‘dissolved\IIS3’	mø <sup>2</sup>	‘female\IIS3’	ton <sup>3</sup>	‘numb\IIS3’
jnéi <sup>1</sup>	‘closed\IIS3’	møh <sup>2</sup>	‘alkaline\IIS3’	tsagh <sup>12</sup>	‘contagious\IIS3’
jní <sup>2</sup>	‘visible\IIS3’	neng <sup>12</sup>	‘lying=down\IIS3’	tsáh <sup>2</sup>	‘dirty\IIS3’
jniá <sup>2</sup>	‘visible\AIS3’	nó <sup>12</sup>	‘tender\IIS3’	tsai <sup>3</sup>	‘bare\IIS3’
jniuh <sup>12</sup>	‘sighted\AIS3’	noh <sup>13</sup>	‘greasy\IIS3’	tsang <sup>3</sup>	‘cooked=dry\IIS3’
jno <sup>2</sup>	‘joined\IIP3’	noh <sup>3</sup>	‘fatty\AIS3’	tsang <sup>3</sup>	‘fried\IIS3’
jnoa <sup>12</sup>	‘obstructed\IIS3’	nøa <sup>12</sup>	‘underdeveloped\IIS3’	tsánh <sup>2</sup>	‘dirty\AIS3’
jog <sup>1</sup>	‘dressed\IIS3’	pónh <sup>3</sup>	‘toasted\IIS3’	tséih <sup>2</sup>	‘tender\IIS3’
jógh <sup>12</sup>	‘folded\IIS3’	quien <sup>12</sup>	‘valuable\AIS3’	tsen <sup>2</sup>	‘named\TMS3’
jñiáng <sup>13</sup>	‘blessed\IIS3’	quien <sup>12</sup>	‘valuable\IIS3’	tsih <sup>12</sup>	‘standing\IIP3’
jñiang <sup>3</sup>	‘stupid\AIS3’	quing <sup>2</sup>	‘dry\IIS3’	tsøi <sup>2</sup>	‘changed\IIS3’
jñi <sup>1</sup>	‘blessed\AIS3’	quiính <sup>2</sup>	‘dried=out\IIS3’	tsøin <sup>2</sup>	‘reeking\IIS3’
jñio <sup>2</sup>	‘hairy\AIS3’	quion <sup>2</sup>	‘dry\AIS3’	tson <sup>3</sup>	‘double\IIS3’
jñio <sup>3</sup>	‘weak\AIS3’	quionh <sup>3</sup>	‘hidden\IIS3’	tsønh <sup>3</sup>	‘ragged\IIS3’
jø <sup>3</sup>	‘incline\IIS3’	ren <sup>2</sup>	‘in=debt\TIS3’	uai <sup>12</sup>	‘ache\IIS3’
juai <sup>3</sup>	‘fragile\IIS3’	ro <sup>2</sup>	‘fragrant\IIS3’	uén <sup>2</sup>	‘hard\IIS3’
juan <sup>12</sup>	‘smelly\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup>	‘perfect\IIS3’	uenh <sup>2</sup>	‘smooth\AIS3’
juan <sup>2</sup>	‘split\IIS3’	ron <sup>12</sup>	‘lying\AIS3’	uú <sup>2</sup>	‘long=time\IIS3’
juanh <sup>12</sup>	‘important\AIS3’	ron <sup>12</sup>	‘lying\IIS3’	uuh <sup>2</sup>	‘smooth\IIS3’
juen <sup>2</sup>	‘tough\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> ně <sup>2</sup>	‘spread\IIS3’	uuh <sup>3</sup>	‘hurt\AIS3’
juénh <sup>1</sup>	‘uncooked\AIS3’	røg <sup>2</sup>	‘sweet\IIS3’	uøin <sup>2</sup>	‘far\IIS3’
juenh <sup>12</sup>	‘lazy\AIS3’	sih <sup>12</sup>	‘shiny\IIS3’		
jug <sup>12</sup>	‘rancid\AIS3’	sinh <sup>2</sup>	‘succulent\IIS3’		
juø <sup>12</sup>	‘stinky\IIS3’	siog <sup>12</sup>	‘lesser\AIS3’		
juøi <sup>2</sup>	‘fragrant\IIS3’	tan <sup>2</sup>	‘tolerating=of\AIS3’		

#### 4.12 Human propensities

The distinction between PHYSICAL PROPERTIES and HUMAN PROPENSITIES feels somewhat artificial for Chinantec because of the more fundamental gender distinction between animate and inanimate and the many inflectional pairs that correspond to these two categories. There are, however, a number of lexical items which have only animate or only inanimate forms; primarily a reflection of the natural world rather than of the language.

Dixon chose eight deep adjectives to represent his HUMAN PROPENSITY type, only four of which are simple stative verbs in Chinantec: ‘fierce’, ‘jealous’, ‘proud’, and ‘clever’. There is also an inanimate term *dsih*<sup>12</sup> ‘jealous\AIS3’ which corresponds to the animate term *dsih*<sup>1</sup> ‘bitter\IIS3’. The verb *rú*<sup>2</sup> ‘proud\AIS3’ is the animate reflex of the word *røg*<sup>2</sup> ‘sweet\IIS3’, which references inanimate objects.

- (273) *hne*<sup>2</sup>      ‘angry\AIS3’  
      *dsen*<sup>1</sup>      ‘jealous\TAS3’  
      *rú*<sup>2</sup>        ‘proud\AIS3’  
      *hiog*<sup>3</sup>     ‘clever\AIS3’

Another three of the eight representative HUMAN PROPENSITIES include a stative verb as predicate of the Chinantec noun *dsóa*<sup>12</sup> ‘upper-torso\3’, which also references the ‘seat of emotions’ as the word *heart* does in English.

- (274) *uen*<sup>12</sup> *dsóa*<sup>12</sup>    ‘cruel\AIS’  
      *huø*<sup>3</sup> *dsóa*<sup>12</sup>    ‘kind\AIS’  
      *juanh*<sup>12</sup> *dsóa*<sup>12</sup>   ‘considerate\AIS’

The verbs in such phrases that name emotions may be stative or active verbs, some of them in their inanimate form, such as *huø*<sup>3</sup> *dsóa*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she is kind’ (from *huø*<sup>3</sup> ‘soft\IIS3’; others in their animate form, such as *juanh*<sup>12</sup> *dsóa*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she is considerate (from *juanh*<sup>12</sup> ‘big\AIS3’). The use of this construction with *dsóa*<sup>12</sup> is common to many stative expressions in Chinantec that name additional HUMAN PROPENSITIES, a somewhat comprehensive list of which are presented in §14.11.

The eighth of Dixon’s representative HUMAN PROPENSITY deep adjectives is expressed in Chinantec by the noun *hioh*<sup>12</sup>, ‘joy’, occurring as the object of the verb ‘*jénh*<sup>12</sup> ‘experience\TMP3’, as is its opposite, which has stative *hlaih*<sup>13</sup> ‘bad\AIS3’ opposed to the noun *hioh*<sup>12</sup> ‘joy’.

(275) hioh<sup>12</sup> jénh<sup>12</sup> ‘joyful\AIS3’                      hlaih<sup>13</sup> jénh<sup>12</sup> ‘sad\AIS3’

Dixon found that almost all human propensity adjectives lack (intransitive) inchoative or (transitive) causative derivatives, such as *rude* becoming *\*ruden*, on the pattern of *wide* becoming *widen*, except as they occur in verbal constructions, such as *become rude* or *make rude* (1977:35). The equivalent of the inchoative derivative in Chinantec is the Intensive activizing prefix *li*<sup>1</sup>- discussed earlier, in which a stative form like *dsoh*<sup>3</sup> *dsa* ‘she is sick’ becomes active Intensive *li*<sup>1</sup>*dsoh*<sup>3</sup> *dsa* ‘she will become sick’. The equivalent of the causative in Chinantec employs the causative prefix *mi*<sup>2</sup>-, such that stative *hli*<sup>2</sup> ‘it is moist’ becomes *mi*<sup>2</sup>*hli*<sup>1</sup> *dsa* ‘she moistens it’. All such derived forms are active verbs in Chinantec, whether they name propensities or are of other adjectival types, so that there is no such special limitation for human propensities in Chinantec of the sort Dixon found in English. Examples of derived propensity verbs of these types include *li*<sup>1</sup>*goh*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she will become frightened’ (from *goh*<sup>12</sup> ‘fear\AIS3’) and *ca*<sup>1</sup>*mi*<sup>1</sup>*dsiog*<sup>1</sup> *dsa dsó*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she cheered him up’ (from *dsiog*<sup>1</sup> ‘good\AIS3’).

Notice that this last example is an example of the *dsó*<sup>12</sup> construction described above. There are a few others of these in the database as well.

(276) <i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>chian</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘careful\TIP3’	<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsøg</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘ascertain\TIP3’
<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsian</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘annoy\TAP3’	<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jniang</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘take=courage\AIP3’
<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsian</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘annoyed\TMP3’	<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>juanh</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘tolerate\TIP3’
<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsíg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘provoke\TAP3’	<i>mi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>tián</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsó</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘forebear\TMP3’

#### 4.13 Residue

A number of derived Statives have been introduced above, but there are many more, some of which are listed in (277).

(277) <i>chi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsø</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘be-on\IIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cuúh</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘cut\IIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hlí</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘jumping\AIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsénh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘singed\AIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jné</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘kneeling\AIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>güén</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘asleep\AIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>cáugh</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘full\IIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>guiánh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘wrapped\TMS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>chiánh</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘caught\AIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>guionh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘wrapped=with\AIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>cén</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘behind\AIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>guiúnh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘wrapped=with\IIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>cøh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘wedged\IIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hén</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘ruined\IIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsen</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘standing=on\TIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hiéh</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘swept\IIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsi</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘be-upon\IIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hma</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘stiff\IIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsóg</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘arms=raised\AIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hmoh</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘crushed\AIS3’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>gói</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘broken\IIS3’	<i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hně</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘sold\TMS3’

chi <sup>3</sup> hé <sup>2</sup>	‘leaning\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> hog <sup>12</sup>	‘buried\AIP3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hiag <sup>12</sup>	‘guard\TNS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jag <sup>12</sup>	‘broken\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hiúh <sup>2</sup>	‘ignited\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jág <sup>12</sup>	‘spread\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hjieng <sup>12</sup>	‘bound\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jlái <sup>2</sup>	‘covered\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hjiø <sup>12</sup>	‘bound\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jñé <sup>12</sup>	‘blocked\TAS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hjiøh <sup>1</sup>	‘tethered\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jog <sup>1</sup>	‘sprained\AIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> hug <sup>12</sup>	‘prop\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jon <sup>13</sup>	‘dead\AIsS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> jén <sup>3</sup>	‘inverted\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> jón <sup>2</sup>	‘dead\AIsS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> jné <sup>12</sup>	‘fenced=in\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> liág <sup>1</sup>	‘wrapped\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> jó <sup>3</sup>	‘steep\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> na <sup>1</sup>	‘open\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> juu <sup>12</sup>	‘stacked\IIPs3’	rø <sup>2</sup> ne <sup>13</sup>	‘awake\AIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> lai <sup>1</sup>	‘adorned\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> nió <sup>2</sup>	‘compressed\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> mé <sup>13</sup>	‘borrowed\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> quian <sup>12</sup>	‘lying=down\AIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> nió <sup>3</sup>	‘in=heat\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> quie <sup>12</sup>	‘lying\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> quieih <sup>12</sup>	‘dressed\TIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> quie <sup>12</sup>	‘lying=down\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> quiein <sup>12</sup>	‘tied\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> quih <sup>3</sup>	‘removed\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> rangh <sup>12</sup>	‘sprung\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> quion <sup>12</sup>	‘lying\IIsS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> té <sup>3</sup>	‘reached\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> sie <sup>12</sup>	‘horizontal\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> ton <sup>12</sup>	‘attached\TMS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> son <sup>13</sup>	‘refined\AIS3’ (Sp. razón)
chi <sup>3</sup> tsih <sup>13</sup>	‘standing\IIsS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> teh <sup>12</sup>	‘flat\IIS3’
chi <sup>3</sup> tó <sup>2</sup>	‘hovering\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> ton <sup>12</sup>	‘applied\IIS3’
lø <sup>2</sup> ténh <sup>2</sup>	‘fight=over\TIpS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> tsánh <sup>2</sup>	‘joined\IIPs3’
lø <sup>2</sup> ñii <sup>3</sup> güén <sup>1</sup>	‘sleepy\AIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> tsen <sup>12</sup>	‘split\IIS3’
lø <sup>3</sup> heg <sup>12</sup>	‘trashy\IIS3’	rø <sup>2</sup> uønh <sup>3</sup>	‘cut\IIS3’
lø <sup>3</sup> hiug <sup>12</sup>	‘wicked\AIS3’	ti <sup>2</sup> búh <sup>12</sup>	‘spread=over\AIpS3’
lø <sup>3</sup> neh <sup>3</sup>	‘greedy\AIS3’	ti <sup>2</sup> ñié <sup>2</sup>	‘poor\AIS3’
ma <sup>1</sup> quién <sup>1</sup>	‘different\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> dsan <sup>13</sup>	‘dead\AIpS3’
ma <sup>2</sup> hlég <sup>1</sup>	‘dusty\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> dsén <sup>13</sup>	‘covered=with\TMS3’
ma <sup>2</sup> jug <sup>12</sup>	‘bad=smelling\AIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> dsøa <sup>13</sup>	‘upon\IIPs3’
ma <sup>2</sup> ro <sup>2</sup>	‘fragrant\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> gah <sup>13</sup>	‘strewn\IIPs3’
ma <sup>2</sup> tsøin <sup>2</sup>	‘reek\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> hai <sup>13</sup>	‘hang\IIPs3’
ma <sup>2</sup> tsønh <sup>2</sup>	‘burnt=smelling\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> hiag <sup>1</sup>	‘bulge\IIPs3’
ma <sup>2</sup> tsønh <sup>2</sup>	‘rotten=smelling\AIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> hian <sup>13</sup>	‘complete\IIPs3’
ma <sup>3</sup> hang <sup>3</sup>	‘bleached\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>1</sup>	‘unfinished\IIS3’
ni <sup>2</sup> dsi <sup>13</sup>	‘placed=on\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> ja <sup>13</sup>	‘distant\IIS3’
ni <sup>3</sup> cénh <sup>12</sup>	‘scattered\IIPs3’	ti <sup>3</sup> jai <sup>1</sup>	‘clean\IIS3’
ni <sup>3</sup> dsan <sup>12</sup>	‘die\AIpS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> jan <sup>1</sup>	‘clean\AIS3’
ni <sup>3</sup> dsøa <sup>13</sup>	‘upon\IIPs3’	ti <sup>3</sup> jén <sup>2</sup>	‘joined\IIPs3’
ni <sup>3</sup> ganh <sup>13</sup>	‘lying=down\AIpS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> jenh <sup>1</sup>	‘joined\IIPs3’
ni <sup>3</sup> guiánh <sup>12</sup>	‘wrapped\TMS3p’	ti <sup>3</sup> juu <sup>1</sup>	‘stacked\IIPs3’
ni <sup>3</sup> hian <sup>13</sup>	‘complete\IIPs3’	ti <sup>3</sup> lénh <sup>12</sup>	‘round\AIS3’
ni <sup>3</sup> tón <sup>2</sup>	‘standing\AIpS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> løh <sup>12</sup>	‘round\IIS3’
rø <sup>2</sup> ban <sup>12</sup>	‘rolled=up\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> té <sup>13</sup>	‘faithful\IIPs3’
rø <sup>2</sup> canh <sup>12</sup>	‘fallen\AIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> tih <sup>13</sup>	‘thorough\AIS3’
rø <sup>2</sup> canh <sup>12</sup>	‘responsible\TIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> tón <sup>2</sup>	‘standing\AIpS3’
rø <sup>2</sup> chiag <sup>13</sup>	‘retained\IIS3’	ti <sup>3</sup> tsánh <sup>3</sup>	‘joined\IIPs3’

rø<sup>2</sup>cógh<sup>12</sup>  
rø<sup>2</sup>cón<sup>3</sup>

‘mixed\IIPs3’  
‘picked\IIS3’

ti<sup>3</sup>tsén<sup>13</sup>  
ti<sup>3</sup>tóng<sup>2</sup>

‘different\IIPs3’  
‘standing\IIPs3’

There is just one more set of statives, listed in (278), that reference a variety of situational associations rather than inherent qualities.

(278) dsen <sup>13</sup>	‘chief\IIS3’	hnøi <sup>2</sup>	‘orphaned\AIS3’
dsi <sup>13</sup>	‘protruding\IIS3’	hog <sup>3</sup>	‘helped\AIS3’
dsén <sup>2</sup>	‘be=on=top\AIS3’	jánh <sup>12</sup>	‘dispersed\IIPs3’
dsø <sup>2</sup>	‘upon\IIPs3’	mi <sup>2</sup> tei <sup>3</sup>	‘illegitimate\AIS3’
dsøih <sup>13</sup>	‘cover\IIS3’	ηø <sup>3</sup>	‘illegitimate\AIS3’
dsø <sup>2</sup> jián <sup>12</sup>	‘move=ahead\AIS3’	quiah <sup>1</sup>	‘selected\TMS3’
guiúnh <sup>12</sup>	‘wrapped\IIS3’	quián <sup>3</sup>	‘illegitimate\AIS3’
guu <sup>2</sup> dsén <sup>2</sup>	‘covered=with\IIS3’	quiangh <sup>13</sup>	‘accompany\TNS3’
guu <sup>2</sup> dsén <sup>2</sup>	‘lying=on\IIS3’	quianh <sup>13</sup>	‘accompany\TAS3’
guøn <sup>12</sup>	‘draped\TIS3’	quién <sup>12</sup>	‘nearby\IIS3’
ha <sup>3</sup>	‘contain\IIS3’	quién <sup>12</sup>	‘soon\IIS3’
han <sup>13</sup>	‘contain\AIS3’	siáh <sup>2</sup>	‘other\AIS3’
hén <sup>2</sup>	‘face=downwards\AIS3’	siíh <sup>2</sup>	‘other\IIS3’
hính <sup>3</sup>	‘shaded\IIS3’	uóin <sup>2</sup>	‘far\IIS3’
hmói <sup>2</sup>	‘earlier=today\IIS3’		

## 5. Nouns

Traditional tales told in English often begin with well-known formulas such as “*Once upon a time there was ...*” or “*There once was ...*”, which employ the *be* verb in the semantically empty presentative word *there* as subject, in order to introduce the opening character of the tale in the form of a predicate nominal, such as, for example, “*a beautiful princess with a pixie nose and luxuriant golden tresses.*” Traditional Chinantec tales, on the other hand, often begin with a noun phrase that lacks any device that might hint at it having predicative force.

They don’t all begin with the phrase “A story about ...”, but the title sentence in (279) from TXT-29 does.

(279) Cøng<sup>2</sup> cuento quiah<sup>12</sup> hio<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ñiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa, dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jian<sup>12</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>.

A story of a post-menopausal woman who had one married son (TXT-29.001).

This phrase is the opening statement of a story and, in the nature of the case, contains only new information. It cannot, therefore, naturally include either deictic or anaphoric references. Apart from these, it illustrates many typical features of the Chinantec noun phrase, including all other possible NP elements—Quantifier, Head, and Modifiers (descriptive and allocational)—as well as the repetition of elements in apposition, a very common feature of Chinantec syntax.

**Quantifier.** First, this sentence begins with the numeral quantifier *cøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘one’. This is an optional element, but numerals are the primary means of indicating number in the NP, since Chinantec nouns are not so inflected, nor do articles exist which might do so. In this instance, the numeral ‘one’ easily compares in function to the English indefinite article ‘a’—as the English translation of the sentence indicates—and in this first sentence of a new discourse it is well suited to the context, representing the noun *cuento* ‘story’ as something new and yet to be defined, as opposed to background material. The quantifier most commonly occurs together with and directly preceding the head noun of a noun phrase, but can also stand alone as its only element.

The methodological position is taken here that the lone occurrence of any element of an NP in the role of an NP (i.e., as subject, direct object, and so forth), such as a quantifier standing alone without its noun head, represents the occurrence of an NP. That is, the occurrence of a lone quantifier as nominal constituent is here treated as the occurrence of an NP. In the two clauses of



(280), the Direct Object NP in the first has both quantifier and head, whereas the Direct Object NP in second consists only of a quantifier.

(280) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>jmóh<sup>3</sup>      hning hnøa<sup>12</sup> tøh<sup>2</sup>,      jøŋg<sup>2</sup> jmóh<sup>3</sup>      hning cøŋg<sup>2</sup>.  
 therefore if      Neg-make\TII2 2s      three      squared\IIS3 Ana\i make\TII2 2s      one  
 But if you don't make three times, then make one. (TXT-08.079)

More is said of quantifiers below in §§5.8–5.10 and in chapter 13.

**Head Noun.** In (279), the noun head *cuento* ‘story’ (a Spanish word for which the Chinantec word *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘word’ might also have served) follows the quantifier. The noun may also stand alone in the NP or may also be followed by a MODIFIER or DEICTIC, or both. nouns are Animate or Inanimate, Alienable or Inalienable, and Mass or Count—categories to be discussed in more detail below. In addition, there are matters of *reference* to be defined that subcategorize nouns as Nouns of Measure, Location, Time, or Direction. There are many examples of lone nouns in this study, but the noun *hlég<sup>2</sup>* ‘soldier’ in (281) is typical.

(281) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋji<sup>3</sup>téh<sup>3</sup>      hlég<sup>2</sup>      Juøŋ<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-go\R-call\TAR3      soldier      John  
 The soldier went and called in John. (TXT-11.644)

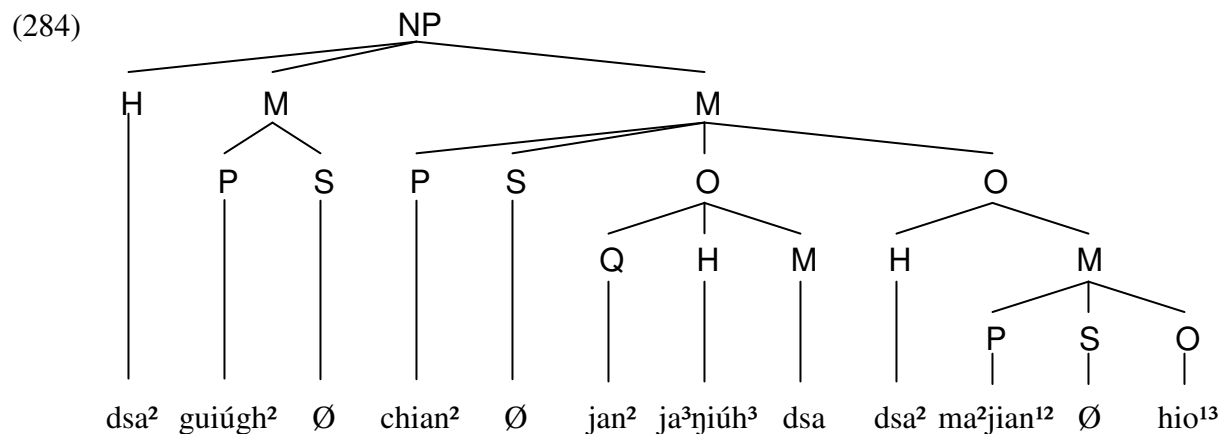
**Allocational Modifier.** There are two kinds of noun modifier, DESCRIPTIVE and ALLOCATIONAL. An allocational modifier references possession and related concepts (Hockett 1958:236). In respect to allocational modifiers, nouns are either ALIENABLE or INALIENABLE. The Spanish loan word *cuento* ‘story’ enters Chinantec as an alienable noun. In (279), therefore, after the quantifier and head, the entire remainder of this NP, is an ALLOCATIONAL MODIFIER of the ALIENABLE type, repeated below as (282). The allocational modifier is introduced by the Allocation verb *quiah<sup>12</sup>* ‘of\TIS3’. A full discussion of the allocation verb is reserved for §14.1. Here simply note that *quiah<sup>12</sup>* is, in this instance, followed by two Subject noun phrases in apposition—(a) the noun *hio<sup>3</sup>* ‘old woman’ without adjuncts, and (2) a much more complex noun phrase with *dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘person’ as head.

(282) quiah<sup>12</sup> hio<sup>3</sup>      dsa<sup>2</sup>      guiugh<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup>      jan<sup>2</sup>      ja<sup>3</sup>ŋiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa, dsa<sup>2</sup>      ma<sup>2</sup>jian<sup>12</sup>      hio<sup>13</sup>  
 of\TIS3 old=woman person old\      be\TAS3 one\      a son\3      3      person Prf-marry\TAP3 woman  
 of an old woman, a post-menopausal woman who had one son who was married (TXT-29.001)

**Descriptive Modifier.** Within (282) above, the second subject noun of the allocation verb (i.e., *dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘person’) has two descriptive modifiers in apposition, both of them relative clauses, as are

most all Chinantec descriptive modifiers. The first is simply *guiugh<sup>2</sup>* ‘post-menopausal woman’; the second constitutes the remainder of the phrase presented in (283), in which the verb *chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘be\TAS3’ has two more noun phrases as appositional objects (i.e., *jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ɲiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa* ‘a son of hers’ and *dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jian<sup>12</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>* ‘someone who has married a wife’). The structure of this entire complex noun phrase is also presented graphically in (284), where it can be seen that the first head noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>* stands in relation to both verbs *guiúgh<sup>2</sup>* and *chian<sup>2</sup>* as subject, leaving a gap in the subject position of those clauses, and that the second noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>* stands as subject to *ma<sup>2</sup>jian<sup>12</sup>*, leaving a gap in that clause. Further discussion of the relative clause is deferred to chapter 8.

- (283) *dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup>                      chian<sup>2</sup>    jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ɲiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa, dsa<sup>2</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>jian<sup>12</sup>            hio<sup>13</sup>.*  
 person post-menopausal\AIS3 be\TMS3 one son\3    3    person Prf-take\TAP3 woman  
 post-menopausal woman who had one son who had married (TXT-29.001)



**Allocation and Recursion.** ALLOCATION, often treated by linguists under the heading of POSSESSION, is one of the areas of language where recursiveness is often found. And this is true for Chinantec. The prototypical case of recursion is when, in expressing kinship relationships, noun phrases are embedded within noun phrases as allocational modifiers, as in (285), where *jni* ‘my’ modifies *ti³ɲieh¹* ‘father\1s’ and *nói² ti³ɲieh¹ jni* ‘my father’s older sister’ modifies *ja³ɲiúh³* ‘son\3’.

- (285) *ja³ɲiúh³ nói²                      ti³ɲieh¹    jni*  
 son\3    older= sister\3 father\1s 1s  
 my father’s older sister’s son

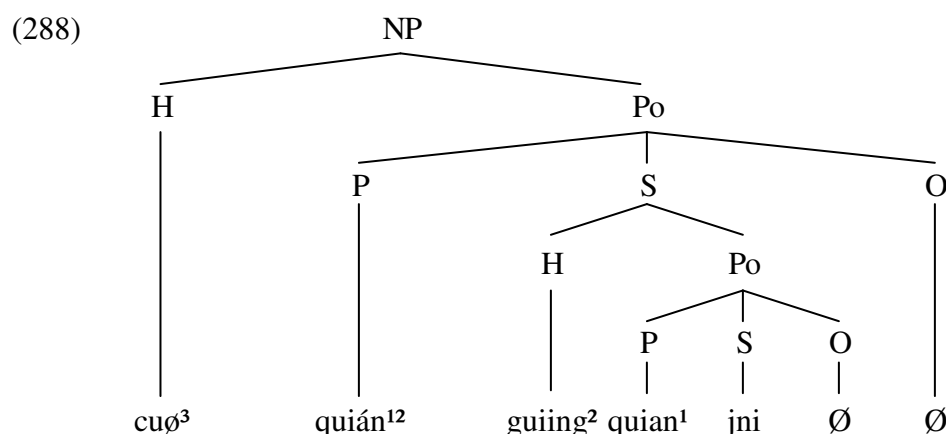
In (285), inalienable allocation is involved, but both alienable and inalienable allocation allow for recursion, either separately or together within the same string. I have not found such

recursion to be common in natural texts; but illustration (286), drawn from text, illustrates the stringing together of two instances of inalienable allocation, with the higher-level instance functioning as an Oblique clausal adjunct rather than as noun modifier.

- (286) Hněh<sup>13</sup>                    hning cuø<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> guiing<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 sell\TAI2\Interr 2s    horse D1\ a of\TAS3 child    of\TAS1s 1s  
 Won't you sell (me) that horse for my child? (TXT-11.409)

At the same time, nearly this same string of words can also occur as a sequence of embedded modifiers, as bracketed in (287) and presented graphically in (288).

- (287) cuø<sup>3</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> guiing<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 horse of\TAS3 child    of\TAS1s 1s  
 my child's horse



**Deictics and Anaphors.** The only potential NP elements that are absent from the story opener in (279) are deictics or anaphors, which by definition would not be appropriate for the first words of a story. A deictic or anaphor may occur as the final constituent of a noun phrase. A deictics points to something in the local context of the speech act, as in *guiing<sup>2</sup> lang<sup>12</sup>* ‘this child’; an anaphor references an element occurring elsewhere in the current discourse, as in *guiing<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>* ‘the aforementioned child’. More will be said of deictics and anaphors below.

**Pronouns and Atonic Noun Anaphors.** Pronouns are described in chapter 6, but here note that Chinantec pronouns exist only for referencing direct participants in speech acts, first and second persons. The anaphoric role of third-person pronouns found in other languages is played by nouns in Chinantec. Most nouns are used anaphorically in Chinantec without overt marking to indicate their use as anaphors, but a small set of nouns, as well as the first-singular and second-

singular pronouns, occur in atonic form with special function. Such pronouns, as for example *jni* (1s) in (288) above, reference participants in the speech act who are not in focus. Atonic nouns, however, are always anaphoric as well as nonfocal.

Atonic nouns are post-tonic versions (having no phonologically contrastive tone or stress) of a select number of regular nouns that occur in anaphoric (or cataphoric) reference to participants in a discourse. They differ from other anaphors in signaling more than gender and, due to their atonic form, are never sentence-initial; but more than one atonic noun may occur in sequence after a toned word. Atonic nouns are limited in number to only a few nouns, such as *dsa* ‘said person’, *guiing* ‘said baby, infant’, *tsih* ‘said youth’, *jah* ‘said animal’, and *hma* ‘said tree, wood’, as in (289)–(166). It may be of some historical significance that the entire set of observed atonic nouns seems to be drawn from a subset of nouns bearing mid tone, most on a controlled syllable.

(289) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> gan<sup>1</sup> guiing jin<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup>.  
no=one\AIS3 that fear\TAS3 child even one\ə  
The child feared absolutely no one. (TXT-09.078)

(290) Ca<sup>1</sup>lan<sup>1</sup> jah chi<sup>3</sup>neng<sup>12</sup>.  
Pst-be\TMC3 animal Cls-star  
The animals became stars. (TXT-16.017)

(291) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jog<sup>12</sup> dsa jah.  
Neg-capture\TAP3 3 animal  
He does not capture the animals. (TXT-49.009)

(292) Ma<sup>2</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> uónh<sup>2</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> tag<sup>3</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jain<sup>3</sup> hma.  
Prf-be\III3 cut\III3 onion=cordia=tree because Prf-tall\IIS3 tree  
The onion cordia tree can now be harvested because it is tall. (BJM-01.041)

The large majority of nouns like *dsøi*<sup>2</sup> ‘dog’, *hlég*<sup>2</sup> ‘soldier’, and *hio*<sup>13</sup> ‘woman’, that have no atonic variant, simply occur in their full phonological form when used anaphorically, as in (293) and (294).

(293) Tsa<sup>1</sup>dsánh<sup>12</sup> dsøi<sup>2</sup>.  
Neg-relocate\AIP3 dog  
The dog could not be found. (TXT-56.004)

(294) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jñeh<sup>1</sup> hlég<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>.  
Ana\i Pst-kill\TAsC3 soldier woman  
Then the soldiers killed the woman. (TXT-05.490–91)

With this overview of Chinantec nouns and noun phrase structure we now turn to a fuller discussion of noun morphology, which was only briefly touched upon in §1.1.

## 5.1 Noun Morphology

Seventy per cent of all Chinantec nouns are of one syllable and one morpheme. Such nouns have no affixation of any kind. Nouns are not marked for number categories, as in (295).

(295)	<i>chiang</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘deer’	<i>máh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘squash’
	<i>cuø</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘horse’	<i>møh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘snake’
	<i>cuøi</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘maize’	<i>møh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘basket’
	<i>dsøi</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘dog’	<i>sei</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘tuber’
	<i>hé</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘tortilla’	<i>si</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘fire, light’
	<i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘wood, tree’	<i>si</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘paper, book’
	<i>hniú</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘house’	<i>tah</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘bee’
	<i>jñiang</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘porcupine’	<i>ñié</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘pig’
	<i>máh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘mountain’	<i>ñi</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘metal, metal object’

Thirty per cent of nouns consist of more than one syllable and more than one morpheme, either as multisyllabic phonological words or as phrases of more than one phonological word. Multisyllabic noun words tend to be formed of two noun roots, the first of which is phonologically simplified to a pretonic syllable. These pretonic forms are like noun classifiers or stem formatives. Some pretonic syllables occur with several noun roots to characterize the size or shape of the referent. In Usila Chinantec, spoken in the adjacent area west of Palantla (Skinner 1962), most nouns are disyllabic, consisting of one of a relatively small set of pretonic classifiers (mostly reduced forms of lexical nouns) followed by a noun root; but Palantla utilizes such pretonic forms in a more limited and relatively nonproductive way. A few nouns that occur with such noun ‘classifiers’ are illustrated in (296).

(296)	<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>chiang</i> <sup>3</sup>	Fem-deer	‘doe’
	<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>chieh</i> <sup>3</sup>	Fem-chicken	‘hen’
	<i>cu</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>náh</i> <sup>3</sup>	shell-net	‘network gourd’
	<i>cu</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ñi</i> <sup>3</sup>	shell-metal	‘tin can, sheet metal’
	<i>jmø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>cuøi</i> <sup>2</sup>	water-maize	‘sugarcane juice’
	<i>jmø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsøh</i> <sup>13</sup>	water-gallbladder	‘bile’
	<i>jmø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ñih</i> <sup>13</sup>	water-salty	‘ocean’
	<i>møi</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cuøi</i> <sup>2</sup>	ball-maize	‘kernel of maize’
	<i>møi</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jløi</i> <sup>2</sup>	ball-egg	‘testicle’
	<i>møi</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ñi</i> <sup>3</sup>	ball-metal	‘nail’

<i>na<sup>3</sup>hma<sup>2</sup></i>	piece-wood	‘piece of wood’
<i>na<sup>3</sup>hi<sup>3</sup></i>	piece-metal	‘metal object (automobile, airplane,...)’
<i>ni<sup>1</sup>hi<sup>3</sup></i>	house-metal	‘jailhouse’
<i>tø<sup>2</sup>hma<sup>1</sup></i>	teacher wood	‘carpenter’
<i>tø<sup>2</sup>si<sup>1</sup></i>	teacher paper	‘secretary, scribe’
<i>tø<sup>2</sup>møa<sup>12</sup></i>	teacher medicine	‘shaman, doctor’
<i>tø<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>3</sup></i>	pot-metal	‘bucket’
<i>tsø<sup>3</sup>jong<sup>12</sup></i>	?-child\3	‘offspring\3’
<i>tsø<sup>3</sup>güen<sup>2</sup></i>	?-lung	‘lung’
<i>tsø<sup>3</sup>hi<sup>3</sup></i>	?-metal	‘wire’

In far more Tlatepuzcan cases, the first of two roots is not reduced to pretonic status, resulting in a multiword idiom in which the adjoined roots may maintain their underlying phonological form or may be modified slightly without loss of word stress, as in (297). These all have lexical status within the lexical database, their meanings varying widely in predictability from that of their component parts.

(297) <i>cog<sup>3</sup> huø<sup>1</sup></i>	money ground	‘rent’
<i>dsag<sup>3</sup> hiih<sup>12</sup></i>	illness shame	‘gonorrhea’
<i>dsag<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>2</sup></i>	illness wind	‘rheumatism’
<i>dsag<sup>3</sup> jmø<sup>2</sup></i>	illness blood	‘dysentery’
<i>dsøi<sup>2</sup> núng<sup>3</sup></i>	dog wild	‘coyote’
<i>hieh<sup>12</sup> cuø<sup>3</sup></i>	jaguar horse	‘puma’
<i>hieh<sup>12</sup> cuai<sup>3</sup></i>	jaguar firewood	‘ring-tailed cat’
<i>hieh<sup>12</sup> hma<sup>2</sup></i>	jaguar tree	‘kinkajou’
<i>hieh<sup>12</sup> jmøa<sup>12</sup></i>	jaguar rain	‘river otter’
<i>hma<sup>2</sup> búh<sup>3</sup></i>	wood donkey	‘workbench’
<i>hma<sup>2</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup></i>	wood maize	‘sugarcane’
<i>hma<sup>2</sup> cø<sup>2</sup></i>	wood candle	‘pine tree’
<i>hma<sup>2</sup> huuh<sup>12</sup></i>	wood orange	‘orange tree’
<i>jmi<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup></i>	father person	‘priest’
<i>jmi<sup>2</sup> dsi<sup>2</sup></i>	father wind	‘soul’
<i>møh<sup>2</sup> dsøi<sup>2</sup></i>	snake dog	‘gecko’
<i>møh<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>13</sup></i>	snake jaguar	‘python’
<i>møh<sup>2</sup> tsøi<sup>3</sup></i>	snake circle	‘aureole’
<i>neng<sup>12</sup> crøg<sup>13</sup></i>	star cross	‘Orion’
<i>neng<sup>12</sup> guiog<sup>1</sup></i>	star seven	‘Ursa Major’
<i>neng<sup>12</sup> si<sup>2</sup></i>	star fire	‘Sirius’
<i>neng<sup>12</sup> tson<sup>3</sup></i>	star twin	‘Aldebaran’

The pattern of noun in (297) blends easily with the idioms in (298) formed by nouns and verbs, which in turn blend with nouns followed by relative clauses. But it seems safe to treat the combinations in (298) as lexical formations, even though the second element is verbal.

(298) <i>cog<sup>3</sup> niáng<sup>13</sup></i>	money yellow\IIS	‘gold’
<i>cog<sup>3</sup> teg<sup>2</sup></i>	money white\IIS	‘silver’
<i>hi<sup>3</sup> ŋiĩh<sup>1</sup></i>	tortilla-salty\IIS	‘bread’
<i>jme<sup>2</sup> dsíg<sup>2</sup></i>	onion hot\IIS	‘garlic’
<i>jme<sup>2</sup> tig<sup>2</sup></i>	onion thin\IIS	‘leek’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> bung<sup>2</sup></i>	word stupid\AIS	‘foolishness’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> ŋái<sup>13</sup></i>	word laugh\AI	‘joke’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup></i>	word good\IIS3	‘greeting, praise’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> quii<sup>3</sup> jnah<sup>13</sup></i>	word p-pelt\TA	‘insult’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> ŋiĩh<sup>1</sup></i>	word salty\IIS	‘Spanish language’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> jmei<sup>12</sup></i>	word unsalted\IIS	‘Chinantec language’
<i>neng<sup>12</sup> pan<sup>13</sup></i>	star fat\AIS	‘Venus, Morning Star’

I know of only one lexical formation in Tlapepuzco Chinantec by which nominals are created from verbal material. This involves the use of pretonic *ju<sup>2</sup>* (possibly a phonologically reduced form of the noun *juu<sup>12</sup>* ‘road, path’) to produce abstract nouns, an exceedingly rare commodity in Chinantec (299).

(299) <i>ju<sup>2</sup> bĩ<sup>2</sup></i>	road? strong\IIS	‘strength’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> dsan<sup>2</sup></i>	road? die\AIpP3	‘apparition’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> hiih<sup>1</sup></i>	road? ashamed\AI3	‘shame’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> jñia<sup>13</sup></i>	road? await\TAI1p	‘preparation, readiness’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> juøh<sup>12</sup></i>	road? large\IIS	‘miracle’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> cøh<sup>1</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup></i>	road? ache\III3 thorax	‘anguish, distress’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> hén<sup>2</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup></i>	road? destroy\IIP3 crime	‘pardon’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> hiúg<sup>1</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup></i>	road? agree\AIS3	‘comfort, contentment’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> hĩ<sup>3</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup></i>	road? count\IID3 thorax	‘worry, trouble’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> líh<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup></i>	road? perceive\TIS3 thorax	‘punishment’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> meh<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup></i>	road? small\IIS thorax	‘bother, nuisance’

The same formative appears also to be involved in the idioms listed in (300), which are of a different sort from those above, although the first example is perhaps more probably derived from *jon<sup>12</sup>* ‘child’.

(300) <i>ju<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup></i>	child? water	‘godchild\3’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> quiún<sup>2</sup></i>	road? four\i	‘fourth Friday of lent’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> hñi<sup>2</sup></i>	road? five\i	‘fifth Friday of lent’
<i>ju<sup>2</sup> jñiéng<sup>2</sup></i>	road? six\i	‘sixth Friday of lent’

I say that the lexical formation with *ju<sup>2</sup>* is the only one I know of by which nominals are created from verbal material. There are, however, phonological similarities between certain nouns and corresponding verbs that suggest that processes of lexical formation between these

two word classes may have existed at an earlier time horizon. But even if they did, there is not very much evidence that such processes were very productive. The examples in (301) illustrate possible links to early Chinantec lexical formation:

(301) <i>guiunh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘cigar’;	cf. <i>guiúnh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘suck\TIP3, wind=up\TIP3’
<i>hioh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘broom’;	cf. <i>hiéh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘sweep\AIP3’
<i>hjiöh</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘waist’;	cf. <i>hjiö</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘bind\TAP3’, <i>hjiöh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘tether\TIP3’, <i>hjiöh</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘belt\TMS3’
<i>huu</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘night’;	cf. <i>huuh</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘dark\IIS3’
<i>jmø</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘blood’, <i>jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘water’,	cf. <i>jmě</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘wet\IIS3’, <i>jmě</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘dissolve\IIS3’,
<i>jmøa</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘river’, <i>jmøa</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘rain’,	<i>jmøh</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘urinate\TIP3’,
<i>jmøah</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘juice’;	<i>jměh</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘urinate=on\TAP3’
<i>jnai</i> <sup>13</sup> ‘wall’, <i>jnai</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘door’;	cf. <i>jnai</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘close\TIP3’
<i>løg</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘skin’;	cf. <i>løg</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘skinny\AIS3’
<i>ñii</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘salt’;	cf. <i>ñiih</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘salty\IIS3’
<i>tá</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘warp’, <i>tá</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘warping frame’;	cf. <i>ta</i> <sup>12</sup> ‘weave\TIP3’.

## 5.2 Gender and Agreement

In the discussion of voice in §2.3, the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns was addressed and the agreement between verbs and certain of its terms was discussed. Within the noun phrase, all noun adjuncts must also agree in gender with that of the noun head—quantifier, Modifiers (descriptive or allocational), Deictics, and Anaphors.

Animacy is an inherently lexical feature of nouns rather than inflectional. Inflection for animacy, on the other hand, occurs in words which must agree in gender with the head noun of a phrase, as the following two sentences show, where *møh*<sup>2</sup> ‘snake’ is animate in (302) and its homophone, *møh*<sup>2</sup> ‘basket’ is inanimate in (303). These two sentences are contrived for the sake of demonstrating gender inflection. It would be unusual for all of these elements to occur together in single noun phrases in normal speech, but they are otherwise quite grammatical. Note that while the two nouns themselves show no inflection, the verbal predicates, quantifiers, modifiers, and anaphors all do and must agree with the native gender of the noun. The verbal predicates and the noun modifiers are seen to differ, quite often but not exclusively, by the addition of nasal inflection to animate forms, although the particular numerals and anaphors shown in these examples are represented by suppletive forms.



(302) Ca<sup>1</sup>lán<sup>2</sup> jni jan<sup>2</sup> møh<sup>2</sup> lianh<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-buy\TAC1s 1s one\ə snake black\ə Ana\ə  
 I bought the aforementioned black snake.

(303) Ca<sup>1</sup>lá<sup>2</sup> jni cøng<sup>2</sup> møh<sup>2</sup> lih<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>  
 Pst-buy\TIC1s 1s one\i basket black\i Ana\i  
 I bought the aforementioned black basket.

Gender inflection of the anaphors may, on occasion, assist in a proper referential interpretation. For example, the inanimate anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> in (304) follows the animate noun *ma*<sup>2</sup>*jøg*<sup>3</sup> ‘opossum’, but must reference the higher, inanimate noun *cang*<sup>3</sup> ‘rock’.

(304) Ca<sup>1</sup>can<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> cang<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>quiin<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jøg<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-take\TIC3 jaguar rock Impf-carry\TIS3 opossum Ana\i  
 Jaguar took ahold of the aforementioned rock Possum had been holding. (TXT-03.240)

In (305), the second occurrence of the inanimate anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup>, though following animate *hio*<sup>13</sup> ‘woman’, must have the second occurrence of *ja*<sup>3</sup> as its partner, just as in the earlier phrase *ja*<sup>3</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘said location’.

(305) Ca<sup>1</sup>guónh<sup>1</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-arrive-back\AIsC3 John where Ana\i where reside\AIpS3 woman Ana\i again  
 He arrived in that place again, there where the women were. (TXT-11.223)

In (306), *jøng*<sup>2</sup> follows animate *hie*<sup>12</sup> ‘jaguar’, not as its partner but rather as complement of the verb *të*<sup>2</sup> ‘know how’, cataphorically referencing Jaguar’s inability to swim.

(306) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>të<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lálh<sup>2</sup> góí<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 because Neg-skilled\TIS3 jaguar Ana\i how swim\AIi3  
 Because Jaguar did not know how to do that; i.e., how to swim. (TXT-03.395)

### 5.3 Alienability

As indicated above, a Chinantec noun is ALIENABLE or INALIENABLE. This distinction rests upon whether a particular noun is always immediately juxtaposed by a following noun phrase, name, or pronoun that references a POSSESSOR of that noun, or whether it may only at times occur without reference to a POSSESSOR. The following nouns are Inalienable. They always occur as shown, with a named possessor following, in the form of a noun phrase, pronoun, or name.

(307) <i>cúg<sup>3</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup></i>	money\3 Sir	‘the gentleman’s money’
<i>hag<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup></i>	mouth\3 woman	‘the woman’s mouth’
<i>dseih<sup>12</sup> hning</i>	head\2 2s	‘your head’
<i>jag<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	word\1s 1s	‘my language’
<i>jong<sup>12</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	child\1p 1i	‘our child(ren)’
<i>hniu<sup>3</sup> Sóa<sup>13</sup></i>	house\3 Joe	‘Joe’s house’

Of 2050 nouns in the Tlatepuzco lexicon (excluding personal names), only 153 are inalienable, 130 inanimate and 23 animate. Of the inanimate nouns, 97 reference human and animal anatomy or body fluids; of the animate nouns, 21 name kinsmen. Inalienable nouns are often, but not always, inflected to agree in person and number with the possessor. As in verb inflection, however, the four person-number categories are not always matched by four distinct forms; a certain amount of homophony usually occurring. First-plural and third-person forms, for example, are often identical. Second-person forms, as in non-imperative verbs, always end in glottal (-h). A typical inalienable inanimate noun is shown in (308). An inalienable animate noun is illustrated in (309).

(308) <i>tai<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	foot\1s 1s	‘my feet’
<i>tai<sup>3</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup></i>	foot\1p 1x	‘our (excl) feet’
<i>taih<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup></i>	foot\2 2p	‘your feet’
<i>tai<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ñioh<sup>12</sup></i>	foot\3 person male	‘men’s feet’

(309) <i>mi<sup>3</sup>chie<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	mother\1s 1s	‘my mother’
<i>mi<sup>3</sup>chiég<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	mother\1p 1i	‘our mother’
<i>mi<sup>3</sup>chiegh<sup>2</sup> hning</i>	mother\2 2s	‘your mother’
<i>mi<sup>3</sup>chiég<sup>3</sup> dsa</i>	mother\3 3	‘her mother’

Beyond words for kinsmen and body parts, a few other inalienable nouns exist; but it is usually the case that such nouns also have alienable forms. With alienable forms, no possessor need be referenced, but if a possessor is present, the ALLOCATIONAL CLAUSE, with one or another form of the Allocational Verb *quiah<sup>12</sup>* ‘of\TIS3’ as Predicate, must follow the noun as the vehicle through which the possessor is expressed, as further described in §00.1. The inalienable forms of *cúg<sup>3</sup>* ‘money\3’, *hniu<sup>3</sup>* ‘house\3’, and *jag<sup>3</sup>* ‘language\3, word\3’ were listed above in (307). Their alienable counterparts are presented in (310)–(312) with the required allocational clause.

(310) <i>cog<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	money of\TIS1s 1s	‘my money’
<i>cog<sup>3</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	money of\TIS1p 1i	‘our money’
<i>cog<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning</i>	money of\TIS2 2s	‘your money’
<i>cog<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa</i>	money of\TIS3 3	‘their money’
(311) <i>hniú<sup>12</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	house of\TIS1s 1s	‘my house’
<i>hniú<sup>12</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	house of\TIS1p 1i	‘our house’
<i>hniú<sup>12</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning</i>	house of\TIS2 2s	‘your house’
<i>hniú<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa</i>	house of\TIS3 3	‘their house’
(312) <i>jóg<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	word of\TIS1s 1s	‘my word’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	word of\TIS1p 1i	‘our word’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning</i>	word of\TIS2 2s	‘your word’
<i>jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa</i>	word of\TIS3 3	‘their word’

Corresponding animate forms of the allocational verb are shown in (313). Only first-singular and third-person forms differ from the corresponding inanimate verb forms:

(313) <i>guiing<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni</i>	child of\TAS1s 1s	‘my child’
<i>guiing<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	child of\TAS1p 1i	‘our child’
<i>guiing<sup>2</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning</i>	child of\TAS2 2s	‘your child’
<i>guiing<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa</i>	child of\TAS3 3	‘their child’

When an Allocational Clause occurs with a noun that is also descriptively modified, the Descriptive Modifier normally follows the head noun immediately, followed by the Allocational Clause, as in the case of the object noun phrase in (314).

- (314) Ca<sup>1</sup>tiúgh<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> jni ca<sup>3</sup>juu<sup>2</sup> dsú<sup>2</sup>      quian<sup>1</sup>    jni mi<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>hné<sup>1</sup>      jni jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
Pst-release\TIC1s    1s cattle    male\AIS3 of\TAS1s 1s    when Pst-sell\TAC1s 1s animal  
I gave up my personal feelings for my bull when I sold it. (AGJ-03.097)

It is unusual for a long descriptive modifier to occur with an Allocational Clause in the same NP, but the sentence in (315), created for the Chinantec dictionary by Bonifacio José Martínez to illustrate the use of the noun *jløi<sup>2</sup>* ‘egg’, is exceptional in having a rather long modifier together with a named possessor within the subject noun phrase.

- (315) Tiogh<sup>3</sup>    chieh<sup>3</sup>    tag<sup>12</sup>    jløi<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jø<sup>1</sup> quian<sup>1</sup>    jni.  
be\AIPs3 chicken lay\TIP3 egg day    allvi      of\TAS1s 1s  
There are hens of mine that lay eggs every day. (BJM-01.061)

With an inalienable noun, however, since its possessor must occur immediately juxtaposed to it, the presence of both a Descriptive Modifier and named possessor within the NP results in a syntactic

impasse. This is resolved by juxtaposing two NPs in apposition, the first naming the possessor and the second providing description, as in the two subject noun phrases in (316).

- (316) Na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>cang<sup>2</sup>                      roh<sup>12</sup>              jni,    dsa<sup>2</sup>    ɲøa<sup>12</sup>              hónh<sup>2</sup>              jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Hod-come\R-bring\TIR3    kinsman\1s 1s    person    walk\AIsP3    drink\TIP3    alcohol  
My brother, who goes about drinking alcohol, brought it home. (TXT-48.036)

This same tactic may also be used with an alienable noun to avoid a cumbersome modifier occurring together in the same NP with a possessor. In (317), the possessor of *cog*<sup>3</sup> ‘money’ is named in the first NP and the purpose for its being retained is described in the relative clause that follows, relativized on its second object (i.e., *cog*<sup>3</sup> ‘money’). In this instance, placing the possessor after the relative clause would create confusion, begging an interpretation as Oblique Object of the lower-level clause.

- (317) Rø<sup>2</sup>chiag<sup>13</sup> mih<sup>2</sup>              cog<sup>3</sup>              quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa,    hi<sup>2</sup>              jmo<sup>12</sup>    dsa    hí<sup>3</sup>.  
 retain\IIS3    few\IIS3    money    of\TIS3    3              that\i    care-for\DIP3  
Some of his money that he is careful with is kept in reserve. (DB-02.047)

## 5.4 Numerals as Modifiers

It was indicated earlier that quantifiers normally precede the noun head within the noun phrase. There are a very few cases, however, in which certain numerals may follow a noun head AS MODIFIER. In such cases no other quantifier may precede the head. Only a limited number of numerals are known to function in this way, and often with only certain nouns. Some of these are listed in (318).

- |  |               |                       |
|--|---------------|-----------------------|
| (318) <i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cøng</i> <sup>2</sup>   | tree one\i    | ‘the other tree’      |
| <i>ji</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ɲi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cøng</i> <sup>2</sup>                         | year one\i    | ‘next year’           |
| <i>jmai</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hnøa</i> <sup>12</sup>   | day three     | ‘the third day’       |
| <i>jmai</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jó</i> <sup>1</sup> | day all\i     | ‘always’              |
| <i>si</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ja</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cøng</i> <sup>2</sup>  | book first\i  | ‘first grade’         |
| <i>dsa</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>juen</i> <sup>12</sup>  | person many\ə | ‘a crowd, a majority’ |

## 5.5 Nouns as Modifiers

Some nouns function as modifiers, but only in a restrictive and idiomatic fashion to form idioms of the sort mentioned above under noun Morphology in §5.1.

(319) <i>jmai</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>jmai</i> <sup>3</sup>	day name	‘festival day’
<i>ta</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ju</i> ø <sup>i2</sup>	work town	‘public works’
<i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>si</i> <sup>2</sup>	tree paper	‘fig tree’
<i>hie</i> <sup>h12</sup> <i>cu</i> ø <sup>3</sup>	jaguar horse	‘puma’

## 5.6 Deictics

A DEICTIC may point to an object in the local context of a speech act, to distinguish it from other like objects, marking three degrees of distance from the location of the speech act—PROXIMAL (the immediate location of the speech act), DISTAL<sup>1</sup> (relatively near), and DISTAL<sup>2</sup> (more distant, perhaps out of sight but not necessarily so). Only the proximal deictics are inflectionally distinct in respect to gender.

(320) <i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>la</i> <sup>2</sup>	wood Prx\i	‘this wood’
<i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ná</i> <sup>12</sup>	wood D1	‘that wood’
<i>hma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ió</i> <sup>1</sup>	wood D2	‘that wood (yonder)’
(321) <i>dsa</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>lang</i> <sup>12</sup>	person Prx\la	‘this person’
<i>dsa</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ná</i> <sup>12</sup>	person D1	‘that person’
<i>dsa</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>ió</i> <sup>1</sup>	person D2	‘that person (yonder)’

(322) *Juu*<sup>12</sup> *la*<sup>2</sup>      *nié*<sup>h13</sup>                      *báh*<sup>3</sup> *hning*<sup>2</sup>.  
 path Prx      come=again\AIsI2 Aff      2s  
 You must come by this route. (TXT-03.185)

(323) *Tsa*<sup>1</sup>*jñé*<sup>h3</sup>              *hning*   *jáh*<sup>2</sup>      *ná*<sup>12</sup>, *juú*<sup>h2</sup>      *dsa*<sup>2</sup>      *lang*<sup>12</sup>.  
 Neg-kill\TAsI2      2s      animal D1      say\TIP3 person Prx\la  
 “Do not kill that animal,” this fellow said. (TXT-05.172)

(324) *Dsa*<sup>2</sup>   *ió*<sup>1</sup>   *na*<sup>2</sup>*jmo*<sup>1</sup>,              *dsa*<sup>2</sup>      *tse*<sup>h12</sup>              *ca*<sup>1</sup>*tó*<sup>2</sup> *huu*<sup>13</sup>   *máh*<sup>2</sup>   *ió*<sup>1</sup>.  
 person D2   Hod-do\TIC3   person stand\AIsP3 at      foot\3   hill      D2  
Yon fellow did it, the person standing at the foot of yon mountain. (TXT-03.146)

The inanimate proximal nonanaphor *la* ‘this’ may also mark immediate temporal location when occurring with a temporal noun as in (325) and (326).

(325) *Jmó*<sup>3</sup>      *jniang*<sup>3</sup>   *má*<sup>1</sup>.   *Ca*<sup>1</sup>*tó*<sup>2</sup>                      *hora*   *la*<sup>2</sup>.  
 do\AIIIp li              meal   Pst-reach\IIC3      hour   Prx  
 Let’s eat! It is time. (TXT-03.095–96)

(326) *Ca*<sup>1</sup>*dsø*<sup>3</sup>*juen*<sup>13</sup>      *hora*   *la*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-pass=by\IIC3      hour   Prx  
It is late. (TXT-03.115)

The inanimate deictics occur with the preposition *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where’ to form locative deictic adverbs.

In this context the D1 deictic *ná*<sup>12</sup> has the variant form *ná*<sup>3</sup>.

(327) *Ja*<sup>3</sup> *la*<sup>2</sup> *tsenh*<sup>12</sup>      *ma*<sup>2</sup>*lói*<sup>h2</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup> *jní*<sup>2</sup>.  
 here stand\AIsP1s long=ago Aff 1s  
 I have been standing here for a very long time. (TXT-03.220)

(328) *Ja*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup> *ní*<sup>2</sup>,      *juúh*<sup>2</sup>      *dsa*<sup>2</sup> *hlanh*<sup>3</sup>, *juúh*<sup>2</sup>      *dsa*.  
 there\D1 sit\AIs! say\TIP3 Devil      say\TIP3 3  
 “Sit right there,” said the devil, they say. (TXT-09.204)

(329) *Ja*<sup>3</sup> *ió*<sup>1</sup>      *báh*<sup>3</sup> *jmo*<sup>12</sup>      *dsa* *na*<sup>3</sup>      *ma*<sup>2</sup>*tsa*<sup>1</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup>*chianh*<sup>2</sup>      *hning*.  
 there\D2 Aff do\TIP3 3 when Prf-no=longer-present\AIS2 2s  
 They do it yonder when you are not around. (TXT-67.025)

The inanimate deictics occasionally occur as locative adverbs without the preposition *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where, at’, but *ja*<sup>3</sup> is more often present. In (330) and (331), the D1 and D2 nonanaphors occur twice each, both with and without *ja*<sup>3</sup>.

(330) *Ná*<sup>12</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup>      *neng*<sup>12</sup>      *jmø*<sup>2</sup>      *mi*<sup>3</sup>*quieng*<sup>3</sup>      *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup>.  
 D1 Aff BEVIsS3 blood Impf-bring=with\TIS1s there\D1  
There’s the blood that I was bringing from there. (TXT-29.204)

(331) *Ió*<sup>1</sup>      *báh*<sup>3</sup>      *ηøa*<sup>12</sup>      *jni*, *jø*<sup>3</sup>*cuøi*<sup>2</sup>      *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ió*<sup>1</sup>.  
 D2 Aff walk\AIsP1s 1s cornfield there\D2  
 I was walking yonder, in the field yonder. (TXT-31.059)

They may also occur as lone NPs in nominal clause positions, as in (332) and (333).

(332) *La*<sup>2</sup>      *báh*<sup>3</sup> *hno*<sup>1</sup>      *jni*, *juúh*<sup>2</sup>      Gabino.  
 Prx Aff want\TIS1s 1s say\TIP3 Gabino  
 “This is the one I want,” said Gabino. (TXT-05.187)

(333) *Ná*<sup>12</sup> *jín*<sup>h3</sup> *ná*<sup>12</sup>, *juúh*<sup>2</sup>      *dsa*<sup>2</sup> *tøg*<sup>2</sup> *máh*<sup>2</sup>, *tsáih*<sup>12</sup>      *dsa* Gabino.  
 D1 Aff D1 say\TIP3 gnome      tell\DAP3 3 Gabino  
 “There it is,” said the gnome to Gabino. (TXT-05.427)

## 5.7 Anaphors

There are two primary anaphors that distinguish gender, animate *héi*<sup>2</sup> (Ana\ə) and inanimate *jøng*<sup>2</sup> (Ana\i), that reference animate (334) and inanimate (335) entities stored from previous discourse in the minds of speaker and hearers.

(334) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ɲó<sup>12</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>cúgh<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 person Ana\ a now person first go\AIsP3 Ana\ a Pst-eat\TAC3 person Ana\ a animal  
 Now that aforementioned fellow, then, that aforementioned one who was going for the first  
 time, that aforementioned fellow ate the animals. (TXT-02.062)

(335) Ca<sup>1</sup>quiih<sup>2</sup> dsa tsón<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-split\TIC3 3 coconut Ana\ i  
 Then he split the aforementioned coconut. (TXT-03.360)

Both animate and inanimate anaphors usually reference objects in previous oral discourse, but they can, on occasion, *cataphorically* reference objects to be defined in the discourse that immediately follows, as in (336) and (337).

(336) Cónh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, hio<sup>13</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> Ma<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>13</sup>, ...  
 once=again say\TIP3 woman Ana\ a woman of\TAS3 Martin  
 Also that woman, the wife of Martín Martínez, said ... (TXT-58.009)

(337) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ɲøa<sup>12</sup> jni, ta<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>gan<sup>13</sup> jni dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 because not\IIS3 work Ana\ i walk\AIsP1s 1s work deceive\TAP1s 1s people  
 Because I am not in that kind of business, of deceiving people. (TXT-03.298)

Either of the two anaphors may stand alone as an NP in any position a noun phrase might otherwise occupy. An example of each as subjects follows in (338) and (339).

(338) Ca<sup>1</sup>guú<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-sit\AIsC3 permanently Ana\ a when Pst-arrive\AIsC3 world  
That one sat there like a fixture from the time she arrived here on earth (TXT-28.018).

(339) Dsio<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 good\IIS3 Aff Ana  
That is good. (TXT-05.066)

Anaphor and deictic contrast nicely in (340), which references a person being sought who was close by but not recognized.

(340) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> dsiog<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 not=be\IIS3 Ana\ a D1\ a say\TIP3 also some\ a 3  
 “That is not the aforementioned,” others also said. (TXT-37.649)

Both anaphors and deictics may also occur with the relative word *hi<sup>2</sup>* (that\i) in lieu of a head noun, as in (341) and (342), or with the anaphoric relative of quality *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such\i’, as in (343) and (344).

(341) Dóh<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>12</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup>.  
 since go\I3-roll\IID3 that\i Prx if Neg-careful\AIP1s  
 Because this thing will roll if I am not careful. (TXT-03.222)

(342) Hag<sup>3</sup> dsa hui<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>quian<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 mouth\3 3 be=in\IIS3 that\i Ana\i lying=down\AIS3 3  
 He is lying there with the thing in his mouth. (TXT-05.362)

(343) Láh<sup>1</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 such\i Ana\i Aff be\IIS3 work such\i D1  
That is the way that type of endeavor is. (TXT-22.140)

(344) Dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, cu<sup>2</sup> ŋieih<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 people such\i Ana\ a forthwith die\AIpP3 3  
That type of aforementioned person, they die forthwith. (TXT-54.009)

Note in (343) above and in (345) below, that the inanimate deictic *ná<sup>12</sup>* (D1), which is normally local in reference and not an anaphor, becomes anaphoric when joined with the anaphoric relative of quality *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such’, where reference is not to a specific object mentioned in previous discourse, but rather to the character or type of something mentioned in previous discourse, whether an object, a state, or an event.

(345) Tsa<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>juúh<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>.  
 Neg-Opt-say\TII2 thus D1 say\TIP3 woman  
 “You should not have spoken like that!” the woman said. (TXT-07.053)

In an interesting combination of deictic and anaphor standing directly as NPs, in (346), both the anaphor *héi<sup>2</sup>* and normally nonanaphoric *ió<sup>1</sup>* (D2) reference the same person in the same sentence.

(346) Dóh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hnói<sup>2</sup>\AIS3 bíh<sup>3</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, láh<sup>3</sup>.  
 because person childless Aff D2 Ana\ a Rht  
 Because the aforementioned yonder was herself childless, right? (TXT-19.028)

More commonly, two basic anaphors are found together, as in (347).

(347) Héi<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\ a Aff Ana\ a  
That’s him!

An additional deictic, *jnung<sup>2</sup>* ‘that one’, is roughly equivalent to D2 but not as common, and may function as nonanaphor (348), anaphor (349), and as locative adverb (350).

(348) Dóh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ŋøa<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>guøi<sup>2</sup> bíh<sup>3</sup> jnung<sup>2</sup>.  
 because person walk\AIsP3 in=midair Aff D2  
Said person was just traveling along through the air. (TXT-19.495)



(349) ʔHa² ju³ ɲai¹³ dsa² jnung²? Dóh³ dsa² ma²rø²jon¹³ báh³ jnung².  
 where? may ask\DAD3 person that since person Prf-Sta-die\AIsC3 Aff that  
 But how could that one possibly answer? That one was already dead. (TXT-19.210–11)

(350) Dsa² jái¹² ja³ jnung² jni², ja³ dsø²lén² dsa jan³.  
 person watch\TIP3 there\D2 1s where go\AIpP3 3 dance  
 I am just watching over there where the people are dancing. (TXT-03.299)

More about anaphoric usage within discourse will be presented later in chapter 18.

## 5.8 Denumerability

Chinantec, like a great many other languages, has two types of noun in respect to being able to occur directly juxtaposed to a quantifying Numeral. A Chinantec COUNT NOUN may so occur; a Chinantec MASS NOUN may not. The latter must be quantified by a subcategory of noun phrase, here referred to as a QUANTIFIER PHRASE, in which the head of the phrase is drawn from a subset of count nouns, called MEASURE NOUNS, that name a type of container or standard of measurement appropriate to the associated referent of the mass noun. The noun *to²* ‘mortar’ in (351) is a count noun that may occur directly with a numeral; whereas the noun *jmøi²* ‘water’ is a mass noun that requires a quantifier phrase to be quantified.

(351) cøng² to²	cøng² tsóa¹² jmøi²
one mortar	one bottle water
a mortar	a bottle of water

While a mass noun always requires a quantifier phrase to be quantified, a count noun may be quantified either directly by a numeral or by a quantifier phrase.

(352) cøng² tøg²	cøng² tsën² tøg²
one banana	one cluster banana
a banana	a hand of bananas

(353) cøng² hma²	cøng² ni³ hma²
one tree	one type tree
a tree	a certain species of tree

A quantifier phrase differs from other noun phrases in having only two constituents, QUANTIFIER and HEAD. Otherwise, it is like any other noun phrase. As a kind of noun phrase, the quantifier phrase, in addition to quantifying a noun, may also occupy other positions appropriate to noun phrases. A few selected Measure nouns are listed in (354), and illustrated in (355)–(357).

- (354) *dsi*<sup>2</sup> ‘fingerbreadth’  
*hmøh*<sup>2</sup> ‘hand span’  
*lei*<sup>31</sup> ‘pound’ (*Sp. libra*)  
*lø*<sup>2</sup> ‘cubit’ (from elbow to fingertips)  
*ha*<sup>2</sup>*ro*<sup>13</sup> ‘25 lbs.’ (*Sp. arroba*)  
*tsən*<sup>2</sup> ‘bunch’ (bananas)
- (355) *Hnøa*<sup>12</sup> *dsi*<sup>2</sup> *hmøh*<sup>3</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup> *tøh*<sup>2</sup> *jmo*<sup>12</sup> *dsa*  
three fingerbreadth thick\IIS3 squared=timbers make\TIP3 3  
They make squared timbers three fingers wide. (AGJ-11.010)
- (356) *Lí*<sup>3</sup> *tsón*<sup>12</sup> *chiénh*<sup>12</sup> *Diú*<sup>13</sup> *ca*<sup>2</sup> *hmøh*<sup>2</sup>.  
flower palm hold\TIS3 God one fistful  
God was holding one small sheaf of palm fronds. (TXT-37.904)
- (357) *Jmo*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *hmøh*<sup>2</sup>, *tí*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* *héh*<sup>1</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup>.  
make\TIP3 3 span deposit\TIsP3 3 measure wood  
He measures the wood by making hand spans. (MMM-02.011)

## 5.9 Quantifiers

Within the noun phrase, a QUANTIFIER precedes the head noun and may be a NUMERAL, a NONNUMERIC QUANTIFIER, or a QUANTIFIER PHRASE. An example of each is given in (358).

- (358) *jñie*<sup>1</sup> *jmai*<sup>3</sup> *hliúg*<sup>2</sup> *jmai*<sup>3</sup> *cøng*<sup>2</sup> *ñii*<sup>2</sup> *jmai*<sup>3</sup>  
eight day many\i day one year day  
‘one week’ ‘many days’ ‘an entire year’

Although a quantifier is strictly ordered within the noun phrase and may be considered adjunct to the noun head of the phrase, it may also stand alone as the sole reference to the entity that a head noun would otherwise name, or it may stand with other of the noun phrase constituents (Modifier, Deictic) in the absence of the noun head. Various combinations of noun phrase Constituents that include a quantifier are presented in (359)–(363).

- (359) *og*<sup>1</sup> *guing*<sup>2</sup> *quián*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *héi*<sup>2</sup>  
two\ a baby of\TAS3 3 Ana  
the two babies of said person (TXT-21.065)
- (360) *Ha*<sup>1</sup>*chii*<sup>2</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*chiángh*<sup>1</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*láh*<sup>1</sup> *jin*<sup>3</sup> *cøng*<sup>2</sup>.  
not\IIS3 Pst-fasten\IIC3 unto even one\i  
Not even one had adhered. (TXT-29.179)

(361) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋi<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup>            ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jò<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-go\C-ruin\IID3 all\3in    Impf-Prf-be\IIS3  
Everything that was (there) was destroyed. (TXT-05.297)

(362) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>chionh<sup>1</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jò<sup>1</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Pst-stick\IIC3 all\3in    of\TIS3 3  
 So his entire body got stuck. (TXT-04.115)

(363) Dsiñ<sup>3</sup>    hning cøng<sup>2</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup>.  
 tell\TIpI2 2s    one\i of\TIS1s  
 “Tell me one [a story]!” (TXT-25.079)

In the case of an NP consisting solely of Q and D, gender agreement is suspended. When the inanimate anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘the foregoing’ has a quantity as antecedent head within the NP, *jøng*<sup>2</sup> occurs both with inanimate and animate numerals, as in (364) and (365). The corresponding animate anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> is disallowed in this context.

(364) Cøng<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báñ<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>lóa<sup>12</sup>    municipio libre quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 one\i Ana\i Aff Impf-be\IIS3 township    of\TIS3 3  
 They had just that one township center. (TXT-34.034)

(365) Og<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báñ<sup>3</sup> jø<sup>2</sup> tsiñ<sup>2</sup>    ló<sup>2</sup>.  
 two\ a Ana\i Aff only youngster be\IIP3  
 There were just the two children only. (TXT-25.003)

NPs often occur in apposition to allow for the inclusion of all the desired information without overloading any one NP. In (366), taken from a traditional Chinantec narrative concerning King Herod’s attempt to kill the baby Jesus, the quantifier occurs in the first NP while Modifier and Deictic occur in the second.

(366) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>jñēh<sup>1</sup>            dsa jan<sup>2</sup> guing<sup>2</sup>, guing<sup>2</sup> dsiog<sup>1</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-Pst-kill\TAsC3 3 one\ a child child good\AIS3 Ana\ a  
 They did not kill one child, the good child. (TXT-09.064)

The structure of QUANTIFIER PHRASES has been described and will not be repeated here; but a brief presentation of nonnumeric quantifiers follows, and then Numerals and Numeral Systems will be discussed thereafter.

## 5.10 Nonnumeric Quantifiers

A nonnumeric QUANTIFIER references indefinite numbers of objects of various orders of magnitude. Typical nonnumeric quantifiers are listed in (367). Note that some of the nonnumeric quantifiers are actually quantitative verbs (Cf. §14.6).

- |  |             |  |                      |
|--|-------------|--|----------------------|
| (367) <i>ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup></i> | 'all\i'     | <i>mih<sup>2</sup></i>                 | 'few\IIS3, few\AIS3' |
| <i>ca'láh<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup></i>      | 'all\ə'     | <i>ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup></i> | 'much\i              |
| <i>hliúg<sup>2</sup></i>                       | 'many\IIS3' | <i>tsug<sup>2</sup></i>                | 'excessive\IIS3'     |
| <i>juen<sup>12</sup></i>                       | 'many\ə'    |  |                      |

A nonnumeric quantifier may be modified by an intensifying stative verb, as in (368).

- (368) *Juen<sup>12</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> jah dsø<sup>2</sup>lian<sup>1</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>hính<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.*  
 many\ə very animal return\AIpP3 go\P3-drink\TID3 water  
A great many animals go there to drink. (TXT-03.085)

## 5.11 Temporal and Locative Nouns

Of the many semantic parameters by which nouns can be subclassified, names for locations in time or space stand out as especially significant from a syntactic and distributional point of view. The noun *jmai<sup>3</sup>* 'day', for example, is a TEMPORAL NOUN of particular importance. It functions both as head of a quantifier phrase, with quantifier only and no postposed adjuncts, or as head of a DESCRIPTIVE NOUN PHRASE which is unique in not permitting a quantifier, as in (369)–(372).

- (369) *Jjie<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>13</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup>.*  
 eight day await\TAI1s 1s 2p  
 I will expect you in one week.

- (370) *Ca<sup>1</sup>tø<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>.*  
 Pst-reach\IIC3 one day  
One day passed.

- (371) *Ca<sup>1</sup>ηó<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> jmi<sup>2</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup>.*  
 Pst-pass\IIC3 day of\TIS3 spirit  
The festival of All Saints' passed.

- (372) *Ca<sup>1</sup>guú<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.*  
 Pst-sit\AIsC3 tightly Ana\ə day Pst-arrive\AIsC3 earth  
 That one did not budge from where she sat from the day she was born.

TOPONYMIC NOUNS, such as *jmøa<sup>1</sup>* 'river', name general topological features or names of specific villages, hills, or streams, and are encoded syntactically more often as Locatives than as

Subjects or Objects. They have typical noun morphology, including monosyllabic roots, tonic syllables preceded by pretonic classifiers, and multiword idioms. Toponyms as Locatives are illustrated in (373)–(374).

(373) Ma<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup> jni jmøa<sup>1</sup>.  
 Prf-come\back\AIC1s 1s river  
 I have been to the river.

(374) Tiogh<sup>3</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> máh<sup>2</sup>.  
 be\AIpS3 animal mountain  
 (Such) animals live in the forest.

For a more extensive list of toponymic words and phrases, see Merrifield 1966 or Appendix E of Merrifield and Anderson 1999; but a few examples of each of these morphological types is presented in (375)–(378).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (375) <i>Hieh</i> <sup>13</sup>  | ‘San Felipe de León’                      |
| <i>Hiég</i> <sup>3</sup>   | ‘Chiltepec [San José]’                    |
| <i>Hñoh</i> <sup>3</sup>   | ‘Yetla [San Mateo]’                       |
| <i>Jenh</i> <sup>13</sup>  | ‘Barrio [San Antonio del]’                |
| <i>Jinh</i> <sup>1</sup>   | ‘Usila [San Felipe]’                      |
| <i>Máh</i> <sup>2</sup>  | ‘Cerro Pita’                              |
| (376) <i>Gu<sup>2</sup>dsieg</i> <sup>3</sup>  | ‘Las Llagas [San Francisco]’              |
| <i>Jmø<sup>1</sup>dsag</i> <sup>1</sup>  | ‘Palantla [San Juan]’                     |
| <i>Ma<sup>1</sup>lag</i> <sup>3</sup>  | ‘Tuxtepec [San Juan Bautista]’            |
| <i>Mi<sup>2</sup>hie</i> <sup>12</sup>   | ‘Zapotitlán [San Juan]’                   |
| <i>Mø<sup>1</sup>hie</i> <sup>1</sup>  | ‘Valle Nacional [San Juan Bautista]’      |
| <i>Đii<sup>1</sup>jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup>  | ‘Mexico City’                             |
| (377) <i>Cøh<sup>3</sup>ñi</i> <sup>2</sup>  | ‘Tlatepuzco [San Pedro]’                  |
| <i>Cuú<sup>1</sup>dsiég</i> <sup>1</sup>   | ‘Oate [San Antonio]’                      |
| <i>Ha<sup>3</sup>dsí</i> <sup>3</sup>  | ‘Jacatepec [Santa María de la Asunción]’  |
| <i>Hag<sup>3</sup>Jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup>  | ‘Veracruz [Villa Rica de la (Vera Cruz)]’ |
| <i>Huu</i> <sup>13</sup> <i>cang</i> <sup>1</sup>                                    | ‘Tectitlán [San Esteban]’                 |
| <i>Jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>tsøn</i> <sup>12</sup>                                   | ‘Plan de las Flores’                      |
| (378) <i>Dsii<sup>3</sup>hløg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Møi<sup>1</sup>ñi</i> <sup>3</sup> | ‘México y Londres’                        |
| <i>Dsioh<sup>3</sup>Juøi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Tien</i> <sup>12</sup>                  | ‘Tepetotutla [Santa Cruz]’                |
| <i>Hu<sup>3</sup>tsag</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>Mah<sup>1</sup>guiéng</i> <sup>2</sup>     | ‘Arroyo Colorado’                         |
| <i>Jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Chian</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Guøh</i> <sup>3</sup>          | ‘Agua de Pescadito [San Rafael]’          |
| <i>Máh</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Dsii<sup>3</sup>Lah</i> <sup>3</sup>                      | ‘Santo Domingo’                           |
| <i>Ni<sup>3</sup>Jmøi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Điing</i> <sup>2</sup>                     | ‘Laguna [San Isidro]’                     |

A phenomenon common to many of the Otomanguean languages is also found in Chinantec, namely, that certain inalienable nouns—that name body parts—have a secondary deictic use akin to that of prepositions. We refer to such nouns as PREPOSITIONAL NOUNS, although they are not syntactically subordinating in the manner of prepositions, but simply occur as the head of a noun phrase with possessor following, as in (379) and (380).

(379) ná<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ron<sup>12</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> jein<sup>3</sup>  
 DIST<sup>1</sup> Aff lie\AIsS3 face\3 shelf  
 It is right there on the shelf.

(380) He<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>ηó<sup>1</sup> cah<sup>3</sup> hniú<sup>13</sup>  
 that! person Hod-go\AIsC3 back\3 house  
 He has gone to the bathroom (lit. behind the house).

The DIRECTIONAL NOUN *juu*<sup>12</sup> ‘road\3’ is a the third type of locative noun that occurs as the head of a noun phrase that occupies the Source-Goal position of a sentence with a motion or directional verb, as in (381)–(383).

(381) Dság<sup>12</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 go\AIsP3s 3 road\3 ground  
 She travels overland.

(382) Dság<sup>12</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup> tai<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 go\AIsP3 3 road\3 foot\3 3  
 She travels on foot.

(383) Dság<sup>12</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIsP3 3 road\3 where be\AIpS3 person  
 She travels through an area where people live.

## 5.12 Personal Names and other Vocative Nouns

All personal names are of Spanish origin, although nicknames are based on Chinantec roots or phrases. A few vocative nouns, other than names, are based on kinship terminology or general terms for man, woman, and child. Such words occur as the VOCATIVE CONSTITUENT of a sentence. An extended list of personal names may be found in Appendix F of Merrifield and Anderson 1999, but a representative list follows in (384).

(384) <i>Sóa</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Joseph’ (from José)
<i>Juøn</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Jane’ (from Juana)
<i>jong</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘child’
<i>tiá</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘father’
<i>hio</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘woman’
<i>guiuh</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Sir’
<i>tsih</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘kid, youngster’

Of significant cultural interest, Chinantec personal names were traditionally chosen from among short lists of names for every day of the calendar year, found in booklets of Roman Catholic Saints’ names. Moreover, males traditionally also bore the name ‘Joseph (*Sp. José*)’ in the form of the pretonic syllable *Sø*<sup>3</sup>, to mark them as males, and females traditionally also bore the name ‘Mary (*Sp. María*)’ in the pretonic form *Guii*<sup>3</sup>, to mark them as females. Typical examples of such names are listed in (385).

(385) <i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>nah</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Fernando’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>da</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Soledad’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>pla</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Plácido’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>fin</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Rufina’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>po</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Hipólito’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>len</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Magdalena’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>quie</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Esequías’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>lie</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Candelaria’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>quii</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Eucario’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>lióg</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Elodia’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>quie</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Zaqueo’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>me</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Salomé’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>rain</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Lorenzo’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>mei</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Clemencia’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Anastacio’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>níh</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Antonina’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tein</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Valentino’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>pe</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Petra’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tén</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Celestino’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>rain</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Aurelia’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tie</i> <sup>31</sup>	‘Santiago’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>siun</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘Concepción’
<i>Sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tín</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘Agustín’	<i>Guii</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>tei</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘Natividad’

Men and women may also have nicknames that are applied to them by their peers throughout their lives. A certain young man in Palantla in the late 1950s was dubbed *Quiu*<sup>3</sup> ‘thigh<sup>3</sup>’ when he was encountered with a young woman sitting on his lap (*ni*<sup>3</sup> *quiu*<sup>3</sup> *dsa*). Another was dubbed *Jme*<sup>3</sup> ‘skunk’ after reportedly trying to hide in a hole after being seen with a young woman at the edge of town. *Be*<sup>13</sup> *Meh*<sup>2</sup> ‘Little Bob’ was distinguished from *Be*<sup>13</sup> *Pan*<sup>13</sup> ‘Fat Bob’, but the former was also known by friends as *Be*<sup>13</sup> *Chiang*<sup>3</sup> ‘Brocket Deer Bob’ because of his renown as a hunter.

Personal names, like pronouns, reference specific entities in the real world and, consequently, differ syntactically from other nouns in not occurring with other noun phrase elements such as quantifiers, attributives, or deictics. Rather, they function syntactically more like full noun

phrases than as words that might be accompanied by other words within a noun phrase, not withstanding that they, themselves, may be morphologically simple. (Cf. Kroeger 2005:44 and others who, for these same reasons, treat names and pronouns as Phrasal Categories.)



## 6. Pronouns

In this brief chapter I introduce the personal pronouns and the reflexive pronouns. The limited focus here will be to document the semantic categories which distinguish the members of these two sets, and give a limited indication of where and how they occur within the syntax. A tentative discussion of the larger question of the anaphoric use of pronouns will close the chapter.

### 6.1 Personal Pronouns

Palantla Chinantec has five personal pronouns, which distinguish two categories of number (singular and plural) and which limit their reference to the interlocutors (first and second person). Pronouns occur as subjects, objects, and possessors—matching the grammatical behavior of noun phrases—without any inflectional marking or change of form to indicate grammatical roles or agreement relationships. Some pronouns do, however, share with certain nouns the trait of losing their tonicity (stress and tone) under certain syntactic and pragmatic conditions relating to focus and topicality; but this is a matter to be discussed more fully elsewhere in this study.

The first-person singular personal pronoun is *jní<sup>2</sup>* (1s). It occurs in its full, stressed form or in the phonologically-reduced post-tonic form *jni*, without contrastive stress or tone (§1.1). This pronoun names the speaker alone, as in (386)–(388).

(386) Dóh<sup>3</sup>    jní<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>quí<sup>13</sup>                      dsag<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning.  
because 1s   Hod-come\R-pay\TIR1s crime of2      2s  
Because I have just come from paying for your crime. (TXT-04.196)

(387) Ma<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup>                      jmøa<sup>1</sup>                      báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>.  
Prf-come=again\AIsC1s riverside=site Aff 1s  
I have been to the river. (TXT-29.267)

(388) Na<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup>                      jni na<sup>1</sup>.  
soon Prf-come=again\AIsC1s 1s soon  
I will return home soon. (TXT-45.008)

The second-person singular personal pronoun, in its full form is *hning<sup>2</sup>* (2s). It names a single addressee. When not in prominence, it may be reduced to unstressed and untuned *hning*, or even to -R, by which I mean to indicate an untuned, vocalic rearticulation of the vowel that immediately precedes it, as in *quíh<sup>2</sup>i* ‘eat!’. The phonologically reduced forms of this pronoun

only occur following verbs, nouns, or reflexive pronouns that are inflected for second person. Such inflection always includes glottal closure of the inflected syllable, with the result that -R only occurs in the sequence /ʔR/ (orthographic ‘hR’). It is also phonetically nasal following nasalization within the preceding tonic syllable, though the nasal ‘n’ is not repeated orthographically. In (389), the full form of the second-person pronoun occurs in a fronted position together with the reflexive pronoun and the Affirmation Modal *báh*<sup>3</sup>. It also occurs in reduced form following the verb. In (391) and (391), it occurs in its reduced form.

(389) Juúh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning  
 say\TII2 Aff 2s whether agree\AIS2 2s  
You (yourself) must say whether you are in agreement. (TXT-22.025)

(390) ǵHe<sup>2</sup> lánh<sup>12a</sup> mai<sup>31</sup>  
 what? be\TMP2-2s mother  
 What ails you, mother? (TXT-29.191)

(391) Tsa<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>1</sup> jnóh<sup>3ø</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup>  
 Neg-good fence\I2-2s animal  
You should not fence up the animals.

The first-person exclusive personal pronoun *jnieh*<sup>3</sup> (1x) names the speaker and one or more persons, whether present at the time of the speech act or not, who are not counted as addressees, as in (392)–(394). This pronoun does not have a phonologically reduced form.

(392) Juen<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> chian<sup>2</sup>.  
 many\A Aff 1x exist\AIS3  
 There are many of us (excl). (TXT-04.241)

(393) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lǝa<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> rǝ<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> guiag<sup>13</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-Pst-happen\IIC3 agreement of\lp 1x Ref\lp 1x  
We (excl) have already worked out an agreement between ourselves (excl). (TXT-23.058)

(394) Jǝng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> Adán, ángel báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>gag<sup>12</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, Tie<sup>3</sup>.  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 Adam angel Aff Pst-deceived\TNC3 1x Asv Father  
 Then Adam says, “Remember, Sir! It was an angel who deceived us (excl).” (TXT-38.063)

The first-person inclusive personal pronoun is *jniang*<sup>3</sup> (1i). It names both the speaker and at least one addressee, but may encompass any number of addressees and other persons associated with the speaker, even to the inclusion of all possible referents, as in (395)–(397). It has no reduced form.

(395) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tiáng<sup>2</sup> dsa jniang<sup>3</sup> coh<sup>13</sup> huái<sup>1</sup>.  
 Neg-Pst-abandon\TNsC3 3 li upstream\3 downstream\3  
 He has not discard us (incl) every which way. (TXT-23.213)

(396) Ma<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 Prf-know\AIS1p li how? be\IIP3 earth  
We (incl) already know what the world is like. (TXT-22.217)

(397) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>dsøg<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>  
 Pst-Act\C-asertain\AIS1p li  
We (excl) found out the truth. (TXT-23.205)

The second-person plural personal pronoun is *hniah*<sup>12</sup> (2p). It names one or more addressee, as in (398) and (399). It has no reduced phonological form.

(398) He<sup>2</sup> ñiih<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>13</sup> jmóh<sup>3</sup>o láh<sup>3</sup>.  
 whateverknow\AIS2 2p do\TII2-2 Rhet  
You (pl) will do whatever you (pl) can, right?. (TXT-22.111)

(399) Jñie<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>13</sup> jñi<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup>.  
 eight day await\TAIIs 1s 2p  
 I will be expecting you (pl) in one week. (TXT-22.308)

There is no third-person pronoun. The noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person, people’, which has all the characteristics of other nouns, also functions anaphorically like a third-person pronoun in its atonic form *dsa*, but this is true of any of several other nouns as well, nouns like *tsih*<sup>2</sup> ‘young person’ or *guiing*<sup>2</sup> ‘child’ (see chapter 18 for further discussion of atonic nouns and of the noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup>). Examples of atonic third person references are illustrated in (400)–(402).

(400) Hen<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa ñøa<sup>12</sup> dsa tan<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 drunk\AIS3Aff 3 walk\AIP3s 3 during celebration Ana\i  
He goes about drunk during that holiday. (TXT-28.025)

(401) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ñó<sup>12</sup> tsih ñii<sup>1</sup>téh<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>jon<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i go\AISp3 youngster go\I-call\TAD3 coparent\3 person Ana\i  
 So the youngster went to call that fellow's compadre. (TXT-02.032)

(402) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñáh<sup>1</sup> guiing ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> jming<sup>2</sup> guiing.  
 Pst-go=home\AISc3 child again to of\TIS3 father\3 child  
The child returned again to his father's house. (TXT-64.024)

Noun phrases with pronoun head are discussed in the chapter on relative clauses (§8.6).

## 6.2 Reflexive Pronouns

Whereas five personal pronouns name only nonthird-persons, with two singular pronouns (1s 2s) and three plural ones (1x 1i 2p), the reflexive pronoun presents a more symmetrical pattern with three singular forms and three plural forms to name the three person categories and the two number categories, as listed in (403). It is based on two suppletive roots, one singular and one plural, with each being inflected, in the manner of a verb or inalienable noun, for each of the three person categories.

(403) REFLEXIVES	1	2	3
singular	hɲiéng <sup>1</sup>	hɲiah <sup>1</sup>	hɲiah <sup>12</sup>
plural	guiag <sup>13</sup>	guiogh <sup>13</sup>	guiog <sup>13</sup>

Being inflected for person, the reflexive pronoun is normally followed by a personal pronoun or noun phrase which is in person-number agreement with it; although the personal pronoun, which provides no new information, may be suppressed, particularly when it is already present earlier in the sentence. The reflexive frequently occurs as an appositive to the first mention of a clause subject, as in (404)–(407), occurring in a variety of linear positions—adjacent to the subject pronoun, following the object noun, topicalized, and embedded in an adjunct clause.

(404) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa'tióh<sup>12</sup>      dsa guiog<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 but Neg-able\TIP3 3    Refl\3p 3  
 But they themselves are not able to do it. (TXT-37.130)

(405) jmo<sup>12</sup>      dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> guiog<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 make\TIP3 3    word Refl\3p 3  
They themselves make the arrangements. (TXT-23.049)

(406) ;Ju<sup>3</sup>    hɲiah<sup>1</sup>    hning juúh<sup>3</sup>    hning!  
 Opt    Refl\2s 2s    say\TII2 2s  
 May you yourself say it! (TXT-22.021)

(407) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>      ɲøa<sup>13</sup>      jni hi<sup>2</sup>    tē<sup>2</sup>      jni hɲiéng<sup>1</sup>.  
 Neg-exist\IIS3    walk\AII1s 1s    that\i know\TIS1s 1s    Refl\1s  
 I would not come on my own initiative. (TXT-22.282)

A reflexive pronoun may occur in any syntactic position a noun or personal pronoun may occur. In (407), it is seen in a very common role, functioning appositionally with the subject pronoun to emphasize the identity of the subject as the sole agent of the action named by the

verb. It may also occur directly as the first and only instance of a particular primary nominal, as in (408) and (409).

(408) Hŋiah<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ŋii<sup>12</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guó<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuóh<sup>1</sup> dsa jniang<sup>3</sup>  
 Refl\3s Aff God know\TIS3 how=much world Pst-give\TIC3 3 1i  
 It is God alone who decides how long he will let us live. (TXT-23.233)

(409) Díh<sup>3</sup> a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> hŋiéng<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 because Neg\IIS3 if offense owe\TIS1s Refl\1s 1s  
 Because it is not as though I myself were guilty. (TXT-29.330)

In (409), the expected subject reference *jni*, after *ren<sup>2</sup>* (*jni*) ‘I owe’ is null. Null reference is discussed more fully in §18); but all three permutations of sentence (409) in (410) are acceptable variations of null equi subject reference.

(410) Díh<sup>3</sup> a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> jni hŋiéng<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 Díh<sup>3</sup> a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> μ hŋiéng<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 Díh<sup>3</sup> a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> ren<sup>2</sup> jni hŋiéng<sup>1</sup> μ.

In (411), the third-person reflexive is subject of an allocation clause as alienable possessor; in (412), the first-plural reflexive is in apposition with an alienable possessor.

(411) Jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> hŋiah<sup>12</sup> dsa lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> jian<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 negotiate\TIP3 of\TIS3 Refl\3s 3 such\i with youth accompany\TAP3 3  
 He makes his own arrangements with his young companion. (TXT-23.002)

(412) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lóa<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> guiag<sup>13</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup>  
 Prf-Pst-be\IIC3 word true\IIS3 of\TIS1p 1x Refl\1p 1x  
 Agreement between we ourselves (excl) has been reached. (TXT-23.057)

Reflexives occur adverbially with the combining form *cu<sup>2</sup>* of the numeral *cøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘one’ to emphasize sole agency of an action, as in (413) and (414).

(413) La<sup>3</sup>jŋie<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> hŋiah<sup>12</sup>.  
 Non-heal\III3 Aff this alone\3s  
 It will just heal by itself. (TXT-29.225)

(414) Jøng<sup>2</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>jmó<sup>2</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>3</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> guiog<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i go\P3-arrange\TID3 Pst-reach\IIC3 house\3 3 where alone\3p 3  
 And he goes to her house to make arrangements by themselves. (TXT-23.006)

While the reflexive pronoun is normally used for emphasis as in the majority of examples given above, it can also be used in a truly reflexive sense to indicate that the action of the agent

is directed toward the agent him or herself. The only difference between the emphatic use of reflexives and their reflexive or reciprocal use is the voice of the verb, as in (415).

- (415) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>        dsa tøg<sup>2</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>    huø<sup>1</sup>,    juu<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>hog<sup>1</sup>        dsa guiog<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-make\TIC3 3    pit    beneath ground road where Pst-bury\IMC3 3    Refl\3p 3  
 They made caves under the earth, where they buried themselves. (TXT-10.025)

### 6.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative words are introduced and discussed in more detail in chapter 15; but as is true in many languages, Chinantec interrogative words used to form content (information) questions include interrogative pronouns words which stand in the place of one or another noun phrase as the focal point of the question. Chinantec has two interrogative words, one animate and one inanimate, or, if you wish, one interrogative word with inflection for gender. The interrogative word *he*<sup>2</sup> ‘what?’<sup>i</sup> inquires concerning the identity of an inanimate entity, whereas the interrogative word *hein*<sup>2</sup> ‘what?’<sup>a</sup> inquires concerning the identity of an animate entity. As in the case of the interrogative numeral mentioned in §15.5, and other interrogative words that will be introduced later, the interrogative words also have a relative function in embedded clauses. These matters are further detailed elsewhere in this study, but are here illustrated in (416)–(419).

- (416) ¿He<sup>2</sup>    hora    güen<sup>2</sup>        dsa<sup>2</sup>    hlanh<sup>3</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>?  
 what? hour    sleep\AIP3    person bad\AIS3    Ana\ a  
At what hour does that evil fellow sleep? (TXT-09.031)

- (417) Diih<sup>3</sup>        hning<sup>2</sup> he<sup>2</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>jmo<sup>3</sup>        hning.  
 know\TIS2 2s        what    Prf-Hod-do\TIC2    2s  
 You know what you have done. (TXT-03.337)

- (418) Hein<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsóg<sup>3</sup>        jniang<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>    hiá<sup>1</sup>.  
 who? of\3in    go\AIP1p li        also    tomorrow  
Whose field will go cut tomorrow? (TXT-03.102)

- (419) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>        hi<sup>2</sup>    ñii<sup>12</sup>        dsa    hein<sup>2</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    ió<sup>1</sup>.  
 not-be\IIS3    that<sup>i</sup> know\TIS3 3    who    person D2\ a  
 They never found out who it was.

## 7. The Clause

### 7.1 A Typological Note on Ergativity

In a perfect world, the term *ERGATIVE* would not appear in a discussion of Tlapepuzcan syntax. Nor for that matter would the term *NOMINATIVE*. Tlapepuzcan Chinantec marks neither. Though these concepts are of true typological importance in some languages, I have come to believe that they have no relevance for the discussion of Chinantec. Having skirmished briefly with a few Mayan languages in an earlier life (Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Lacandón), when this topic entered the typological arena not so very many years ago, I thought otherwise; but after further consideration, I now publicly repent of that view. In science, a fiction should be useful. I believe this one would only tend to detract from the real structure of the Chinantec language.

Does Chinantec distinguish gender for intransitive subjects and transitive object? Sure. Are not one-term verbal expressions likely to entail both animate and inanimate referents found in the real world, and are two-term verbal expressions not likely to entail both animate and inanimate real-world referents in some sort of ‘undergoer’ role that may be assigned to a object category in syntax? There you go. But that is the same real-world context all human languages relate to (with minor cultural adjustments). It says nothing about how individual languages mark such matters.

It is true that Chinantec animacy tends to be loosely related to a certain phonological feature (nasalization). It would not be wrong to claim that animacy is a marked category in Chinantec, at least in some historical sense. It is not true, however, that intransitive subjects are marked in any special way, based on animacy or anything else that particularly aligns them with subjects or objects of transitives, unless it is that all subjects tend to follow verbs in VSO nonfocal order.

Yes, Chinantec subjects are marked for person in verbal inflection. For animate intransitive and most transitive verbs. This is not a mark of nominativeness; it is an artifact of the real world where interlocutors are always (at least treated as) animate.

Chinantec verbal roots may be distinguished as to transitivity and voice, but Chinantec has no passive construction whatsoever, as generally defined, and much less an antipassive construction. The two active clauses in (420), express the equivalent of a passive but without unique grammar.

- (420) Ca<sup>1</sup>canh<sup>1</sup> dsa, hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-fall\AIC3 3 that\i Pst-cause\TIC3 person evil\AIS3  
 He fell down; evil men caused it. (TXT-63.008)

A third-person direct object may not be directly added to the expression *ca<sup>1</sup>jmóngh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup>* ‘the devil harmed (something)’, except by an oblique inanimate allocation clause, as in (421), which is as close as one can get in Tlatepuzcan to an antipassive. But this non-expressed object verb (TN) is merely a part of a broad inventory of inflectional possibilities that has nothing at all to do with subjects of transitives being redefined as subjects of intransitives, which is never done in Chinantec for lack of any grammatical apparatus by which to do so.

- (421) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmóngh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> lí<sup>3</sup> tsón<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-harm\TNC3 person evil\AIS3 of\TIS3 flower palm  
 The devil caused harm to the palm fronds. (TXT-37.901)

A root may be active or middle but this fact does not speak for or against ergativity. The two verbs *jlán<sup>2</sup>* ‘cover\TMP3’ and *dsiánh<sup>2</sup>* ‘send-back\TIP3’ in (422) and (423) are both transitive inanimate and identically inflected throughout their verbal paradigms, but one is middle and one is not. The semantic roles entailed by such individual Chinantec verb roots are based completely in the lexicon with no predictable morphological or syntactic concomitants.

- (422) Jlanh<sup>3</sup> hning mu<sup>3</sup>si<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dság<sup>12</sup> jmóa<sup>12</sup>.  
 cover\TMP2 2s plastic=sheet day when rain\IIP  
You cover yourself with plastic when it rains. (BJM-03.024)

- (423) Mi<sup>3</sup>dsiánh<sup>13</sup> jni sí<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>hiúg<sup>3</sup> jni jmo<sup>12</sup> jni ta<sup>3</sup> ñii<sup>1</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Impf-send-back\TIP1s 1s letter home\1s when Impf-be\AIS1s 1s work\TIP1s Oaxaca  
I used to send letters back home when I was working in the city of Oaxaca. (MJA-03.010)

This is not to say that there were no discrete historical sources for the complexities of today’s verbal paradigms; but no one has yet come close to seriously unraveling this complexity in modern Chinantec languages. Pointing to scanty hints of the past distorts the present. We should search for the past. It’s fun. But we should not misrepresent current structure.

This chapter focuses on clauses and not on the syntax of narratives which is dealt with in chapters 18–20, but in regard to ergativity, sequences of clauses in Chinantec narrative tend to entail special signaling when a topic-subject changes from one participant to another. In the absence of ergative or accusative morphology it seems to me to beg the question that a tendency to persistence in subject reference is a feature of accusative syntax. Enough said.



## 7.2 Primary Constituents

The primary constituents of a Tlapepuzcan clause are the PREDICATE and its TERMS—the nominal constituents it cross-references. The prototypical Predicate, as the word is used in this study, is a VERB (not a verb and one or more terms as some linguists employ it). Tlapepuzcan Chinantec is a VSO language. In default order, the predicate comes first in its clause, followed by from one to three cross-referenced (or controlled) nominal terms. These nominal terms, depending upon the degree of transitivity of the Predicate, are SUBJECT, transitive OBJECT or ditransitive FIRST OBJECT, and ditransitive SECOND OBJECT, normally in that order. Transitivity and Gender were discussed in §2.1, but by way of reminder, the follow series of prototypical active sentences illustrates the range of TRANSITIVITY and GENDER distinctions. Differences in VOICE have also been described in §2.3, but will not be further elaborated here.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(424) Inanimate Intransitive</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>con<sup>12</sup>      cuøi<sup>2</sup>.</p> <p>Pst-grow\IIC3    maize</p> <p>The corn grew.</p>  | <p>Animate Intransitive</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>cuøin<sup>1</sup>      dsøi<sup>2</sup>.</p> <p>Pst-flee\AIC3    dog</p> <p>The dog fled.</p>  |
| <p>(425) Transitive Inanimate</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>rang<sup>1</sup>      dsa    hmøah<sup>12</sup></p> <p>Pst-wash\TIC3    3    cloth</p> <p>She washed the clothes.</p>  | <p>Transitive Animate</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>lân<sup>1</sup>      dsa    tan<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Pst-become\TAC3    3    bird</p> <p>He turned into a bird.</p>                                |
| <p>(426) Ditransitive Inanimate</p> <p>Búh<sup>2</sup>      dsa    ñí<sup>3</sup> tói<sup>2</sup>    mõi<sup>1</sup>cuuh<sup>2</sup>.</p> <p>strike\DIP3    3    machete    Cls-gourd</p> <p>He strikes the gourd with the flat of his machete.</p> | <p>Ditransitive Animate</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>cuøh<sup>1</sup>      dsa    dsa<sup>2</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p>Pst-give\DAP3    3    3    land</p> <p>They gave them the land.</p>       |
| <p>(427) Nonexpressed Transitive</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>tøa<sup>1</sup>      Guiuh<sup>13</sup> Sòa<sup>13</sup>.</p> <p>Pst-call\TNC3    Mr. Joe</p> <p>Mr. Joe called (someone).</p>  | <p>Nonexpressed Ditransitive</p> <p>Ca<sup>1</sup>tseih<sup>1</sup>      Juøn<sup>13</sup> si<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Pst-sent\DNP3    John    letter</p> <p>John sent (someone) the letter.</p> |

Verbs and verbal idioms that may occupy the predicate of the clause have been described in detail in chapters 2–4 and 14. The various types of nominals which may occur as terms of the predicate are discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 18. There is no category INDIRECT OBJECT apart from ditransitive verbs that cross-reference both a first and second object (§2.1) and the adjunct allocation nominal discussed in the section that follows.

### 7.3 The Allocation Nominal

The range of nominal devices that may function as nominals in clauses to reference objects and participants in narrative is presented in chapter 18; but the Allocation Clause, with allocation verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ (and related inflectional forms) as predicate, merits special mention here, though further elaborated in §14.1. Its structure is also presented and discussed in §5.3, in regard to its role in expressing possession within the noun phrase. Inasmuch as most noun phrase constituents may stand as nominals in lieu of a noun head (*Cf* §5), it is not new information to find that the allocation clause may function directly as a clause nominal.

In both (428) and (429), for example, allocation clauses function as inanimate subjects of inanimate intransitive verbs in the absence of overt subject nouns. The unexpressed noun of (428) is known from context to be *hmøah*<sup>12</sup> *jóg*<sup>2</sup> ‘dress’; the unexpressed noun of (429) does not actually occur in the immediate linguistic context but our real-world knowledge suggests that it corresponds to something like *jmø<sup>2</sup>ηó*<sup>12</sup> ‘body’. What is of significance in this second sentence is reference to animate persons (we swell up) by means of an inanimate expression.

(428) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>hian<sup>12</sup>          quiah<sup>12</sup>    jiu<sup>3</sup>.  
 Neg-Pst-finish\IIC3 of\TIS3 armadillo  
 Armadillo’s (cornfield) was not completed. (TXT-42.018)

(429) Li<sup>1</sup>guieng<sup>2</sup>          quián<sup>2</sup>    jniang<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cøgh<sup>2</sup>          mih<sup>12</sup>.  
 Act\I-swollen\IIS3 of\TIS1p 1i          if          Pst-chew\TIC3 wasp  
 Our (bodies) swell up if we are bit by a wasp. (BJM-01.044)

But there is more to be said here on the use of the allocation clause. It may also function as an adjunct nominal, not governed by the main verb of the clause. Our focus here is this use of the inanimate allocation clause, as nominal adjunct, to express an underlying animate reference.

First note that an allocation clause may function as inanimate object term as well as subject. In (430), an allocation clause ‘of someone’ expresses a transitive inanimate object; in (431), the allocation clause ‘of a hog’ expresses a second ditransitive (inanimate) object. The semantic force of both, however, is animate.

(430) Høh<sup>12</sup>          cøh<sup>13</sup> uu<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>cong<sup>12</sup> jah.  
 stab\TIP3 lizard          of\TIS3 3 with tail\3 animal  
 The lizard [a certain species, reportedly] stings a person with its tail. (AEA-02.035)

- (431) Ca<sup>1</sup>tsíh<sup>1</sup>        dsa    ɲi<sup>3</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    ɲié<sup>12</sup>.  
          Pst-slit\DIC3    3    tool   of\TIS3   hog  
          He slit open the hog with a knife.

Now, examine illustrations (432) and (433). In both cases, transitive inanimate verbs govern only a single object, with the result that a second object must be oblique, which the allocation clause accomplishes.

- (432) Tsa<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>1</sup> jmó<sup>3</sup>        jniang<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ɲái<sup>13</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    bong<sup>3</sup> cah<sup>3</sup>.  
          bad\IIS3   make\TII1p li        joke        of\TIS3   person   hunchback\3  
          It is wrong to make fun of a hunchbacked person. (DCT-05)

- (433) Cuø<sup>1</sup>        dsa    ni<sup>1</sup>ɲi<sup>3</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>        dsa<sup>2</sup>        jmo<sup>12</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    hlaih<sup>13</sup>.  
          give\TII3 3    jail    of\TIS3        person   do\TIP3    that\i   bad\TIS3  
          They will put in jail evildoers. (AGJ-02 004)

There is no ditransitive form of the verb *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘make\TIP3’ that occurs in illustration (432), so there is no other choice for adding a nominal apart from using an allocation clause. In the case of the verb *cuø*<sup>12</sup> ‘give\TIP3’ in (433), however, there is a ditransitive animate form *cuóh*<sup>12</sup> ‘give\DAP3’ which, in this context could yield something on the order of ‘they put them in jail’. The problem here, however, is that the animate object is a fairly heavy noun phrase ‘persons who do bad things’. In a ditransitive animate clause, the animate object comes first, followed by the inanimate object. This becomes clumsy if the first of these is too complex. The solution is to revert to the transitive form of (433), and allow the animate reference to follow as an oblique inanimate expression.

A different situation is found in the sentence illustrated in (434), where an animate reference is presented, obliquely and inanimately, with the transitive inanimate verb *bá*<sup>2</sup> ‘strike\TIP3’, for which there is no ditransitive animate form to allow the second object to be directly encoded as a term.

- (434) Ca<sup>1</sup>bá<sup>2</sup>        dsa    hma<sup>2</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    møh<sup>2</sup>    mi<sup>3</sup>guó<sup>13</sup>        jø<sup>3</sup>cuøi<sup>2</sup>.  
          Pst-strike\TIC3 3    stick   of\TIS3   snake   Impf-sit\AIsS3   cornfield  
          He struck the snake that was in his cornfield with a stick. (MJA-03 031)

There is, however, a ditransitive inanimate form *búh*<sup>2</sup> ‘strike\DIP3’, as shown above in (426) which could, presumably, be dropped right into the sentence in (434), in place of *bá*<sup>2</sup>, without other changes, resulting in ‘the snake that was in the cornfield’ being a term of the ditransitive verb. There is no problem with the word order as there would be in (433) with a ditransitive animate verb, because when both objects are inanimate, it is the instrument-like noun that occurs

first, ‘the stick’ in this instance. Yes, this can be done, but Occam, perhaps, has intervened. The less inflected verb *bá*<sup>2</sup> does the same work that the more heavily inflected *búh*<sup>12</sup> might do. One more triumph for Simplicity.

Now, in (435), we see the verb *cuø*<sup>12</sup> ‘give\TIP3’ again, that has no ditransitive form; but in this case we are surprised to find the oblique object preceding the object governed by the verb.

(435) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>1</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> jang<sup>3</sup> ton<sup>1</sup> jang<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup>.  
 not\IIS3 give\TII3 3 of\TIS3 few word household-goods  
 No one will give up what he owns with only a short discussion. (TXT-022.140)

There are perhaps two or three factors involved. First, both objects are somewhat ‘heavy’. Either one might be moved to the end based on its length, although the oblique object is, in fact, the heavier of the two. Second, the oblique object plays the instrumental role in the clause and, at least with intransitive ditransitive verbs, the instrumental constituent normally precedes the second object. But a third factor may be the most important in this case. Unlike the oblique object in (433), the governed object in (435)—whether this specific phrase (household goods) or something shorter (such as ‘money’)—can easily occur followed by a possessor in the form of an allocation clause (money of ...). If this term were to precede the oblique nominal that begins with ‘of’, decoding would be more difficult. The hearer might start down a wrong interpretive path and have to back up to reinterpret a supposed noun possessor as a nominal clause adjunct.

## 7.4 The Association Nominal

The preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ may introduce a nominal adjunct to a clause, not cross-referenced by the verb, with comitative or instrumental force. In §9.8, *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ is introduced as a preposition; but in §14.2, the strong verbal properties that underlie its use in other contexts as the transitive verb *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘accompany\TMS3’ are shown. But treating *quianh*<sup>13</sup> in its prepositional functions as a verb in the contemporary Tlatepuzcan language provides no special insight into modern Chinantec syntax; the prepositional analysis is quite sufficient for the discussion of its occurrence as a nominal adjunct that is not cross-referenced by the main verb within a clause. The association nominal is, therefore, treated here as a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ and its nominal partner.

This prepositional phrase is comitative or instrumental, with a strong correlation between the gender of the nominal partner and these two roles. As instrument, the partner of the preposition is normally inanimate, as in (436)–(440).

- (436) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> espada jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-do\TIC3 John war with\i espada Ana\i  
 John battled with that sword. (TXT-09.139)
- (437) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> jni hi<sup>3</sup> ñih<sup>1</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> tah<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-do\TIC1s 1s bread with brown=sugar  
 I made bread with brown sugar. (AGJ-01.054)
- (438) Quianh<sup>13</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup> hieih<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa cang<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup>.  
 with nostril\3 Aff 3 breathe\TIP3 people air  
 People breathe through their nostrils. (MJM-07.051)
- (439) Tsa<sup>1</sup>hieí<sup>1</sup> dsa dság<sup>1</sup> dsa ni<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-embrace\TII3 3 go\AIsI3 3 town=hall with willingness  
 He will not agree to go to the town hall willingly. (DB-05.036)
- (440) Ca<sup>1</sup>hói<sup>2</sup> dsa hmøah<sup>12</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-hang\TIC3 3 cloth with one\i nighttime  
 He hung up the cloth in a single night. (TXT-41.050)

In a comitative role, the nominal partner of the preposition is normally animate, as in (441)–(444). It is not uncommon for the prepositional phrase to occur with and follow the manner complementizer *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such\i’ (§17.10), as in (442) and (443).

- (441) Nei<sup>3</sup> jni quianh<sup>13</sup> hnég<sup>1</sup>.  
 go\AIs1s 1s with 2s  
 I will go with you. (TXT-05.018)
- (442) Tiogh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup>, láh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jóin<sup>3</sup>.  
 reside\AIP3 Aff child of\TAS3 3 there hell such\i with weasel  
 She had children there, in hell, with the weasel. (TXT-07.152)
- (443) Dóh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> dsie<sup>12</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 so Ana\i discuss\DIP3 such\i with woman of\TAS3 3  
 So then he discusses the matter with his wife. (TXT-22.002)
- (444) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa hning<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-make\TIC3 3 war all\3a 3 with people Ana\i  
 All of them waged war against those people.

As indicated in all of the preceding illustrations, the association nominal normally follows a verb and its terms. But it may also occur in a fronted topical position, as in (445) and (446).

- (445) Quianh<sup>13</sup> hmøah<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsonh<sup>1</sup> hning na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup>  
 with cloth Ana\i that\i rub\TMI2 2s when Prf-Pst-reach\IIC3

ja<sup>3</sup> húh<sup>13</sup> hning jmø<sup>3</sup>ηií<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.

when enter\AIsI2 2s molten=metal Ana\i

It is with that towel that you must rub yourself when it is time for you to plunge into the molten metal. (TXT-11.813)

(446) Quianh<sup>13</sup> Blancaflor báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jénh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup>.

with White=flower Aff Pst-marry\TIC3=again 3 Ana\i

It was with White Flower that he now got married again. (TXT-47.491)

## 7.5 Optionality of Nominals

All nominals cross-referenced by a verb need not be overtly expressed in every clause, although the subject nominal is the least likely to be absent. There are, however, no subjectless verbs in Tlatepuzcan Chinantec. Without attempting to address here the narrative or syntactic constraints on the occurrence of specific nominals, I have chosen one ditransitive animate verb, *ηai*<sup>12</sup> ‘ask/answer\DAP3’, to illustrate the range of optionality of the occurrence of its terms.

The ditransitive animate verb *ηai*<sup>12</sup> ‘inquire\DAP3’ cross-references a subject and two objects, one animate and one inanimate, as in (447), where the three nominals are *dsa*, *dsa*<sup>2</sup>, and *jóg*<sup>3</sup>, respectively.

(447) Dai<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>12</sup> dsa.

ask\DAP3 3 someone word if whatever one\i that\i not-know\TIS3 3

He asks someone about it if there is something he does not know. (MJA-02.016)

But not all of these nominals are always expressed. No term is expressed in (448); only the two objects are expressed in (449), but not the subject, although the verbal inflection in both cases is nonthird person, most probably first plural, subject. The absence of the subject is unusual and related to the presence of directional and activating prefixes in these two cases.

(448) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ηii<sup>2</sup>ηai<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>3</sup>.

that\i Ana\i go\P-ask\DAD1p Rhet

Therefore, (we) go ask, right? (TXT-22.074)

(449) Li<sup>1</sup>ηai<sup>3</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> tøh<sup>1</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> guing.

able\I-ask\TID3 child where desire\AIS3 child

The child needs to be asked where his desire lies. (TXT-22.005)

In (450), only subject and the animate first object are expressed, in two appositive clauses; in (451), only the inanimate object is expressed along with the subject, twice in the form of indirect questions, indicating that *ηai*<sup>12</sup> is an utterance verb.

(450) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ηai<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>, ηai<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> quiuh<sup>12</sup> ηii<sup>3</sup>.

Ana\i ask\DAP3 3 someone ask\DAP3 3 person strike\TIP3 metal

Then she asked someone, she asked the person who was ringing the bell. (TXT-47.337)

(451) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋi<sup>1</sup>ŋai<sup>13</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa, ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> lé<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-go\C-ask\DAD3 3 again how? do\TII3 3 how? be\III3  
 He went to ask again what he should do, what should be done. (TXT-05.308)

In (452), where all three nominals are expressed, the inanimate second object is a direct quotation.

(452) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ŋai<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>, he<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni,  
 Ana\i ask\DAP3 3 someone how! Aff woman of\TAS1s 1s  
 ĩTsa<sup>3</sup>na<sup>2</sup>janh<sup>3</sup> hning dsa?  
 Neg-Interr-Hod-see\TAC2 2s 3  
 So he asked someone, “That wife of mine! Have you seen her?” (TXT-05.285)

Finally we find the allocation clause, in (453), functioning as goal of a mildly injunctive second person directional form of *ŋai*<sup>12</sup>, while goal is unexpressed in (454) with only subject and inanimate object present.

(453) Ió<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>ŋaih<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> quiuh<sup>12</sup> ŋi<sup>3</sup>.  
 D2 go\I2-inquire\DAD2 of\TIS3 person strike\TIP3 bell  
 Go over there and inquire of the person who is ringing the bell. (TXT-47.374)

(454) Na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>1</sup>ŋai<sup>3</sup> jni ca<sup>2</sup> jang<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>.  
 Hod-come\C-ask\DAD1s 1s one\i rung word  
 I have come to inquire concerning a small matter. (TXT-22.046)

I will have more to say about the presence and absence of nominals in narrative, in chapters 18–20.

## 7.6 Manner Adverbials

Beyond Predicate and Nominals, a clause may contain various kinds of Adverbial Adjuncts to place a predication and its terms in context. The two primary kinds of adverbial constituents are Manner and Locative Adverbials, the latter divided between spatial and temporal locatives.

A Manner adjunct may be a simple adverb, as in (455), some of which always occur preceding the predicate while others always follow (chapter 12). Otherwise, terms and adjuncts, tend to follow the predicate in unmarked position, including manner adjuncts; but it would seem that manner adjuncts often tend to be focal when used and are, for this reason, frequently found in fronted position preceding the predicate, as in (456).

(455) Ja<sup>12</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>dsiogh<sup>1</sup>.  
 much Neg-good\AIS2  
 You are so evil! (TXT-09.251)

(456) Láh<sup>1</sup> dsóh<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>2</sup>lian<sup>2</sup> jmi<sup>2</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup>.  
 truly return-home\AIpP3 spirit  
 The spirits (of deceased persons) really do return home. (TXT-28.051)

In (457)–(460), typical manner adjuncts follow the predicate; in (461) and (462) typical manner adjuncts precede the predicate.

(457) Jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa cøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jéinh<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> juøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 do\TIP3 3 one\i that\i return\IIP3 work town  
 They worked regularly at town work. (APS-01.005)

(458) Mi<sup>3</sup>tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsa cøng<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>.  
 Impf-be\AIpS3 3 one\i word  
 They had been in agreement. (TXT-34.152)

(459) Hniuh<sup>12</sup> ñii<sup>1</sup>nio<sup>1</sup> dsa ta<sup>1</sup> huø<sup>3</sup> ron<sup>12</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>.  
 needed\IIS3 walk\AIpI3 3 quietly lie\IIsS3 such\i Ana\i Aff  
 People need to go along very carefully like that. (TXT-18.062)

(460) Lø<sup>2</sup>dsøh<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>12</sup> guiing<sup>2</sup> píh<sup>3</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 Act\P-sick\AIS3 much\IIS3 infant tiny\ə of\TAS1p 1i  
 Our little children get real sick. (AGJ-01.093)

(461) Hmóh<sup>3</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> lán<sup>2</sup> dsa hning<sup>2</sup>.  
 costly\IIS3 very extremely buy\TAI3 3 2s  
 He will pay you extremely well. (TXT-25.132)

(462) Cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñó<sup>1</sup> ñá<sup>12</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>ñó<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 entirely Non Pst-go\AIsC3 crazy\AIS3 such\i Ana\i Aff 3 Pst-go\AIsC3 3  
Completely crazy like that and going about aimlessly he left. (TXT-09.281)

## 7.7 Spatial Locatives

Locative constituents are oblique nonterms that express location or direction of a predication in space or time. Some subordinating elements may function similarly to express both spatial and temporal location, based on the lexical force of a particular subordinated partner. Multiple expressions of location within a clause may occur together or separated and with expressions of either spatial or temporal location preceding the other. They normally follow terms and other nominals but can also occur at the beginning of clauses when in focus. Spatial locatives are presented first in this section and temporal locatives are presented in the next section.

Spatial locatives take the form of spatial locative adverbs (§12.5), prepositional phrases (§9), spatial locative noun phrases (§5.11), and subordinate locative clauses (§10.4).



A typical directional adverb formed on the unstressed preposition *tø¹* ‘to’ is illustrated in (463) with directional form of the verb *lòh¹²* ‘bathe\AIP3’. In (464), the adverb *ca³hniú¹³* ‘outside’, which can also reference going out to the bathroom or stepping out-of-bounds in a sporting event, occurs with the lexically directional verb *u²hai¹²* ‘exit\AIsP3’, following the subject term and preceding a comitative adjunct. The adverb *uóin²* ‘far\IIS3’ is an affirmed and fronted locative with the orientation verb (§14.5) *ron¹²* ‘be\IIS3’.

(463) Na²u³lioh¹³                      jni    tø¹ huái¹  
 Pst-come\R-bathe\AIC1s 1s    downstream\Prx  
 I have just come back from having gone and bathed downstream a ways.

(464) Ca¹u¹hái¹                      lo¹³                      dsa² guigh²    ca³hniú¹³ cu¹ dsié¹² quianh¹³ guing² quián¹²    dsa.  
 PST-exit\AIsC3 daughter-in-law\3 elderly=woman outside together with child of\TAS3 3  
 The old woman’s daughter-in-law went outside together with her children. (TXT-29.274)

In (465), a stative verb with locative force occurs as a spatial locative adjunct in affirmed and fronted focus.

(465) Uóin²    báh³ ron¹²    dsieg² cuøi² quieg¹.  
 far\IIS3 Aff be\IIS3 field maize of\TIS1s  
 My corn field is far away. (AEA-02.034)

The directional noun *juu¹²* ‘road, path’ is commonly used as head of a locative noun phrase with verbs of motion to introduces all manner of directionals, as in (466) and (467).

(466) Ca¹ηó¹    dsa juu¹² sih².  
 go\AIsC3 3 road other\IIS3  
 She went somewhere else. (AGJ-03.096)

(467) Ca¹láh¹ jó¹ jmai³ báh³ ηøa¹²                      hieg² juu¹² ja³    jní²    ta³ cøng² ni³    jmø¹guói¹.  
 daily Aff traverse\AIsP3 sun path where see\IIP3 entire over\3 earth  
 Every day the sun moves in plain view across the face of the earth. (AGJ-10.012)

A locative phrase such as *ta¹ láh¹ cah³* ‘backside\3’, that my express spatial location, as in (468), expresses instrumentality in (469), where its inalienable possessor is a person’s hand.

(468) Ta¹ láh¹ cah³ hniú¹² quieg¹    jni tsih¹²                      hniú¹² quiah¹² roh¹²    jni.  
 behind\3 house of\TIS1s 1s stand\IIsP3 house of\TIS3 kinsman\1s 1s  
Behind my own home stand that of my kinsman. (LJA-01.032)

(469) Ta¹ láh¹ cah³ gu¹    báh³ jní² ca¹jnóh¹                      jni ni³    hio¹³ ná¹².  
 backside\3 hand\1s Aff 1s Pst-slap\DIC1s 1s face\3 woman D1\3  
It was with the back of my hand that I struck that lady in the face. (AGJ-07.023)

The conjunction *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where’ introduces a subordinate locative clause which may precede or follow the predicate and its terms, as in

- (470) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>güen<sup>2</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>togh<sup>12</sup> dsa jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-sleep\AIC3 3 where Pst-put-into\DApC3 3 animal  
 And he went to sleep there where he stashed his fish. (TXT-01.007)
- (471) Ja<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>quian<sup>12</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>jlói<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> moh<sup>13</sup> høg<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup>.  
 where lying=down\AIS3 3 Ana\i Pst-cover\TNC3 jaguar foliage many\i very  
There where he lay, the jaguar covered (him) with a whole lot of foliage. (TXT-01.019)

## 7.8 Temporal Locatives

While the conjunction *ja*<sup>3</sup> is most often used in spatial reference, it is also used to express location in time. In the following sequence of two sentences from oral tradition concerning the creation of the world, the summation in (472) is provided to show the context of a *ja*<sup>3</sup> locative that has temporal rather than spatial reference in the sentence that follows it, presented as (473). The spatial temporal adjunct in (472) is a noun phrase with the temporal noun *jmai*<sup>3</sup> ‘day’ as head.

- (472) Na<sup>1</sup>, hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> huu<sup>2</sup> neng<sup>2</sup> lál<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> si<sup>2</sup>.  
 now that\i Pst-go\C-ruin\IID3 earth day dark night such\i with fire  
 Now then, the earth was destroyed by fire in the Age of Darkness. (TXT-27.006)
- (473) Ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>táh<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lál<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 when Pst-go\C-fall\IIsD3 Ana\i Pst-go\C-ruin\IID3 unto with water  
When that had taken place then, the earth was destroyed by water. (TXT-27.007)

The conjunctions *mi*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (past)’ and *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (subsequent)’ are the primary temporal subordinators of Tlapepuzcan Chinantec, as illustrated in (474) and (475).

- (474) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>, jøng<sup>2</sup> tei<sup>3</sup> na<sup>2</sup>ron<sup>12</sup> jni ni<sup>3</sup> jein<sup>3</sup>.  
 when Pst-arrive=there\AIsC3 jaguar Ana\i quietly Hod-lie\AIsC1s 1s on\3 bed  
When the jaguar arrived there, I lay very still on my bed. (TXT-01.069)
- (475) Jan<sup>3</sup> jni na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 lodge\AII1s 1s when Prf-come=again\AIsC1s 1s  
 I will stay here, when I come back. (TXT-11.009)

Prepositions of time and adverbs of time also function as temporal clause adjuncts, as in (476) and (477).

- (476) Ta<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>1</sup>jní<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>1</sup> chieh<sup>3</sup> dsú<sup>2</sup>.  
 to ja<sup>1</sup>-come\I3-see\IID3 crow\AIP3 chicken male\AIS3  
 The rooster crows at dawn. (PVP-01.021)

- (477) Dóh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa hiá<sup>1</sup> hiég<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 so Anaì Neg-say\TII3 3 tomorrow day=after=tomorrow not-know\TIS3 3  
 So then they will not say later on that they were uninformed. (TXT-23.149)

## 7.9 The Vocative Constituent

The speaker may address his hearer(s) directly by adding a vocative constituent to any expression. When introduced into a clause (or any such expression) it may occur at the beginning, as in (478), but is statistically more often found later or at the very end of an expression.

- (478) Guiuh<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, hio<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, na<sup>2</sup>já<sup>12</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Sir say\TIP3 3 Madam say\TIP3 3 Hod-come\AIP1p 1x  
 “Sir”, they say, “Madam,” they say, “we have come.” (TXT-23.116)

The vocative element itself may be a third-person personal name or vocative noun §5.12 even though the second person is addressed, or either of the second-person pronouns may be used vocatively. The verb may be inflected for one or another of the interlocutors, first or second person, as in (478) and (479), or may be a third-person expression, as in the second verb of (481).

- (479) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>jon<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>, ¡Hén<sup>2</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup>, Cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup>!  
 thatì Anaì say\TIP3 coparent\3 3 again forgive\TI! cofather  
 So his compadre said again, “Forgive her, compadre!” (TXT-01.168)
- (480) “¿Ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> jmoh<sup>2</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>, Cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup>,” juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, “hiug<sup>12</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> léh<sup>2</sup> hning jáh<sup>2</sup>?”  
 how? do\TIP2 2s cofather say\TIP3 3 strong\IIS3 such\ì bag\TAI2 2s animal  
 “What do you do, compadre,” he said, “to catch so many animals?” (TXT-06.005)
- (481) ¡Nung<sup>2</sup>, Juøn<sup>13</sup>! juúh<sup>2</sup> jmi<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, “Ca<sup>1</sup>hian<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.”  
 get-up\AI! John say\TIP3 curate Pst-complete\IIC3 Anaì  
 “Get up, John!” said the priest, “It is ready.” (TXT-09.115)

A second-person pronoun may be in an appositive relationship with a vocative word, as in (480) and (482), and as in the latter case, the pronoun may have a second-person relative clause as descriptive modifier (§8.6) as a part of the vocative expression.

- (482) Juanh<sup>12</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup>, cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>13</sup>, hniah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>3</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup>niòh<sup>3</sup>.  
 patient\AIS2 2p cofather comother 2p people go\P-p walk\AIP2  
 You have patience, compadre, comadre, you who have journeyed. (TXT-22.271)

## 8. Relative Clauses

With very few exceptions, the descriptive modifier of a noun phrase is a relative clause, its most common function in Tlapepuzco Chinantec by far, as for example in (483), where the head noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ is modified by *hnai*<sup>12</sup> *lio*<sup>13</sup> ‘sell supplies’.

- (483) *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *hnai*<sup>12</sup>        *lio*<sup>13</sup>  
      person sell\TIP3 Ø supplies  
      person who sells merchandise. (TXT-47.372)

Since the adjective-like words, in Palantla, are stative verbs, even the simplest of descriptive modifiers is a relative clause with a gap at subject position, where the subject is a patient, rather than an agent, as in (484).

- (484) *jóg*<sup>3</sup>    *rø*<sup>2</sup>  
      word correct\IIS3 Ø  
      correct word

### 8.1 The Form of the Relative Clause

The only difference between a relative clause and an independent clause is the position of the head noun at the left of the relative clause. In (483), the head noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ stands in relation to the verb *hnai*<sup>12</sup> ‘sell\TIP3’ as subject, and its presence as head of the modified noun phrase results in a gap at the subject position (marked by Ø in the gloss line of the illustration), immediately following the verb of the modifying clause in this VSO language. Compare this to the corresponding independent clause in (485).

- (485) *Hnai*<sup>12</sup>    *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *lio*<sup>13</sup>.  
      sell\TIP3 person supplies  
      Someone is selling merchandise.

Tlapepuzcan relative clauses are always restrictive and descriptive. The equivalent of nonrestrictive relative clauses of other languages are encoded in Chinantec by separate independent clauses. Hypothetically, for example, the sentence in (483), could be followed by an incidental comment like that in (486). The sentence in (487), which also provides information incidental to the identification of the person and to the story as a whole, is what actually follows; it too could be considered something equivalent to a nonrestrictive clause.

(486) Ma<sup>2</sup>teg<sup>2</sup>        dsi<sup>3</sup>    dsa.  
 Prf-white\IIS3 head\3 3  
 Her hair has turned gray.

(487) Ma<sup>1</sup>dsio<sup>12</sup> hlahi<sup>13</sup> lio<sup>13</sup>        hnai<sup>12</sup>    dsa.  
 much\i    very    supplies sell\TIP3 3  
 She is selling a lot of merchandise. (TXT-47.373)

## 8.2 The Headless Relative Clause

A relative clause may stand alone as a nominal constituent of a clause, introduced by the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’ in lieu of a noun head, as in (488), where *hi*<sup>2</sup> translates generally as ‘things, stuff’, which is to say, undefined inanimate objects. This form of the relative clause is referred to in this study as a HEADLESS RELATIVE CLAUSE. In this particular instance, the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> stands in relation to the verb *cu*<sup>2</sup> *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘handle\TIP3’ as direct object, leaving a gap marked at that position.

(488) Tióh<sup>13</sup>        hi<sup>2</sup>    cu<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup>    tsih<sup>2</sup> mó<sup>2</sup> , juúh<sup>2</sup>    dsa.  
 be=in\IIP3 that\i handle\TIP3 girl        Ø say\TIP3 3  
Things young girls use was in it, they say. (TXT-19.057)

In (489), it serves as a semantically depleted reference to edibles, in wider reference than any specific noun, such as *má*<sup>1</sup> ‘prepared food’, might do.

(489) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>gøah<sup>1</sup>        jni hi<sup>2</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup>        dsa<sup>2</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>  
 Prf-Pst-eat\TIC1s 1s that\i PRF-Pst-give\TIC3    person that Ø  
 I have eaten what that person has given. (TXT-29.331)

Head nouns may be inanimate as illustrated above, or they may be animate. Correspondingly, there may be a distinction between inanimate *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’ and animate *hin*<sup>2</sup> ‘that’ in the speech of a few Tlapepuzcan Chinantecs, but I have not been able to get a consistent enough reading to determine how widespread this phenomenon is. If it occurs contrastively in the speech of some, the nasalization is of the light variety discussed in §1.7. But due to lack of clear data on the subject, I represent *hi*<sup>2</sup> throughout this study without animate marking, whether in reference to animate or inanimate referents. An example of an animate reference for *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’ is presented in (490), where it stands in reference to the verb *jjëh*<sup>12</sup> ‘kill\TAsP3’ as animate subject.

(490) Ja<sup>3</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jón<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jñëh<sup>1</sup> .  
 there Aff die\AIS I3 Ana\ a where be\AIS3 that\ a kill\TAS I3 Ø  
 There he will die, there where there are those who will kill (him). (TXT-09.096)

The object of *jñëh<sup>1</sup>* is also unexpressed in (490), but is not marked as entailing a gap since the objects of transitive animate verbs are generally optional. The gap represented by Ø in these illustrations represents a position that *may not* be overtly occupied due to the presence of a head noun or complementizer that already functions in the role associated with the gapped position. Thus, the occurrence of *dsa<sup>2</sup>* as both head noun and as subject following the verb in (491) is disallowed.

(491) \*dsa<sup>2</sup> hnai<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> lio<sup>13</sup>  
 person sell\TIP3 person supplies  
 person who sells merchandise. (TXT-47.372)

It is not uncommon to find both a head noun and the complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* preceding a relative clause, as in (492), where both the noun *jmøi<sup>2</sup>* ‘water’ and *hi<sup>2</sup>* reference the same referent that is, at the same time, the direct object of the verb *hónh<sup>2</sup>* ‘drink\TIP3’.

(492) Jmáh<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hlieh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hónh<sup>2</sup> dsa jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 only that\i purchased\IIS3 Aff water that\i drink\TIP3 3 Ø work\TIP3  
 All the water they had for drinking while working had to be purchased. (TXT-26.259)

There are at least two equivalent ways to interpret this phenomenon. Either the presence of the complementizer following a head noun is optional (perhaps under certain conditions), or the underlying structure is different when the complementizer is present. In particular, we could consider a head noun followed by relative clause without complementizer as a single noun phrase, but a head noun followed by a headless relative clause (with complementizer) as two noun phrases in apposition.

At least two points can be made in support of the second interpretation, without necessarily endorsing it as the preferred one. First, in the presentation of nouns, in chapter 5, it was pointed out that most noun phrase constituents can and do occur, by themselves, in lieu of a head noun, functioning as nominals in the same way that noun phrases function. Second, appositive constituents of all types are found very frequently in Chinantec discourse.

Typical examples of Chinantec apposition are presented in (493) and (494). In the first, the atonic anaphor *dsa* ‘he’ is explicated by two noun phrases that follow. In the latter, the topicalized noun *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘word’ is followed by a transitive relative clause with gap at direct object position that is, in turn, followed appositionally by a ditransitive relative clause stating substantially the same things, but with a gap at its second object position. And then two noun phrases follow that are appositive to each other and to the first object of the preceding ditransitive clause, with gaps at their subject positions.

(493) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ŋó<sup>1</sup>      dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>, roh<sup>13</sup>      dsa, dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>hiag<sup>13</sup>      quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Pst-go\AIsC3 3      also      kinsman\3 3      person Impf-hate\TNS3 Ø of\TIS3 3  
 So he also went, his brother, the one who hated him. (TXT-26.385)

(494) Láh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsie<sup>1</sup>      dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>      , ca<sup>1</sup>dsiúh<sup>1</sup>      dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>      ,  
 thus      word Pst-tell\TIpC3 people Ana\ a Ø Pst-tell\DApC3 3      people Ana\ a Ø  
  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup>      ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>dsan<sup>1</sup>      .  
 people live\AIS3 Ø afterwards people NEG-Pst-die\AIpC3 Ø  
 That was what those people said, what they told the others, those who continued to live  
afterwards, those who had not died. (TXT-34.076)

I do not know what motivates the use of a headless relative clause following a head noun as opposed to a relative clause without *hi<sup>2</sup>* in that position. In at least some cases it may express a less definite reference.

### 8.3 The Complement Clauses vs. The Headless Relative Clause

The same complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* ‘that<sub>i</sub>’ introduces both the headless relative clause and the complement clause (*cf.* chapter 17). The distinguishing feature between these two clause types is the obligatory gap in the relative clause corresponding to the referent of the complementizer. Conversely, the complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* of a complement clause has no referent and corresponds to no gap. Thus, for example, in (495), the noun *bí<sup>2</sup>* ‘power’ has both an allocational modifier of the alienable type (‘of us’) and a descriptive modifier (‘we will help our brothers’). But this descriptive modifier has no gap; it is a complement clause expressing purpose and not a relative clause.

(495) Chii<sup>2</sup>      bí<sup>2</sup>      quían<sup>2</sup>      jniang<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>      mi<sup>3</sup>hog<sup>3</sup>      jniang<sup>3</sup> roh<sup>13</sup>      jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 exist\IIS3 power of\TIS1p li      that<sub>i</sub> help\TAI1p li      companion\lp li  
 We have the power to help one another.

In (496), the modifier of *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘that they are calling you’ is complement clause; in (497), the modifier of *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘that you have said’ is a relative clause with complementizer.

(496) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>góh<sup>1</sup>                      báh<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    tóh<sup>2</sup>                      dsa hniah<sup>12</sup>.  
 Prf-Pst-arrive-here\IIsC3 Aff word that\i call\TAP3 3 2p  
 Word has come that they are calling you. (TXT-19.329)

(497) Na<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>nóng<sup>2</sup>                      hi<sup>2</sup>    ná<sup>12</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>juøh<sup>3</sup>                      hning .  
 now Aff Prf-Hod-hear\TIC3 that\ a D1\ a all\3i                      word that\i Prf-Hod-say\TIC2 2s Ø  
 Today that one has now heard all of the words that you have said. (TXT-22.401)

The question is raised in chapter 17, but not answered, as to whether such complement clause as these are members of the same noun phrases as the head nouns *bí<sup>2</sup>* and *jóg<sup>3</sup>* or appositive to them. Note that the complement clause in (495) follows the allocation clause. Although the relative order of constituents is not an infallible guide, it is more common with inalienable possession for a descriptive clause to precede an allocation clause on those rare occasions when both occur within the same noun phrase, as mentioned in §5.3. A typical case is presented in (498), where the relative clause *píh<sup>3</sup>* ‘tiny\IIS3’ precedes the allocation clause *quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa* ‘his’.

(498) hniú<sup>12</sup> píh<sup>3</sup>                      quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 house tiny\IIS3 Ø of\TIS3 3  
 his small house (TXT-12.007)

Finally, three occurrences of the verb *ηii<sup>12</sup>* ‘know\TIS3’ with *hi<sup>2</sup>* ‘thus\i’ yield three analyses. In (499), *hi<sup>2</sup>* is references the animate subject of *ηii<sup>12</sup>*; in (500), it nominalizes the relative clause ‘know what to do’ as subject of the negative verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘does not’; in (501), it complementizes the clause ‘they know who that person is’ as subject of the negative verb *a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>* ‘not be’.

(499) ja<sup>3</sup>    ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ηii<sup>12</sup>  
 where Neg-be\AIS3 that\ a know\TIS3 Ø  
 where no one knows (TXT-23.212)

(500) dsa<sup>2</sup>    ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ηii<sup>12</sup>                      jmo<sup>1</sup>  
 person not\IIS3 that\i know\TIS3 Ø do\TII3 μ  
 person who does not know what to do (TXT-01.177)

(501) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ηii<sup>12</sup>                      dsa hein<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>    ió<sup>1</sup>.  
 not-be\IIS3 that\i know\TIS3 3    who? person D2\ a  
 They do not know who that person is. (TXT-30.037)



## 8.4 Noun Complementizers

In the same way that the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> may follow directly after a noun, as illustrated in (492) above, there are at least two generic nouns, *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ and *jáh*<sup>2</sup> ‘animal’ that may do so as well, following animate nouns. Three examples follow in (502)–(504). In many cases, phrases with these nouns as head seem to clearly be in apposition to the noun they follow and occupying different noun phrases; but in other cases it would be hard to argue conclusively that they belong to separate noun phrases.

(502) jan<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jñeh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ñiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa  
one\ a woman person Pst-kill\TAsC3 son\3 3 Ø  
a woman whose son had killed her (TXT-48.075)

(503) hio<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>hiúg<sup>3</sup> jø<sup>3</sup>nung<sup>2</sup>  
woman person Impf-be\AIsS3 Ø field  
a woman who was out in her field (TXT-09.286)

(504) møh<sup>2</sup> siáh<sup>2</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup>nio<sup>3</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> núng<sup>1</sup>  
snake other\AIS3 animal travel\AIpP3 Ø within forest  
other snakes, who live in the forest (TXT-54.186)

Two relative clauses are found in (505). In the first noun phrase, *jáh*<sup>2</sup> *jmá*<sup>2</sup> ‘tasty animal’, the head noun *jáh*<sup>2</sup> stands in relation to the intransitive inanimate verb *jmá*<sup>2</sup> ‘tasty’ as subject. This noun phrase is made to be a predicate by the affirmation modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> (Aff) (§11.1), with the noun *hñiu*<sup>2</sup> ‘catfish’ as its subject. A second noun phrase then follows, clearly in apposition to *hñiu*<sup>2</sup>, with the same noun head *jáh*<sup>2</sup> repeated, but this time standing in relation to the transitive animate verb *cúgh*<sup>12</sup> ‘eat\TAP3’ as direct object.

(505) Jáh<sup>2</sup> jmá<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hñiu<sup>2</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup> cúgh<sup>12</sup> dsa .  
animal tasty\IIS3 Ø Aff catfish animal eat\TAP3 3 Ø  
The catfish is a tasty animal, an animal that people eat.

## 8.5 Accessibility to Relativization

Any of primary nominal constituent of a sentence may undergo relativization. Transitive and ditransitive forms of the verb ‘give’ are presented in (506)–(509), relativized on their subject, direct object, first object, and second object, respectively.

(506) dsa<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>12</sup> hma<sup>2</sup>  
 people give\TIP3 Ø wood  
 people who give wood (TXT-51.025)

(507) ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cuøh<sup>3</sup> hning  
 how=much money that\i give\TII2 2s Ø  
 however much money you will give (TXT-01.165)

(508) dsa<sup>2</sup> cuøh<sup>12</sup> hning dsag<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>  
 person give\DAP2 2s Ø crime D1\ a  
 that person whom you accused of a crime (TXT-01.217)

(509) ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guøi<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuøh<sup>1</sup> dsa jniang<sup>3</sup>  
 how=much world Pst-give\DAC3 3 li Ø  
 how ever long a life he has given us (TXT-23.232)

The object of the preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ (see §7.3 for a discussion of the prepositional vs. verbal characteristics of *quianh*<sup>13</sup>), that introduces a comitative or instrumental nominal clause adjunct, may be relativized as illustrated in (510), where the nonrelativized equivalent is the clause *jenh<sup>2</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘we are friendly with people’.

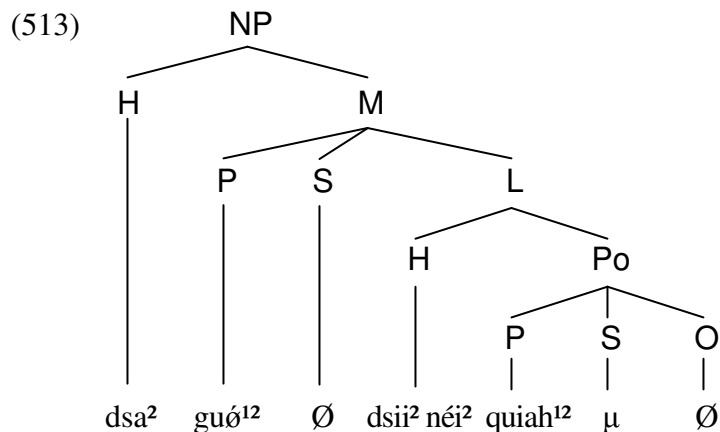
(510) dsa<sup>2</sup> jenh<sup>2</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup>  
 people friendly\AIpS1p 1x accompany\TMS1p  
 our friends (*lit.*, people we are friendly with) (BJM-01.086)

An inalienable possessor may be relativized, as in (511).

(511) dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>bong<sup>3</sup> cah<sup>3</sup>  
 person Prf-curved\IIS3 back\3 Ø  
 person who has become a hunchback (TXT-26.142)

Alienable possession of nouns entails use of the allocation clause as a de facto relative clause based on one or another of the inflectional forms of the allocation verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’, as described in §14.1. As explained there, the direct object of an independent clause like *quiah*<sup>12</sup> *rai*<sup>13</sup> *hniú*<sup>12</sup> (of\TIS3 king house) ‘the king owns a house’ may be relativized to yield the phrase *hniú*<sup>12</sup> *quiah*<sup>12</sup> *rai*<sup>13</sup> (house of\TIS3 king Ø) ‘house of the king’. But it is then possible to further relativize the subject noun of *quiah*<sup>12</sup>, to yield a phrase such as *rai*<sup>13</sup> *guø*<sup>12</sup> *hniú*<sup>12</sup> *quiah*<sup>12</sup> (king reside\AIsS3 Ø house of\TIS3 μ Ø) ‘the king who lives in his house’. An actual phrase of this type from text is presented in (512) and diagramed in (284). Since *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ stands as equi subject of both *guø*<sup>12</sup> ‘reside\AIsS3’ and *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’, the latter position is simply a null reference (μ) (chapter 18) rather than a gap (Ø).

- (512) dsa<sup>2</sup> guó<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup> néi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>  
 person reside\AIsS3 Ø home of\TIS3 μ Ø  
 the person who lives in his (own) home (TXT-22.253)



In a different usage, the allocation verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ with equi null subject (μ) also occurs without reference to allocation of a known entity to add definitive force or an expression of completeness to the associated action. The three examples that follow in (514)–(516) all include motion verbs, and were chosen for illustrative purposes because they provide the clearest cases that no nominal is referenced by *quiah*<sup>12</sup> other than the subject. Other instances occur with other verbs, but they are open to alternative interpretations. This usage is hard to capture in a single English gloss, but the idea is that the action by the agent is unqualified and unequivocal.

- (514) Hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuøin<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> ηó<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>.  
 that\i Pst-flee\AIC3 Aff opossum such\i go\AIsP3 Ana\i opossum of\TIS3 μ  
 Possum was actually fleeing, clearing out of there like that. (TXT-03.241)

- (515) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>tan<sup>1</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup> tián<sup>2</sup>,  
 person Ana\ a person Prf-Act\C-accustom\AIC3 go\AIsP3 always  
 dóh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jógh<sup>12</sup> bíh<sup>3</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>.  
 but person go=home\AIsP3 Aff Ana\ a of\TIS3 μ  
 That one who was accustomed to going all the time? Well he went straight home. (TXT-06.080)

- (516) Ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> ηieih<sup>13</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsiég<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>.  
 there forthwith may arrive=there\AIsI3 of\TIS3 μ  
 May he go straight there (to hell)! (TXT-09.169)

One unambiguous nonmotion example of this usage is found in (517), with the second-person form *quiánh*<sup>2</sup> of\TIS2’.

- (517) Hning<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> góah<sup>12</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> hora ja<sup>3</sup> cógh<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 2s person eat\TIP3 well\IIS3 Aff 2s of\TIS2 Pst-reach\IIC3 hour when eat\TII2 2s  
 You eat really well whenever it comes time to eat. (TXT-24.101)

## 8.6 Relativizing Personal Pronouns

In third person discourse, where pronouns do not occur, relative clauses are formed by choosing a head noun that bears a grammatical relation to one or another of the terms of a modifying clause. As for example in the case of the independent clause in (518) and the corresponding noun phrase in (519), where the noun subject *dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘people’ of the former is relativized as head, leaving a gap at the subject position of the modifying relative clause in the latter.

- (518) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 Prf-Pst-come\AIpC3 people world  
 People have traveled the earth. (TXT-51.058)

- (519) dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>  
 people Prf-Pst-come\AIpC3 Ø world  
 people who have traveled the earth (TXT-17.058)

In direct discourse, however, it is possible to relativize on a personal pronoun only by using the generic noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘person’ (§8.4) as complementizer of the relative clause. In this context, unlike the optionally inserted complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* following a noun, the generic noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>* is obligatory; and this necessarily entails discord in person cross-reference between the head noun, the generic noun *dsa<sup>2</sup>*, and the modifying verb.

The generic noun is always third person. But, in (520), the pronoun *jnieh<sup>3</sup>* and stative verb *cagh<sup>13</sup>* ‘adult\AIpS1p’ are both first-person exclusive; whereas in (521), the pronoun *hning<sup>2</sup>* is second singular and the verbal idiom *jmo<sup>12</sup> hí<sup>3</sup>* is third-person.

- (520) jniang<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> cagh<sup>13</sup>  
 1i people adult\AIpS1p Ø  
 we who are adults (TXT-23.163)

- (521) hning<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> hí<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>  
 2s person cure\TAP3 Ø people  
 you who cure people (TXT-37.546)

The next three examples are drawn from a text about arranging marriage, where two sets of parents are protagonists. The plural verb *tiogh<sup>3</sup>* ‘reside’ is ambiguously second or third person,

with *tiagh*<sup>3</sup> ‘reside’ is first person. In (522), the second-plural pronoun *hniah*<sup>12</sup> occurs with a verb that is ambiguously second or third plural. In (523), second-persons are being addressed, but only third-person forms are used while speaking of possible deceit. In (524), appositive noun phrases exploit multiple strategies. First, an ambiguously second- or third-person verb *tiogh*<sup>3</sup> is used; then, a first-plural verb *tiagh*<sup>3</sup> is used. (All four noun phrases end in possessives with equi possessors expressed as null.)

(522) Lø<sup>2</sup>liugh<sup>3</sup> jni hniah<sup>12</sup>, hniah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup>.  
 converse\TAP1s 1s 2p 2p people reside\AIpS2 Ø dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup> of\TIS2 μ  
 I converse with you, you who live (here) in your home. (TXT-22.042)

(523) ɿHe<sup>2</sup> ləa<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>gan<sup>13</sup> jni dsa<sup>2</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>?  
 why? deceive\TAI1s 1s people reside\AIpS3 Ø home of\TIS3 μ  
 Why would I deceive people who live (here) in their home? (TXT-22.281)

(524) Ju<sup>3</sup> hlanh<sup>13</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup> néi<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>2</sup>,  
 may speak\TAD2 2p 1x people reside\AIpS3 Ø home of\TIS1p μ  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> tiagh<sup>3</sup> hniu<sup>3</sup>.  
 people reside\AIpS1p Ø house\1p μ  
 Please speak to us, those who reside (here) in our home, we who reside (here) in our house.  
 (TXT-22.377)

In the following examples, the generic noun and following relative clause are fronted and topicalized by the affirmation modal *báh*<sup>3</sup>, leaving the pronoun following, preceding the main verb in final position. In (525), the pronoun *hning*<sup>2</sup> and its verb *dsiog*<sup>1</sup> ‘well\AIS2’ are second-person, whereas the main verb *ɣó*<sup>12</sup> ‘go\AisP3’ and *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ are third person. In (526), the pronoun *jnieh*<sup>3</sup> (1x) and the main verb *tiagh*<sup>3</sup> ‘reside\AIpS1p’ are first-plurals, while the *dsa*<sup>2</sup> and *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘do\TIP3’ are third-person.

(525) Dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>dsiog<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> ɣó<sup>12</sup>.  
 person Impf-well\AIS2 Ø Aff 2s go\AisP3  
You were a well person when (you) left. (TXT-02.120)

(526) Dóh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> tiagh<sup>3</sup>.  
 but people do\TIP3 Ø work Aff 1x reside\AIpS1p  
 Because we are people who are working. (TXT-03.135)

I must make one caveat in respect to the documentation of illustration (526). The original audio recording of texts 1–7a has been lost. It is possible that I long ago transcribed first-plural

*jmo*<sup>2</sup> ‘do\TIP1p’ following *dsa*<sup>2</sup> as third-person *jmo*<sup>12</sup>, a fact which I can no longer check. I am confident, however, that either form would be grammatical in this sentence.

A pronoun may be relativized in any grammatical position in which a noun might be relativized. All of the foregoing examples illustrate relativization of subjects and the only other documented case from texts is a relativized alienable possessor, as in (527), but many other examples spring to mind, such as in (528)–(530), where direct object, first ditransitive object, and inalienable possessor, respectively, are all easily relativized.

(527) *hniah*<sup>12</sup> *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *quíánh*<sup>2</sup>    *hniú*<sup>12</sup>  
       2p        people of\TIS2 Ø house  
       you of the household (TXT-11.051)

(528) *jniang*<sup>3</sup> *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *hniang*<sup>1</sup>    *Diú*<sup>13</sup>  
       1i        people love\TNS3 God Ø  
       we whom God loves

(529) *jnieh*<sup>3</sup> *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *ca*<sup>1</sup>*quii*<sup>2</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup> *tóg*<sup>2</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup>*hmeh*<sup>2</sup>    *cang*<sup>3</sup>  
       1x    people Pst-pelt\DNC3 child    Ø rock  
       we whom the children pelted with rocks

(530) *jní*<sup>2</sup> *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *ca*<sup>1</sup>*hen*<sup>1</sup>        *jóg*<sup>12</sup>  
       1s    person Pst-ruin\IIC3 dress\1s Ø  
       I whose dress is dirty

## 9. Prepositions

Palantla Chinantec is a prepositional language, conforming to the normal pattern for VSO languages. Namely, both prepositions and conjunctions precede their closest grammatical partners, always in a binary relationship with them.

### 9.1 Prepositions vs. Conjunctions

Bloomfield (1933:194) spoke of syntactic constructions of the exocentric type which, in English, include those of the relation-axis type, such as *with me*, and those of the subordinating type, which are either of the clause-subordination type, such as *if John ran away*, or of the phrase-subordination type, such as *than John*. He further stated (195) that the prepositions and subordinating conjunctions which occurred in these two types were sufficient to “characterize the resultant phrase” as of the exocentric type. Unfortunately, he did not clearly express the defining difference between *prepositions* and *subordinating conjunctions*; nor does his student Hockett after him (1958:192ff), although we can intuit from the illustrations they present (and probably from subliminal images from our early education) that subordinating conjunctions prototypically subordinate clauses while prepositions prototypically subordinate nonpredicative words and phrase.

The matter is by no means clear, however, either in English or in other Indo-European languages if we are to judge from the failure of these linguist forbears to clearly define the matter for us. So it is of no surprise then that Tlatepuzcan Chinantec fails to provide a clear distinction as well. I, therefore, here resort to a strictly practical position and divide the presentation of such Chinantec forms into two somewhat arbitrary groups and discuss them in two chapters, in the hope that neither will need to be overly long.

Prepositions are always written as separate words, on syntactic grounds, but many of them are phonologically pretonic, which is to say, proclitic, and will be identified as such when introduced. After the prepositions listed in (531) are introduced, the verbal prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>- (perfect) listed in (532) is shown to function in preposition-like fashion to introduce a locative adjunct,

and the small set of three nouns and one verb listed in (533) will be shown to form locative expressions as well.

(531) <i>ca'láh<sup>1</sup></i>	'unto'	<i>jøa<sup>3</sup></i>	'within'
<i>cónh<sup>1</sup>/cu<sup>1</sup></i>	'at, about'	<i>niúh<sup>1</sup></i>	'beneath'
<i>cøg<sup>12</sup></i>	'near-to'	<i>quianh<sup>13</sup></i>	'with'
<i>dsii<sup>2</sup></i>	'amid'	<i>tø<sup>1</sup>/ta<sup>1</sup>/ta<sup>3</sup></i>	'to'
<i>ja<sup>3</sup></i>	'where'		
(532) <i>ma<sup>2</sup>-</i>	'when\Prf'		
(533) <i>cah<sup>3</sup></i>	'backside\3'	<i>juu<sup>12</sup></i>	'road'
<i>ni<sup>3</sup></i>	'face\3'	<i>quiah<sup>12</sup></i>	'of\TIS3'

## 9.2 The Preposition *ca'láh<sup>1</sup>* 'unto'

The preposition *ca'láh<sup>1</sup>* 'unto' is homophonous with the adverb *ca'láh<sup>1</sup>* 'also, again' which, however, always follows closely related syntactic partners. The preposition is not so easily defined as to meaning and is glossed by a variety of expressions, as indicated in (534)–(537).

- (534) *Ca'hó<sup>2</sup> hlai<sup>3</sup> Bi<sup>2</sup>nei<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2</sup> ca'láh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca'lóh<sup>1</sup> dsa ta<sup>3</sup> juøh<sup>12</sup>.*  
Pst-read\TIC3 departed Ben book unto when Pst-earn\TIC3 3 office big\IIsS3  
The late Benito Juárez studied until he attained high office. (AGJ-02.010)
- (535) *Ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jin<sup>3</sup> na<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>ca'lái<sup>1</sup> guøh<sup>12</sup>.*  
unto even today Neg-Prf-Pst-restore\IIC3 church-house  
To this day the church house has not been restored. (TXT-32.103)
- (536) *Ca'láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> ca'chiánh<sup>12</sup> hning jáh<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> guiánh<sup>13</sup> hning jáh<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> quiing<sup>2</sup>.*  
unto when Pst-catch\TAC2 2s animal to such\i discard\TApI2 2s animal where=dry  
As soon as you have caught an animal, immediately dump it on dry ground. (TXT-02.054)
- (537) *Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca'tánh<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jla<sup>1</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> té<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.*  
Ana\i Pst-fall\AIsC3 jaguar unto wham! very ground  
And the jaguar fell to the ground with a huge 'whomp!' (TXT-01.042)

The various forms of the word meaning 'all, every' are apparently formed on this preposition—*ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup>* 'all\i', *ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jái<sup>1</sup>* 'all\1p', *ca'láh<sup>1</sup> jánh<sup>1</sup>* 'all\2p', and *ca'láh<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup>* 'all\3p'.

## 9.3 The Preposition *cónh<sup>1</sup>* 'at, about'

The preposition *cónh<sup>1</sup>* 'at, about' is unlike proclitic prepositions, being tonic and ballistic in phonological form. It is also very difficult to gloss in English. It has adverbial force that is hard



to characterize. It often appears together with the manner word *láh¹* ‘such¹’, and it often precedes another preposition. A number of illustrations are presented in (538)–(542).

- (538) Ca¹jmo¹      Juøn¹³ ju² jñia¹³      cøng² tsóa¹² pñh³      jmø³guøh¹³  
 Pst-do\TIC3    John    preparation   one\i   bottle   tiny\IIS3   holy=water  
 lám¹   cónh¹   chii²      jmai³, cónh¹   niúh¹ jính³   hi²      tsei¹      dsa   ja³ jøng².  
 like   at      be\IIS3   time   at      before      that\i   send\TNI3   3      there  
 John prepared a tiny vial of holy water, while there was time, prior to his being sent to that place. (TXT-9.190)

- (539) Ti³quieng²      dsa dsø²lian¹      dsa, cónh¹   chii²      juu¹² jøng².  
 p-take=with\TIS3   3   return\AIpP3   3      at      be\IIS3   road   Ana\i  
 They were carrying them, travelling home, as far as the eye could see. (TXT-28.045)

- (540) Mi³hno¹      jni   cónh¹   quiún²   kilo   ñó¹².  
 Opt-want\TIS1s   1s   at      four   kilo   meat  
 I want about four kilos of meat. (DB-03.012)

- (541) Jøng²    ca¹huan¹      dsa tai³      dsa lám¹   cónh¹   bø³jne¹      dsa.  
 Ana\i   Pst-remove\TApC3   3   lower-leg\3   3      like   at      kneecap\3   3  
 Then she removed her legs from about her knees. (TXT-29.037)

- (542) Ca¹jmo¹      dsa² hóg¹   lám¹   cónh¹   mi³    ca¹hian²      hieg².  
 Pst-do\TIC3   ancestors   like   at      when   Pst-rise\AIC3   sun  
 What our ancestors did at about the time the sun rose for the first time. (TXT-10.002)

- (543) Ca¹lø¹chián¹      báh³   dsa   ca¹lám¹   cónh¹   cøng²   ñii² jmai³   báh³.  
 Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3   Aff   3   unto   about   one\i   year=long   Aff  
 He lived for about a year. (TXT-06.220)

The pretonic form *cu¹* ‘about’, which occurs uniquely in the expressions *cu¹ dsié¹²* ‘altogether’, *cu¹ ná¹²* ‘that’s all’, and *cu¹ té¹²* ‘extremely’, may be reflex of *cónh¹*. Alternatively, it may be related to *cu²*, which is a reflex of *cøng²* ‘one\i’, but unaccountably with low tone.

#### 9.4 The Preposition *cøg¹²* ‘near to’

The preposition *cøg¹²* ‘near to’ is one of the words that joins with the preposition *tø¹* ‘to’ to form adverbial expressions, specifically *tø¹ cøg¹²* ‘to one side’, that focuses attention on the ‘separation’ aspect of being near, as in (544). But it also occurs as a prepositional partner to a nominal to express the ‘closeness’ aspect of being near, as in (545).

(544) Juu<sup>12</sup> tø<sup>1</sup> cøg<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> guó<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 road to=one=side Aff sleep\AII1p li  
 We will sleep off to one side. (TXT-47.486)

(545) Chii<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> tsón<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> lih<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>gah<sup>13</sup> cøg<sup>12</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>lag<sup>3</sup>.  
 be\IIS3 many\IIS3 palm land of\TIS3 ladino spread\IIP3S3 near Tuxtepec  
 There are great numbers of palms spread across the land of the rich near Tuxtepec. (AGJ-05.094)

## 9.5 The Preposition *dsii*<sup>2</sup> ‘amid’

The locative adverbs in (546) are formed on the preposition *dsii*<sup>2</sup> ‘amid’.

(546) <i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hie</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘in the sun’	<i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>juu</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘on the trail’
<i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jmó</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘in the rain’	<i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>néi</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘inside’
<i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jo</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘in the center’	<i>dsii</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>neng</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘midnight’
<i>dsii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jmø</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘in the water’	<i>dsii</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hiég</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘noon’

## 9.6 The Preposition *jøa*<sup>3</sup> ‘among’

The preposition *jøa*<sup>3</sup> ‘among’ has a fairly narrow use, almost always subordinating a topographic noun as a spatial locative constituent of a clause or as the modifier of the directional noun *juu*<sup>12</sup> ‘road’ with a verb of motion, as in (547)–(549), occasionally occurring with null reference to the specific location which is already known from the preceding context, as in (550).

(547) Láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> dsø<sup>3</sup>juai<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> *jøa*<sup>3</sup> cai<sup>31</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 only pass-by\AII1p Aff li through street Asv  
 We will just walk through the streets, that's all. (TXT-11.399)

(548) Hein<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hiú<sup>3</sup> *jøa*<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> cu<sup>3</sup>mø<sup>12</sup>.  
 that! woman Prf-be\AIsS3 among of\TIS3 Pleiades  
 She was already among the Pleiades. (TXT-14.011)

(549) Dó<sup>12</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> *jøa*<sup>3</sup> juø<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIP3 3 Ana\i path through town where be\AIP3S3 people  
 Off she went along the path through town where the people were. (TXT-29.062)

(550) Ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> héh<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa *jøa*<sup>12</sup> dsa *jøa*<sup>3</sup>.  
 just order\TIP3 Aff 3 walk\AIP3 3 among  
 He was just walking and giving instructions in the midst of it all. (TXT-51.024)

A shortened, pretonic form of this preposition, *jø*<sup>3</sup>-, occurs with a few specific nouns with idiomatic force, as listed in (551). In this context, because of its idiomatic usage, *jø*<sup>3</sup>- is not separated from its grammatical partner by space when written.

- (551) jø<sup>3</sup>cuøi<sup>2</sup> ‘maize field’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>hma<sup>2</sup> ‘tree plantation (coffee, etc.)’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>hmah<sup>3</sup> ‘market’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>jneng<sup>2</sup> ‘bean field’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup> ‘town, Valle Nacional’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>nøh<sup>3</sup> ‘harvested field’  
 jø<sup>3</sup>nung<sup>2</sup> ‘garden, plantation, vineyard’

## 9.7 The Preposition *niúh*<sup>1</sup> ‘inside of’

The locative preposition *niúh*<sup>1</sup> ‘inside of, behind, beneath, before’ is a tonic syllable that references a sheltered or covered location in respect to physical objects, or of prior time with a temporal adverb, as illustrated in (552)–(555).

- (552) Ca<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>2</sup>                      dsa niúh<sup>1</sup>                      gog<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-place\TIpC3    3    inside-of chest  
 She put them into a chest. (TXT-19.021)
- (553) Niúh<sup>1</sup>    jnai<sup>3</sup>    gu<sup>3</sup>húh<sup>1</sup>                      hning ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 behind door go\I2-enter\AIsD2 2s    Asv  
 You must go hide behind the door. (TXT-08.092)
- (554) Hiúg<sup>3</sup>                      dsa niúh<sup>1</sup>                      hnøh<sup>13</sup>                      hniú<sup>12</sup>.  
 be\AIsS3 3    beneath eaves\3 house  
 He was under the eaves of the house. (TXT-07.092)
- (555) Niúh<sup>1</sup>    dsii<sup>1</sup>hiég<sup>1</sup>    jógh<sup>12</sup>                      jei<sup>3</sup>                      ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 before noon    come-back\AIsP3    bumblebee also  
Before noon, bumblebee goes home as well. (TXT-03.083)

## 9.8 The Preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’

The preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ was introduced in §7.4 in reference to the adjunct association nominal to a clause. In §14.2 it will be argued that it has a strong verbal character as the association verb *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘accompany\TMS3’. But in spite of its use as a verb in some contexts, there is no advantage in referencing its verbal qualities when functioning prepositionally, which is the focus in this section.

As an uninflected preposition, *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ merges comitative and instrumental functions in the same way that *with* does in English and many other languages (Lyons 1969:298). When its grammatical partner is inanimate, its instrumental use is reflected, as in (556)–(558). Note that in

the last of these examples animate ‘musicians’ are thrown in with inanimate ‘radios’, lending the more instrumental interpretation as opposed to comitative, even with the animate entity.

(556) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ieg<sup>1</sup> dsa si<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i extinguish\TII3 3 fire with water  
 They tried to extinguish the fire with water. (TXT-32.105)

(557) Ca<sup>1</sup>cúg<sup>2</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> jmøah<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-burn\AIC3 3 by stew  
 He was burnt by the stew. (TXT-45.020)

(558) Jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa mih<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> tøa<sup>12</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> løg<sup>12</sup> høa<sup>12</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup>.  
 make\TII3 3 little\IIS3 celebration with musician with radio with  
 They will have a small party with musicians, with a radio, and so forth. (TXT-22.486)

On the other hand, animate partners of *quianh*<sup>13</sup> more often mark a comitative association, as in (559) and (560).

(559) Gúh<sup>3</sup> hning ná<sup>3</sup>, nang<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa. Gúh<sup>3</sup> hning quianh<sup>13</sup> møi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 go\AIsI2 2s Asv rat say\TIP3 3 go\AIsI2 2s with hawk D1\ a  
 “You, rat, will go, O.K.?” he said. “You will go with that hawk.” (TXT-05.343–44)

(560) Hein<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> na<sup>2</sup>ŋó<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> hnai<sup>12</sup> lio<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 that! woman Hod-go\AIsC3 with John person sell\TIP3 supplies say\TIP3 3  
 “She has gone off with John the salesman,” he said. (TXT-05.287)

The preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’, is also the primary syntactic means for conjoining noun phrases, as in (561) and (562).

(561) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>chionh<sup>1</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup> tai<sup>3</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Pst-stick\IIC3 together foot\3 3 with hand\3 3  
 So both his arms and legs were stuck. (TXT-04.096)

(562) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsie<sup>1</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> tan<sup>3</sup> jø<sup>2</sup> hñiá<sup>2</sup> dsa lách<sup>1</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> chíh<sup>3</sup>  
 Pst-talk\DIC3 entire all five\ a 3 such\i Ana\i opossum such\i with crab  
 lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jei<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> chí<sup>2</sup>quiig<sup>2</sup>.  
 such\i with jaguar such\i with bumblebee with cicada  
 All five of them talked it over together—Possum and crab and jaguar and bumblebee and cicada. (TXT-03.004)

*Quianh*<sup>13</sup> is frequently subordinated to the manner complementizer *lách*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’ when conjoining nominals, whether animate or inanimate, as in (563)–(565).

(563) Jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ñioh<sup>12</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> mój<sup>2</sup>.  
 word ofTIS3 youth person male C with youth female  
 A word about young men and young women. (TXT-23.001)

(564) Cuento quiah<sup>12</sup> møah<sup>13</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> nang<sup>13</sup>.  
 story of\TIS3 ant such\i with mouse  
 A story about an ant and a mouse. (TXT-45.001)

(565) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>3</sup>can<sup>13</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup> tsí<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> høng<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tieh<sup>12</sup> dsa má<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-go\R-take\TIR3 3 path snare Ana\i such\i with chili and that\i pour\TIsP3 3 meal  
 He took those things to the snares, with chili and condiments. (TXT-39.044)

While the Associative Nominal is a primary construction for conjoining NPs, conjoined elements may also simply be juxtaposed. In (566), *quianh*<sup>13</sup> occurs to conjoin the second noun of a series of three conjuncts, the third of which is simply juxtaposed. In (567), the two conjuncts are juxtaposed without *quianh*<sup>13</sup>.

(566) Ca<sup>1</sup>li<sup>2</sup> dsa møi<sup>1</sup>dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> møah<sup>12</sup> dsa güen<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-extract\TIsC3 3 heart\3 3 and liver\3 3 lung\3 3  
 He had removed her heart and her liver (and) her lungs. (TXT-48.061)

(567) hio<sup>13</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ñiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa, jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 woman Impf-have\TMS3 one\ a son\3 3 one\ a daughter\3 3  
 a woman who had one son (and) one daughter (TXT-48.001)

It is good style in Chinantec to use a plural forms when plural participants are involved, whether nouns are conjoined or the comitative adjunct is employed. In (568), the atonic anaphor *dsa* references, in this case, a single individuals. And yet the verb coreferences a plural subject, encompassing the comitative adjunct, where the atonic anaphor disallows interpreting the subject as conjoined nouns. Conjoined nouns occur in (569).

(568) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>jon<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-go\AIpC3 3 with coparent\3 3  
 He went with his compadre. (TXT-06.021)

(569) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> siáh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-go\AIpC3 3 together with person woman of\TAS3 3 with others also  
He and his wife and others also went (pl) together. (APS-02.011)

In (570), taken from a personal letter written by Vicente José Cabrera, the plural subject pronoun *jnieh*<sup>3</sup> ‘we’ references both Vicente and me, even though I am also separately referenced by the conjoined name *Mi<sup>2</sup>dsie*<sup>3</sup>.

(570) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>niang<sup>13</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> Mi<sup>2</sup>dse<sup>3</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> Ixmiquilpan.  
 Ana\i Pst-go\AIpC1p 1x with William path Ixmiquilpan  
 Then Bill and I traveled here to Ixmiquilpan. (TXT-55.007)

In (571), there is no natural plural of the second-person verb *quiin*<sup>2</sup> ‘bring\TID2’, but the manner complementizer *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’ occurs with *quianh*<sup>13</sup> to give greater force to the conjunctive interpretation.

- (571) Gu<sup>3</sup>quiinh<sup>2</sup> hning jmøah<sup>12</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hõng<sup>2</sup> røh<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\I2-bring\TID2 2s tomato such\i with chili green\IIS3  
 Go get tomatoes and green chilies.

## 9.9 The Preposition *tø*<sup>1</sup> ‘to’

The directional preposition *tø*<sup>1</sup> ‘to’ is enclitic. It subordinates a variety of words and phrases with directional force. It may subordinate both nominal and clausal material. Several examples are listed in (572)–(576).

- (572) Dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> tø<sup>1</sup> hñoh<sup>13</sup> jmø<sup>3</sup>ñiih<sup>13</sup>.  
 go\AIpI1p 1i to across\3 ocean  
 We will go across the ocean. (TXT-11.382)
- (573) Hning<sup>2</sup> neng<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> ió<sup>1</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> uóin<sup>2</sup>.  
 war BE\IIS3 to such\i D2\i to such\i far\IIS3  
 There is a war going on over there, there far away. (TXT-9.091)
- (574) Juúh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lám<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> tø<sup>1</sup> úg<sup>2</sup> dsa, ...  
 say\TIP3 also person other\ a to three\ a 3  
 Then another woman of the three of them said, “...” (TXT-64.051)
- (575) Si<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>hiuh<sup>3</sup> huái<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hiúg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ron<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> jñia<sup>13</sup>.  
 fire go\I2-ignite\TID2 below\3 where be\AIsS3 D2\ a to Neg-lie\AIsS3 D2\ a attentive  
 Go set fire downhill of where that guy is, while he lies there unprepared. (TXT-03.126)
- (576) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> juúh<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> la<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 not-be\IIS3 as-though document that NON happen\IIS3 Expl  
 It was not, you see, a document that was without significance! (TXT-9.202)
- This preposition is very likely related derivationally to the verb *tó*<sup>2</sup> ‘reach\IIP3’, and is easily replaced by this verb in many contexts without a noticeable change in semantic force. For example, the two forms have substantially the same force in (577) and (578).
- (577) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jnái<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, jái<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>hog<sup>1</sup> dsa tø<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>.  
 when Pst-close\IIC3 Ana\i see\TIP3 3 Pst-bury\AIC3 3 to within  
 When the doors were locked, they saw that he was buried inside. (TXT-63.039)

(578) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa, ca<sup>1</sup>túgh<sup>2</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> jnó<sup>3</sup>.  
 when Pst-arrive=there\AIpC3 3 Pst-enter\AIpC3 3 Pst-reach\IIC3 within fence  
 Having arrived, they vaulted over to inside the fence. (TXT-06.076)

Tø<sup>1</sup> ‘to’ also joins with a great many words, as tø<sup>1</sup> or ta<sup>1</sup>, with somewhat idiomatic force, as in (579) and (580) to form adverbial expressions.

(579) tø <sup>1</sup> caih <sup>12</sup> tø <sup>1</sup> jen <sup>12</sup>	inside=out, hypocrisy	tø <sup>1</sup> jián <sup>12</sup>	ahead=of, earlier
tø <sup>1</sup> coh <sup>13</sup>	upstream\3 (Prx)	tø <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>1</sup>	in=front-of\3
tø <sup>1</sup> cøg <sup>12</sup>	to=one=side, separate	tø <sup>1</sup> niúh <sup>1</sup>	inside=of
tø <sup>1</sup> guiég <sup>1</sup>	remote	tø <sup>1</sup> ηi <sup>2</sup>	upstream\D
tø <sup>1</sup> huái <sup>1</sup>	down=river\3 (Prx)	tø <sup>1</sup> quín <sup>2</sup>	downstream\D

(580) ta <sup>1</sup> ca <sup>1</sup> hlóg <sup>2</sup>	‘afternoon’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> guiuh <sup>13</sup>	‘upper, excelling’
ta <sup>1</sup> ca <sup>1</sup> jnie <sup>1</sup>	‘dawn’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> hian <sup>2</sup> hieg <sup>2</sup>	‘east’
ta <sup>1</sup> ca <sup>1</sup> neng <sup>2</sup>	‘night-time’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> huø <sup>1</sup>	‘lower, below’
ta <sup>1</sup> ca <sup>2</sup> jag <sup>13</sup>	‘apart, separately’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> jøng <sup>2</sup>	‘meanwhile’
ta <sup>1</sup> dsi <sup>13</sup>	‘right-away, next’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> ηi <sup>2</sup>	‘upstream\D’
ta <sup>1</sup> dsóh <sup>2</sup>	‘truly’	ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> tø <sup>2</sup> dsén <sup>3</sup> hieg <sup>2</sup>	‘westerly’
ta <sup>1</sup> huø <sup>3</sup>	‘slowly, quietly’	ta <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> ηó <sup>12</sup>	‘naked\AIS3’
ta <sup>1</sup> ja <sup>1</sup> jní <sup>1</sup>	‘dawn’	ta <sup>1</sup> méh <sup>1</sup>	‘slowly’
ta <sup>1</sup> ján <sup>1</sup>	‘one=by=one\ a’	ta <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup>	‘right now’
ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup>	‘unto’	ta <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup> cónh <sup>1</sup>	‘immediately’
ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> cah <sup>3</sup>	‘behind\3’	ta <sup>1</sup> ηi <sup>1</sup> h <sup>13</sup>	‘early’
ta <sup>1</sup> lám <sup>1</sup> cug <sup>2</sup>	‘lengthwise’	ta <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> høg <sup>2</sup>	‘morning’

(581) Hai<sup>13</sup> jni tø<sup>1</sup> cøg<sup>12</sup>.  
 place\TII1s 1s to=one=side  
 I will put it to one side. (TXT-26.335)

(582) Guiuh<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsiánh<sup>12</sup> dsa tø<sup>1</sup> coh<sup>13</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>guøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 above Prf-arrive=there\AIsP3 3 upstream\Prx sky  
 He has arrived up above, to beyond the sky. (TXT-37.1276)

(583) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jnáí<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, jái<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>hog<sup>1</sup> dsa tø<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>.  
 when Pst-close\IIC3 Ana\i see\TIP3 3 Pst-bury\AIC3 3 inside=of  
 When the doors were locked, they saw that he was buried inside. (TXT-63.039)

## 9.10 The Perfect Prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>- (Prf)

The perfect verb prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>- (Prf) may also function, apart from verbs, as a preposition with temporal nouns, to express past time in a completive or imperfect sentence, as in (584)–(586).

(584) Mi<sup>3</sup>lán<sup>12</sup> dsa tøa<sup>12</sup> hmá<sup>1</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>niu<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 Impf-be\TMP3 3 carpenter Prf time Pst-form\IIC3 earth  
 They used to be carpenters back when the world was formed. (TXT-44.002)

(585) Ma<sup>2</sup> sɔ<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>31</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsa<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>liág<sup>13</sup> jni huóh<sup>13</sup> jni guóh<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>13</sup>.  
 Prf week last Pst-begin\TIC1s 1s extract\TIpI1s 1s brick  
Back last week I began to make block. (DCT.007)

(586) Máí<sup>12</sup> Sóa<sup>13</sup> cuóí<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>, cuóí<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuóh<sup>1</sup> dsa Sɔ<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> cɔng<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup>.  
 request=return\TIP3 Joe maize of\TIS3 maize Pst-give\DAC3 3 Anastacio Prf one\i year  
 Joe requests the return of his corn that he loaned Anastacio a year ago. (MJA-01 060)

Perfect *ma<sup>2</sup>-* (Prf) also occurs somewhat idiomatically with a few temporal adverbs, such as *ñii<sup>3</sup> jáng<sup>1</sup>* ‘at that time’ and *na<sup>1</sup>* ‘now’, as in (587) and (588), and is part of the idiomatic formula for expressing ordinal numerals, as in (589).

(587) Ma<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>3</sup> jáng<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tsɔ<sup>3</sup>juen<sup>13</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>12</sup> jni la<sup>2</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup>.  
 awhile=back Aff Pst-pass\AIC3 one\ a person when plant\TIP1s 1s Prx of\TIS1s  
 It was some time back that a fellow passed by here when I was planting this crop. (TXT-37.685)

(588) Dság<sup>12</sup> dsa cɔng<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>1</sup>hei<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>1</sup> dsa dsiég<sup>13</sup> dsa  
 go\IIsP3 3 just quickly that\i want\TIS3 3 arrive\AIsI3 3  
 ma<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dság<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 Prf=now to where go\AIsI3 3  
 He runs fast because he wants to get to his destination right now. (APS-04 025)

(589) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñó<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> og<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-go\AIsC3 person Ana\ a also person second\ a  
 That one also went off, the second one. (TXT-11.071)

In §3.6, the perfect prefix *ma<sup>2</sup>-* (Prf) was presented as a member of a set of three secondary-aspect prefixes, along with imperfect *mi<sup>3</sup>-* (Impf), and continuative *ma<sup>1</sup>-* (Cnt), which form a set, each normally being mutually exclusive of the others within any single verb. I have found two examples in natural text, however, in which *ma<sup>2</sup>* occurs preceding each of these other two prefixes. I interpret these examples as representing *ma<sup>2</sup>* in a prepositional role rather than as a verb prefix. In (590), *ma<sup>2</sup>* combines with the conjunction *na<sup>3</sup>* ‘when’ and precedes a negated verb with *ma<sup>1</sup>-* (Cnt) to clearly indicate a time horizon that follows the departure of the addressee from the home.

(590) Ja<sup>3</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>chianh<sup>2</sup> hning.  
 there\D2 Aff do\TIP3 3 when Prf Neg-Cnt-be\AIS2 2s  
 She does it there after you are no longer present. (TXT-67.025)

In (591), *ma<sup>2</sup>* combines with the preposition *cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘about’ preceding *mi<sup>3</sup>-* (Impf) to designate an extended span of prior time during which the stated fact already pertained (Saint Peter ruled).



- (591) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tsenh<sup>12</sup> patrón quián<sup>12</sup> dsa, ja<sup>3</sup> dsen<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa,  
 because there where stand\AIsP3 patron of\TAS3 3 capital of\TIS3 3  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>guó<sup>13</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> dsen<sup>13</sup> juøi<sup>2</sup> San<sup>2</sup> Pe<sup>31</sup>,  
 people about Prf Impf-be\AIsS3 3 ruler town San Pedro  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> juanh<sup>12</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 leader of\TAS3 all\3a 3  
 Because it was there that their patron stood, at their religious center, the one who already had  
 been the ruler of the town of Saint Peter, the most important one of all of them. (TXT-34.041)

### 9.11 Prepositional Nouns

Prepositional Nouns such as *ni*<sup>3</sup> ‘face\3’ and *cah*<sup>3</sup> ‘back\3’ represent a phenomenon common to several Otomanguan languages; namely, that certain inalienable nouns that name body parts have a secondary deictic use akin to that of prepositions. Such nouns do not syntactically subordinate in the manner of prepositions, but occur as noun phrase heads with following possessor constituent. These two specific nouns as illustrated in (592) and (593), with respective meanings ‘on’ and ‘behind’.

- (592) Jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> jein<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa má<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Aff lie\IIsS3 Ana\i face\3 shelf there where make\TIP3 3 meal  
 There it was sitting, there on the shelf where she prepares meals. (TXT-29.067)
- (593) Ca<sup>1</sup>jii<sup>3</sup>núng<sup>1</sup> dsa cah<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsio<sup>1</sup>neng<sup>12</sup> guøh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-go\R-stand\AIR3 3 back\3 princess Prf-midnight church=house  
 He went and stood behind the princess at midnight inside the church. (TXT-25.228)

### 9.12 The Noun *juu*<sup>12</sup> ‘road’

The directional noun *juu*<sup>12</sup> ‘road’ is another locative noun that has a preposition-like role when occurring as the head of a Noun Phrase that occupies the Locative position of a sentence with a motion or directional verb, as in (594)–(596).

- (594) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ηó<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> guó<sup>13</sup> chiég<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 afterwards now go\AIsP3 Aff John road where reside\AIsS3 mother\3 3  
 After that, John went to where his mother lives. (TXT-11.507)
- (595) Na<sup>1</sup> ηóh<sup>3</sup> hning juu<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 now walk\AIsI2 2s road ground  
 From now on you will travel on the ground. (TXT-38.096)

- (596) dsa<sup>2</sup>    ɲii<sup>2</sup>nio<sup>3</sup>        juu<sup>12</sup> tai<sup>3</sup>  
 people travel\AIpP3 road foot\3  
 people who travel on foot (TXT-54.143)

### 9.13 The Verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’

The transitive allocational verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ (§14.1) functions like a preposition, both as noun modifier and as nominal constituent of a clause. Its underlying verbal character is shown in (597), whereas its more preposition-like use is illustrated in (598) and (599).

- (597) Dóh<sup>3</sup>    a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>        ju<sup>3</sup>        hi<sup>2</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa    hmøah<sup>12</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>ɲii<sup>3</sup>høin<sup>12</sup>        dsa.  
 because not-be\IIS3 as=though that\i of\TIS3 3    cloth    Pst-go\R-steal\TID3 3  
 Because it is not that the cloth they went and stole was for themselves. (TXT-37.1142)

- (598) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>        ca<sup>1</sup>tiúh<sup>1</sup>        hløg<sup>2</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa.  
 not-be\IIS3 Pst-prevail\TIC3    boulder    of\TIS3 3  
Their boulder was not enough. (TXT-37.973)

- (599) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>        ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>        dsa    quieg<sup>1</sup>    jn<sup>12</sup>.  
 not-be\IIS3 Prf-Pst-do\TIC3    3    of\TIS1s 1s  
 They have done nothing to me. (TXT-08.030)

### 9.14 Prepositions in Combination

Several prepositions commonly combine with one another and with conjunctions. For example, *ja<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>1</sup>* ‘face-to=face\3’ from *ja<sup>3</sup>* ‘where’, *ta<sup>1</sup>* ‘to’, and *ni<sup>3</sup> > ni<sup>1</sup>* ‘face\3’, as in (600); *ta<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>-* ‘to\Prf’ as in (601); *ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘to such’, as in (602); *ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>* ‘to there where’, as in (603); *ta<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>* ‘to within’, as in (604); *ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>* ‘before’, as in (605); *juu<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘toward’, as in (606); *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘to the extent that’, as in (607); *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup>* ‘together with’, as in (608); and *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup>* ‘together with\Prf’, as in (609).

- (600) Jøng<sup>2</sup>    báh<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>rø<sup>1</sup>        jóg<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup>        dsa, ja<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>1</sup>    hlég<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i    Aff    Pst-Act\C-resolved\IIS3    issue say\TIP3 3    at to face\3 soldier  
 So the matter was settled, they say, in the presence of the soldiers. (TXT-11.838)

- (601) Ta<sup>1</sup>    pñh<sup>3</sup>        hi<sup>2</sup>    jøng<sup>2</sup>    báh<sup>3</sup>    ta<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>høa<sup>12</sup> si<sup>2</sup>    ta<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>høa<sup>12</sup> si<sup>2</sup>    báh<sup>3</sup>    dsa.  
 while tiny\AIS3 that\i Ana\i    Aff    that    Prf-read\TIP3 that Prf-read\TIP3 Aff 3  
 It was so from the time he was small that already he was reading, that already he was reading.  
 (TXT-37.501)

- (602) Hning<sup>2</sup>    neng<sup>12</sup>        ta<sup>1</sup>    lám<sup>1</sup>    ió<sup>1</sup>,    ta<sup>1</sup>        lám<sup>1</sup>        uóin<sup>2</sup>.  
 war    BE\IIS3    to    such\i D2\i to        such\i    far\IIS3  
 There is a war going on over there, there far away. (TXT-9.091)

- (603) Dóh<sup>3</sup> juen<sup>12</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> dsa tiogh<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
because very-many 3 be\AIP3 to such\i where go\AIpI1p 1i  
Because there are a great many people there where we are going. (TXT-07.059)
- (604) Jøng<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>quiúh<sup>1</sup> hning mói<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup>.  
Ana\i go\I2-throw\TID2 2s ball to within  
Then go throw a ball into it. (TXT-05.377)
- (605) Ta<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> dság<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> hóah<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
to such\i within go\AIP3 that declaim\TII2 2p word Ana\i  
Before that happens, you will speak those words. (TXT-37.792)
- (606) Cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ñé<sup>12</sup> dsa juu<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> hé<sup>1</sup> juøi<sup>2</sup> Mø<sup>1</sup>hie<sup>1</sup>.  
simply Neg-Pst-get-past\AIC3 3 path to such\i downriver=end\3 town Valle=Nacional  
They simply could not pass beyond the path to the lower end of the town of Valle Nacional.  
(TXT-32.079)
- (607) Ma<sup>2</sup>guó<sup>12</sup> Gabino ti<sup>2</sup>ñié<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lálh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>guó<sup>12</sup>  
Prf-live\AIsS3 Gabino poor\AIS3 Pst-happen\IIC3 unto about Impf-live\AIsS3  
dsa jmai<sup>3</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>.  
3 before  
Gabino became poor to the same extent that he had been before. (TXT-05.298)
- (608) Tan<sup>3</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tái<sup>1</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> muñeca ca<sup>1</sup>lálh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> lø<sup>3</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
forthwith Pst-take=with\TAC3 woman elderly=woman doll unto with rabbit Ana\ a  
The old woman quickly took the doll home together with the rabbit. (TXT-04.132)
- (609) Lóa<sup>12</sup> mói<sup>1</sup>gu<sup>2</sup>jinh<sup>13</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> gu<sup>2</sup>guieg<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> góah<sup>12</sup> dsa  
be\IIS3 avocado as be\IIS3 avocado=pear that\i eat\TIP3 3  
ca<sup>1</sup>lálh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> cuúh<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>.  
unto Prf-with skin\3 of\TIS3  
The sweet avocado is like the wild avocado in that you can eat it together with the skin.  
(MJA-04 019)

## 10. Conjunctions

This chapter discusses the forms listed in (531), classified here as subordinating conjunctions.

(610) <i>mi</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘when (prior)’	<i>ju</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>jmai</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘if\CF’
<i>na</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘when (subsequent)’	<i>chii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>juúh</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘if\Indef’
<i>ja</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘where, at’	<i>dóh</i> <sup>3</sup> / <i>díh</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘because’
<i>ju</i> <sup>3</sup> , <i>ju</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>ná</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘if’	<i>hi</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘that\i’

### 10.1 Temporal Clauses

The first two conjunctions listed in (531), *mi*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (prior)’ and *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (subsequent)’, always subordinate clauses in temporal relation to a matrix clause. A matrix clause always references a prior situation or event, at least at inception, to that referenced by a related subordinate clause introduced by *mi*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (past)’; whereas, a matrix clause always references a situation or event that is subsequent to that referenced by a related subordinate clause introduced by *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (future)’.

### 10.2 The Conjunction *mi*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (past)’

The conjunction *mi*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (past)’ subordinates a completive or perfective clause to a stative, progressive, perfective, or completive clause, as in (612)–(614), but never to an Intensive clause. A progressive matrix clause in this context has imperfective force, a completive clause has perfective force, in both cases at a time horizon prior to the time of the speech act.

(611) *Tei*<sup>3</sup> *guó*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *guiuh*<sup>13</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*u*<sup>1</sup>*lén*<sup>2</sup> *hieh*<sup>12</sup> *huu*<sup>13</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup>.  
 quietly sit\AIsS3 3 top tree when Pst-arrive=here\AIpC3 jaguar foot\3 tree  
 He was sitting quietly up in the tree when the jaguars arrived at the base of the tree. (TXT-01.032)

(612) *Jái*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *ja*<sup>3</sup> *cán*<sup>2</sup> *dsí*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>3</sup>*jø*<sup>2</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*dsiég*<sup>1</sup> *hieh*<sup>12</sup>.  
 watch\TIP3 3 where waft\TIP3 wind camalote=grass when Pst-arrive\AIsC3 jaguar  
 He was watching the wind waft the camalote grass when Jaguar arrived. (TXT-03.294)

(613) *Jøng*<sup>2</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*héng*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* *hmó*<sup>2</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup> *na*<sup>2</sup>*jnie*<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Prf-moan\AIP3 3 earlier=today\IIS3 when HOD-see\IIC3  
 Then she was moaning this morning at dawn. (TXT-29.252)

(614) *Ca*<sup>1</sup>*jái*<sup>1</sup> *dsa* *gog*<sup>12</sup> *quiah*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *mi*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*guønh*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* *jøng*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-see\TIC3 3 chest of\TIS3 3 when Prf-arrive=home\AIsP3 3 Ana\i  
 She looked in her chest after she had gotten home then. (TXT-29.138)

### 10.3 The Conjunction *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (subsequent)’

The conjunction *na*<sup>3</sup> ‘when (subsequent)’ subordinates a perfective clause to a stative, progressive, or Intensive clause, as in (615)–(617), but never to a completive or perfective clause. A stative or progressive matrix clause in this context tends to have either timeless or iterative force; an Intensive matrix clause references a time horizon subsequent to that of the speech act.

(615) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tei<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>güén<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>neng<sup>2</sup>.  
because peaceful asleep\AIS3 Aff 1s of\TIS1s when Prf-Pst-dark\IIC3  
Because I sleep soundly after dark. (TXT-29.307)

(616) Dsø<sup>2</sup>quiín<sup>2</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>güen<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
go\P3-bring\TID3 3 of\TIS3 person when Prf-p-sleep\AIP3 person  
She went and got it from people, after the people were all asleep. (TXT-29.324)

(617) Na<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni jóg<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> nei<sup>3</sup> jni.  
soon Aff make\TII1s 1s word when Prf-Pst-reach\IIC3 when go\AIsI1s 1s  
I will let you know soon, when it is time for me to go. (TXT-05.024)

### 10.4 The locative conjunction *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘at, where’

The conjunction *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘at, where’ is an all-purpose locative subordinator that occurs almost three times as often in the Chinantec textual database (1861 times) as both of the temporal conjunctions put together (*mi*<sup>3</sup> 546 times, *na*<sup>3</sup> 160 times). It subordinates clauses as well as a variety of phrases, certain adverbs, and deictic words. It references spatial location in most instances, but also extends to temporal reference and more generally to any aspect of human experience. In spatial locative reference it occurs more often than all spatial prepositions put together. A range of examples is presented in (618)–(620).

(618) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> guó<sup>12</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
Pst-arrive-there\AIsC3 3 where Ana\i where live\AIsS3 king  
He arrived there where the king lives. (TXT-11.173)

(619) Ca<sup>1</sup>jén<sup>2</sup> dsa møh<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>quiúh<sup>12</sup> dsa cuai<sup>3</sup> jø<sup>3</sup>nung<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
Pst-meet\TAC3 3 viper where IMPF-cut\TIP3 3 firewood field of\TIS3 3  
He encountered a snake while chopping firewood in his field. (APS-01 006)

(620) Dsa<sup>2</sup> njoh<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>nji<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cáih<sup>1</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jenh<sup>1</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
man Aff Prf-know\TIS3 dress\3 woman that\i wear\TII3 3 when marry\AI3 3  
It is the man who must provide the dress a woman will wear at a marriage ceremony.  
(TXT-22.481)

A clause subordinated by *ja*<sup>3</sup> may function as the descriptive modifier of a spatial noun such as *juu*<sup>12</sup> ‘road’ or temporal noun such as *jmai*<sup>3</sup> ‘day’, as in (621) and (622).

(621) Diú<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ηii<sup>12</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tai<sup>1</sup>.  
 God Prf-know\TIS3 day when call-for\TAI3  
 It is God who knows when he will call us home. (TXT-54.055)

(622) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> li<sup>1</sup>siog<sup>1</sup> cu<sup>3</sup>chiang<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i not-be\IIS3 path where able\I-descend\AI3 Cls-brocket=deer Pst-happen\IIC3  
 So it turned out that there was no path where Brocket Deer could get down. (TXT-19.261)

In (623), *ja*<sup>3</sup> introduces temporal nouns to form temporal phrases.

(623) Dóh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> hiá<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hiég<sup>1</sup>, jniang<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>niang<sup>3</sup>  
 so Ana\i Neg-say\TII3 3 at tomorrow at day=after-tomorrow li Pst-walk\AIpR1p  
 lám<sup>1</sup> tøi<sup>2</sup> guiag<sup>13</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>, tsa<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>12</sup> guing<sup>2</sup>.  
 such\I know-how\TIS1p Refl\1p li not-know\TIS3 child  
 So then he will not say later on that we did what we ourselves wanted without him knowing.  
 (TXT-22.009)

The conjunction *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘at, where’ combines idiomatically with a variety of adverbs and other word classes. It combines with inanimate deictics and anaphors to form locative adverbs, as in (624). Note that *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup> derives from *ja*<sup>3</sup> + *ná*<sup>12</sup> ‘that\D1’, showing a trace of tone sandhi.

(624) *ja*<sup>3</sup> *la*<sup>2</sup> ‘here’  
*ja*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup> ‘there\D1’  
*ja*<sup>3</sup> *ió*<sup>1</sup> ‘there\D2’  
*ja*<sup>3</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘there (Ana\i)’  
*ja*<sup>3</sup> *jnung*<sup>2</sup> ‘there (Ana\i)’

In 0, two adjunct locatives with *ja*<sup>3</sup> occur appositively, the first an anaphoric locative adverb, the second a locative clause. In (626), *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where’ is probably best interpreted as having two appositive partners, *hiúg*<sup>3</sup> *hieh*<sup>12</sup> ‘jaguar was’ and *rø<sup>2</sup>güén<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ron<sup>12</sup>* ‘jaguar lay sleeping’.

(625) Ca<sup>1</sup>guónh<sup>1</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>guó<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-arrive=home\AIsC3 3 where Ana\i where Impf-reside\AIsS3 3  
 He arrived back home there where he was living. (TXT-01.064)

(626) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ηó<sup>12</sup> chi<sup>2</sup>quiig<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hiúg<sup>3</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>güén<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ron<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i go\AIsP3 cicada where be\AIsS3 jaguar asleep\AIs3 Aff jaguar lie\AIsS3  
 So cicada goes off where jaguar was, lying sound asleep. (TXT-03.119)

It combines with the inanimate allocational verb (§14.1), to form locative nominal expressions referencing personal dwellings (§12.5), as in (627). Note that in this context, that forms of the allocational verb also show traces of tone sandhi in nonfirst person, where underlying forms are *quián*<sup>2</sup> ‘of\TIS1p’, *quiánh*<sup>2</sup> ‘of\TIS2’, and *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’.

- (627) *ja*<sup>3</sup> *quieg*<sup>1</sup>            ‘my home’  
           *ja*<sup>3</sup> *quián*<sup>3</sup>            ‘our home’  
           *ja*<sup>3</sup> *quiánh*<sup>3</sup>        ‘your home’  
           *ja*<sup>3</sup> *quiah*<sup>13</sup>        ‘his/her/their home’

Since motion and directional verbs entail source and goal locatives, many occurrences of *ja*<sup>3</sup> occur with such verbs to introduce such constituents. An example of a fronted goal reference with *ja*<sup>3</sup> is presented in (628).

- (628) *Ja*<sup>3</sup>    *guó*<sup>12</sup>            *ti*<sup>3</sup>*ŋieh*<sup>1</sup>    *jni* *dsóg*<sup>3</sup>        *jniang*<sup>3</sup>.  
           where reside\AIS3 father\1s 1s go\AIP1p 1i  
           We will go to where my father lives. (TXT-05.137)

The preposition *ja*<sup>3</sup> is used with *ma*<sup>2</sup>- (Prf) to form ordinal numerals as indicated in §13.1 and illustrated again in (629), but is also used with numerals in temporal expressions to indicate a date, as in (630).

- (629) *Ja*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*hñi*<sup>2</sup> *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*jñiéng*<sup>2</sup> *ja*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*guio*<sup>1</sup> *jlánh*<sup>3</sup>        *hlaih*<sup>13</sup> *cu*<sup>1</sup> *té*<sup>12</sup>.  
           fifth            sixth            seventh        elegant\IIS3 very        extremely  
           The fifth, sixth, seventh (rooms) were extremely fancy. (TXT-37.1420)

- (630) *Ja*<sup>3</sup>    *jñiéng*<sup>2</sup> *tsøh*<sup>2</sup>    *julio* *ca*<sup>1</sup>*hen*<sup>1</sup>        *juøi*<sup>2</sup> *cøh*<sup>3</sup>.  
           where six\i    month July Pst-ruin\IIC3 town Tlatepuzco  
           It was on July six that the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco was destroyed. (TXT-66.019)

It may have temporal as well as spatial reference as well, as in (631), although the large preponderance of occurrences reference spatial location.

- (631) *Ja*<sup>3</sup>    *ca*<sup>1</sup>*hian*<sup>2</sup>        *hieg*<sup>2</sup>, *ni*<sup>3</sup>*dsén*<sup>2</sup>        *dsa* *guiuh*<sup>13</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup>.  
           when Pst-rise\AIC3 sun    p-mount\AIS3 3    above tree Ana\i  
           When the sun rose, they were up at the top of those trees. (TXT-10.018)

It combines with a variety of other words and phrases to form temporal and locative adverbs, as in (632), where *siih*<sup>3</sup> also shows a trace of tone sandhi.

(632) <i>ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup></i>	‘at night’	from <i>neng<sup>2</sup></i> ‘dark\TIS3’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> tag<sup>12</sup></i>	‘rear end’	from <i>tag<sup>12</sup></i> ‘defacate\TIP3’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>12</sup></i>	‘outdoors’	possibly from <i>dsi<sup>2</sup></i> ‘extract\TIsP3’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> siih<sup>3</sup></i>	‘elsewhere’	from <i>siih<sup>2</sup></i> ‘other\IIS3’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup></i>	‘hell’	from <i>hlaih<sup>13</sup></i> ‘evil\IIS3’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup></i>	‘the past’	from <i>ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup></i> ‘Prf-Pst-come\IIC3’

## 10.5 Conditional Clauses

A Condition is introduced by any of the four conjunctions, listed in (633).

(633) <i>ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup></i>	‘if’
<i>ju<sup>3</sup></i>	‘if’
<i>ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup></i>	‘if\CF’
<i>chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup></i>	‘if\Indef’

## 10.6 The Conjunction *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’

The conjunction *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’, based on *ju<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’ and a tonal sandhi form of the inanimate deictic *ná<sup>12</sup>* ‘that\DI’, is the primary vehicle for introducing a simple condition in Chinantec. The syntactic partner that *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* introduces may be an independent clause, including an embedded (indirect) question, or a Complement clause. A wide variety of tense-aspects occur in both main and subordinate clauses. The subordinate clause normally follows the main clause as an adjunct, but may be fronted to place it in focus.

(634)	Tsa <sup>1</sup> lé <sup>2</sup>	sióg <sup>3</sup>	jni hñiéng <sup>1</sup>	ju <sup>3</sup> ná <sup>3</sup>	guu <sup>1</sup>	dsa hñiah <sup>12</sup>	dsa cah <sup>3</sup>	jáh <sup>2</sup> .			
	Neg-able\III3	descend\AII1s	1s	Refl\1s	if	sit\AIsI3	3	Refl\3s	3	back\3	animal
I myself cannot get down if she wants to mount the animal by herself. (TXT-11.418)											

(635)	Tsa <sup>1</sup> jón <sup>2</sup>	dsa <sup>2</sup>	héi <sup>2</sup>	ju <sup>3</sup> ná <sup>3</sup>	hi <sup>2</sup>	uénh <sup>2</sup>	hi <sup>2</sup>	quiégh <sup>2</sup>	dsa lálh <sup>1</sup>	quianh <sup>13</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> tói <sup>2</sup> .
	Neg-die\AIsI3	people	Ana\	a	if	that\i	cut\TMI3	that\i	cut\TNI3	3	with machete
	Such a person will not die if cut or chopped by a machete. (TXT-08.083)										

(636) Dóh <sup>3</sup>	jøng <sup>2</sup>	høa <sup>12</sup>	tsih <sup>2</sup>	si <sup>2</sup> ,	ju <sup>3</sup> ná <sup>3</sup>	tei <sup>3</sup>	tiogh <sup>3</sup>	tsih <sup>2</sup> .
because	Ana\i	read\TIP3	youngster	book	if	quietly	be\AIpS3	youngster
But the youngsters are reading, <u>if</u> they are sitting quietly. (TXT-04.219)								

(637) Ma <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> jaí <sup>12</sup>	ju <sup>3</sup> ná <sup>3</sup>	tsa <sup>1</sup> co <sup>1</sup>	dsa.
Prf-p-watch\TIP3	if	Neg-compete\TII3	3
They are watching <u>on the chance</u> they do not compete. (TXT-11.885)			

If *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* introduces a past-tense subordinate clause, with a nonpast main clause, it may express indefinite temporal force, as in (638).



(638) Ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jói<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, ieg<sup>12</sup> dsa si<sup>2</sup>.  
 if Pst-see\TNC3 person extinguish\TIP3 3 light  
Whenever someone has seen them, they put out the light. (TXT-15.009)

If it introduces a past-tense indirect question, the force of the interrogative word is made indefinite, as in (639).

(639) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> hiih<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lóa<sup>1</sup>.  
 because shame cause\TII3 if what Pst-happen\IIC3  
 Because it would cause shame if something happened. (TXT-22.289)

### 10.7 The Conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> ‘if’

The conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> ‘if’ may occur alone, without the anaphor *ná*<sup>12</sup> to introduce a less definite condition than is introduced by *ju*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup>, as in (640) and (641), counter-factual conditions, as in (642), or concessive conditions, as in (643) and (644).

(640) Ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> Gabino ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chií<sup>1</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>,  
 how Pst-do\TIC3 Gabino Pst-Act\C-be\IIS3 money  
 ju<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> Gabino mi<sup>3</sup>lóa<sup>12</sup>.  
 if not=be\IIS3 be\IIS3 of\TIS3 Gabino IMPF-be\IIS3  
 What has Gabino done to get so much money, if he did not used to have anything. (TXT-05.261)

(641) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> jmó<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> hí<sup>3</sup>  
 Neg-CONT-capture\TMI3 Ana\i Aff person D1\ a if do\TIR3 who cure\TAI3  
 Such [a life force] can no longer be recovered no matter who might try to do a cure. (TXT-54.232)

(642) Si<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hji<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>høa<sup>13</sup> jni ju<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hú<sup>1</sup> jín<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>  
 grade fifth\i Opt-read\TII1s 1s if Ana\i Pst-enter\AIsc1s Aff 1s  
 quiah<sup>12</sup> tóa<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>2</sup>.  
 of\TIS3 teacher long=ago  
 I would have entered fifth grade if I had continued in school years ago. (AGJ-10 014)

(643) Ju<sup>3</sup> hí<sup>2</sup> hlian<sup>13</sup> jni jáinh<sup>13</sup> jni, ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> jáinh<sup>13</sup> jni.  
 if that\i paid\AIS1s 1s hand-over\TII1s 1s not\IIS3 hand-over\TII1s 1s  
Even if I were paid to give it back, I would not do so. (TXT-01.164)

(644) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hno<sup>1</sup> jni ju<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> hí<sup>2</sup> hno<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 not=be\IIS3 want\TIS1s 1s regardless=of what that\i want\TIS1s 1s  
 I do not want anything, regardless of what I want. (TXT-11.020)

The conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> may also be used to express alternatives, as in (645).

(645) Cøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>, ju<sup>3</sup> jmóa<sup>12</sup>.  
 just that\i do\TIP3 work Aff 3 Ana\i if sun if rain  
 They continually did that work, whether rain or shine. (TXT-12.088)

Or it may introduce a variety of nonconditional clauses, to signal injunctive force or add uncertainty to an expression. When occurring as the first constituent of a main clause, it has injunctive force for any subject person or impersonal subject, as in (646)–(650).

(646) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> blanco.  
 Ana\i let make\TII1s 1s one\i target  
Let me make a target. (TXT-49.023)

(647) ¡Ju<sup>3</sup> quie<sup>13</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>!  
 let eat\TII1p 1i  
Let's eat! (TXT-03.074)

(648) ¡Tsa<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>3</sup> heh<sup>3</sup> hning jóg<sup>3</sup>!  
 Neg-let reveal\TIR2 2s word  
Don't you even think about telling! (TXT-37.677)

(649) Ju<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 let arrive=there\AIpI3 3  
Let them go there! (TXT-47.389)

(650) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>, ¡Ju<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>13</sup>!  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 king let be\IIS3  
 Then the king said, “Forget about it!” (TXT-47.388)

When in other than clause-initial position, *ju<sup>3</sup>* may introduce uncertainty into a main clause. This may entail placing *ju<sup>3</sup>* between constituents that normally occur adjacent to one another, such as the adverb *la<sup>3</sup>* (Non) and a following verb, as in (651), or between an interrogative and a verb, as in (652). In (653), *ju<sup>3</sup>* separates the two parts of the complex interrogative *ha<sup>2</sup> tøh<sup>1</sup>* ‘whither’, which consists of *ha<sup>2</sup>* ‘where’, that may occur alone as in (652), and *tøh<sup>1</sup>*, that occurs nowhere else in the language apart from this complex interrogative (though it is quite probably derived from the conjunction *tø<sup>1</sup>* ‘to’).

(651) La<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>1</sup>gag<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 Non may deceived\TNI3 Aff D1\ a  
 They would just deceive us. (TXT-11.160)

(652) ¡Ha<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ηai<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jnung<sup>2</sup>!  
 where may answer\DAD3 person that\ a  
 How could that fellow possibly answer! (TXT-19.210)

(653) ɿHa² ju³ tøh¹ gu³noh¹² hniah¹² tsih²?  
 whither-perhaps go\AIP12 2p youngster  
 Wherever would you be going, children? (TXT-19.556)

In (654), *ju³* follows a left-dislocation, shown by the repeated pronoun *jni* ‘I’, but remains functionally initial in its clause thereby yielding an injunctive interpretation.

(654) Jni² báh³ ta¹ dsóh², ju³ ɲii³jmo¹ jni cøng² ta³.  
 1s Aff truly may go\IIs-do\TID1s 1s one\i work  
 I am truly the one, let me go and do some work! (TXT-11.161)

The conjunction *ju³* may occur as complement of verbs that take complements as terms. With verbs of negation, for example, *ju³* introduces a subject nominal asserted to be untrue, as in (655)–(658).

(655) A¹jáŋg¹ ju³ jmø¹guøi¹ síh².  
 not=be\IIS3 as=though world other\IIS3  
 It was not some other world. (TXT-17.024)

(656) A¹jáŋg¹ ju³ jni² tsa¹ca¹cuø¹ mai³¹.  
 not=be\IIS3 as=though 1s Neg-Pst-give\TIC1s stratagem  
 It is not as though I did not let you know how to do it. (TXT-06.162)

(657) A¹jáŋg¹ ju³ jøng² hi² cøgh² dsa.  
 not=be\IIS3 if Ana\i that\i eat\TIP3 3  
 He is not supposed to be eating it. (TXT-38.080)

(658) Ha¹chii² ju³ hi² hlianh¹³ jni hno¹ jni.  
 not=be\IIS3 as=though that\i employed\AIS1s 1s want\TIS1s 1s  
 It is not the case that I wish to be paid. (TXT-19.534)

In (659)–(661), subject and object complements introduced by *ju³* express uncertainty concerning the truth of referenced situations.

(659) Tsa¹dsio¹ ju³ hi² lán¹² dsa lám¹ jøng².  
 Neg-good\IIS3 if that\i be\TMP3 3 like Ana\i  
 It is bad if they behave like that. (TXT-06.226)

(660) Tsa¹guiang³ jni, juúh² Juø¹¹³, ju³ hi² tiág¹² jni.  
 Neg-know\TIS1s 1s say\TIP3 John if that\i able\AIP1s 1s  
 “I do not know,” said John, “if I can do it. (TXT-11.534)

(661) Jøng² ju³ ne¹³ ju³ hi² tiúh¹ dsa.  
 Ana\i may see\TII1p if that\i prevail\TII3 3  
 Then let’s see if he will win. (TXT-09.095)

The conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> occurs in alternative expressions following the conjunction *ho*<sup>1</sup> ‘or’ (fr. Spanish *o*), either before the second alternative alone, as in (662) and (663), or before both of them, as in (664) and (665).

(662) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ŋieh<sup>13</sup> hning ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> jŋie<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> guie<sup>1</sup> hŋi<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>.  
 Ana\i go=and=return\AIsI2 2s again more one=week or more two=weeks  
 So, come back again in another week or possibly two. (TXT-22.246)

(663) Ni<sup>3</sup>hmih<sup>3</sup> hning jmóh<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cøŋg<sup>2</sup> hora ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ŋii<sup>3</sup> méih<sup>1</sup>.  
 p-close=eyes\AIP2 2s do\TII2 like at one\i hour or be\IIS3 a=little=more  
 Close your eyes tightly for about an hour or perhaps a little more. (TXT-11.473)

(664) Hlanh<sup>1</sup> dsa roh<sup>13</sup> dsa ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>juu<sup>12</sup> ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> hniu<sup>3</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> mó<sup>2</sup>.  
 speak\TAI3 3 fellow\3 3 or in=path or house\3 girl  
 They will speak to each other perhaps along the path or perhaps at the girl’s home. (TXT-23.004)

(665) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ŋii<sup>12</sup> ŋii<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>jián<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tén<sup>2</sup>,  
 because no=one\AIS3 that\i know\TIS3 not=one who first Pst-befall\TMC3  
 ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mó<sup>2</sup>, ho<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ŋioh<sup>12</sup>.  
 or woman or man  
 Because no one knows who will [die] first, whether the woman or the man. (TXT-22.380)

The conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> combines with the inanimate anaphor *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’ to form the complex conjunction *ju*<sup>3</sup> *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘as, like, in the manner of’ which indefinitely references a ‘type’ rather than a specific person or event, as in (666)–(668).

(666) Ju<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> jlánh<sup>3</sup>, góah<sup>12</sup> dsa má<sup>1</sup>.  
 like person Ana\ a people be\IIS3 money people elegant\AIS3 eat\TIP3 3 meal  
 Such as those people, rich people, elegant people, they eat the food. (TXT-22.488)

(667) Jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa jan<sup>3</sup>, ju<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>.  
 do\AIP3 3 dance like do\TIP3 turkey  
 She was dancing along like a turkey does. (TXT-29.127)

(668) Ju<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ŋi<sup>3</sup> pala jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 like be\IIS3 metal shovel make\TII2 2s  
 Make it like the blade of a spade. (TXT-08.080)

Preceding a fronted nominal, *ju*<sup>3</sup> expresses concession and doubt.

(669) Ju<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>já<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, ...  
 if who person Pst-come\AIsC3 Asv  
 Whoever should come along, right? ... (TXT-37.677)

- (670) *ɿJu³ jniang³ jmó³ tsa¹hiug² dsóa¹²?*  
 as=though 1i do\TII1p unagreeable\AIS1p  
 Who are we that we should not agree? (TXT-23.174)

## 10.8 The Conjunction *ju³ jmai³* ‘if\CF’

The conjunction *ju³ jmai³* ‘if\CF’ consists of the conditional preposition *ju³* ‘if’ as subordinator with the noun *jmai³* ‘day, time’ as its partner in a configuration suggesting that the remainder of the conditional expression modifies the noun *jmai³* as head of an NP. This conjunction may introduce a counter-factual condition, as in (671)–(675), which show a variety of tense-aspect sequences. The partner of *ju³ jmai³* is a complement clause in (671) and an independent clause in the other four illustrations. The conditionals in both (673) and (674) are in the past, but the latter is unmarked, a common occurrence with verbs of motion, including round-trip directional verbs (§3.5).

- (671) *Dsa² ca¹jon¹ báh³ ná¹² ju³ jmai³ hi² ma²ren² dsa dsag³.*  
 person Pst-die\AIsC3 Aff that\ə if that\i Prf-guilty\TIS3 3 crime  
 That fellow would have died if he were guilty of a crime. (TXT-01.095)
- (672) *Mi³jlán² dsa ju³ jmai³ ni³ganh¹³ dsa ni³ jein³.*  
 Opt-crush\TMI3 3 if day lying-down\AIpS3 3 on\3 bed  
 They would have been crushed if they had been lying on the bed. (TXT-47.233)
- (673) *Láh¹ jøng² mi³lé² jmø¹guói¹ ju³ jmai³ ca¹løa¹ láh¹ jøng².*  
 like Ana\i Opt-be\III3 world if day Pst-happen\IIC3 like Ana\i  
 That is how the earth would have been if it had happened like that. (TXT-12.002)
- (674) *Mi³cágh¹² jáh² ju³ jmai³ hi² ɳii³hiuh³ Diú¹³ héh¹.*  
 Opt-eat\TNI3 animal if day that\i go\R-order\TIR3 God ruling  
 The animal would have eaten him if God had so decreed. (TXT-01.232)
- (675) *Ju³ jmai³ hio¹³ ca¹ɳii³jái³, jøng² láh¹ jøng² ca¹hen¹.*  
 if day woman Pst-go\R-see\TIR3 Ana\i like Ana\i Pst-ruin\IIC3  
 But if a woman were to go and see it, then that thing would be ruined. (TXT-12.034)
- An opening condition with *ju³ jmai³* and a following tag condition with *ju³*, mark coreferential counter-factual conditions in (676).
- (676) *Ju³ jmai³ láh¹ lé² jøng² na¹, tsa¹tián¹ ju³ láh¹ jøng².*  
 if day such\i be\III3 Ana\i now Neg-tolerate\III3 if such\i Ana\i  
 If it were to be like that now, it would be intolerable, if it were like that. (TXT-18.048)

In (677), the complex form *ju<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup>* joins with *jmai<sup>3</sup>*, where *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘thus/i’ has a cataphoric ‘type’ reference to ‘being able to deliver’.

(677) *Ju<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tiánh<sup>1</sup> hning lagh<sup>3</sup> hning jní<sup>2</sup>, lagh<sup>3</sup> hning jní<sup>2</sup>.*  
 if such\i day that\i able\AII2 2s deliver\TNI2 2s 1s deliver\TNI2 2s 1s  
 “If you should be able to deliver me, you will deliver me. (TXT-08.069)

In (678), the *ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>* condition is not counter-factual but presents a challenge to the king that requires a choice of uncertain outcome.

(678) *Tiág<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>*  
 able\AII1s Aff 1s do\DAI1s 1s cure king  
  
*ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup>.*  
 if day that\i say\TII3 king that\i do\DAI1s 1s cure  
 I will be able to heal the king if the king should ask me to do it. (TXT-26.088)

Like other conditional conjunctions, *ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>* may also introduce alternatives, as in (679).

(679) *Mi<sup>3</sup>hno<sup>1</sup> jni la<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>ηøa<sup>13</sup> jni, ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> tiág<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>tiág<sup>1</sup> jni.*  
 Opt-want\TIS1s 1s Non Opt-walk\AIS1s 1s if able\AII1s Neg-able\AII1s 1s  
 I wanted to just go about freely, [just to see] if I could do it or not. (TXT-24.110)

## 10.9 The Conjunction *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘if\Indef’

The conjunction *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘if\Indef’ expresses an indefinite condition for which the outcome, almost always, depends upon the choice or ability of an actor, as opposed to more definite conditions expressed by *ju<sup>3</sup>* or *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>*, which more often express events or situations without reference to personal deliberation or prowess. This conjunction most probably derives from *chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘be\IIS3’ + *juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘say\TII3’.

The subordinate clause of a *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* condition may be stative, progressive, or intensive; the main clause is always effectively future, as with the intensive verb of (680), the imperative verb of (681), or even the stative verb of (682), which metaphorical represents a possible future act (namely, “I still have one more leg I can kick you with”).

(680) *Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning.*  
 Ana\i say\TII2 Aff 2s if have-interest\AIS2 2s  
 So tell us if you desire this. (TXT-22.025)

(681) Tiú<sup>1</sup> gu<sup>1</sup> jni jøng<sup>2</sup>, chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hnøgh<sup>2</sup> hning jóg<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup>.  
 release\TI! forearm\1s 1s Ana\i if want\TIS2 2s word good\IIS3  
 Let go of my arms, if you want this to end well. (TXT-04.077)

(682) Dsi<sup>13</sup> jin<sup>3</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> tai<sup>1</sup> jni chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>tiúh<sup>13</sup> hning quieg<sup>1</sup>.  
 be\IIS3 more one\i lower=leg\1s 1s if Neg-release\TH2 2s of\TIS1s  
 I have one more leg [I can kick you with] if you don't let go of me. (TXT-04.092)

An embedded (indirect) question subordinated by *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* does not express a condition; it, rather, expresses indefiniteness concerning any expected answer to the embedded question. Examples with various question words are presented in (683)–(688).

(683) Jøng<sup>2</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>3</sup> mih<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> tøh<sup>1</sup> lénh<sup>2</sup> hning  
 Ana\i 2s go\I2-do\TID2 little\IIS3 work if where? think\TIS3 2s  
 gu<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>3</sup> hning ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 go\I2-do\TID2 2s work  
 So, you go and work wherever it is you intend to go and work. (TXT-26.275)

(684) Ja<sup>3</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, dsie<sup>1</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> familia quián<sup>12</sup> dsa  
 in one-week Ana\i discuss\TIpI3 3 word with family of\TAS3 3  
 chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa, he<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> jéinh<sup>1</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 if how? do\TIC3 3 what? word return\TH3 3 of\TIS3 3  
 One week later they will discuss it with their family to see how they will answer or what response they will make. (TXT-22.095)

(685) Dii<sup>3</sup>jái<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jñí<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> he<sup>2</sup> ləa<sup>1</sup> tó<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 go\IIs-see\TID1s Aff 1s if why? call\TNP3 king  
 I will go see why the king is calling for me. (TXT-11.649)

(686) Hñiah<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning juúh<sup>3</sup> hning chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> tøh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning.  
 Refl\2s Aff 2s say\TH2 2s if where where have-interest\AIS2 2s  
 You yourself should say wherever it is that your interest lies. (TXT-22.020)

(687) Jmó<sup>3</sup> jñieh<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> ju<sup>3</sup>roh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lách<sup>1</sup>,  
 do\TH1p 1x word with\TMS3 kinsman\3 person D1\ a also  
 chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lóih<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>rø<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning.  
 if when? Act\I-resolved\IIS3 request of\TIS2 2s  
 We will speak with this one's kinsmen concerning when your request will be decided.  
 (TXT-22.247)

(688) Na<sup>1</sup> tianh<sup>13</sup> hning dsa, chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> he<sup>2</sup> hora dság<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 today spy\TAI2 2s 3 if what? hour go\AIsP3 3  
 Today you must spy on her to find out what time she goes. (TXT-29.020)

The expression *ju<sup>3</sup> chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘if be\IIS3’ may also be used with the same force as *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* to express indefiniteness in respect to an embedded question.

- (689) Na<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ñii<sup>3</sup>cáng<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> he<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>chie<sup>1</sup>.  
 now Aff go\IIs-take=back\TID1s word if be\IIS3 what? Opt-say\TII3 mother\1s  
 I will go take this message home to see what my mother might have an opinion. (TXT-11.371)

A *chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>* condition may be used with indefinite temporal force, where it is clear from context that the expressed event is fully expected to occur, but the exact future timing of its occurrence is unknown.

- (690) Jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>,  
 Ana\i now when Pst-arrive\AIsC3 person Ana\ a Ana\i  
 jøng<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>tsenh<sup>12</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> jñia<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i to Prf-stand\AIsP3 readiness Aff Ana\ a  
 Now then, whenever that one should arrive, then that fellow will be standing in readiness.  
 (TXT-25.122)

### 10.10 The Conjunction *dóh<sup>3</sup>/díh<sup>3</sup>* ‘because’

The conjunction *dóh<sup>3</sup>* ‘because’ and its variant *díh<sup>3</sup>*, express a ground-cause relation, as in (691) and (692).

- (691) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>juúh<sup>1</sup> jni ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 because D1\i Prf-Hod-say\TIC1s 1s Asv  
 Because I have now warned you, O.K.? (TXT-02.052)
- (692) Díh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>hliú<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 because Ana\i Neg-Cnt-heal\TMI3 3  
 Because then the person will not get well. (TXT-54.183)

Both variants of this conjunction may occur in the same sentence, as shown in (693).

- (693) Dóh<sup>3</sup> jai<sup>3</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> uai<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>3</sup>.  
 because look\TI! because hurtful\IIS3 work Rhet  
 Because look! The work is very hard, O.K.? (TXT-24.079)

Curiously enough, this conjunction may be placed at the beginning of either the main clause or the subordinate clause with the same force. Note the two sentences in (694) and (695), which report the same situation after one jaguar has climbed a tree in pursuit of a man while a second jaguar remains on the ground at the foot of the tree. In (694), which is a third-person report of the





overtly into a natural English expression, in all of the examples that follow in (698)–(700), *díh*<sup>3</sup> expressed the idea of ‘therefore’ or of GROUNDS for taking the action.

(698) Ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> jai<sup>3</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 if D1\i because look\TI! because one\i  
 Just take a look for yourself! (TXT-03.303)

(699) Ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> uóí<sup>2</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa,  
 if D1\i because ascend\AI! up tree Prx say\TIP3 3  
 dóh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> jáih<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 because Ana\i see\TII2 2s  
 “Just climb up here into the tree,” he says, “and then you will see.” (TXT-03.309)

(700) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup> máh<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, cuø<sup>3</sup> díh<sup>3</sup> tiú<sup>12</sup>,  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 gnome now give\TI! because firearm  
 jøng<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> blanco.  
 Ana\i may make\TIIIs 1s one\i target  
 So then the gnome says, “Just give me your rifle! And let me make a target.” (TXT-49.022)

### 10.11 Complement Clauses as Conjuncts

A Chinantec Complement clause is an otherwise independent clause introduced by the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that*i*’. The occurrence of complement clauses as terms of certain verbs or in clause adjunct positions to express nominal functions is described in chapter 17; but complement clauses also function as conjuncts, in linear sequence with other clauses, to express a variety of relationships between clauses. In this role, the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> functions not unlike a conjunction, which leads to the discussion of this phenomenon here in this chapter.

A Complement clause may function predicatively to express either side of a CAUSE-EFFECT or MEANS-END relationship, such as GROUND, REASON, MOTIVE, PURPOSE, MEANS, CAUSE, EFFECT, END, or RESULT. Such clauses may be thought of as semantically subordinated to an adjacent independent clause, but there is no compelling reason to treat them as syntactically subordinate. Intonationally and morphologically, only the presence of the complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> distinguishes them from other independent clauses.

A good example of this is found in TXT-29 where, after a lead independent interrogative sentence “Shall I go get a doctor for you?” two consecutive complement clauses follow—

expressing Grounds for action in (701) and in (702)—each of which has the characteristics of an independent sentence.

(701) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup>.  
 so that\i Ana\i heal\III3  
 Because then it will heal. (TXT-29.221)

(702) Hi<sup>2</sup> dsoh<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>.  
 that\i illness very\IIS3 Aff 2s  
 For you are very sick. (TXT-29.222)

On the other hand, a complement clause may also occur in a tighter syntactic and phonological bond with a main clause than those shown above. TXT-30, for example, tells of a person who, in the form of a jaguar companion spirit, is suffering from having stepped on a thorn and addresses a second person, in human form, as ‘cofather’, asking for assistance in removing the thorn. After initial fear is overcome and help is given, the jaguar departs, later leaving the fresh carcass of a fat spotted cavy in payment for the favor. Then the sentence presented in (703) is offered near the end of the tale in explanation of the jaguar spirit’s having used the appellation ‘compadre’. A complement clause expressing grounds, with *hniu<sup>1</sup>* ‘want\TIS3’ as predicator, is subordinated to the clause expressing result, with *ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘Pst-say\TIC3’ as predicator, both by intonation and cadence, and by the conjunction *dóh<sup>3</sup>* ‘because’.

(703) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>1</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> u<sup>1</sup>háí<sup>1</sup> tang<sup>12</sup> hiu<sup>3</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> dsa  
 because that\i want\TIS3 3 that\i exit\IIS3 thorn be-in\IIS3 foreleg\3 3  
  
 ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-say\TIC3 3 cofather  
 It was because he wanted to have the thorn removed from his paw that he had said ‘*compadre*.’  
 (TXT-30.039)

In (704), following the lead sentence, “So that is why he came and called you ...,” (with cataphoric *hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘so that’), two purpose clauses occur in sequence, with *hi<sup>2</sup>* ‘that\i’ being suppressed before the second verb *gu<sup>3</sup>janh<sup>3</sup>* ‘you will go see’, where it could have also occurred acceptably, as indicated by square brackets.

(704) PURPOSE PURPOSE  
 Hi<sup>2</sup> tóh<sup>2</sup> dsa hning<sup>2</sup> [hi<sup>2</sup>] gu<sup>3</sup>janh<sup>3</sup> hning cu<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 that\i call\TAP3 3 2s [that\i] go\I2-see\TAD2 2s comother say\TIP3 3  
 “In order to call you to go over to see your comadre,” they said. (TXT-01.112–13)

From a text where Rabbit deceives Fox by feigning to go off to get them both food, the complement clause in (705) expresses MEANS, as a verbal adjunct.

(705) MEANS                      END  
 Hi<sup>2</sup>    ηó<sup>12</sup>              Ø    ca<sup>1</sup>cuøin<sup>1</sup>              báh<sup>3</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>              láh<sup>3</sup>.  
 that\i go\AIsP3              Pst-flee\AIC3    Aff    Ana\ a    IRONY  
*It is by going off that that one fled, right?* (TXT-04.262–63)

In response to the question: ‘How do you do it? ... You always have so much meat!’ the Complement clause in (706), expresses Means, as an independent clause.

(706) MEANS  
 Hi<sup>2</sup>    nei<sup>3</sup>              máh<sup>2</sup>              báh<sup>3</sup>    jní<sup>2</sup>,    juúh<sup>2</sup>              dsa.  
 that\i go\AIsI1s    mountain    Aff    1s    say\TIP3    3  
 ‘I (do it by) going up into the mountains,’ he said. (TXT-05.011)

The conjunction *dóh<sup>3</sup>* ‘because, therefore’ is a common initial constituent of Complement clauses that express either side of a Cause-Effect relation. For example, after the declaration ‘And Possum's tail is white to this day,’ the Complement clause in (707), with initial *dóh<sup>3</sup>*, expresses the Cause side of the relation.

(707) C                      GROUND  
 Dóh<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>              hieh<sup>12</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup><sup>2</sup>.  
 because that\i Pst-do\TIC3    jaguar    long=ago  
 Because Jaguar caused it to happen long ago. (TXT-03.182)

Three Complement Clauses in two consecutive sentences (708) and (709) follow the statement ‘So I looked at his face’ to express GROUNDS.

(708) C                      GROUND  
 Dóh<sup>3</sup>              hi<sup>2</sup>    lám<sup>1</sup>    jøng<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>.  
 because              that\i    such\i    Ana\i    Pst-happen\IIC3  
 Because of what had happened. (TXT-02.142)

(709) C                      GROUND                      GROUND  
 Dóh<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>hih<sup>3</sup>                      dsa    hi<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>hen<sup>1</sup>              ni<sup>3</sup>    dsa    jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 because that\i Pst-Act\C-shamed\AIS3    3    that\i Pst-ruin\IIC3    face\3 3    Ana\i  
 So *that* he was ashamed that his face was thus ruined. (TXT-02.143)

Also, after the statement, “he pretended not to breath,” *dóh<sup>3</sup>* introduces a Complement clause, expressing Reason or Ground, that has the cognition verb *lih<sup>13</sup>* ‘realize’ as Predicator and a second Complement clause as its object complement.

(710) C                      GROUND                                      COGNITION  
          Dóh<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    lø<sup>2</sup>líh<sup>13</sup>                                      dsa hi<sup>2</sup>    cang<sup>12</sup>                      hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
          because that\i Act\P-realize\TIS3    3    that\i listen\TNP3    jaguar  
          Because he realizes that the jaguar is listening. (TXT-01.014)

CAUSE may also be explicitly stated by a sequence of sentences in the order EFFECT-CAUSE, with *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘do\TIP3’ as the Causal verb in the second sentence, as in (711).

(711) C                      RESULT                                      CAUSE  
          Díh<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>táh<sup>2</sup>                      ñí<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>3</sup>.    Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>                      dsa<sup>2</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>.  
          because Pst-fall\IIsC3    axe                      Pst-do\TIC3    people    Ana\á  
          Because his axe had fallen, caused by those others. (TXT-54.224–25)

## 11. Modal Adverbs

There are eight, postpositional modal adverbs in Tlapepuzcan Chinantec that particularly relate to discourse pragmatics. These adverbs differ syntactically from others in always following an expression that lies within their scope. Three of them, listed in (712), more specifically relate to matters of topic, focus, and intensity. The intensification modal *jính*<sup>3</sup>, apart from its use to express intensity, is also specifically used to express comparison and, for this reason, it is the topic of two sections in this chapter. The other five modal adverbs, listed in (713), convey the speaker's attitude in respect to the way a hearer should assess the truth or importance of an assertion. Be aware that the glosses chosen here for these adverbs are not altogether satisfactory, only approximating a characterization of their meanings when used.

(712) <i>báh</i> <sup>3</sup>	(Affirmation)	<i>jính</i> <sup>3</sup>	(Intensification)
<i>na</i> <sup>1</sup>	(Topic)	<i>jính</i> <sup>3</sup>	in comparative expressions
(713) <i>íéh</i> <sup>1</sup>	(Explication)	<i>ná</i> <sup>3</sup>	(Asseveration)
<i>láh</i> <sup>3</sup>	(Rhetorical)	<i>ñíó</i> <sup>2</sup>	(Enunciation)
<i>mí<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup></i>	(Protestation)		

### 11.1 Affirmation

The affirmation modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> is the most frequent modal adverb, with 2835 occurrences in Chinantec text database, and the most significant in terms of its rhetorical function. It may affirm a word, phrase, clause, or almost any syntactic structure, normally associated with only one constituent of a sentence, always entailing fronting to first position within a clause, and occurring as the final element of the affirmed constituent. The reordering of clause constituents when affirmed closely ties this modal to focus and topicalization. In (714)–(718), predicator, subject, object, and adverbial, respectively, are affirmed.

(714) Nang<sup>12</sup>    *báh*<sup>3</sup>    *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *íó*<sup>1</sup>.  
 hear\TIP3 Aff    person    D2  
 That one yonder was listening. (TXT-29.143)

(715) *Jóg*<sup>3</sup>    *dsio*<sup>1</sup>    *báh*<sup>3</sup>    *chii*<sup>2</sup>.  
 word    good\IIS3 Aff    be\IIS3  
 There is good news. (TXT-23.229)

(716) Jnɪ² báh³ jagh¹³ hning.  
 1s Aff marry\TNI2 2s  
It is I whom you will marry. (TXT-23.039)

(717) Ma²ca¹jnie¹ báh³ neng¹².  
 Prf-Pst-see\IIC3 Aff lay\IIP3  
At daybreak it is there. (TXT-29-017)

(718) Tiog¹³ báh³ uén² mih² jmo¹² dsa.  
 persistently Aff hard\IIS3 little\IIS3 do\TIP3 3  
Always they make it a little hard. (TXT-22.143)

An entire clause may be affirmed, placing *báh³* at the very end, as in (719) and (720).

(719) Jin³ he² ta³ hnøngh² hning jmóh³ báh³.  
 any what work want\TIS2 2s do\TII2 Aff  
 Whatever kind of work you desire. (TXT-11.082)

(720) Dsa² cøng² ni³ jmáh¹ lám¹ hi² guó¹² ta³ juu² báh³.  
 person one\i type\3 only that\i sit\AIsS3 work ash Aff  
 The only thing he ever did was to sit around working with ashes. (TXT-11.151)

On occasion, one element within a clause will be affirmed while the entire clause is affirmed as well, the clause-internal element occurring in first position, but clause-final *báh³* marking affirmation of the entire string, as in (721) and (722).

(721) Hno¹ báh³ jnɪ² he² mi³cuóh³ hning báh³.  
 want\TIS1s Aff 1s what Opt-give\TII2 2s Aff  
I would like whatever you want to give. (TXT-11.022)

(722) Jøng² báh³ jón² dsa lám¹ quianh¹³ njí³ lóa¹² hma² báh³.  
 Ana\i Aff die\AIsI2 3 such\i with tool be\IIS3 wood Aff  
Only then will they die, by means of a weapon made of wood. (TXT-08.084)

The force of affirmation is not always easily shown in an idiomatic English translation, but its common association with fronting focus often yields a very predicate-like effect when a nonverbal constituent is affirmed, so that a cleft structure frequently provides a close equivalent in force, as in (723), ‘morning glories’ is the focal comment and ‘I am planting [them]’ is nonfocal topic.

(723) COMMENT TOPIC  
 Uøin² dsíg² báh³ jan¹² jni.  
 morning=glory Aff plant\TIP1s 1s  
They are morning glories that I am planting. (TXT-37.605)

The affirmation modal is used to mark a nonverbal predicator as predicator. Following the lead sentence, “Nothing just appears without effort,” in TXT-31, sentence (724), below, might be translated idiomatically something like “(Au contraire,) everything we have is the product of hard work.” The sentence consists of two nominal, complement clauses, the first (‘what takes work’) being the logical subject of the second (‘what exists’). They are joined, with the fronted first clause being the focal comment (of predicative force as marked by *báh*<sup>3</sup> and as reflected in the translated cleft construction below), and the second clause being the nonfocal topic. The cleft construction does not, in this case, really provide an adequate English rendition, but perhaps it reflects something of the Chinantec syntax.

(724) COMMENT TOPIC  
 Hi<sup>2</sup> quiin<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup>  
 that\i take\TIS3 work Aff that\i be\IIS3  
It is(only) what takes work that exists. (TXT-37.831)

The claim that the modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> always occurs as the last element of a fronted element requires modification for certain circumstances. Specifically, when a direct constituent of a clause is affirmed, the claim holds true—the entire constituent is fronted with the modal as its final element; but when an element within an phrase is affirmed, the entire phrase is fronted but all the elements of the phrase itself retain their normal linear order.

In both sentence 0(725) and (726), the allocational verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ is affirmed as modifier of a noun (word, work). The difference between 0(725) and (726) is that fronting of the subject noun phrase in the latter (Gabino is one who has employment) is blocked by the negative verb *hei*<sup>1</sup> ‘Neg\AIS3’ which must always occur in clause-initial position.

(725) Jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup> jni.  
 word of\TIS3 Aff youngster that\i walk\AIsP1s 1s  
 It is on behalf of the child that I am here. (TXT-22.054)

(726) Hei<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> Gabino.  
 Neg\AIS3 person be\IIS3 work of\TIS3 Aff Gabino  
 Gabino is not one who has employment. (TXT-05.247)

In illustration (727), the noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’, modified by the independent clause ‘God is hanging on the cross like that’, is head of a fronted, direct-object noun phrase, with the



affirmation modal occurring in the middle of the modifying clause following the manner anaphor ‘like that’. All the elements within the fronted noun phrase retain their normal linear positions.

- (727) Dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ton<sup>12</sup> jɔŋg<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> cróg<sup>13</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 person Prf-attached\TMS3 Ana\i Aff God cross Opt-do\TII3 3  
 They intended to let God remain as someone hanging that way on the cross. (TXT-37.1124)

## 11.2 Intensification

The modal adverb *jính<sup>3</sup>* (Intensification) occurs following a word to increase the semantic force of that word. In (728), the negative prefix is intensified, separating it from the verb (consider) that follows, yielding the sense ‘not even’; in (729), it intensifies the indirect use of a question word (what) to intensify it, yielding the sense ‘whatsoever’.

- (728) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jính<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsie<sup>12</sup> jni dsə<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cuai<sup>13</sup> jni.  
 Neg-Intns Prf-consider\DIP1s that\i give\DNI1s 1s  
 I have not even yet considered giving her away (in marriage). (TXT-22.068)

- (729) Héh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> he<sup>2</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>tě<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 teach\TII2 Aff 2p what Intns that\i Neg-skilled\TIS3 3  
 You must teach her whatever she does not know how to do. (TXT-22.223)

In (730), the numeral ‘all’ is intensified to give the sense ‘absolutely everything’, which becomes ‘anything at all’ when followed by *he<sup>2</sup>* ‘whatever’.

- (730) Juanh<sup>12</sup> jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning hogh<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lò<sup>1</sup>tíh<sup>1</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup>.  
 act-kindly\TII2 all\3i Intns whatever Neg-Pst-Act\C-fulfill\TIS3 child of\TAS1s  
 Please be patient in regard to anything at all my child is unable to fulfill. (TXT-22.349)

In (731), *jính<sup>3</sup>* intensifies the interrogative verb placing emphasis on the importance of a choice among good things to do. In (732) and (733), focus on deictic and anaphoric expressions is increased by *jính<sup>3</sup>*.

- (731) ɿNaih<sup>12</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup>?  
 which? Intns good\IIS3 do\TII1s  
What is the very best thing for me to do? (TXT-37.183)

- (732) Láh<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>tseih<sup>3</sup> dsa, ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsiégh<sup>1</sup> hning.  
 such\i D1\i Aff go\I2-tell\IDAD2 3 if Prf-arrive-there\AIsC2 2  
That is what you will go and tell them whenever you get there. (TXT-01.115)

(733) Jøng<sup>2</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jón<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Intns Prf-die\AIsI3 3  
Only then will they die. (TXT-54.014)

The intensifying modal occurs twice in sentence (734). First, to modify *chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘live\AIS3’ to give the sense ‘still lives’; then to modify the anaphor *jøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘Ana\i’ to give the sense ‘only then’.

(734) Chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> njoh<sup>12</sup> lám<sup>3</sup>, chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> njih<sup>13</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>nji<sup>1</sup>jián<sup>13</sup>  
 if live\AIS3 Intns man Rhet if woman early Pst-go\C-move-ahead\TID3  
 jmø<sup>1</sup>guó<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup>, jøng<sup>2</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jian<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> siáh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 world Pst-die\AIsC3 Ana\i Intns that\i marry\TAI3 3 someone=else again  
 If the man is still alive, right?, and if the woman that he first marries has passed on from  
 the world has died, only then can he marry someone else again. (TXT-23.081)

### 11.3 Comparison

The essential feature for expressing a comparison is the occurrence of *jín<sup>h3</sup>* to intensify the preposition *cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘at, about’ (§9.2), as in (735), where the standard of comparison (squat persons easily pass through close places) precedes, the compared element (tall persons) follows, and *cónh<sup>1</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup>* intervenes. It is also common for *jín<sup>h3</sup>* to occur twice in a comparison, as in (736), first to intensify the standard of comparison (much larger) and then to mediate, with *cónh<sup>1</sup>*, the standard of comparison (the white tepejilote palm) over against the compared element (the green tepejilote palm).

(735) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ué<sup>2</sup> njé<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> bēnh<sup>13</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> chí<sup>3</sup>cágh<sup>12</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> cug<sup>2</sup>.  
 easy pass\AIP3 person squat\AIS3 where Sta\s-close\IIP3 about Intns person tall\AIS3  
It is easier for a short person to enter a narrow place than for a tall person. (AGJ-02.004)

(736) Cah<sup>3</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> li<sup>3</sup> máh<sup>3</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> li<sup>3</sup> cang<sup>3</sup>.  
 large\IIP3S3 Intns tepejilote=white about Intns tepejilote=green  
The white tepejilote palm is much larger than the green tepejilote palm. (AGJ-08.015)

It is possible to express a superior standard without a specific comparison following. In such cases, as in (737)–(739), stative verbs (beyond, much), intensified by *jín<sup>h3</sup>*, adverbially modify a second stative verb (good, not be), whose subject expresses the superior situation.

(737) Dai<sup>12</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> li<sup>1</sup>nai<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> guiing<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>jián<sup>1</sup>.  
 beyond\IIS3 Intns good\IIS3 Act\I-ask\DAD3 Aff child beforehand  
 It is much better for the child to be asked beforehand. (TXT-22.011)

(738) Hiug<sup>12</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> bá<sup>h3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>he<sup>1</sup> dsa jó<sup>g3</sup> lá<sup>h1</sup> jø<sup>ng2</sup>.  
 much\IIS3 Intns good\IIS3 Aff Pst-reveal\TIC3 3 word like Ana\i  
 It is much better that he has made this known in this way. (TXT-23.213)

(739) Dai<sup>12</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> mé<sup>h3</sup> dsø<sup>a12</sup> chii<sup>2</sup>.  
 beyond\IIS3 Intns not-be\IIS3 bother be\IIS3  
 This will not at all be any bother. (TXT-23.100)

In (740), the adverb *ja<sup>12</sup>* ‘much’ functions like the stative verbs of the preceding examples to set up the superior standard (a much more beautiful song), in this case in comparison to ‘all birds’.

(740) Dó<sup>h3</sup> ja<sup>12</sup> l<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>h13</sup> hlai<sup>h13</sup> son<sup>13</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> tan<sup>12</sup> mong<sup>3</sup> có<sup>nh1</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lá<sup>h1</sup> já<sup>n1</sup> tan<sup>12</sup>.  
 because much beautiful very\IIS3 song make\TIP3 solitaire about Intns all\2a bird  
 Because the brown-backed solitaire makes a much more beautiful song than any other bird.  
 (TXT-43.014)

In (741), *có<sup>nh1</sup>* and *jín<sup>h1</sup>* straddle the preposition *niú<sup>h1</sup>* ‘before’ to intensify it to comparative force from ‘a prior time’ (before noon) to ‘a relatively prior time’ (before the others arrived).

(741) Ma<sup>2</sup>tiog<sup>h3</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jø<sup>ng2</sup> có<sup>nh1</sup> niú<sup>h1</sup> jín<sup>h3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>lian<sup>1</sup> dsa,  
 Prf-be\AIpS3 3 there about before Intns that\i arrive=home=there\AIpI3 3  
 They were already there before the others arrived there. (TXT-08.099)

## 11.4 Topicalization

The adverb *na<sup>1</sup>* (Topic) when postposed to an expression and followed by a brief pause, marks the expression grammatically as a Left Dislocation, thereby topicalizing it. I consider this *na<sup>1</sup>* to be a special pragmatic use of the common, temporal adverb *na<sup>1</sup>* ‘now, today’, but list it separately here because of its similarity to other modal adverbs that uniquely function in these pragmatic roles. A fuller description of Left Dislocation is presented in §11. A single illustration is presented here as (742).

(742) Jø<sup>ng2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guón<sup>h1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, chi<sup>3</sup>quiein<sup>12</sup> dsi<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i Pst-arrive=home\AIsC3 opossum now Sta\s-bandaged\IIS3 head\3 3  
Now then, when Possum arrived home, his head was bandaged. (TXT-03.039)

## 11.5 Explication

The modal *ié<sup>h1</sup>* (Explication), postposed to a clause or phrase, marks it as being a clarification of an expression that precedes it. The explication is often a grammatically appositive phrase, but this is not obligatory. In the following examples the locative, subject, and object constituents of appositive phrases are explicated in that order. In (743), for example, the temporal adverb

*ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup>* ‘long ago’ in the main clause is explicated by the adjunct temporal clause that follows it. In (744), the adjunct locative noun phrase at the end of the sentence explicates the previously unmentioned setting (“on the table”) of the action referenced by the main clause.

(743) Mi<sup>3</sup>lán<sup>12</sup> dsa tǝa<sup>12</sup> hmá<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>niu<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup> iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Impf-be\TMP3 3 carpenter long-ago Prf-time Pst-form\IIC3 earth Expl  
 They were carpenters long ago, back when the world was formed, that is. (TXT-44.112)

(744) Ca<sup>1</sup>jág<sup>1</sup> dsa hmøah<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, ni<sup>3</sup> mesa iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-spread\TIC3 3 clothes Ana\i on\3 table Expl  
 He spread out the cloth, on the table, that is. (TXT-11.134)

After the lead sentence, “She went there to go and see,” the verb *ŋó<sup>12</sup>* ‘go’ is reprised in the independent sentence that follows, with a fronted and affirmed adverbial clause (“desiring to confirm it”) to explicate the purpose of her trip, as in (745).

(745) Hniu<sup>1</sup> dsa dsøg<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> bá<sup>h</sup> iéh<sup>1</sup> ŋó<sup>12</sup>.  
 want\TIS3 3 ascertain\AIS3 Aff Expl go\AIsP3  
 Desiring to confirm it, that is, she went. (TXT-12.056)

The sentence “Because the woman saw the field,” is followed and explicated by the independent sentence presented in (746), that explicates which ‘field’ the woman saw. Sentence (747) points out that what had happened to a certain woman’s first arm was also true of her other one. In an appositive object noun phrase, sentence (748) explicates the fact that the blanket that is covering and hiding a woman’s face is the same one that she has wrapped all around her.

(746) Ca<sup>1</sup>jái<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-see\TIC3 where do\TIP3 3 work Expl  
 She saw where they were working, that is. (TXT-12.071)

(747) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> ton<sup>1</sup> cog<sup>12</sup> dsa iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-occur\IIC3 two\i upper=arm\3 3 Expl  
 So it is her other arm, that is. (TXT-29.168)

(748) Ca<sup>1</sup>jñí<sup>h</sup> hmi<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hmøah<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>rø<sup>2</sup>jløa<sup>12</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> dsa,  
 Pst-remove\TIC3 curate cloth Impf-Sta-cover\IIP3 face\3 3  
 hmøah<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>rø<sup>2</sup>quien<sup>h</sup> dsa iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 cloth Impf-Sta-wrap\TMD3 3 Expl  
 The priest removed the blanket that was covering her face, the blanket in which she was wrapped, that is. (TXT-29.275).

## 11.6 Rhetorical

The modal adverb *láh<sup>3</sup>* (rhetorical) may frame, in context, a sincere rhetorical question or may convey derision, ridicule, and scorn.

In (749), after being told by a friend how he had gone wrong, the speaker sincerely responds with a rhetorical tag. In (750), a sympathetic parent of a young woman commiserates with that of a young man, possibly with a hint of humor, in regard to the obstacles the latter must overcome in order to get the girl for his son's wife. Much later in the same marriage negotiation, in (751), there is no humor in the rhetorical use of *láh<sup>3</sup>*, when the young woman's same parent pleads for understand for his daughter if she should not at first perform well under the tutelage of her mother-in-law to be, in her husband's paternal household.

(749) Tsa'lén<sup>2</sup> jni láh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>3</sup>.  
Neg-think\TIS1s 1s like Ana\i Rhet  
I didn't think it was like that, you know?.

(750) He<sup>2</sup> ɲiih<sup>3</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> jmóh<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>3</sup>  
what? know\TIS2 2p doTII2 Rhet  
What else can you do, right? (TXT-22.111)

(751) Jniang<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>3</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>canh<sup>13</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup>,  
li Rhet adults Prf-know\TIS1p li how? be\IIS3

ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>, ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup>.  
how? be\IIS3 world how? be\IIS3 inside

We, we who are now grown, right?, we have learned how things are, how the world is,  
how things are in the home. (TXT-22.217)

Rhetorical *láh<sup>3</sup>* may occur with explicative-like force not unlike that of the adverb *iéh<sup>1</sup>* (explication), as in (752), except that it does not explicate a closely related expression that precedes it, as is always true for *iéh<sup>1</sup>*. In (753), on the other hand, the ironic phrase “people bringing him, right?” does follow close on to the preceding phrase “when he first arrived”, so that the setting is like that of explication, but the force here is clearly ironic.

(752) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hniu<sup>1</sup> guing hi<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>líh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>3</sup>.  
 because that\i Neg-desire\TIS3 child that\i Act\I-realize\TIS3 people Rhet  
 Because the child did not want the people to realize who he was, right? (TXT-37.382)

(753) Hi<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> dsa, hi<sup>2</sup> jiag<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>3</sup>,  
 that\i first Pst-arrive\AIsC3 3 that\i lead\TNP3 people Rhet  
 ni<sup>1</sup>jií<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jií<sup>3</sup>tiangh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 jail Pst-go\R-insert\DMR3 3  
 When he first arrived, people bringing him, right?, he was taken and thrown in jail. (TXT-63.112)

## 11.7 Protestation

By the modal adverb *mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>* (Protestation), the speaker earnestly affirms the truth of a related assertion (either positive or negative), often despite expectations to the contrary.

In (754), after the sentence “... a jaguar arrived there where he slept alone at the river,” the narrator affirms that the man who had gone to sleep at the river was not, after all, sound asleep.

(754) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>güén<sup>1</sup> dsa mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 asleep\AIS3 3 Prot  
 But he wasn’t really asleep! (TXT-01.119)

In (755), after being sent off on a fool’s errand to hell, a traditional culture hero is reintroduced as topic by a left-dislocation ending in *mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>* that insists upon his capacity to meet the upcoming challenge.

(755) Juø<sup>13</sup> na<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>12</sup> Juø<sup>13</sup>.  
 John now Prot Prf-intelligent\AIS3 John  
 As for John now, you can be sure, he is quite smart. (TXT-09.184)

In the next example, there is no reason to disbelieve the narrator’s assertion, but he nevertheless insists that it is true by use of *mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>*. I present a little more context to help understand its use in (756), a sentence from a story about a woman who expects to be killed by her fellow familiar spirits. Sentence 45, that ends with and lies within the scope of the adverb, is presented in italics, in the larger context that appears in translation below the illustration. Notice that it is the third of four times in the passage that the woman is said to have been crying.

(756) Ho<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>.  
 weep\AIP3 person D2\a Prot  
 She was crying, I tell you. (TXT-08.045)

<sup>37</sup> She was crying, they say, patting out tortillas until the sun had almost set. <sup>38</sup> There was a huge pile of tortillas by the time her husband came home from the work that he had been doing that day. <sup>39</sup> She was crying as she patted out tortillas.

<sup>40</sup> Then her husband said, “Why are you making so many tortillas?” he said. <sup>41</sup> “I don’t want to eat that many. <sup>42</sup> You are making tortillas to no purpose. <sup>43</sup> Tomorrow you can make more. <sup>44</sup> That will be enough for now.”

<sup>45</sup> *She was crying, I tell you.* <sup>46</sup> She was not paying attention. <sup>47</sup> She was crying her heart out, <sup>48</sup> because she knew what was going to happen, you see.

In the context of a command or an admonition, *mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>* insists that the addressee obey the admonition, as in (757).

(757) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>gu<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>la<sup>3</sup> tégh<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>juu<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>.  
 because Neg-go\I2 Neg-Non defecate\TID2 midway Prot  
 But you be sure you don’t just go and defecate along the way! (TXT-19.514)

### 11.8 Asseveration

By postposing the modal *ná<sup>3</sup>* (Asseveration) to a clause, the speaker strongly communicates that an assertion or admonition is sincere and that it should be taken seriously. More than any other modal adverb, *ná<sup>3</sup>* insists, in some contexts figuratively waving a finger at the speaker, that he or she should heed the speaker’s plea to act in the expressed manner. A strong sense of sincerity is conveyed by *ná<sup>2</sup>* in (758) and (759), where phrases like “I assure you” or “I really mean it” might be added to its English interpretation.

(758) ;Jesús! Tsa<sup>1</sup>lóa<sup>12</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, cu<sup>2</sup>ba<sup>13</sup>.  
 Jesus Neg-be\TIS3 such\i Ana\i Asv cofather  
 Jesus! That is not so, really, cofather.

(759) Di<sup>3</sup>hmah<sup>3</sup> hning ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 thank=you\AIS3 2s Asv  
 Thank you very much! (TXT-37.834)

The extremely important nature of an admonition is indicated by *ná<sup>3</sup>* in a temporal clause and in a polite imperative, in (760) and (761), respectively.

(760) Na<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsiégh<sup>1</sup> hning ná<sup>3</sup>, ta<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>chiénh<sup>12</sup> hning jó<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 when Pst-arrive\AIsC2 2s Asv quickly Prf-Pst-grab\TIC2 2s dress\3 princess  
 As soon as you get there, be sure!, quickly grab the princess' dress. (TXT-47.088)

(761) Na<sup>1</sup> juáih<sup>13</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ñieih<sup>12</sup> hning mi<sup>3</sup>chiegh<sup>12</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 today tell\DAI2 father\2 2s mother\2 Asv  
 Now you be sure to speak with your parents about this! (TXT-23.147)

## 11.9 Enunciation

The modal adverb *nió<sup>2</sup>* (Enunciation) is used to articulate or explicate reference to an action or situation when the speaker detects reluctance on the part of the hearer to accept the speaker's assertion—through misunderstanding, desire, or disbelief. While it explicates, it has a more direct, 'in your face' tone in respect to the hearer than the purely explicative model *iéh<sup>1</sup>*, but not impolitely so. While the adverb is not infrequently heard in normal discourse, only two instances of its use are found in the Tlatepuzcan database, both presented below.

In illustration (762), from a traditional animal tale, Possum attempts to assail Jaguar' doubts, by claiming his presence high in a banana plant is due to long-term employment to protect a banana plantation from predators.

(762) Hi<sup>2</sup> hlian<sup>13</sup> jni nió<sup>3</sup>.  
 that\i employed\AIS3 1s Enun  
 It's that I am under contract, get it? (TXT-03.264)

In a sentence from the traditional Life-of-Christ story, presented in (763), the use of *nió<sup>3</sup>* presents Jesus as reluctant, in Satan's view, to comply with the latter's command to move closer to him.

(763) Hú<sup>1</sup> bá<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> nió<sup>3</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> tsenh<sup>13</sup> jni, guing<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hlan<sup>3</sup>.  
 enter\AIs! Aff 2s Enun where stand\AIsP1s 1s child say\TIP3 devil  
 "Get on over her where I am standing, child!" said the devil. (TXT-37.923)



## 12. General Adverbs

Tlatepuzcan adverbs are presented in three separate chapters. Interrogative adverbs are introduced in chapter 15, where the structure of questions is described in detail. Modal Adverbs, that have special pragmatic force in discourse, are described in chapter 11. The remaining Tlatepuzcan adverbs are here referred to as GENERAL ADVERBS, some of which are introduced and described in this chapter. Adverbs are notoriously diverse in nature, and for this reason no claim of completeness is made for this treatment of them.

### 12.1 The Adverb of Repetition

The phonological form *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>*, occurs 1155 times in the Tlatepuzcan text database to represent two distinct words, an adverb and a preposition. Of these, about half of the occurrences (no actual count taken) represent perhaps the most ubiquitous Tlatepuzcan adverb, namely, the postpositional adverb *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘also, again’. The other homophonous word is the preposition *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘unto’, which is described in chapter 9. The adverb is here described first, before introducing a variety of others.

The adverb *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘also, again’, as mentioned, is postpositional, but is unlike postpositional modal adverbs in lacking any of the special discourse pragmatic information that is found in the use of modal adverbs. This adverb has only lexical force, marking the reoccurrence of (the same or a related) action or event by a same or different agent. It may immediately follow a noun, as in (764), where it indicates that an actor (a jaguar) ‘also’ takes the same action previously taken by another actor, or it may immediately follow a verb, as in (765), where it indicates that a same action (roaring) occurs ‘again’. In this latter case, the hearer must consult the larger discourse to determine whether the earlier roaring was by the jaguar referenced earlier in the discourse or if it is a repetition of roaring by the partner referenced here. Could be either as far as this sentence alone indicates.

(764) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>uóí<sup>2</sup>                    hieh<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> hma<sup>2</sup>.  
Ana\i Pst-ascend\AIC3 jaguar also path above tree  
So the jaguar also climbed up into the tree. (TXT-01.090)

(765) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ho<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> roh<sup>13</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-roar\TAC3 also partner\3 jaguar  
 Then the jaguar's mate also roared. (TXT-01.027)

As it turns out, an earlier sentence in TXT-01 declares that “the [earlier referenced] jaguar called to its mate,” indicating that the sentence in (765) really does reference a second actor that roars in answer. But in another context, this sentence could also reference the repeated roar of the same animal (“Then the jaguar's mate roared again”). We know this because of sentences like the one illustrated in (764) (766), where a group of workers raise the question among themselves as to where they are going to repeat their same work activity on the morrow. The adverb follows both verb and subject noun, but clearly references the intent to repeat ‘again’ the activity in question. The sentence can not be interpreted as referencing other actors ‘also’.

(766) Hein<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> hiá<sup>1</sup>.  
 who? of\TIS3 go\AIpI1p li again tomorrow  
 Whose [work] should we go do again tomorrow? (TXT-03.050)

This adverb invariably follows its grammatical partner, which is normally a verb; but it can do so being separated by one or more terms of the verb, as in (764) (766). Indeed, the same work group had discussed the same issue on the previous evening, as illustrated in (767), but in this case the idiom *jmo*<sup>12</sup> *jóg*<sup>3</sup> ‘discuss (*lit.* make words)’ is separated by the subject and the repetition adverb.

(767) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>neng<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>.  
 when Pst-dark\IIC3 Ana\i Pst-make\TIC3 3 again word  
 Then when evening came they talked again. (TXT-03.048)

The adverb could, in fact, have been placed at the very end of this clause, as it is in (768) with a very similar idiom *dsie*<sup>12</sup> *jóg*<sup>3</sup> ‘discuss (*lit.* lay down words)’ to that in (767). All this to say that *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>* has a certain flexibility in its linear distribution with verbal idioms and verbs and its terms.

(768) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsie<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-lay=down\TIpC3 people Ana\ a word again  
 Those fellows discussed the matter again. (TXT-11.616)

An action marked as repeated by *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘again’ may, in fact, be the reciprocal of an earlier action, as in (769), where ‘descending again’ is the follow up of a person having earlier ‘ascended’, or in (770), where a jaguar returns back along the same path his injured partner had earlier brought a victim.

(769) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jnie<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>sioŋ<sup>2</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 when Pst-dawn\IIC3 Ana\i Pst-descend\AIC3 3 again  
 When it got light, he came back down. (TXT-01.054)

(770) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋáh<sup>1</sup> jah ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ŋii<sup>3</sup>quiéŋ<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>uéŋh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-go=home\AIsC3 animal again path where Pst-go\R-brought\TNR3 person Prf-Hod-cut\TMC3  
 The animal went back the way the wounded one had brought (the man). (TXT-01.099)

The repetition adverb may also occur following the preposition *cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘at, like’ at the beginning of a clause, in the role of a conjunction, as in (771), where it is also repeated later in the clause as adjunct of the verb.

(771) Cónh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ŋii<sup>1</sup>hnangh<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 like again Pst-go\C-search\TND3 jaguar again  
 Once again, Jaguar went searching for him again. (TXT-03.213)

When a sentence is repeated, first positively and then negatively, the second may end in the adverb *ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>*,<sup>1</sup> in which case it does not indicate repetition, but rather has the force of an alternative conjunction, as in (772).

(772) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>guiang<sup>3</sup> jni ĩHi<sup>3</sup> ŋiih<sup>3</sup>?  
 Ana\i Neg-know\TIS1s 1s that\a-Interr know\TIS2  
 ĩHi<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ŋiih<sup>3</sup> hning ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>?  
 that\a-Interr Neg-know\TIS2 2s again  
 And I don't know if you were aware of this or not. (TXT-29.304)

## 12.2 Adverbs of Quality

General Adverbs include both simple and complex idioms and other lexical formations, ranging, one might say, all the way to adverbial clauses. The latter, however, are dealt with more directly in Chapters 10 and 9; only shorter idioms will be dealt with here. These may generally be divided into adverbs of quality, extent, time, and space.

Many adverbs that reference the manner or quality of a situation or action tend to occur following a verb and its terms, but may also occur in a fronted position, preceding the verb, when in focus. The adverb *tei<sup>3</sup>* ‘quietly, peacefully’, is prototypical of such adverbs, occurring after verb and subject while preceding a locative in (773); following verb, subject, and repetitive adverb in (774), with the adverb repeated following *tei<sup>3</sup>*; and preceding the verb in focal position following a left-dislocation that makes the subject ‘Mary’ the new topic in (775). It follows the

verb immediately in (776), but only because it is in a relative clause with a gap at subject position.

(773) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> húh<sup>13</sup> hning tei<sup>3</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> hnøh<sup>13</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i enter\AIsI2 2s quietly beneath eaves\3 house  
 So get in under the eaves of the building and stay quiet. (TXT-07.078)

(774) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> jah ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-go\AIPc3 animal again quietly again  
 The animals became quiet once again. (TXT-04.273)

(775) María héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, tei<sup>3</sup> ŋøa<sup>12</sup> dsa jmø<sup>1</sup>guó<sup>1</sup>.  
 Mary Ana\ a now quietly live\AIsP3 3 world  
 As for that person Mary, she lived a quiet life in the world. (TXT-37.009)

(776) Dóh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guó<sup>12</sup> tei<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ió<sup>1</sup>.  
 but person reside\AIsS3 quietly Aff D2\ a  
 Because he was one who just lived quietly. (TXT-11.330)

A second adverb of quality, *tí<sup>2</sup>* ‘hard, tightly, forcefully’, is similarly seen to follow verb and subject in (777), but to precede the verb when in focus in (778).

(777) Tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsa tí<sup>2</sup>.  
 reside\AIPs3 3 tightly  
 They live there permanently. (TXT-35.019)

(778) Tí<sup>2</sup> chiénh<sup>12</sup>, mu<sup>2</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> juøh<sup>12</sup>.  
 tightly grab\TI! bone hand\3 large\IIsS3  
 Grasp tightly, large pincer! (TXT-03.066)

In (779) and (780), the adverb *tí<sup>2</sup>* follows motion verbs, in both cases being modified by other adverbs. In (779), it follows subject and verb and precedes an adjunct locative clause that expresses the goal of the main verb. In (780), it follows both verb and goal expressed by the noun *huø<sup>1</sup>* ‘ground’.

(779) Ca<sup>1</sup>tión<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> hnøh<sup>13</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-vault\AIC3 opossum hard very\IIsS3 unto Pst-reach\IIC3 across\3 water  
 Possum jumped very hard all the way across the pond. (TXT-03.391)

(780) Dsø<sup>2</sup>sianh<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>.  
 tamp\TID3 ground unto hard extremely  
 He beat it against the ground with great force. (TXT-37.0184)

Other adverbs of quality, having these same distributional characteristics, are listed in (781).

- (781) *hu*<sup>3</sup> *siúh*<sup>1</sup> ‘crouching’  
*leh*<sup>3</sup> ‘tenderly’  
*ma*<sup>2</sup>*cuu*<sup>2</sup> ‘rancid’  
*ma*<sup>2</sup>*hlaih*<sup>13</sup> ‘smelly’  
*ma*<sup>2</sup>*hlég*<sup>1</sup> ‘dusty’  
*ni*<sup>3</sup> *hmé*<sup>3</sup> ‘anew’

The adverb *la*<sup>3</sup> ‘groundlessly, -ish’, on the other hand, is always prepositional and closely associated with a following verb, as shown in (782) and (783). With stative-verb color words, *la*<sup>3</sup> has the meaning ‘-ish’ as in *la*<sup>3</sup> *reh*<sup>2</sup> ‘greenish\à’ or ‘light’ as in *la*<sup>3</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup>*chiun*<sup>3</sup> ‘light blue’.

- (782) *Hi*<sup>2</sup> *la*<sup>3</sup> *lóa*<sup>12</sup> *hñiah*<sup>12</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup> *cog*<sup>3</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*láh*<sup>1</sup> *quianh*<sup>13</sup> *anillo* *jøng*<sup>2</sup>.  
that\i Non happen\IIS3 Refl\3s Aff money unto with ring Ana\i  
The money just appears all by itself by means of that ring. (TXT-05.230)

- (783) *A*<sup>1</sup>*jáng*<sup>1</sup> *ju*<sup>3</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup> *cøng*<sup>2</sup> *la*<sup>3</sup> *dsóg*<sup>3</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup> *jnieh*<sup>3</sup>.  
not=be\IIS3 as=though that\i just Non go\AIpI1p Aff 1x  
It is not as though we are just going on a lark. (TXT-32.077)

The adverbs of quality in (784) are all formed on the manner complementizer *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’. They may precede or follow verbs and their terms.

- (784) *láh*<sup>1</sup> *la*<sup>2</sup> ‘like this (Prx)’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *ná*<sup>12</sup> ‘like that (D1)’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *ió*<sup>1</sup> ‘like that (D2)’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *jnung*<sup>2</sup> ‘like that (Da)’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘like that (Ana\i)’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘like that (Ana\à)’

### 12.3 Adverbs of Extent

Most adverbs of extent, such as those listed in (785), have syntactic distribution similar to that of the adverbs of quality presented above.

- (785) *cu*<sup>1</sup> *dsié*<sup>12</sup> ‘together, entirely, completely, simply’  
*cu*<sup>1</sup> *ná*<sup>12</sup> ‘enough’  
*cu*<sup>2</sup> *ñeih*<sup>13</sup> ‘forthwith, all at once’  
*hiug*<sup>12</sup> *ja*<sup>12</sup> ‘greatly, emphatically, abundantly’  
*ja*<sup>12</sup> ‘much’  
*ja*<sup>1</sup>*lai*<sup>1</sup> ‘barely, scarcely, almost not’  
*quianh*<sup>13</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup> *tiog*<sup>13</sup> ‘persistently’

The adverb *cu*<sup>1</sup> *té*<sup>12</sup> ‘extremely, finally’, however, is always postpositional and often occurs in association with other adverbs to express increased or even superlative extent to the

interpretation of the associated predicate. In (786) and (787), *cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>* marks the absolute nature of the action expressed within its scope. In (788), it extends the meaning of *hlaih<sup>13</sup>* ‘very’ to an even greater extent. In (789), postposed to the stative verb *hiug<sup>12</sup>* ‘strong\IIS3’ this combined form may occur preceding the main verb to mark the extreme extent to which the semantic force of the verb should be understood.

(786) Jøng<sup>2</sup>    na<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup>                      cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i    Hod-come=home\AIsC1s    extremely  
 So I have come home for good. (TXT-47.384)

(787) Ján<sup>3</sup>                      báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>.  
 marry\TAI1s    Aff    1s    2s    extremely  
 I will most certainly marry you! (TXT-37.246)

(788) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>hné<sup>1</sup>                      hlaih<sup>13</sup>    dsa    cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-Act\C-get=angry\AIC3    very\IIS3    3    extremely  
 She became really really angry. (TXT-47.481)

(789) Hiug<sup>12</sup>              cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>              tøa<sup>12</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>.  
 strong\IIS3    extremely    like=very\TIS1s    here  
 I am extremely pleased with this place. (TXT-37.1425)

Superlative extent in relation to a nominal is expressed by the stative verb *tsug<sup>2</sup>* ‘excessive\IIS3’, as illustrated in (790).

(790) Tsug<sup>2</sup>              cuøi<sup>2</sup>    quieg<sup>1</sup>    jni    ca<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>2</sup>                      ji<sup>2</sup>ηii<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>.  
 excessive\IIS3    maize    of\TIS1s    1s    Pst-become\IIP3    year    Prx  
 The number of sacks of corn I have reaped this year is super abundant. (BJM-04 061)

Comparisons are stated using the modal adverb *jính<sup>3</sup>* (Intensification) discussed in Chapter 00.

## 12.4 Adverbs of Time

Adverbs of Time are of several kinds. The seven adverbs in (791) reference days measured from the time of the speech act. All are lexically simple except the last, where *jmø<sup>2</sup>hiég<sup>13</sup>* ‘three days from today’ is possibly but, if so, unaccountably derived from *jmø<sup>2</sup>* ‘daytime’ + *hiég<sup>1</sup>* ‘day after tomorrow’.

(791) <i>jo</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>dsié</i> <sup>g2</sup>	‘yesterday’
<i>na</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘today, now, soon, later today’,
<i>hiá</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘tomorrow’
<i>hiég</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>jmø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hiég</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘third day beyond today’

The five adverbs in (792) name particular portions of certain of those days, all being lexically complex but only the first being plainly analytical.

(792) <i>jo</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hløg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘day before yesterday afternoon’
<i>chi</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>høg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘yesterday morning’
<i>sø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hløg</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘yesterday afternoon’
<i>cø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>néng</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘last night, yesterday evening’
<i>hmó</i> <sup>i2</sup> <i>høg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘this morning (past)’

The complex forms in (793) reference daytime and nighttime. All but the first are prepositional phrases in structure, based on the preposition *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where’.

(793) <i>ηii</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jmø</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>hi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jmø</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘daytime’
<i>ja</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>jní</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘daytime’ ( <i>lit.</i> where visible)
<i>ja</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>néng</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘nighttime’ ( <i>lit.</i> where night)
<i>ja</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>nioh</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘darkness, gloom’ ( <i>lit.</i> where dark)

Adverbs in (794) reference specific periods during the day and night; and phrases in (795), formed on other of these adverbs, reference portions of particular days in relation to the time of the speech act.

(794) <i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ja</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jní</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘morning twilight’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jnie</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘dawn’
<i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hian</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hie</i> <sup>g2</sup>	‘sunrise’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>u</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>høg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘morning’
<i>ton</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dsø</i> <sup>h13</sup> <i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tsøg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>hie</i> <sup>g2</sup>	‘mid morning’ ( <i>lit.</i> sun halfway risen).
<i>dsii</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hiég</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘noon’ ( <i>lit.</i> mid sun)
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hløg</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘afternoon’
<i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tø</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsén</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>hie</i> <sup>g2</sup>	‘sunset’
<i>ma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>tsø</i> <sup>a12</sup>	‘evening twilight’ ( <i>lit.</i> has darkened’)
<i>ca</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>néng</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘nightfall’
<i>ma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>néng</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘after dark’
<i>dsio</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>néng</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘midnight’ ( <i>lit.</i> mid dark)

(795) <i>ta<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup></i>	‘right now’,
<i>ta<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup></i>	‘immediately’
<i>na<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hlóg<sup>2</sup></i>	‘this afternoon’
<i>na<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup></i>	‘tonight’
<i>hiá<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> u<sup>1</sup>høg<sup>2</sup></i>	‘tomorrow morning’
<i>hiá<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hlóg<sup>2</sup></i>	‘tomorrow afternoon’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup> hiá<sup>1</sup></i>	‘tomorrow night’

The adverbial phrases in (796) reference periods of time, the first based on the repeated relative word *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such<sup>i</sup>’, the second on the repeated preposition *ja<sup>3</sup>* ‘where’, and the third on the noun *jmai<sup>3</sup>* ‘day, time’.

(796) <i>láh<sup>1</sup> huu<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>2</sup></i>	‘night and day’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> neng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> nioh<sup>12</sup></i>	‘in the dark of night’
<i>jmai<sup>3</sup> huu<sup>2</sup> neng<sup>2</sup></i>	(legendary era of gloom and darkness predating the first sunrise)

The adverbs in (797) reference various time spans without reference to the time of the speech act.

(797) <i>cu<sup>2</sup> dsen<sup>13</sup></i>	‘without delay’
<i>cu<sup>2</sup> hna<sup>2</sup></i>	‘briefly, a little while’
<i>cu<sup>2</sup> lói<sup>2</sup></i>	‘a short time’
<i>cu<sup>2</sup> lói<sup>2</sup> hen<sup>12</sup></i>	‘every few minutes’
<i>dsø<sup>1</sup>juu<sup>12</sup></i>	‘immediately’
<i>hën<sup>2</sup></i>	‘rarely, almost never’
<i>jmai<sup>3</sup> lán<sup>13</sup></i>	‘occasionally’
<i>ni<sup>3</sup>jián<sup>1</sup></i>	‘first, beforehand’
<i>ηiih<sup>13</sup>, ta<sup>1</sup> ηiih<sup>13</sup></i>	‘early’

The adverbs in (798) reference a variety of more general time periods.

(798) <i>dsié<sup>2</sup> jo<sup>1</sup></i>	‘the past’
<i>ma<sup>2</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup> jáng<sup>1</sup></i>	‘a while ago’
<i>na<sup>1</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> lói<sup>2</sup></i>	‘after awhile’
<i>hiá<sup>1</sup> hiég<sup>1</sup></i>	‘the future, destiny’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> hiá<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> hiég<sup>1</sup></i>	‘some future time’
<i>ja<sup>3</sup> já<sup>13</sup></i>	‘in the future’
<i>jmai<sup>3</sup> ηii<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> já<sup>13</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ηii<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> dság<sup>1</sup></i>	‘forevermore, henceforth’
<i>ma<sup>2</sup>dsii<sup>1</sup>jo<sup>1</sup></i>	‘long ago’ ( <i>lit.</i> already yesterday and day before)
<i>ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup></i>	‘long ago’
<i>ni<sup>3</sup>ηó<sup>13</sup></i>	‘long time having passed’

The adverbs in (799) reference the pace of a referenced action.



- (799) *ca*<sup>2</sup> *tí*<sup>2</sup> ‘a moment, briefly’  
*cu*<sup>2</sup> *tí*<sup>2</sup> ‘quickly, immediately’  
*cøng*<sup>2</sup> *ηii*<sup>3</sup> *juu*<sup>13</sup> ‘quickly, rapidly’  
*gu*<sup>1</sup> *hei*<sup>12</sup> ‘quickly, rapidly’  
*láh*<sup>1</sup> *cøng*<sup>2</sup> *ηii*<sup>2</sup> ‘annually, each year’  
*ma*<sup>2</sup> *na*<sup>1</sup> ‘immediately’  
*mih*<sup>2</sup> *jø*<sup>2</sup> *hei*<sup>12</sup> ‘almost, soon’  
*ta*<sup>1</sup> *huø*<sup>3</sup> ‘slowly, quietly, peacefully’  
*ta*<sup>1</sup> *méh*<sup>1</sup>, *ta*<sup>1</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup> *méh*<sup>1</sup> ‘little by little, slowly’  
*ta*<sup>3</sup> ‘suddenly’  
*ta*<sup>1</sup> *dsi*<sup>13</sup> ‘right away, next’  
*ta*<sup>3</sup> *tí*<sup>3</sup> ‘quickly, briefly’  
*tan*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup> *ta*<sup>3</sup>, *tan*<sup>3</sup> *láh*<sup>1</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup> *ta*<sup>3</sup> ‘suddenly’  
*tián*<sup>2</sup> ‘always, constantly, continually, forever’  
*tiog*<sup>13</sup> ‘always, persistently, insistently’  
*tsa*<sup>1</sup> *hai*<sup>3</sup> ‘soon’  
*tsa*<sup>1</sup> *ju*<sup>2</sup> *ηia*<sup>13</sup> ‘suddenly, unexpectedly’ (*lit.* no preparation)

The adverbs in (800) reference an ontological claim by the speaker in respect to an expression within a discourse. The first two are syntactically nonverbal sentential predicates; the rest function within clauses.

- (800) *Jan*<sup>1</sup>. ‘Yes.’  
*Jan*<sup>1</sup> *han*<sup>13</sup>. ‘No.’  
*má*<sup>3</sup> ‘assuredly’  
*ta*<sup>1</sup> *dsóh*<sup>2</sup> ‘truly’  
*tsa*<sup>1</sup> *lán*<sup>13</sup> ‘never, nothing, not by any means’  
*tsa*<sup>1</sup> *løih*<sup>2</sup> ‘nevermore’  
*tsa*<sup>1</sup> *ton*<sup>12</sup> *jmai*<sup>3</sup> ‘nevermore’

One illustration, of the adverb *má*<sup>3</sup> ‘assuredly’ is presented in (801); this adverb has speaker attitude force like postpositional modal adverbs, but is not postpositional. It precedes an assertion, professing speaker honesty in respect to it.

- (801) *Má*<sup>3</sup> *ha*<sup>1</sup> *chii*<sup>2</sup> *mi*<sup>2</sup> *gag*<sup>13</sup> *jni*.  
 assuredly not-be\IIS3 deceive\AIP1s 1s  
I assure you that I am not lying. (TXT-03.329)

## 12.5 Adverbs of Space

Many types of spatial adverb expressions may be defined based on form or reference. The phrases in (802) are based on the preposition *ja*<sup>3</sup> ‘where’ and deictics or anaphors; to form idiomatic locative adverb expressions; those in (803) are also based on *ja*<sup>3</sup> but represent a wider

range of reference, more or less idiomatic, that may have any number of other structures within their scope.

- (802) *ja³ la²* ‘here’  
*ja³ ná³* ‘there\D1’  
*ja³ ió¹* ‘there\D2’  
*ja³ jnung²* ‘there, there (Ana\i)’  
*ja³ jøng²* ‘there (Ana\i)’
- (803) *ja³ sih³* ‘elsewhere’ (lit. where other)  
*ja³ ta¹ ni¹ dsa² juen¹²* ‘publicly’ (lit. where facing many people)  
*ja³ taih¹² mø³ni³* ‘in view’ (lit. where the eye can see)  
*ja³ nei³ jni* ‘my destination’ (lit. where I will go)  
*ja³ quiing²* ‘dry ground’ (lit. where dry)  
*ja³ quieg¹* ‘home\1s’ (lit. where of\TIS1s)  
*ja³ quián³* ‘home\1p’ (lit. where of\TIS1p)  
*ja³ quiánh³* ‘home\2’ (lit. where of\TIS2)  
*ja³ quiah¹³* ‘home\3’ (lit. where of\TIS3)

The adverbs in (546) are formed on the preposition *dsii²* ‘mid’.

- (804) *dsii² hieg²* ‘in the sun’  
*dsii² jmóa¹²* ‘in the rain’  
*dsii² jo²* ‘in the center’  
*dsii² jmøi²* ‘in the water’  
*dsii² juu¹²* ‘on the trail’

The adverbs in (805) reference locations in respect to a person’s home or other building.

- (805) *ja³ dsi¹²* ‘outside, in the patio’  
*ca³hniú¹, ca³hniú¹³* ‘outside, to the toilet’  
*dsii²néi²* ‘inside, in the house, on the floor of the house, home’

The spatial locative phrases in (806) mark topographical references. Specific place names are not listed; an extended list of these may be found in Appendix E of Merrifield and Anderson 1999.

- (806) *ni³ guøh³ ni³ huø¹* ‘on earth, in the world’  
*niúh¹ hja³ niúh¹ núng¹* ‘across the mountainside’ (lit. in virgin forest and undergrowth)  
*ta¹ láh¹ hian² hieg²* ‘easterly’ (lit. toward the sunrise)  
*ta¹ láh¹ tø²dsén³ hieg²* ‘westerly’ (lit. toward the sunset)  
*tø¹ coh¹³* ‘upstream\Prx’  
*tø¹ huái¹* ‘downstream\Prx’  
*tø¹ ñi², ta¹ láh¹ ñi²* ‘upstream\D’  
*tø¹ quiín²* ‘downstream\D’

The adverbs in (807) reference the orientation of a location in respect to a person or object.

(807) <i>cøg</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘near, next to’
<i>guia</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jo</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘to the right of’
<i>guia</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jón</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘to the left of’
<i>juu</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>cah</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘on the back of’ ( <i>lit.</i> road back)
<i>juu</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóa</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘spiritually’ ( <i>lit.</i> road heart)
<i>juu</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>guiuh</i> <sup>13</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘on the shoulder’ ( <i>lit.</i> road above upper arm)
<i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ni</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘first, beginning’
<i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jín</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>lói</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘all around, surrounding, everywhere’
<i>ma</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cøng</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jøa</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘spaced throughout’
<i>ma</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jián</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘ahead of’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ca</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>jag</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘apart, separately’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cah</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘in back of, behind’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cug</i> <sup>2</sup>	‘lengthwise, long, longitudinally’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>ni</i> <sup>3</sup>	‘in front of, facing’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>láh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tan</i> <sup>13</sup>	‘throughout’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>niúh</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘beneath, inside of’
<i>ta</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>rø</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>sie</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘horizontally’
<i>tø</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cøg</i> <sup>12</sup>	‘to one side’
<i>tø</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>guiég</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘remote’

## 13. Numerals

The primary Numeral or Number-Naming System used in almost all aspects of Tlapeuzco life where counting is involved is essentially a DECIMAL system, whose historic underpinnings can still be seen to have been an earlier, pre-Colonial VIGESIMAL system. In addition there is other evidence of the earlier Vigesimal system in the way agricultural produce is counted. A third system is the 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Spanish Peso Fuerte system of Silver Coins which we recognize in the U.S. by the refrain “two bits, four bits, six bits, a dollar.” The three systems will be described in the order Decimal system, Vigesimal system, and the old Spanish Peso Fuerte system.

### 13.1 The Decimal System

Eleven native roots name the digits 1–9 and the multiples 10 and 20. They are inflected like Stative Verbs for Gender and, in a few cases, for first-person.

(808) cøng <sup>2</sup>	‘one\i’	jan <sup>2</sup>	‘one\ə’		
ton <sup>1</sup>	‘two\i’	og <sup>1</sup>	‘two\ə’	ag <sup>1</sup>	‘two\lp’
hnøa <sup>12</sup>	‘three\i’	úg <sup>2</sup>	‘three\ə’	óg <sup>2</sup>	‘three\lp’
quiún <sup>2</sup>	‘four\i’	quión <sup>2</sup>	‘four\ə’	quiéng <sup>2</sup>	‘four\lp’
hjií <sup>2</sup>	‘five\i’	hjiá <sup>2</sup>	‘five\ə’	hjiáng <sup>2</sup>	‘five\lp’
jñiéng <sup>2</sup>	‘six\i’	jñió <sup>2</sup>	‘six\ə’	jñiéng <sup>2</sup>	‘six\lp’
guio <sup>1</sup>	‘seven\i’	guiog <sup>1</sup>	‘seven\ə’	guiog <sup>1</sup>	‘seven\lp’
jñie <sup>1</sup>	‘eight\i’	jñia <sup>1</sup>	‘eight\ə’	jñiang <sup>1</sup>	‘eight\lp’
ñiu <sup>1</sup>	‘nine\i’	ñio <sup>1</sup>	‘nine\ə’	ñio <sup>1</sup>	‘nine\lp’
guie <sup>1</sup>	‘ten\i’	guian <sup>1</sup>	‘ten\ə’	guiag <sup>1</sup>	‘ten\lp’
guiég <sup>2</sup>	‘twenty\i’	guiúg <sup>2</sup>	‘twenty\ə’		

Their use as noun quantifiers is illustrated in (809)–(811).

- (809) Hnøa<sup>12</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñøa<sup>1</sup> jni juøi<sup>2</sup> síh<sup>2</sup>.  
 three year day Pst-walk\AIsC1s 1s town other\i  
For three years I traveled to other towns. (MJM-04 024)

- (810) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> hein<sup>13</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> u<sup>1</sup>høg<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-arrive\AIsC3 one\ə person home\1s about sound\IIC3 eight morning  
 A person arrived at my house about eight a.m. (DB-03 012)

- (811) Hñiáng<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 five\lp 1i go\AIpI1p go\I1p-do\TII1p work  
Five of us are going out to work (APS-05 027).

Both inanimate and animate Number Names also occur in phrases with the word *ja³* ‘at’ and the prefix *ma²*- (perfect), as Ordinal Numerals, as listed in (812)

(812) <i>ja³ ma²ton¹</i>	‘second\i’	<i>ja³ ma²og¹</i>	second\ə’
<i>ja³ ma²quiún²</i>	‘fourth\i’	<i>ja³ ma²quión²</i>	fourth\ə’
<i>ja³ ma²jjiéng²</i>	‘sixth\i’	<i>ja³ ma²jjió²</i>	sixth\ə’
<i>ja³ ma²jiu¹</i>	‘ninth\i’	<i>ja³ ma²jio¹</i>	ninth\ə’
<i>ja³ ma²guie¹</i>	‘tenth\i’	<i>ja³ ma²guian¹</i>	tenth\ə’
<i>ja³ ma²guie¹tón²</i>	‘twelfth\i’	<i>ja³ ma²guia¹tón²</i>	twelfth\ə’

In (813) and (814), ordinal numerals (as well as cardinals) are shown to occur in noun phrases both as Quantifier before a noun and as Modifier following a noun.

(813) *Ja³ ma²hnøa¹² jmai³ ca¹jon¹ guing² jmo¹² dsa rø²sa¹³ hnøa¹².*  
 third day Pst-die\AIsC3 baby do\TIP3 3 rosary three  
 Rosary number three is done on the third day after a child dies (AGJ-10 014).

(814) *Tsa¹ca¹tén² dsa² ja³ ma²quión² cuøi² di³ tsa¹hliúg² chii².*  
 Neg-Pst-get\TMC3 person fourth maize because little\IIS3 be\IIS3  
The fourth person did not get any corn because there was very little (AGJ-01 098).

The first three numeral roots have unique forms that occur with the noun *rón²* ‘instance’, as listed in (815). The first of these, *cu²* occurs in a wide range of other contexts as well.

(815) <i>cu² rón²</i>	one instance	‘first time’
<i>tánh¹ rón²</i>	two instance	‘second time’
<i>hnaih² run</i>	three instance	‘third time’
<i>cu² hna²</i>	one piece	‘briefly’
<i>cu² hjiáh¹²</i>	one self\3	‘alone\3’
<i>cu² jéinh¹²</i>	one turn=over\IIP3	‘one revolution, round trip’

There are two Interrogative Numerals *ha² cónh²* ‘how much?\i’ and *jáh²* ‘how many?\i’. More is said of these in §8.5, but here note that they may function both in Information Questions and as a Relative Numerals, as in (816) and (817).

(816) *¿Ha² cónh² quien¹² cøng² lei³¹ ñó¹²?*  
 how=much? cost\IIS3 one\i pound meat  
 How much is a pound of meat? (AGJ-01 097)

(817) *Ma²ñii¹² dsa ha² cónh² cán² dsa cøng² kilo jneng².*  
 Prf-know\TIS3 3 how\much charge\TII3 3 one\i kilo bean  
 He already knows how much he will charge for a kilo of beans (DB-03 012).

Apart from the structure of the Numeral System itself, a few Numerals occur in unique idiomatic phrases, of which a sample is presented in (818).

(818) <i>cøng<sup>2</sup> ton<sup>1</sup></i>	one\i two\i	‘few\i’
<i>jan<sup>2</sup> og<sup>1</sup></i>	one\ a two\ a	‘few\ a’
<i>ton<sup>1</sup> hnøa<sup>12</sup></i>	two\i three\i	‘few\i’
<i>og<sup>1</sup> úg<sup>2</sup></i>	two\ a three\ a	‘few\ a’
<i>ag<sup>1</sup> óg<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup></i>	two\1p three\1p 1i	‘a few of us (incl)’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup></i>	entire one\i	‘entire\i’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup></i>	entire one\ a	‘entire\ a’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> ton<sup>1</sup></i>	entire two\i	‘both\i’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> og<sup>1</sup></i>	entire two\ a	‘both\ a’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> hnøa<sup>12</sup></i>	all three\i	‘all three\i’
<i>tan<sup>3</sup> úg<sup>2</sup></i>	all three\ a	‘all three\ a’
<i>ton<sup>1</sup> dsoh<sup>13</sup></i>	two part	‘one half of’
<i>hnøa<sup>12</sup> dsoh<sup>13</sup></i>	three part	‘one third of’
<i>quiún<sup>2</sup> quiuh<sup>13</sup></i>	four\i corner	‘square, rectangle’

### 13.2 A Rule Notation for Decimal Numerals

The eleven native roots that name numbers 1–10 and 20, may occur alone, as illustrated above, or the two multiples can occur with the nine digits following them, to name numbers 11–19 and 21–29, respectively. This may be expressed by two rules, which classify the digits separately from the multiples, and a third rule, which expresses how they combine into phrases, as shown in (819). In the third rule, the relation between the two elements of each phrase is one of addition. (For the sake of simplicity, numerals are represented in most of the rules that follow as numbers rather than by their phonological form.)

(819) Num(1) → 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	‘1–9’
Num(2) → 10, 20	‘10, 20’
Num(3) → Num(2) Num(1)	‘11–19, 21–29’

Some of the root numerals have combining forms when they occur in such phrases. Not all numerals are listed here (Cf. Merrifield and Anderson 1999); but a few are listed in (820) to illustrate combining forms.

(820) <i>cøng<sup>2</sup></i>	‘one’	→	<i>guie<sup>1</sup> cáng<sup>1</sup></i>	‘eleven’
<i>ton<sup>1</sup></i>	‘two’	→	<i>guie<sup>1</sup> tón<sup>2</sup></i>	‘twelve’
<i>guio<sup>1</sup></i>	‘seven’	→	<i>guie<sup>1</sup> guiú<sup>2</sup></i>	‘seventeen’
<i>jñie<sup>1</sup></i>	‘eight’	→	<i>guie<sup>1</sup> jñií<sup>2</sup></i>	‘eighteen’

In addition to these eleven roots, and their several combining forms, there are five idiom formations that name the multiples 30, 40, 50, 75, and ‘hundred’, and one Spanish loan for ‘thousand’. All but those for 75 and ‘thousand’ have animate as well as inanimate forms. The Spanish term ‘million’ is now known to some and is also coming into use. Before proceeding to further rules, however, it needs to be stated that young people today would almost certainly use Spanish for any complex high number, while older folk would seldom find the need to express any complex high number at all. The following rules describe the structure of a system that is still fully viable, but which is only commonly used now for fairly simple numeral expressions.

The Numeral for 30 (*guiég<sup>2</sup> guií<sup>2</sup>*) is derived in the same way as that expressed as Num(3) above, with the Numeral for 20 followed directly by a combining form of the Numeral for 10 (*guie<sup>1</sup>*); but it belongs in a separate class, with the numeral for 40, due to its distinct distribution with other numerals. We will get to that in a moment, but first we need to look at the numeral for 40, which has an entirely different structure.

The Numeral for 40 (*ton<sup>1</sup> lág<sup>1</sup>*) is drawn from an earlier, vigesimal system and is formed from the numeral for 2, as multiplier, and a different, suppletive root for the number 20, that bears no phonological relation to the root *guiég<sup>2</sup>* ‘twenty’. This phrase, that names 40, literally means ‘two twenties’, in a Quantifier + Head, NP structure.

As in the case of the multiples that name 10 and 20, these multiples naming 30 and 40 form a set and can stand alone, or they can occur in a phrase on the pattern of Num(3), except that the relation of addition that exists between the elements of the phrase must be overtly expressed by the stative verb *rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>* ‘upon\IIS3, plus’. The fact that the names for 30 and 40 are themselves morphological complex is the only clue we have to account for the need for this verb. The naming of these multiples as a lexical class and their associated phrase may be expressed by the rules in (821).

- (821) Num(4) → 30, 40        ‘30, 40’  
       Num(5) → Num(4) *rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>* Num(1)    ‘31–39, 41–49’

A selection of names for numbers 31–39 and 41–49 are illustrated in (822).

- (822) *guiég<sup>2</sup> guií<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘thirty-one’ (*lit.*, 20 10 add 1)  
*guiég<sup>2</sup> guií<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> ton<sup>1</sup>* ‘thirty-two’  
*guiég<sup>2</sup> guií<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> hnøa<sup>12</sup>* ‘thirty-three’  
 ...  
*ton<sup>1</sup> lág<sup>1</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup>* ‘forty-eight’ (*lit.*, 2 20s add 8)  
*ton<sup>1</sup> lág<sup>1</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> ηiu<sup>1</sup>* ‘forty-nine’

The numeral for 50 is, in turn, based on that for 40 with the same combining form for the numeral for 10 as occurs in the numeral for 30 (*guií<sup>2</sup>*), except that still a third form of the numeral for 20 is used; thus, *ton<sup>1</sup> lúg<sup>1</sup> guií<sup>2</sup>* ‘fifty’, literally means 2 40s and 10. This compound numeral forms a class of its own, may stand alone, and occurs in a phrase with all smaller numerals, to name numbers 51–99, as indicated in (823).

- (823) Num(6) → 50 ‘50’  
 Num(7) → Num(6) rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> Num(1–6) ‘51-99’

An example of a numeral of type Num(7) is presented in (824).

- (824) *ton<sup>1</sup> lúg<sup>1</sup> guií<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> ton<sup>1</sup> lág<sup>1</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> ηiu<sup>1</sup>* ‘99’  
 2 20s 10 add 2 20s add 9

There is another compound numeral to directly express the number 75; namely, *ma<sup>3</sup>ca<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>* ‘seventy-five’, which is anomalous, in that it does not combine with other numbers as defined in the rules above. This numeral is not limited in its use, however, to any particular domain of countable items. In form, it looks in part like *ca<sup>2</sup>* ‘one’ and the verb stem *dsó<sup>2</sup>* ‘upon\IS3’, but *dsó<sup>2</sup>* always otherwise occurs with the stative prefix *rø<sup>2</sup>-*; and *ma<sup>3</sup>-*, with high tone, is itself a curiosity. I have no idea how this combination becomes ‘seventy-five’.

For numbers above 99, another compound formed on the pattern of the name for 40, names the multiple 100; namely, *ηii<sup>2</sup>lóg<sup>2</sup>* ‘hundred’, which has the structure 5 20s as its derivational source, with *ηii<sup>2</sup>-* representing a pretonic form of the numeral *hñií<sup>2</sup>* ‘five’ and *lóg<sup>2</sup>* representing still another combining form of the vigesimal root *lág<sup>1</sup>/lúg<sup>1</sup>/lóg<sup>2</sup>* ‘score, twenty’. Other vigesimal constructs with forms related to *lág<sup>1</sup>* were presumably used in the past to name higher multiples of 20 (3 20s, 4 20s, ...), but these are now lost.<sup>5</sup> As indicated, this multiple always requires a

<sup>5</sup> For a fuller view of extant vigesimal systems in Mexico, see Merrifield 1968 for a description of the numeral system of the Ch’ol Mayans of Tabasco, Mexico, and Cowan 1969:38ff for that of the Tzotzil Mayans of Chiapas, Mexico.



quantifier and, when added to, requires the stative verb  $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$  ‘upon\IIS3’. These facts may be expressed, as in (825), to name numbers 100–999.

- (825) Num(8) →  $\eta ii^2l\phi g^2$  ‘hundred’  
 Num(9) → Num(1) Num(8) ( $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$  Num(1–7)) ‘100-999’

A typical example of a Num(9) expression is presented in (826).

- (826)  $qui\acute{u}n^2$   $\eta ii^2l\phi g^2$   $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$   $ton^1$   $l\acute{u}g^1$   $gui^2$   $r\phi^2ds\phi^2ton^1$  ‘452’  
 4 100 add 2 20s 10add 2

Beyond 999, Chinantec employs a Spanish loan with phonological reshaping that indicates long use by the Chinantec people; namely,  $mei^{13}$  ‘thousand’ (from *Sp. mil*). Its use to potentially express number names for 1000–999,999 may be expressed as in (827) and is illustrated in (828).

- (827) Num(10) →  $mei^{13}$  ‘thousand’ (*Sp. mil*)  
 Num(11) → Num(1–9) Num(10) ( $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$  Num(1–7,9)) ‘1000-999,999’

- (828)  $qui\acute{u}n^2$   $mei^{13}$   $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$   $qui\acute{u}n^2$   $\eta ii^2l\phi g^2$   $r\phi^2ds\phi^2$   $gui\acute{e}g^2$   $qui\acute{u}n^2$  ‘4424’  
 4 1000 add 4 100 add 20 4

### 13.3 The Vigesimal System

The VIGESIMAL SYSTEM is just a shadow of what it once was for the Chinantecs. The name for the number 20 in the Decimal system has already been seen as a vestige of a base 20 system in the formation of words for 40 (2 20s), 50 (2 20s 10), and 100 (5 20s). One other term from the old Vigesimal System continues to be used in relation to inventorying, borrowing, and selling of ears of maize. The Nahuatl word *tzontli* ‘four hundred’ (20 20s) was used, in particular, for counting, ears of maize, sweet potato, cacao, various other fruits, and firewood (Santamaría 1992:1153) and continues in use as *zontle* in the Spanish of many rural areas of Mexico. The Chinantec word for *zontle* is  $leg^2$  ‘four hundred’ and is still used today, as the sentence in (829) attests.

- (829)  $Ca^1l\acute{a}^2$  jni  $ton^1$   $leg^2$   $moh^{13}$   $hma^2$   $cu\phi i^2$   $hi^2$   $jm\acute{o}ngh^{13}$  jni  $hni\acute{u}^{12}$ .  
 Pst-buy\TIC1s 1s two zontle leaf sugarcane that\i repair\TII1s 1s house  
 I bought eight hundred stalks of cane to repair the roof of my house (BJM-01 046).

The next multiple in the vigesimal system beyond 400 (20<sup>2</sup>) would be 8000 (20<sup>3</sup>), if we take Ch'ol Mayan (Merrifield 1968) as our model, where the corresponding word is *pík*; but there is no memory of such a numeral among the Tlapeuzco Chinantecs as far as I have found.

### 13.4 The Spanish Peso Fuerte System

Spain brought a double system of coins to the New World in the 16<sup>th</sup>-Century, based on a gold coin called the *Escudo* and a Silver coin called the *Real*, eight *reales* constituting a *Duro* or *Peso Fuerte*, thereby giving rise to the notion 'piece-of-eight' [= one of eight parts] (Avila-Martel 1991:16.546.1a). This is also the source of U.S. usage such as 'two bits' for 2/8ths of a dollar, or 25 cents.

This *Peso Fuerte* notion survived in Chinantec usage (and in other indigenous communities of Mexico) almost to the end of the Twentieth Century in reference to the Mexican peso. But it became obsolescent with the profound devaluation of Mexican currency in the 1980s in which coins of less than a peso became of almost no value.

The System was limited to naming small monetary amounts between two and twenty bits; *i.e.*, from \$0.25mxn to \$2.50mxn. It consisted of the even-numbered Numerals from 2 to 20, with the exception of the multiples of eight, 8 and 16, followed by the word *coh*<sup>13</sup> 'bit, piece-of-eight', although the more general word *cog*<sup>3</sup> 'money' was also often used in these phrases in place of *coh*<sup>13</sup>. The full inventory of expressions in this system, as observed in use from the 1950s into the 1980s, is as indicated in (830).

(830) <i>ton</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	2 bits	'\$0.25 Mxn'	<i>guie</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>tón</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	12 bits	'\$1.50 Mxn'
<i>quiún</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	4 bits	'\$0.50 Mxn'	<i>guy quiún</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	14 bits	'\$1.75 Mxn'
<i>jjiéng</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	6 bits	'\$0.75 Mxn'	<i>guie</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>jjií</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	18 bits	'\$2.25 Mxn'
<i>guie</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	10 bits	'\$1.25 Mxn'	<i>guiég</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	20 bits	'\$2.50 Mxn'

All other enumerations of monetary value employ the Measure Noun *héh*<sup>1</sup>, which literally means 'measure', followed by the word *cog*<sup>3</sup> 'money' (never *coh*<sup>13</sup>), which in this context means 'peso'. The numeral *cøng*<sup>2</sup> 'one', has the unique form *ca*<sup>2</sup> when preceding *héh*<sup>1</sup>. Thus, (831).

(831) <i>ca</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>héh</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	1 measure money	'\$1.00 Mxn'	
<i>ton</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>héh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	2 measure money	'\$2.00 Mxn'	
<i>guie</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>héh</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>cog</i> <sup>3</sup>	10 measure money	'\$10.00 Mxn'	... and so forth.

## 14. Special Verbs

A number of verbs that are unique in form or function are singled out for discussion in this chapter—the allocation verb used to express possession, the association verb used to express instrumentality or association, be verbs to express existence, identification, or orientation, negative verbs, the interrogative verb, quantitative verbs, the addition verb, motion verbs, human propensity verbal idioms and other verbal idioms. The chapter ends with a few comments relating to nonverbal predicates.

### 14.1 The Allocation Verb

Allocation is the cover term Hockett (1958:236) chose for grammatical devices that express possession and other commonly associated concepts. In the presentation of nouns, it was shown that alienable nouns show possession by means of various inflectional forms of *quiáh*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ and related *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TAS3’, which I have claimed are inanimate and animate forms of an Allocation verb, which functions as predicate of an allocation clause. This claim is further documented in this section.

The Allocational Modifier of a noun is a RELATIVE CLAUSE in structure, based on the gender pair of STATIVE VERBS *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TAS3’ and *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’. The first piece of evidence to support this claim can be seen in (832), where *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\AIS3’ is shown preceding its two terms, subject and object, in that order. Lyons (1968:392) suggests that ‘have’ sentences of this type are rare in languages, as Foris 1993:279 has brought to my attention.

- (832) Quián<sup>12</sup> guing úg<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>.  
of\TAS3 child three\ a woman  
The child has three female companions. (TXT-64.042)

The reader should not be put off by the apparent anomaly in the example, of a child having several women companions; it is drawn from a traditional text where the ‘child’ is, in fact, a young adult and a culture hero. This sentence can be compared to the noun phrase in (833), which shows the same allocational clause, in its more frequently seen relativized configuration as noun modifier, relativized on the object of the modifying clause.

(833) úg<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> guiing<sup>2</sup>  
 three woman of\TAS3 child Ø  
 the child's three female companions

A second piece of evidence indicating that *quián*<sup>12</sup> is a verb, may be seen in (834), where it is derivationally changed from stative to active by an activizing prefix in the same way as with other stative verbs, such as *chian*<sup>2</sup> 'exist', shown in (835).

(834) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quián<sup>12</sup> guiing jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-Act\C-of\TAS3 child one\ a daughter\3 king  
 The child acquired one of the king's daughters (as wife). (TXT-64.059)

(835) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> guiing.  
 Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 child  
 The child was born. (TXT-37.363)

Illustration (836) also shows clear cases of the corresponding inanimate form, *quiah*<sup>12</sup> 'of\TIS3', both as an activized transitive inanimate main verb and as a stative allocational modifier.

(836) Juø<sup>n13</sup> Cenizas bá<sup>h3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 John Ashes Aff Pst-Act\C-of\TIS3 house of\TIS3 king  
 The palace of the king became Juan Cenizas' palace. (TXT-11.918)

The verbal character of *quián*<sup>12</sup> 'of\TAS3' is shown in (837) by the presence of the perfect prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>-. I suggest where the verbs suppressed object *Juø<sup>n13</sup>* would go if it had been included in this natural text from a story where he was overtly mentioned, as object, in the immediately preceding context. The affirmation modal *bá<sup>h3</sup>* places the focus on ownership by the devil.

(837) Ma<sup>2</sup>quián<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup> bá<sup>h3</sup> (Juø<sup>n13</sup>).  
 Prf-of\TAS3 Devil Aff (John)  
 (John) now belongs to the devil. (TXT-09.201)

In (838), two similar appositional sentences, but with the inanimate verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> 'of\TIS3', again place the focus on the fact of ownership itself, with overt direct objects.

(838) Hi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> bá<sup>h3</sup> dsa hniú<sup>12</sup>, hi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> bá<sup>h3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>.  
 that\i of\TIS3 Aff 3 house that\i of\TIC3 Aff person Pst-make\TIC3  
 The house is his; it belongs to the person who built it. (MJA-05.053)

In (839), a final demonstration of the truly clausal character of Chinantec Alienable Allocational, an Allocation Clause is the Object Complement of the verb *jmo*<sup>12</sup> 'do\TIP3'. This clause contains two allocational clauses with the Transitive Animate verb *quián*<sup>12</sup> 'of\TAS3' as

Predicate. In the first instance, the clause occurs in normal VSO order; in the second instance, a relative clause, with the first instance of the noun *guiing*<sup>2</sup> ‘child’ as the logical object of both occurrences of *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TAS3’. The noun *guiing*<sup>2</sup> ‘child’ is then repeated as Head of a second relative clause that references the death of the child’s mother, where *chiég*<sup>3</sup> ‘mother\3’ is inalienable and this second occurrence of *guiing*<sup>2</sup> ‘child’ is its relativized Possessor.

(839) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>        hio<sup>13</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    juu<sup>3</sup>        quián<sup>12</sup>    dsa    guiing<sup>2</sup>    quián<sup>12</sup>    dsá<sup>1</sup>,  
 Pst-make\TIC3 woman person barren\AIS3 of\TAS3 3    child    of\TAS3 someone

guiing<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup>        chiég<sup>3</sup>.  
 child    Pst-die\AIsC3 mother\3

A barren woman adopted a child of someone else, a child whose mother had died. (MJA-05.090)

The allocational clause may express much more than possession, in the same genitive-like way the preposition *of* functions in English to introduce so-called possessive noun phrases. Like genitives the world over, the allocational clause may express very general ideas of ‘relating to’ or ‘pertaining to’, as illustrated in (840)–(843).

(840) Cuento quiah<sup>12</sup>    juøi<sup>2</sup>    San<sup>2</sup>    Pe<sup>31</sup>.  
 story    of\TIS3    town    Saint    Peter  
 A story about San Pedro Tlatepuzco. (TXT-34.001)

(841) hi<sup>2</sup>    lé<sup>2</sup>        ta<sup>3</sup> juøi<sup>2</sup>        quiah<sup>12</sup>    guøh<sup>12</sup>,    hi<sup>2</sup>    léi<sup>1</sup>        guøh<sup>12</sup>.  
 that\ihappen\III3 public=works    of\TIS3    church    that\i    adorn\III3    church  
 ... to do community work on the church, to adorn the church house. (TXT-34.035)

(842) ja<sup>3</sup>    tsenh<sup>12</sup>        patrón    quián<sup>12</sup>    dsa,    ja<sup>3</sup>    dsen<sup>13</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa,  
 where stand\TAsP3    patron    of\TAS3    3    political=center    of\TIS3    3  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> dsen<sup>13</sup> juøi<sup>2</sup>    San<sup>2</sup>    Pe<sup>31</sup>,    dsa<sup>2</sup>    juanh<sup>12</sup>        quián<sup>12</sup>    dsa.  
 leader    town    Saint    Peter    person    great\AIsS3    of\TAS3    3  
 where their patron stood, at their municipal center, the patron of San Pedro Tlatepuzco,  
their principal leader (TXT-34.041)

(843) Cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup>    ti<sup>3</sup>jneh<sup>3</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>.  
 simply    p-piece    of\TIS3    devil        Pst-happen\IIC3  
 The devil was torn completely into tiny pieces. (TXT-25.331)  
*lit.*, Just tiny pieces of the devil resulted.

In addition to occurring in allocational function within a noun phrase, the allocational clause also occurs as a clause nominal constituent, either as a term, that is cross-referenced of the verb, or as an oblique nominal that is not. In (844), the allocation clause is the inanimate subject of an

inanimate intransitive verb. There is a corresponding animate intransitive verb in Tlapeuzco Chinantec which takes an animate subject directly, as in *li<sup>1</sup>guion<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>* ‘we swell up’, but that expresses a more general biological condition than the case of swelling from a bite, where only part of the body swells up.

(844) *Li<sup>1</sup>guieng<sup>2</sup> quián<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cøgh<sup>2</sup> mih<sup>12</sup>.*  
 ActI-swollen\IIS3 of\TIS1p li if Pst-chew\TIC3 wasp  
Our body swells up if we are bitten by a wasp. (BJM-01.044)

In (845), there is a somewhat similar situation in which an allocation clause functions as direct object to partitively express that a vampire spirit extracts people’s blood from them at night.

(845) *Dsø<sup>2</sup>quiín<sup>2</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>3</sup>güen<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.*  
 go\P3-bring\TID3 3 of\3in people when Prf-p-sleep\AIP3 people  
 She goes and gets [blood] from people after they are asleep. (TXT-29.324)

In (846), the use of a Nonexpressed Transitive (TN) verb (§2.2) precludes the presence of a third-person direct object as a term of the verb. The corresponding transitive animate verb allows *dsø<sup>1</sup>chiánh<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>* ‘they go arrest people’, which is essentially equivalent to the nonexpressed form in (846), making the choice between the two verbs a matter of relative topicality, where the inanimate oblique reference is less topical than a corresponding animate direct object reference.

(846) *Dsø<sup>1</sup>chiáng<sup>2</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hnóng<sup>2</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup>.*  
 go\I3-grab\TND3 constable of\TIS3 people Pst-  
 commit\TIC3 crime  
 The deputies will go arrest whoever has committed a crime. (DB-02.048)

In (847), an allocational clause adds the oblique nominal ‘to the people of San Lucas Arroyo Palomo’ to the transitive verb *cuø<sup>12</sup>* ‘give\TIP3’ whose terms are ‘person’ as subject and ‘land’ as direct object.

(847) *Ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jniuh<sup>12</sup>,*  
 Pst-arrive=here\AIsC3 one\ a person sighted\AIS3  
  
*dsa<sup>2</sup> u<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>røh<sup>3</sup>.*  
 person come\C-give\TID3 land of\TIS3 native Arroyo=Palomo  
 An engineer arrived who came and granted land to the people of San Lucas Arroyo Palomo.  
 (TXT-61.002)

We know that the verb *cuø*<sup>12</sup> ‘give’, in (847), is transitive and not ditransitive, allowing only one direct-object argument, because of the existence of its ditransitive counterpart *cuøh*<sup>12</sup> ‘give\DAC3’. In (848), we can see that the ditransitive form has one subject and two objects as terms, that the animate first object comes first, and that the second object that follows requires no allocational clause.

- (848) Ca<sup>1</sup>cuøh<sup>1</sup>      dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>    hé<sup>12</sup>    mi<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>tø<sup>2</sup>      dsii<sup>1</sup>hiég<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-give\DAC3 3    person tortilla when Pst-reach\IIC3 noon  
 She gave them a meal at noon. (BJM-03.033)

The allocation clause my function as Source-Goal of a directional or motion verb, as in (849) and (850).

- (849) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup>      dsa quiah<sup>12</sup>    chiíh<sup>3</sup>    mi<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>jnie<sup>1</sup>      ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-go\AIpC3 3    of\TIS3 crab    when Pst-dawn\IIC3 again  
 So they went to Crab’s place the next morning. (TXT-03.053)
- (850) Dóh<sup>3</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>3</sup>li<sup>2</sup>      dsa quiah<sup>12</sup>    jmi<sup>2</sup>    dsí<sup>2</sup>    mi<sup>3</sup>hiu<sup>3</sup>      guio<sup>1</sup>juói<sup>1</sup>.  
 because Pst-go\R-remove\TIsR3 3    of\TIS3 spirit    Impf-be=in\IS3 hell<sup>1</sup>  
 Because he went and removed it from the Spirit who was in hell. (TXT-40.148)

## 14.2 The Association Verb

The preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with’ was introduced in §9.8, where reference was made to its most probable relationship to the association verb *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘accompany\TMS3’. It is this association, based on homophony and semantic similarity, that makes *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘accompany\TMS3’ ‘special’, thereby meriting a brief discussion here along with other ‘special’ verbs. In every other way, however, this verb seems to be a normal, semantically middle, transitive animate stative verb. It occurs in three inflected forms—*quianh*<sup>13</sup> with first-plural and third person objects, as in (851) and (852); with *quianh*<sup>3</sup> with first-singular and second person object, as in (853) and (854); and *quiangh*<sup>13</sup> with first-person object, as in (855).

- (851) Ma<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup>      jniang<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Prf-accompany\TAS1p li    people Ana\ a  
 We have now joined with the aforementioned persons. (DCT.287)
- (852) Quianh<sup>13</sup>      dsa    dsøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 accompany\TAS3 3    dog  
 He has his dogs with him (*lit.*, is accompanied by). (TXT-33.003)

(853) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>uai<sup>12</sup> tai<sup>1</sup> jni ca<sup>1</sup>cën<sup>2</sup> jni,  
 Pst-Act\C-ache\IIS3 foot\1s 1s Pst-fall-behind\TMC1s 1s  
 ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>jián<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>quianh<sup>3</sup> jni.  
 Pst-go\I-move-ahead\TID3 people Impf-accompany\TMS1s 1s  
 I fell behind because I hurt my foot and those I was with went on ahead. (DB-02.046)

(854) Ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> hnøa<sup>12</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ñii<sup>3</sup>jaih<sup>3</sup> hning tsí<sup>2</sup>  
 Pst-reach\IIC3 three day go\R-see\TIR2 2s snare  
 ma<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>3</sup> hning og<sup>1</sup> mozos, dsa<sup>2</sup> tai<sup>1</sup> jah.  
 Prf-accompany\TMS2 2s two\à hirelings people bring-back\TAI3 animal  
 After three days you will go look at the snares accompanied by two hired hands to (help  
 you) bring back game animals. (TXT-67.045)

(855) Ma<sup>2</sup>quiangh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-accompany\TNS3 people Ana\à li  
 Those people have joined with us. (DCT.286)

The verbal character of *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘accompany\TMS3’ is further demonstrated by its occurrence with two prefixes common to stative verbs—*ma*<sup>2</sup>- (Perfect) and *mi*<sup>3</sup>- (Imperfect), as in (856) and (857).

(856) Ma<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Prf-accompany\TMS3 king princess say\TIP3 3  
 The king was accompanied by his daughter, they say. (TXT-47.063)

(857) Jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 one\à person Impf-accompany\TMS3 3  
 There was one fellow accompanying him. (TXT-05.164)

In (858), third-person inflection indicates that the focused and fronted noun phrase ‘my child’ is the subject of *quianh*<sup>13</sup> rather than object, which is, therefore, ‘me’.

(858) Jøng<sup>2</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni quianh<sup>13</sup> jni ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i youth of\TAS3 1s accompany\TMS3 1s here  
 So my child accompanies me here. (TXT-22.319)

There is one further distinction, however, that throws a monkey wrench into the foregoing analysis. While *quianh*<sup>13</sup> and *quianh*<sup>3</sup> are, on the one hand, members of the same verbal paradigm to express ‘accompaniment’, they also represent a semantic distinction, in some instances, between ‘accompaniment’ as an *ad hoc* mutual presence of individuals (‘he is traveling with him’) as expressed by *quianh*<sup>13</sup>, and a deeper ‘association’ of individuals together (‘he is his fellow traveler’), whether social or political or religious, as expressed by *quianh*<sup>3</sup>. When persons



have a deeper association, the form *quianh*<sup>3</sup> is more likely to be used to express that type of ‘association’, irrespective of person of subject, as in (859) and (860).

(859) Jan<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>3</sup> hning ca<sup>1</sup>ŋie<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup>.  
 one\ə person association\TAS3 2s Pst-go=and=come\AIsC3 home\1s  
One of your colleagues came to my house.

(860) Quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 accompany\TMS3 person person association\TMS3 3  
 He is accompanied by his associates.

This difference between association and accompaniment seems to be highlighted in the comparison of the following sentences, where the ‘companions’ in (861) reference fellow familiar spirits who are out to do human beings no good, whereas the ‘fellows’ in (862) are mere hunting buddies out for the first time together.

(861) Dsa<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>3</sup> dsa tiogh<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>3</sup>.  
 person accompany\TMS3 3 be\AIpS3 p-guard\DIP3  
His companions stand watching to see lest a human should come outside. (TXT-54.148)

(862) Dsa<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa mi<sup>3</sup>ŋjaih<sup>1</sup> jn<sup>2</sup>.  
 person accompany\TMS3 3 Opt-kill\TNsI3 1s  
The fellow with him wanted to kill me. (TXT-05.167)

As a second-language learner of Chinantec, however, I am left with the impression, after many years of study, that individual speakers do not always maintain this nice distinction between accompaniment and association. In illustration (863), the speaker alludes to his fellow countryman from San Pedro Tlatepuzco with whom he had visited another town, but imperfect aspect seems to belie an ‘association’ interpretation of *quianh*<sup>3</sup>.

(863) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cøn<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>quianh<sup>3</sup> jni.  
 not-be\IIS3 Pst-pick\TIC3 person Impf-association\TMS1s 1s  
The one who was with me did not pick (the fruit). (TXT-32.033)

Beyond technical questions of accompaniment and association, *quianh*<sup>13</sup> occurs in a variety of contexts. It is part of the formula, expressed in (864), for defining full siblings, who share the same parents (not necessarily born at the same time as twins). In (865), *quianh*<sup>13</sup> expresses a less tangible association of the human spirit that exists, we hope, between sweethearts.

(864) Ca<sup>1</sup>ŋo<sup>2</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-born\AIC3 3 accompany\TMS3 3  
 He is his full sibling (*lit.*, ‘he accompanied him in birth’). (TXT-01.181)

(865) Hiug<sup>2</sup> dsə<sup>1</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> jn<sup>2</sup>.  
 agree\AIS1s 1s with\ə 2s be\IIS3 agree\AIS2 2s with\ə 1s  
 I am agreeable toward you if you are agreeable toward me. (SongLyrics-05.008)

Forms of the derivational prefix *lø<sup>2</sup>-* (activized) may occur with both *quianh<sup>13</sup>* and *quianh<sup>3</sup>*, as seen in (866) and (867). These are the only documented occurrences of this prefix with these forms in the entire Tlatepuzco database. Unfortunately, the form *li<sup>1</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup>* in (866) would seem to be a prepositional instance of *quianh<sup>13</sup>* ‘with’ with very verbal characteristics. It occurs with the activizing prefix, it is clearly the predicate of a clause (a clause being the normal syntactic subject of the negative verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>*), but it has only one term, a complement clause as subject (‘that he will descend’). I continue to puzzle over the correct, complete analysis of *quianh<sup>13</sup>* and *quianh<sup>3</sup>*.

(866) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jən<sup>1</sup> møi<sup>2</sup>, ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> siog<sup>1</sup> dsa lāh<sup>3</sup>.  
 when Pst-die\AIsC3 hawk not-be\IIS3 Act\I-with\i that\i descend\AII3 3 Rhet  
 After the hawk had died, there was nothing for him by which to get down again, right? (TXT-19.478)

(867) Lø<sup>2</sup>quianh<sup>3</sup> dsa ju<sup>3</sup>roh<sup>13</sup> dsa, dsa<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cøgh<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hōnh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Act/P-associate\TMS3 3 kinsman\3 3 person give\TII3 that\i eat\TIP3 that\i drink\TIP3 3  
 He is joined by a kinsman, someone who will give him food and drink (*i.e.*, a spouse). (TXT-22.203)

### 14.3 Be verbs

Doing linguistics from an Indo-European point of view leads us to think about the so-called BE-VERBS that predicate existence, identification, or position–orientation. Syntactically, Tlatepuzcan verbs with these semantic functions are like any other Chinantec verbs. Some are active, some are stative. Some are one-term verbs, some are two-term verbs. They show no special syntactic characteristics. Nevertheless, for reasons of general comparison with other languages, Chinantec verbs that correspond to the be-verbs of other languages are surveyed in the next three sections of this chapter.

### 14.4 Existence

The inanimate intransitive verb *chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘be\IIS3’, predicates the existence of elements referenced by inanimate nominals, as in (868).

(868) Chii<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> ŋø<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 be\IIS3 much\IIS3 meat of\TIS3 3  
 He has (*lit.*, be of him) large amounts of meat. (TXT-05.005)

As indicated in (869)–(872), *chii*<sup>2</sup> may occur with all the various verbal prefixes that are common to stative verbs.

(869) Juúh<sup>2</sup> San<sup>2</sup> Pe<sup>31</sup>, lei<sup>13</sup> li<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>, lei<sup>13</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup>.  
 say\TIP3 Saint-Peter law Act\I-be\IIS3 law good\IIS3  
 Saint Peter said, “There is going to be a law, a good law.” (TXT-10.004)

(870) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>hén<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jò<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-go\C-ruin\IID3 all\3i when Prf-be\IIS3  
 Everything was destroyed after it had come into existence. (TXT-05.297)

(871) Mi<sup>3</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jø<sup>3</sup>nung<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa, cøng<sup>2</sup> jø<sup>3</sup>nung<sup>2</sup> høng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Impf-be\IIS3 one\i field of\TIS3 3 one\i field chili  
 She had (*lit.*, was of her) a field, a chili patch. (TXT-04.002)

(872) Tsa<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> tiagh<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-be\IIS3 water be\AIpP1p li here  
 We are living here not having (*lit.*, not be) water. (TXT-26.202)

In the overwhelming majority of occurrences of the verb *chii*<sup>2</sup>, it occurs with a single nominal as its term. A sentence like that in (873), however, where both a subject and complement seem to be present, then challenges its analysis as intransitive. I have retained the intransitive gloss IIS3 for *chii*<sup>2</sup> in this example, but by using the Allocation expression *quieg*<sup>1</sup> *jni* ‘of me’, the speaker has slipped in the equivalent of an animate subject, thereby allowing for a middle transitive reading equivalent to a TMS1s verb, on the order of ‘that I will get myself a book’.

(873) Hno<sup>1</sup> jni li<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni cøng<sup>2</sup> si<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>hløah<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> jmei<sup>12</sup>.  
 want\TIS1s 1s Act\I-be\IIS3 of\TIS1s 1s one\i book Sta-speak\TIP3 Chinantec  
 I want to obtain for myself a book written in Chinantec. (AGJ-06.053)

In addition to inanimate *chii*<sup>2</sup> ‘be\IIS3’, there is a corresponding animate intransitive form *chian*<sup>2</sup> ‘be\AIS3’ which may occur, without inflectional variation, with any person of subject.

(874) Chian<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> góah<sup>12</sup> má<sup>1</sup> ñiih<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>12</sup>.  
 be\AIS3 people eat\TIP3 meal salty strong\IIS3  
There are some people who (prefer to) eat food that is very salty. (TXT-22.226)

The presence of a locative adjunct is very common with the use of existence verbs, as in (875).

(875) Chian<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> tah<sup>2</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 be\AIS3 much\IIS3 crayfish river  
 There are a great many crayfish in the river. (TXT-02.012)

The evidence for a transitive middle form of animate *chian*<sup>2</sup> is more clear than that shown above for inanimate *chii*<sup>2</sup>. In the story title listed as (877), the noun phrase ‘woman who had one

son' is clearly a case of a middle transitive with 'woman' as subject and 'one son' as complement, where *chian*<sup>2</sup> has the reading 'be to' or 'have'.

- (876) Cøng<sup>2</sup> cuento quiah<sup>12</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>ŋiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa, jan<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 one\i story of\TIS3 one\A woman Impf-have\TMS3 one\A son\3 3 one\A daughter\3 3  
 A story about a woman who had one son and one daughter. (TXT-48.001)

Other examples of middle transitive readings occur with abstract nouns expressing certain human propensities, such as pain, anxiety, or adversity, as expressed in (877) and (878). Some of these human propensity nouns are based on verbal idioms that include the noun *dsóa*<sup>12</sup> 'seat of emotions\3'. A comprehensive list of such verbal idioms is presented below in §14.11.

- (877) Tah<sup>2</sup> cøh<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> hí<sup>3</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup>.  
 suffer\AIP1p li if such\i day have\TMS1p li anxiety  
We have heartaches whenever we are anxious. (DCT.310)
- (878) Juanh<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>, juanh<sup>12</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>3</sup>uai<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> jni.  
 tolerant\AIS3 God tolerant\AIS2 2s extent reach\IIS3 adversity that\i have\TMS1s 1s  
 May both you and God be gracious to the extent of the adversity I am experiencing. (TXT-01.123)

Both *chii*<sup>2</sup> and *chian*<sup>2</sup> have phonological variants *chii*<sup>1</sup> and *chián*<sup>1</sup>, respectively, when inflected for active past tense, as indicated in (879) and (880).

- (879) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chií<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>13</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 that\i Ana\i Prf-Pst-Act\C-be\IIS3 law such\i Ana\i  
 So that is why this law has come to be established. (TXT-23.196)
- (880) Juen<sup>12</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 many\A much\IIS3 child Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 day Ana\i  
 A very large number of children were born at that time. (TXT-37.419)

## 14.6 Identification

The existence and identity of an activity, process, or state is expressed by forms of the inanimate intransitive verb *lò*<sup>2</sup> 'be\IIP3', as illustrated in (881)–(883).

- (881) Uén<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 hard\IIS3 Aff be\IIS3 world  
 Life is tough. (TXT-18.061)
- (882) Son<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa hœa<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa guó<sup>12</sup> dsa tan<sup>3</sup> lám<sup>1</sup> lò<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 song Aff make\TIP3 3 sing\TIP3 Aff 3 seated\AIsS3 3 while be\IIP3 work  
 He is making music and singing, sitting there while the work is going on. (TXT-12.045)
- (883) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> ŋóh<sup>3</sup> hning lé<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-Cnt-be\III3 walk\AIsI2 2s be\III3  
It will turn out that you will no longer be able to walk. (TXT-06.169)

The identity of an animate entity is expressed by forms of the corresponding transitive middle verb *lán*<sup>12</sup> ‘be\TMP3’.

- (884) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>léi<sup>13</sup>                      lán<sup>12</sup>                      dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-Cnt-evident\IIS3 be\TMP3 3 person  
 It was no longer apparent that she was a human being. (TXT-07.112)
- (885) Dóh<sup>3</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    quiin<sup>12</sup>                      dsa mai<sup>31</sup>                      jøng<sup>2</sup>, mai<sup>31</sup>                      mi<sup>3</sup>lán<sup>12</sup>                      dsa    tøa<sup>12</sup> hmá<sup>1</sup>.  
 because that\i carry\TIS3 3                      tradition Ana\i tradition Impf-be\TMP3 3                      carpenter  
 Because they have that custom, that custom of their having been carpenters. (TXT-44.011)
- (886) Hi<sup>2</sup>    hlanh<sup>12</sup>                      dsa dsa<sup>2</sup>                      héi<sup>2</sup>,                      dsa<sup>2</sup>                      lén<sup>2</sup>                      ta<sup>3</sup>,                      ha<sup>2</sup> lálh<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup>                      dsa.  
 that\i speak\TAP3 3                      person Ana\ a person be\TMI3 official how                      do\TII3 3  
 They speak to the one who will become the town official about how he should perform.  
 (TXT-34.044)

I am uncertain as to whether inanimate *lø*<sup>2</sup> in illustration (887) is intransitive as in the previous examples above, or whether it is a transitive middle, like those of *lán*<sup>12</sup>. It is certainly a transitive middle in a semantic sense, but the syntax is unclear in the face of the preceding cases.

- (887) Ni<sup>3</sup>    hieh<sup>12</sup> jmøa<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>                      ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>                      ni<sup>3</sup>                      dsa.  
 face\3 nutria                      Aff                      that\i Pst-happen\IIC3 face\3 3  
 His face became that of a river otter. (TXT-02.081)

## 14.5 Orientation

Chinantec has many verbs that predicate the contextual orientation of a referent when expressing their location or presence. Such verbs are intransitive that reflect the gender of the referent and, in a number of cases, distinguish singular and plural subjects by means of suppletive stems, as in (888)–(891), where the forms *tsih*<sup>12</sup>/*tseñh*<sup>12</sup>/*ti*<sup>3</sup>*tóng*<sup>2</sup>/*ti*<sup>3</sup>*tón*<sup>2</sup> all express the presence of vertically oriented referents.

- (888) Dóh<sup>3</sup>    hma<sup>2</sup> tsón<sup>12</sup>                      tsih<sup>12</sup>                      ja<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>12</sup>.  
 because palm                      stand\IIsP3 patio  
 Because there is a palm tree standing in the patio. (TXT-05.340)
- (889) Ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup> tseñh<sup>12</sup>                      ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h</sup><sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>.  
 here                      stand\AIsP1s long-ago Aff                      1s  
 I have been standing here for a very long time. (TXT-03.220)
- (890) Ma<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>tóng<sup>2</sup>                      hma<sup>2</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>                      Be<sup>13</sup>                      ja<sup>3</sup>                      jmo<sup>1</sup>                      dsa hniú<sup>12</sup>.  
 Prf-stand\IIP3 post                      of\TIS3 Robert where make\TII3 3                      house  
 Bob’s house posts are already standing where he is going to build a house. (AGJ-05.079)

(891) Ma<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>tón<sup>2</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Prf-stand\AIP3 3 patio now right  
 They are already standing outside right now. (DCT.322)

An incomplete list of such orientation verbs is presented in (892)

(892) dsi <sup>13</sup>	‘be\IIS3’	attached to or protruding from another entity
dsen <sup>3</sup>	‘be=on\AIP3’	attached to or protruding from another entity
guó <sup>12</sup>	‘be=home\AIsS3	singular object within a locale or seated
tiogh <sup>3</sup>	‘be=in\AIP3’	plural objects within a locale or seated
tióh <sup>13</sup>	‘be=in\IIP3’	plural objects within a locale
chi <sup>2</sup> dsó <sup>2</sup>	‘be=on\IIS3’	above another entity
guu <sup>2</sup> dsén <sup>2</sup>	‘covering\IIS3’	lying over the top of another entity
he <sup>12</sup>	‘be\IIS3’	present for a moment of time
hei <sup>12</sup>	‘hang\IIP3’	suspended in or from another entity
hen <sup>12</sup>	‘hang\AIP3’	suspended in or from another entity
héh <sup>2</sup>	‘open\IIP3’	an opening through an entity
ho <sup>12</sup>	‘open\IIP3’	an opening into an entity
hiu <sup>3</sup>	‘be=in\IIS3’	inside of an entity
hiúg <sup>3</sup>	‘be=in\AIsS3’	inside of an entity
neng <sup>12</sup>	‘lie\IIP3’	plural or complex object in horizontal position
tsih <sup>12</sup>	‘stand\IIP3’	singular object in vertical position
tsenh <sup>12</sup>	‘stand\AIsP3’	singular object in vertical position
ti <sup>3</sup> tóng <sup>2</sup>	‘stand\IIP3’	plural objects in vertical position
ti <sup>3</sup> tón <sup>2</sup>	‘stand\AIP3’	plural objects in vertical position
ron <sup>12</sup>	‘lie\IIsS3/AIsS3’	narrow object in horizontal position
rø <sup>2</sup> quian <sup>12</sup>	‘lying=down\AIsS3’	narrow object in horizontal position
rø <sup>2</sup> quie <sup>12</sup>	‘lie\IIS3’	narrow object in horizontal position
rø <sup>2</sup> quion <sup>12</sup>	‘lie\IIS3’	narrow object in horizontal position
ti <sup>3</sup> gah <sup>13</sup>	‘strewn\IIP3’	plural objects in scattered disarray
ti <sup>3</sup> ganh <sup>13</sup>	‘strewn\AIP3’	plural objects in scattered disarray
ton <sup>12</sup>	‘applied\IIS3/AIS3’	attached to another entity

## 14.6 Negative Verbs

The negative verbs *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘not=be\IIS3’ and *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘not=be\AIS3’ are inanimate and animate single-term verbs, respectively, based on the corresponding non-negative be verbs *chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘be\IIS3’ and *chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘be\AIS3’. The prefix *ha<sup>1</sup>-*, however, is unique to these two verbs, the normal negative prefix being *tsa<sup>1</sup>-*. These two verbs deny the existence of an object or event referenced by their subject expression.

The inanimate form *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘not=be\IIS3’ can stand alone as a one word response to disagree with a statement, question, or command. When occurring as the main verb of a clause, its subject

term may be an independent clause, as in (893) and (894), where the truth of the respective propositions is denied. In the first, a complete absence of crayfish inventory is denied to occur (at the home a certain individual); in the second, Jaguar's cognitive resources (for dealing with a particular situation) are nil.

(893) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    dsø<sup>1</sup>ŋé<sup>2</sup>                    tah<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 go\I3-run=out\IID3 crayfish  
           (He) never runs out of crayfish. (TXT-02.006)

(894) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    ŋii<sup>12</sup>                    hieh<sup>12</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 know\TIS3 jaguar do\TII3  
           Jaguar does not know what to do. (TXT-03.243)

In (895), the subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* is a noun phrase with *má<sup>1</sup>* 'meal' as head, the existence of which, as defined by the modifying relative clause, is denied. In (896), with similar structure, the continuing existence of money previously known to exist is denied. The presence of the be-verb of existence, embedded within the subject of negative verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* at the end of (896), is not uncommon.

(895) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    má<sup>1</sup> ca'jniúh<sup>1</sup>                    ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 meal Pst-obtain\TIC3 opossum  
           Possum did not obtain any food. (TXT-03.022)

(896) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    cog<sup>3</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 money Cnt-be\IIS3  
           There is not any more money. (TXT-05.313)

In (897), a headless relative clause (introduced by the complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* 'that\i' in lieu of a head noun), occurs as subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>*.

(897) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    gøah<sup>13</sup>    jni    ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>góh<sup>1</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 that\i eat\TII1s 1s Prf-Hod-arrive=here\IIsC3  
           Nothing has arrived here for me to eat. (TXT-04.202)

In (898), the subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* is a complement clause, introduced by the complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>*. It differs from the headless relative clause in not having a gap at one of its nominal positions.

(898) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    juúh<sup>2</sup>    dsa    hi<sup>2</sup>    jáinh<sup>1</sup>                    dsa<sup>2</sup>    ná<sup>12</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 that\i say\TIP3 3    that\i hand=over\TII3 person D1\ a that\i Ana\i  
           He does not say that he will give that thing back. (TXT-01.197)

In (899), *uú<sup>2</sup>* is the predicate of an independent clause ('he lived thereafter') embedded as the subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* 'not=be\IIS3'. The verb *uú<sup>2</sup>* 'long=time\IIS3' is much like a non-numeric

quantifying verb with special reference to the passage of time. It takes a clause as subject and the negative verb here (899) denies that the event ‘he lived a long time thereafter’ is true.

- (899) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    uú<sup>2</sup>                    ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup>                    dsa    ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\IIS3 long=time\IIS3 Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 3    afterwards  
           He did not live long after that. (TXT-06.219)

The animate intransitive verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* ‘not=be\AIS3’ that corresponds to inanimate *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* ‘not=be\IIS3’ may also take a clause or an animate noun phrase as subject, similarly denying the truth of propositions or the existence of animate entities expressed by these subjects. In (900) and (901), intransitive and transitive clauses, respectively, occur as subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>*. In both cases, it is moot as to whether the noun *jáh<sup>2</sup>* ‘animal’ is in fronted focus in respect to the embedded clause or whether they represent the head noun of noun phrases, with their clause remainders functioning as descriptive modifiers.

- (900) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>    jáh<sup>2</sup>    chian<sup>2</sup>.  
           not=be\AIS3 animal be\AIS3  
           There are no animals. (TXT-47.311)

- (901) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>    jáh<sup>2</sup>    lóh<sup>2</sup>                    dsa.  
           not=be\AIS3 animal bag\TAP3 3  
           He catches no game. (TXT-39.006)

The situation in (902) is different. Here, the embedded subject clause is ditransitive animate but has only one overt animate noun phrase, a subject *dsa* ‘he’. The object of ‘give’ is unexpressed except for the negative verb *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>*, which then yields the interpretation ‘there is no one to whom’. We might have expected the complementizer *hi<sup>2</sup>* (with animate reference in this context), as in (903), but it is absent, resulting in *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* being the only reference to the first (animate) object of *cuóh<sup>12</sup>* ‘give\DAP3’.

- (902) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>cuóh<sup>1</sup>                    dsa    cog<sup>3</sup>.  
           no=one\AIS3 Pst-give\DAC3 3    money  
           He gave (his) money to no one. (TXT-40.120)
- (903) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    tiúh<sup>1</sup>                    jmo<sup>1</sup> hí<sup>3</sup>    rai<sup>13</sup>.  
           not=be\AIS3 that\able\TII3 cure\TAI3 king  
           There is no one who can cure the king. (TXT-26.301)

Incidentally, apart from context, the subject clause in (902) is perfectly ambiguous. Standing alone, it either means ‘he gave money to no one’ or ‘no one gave him money’, although there is a nonexpressed ditransitive *cuai<sup>12</sup>* ‘give\DNP3’, which could occur, as in (904), that would



specifically and unambiguously express this latter interpretation. But the textual context of the sentence in (902) is clear, so that the use of the ‘nonexpressed’ form of the verb, normally used to correct an existing ambiguity, is not required.

- (904) *Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuai<sup>1</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>.*  
 no=one\AIS3 Pst-give\DNC3 money  
 No one gave (him) money.

The sentence in (905), the negative predicate *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* of the higher, main clause governs the use of *jin<sup>3</sup>* ‘even’ in the lower, embedded clause, since *jin<sup>3</sup>* may only occur in the presence of negation.

- (905) *Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> gan<sup>1</sup> guing jin<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup>.*  
 not=be\AIS3 that\ a fear\TAS3 child even one\ a  
The child is not afraid of absolutely anyone. (TXT-09.078)

In (906), a complement clause occurs as subject of *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* which is unremarkable except for the fact that the first-plural subject *jniang<sup>2</sup>* (1i) of the embedded clause is nonconcordant with either of the two third-person verbs in the sentence. A similar case of nonconcordance may occur when relativizing on pronouns, as mentioned above in chapter 8.

- (906) *Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ηii<sup>12</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.*  
 not=be\AIS3 that\ i know\TIS3 1i  
We can never know. (TXT-23.231)

The negative verb *a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>* ‘not=be\IIS3’, also occasionally heard simply as *jáng<sup>1</sup>*, denies the factuality of an object as defined or of a situation. Several typical examples follow in (907)–(911). Notice in the last of these examples that the two negative verbs a clause with *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* as subject is embedded as subject of *a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>* and that the over-all force remains negative.

- (907) *A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup>gug<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.*  
 not=be\IIS3 Cls-forearm\3 person  
 It is not a person’s hand. (TXT-01.199)
- (908) *A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>lé<sup>2</sup>.*  
 not=be\IIS3 like Ana\ i Opt-be\III3  
 That is not how things ought to be. (TXT-01.116)
- (909) *A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jan<sup>3</sup> jni jmai<sup>3</sup> nei<sup>12</sup> jni.*  
 not=be\IIS3 that\ i cease\AIP1s 1s day go\AIsP1s 1s  
 I do not rest whenever I go. (TXT-06.036)

(910) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> hñiah<sup>12</sup> ɲiih<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> lán<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 2p know\TIS2 how be\TMP3 people  
 You are not one's who know how people are. (TXT-21.089)

(911) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tián<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 not=be\AIS3 that\i overpower\AIP3 also  
Not could anyone overcome him. (TXT-09.079)

The negative verb *hei<sup>1</sup>* 'Neg\AIS3' denies personal identity as defined by the subject noun phrases, as in (912).

(912) Hei<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ɲøa<sup>12</sup>. Hei<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup>.  
 Neg\AIS3 person be\IIS3 where walk\AIP3 Neg\AIS3 person be\IIS3 work do\TIP3  
 He was not one to be going anywhere or to be doing any kind of work. (TXT-11.149–50)

This sentence in (913) is a lyrical form used in traditional marriage negotiations that does not completely reflect mundane, day-to-day speech. Although the subject of *hei<sup>1</sup>* is syntactically a clause, it is the character of the subject noun 'child', as described, that is denied.

(913) Hei<sup>1</sup> lø<sup>2</sup>bén<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> lói<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> lói<sup>2</sup> guing.  
 Neg\AIS3 Act/P-strong\AIS3 moment quickly moment child  
 For children do not quickly become strong in but a moment. (TXT-22.234)

The *hei<sup>1</sup>* clause in (914) is the embedded subject of the negative verb *a<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup>*, emphasizing the negative force of both.

(914) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>1</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> jmá<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 Neg\AIS3 animal tasty\AIS3 D2\va  
 No, that is not a tasty animal. (TXT-05.049)

The negative verb *tsa<sup>1</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup>* 'nevermore' is the negative form of *lói<sup>h2</sup>* which never occurs alone in the language, but which is also found as the temporal adverb *ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup>* 'long ago' with what looks to be the perfect prefix *ma<sup>2</sup>-*, and as the temporal interrogative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup>* 'when?' formed with the general locative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup>* 'where?' as its first syllable. This negative verb denies the future temporal existence of the referent of its nominal subject, as in (915).

(915) Tsa<sup>1</sup>lói<sup>h2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>jiúgh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 nevermore day Cnt-come-back\AIsI3 person when Pst-die\AIsC3 3  
 When a person dies he never returns. (AGJ-03.049)

## 14.7 The Interrogative Verb

There are several interrogative adverbs that appear to be derivational formed, in part, from verbs, as mentioned in §15.4; but one interrogative word is clearly a verb, the interrogative

stative verb *naih*<sup>12</sup> ‘which be?, where be?’. This verb questions the whereabouts, existence, or identity of an element expressed by its subject term, which may be animate or inanimate, as in (916)(917). Further illustrations of its use are presented in §15.6.

(916) ɿNaih<sup>12</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ɲieih<sup>12</sup> hning?  
 where? father\2 2s  
Where is your father? (TXT-19.192)

(917) ɿNaih<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> já<sup>12</sup>?  
 where? that\i come\IIsP3  
Where is what is to appear? (TXT-11.137)

## 14.8 Quantitative Verbs

Among the nonnumeric quantifiers, several have strong verbal characteristics. Some are found in undeniably verbal positions, such as *hliúg*<sup>2</sup> ‘many\IIS3’, in (918), and *tsug*<sup>2</sup> ‘excessive\IIS3, abundant\IIS3’, in (919).

(918) Hliúg<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hén<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> hei<sup>12</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup> jei<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>12</sup> tí<sup>2</sup>.  
 many\i that\i ruin\IIP3 day be\IIP3 hurricane very\IIS3 forceful  
 The ruination is extensive when a strong hurricane passes. (APS-04.026)

(919) Tsug<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup> di<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>táh<sup>2</sup> jmóa<sup>12</sup> hmøh<sup>2</sup>.  
 excessive\IIS3 Aff water today because Pst-rain\IIC3 heavy  
 The river is swollen because of the heavy rain. (AEA-02.007)

Further evidence of the verbal character of *hliúg*<sup>2</sup> is its occurrence with the negative verb prefix, as in (920).

(920) Ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hliúg<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>2</sup> juuh<sup>3</sup> mih<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 if scarce\IIS3 little little\IIS3 Aff celebration make\TIP3 3  
 If resources are limited, they have a very small party. (TXT-22.501)

Other nonnumeric numerals, such as *juen*<sup>12</sup> ‘many\A’, are more like numeric numerals in most occurrences, but then show verbal characteristics in some contexts, as in (921), where *juén*<sup>2</sup> ‘multiply\AIS3’ is clearly related to *juen*<sup>12</sup> ‘many\A’.

(921) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>canh<sup>13</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>juén<sup>2</sup> dsa,  
 when Pst-grown\AIpS3 3 Ana\i Pst-multiply\AIC3 3  
 ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> jong<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 child\3 Aff 3  
 Then when they became adults, they multiplied, they had offspring. (TXT-38.158)

Moreover, *juen*<sup>12</sup> has a first-plural inflected form *juai*<sup>12</sup>, like verbs, as shown in (922).

(922) Juai<sup>12</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>niang<sup>3</sup> hneng<sup>3</sup>.  
 many\AIS1p 1x Pst-walk\AIP C1p hunt  
Many of us went hunting.

The stative verb *lán*<sup>13</sup> ‘few\AIS3’ occurs as noun modifier in *jmai*<sup>1</sup> *lán*<sup>13</sup> ‘occasional day’, as a quantifier in (923), and with the negative verb prefix in (924) to express ‘never’.

(923) Lán<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> tē<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> gog<sup>12</sup>.  
 few\AIS3 people Aff skilled\TIS3 make\TIP3 chest  
Few people know how to make a chest. (DCT.222)

(924) Tsa<sup>1</sup>lán<sup>13</sup> ηii<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 Neg-few\IIS3 go\I-do\TID3 3 work  
 They will never go do any work. (DB-03.033)

The stative verbs, *mih*<sup>2</sup> ‘few\IIS3’, which is commonly heard modifying nouns, as in *hniú*<sup>12</sup> *mih*<sup>2</sup> ‘small house’, also functions as nonnumeric quantifier in expressions like (925).

(925) Mih<sup>2</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> guøh<sup>12</sup> ηii<sup>1</sup>tiógh<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 few\AIS3 3 Pst-go\AIP C3 church=house go\C-enter\AIP D3 3  
A few of them went to the church house and went inside. (TXT-60.009)

#### 14.9 The Addition Verb

The stative verb *dsó*<sup>2</sup> ‘upon\IIP S3’ is a be-verb of orientation that locates a subject as lying on or protruding from another object, as in (926).

(926) Ni<sup>3</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup> dsieg<sup>3</sup>.  
 surface\3 wood Sta-upon\IIP S3 pita=agave  
 The pita-agave (leaf) is on the wood. (TXT-19.377)

This particular form of the verb, *rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>*, is used uniquely to express the relation of ‘addition’ that exists between the elements of certain number names, such as *ton*<sup>1</sup> *lág*<sup>1</sup> *rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>* *ton*<sup>1</sup> ‘forty-two’ (*lit.*, 2 20s + 2). The syntax of this verb is described more fully in §00.2. *rø<sup>2</sup>dsó<sup>2</sup>*, based on

#### 14.10 Motion Verbs

Motion verbs are special in several ways. Morphologically they are highly suppletive and defective. Syntactically, I have chosen to label them as intransitive, and yet they are two-term verbs, the second term expressing Goal or Source of the motion and having different constituents than the Patient constituent that is the default second term for the majority of transitive verbs. Further, motion verbs are often paired with directly inflected nonmotion verbs, occurring appositionally with them as a favored formula, as in (927).

(927) Tsa<sup>3</sup>gúh<sup>3</sup>                      hning gu<sup>3</sup>jmo<sup>3</sup>                      ta<sup>3</sup>                      quieg<sup>1</sup>                      jni.  
 Neg-Interr-go\AIsI2 2s                      go\I2-do\AID2 work ofTIS1s 1s  
 Won't you go and (go) work for me? (TXT-47.077)

Starting with singular-subject verbs meaning ‘go’, there are sixteen distinct forms built on four roots which I have arranged in the two defective paradigms listed in (928) and (929). These roots are also used with first-plural subjects, but reference only singular subjects in second and third person. (Plural verbs will be mentioned further below.) Note that there is some overlap, so that two distinct forms can be used for six of the aspect-person categories.

(928) go\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P	nei <sup>12</sup>	dsóg <sup>2</sup>	dsié <sup>2</sup>	dság <sup>12</sup>
I	nei <sup>13</sup>	dsóg <sup>3</sup>	dsié <sup>3</sup>	dság <sup>1</sup>
C			dsié <sup>2</sup>	

(929) go\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P	ηó <sup>12</sup>		góg <sup>12</sup>	ηó <sup>12</sup>
I	ηó <sup>13</sup>		gú <sup>3</sup>	ηó <sup>1</sup>
C	ηó <sup>1</sup>	ηó <sup>13</sup>		ηó <sup>1</sup>
		impv gu <sup>2</sup>		

The corresponding sequent verbs, listed in (930) and (931), indicate ‘going again’ and are used to indicate ‘going home’ or returning back to an earlier location. Comparison with the ‘go’ verbs above shows that these are inflectionally related to them and even more defective, with only the P3 position showing two forms.

(930) go=home\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P			dsiánh <sup>2</sup>	dsánh <sup>12</sup>
I	néh <sup>13</sup>	dsógh <sup>3</sup>		dsánh <sup>1</sup>
C			dsiánh <sup>2</sup>	
			neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> dsiánh <sup>2</sup>	

(931) go=home\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P	ηáh <sup>12</sup>	ηángh <sup>12</sup>		ηáh <sup>12</sup>
I			guónh <sup>3</sup>	
C	ηáh <sup>1</sup>	ηángh <sup>1</sup>		ηáh <sup>1</sup>
		impv guøn <sup>2</sup>		

The plural forms of the ‘go’ and ‘go again’ verbs are listed in (932) and (933). These are all based on three roots which occur with directional prefixes configured, for the most part, in the same way they occur with nonmotion verbs to form directional verbs (Cf. §3.12).

(932) go\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
P		ŋii <sup>2</sup> niang <sup>3</sup>	gu <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>	dsø <sup>2</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>
I		dsø <sup>3</sup> niang <sup>3</sup>	gu <sup>3</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>	dsø <sup>1</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>
C		ŋii <sup>1</sup> niang <sup>13</sup>	ŋii <sup>1</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>	ŋii <sup>1</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>
		impv gu <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>12</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> gu <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>		

(933) go=home\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
P			gu <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>3</sup>	
I		ŋii <sup>3</sup> niangh <sup>3</sup>	gu <sup>3</sup> noh <sup>3</sup>	dsø <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>
C		ŋii <sup>3</sup> niangh <sup>3</sup>	dsii <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>3</sup>	ŋii <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>
		impv ŋii <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>1</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> ŋii <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>1</sup>		

The singular verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘come again’, listed in (934)–(937), may be formed on only three roots, and show fewer forms and less diversity than the ‘go’ verbs, but they also show multiple forms for some aspect-person positions in the paradigm. The plurals are based on the same roots as the ‘go’ verbs, with a different set of directional prefixes.

(934) come\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P	guio <sup>12</sup>	jig <sup>2</sup> , já <sup>12</sup>	ŋii <sup>2</sup>	já <sup>12</sup>
I	guio <sup>13</sup>	jií <sup>3</sup>	ŋie <sup>1</sup> , ŋii <sup>13</sup>	jií <sup>1</sup>
C	guio <sup>1</sup>	jií <sup>3</sup> , já <sup>12</sup>	ŋie <sup>1</sup> , ŋii <sup>1</sup>	já <sup>1</sup>
D				já <sup>1</sup>
		impv ŋii <sup>2</sup>		

(935) come=home\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
P	guiógh <sup>12</sup>		ŋiéh <sup>12</sup>	jógh <sup>12</sup>
I	guiógh <sup>13</sup>		ŋiáh <sup>13</sup> , ŋiéh <sup>13</sup>	jiúgh <sup>2</sup>
C	guiógh <sup>1</sup>		ŋiáh <sup>1</sup> , ŋiéh <sup>1</sup>	jógh <sup>1</sup>
		impv ŋiáh <sup>12</sup> ; neg impv tsa <sup>1</sup> ŋiáh <sup>12</sup>		

(936) come\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
P			ja <sup>2</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>	ja <sup>2</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>
I			ji <sup>3</sup> noh <sup>12</sup>	ji <sup>1</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>
C				ja <sup>1</sup> lén <sup>2</sup>

(937) come=home\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
P		jagh <sup>2</sup>		
I		jiágh <sup>3</sup>	ji <sup>3</sup> noh <sup>1</sup>	ji <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>2</sup>
C		jágh <sup>1</sup>	ja <sup>1</sup> noh <sup>1</sup>	ja <sup>1</sup> lian <sup>1</sup>

Finally, the single form listed in (938) is found in the database, always for singular persons, to designate a complete round trip, although the inflectional form *ŋie<sup>1</sup>* was also recorded in developing the Tlatepuzco dictionary. Round trip home and plural forms are listed in (939)–(941). These latter were recorded in sentence contexts; but those contexts have not been

digitized, and I have not attempted to find them in the very large number of data books that were assembled in the process of compiling the dictionary.

(938) RT\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
C	ɲie <sup>3</sup>		ɲie <sup>3</sup>	ɲie <sup>3</sup>
(939) RT=home\AIs	1s	1p	2	3
C	ɲieh <sup>13</sup>		ɲieh <sup>13</sup>	ɲieh <sup>13</sup>
(940) RT\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
C		ɲii <sup>3</sup> niang <sup>13</sup>	ɲii <sup>3</sup> noh <sup>13</sup>	ɲii <sup>3</sup> lén <sup>3</sup>
(941) RT=home\AIp	1s	1p	2	3
C				ɲii <sup>3</sup> lian <sup>3</sup>

A round trip is by definition a completed trip. Most completive verbs always occur with a past-tense prefix. The round-trip motion verb, however, though completive, often occurs without the expected tense prefix, as in (942).

(942) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>    ja<sup>3</sup>    ɲie<sup>3</sup>                                  jni, juúh<sup>2</sup>    Gabino.  
          not=be\IIS3    where    go=and=come\AIsC1s    1s    say\TIP3    Gabino  
          “I have not been anywhere,” said Gabino. (TXT-05.476)

Chinantec motion verbs are MOMENTARY verbs (from Fillmore 1969). They express actions perfectly, as single wholes, without reference to various phases of action (Comrie 1976:16). An unmarked motion verb corresponding to a position in the first row of its verbal paradigm—the row labeled ‘progressive’—has a habitual (iterative) interpretation. Intensive forms express future action; completive forms express past action.

Use of the perfect prefix *ma*<sup>2</sup>- is required with a ‘progressive’ form of the verb to express action actually in progress. A person may say *He jni<sup>2</sup> néh<sup>12</sup>* ‘I will go home’, using an intensive form, to indicate that he is about to take leave and go home. But he has not yet gone. When he actually gets up and heads out through the door, he will call back, using the perfect prefix and the progressive form, *He<sup>3</sup> jni<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ɲáh<sup>12</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* ‘I have now gone (begun to go) home’. Now the leave-taking is in process. After he is out of sight, someone might announce, *Hein<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ɲáh<sup>1</sup>* ‘He has gone home’, using the completive form. It does not matter if he has had time to get all the way home. He is out of sight and ‘has gone home’.

The momentary interpretation of motion verbs is a probable factor for motion verbs to have such defective paradigms. The excessively suppletive nature of motion verbs is another factor, but is by no means unexpected given the record of motion verbs in many other languages of the world. A more extensive discussion and references relating to verbs of motion in related Chinantec, Mixtec, and Zapotec languages, including also verbs of arrival (also momentary verbs), may be found in Merrifield 1992.

#### 14.11 Human Propensities

Certain Human Propensities are expressed by some ninety verbs as predicate of the Chinantec noun *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> ‘upper=torso\3’, which also references the ‘seat of emotions’ as the word *heart* does in English, like those in (943). Some of these verbs that name emotions, draw on inanimate forms, such as in *huø*<sup>3</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she is kind’ (from *huø*<sup>3</sup> ‘soft\IIS3’; some on animate forms, such as in *juanh*<sup>12</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘she is considerate’ (from *juanh*<sup>12</sup> ‘big\AIS3’), and some draw on forms not found elsewhere in the lexicon, such as in *uen*<sup>12</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> *dsa* ‘he is cruel’ (from *uen*<sup>12</sup> ‘hard\AIS3’ which only occurs in this form in this idiom; cf. *uén*<sup>2</sup> ‘hard\IIS3’).

- (943) *huø*<sup>3</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> ‘kind\AIS3’  
*juanh*<sup>12</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> ‘considerate\AIS3’  
*uen*<sup>12</sup> *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> ‘cruel\AIS3’

The use of this construction with *dsóá*<sup>12</sup> is common to many stative verbal expressions in Chinantec, some of which are listed in (944).

- |  |                     |   |                      |
|--|---------------------|---|----------------------|
| (944) <i>bí</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup> | ‘strong\AIS3’       | <i>jén</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                         | ‘regretful\AIS3’     |
| <i>cøh</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>      | ‘grieving\AIS3’     | <i>juøi</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                        | ‘smart\AIS3’         |
| <i>chian</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>    | ‘clever\AIS3’       | <i>liánh</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                       | ‘consoled\AIS3’      |
| <i>dsio</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘kind\AIS3’         | <i>niuh</i> <sup>13</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                       | ‘bored\IIS3’         |
| <i>dsíg</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘choleric\AIS3’     | <i>ñéh</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                         | ‘understanding\AIS3’ |
| <i>dsógh</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>   | ‘surprised\AIS3’    | <i>ñoh</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>jøg</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup> | ‘articulate\AIS3’    |
| <i>dsøg</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>    | ‘confident\AIS3’    | <i>quíng</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                       | ‘thirsty\AIS3’       |
| <i>hei</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘feeling=well\AIS3’ | <i>quiunh</i> <sup>13</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                     | ‘hopeless\AIS3’      |
| <i>hen</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘craving\TIS3’      | <i>rø<sup>2</sup>jlán</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>          | ‘confused\TMS3’      |
| <i>ta</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>       | ‘duplicitous\AIS3’  | <i>rø<sup>2</sup>jlán</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>          | ‘confused\AIS3’      |
| <i>hian</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘hatful\AIS3’       | <i>tí</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                          | ‘resolute\AIS3’      |
| <i>hiu</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>      | ‘resentful\AIS3’    | <i>tøa</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>                        | ‘pleased\TAS3/TIS3’  |
| <i>hiug</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>dsóá</i> <sup>12</sup>     | ‘content\AIS3’      |   |                      |



The construction is also common to many active verbs as well, a few examples of which are listed in (945).

(945) <i>cang<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘restrained\AIP3’	<i>jmáh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘encourage\TAP3’
<i>dsagh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘remember\TAP3/TIP3’	<i>jmo<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘decide\TIP3’
<i>dsan<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘bothered\AIP3’	<i>jniang<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘recover\AIP3’
<i>dsie<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘worry\DIP3’	<i>jñøng<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘enrage\AIP3’
<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>gán<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘err\AIP3’	<i>lan<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘cheer=up\AIP3’
<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>gán<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘forget\TAP3/TIP3’	<i>lái<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘patient\AIP3’
<i>háih<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘recuperate\AIP3’	<i>jinh<sup>3</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘recuperate\AIP3’
<i>hán<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘covet\DIP3’	<i>lih<sup>13</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘harassed\AIP3’
<i>hein<sup>13</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘hum\AIP3’	<i>lø<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘desire\TIP3’
<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>hén<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘forget\TAP3/TIP3’	<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>méh<sup>1</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘annoy\IIP3’
<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>ñá<sup>1</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘idiotic\IIP3’	<i>neng<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘intend\TIP3’
<i>hlih<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘disconsolate\AIP3’	<i>ñái<sup>13</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘chuckle\AIP3’
<i>hnangh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘think=hard\AIP3’	<i>ñèh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘weary\IIP3’
<i>hø<sup>a12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘worry\TIP3’	<i>dsø<sup>2</sup>ñiú<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘compassionate\AIP3’
<i>jan<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘breathless\AIP3’	<i>tanh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘grieve\AIP3’
<i>janh<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘get=rested\AIP3’	<i>táih<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘remember\TAP3/TIP3’
<i>jein<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘change=mind\TIP3’	<i>tióh<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘persevere\AIP3’
<i>jenh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘friendly\AIP3’	<i>tiúgh<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘release\TIP3’
<i>jéinh<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘change=mind\TIP3’	<i>tógh<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘trust\DAP3’
<i>jiag<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘think\TIP3’	<i>tsøg<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	‘enrage\AIP3’

There are also a few derived causative verbs that occur in this construction, some of which are presented in §4.12.

#### 14.12 Other Verbal Idioms

Nouns and verbs alike, in Chinantec, often form idioms of two or more roots, but usually of two. A few examples of verbal idioms are listed in (946).

(946) <i>bí<sup>2</sup> dsó<sup>a12</sup></i>	strong\IIS3 heart\3	‘fortitude\AIS3’
<i>cang<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> dsøg<sup>12</sup></i>	take\TIP3 word true\IIS3	‘verify\TIP3’
<i>cáng<sup>12</sup> dsí<sup>2</sup></i>	take\TIP3 wind	‘breath\AIP3’
<i>cuø<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>3</sup>uai<sup>12</sup></i>	give\TIP3 pain	‘punish\AIP3’
<i>cuø<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup></i>	give\TIP3 word	‘permit\TIP3’
<i>cuø<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup></i>	give\TIP3 word good\IIS3	‘praise\AIP3’
<i>he<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup></i>	show\TIP3 word	‘advise\TIP3’
<i>gøi<sup>12</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup></i>	tear\TIP3 water	‘swim\AIP3’
<i>hlaih<sup>13</sup> jén<sup>2</sup></i>	bad\IIS3 see\TAP3	‘envy\TAP3’
<i>nang<sup>12</sup> gøg<sup>2</sup></i>	listen\TIP3 fearful\IIS3	‘heed\TIP3’

In the case of verbal idioms consisting of a verb root and a particular object noun, the individual parts of an idiom are loose-knit and may be separated in syntax by other words. The significance of this probably has more to do with the challenge of representing an idiom in English interlinear translation than anything else. But it may be helpful to the reader to understand this phenomenon in order to follow some of the illustrations presented in this study.

It would be possible (but misleading) to render an interlinearization in two steps, first presenting actual word order, followed by a rearranging of elements to put lexical material together, as in (947), where *chiog*<sup>12</sup> *jmøi*<sup>2</sup> means ‘baptize’, based on *chiog*<sup>12</sup> ‘lift\TAP3’ and *jmøi*<sup>2</sup> ‘water’. The expression is syntactically ditransitive, but *chiog*<sup>12</sup>... *jmøi*<sup>2</sup> is lexically transitive.

(947) Ca<sup>1</sup>chiog<sup>1</sup>                      dsa    guing<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
          PST-baptize\TAC3    3    baby    water

From:

Ca<sup>1</sup>chiog<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>                      dsa    guing<sup>2</sup>  
          PST-baptize\TAC3    3    baby  
          He baptized the child.

There are a great many such instances in Chinantec discourse. In (948), the subject *dsa* ‘he’ intervenes between the two elements of the idiom *jmo*<sup>12</sup>... *hí*<sup>3</sup> meaning ‘care-for\TIP3’, based on transitive *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘do\TIP3’ and the noun *hí*<sup>3</sup> ‘care’.

(948) P(S)                      O<sup>1</sup>  
          Jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa hí<sup>3</sup>    jmøah<sup>13</sup>.  
          care=for\TIP3    stew  
          He is watching the stew. (TXT-45.017)

The noun *hí*<sup>3</sup> ‘care’ is very definitely closely tied to *jmo*<sup>12</sup> in this idiom. It cannot easily be treated as the first of two objects of *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘do’ (care, stew), which would essentially make *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ditransitive, since nowhere else is it ditransitive. The idiom is just not close knit; it allows the subject, as well as an occasional adverb, to intervene between the verb and the noun which together comprise an idiomatic transitive expression (with nouns like *jmøah*<sup>13</sup> ‘stew’ as object).

### 14.13 Verbs with Complements

Verbs of utterance and other verbs that take sentential subjects or objects are presented together in chapter 17.

## 15. Questions

The formation of Chinantec questions conforms to all expectations for a VSO language. Yes-No questions are formed by special, higher-pitched intonational patterns at the beginning of interrogative sentences. No special interrogative word occurs, although the relative word *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that<sub>vi</sub>’ may occur at the beginning of a question carrying the interrogative intonation. Interrogative words in information questions are sentence-initial, without special intonation.

The first section of this chapter describes Yes-No questions. This is followed in succeeding sections by a description of each of the interrogative words used in information questions, and the chapter ends with illustrations of the embedding of interrogative clauses to form indirect questions.

### 15.1 Yes-No Questions

A YES-NO question has the same form as a declarative question with the addition of INTERROGATIVE INTONATION on the first syllable of the sentence. In a tone language, intonational patterns must overlay and override the basic tone and stress characteristics of lexical and inflectional patterns. A thoroughgoing study of such intonational material has yet to be made for Tlapeuzco Chinantec, but the special modifications associated with YES-NO questions or not difficult to describe.

A Palantla Chinantec declarative sentence may begin with any of three types of syllable in relation to stress phenomena—an unstressed pretonic syllable, a ballistic tonic syllable, or a controlled tonic syllable. In respect to tone, pretonic syllables have a three-way contrast, ballistic tonic syllables have a five-way contrast, and ballistic controlled syllables have a six-way contrast—a total of fourteen types tone-stress types.

INTERROGATIVE INTONATION may fall on any syllable which, in its underlying form, is of any of these fourteen types; but the resulting distinctions of tonicity and tone on such INTERROGATIVE SYLLABLES are reduced from fourteen to three, involving a key shift upward to a higher pitch than normal non-interrogative tone, with all three such syllables being, in their tonicity, more

like non-interrogative controlled tonic syllables than they are like the other two non-interrogative types (pretonic or ballistic tonic).

In particular, (a) any interrogative pretonic syllable, regardless of its underlying non-interrogative pitch, or any interrogative tonic syllable with underlying mid or high tone carries a raised high level interrogative pitch; (b) any interrogative tonic syllable with underlying low or high-low tone carries a raised high-low interrogative pitch; and (c) any interrogative tonic syllable with underlying low-mid or low-high tone carries a raised low-high interrogative pitch.

In phonetic transcriptions presented in Chapter 01, this phenomenon was informally indicated by placing a plus sign ('+') after the resulting raised interrogative tonal contour; namely, [13<sup>+</sup> 3<sup>+</sup> 31<sup>+</sup>]. In other than phonetic transcription, rather than a plus sign, standard Spanish-language question mark conventions (¿ ?) are used at the beginning and end of all sentences, whether for Yes-No questions or for interrogative-word questions, as indicated in (949)–(951), where the underlying words carrying interrogative intonation are *dsøg*<sup>12</sup> > *dsøg*<sup>13+</sup>, *dsa*<sup>2</sup> > *dsa*<sup>3+</sup>, *jáh*<sup>2</sup> > *jáh*<sup>3+</sup>, and *tiánh*<sup>1</sup> > *tiánh*<sup>31+</sup>.

(949) ¿Dsøg<sup>13</sup>            tiánh<sup>1</sup>        hning jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning hí<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>.  
           true\IIS3-Interr    able\AII2 2s        cure\TAI2            1s  
           Is it true that you can cure me? (TXT-26.095)

(950) ¿Dsa<sup>3</sup>            báh<sup>3</sup>?, ho<sup>1</sup> ¿jáh<sup>3</sup>            láh<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jnung<sup>2</sup>?  
           person-Interr Aff    or    animal-Interr truly        Aff    that\ a  
           Is it a person? or is that thing really an animal? (TXT-01.104)

(951) ¿Tiánh<sup>31</sup>            hning núngh<sup>3</sup>        hning hñiah<sup>12</sup>        dsii<sup>2</sup>jo<sup>2</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>?  
           able\AII2-Interr 2s        stand\AII2 2s        Repl\3s        middle water Prx  
           Are you able to stand in the middle of the ocean here? (TXT-19.276)

A simple affirmative answer to such questions is the repetition of the question less its Interrogative Intonation. A negative response to such questions adds the negative prefix *tsa*<sup>1</sup>- (Neg) to the verb or preposes the negative verb *ha*<sup>1</sup>*chii*<sup>2</sup> 'not=be\IIS3'. The simple adverbs *jan*<sup>1</sup> 'yes' or *jan*<sup>1</sup>*han*<sup>13</sup> 'no', are also heard.

## 15.2 Interrogative-Word Questions

Interrogative intonation is not used with a question that solicits information by use of an interrogative word. An INTERROGATIVE-WORD QUESTION is based, rather, upon the use and

focused fronting of interrogative words. In the following sections of this chapter, the various interrogative words are introduced and illustrated, along with the rules (informally stated) for fronting interrogative words and phrases to the left-most position of phrases and clauses. There are two gender forms of an interrogative pronoun, five interrogative adverbs, two interrogative numerals, and one interrogative stative verb. These are all introduced below, in that order.

### 15.3 The Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun has two gender forms, *he*<sup>2</sup> ‘what?’<sup>i</sup> and *hein*<sup>2</sup> ‘who(m)?’<sup>a</sup>. It may occur as any term or nominal adjunct of a main or attributive clause, or as adjunct to any noun phrase. Except for the occurrence of the universal quantifier and one or two adverbs of extent, it occupies a fronted position at the beginning of its clause or phrase and to the beginning of its clause and phrase and leaves no trace at the normal linear position within the clause or phrase of a corresponding noninterrogative constituent.

For example, the inanimate pronoun *he*<sup>2</sup> ‘what?’<sup>i</sup> may occur as subject of an inanimate intransitive main verb or the object of a transitive inanimate main verbs, as in (952) and (953), respectively.

- (952) *¿He*<sup>2</sup> *na*<sup>2</sup>*l**ø*<sup>1</sup>?  
 what? Hod-happen\IIC3  
What has happened? (TXT-29.158b)
- (953) *¿He*<sup>2</sup> *j**moh*<sup>2</sup> *h**ning* *ds*<sup>2</sup>*é**nh*<sup>2</sup> *j**a*<sup>3</sup> *ná*<sup>3</sup>  
 what? do\TIP2 2s mount\AIS2 there  
What are you doing up there?. (TXT-25.195)

Chinantec copular verbs are not morphologically or syntactically different from noncopular verbs, but *he*<sup>2</sup> may nevertheless be seen, in (954), to occupy the object position of a transitive inanimate copular verb that corresponds semantically to a predicate nominal.

- (954) *¿He*<sup>2</sup> *l**ánh*<sup>12</sup>, *mai*<sup>13</sup>?  
 what? be\TMP2 mother  
What’s wrong with you, Mother? (TXT-29.191)

In (955), *he*<sup>2</sup> occurs as noun substitute preceding the relative word *hi*<sup>2</sup> of an otherwise headless relative clause functioning as direct object of the attributive clause that follows.

(955) ʔHe² hi² cuóh³ hning mih² hi² cøh¹³ hi² gøah¹³ jni?  
 what? that\i give\TII2 2s small\IIS3 that\i eat\TII1s that\i eat\TII1s 1s  
What little thing will you give me to eat? (TXT-19.532)

As adjunct of an inanimate noun, *he²* ‘what?i’ is fronted to the first position of the noun phrase, preceding the noun head, and the entire noun phrase is fronted to the first position of its clause, as illustrated in (956). No deictic or anaphor may occur within the same noun phrase as an interrogative pronoun since they would be informatinally incompatible. This may suggest that, within the framework of a formal grammar, the interrogative pronoun occupies the same underlying syntactic position within the noun phrase as deictics and anaphors.

(956) ʔHe² má¹ cøgh² hning?  
 what? meal eat\TIP2 2s  
What food do you eat? (TXT-29.011)

The pronoun *he²* ‘what?i’ may stand alone as a ground-ends adjunct to a main verb, as in (957), where the object pronoun *hniah¹²* (2p) is also in fronted focal position, following the interrogative pronoun. Or it may stand in this same Ground-Ends role, as in (958), where it is the fronted allocational modifier of the inalienable noun *huu¹³* ‘cause\3’.

(957) ʔHe² hniah¹² tóh² dsa dsøa³?  
 what? 2p call\TAP3 3 sky  
Why would you (pl) be called to the sky? (TXT-19.356)

(958) ʔHe² huu¹³ na²ŋieh³ hning ca¹tø² la²?  
 what? cause\3 Hod-go=and=come\AIsC2 2s Pst-reach\IIC3 Prx  
To what end have you come to this place? (TXT-12.076)

In a similar structure in (959), the interrogative pronoun as Ground-Ends adjunct is made emphatic by the affirmation modal adverb *báh³* (Aff) to add further uncertainty and wonder in respect to any possible answer to the question. In this particular case, within its textual context, this sentence is uttered by a speaker to herself, somewhat rhetorically with no one available to answer. (The speaker did not know she was actually being observed and was overheard.)

(959) ʔHe² báh³ huu¹³ tsa¹ma¹chiángh¹ hi² la²?  
 what? Aff cause\3 Neg-Cnt-fasten\III3 this\i Prx  
Why ever will these things no longer adhere? (TXT-29.159)

Manner adjuncts are not normally nominal, but in the near-adjacent sentences (960) and (961) from another text, a culture hero uses *he²* ‘what?i’ rhetorically, in a form that yields a manner-

like interpretation. There is no special marker for rhetorical questions of this type. Context alone defines them as such.

(960) ɿHe<sup>2</sup> jnɪ<sup>2</sup>            ɲiɪ<sup>3</sup> tóɪ<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup>            ti<sup>3</sup>ɲieih<sup>12</sup> hning!  
 what? appear\IIP3 machete Pst-give\TIC3 father\2 2s  
How does this machete look that your father gave me! (TXT-47.166)

(961) ɿHe<sup>2</sup> jnɪ<sup>2</sup>            ɲiɪ<sup>3</sup> dsi<sup>3</sup>!  
 what? appear\IIP3        axe  
How does this axe look! (TXT-47.168)

In (962), *he*<sup>2</sup> is the fronted modifier of the noun *ta*<sup>3</sup> ‘work, affair, business’ where the resulting interrogative noun phrase functions as the Ground-Ends constituent of the clause that follows it. Sentence (963) is similar, but with the pronoun *jniang*<sup>3</sup> (1i) also being fronted, following the interrogative phrase, as focused subject of the main clause. The larger context defines both of these questions as rhetorical.

(962) Dóh<sup>3</sup>            ɿHe<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>            ca<sup>1</sup>tsáih<sup>1</sup> dsa    tsih<sup>2</sup>    jóg<sup>3</sup>    hian<sup>3</sup>!  
 because        what? work            Pst-tell\DAC3 3        youth    word    hate\TAS3  
 Because what business of his was it to speak hateful words to the children! (TXT-19.381)

(963) ɿHe<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>    jniang<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>3</sup>hnéng<sup>3</sup>            hi<sup>2</sup>    cøgh<sup>2</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    hónh<sup>2</sup>            hi<sup>2</sup>    ió<sup>1</sup>!  
 what? work 1i        go\IIP-seek\TII1p that\i eat\TIP3 that\i drink\TIP3 that\i D2\ a  
Why should we have to go search for what those people will eat and drink! (TXT-19.145)

In (964), *he*<sup>2</sup> is the object of preposition *quianh*<sup>13</sup> ‘with\i’, which together, in fronted position, to function as instrumental adjunct of the main verb that follows.

(964) ɿHe<sup>2</sup>    quianh<sup>13</sup>            siog<sup>3</sup>    jni            hning?  
 what?    with    lower\TAI1s 1s        2s  
With what will I lower you? (TXT-19.507)

In (965), it functions as the attributive modifier of the temporal noun *hora* ‘hour’ (fr. Spanish) that together function as temporal adjunct constituent of the main verb that follows.

(965) ɿHe<sup>2</sup>    hora    güen<sup>2</sup>    møi<sup>2</sup>?  
 what?    hour    sleep\AIP3    hawk  
What time does the hawk sleep?" (TXT-19.467)

The corresponding animate form of the interrogative pronoun, *hein*<sup>2</sup> ‘who(m)\a’, may occur in any corresponding animate nominal context. In (966) and (967) it functions as fronted subject, in the second case affirmed (giving it predicate force); in (968), it functions as an unaffirmed nonverbal predicate.

(966) ɿHein<sup>2</sup> jmóngh<sup>1</sup> hniú<sup>12?</sup>  
 who? repair\TII3 house  
Who is going to repair the house? (TXT-21.029)

(967) ɿHein<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> bø<sup>2</sup>lénh<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>néi<sup>2</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni?  
 who? Aff cause\TIP3 writhe\AIP3 home of\TIS1s 1s  
Who is it that has been turning my house upside down? (TXT-19.066)

(968) ɿHein<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12?</sup>  
 who? that\ a D1\ a  
Who is that one? (TXT-37.1243)

The ‘who’ question in (969) is rhetorical—a Water Spirit, having captured the soul of a boy who had thrown a rock into the river, argues with the father over the return of his son’s soul.

(969) !Hein<sup>2</sup> jmóngh<sup>1</sup> hniú<sup>12!</sup>  
 who? repair\TII3 house  
Who is going to repair my house! (TXT-21.029)

Corresponding to the inanimate instrumental adjunct, illustrated above in (964) with the inanimate pronoun *he<sup>2</sup>* ‘what?’i’, is the animate comitative adjunct illustrated in (970) with the interrogative pronoun *hein<sup>2</sup>* ‘who(m)\a’ as object of the comitative verb.

(970) ɿHein<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> gu<sup>3</sup>noh<sup>12</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> ɲii<sup>1</sup>juøi<sup>2?</sup>  
 who? with\TMS1p 2p go\AIP2 2p Oaxaca  
With whom will you go to the City of Oaxaca?

An interrogative pronoun may modify a noun together with the universal quantifier, as in (971), where the quantifier retains its left-most position within the noun phrase, preceding the pronoun.

(971) Ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ján<sup>1</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuøin<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, héi<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lúg<sup>2</sup>.  
 all\3a who? people Pst-flee\AIC3 afterwards Ana\ a Aff Pst-escape\AIC3  
All of whichever people who fled after that, they were the ones who survived. (TXT-65.004)

The adverb of extent *jin<sup>3</sup>* ‘even’ is perhaps the only other form, besides the universal quantifier that may precede the fronted interrogative pronoun within its constituent, as shown in (972).

(972) ɿJin<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>liúg<sup>2</sup> hning? ɿHein<sup>2?</sup>  
 even who? Hod-save\TAC3 2s who?  
Whoever saved you? Who? (TXT-25.313)

In (973), the inanimate universal quantifier and interrogative pronoun both occur with an attributive clause following.

(973) Cuø<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jni<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup> he<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hnøng<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> møh<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup>.  
 give\TII1s Aff 1s all\3i what that\i desire\TIS2 2p request\TIP2 2p  
 I will give you all of whatever you wish to request. (TXT-27.045)



In (974), the intensifying adverb *jin*<sup>3</sup> ‘even’ joins the universal quantifier and interrogative pronoun preceding an attributive clause.

- (974) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> sei<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, mi<sup>3</sup>hog<sup>3</sup> jni hning<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup>  
 Ana\i Pst-say\TIP3 cassava Ana\i help\TAI1p 1s 2s and banana  
 láh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jò<sup>1</sup> jin<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> góah<sup>12</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 and all\3i any what that\i Ana\i that\i eat\TIP3 3 with\I maize  
 Then cassava said, “We will help you, I and banana and all of whatever else people eat  
 with corn.” (TXT-46.025)

In the case of alienable possession, either form of the allocational verb, *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TIS3’ or *quián*<sup>12</sup> ‘of\TAS3’, may have the interrogative pronoun as subject (more often than not, for ontological reasons, the animate pronoun *hein*<sup>2</sup> ‘who(m)?\s’), entailing fronting of the pronoun to the left of the verb. In (975), the inanimate allocation verb is a main verb and the interrogative pronoun, functioning as subject, is fronted to the left of the clause and modified by the adverb of extent *jin*<sup>3</sup> ‘even’. When the allocation phrase modifies a noun, as in (976), the interrogative pronoun is fronted to first position within the allocation phrase and, in addition, the entire noun phrase is fronted to the left of the clause.

- (975) ¿Jin<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>?  
 even who? of\TIS3 world  
Who then owns the world? (TXT-37.391)  
 (976) ¿Hein<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>3</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup>?  
 who? horse of\TAS3 Pst-die\AIsC3  
Whose horse died?

#### 15.4 Interrogative Adverbs

There are five interrogative adverbs, one of which is the Cause-Reason interrogative adverb *he*<sup>2</sup> *løa*<sup>1</sup> ‘why?’, based on the inanimate interrogative pronoun *he*<sup>2</sup> ‘what?\i’ and *løa*<sup>1</sup>, which has the same *form* as the past-tense of *løa*<sup>12</sup> ‘be\IIS3, happen\IIS3’, suggesting a derivational relationship between verb and adverb. The verb form *løa*<sup>1</sup> otherwise always occurs with a past-tense prefix. *He*<sup>2</sup> *løa*<sup>1</sup> may occur with any tense-aspect marking on the main verb, as illustrated in (977) and (980).

- (977) ¿He<sup>2</sup> løa<sup>1</sup> høg<sup>h</sup><sup>2</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>?  
 why? cry\AIP2 2s  
Why are you crying? (TXT-25.113)

- (978) ¿He² ləa¹ quiúh³ hning quieg¹ jní²?  
 why? strike\TII2 2s of\TIS1s 1s  
Why are you going to strike me? (TXT-25.232)
- (979) ¿He² ləa¹ na²teih³ hning guing² quian¹ jni?  
 why? Hod-take=with\TAC2 2s child of\TAS1s 1s  
Why have you taken away my child? (TXT-21.020)
- (980) ¿He² ləa¹ ca¹ñii¹hén² hogh¹² hning jni²? juúh² dsa.  
 why? Pst-go\C-forget\TID2 2s 1s say\TIP3 3  
Why did you forget me? (TXT-47.475)

In (981) and (982), a rhetorical *he² ləa¹* question after *dóh³* ‘because’ communicates the inappropriateness of the expressed action.

- (981) Dóh³ ¿He² ləa¹ dsiih² hning hmah³ dsag³ ja³ cog² dsa² héi²!  
 because why? place\TipP2 2s blame unto\3 people Ana\ a  
 So you have no reason to place the blame on those people! (TXT-01.157)
- (982) Jøng² dóh³ ¿He² ləa¹ ca¹jñeh¹ dsa chiég³ dsa!  
 Ana\i because why? Pst-kill\TAsI3 3 mother\3 3  
 That was because he had no reason to kill his mother! (TXT-415.074)

The remaining four interrogative adverbs are based on the Goal-Source interrogative adverb *ha²* ‘whither?, whence?’, which may occur alone or with three distinct endings. When it occurs alone, it occurs with motion verbs, as in (983) and (984), to question the goal or source of the motion.

- (983) ¿Ha² dsiég² hning? juúh² dsa² ñioh¹² quián¹² dsa.  
 whither? go\AIsP2 2s say\TIP3 man of\TAS3 3  
 “Where are you going?” her husband said. (TXT-07.028)
- (984) ¿Ha² ma²ñieh¹², jong¹²?  
 whence? Prf-come=again\AIsP2 child\1s  
Where have you been, my child? (TXT-29.265)

With verbs of motion, the Locative interrogative adverb *ha² tøh¹* ‘where?’ has essentially the same reference to Goal or Source of motion as *ha²* alone, as can be seen in the comparison of the sentences in (985) and (986) with those in (983) and (984).

- (985) ¿Ha² tøh¹ gu³noh¹² hniah¹², tsih²?  
 whither? go\AIpI2 2p youngster  
Where are you going, children? (TXT-19.334)
- (986) ¿Ha² tøh¹ ñieh³ hning, Gabino?  
 whence? go=and=come\AIsP2 2s Gabino  
Where have you been, Gabino? (TXT-05.469)

But *ha² tøh¹* is also found with nonmotion verbs, as in (987), to question Spatial Location, no comparable sentence with simple *ha²* being found in the entire Tlatepuzcan text database. I am, in fact, surprised by this finding and am unsure it would hold up under further scrutiny.

- (987) ¿Ha² tøh¹ guó¹²                      rai¹³?  
           where?    reside\AIsS3    king  
           Where does the king live? (TXT-47.084)

The second syllable of *ha² tøh¹* is found in no other Tlatepuzcan word, which is in itself somewhat remarkable given the number of homonyms in the lexicon; but it is reminiscent of forms of the verb *tøa¹²* ‘reach\IIP3’ illustrated with *ha²* in (988), to which it may have a derivational connection. The verb *tøa¹²* may be variously interpreted in context as ‘reach, attain, strike, to, from’.

- (988) ¿Ha²            ca¹tø²                      ñieh³                      hning jong¹²?  
           whence?    Pst-reach\IIC3    go=and=come\AIsP2    2s            child\1s  
           Where have you been, son? (TXT-26.124)

The two syllables of *ha² tøh¹* are seen to be somewhat loose-knit in (989) and (990), where the affirmation modal adverb *báh³* and the conditional conjunction *ju³*, respectively, may intervene to form less than definite questions.

- (989) ¿Ha² báh³ tøh¹    gu³noh¹²    hñiah¹², tsih²?  
           where?-Aff    go\AIpI2    2p            youngster  
           Wherever are you going, children? (TXT-19.351)
- (990) ¿Ha² ju³ tøh¹            gu³noh¹²    hñiah¹², tsih²?  
           where?-perhaps    go\AIpI2    2p            youngster  
           Wherever would you be going, children? (TXT-19.556)

The two sentences in (991) and (992) contain indirect questions that show *ha²* and *ha² tøh¹* to have the same semantic force. These two embedded sentences could just as easily be independent questions, with the possible exception that *ha²* has not been found in such an independent sentence with a nonmotion verb.

- (991) Tsa¹ma¹léi¹³                      ha²            mi³neng¹²                      jmøi² ñiing².  
           Neg-Cnt-evident\IIS3    where?    Impf-be\IIsS3    lagoon  
           It is no longer evident where the lake used to be. (TXT-47.312)
- (992) ¿He² løa¹ tsa¹ma¹léi¹³                      ha² tøh¹ mi³lóa¹³                      tsø³ñi¹³?  
           why?            Neg-Cnt-evident\IIS3    where    Impf-be\IIS3    wire  
           Why is it no longer evident where the wire used to be? (TXT-47.330)

Neither *ha*<sup>2</sup> nor *ha*<sup>2</sup> *tøh*<sup>1</sup> have been found in rhetorical questions of the sort shown for the interrogative words described so far. Nevertheless, keep this fact in mind as we move now to the discussion of the manner interrogative adverb.

A second interrogative adverb formed on *ha*<sup>2</sup> is the Manner interrogative adverb *ha*<sup>2</sup> *láh*<sup>2</sup> ‘how?’ illustrated in (993) and (994). The intrusion of the affirmation modal adverb *báh*<sup>3</sup> between the two parts of the interrogative adverb results in a less definite question, as in (995).

(993) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hóg<sup>1</sup>, ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> lé<sup>2</sup>?  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 ancestors how? become\III3  
 And the ancestors asked, “How will this come to pass?” (TXT-10.008)

(994) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> lóh<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>?  
 how? win\TIP3 that\a D1\a money  
How does that guy get his money? (TXT-26.268)

(995) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>?  
 how?-Aff Pst-happen\IIC3  
Whatever has happened? (TXT-11.062)

Although the occurrence of *ha*<sup>2</sup> *lách*<sup>2</sup> in (996), could be interpreted syntactically as a fronted direct object, it is not, the latter position merely being unmarked. The contrast between manner and direct object is clearly seen in (997).

(996) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa tsáih<sup>12</sup> dsa roh<sup>13</sup> dsa, ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> jmó<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>?  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 3 tell\DAP3 3 kinsman\3 3 how? do\TII1p li  
 Then she said to her sibling, “How shall we do (it)?” (TXT-19.578)

(997) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> lóh<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> cog<sup>3</sup>?  
 how? earn\TIP3 that\a D1\a money  
How does this guy get his money? (TXT-26.268)

While *ha*<sup>2</sup> *lách*<sup>2</sup> normally functions as a Manner adjunct, in (998) it is seen to function as a Cause-Reason adjunct. This usage would more usually entail some form of the verb *ló*<sup>2</sup> ‘become\IIS3’, as in (999) and (1). Recall that the phonological form of the second part of the Cause-Reason interrogative adverb *he*<sup>2</sup> *løa*<sup>1</sup> ‘why?’ is reminiscent of this same verb.

(998) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>héh<sup>2</sup> hning.  
 how? Neg-believe\TIP3 2s  
Why don’t you believe (me)? (TXT-19.232)

(999) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> lách<sup>2</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ñíh<sup>2</sup> hning?  
 how? be\IIS3 where reside\AIsS2 2s  
How are conditions where you live? (TXT-29.010)

- (1) ɿHa² láh²        na²lɔa¹?        juúh² dsa²        ná¹²        guó¹².  
 how?    Hod-happen\IIC3        say\TIP3        person D1\ a    sit\AIS3  
 “What has happened?” says that one sitting there. (TXT-29.158a)

In (2), *ha²láh²* questions the manner of outcome of a negotiation referenced by modifying the very general noun *jóg³* ‘word, discussion, business, matter’.

- (2) Jmó³ jnieh³ jóg³        ju³ ná³        ha² láh² jóg³        lé²,  
 negotiate\TII1p-1x    whether    how        question    be\III3  
  
 chii² juúh² li¹renh² hning jmai³,        chii² juúh² tsa¹li¹renh² hning jmai³.  
 whether    Act\I-successful\AIS2    whether    Neg-Act\I-successful\AIS2  
 We shall discuss concerning how this matter will be resolved, whether your suit will  
 succeed or not. (TXT-22.089)

The full form *ha² láh²* has not been found in rhetorical questions, but recall that neither *ha²* nor *ha² tɔh¹* did either, at least in a locative or goal-source role. What has been found is *ha²*, in rhetorical questions in a manner role, in lieu of *ha² láh²* so occurring. Thus, in rhetorical questions like those of (3) and (4), taken from a text where a frustrated culture hero complains to the king’s daughter when he has not been able to get any work done for her uncooperative father, the adverb *ha²* occurs where the fuller form *ha² láh²* might have been expected.

- (3) Jɔng²    juúh²        Juɔn¹³, ɿHa²    jní²    gøah¹³?  
 Ana¹i    say\TIP3    John    how?    1s    eat\TII1s  
 Then John said, “How can I eat now!” (TXT-47.164)
- (4) ɿHa²    báh³ uónh²        hma²?  
 how?    Aff    cut\III3    tree  
How will these trees ever be cut! (TXT-47.169)

Three more examples of this phenomenon, in(5)–(7), are taken from three other texts to further show that the examples above are not isolated cases. Note the presence of the conditional conjunction *ju³* in the second and third examples to make the questions indefinite.

- (5) ɿHa²    ma²u³tɔa¹²!  
 where?    Prf-come\R-hit\IID3  
How could they ever have hit him! (TXT-37.1277)
- (6) ɿHa²    ju³        ɳai¹³        dsa²    jnung²!  
 where    may    answer\DAD3    person    that\ a  
How could that fellow possibly answer! (TXT-19.210)
- (7) ɿHa²    ju³        tián²        dsa    nɔng²    lán¹²        jmáh¹    láh¹    ɳíh¹!  
 how?    as=though    overcome\AII3 3    Zapotec    be\TMP3    solely        thunder  
How could they ever overcome Zapotecs who are all pure thunderbolts! (TXT-21.077)

The third interrogative adverb formed on *ha²* is the temporal interrogative adverb *ha² lóih²* ‘when?’, illustrated in (8) and (9).

- (8) *¿Ha² lóih² ji³noh¹ hñiah¹² ca¹láh¹ síh²?*  
 when? come=again\AIP12 2p again other\IIS3  
When are you coming back again? (MJM-02 005)
- (9) *¿Ha² lóih² láh¹ dsóh² jmó³ jniang³ ta³?*  
 when? truly do\AII1p 1i work  
When shall we actually do the work? (TXT-11.847)

## 15.5 Interrogative Numerals

There are two interrogative numerals. The most commonly heard is *ha² cónh²* ‘how much?i’, based on the Source-Goal interrogative adverb *ha²* and *cónh²*, which would appear to be related derivationally to the very difficult to gloss preposition *cónh¹* ‘at, about’. With mid tone, however, *cónh²* is unique in the Tlapepuzcan lexicon. This interrogative numeral may function alone as quantitative adjunct of a verb, as in (10) and (11), or as quantifier of either an animate or inanimate noun, as in (12) and (13), respectively. Since a quantifier is normally found to the left of a noun head within the noun phrase, special fronting of the interrogative numeral within the noun phrase is not entailed; but the noun phrase that contains an interrogative is fronted in its entirety to the left-most position of its clause.

- (10) *¿Ha² cónh² dsiég¹² hi² ren² jni ja³ ca¹láh¹ jó¹?*  
 how=much? arrive\IIS3 that\i owe\TIS1s 1s totally  
How much do I owe you altogether? (AGJ-07 060)
- (11) *¿Ha² cónh² quien¹² cøng² lei³¹ ñó¹²?*  
 how=much? valuable\IIS3 one\i pound meat  
How much is a pound of meat? (AGJ-01 097)
- (12) *¿Ha² cónh² dsa² tiogh³ juøi² la²?*  
 how=much? people reside\AIP3 town Prx  
How many people are there in this town? (AGJ-06 078)
- (13) *¿Ha² cónh² ñiih¹² ma²dsiég¹² ji²guiuh³ hning?*  
 how=much? year\3 Prf-arrive\IIS3 grandfather\2 2s  
How old is your grandfather? (FLM-02 096)

The interrogative numeral *jáh²* ‘how many?i’ is much less common, not appearing at all in the Tlapepuzco text database. In (14), it quantifies a fronted temporal noun.

- (14) ʔJáh<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> guónh<sup>3</sup> hning?  
 How-many? day go-home\AIsI2 2s  
How many days will you be away? (DCT-159)

## 15.6 The Interrogative Stative Verb

The interrogative stative verb *naih*<sup>12</sup> ‘which be?, where be?’ functions syntactically as a predicate with either animate or inanimate subject noun phrase or clause complement. It partially fails the test of other stative verbs, however, in never occurring with activizing or other verbal prefixes. It questions the whereabouts, existence, or identity of an element expressed by its subject term, as illustrated in (15)–(18).

- (15) ʔNaih<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jnung<sup>2?</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 where? person that\ a say\TIP3 person Ana\ a  
 “Where is that fellow?” the man said. (TXT-09.020)
- (16) ʔNaih<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> chí<sup>3</sup>jneng<sup>2?</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 which? that\ a Cls-bean Pst-say\TIC3 maize  
Which (shall be) the mother of corn?” said maize. (TXT-46.023)
- (17) ʔNaih<sup>12</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>13?</sup>  
 which? Intns good\IIS3 do\TII1s  
What should I do? (TXT-37.183)
- (18) ʔNaih<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hnøngh<sup>2</sup> hning? juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup> máh<sup>2</sup> tsáih<sup>12</sup> dsa Gabino  
 which? that\ i want\TIS2 2s say\TIP3 troll tell\ DAP3 3 Gabino  
 “Which one do you want?” said the troll to Gabino. (TXT-05.184)

## 15.7 Indirect Questions

A Yes-No question may become indirect when embedded as complement of a verb of cognition, as in (19), where two alternative questions occur in appositive relation to each other. Since such questions differ in no way from direct questions, however, it can be argued that questions such as these are not embedded at all, that the complement relationship between the questions and the supposed matrix verb is merely semantic, and that the object of the ‘matrix’ verb is merely unexpressed syntactically.

- (19) Jøng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>guiang<sup>3</sup> jni ʔHi<sup>3</sup> ɲiih<sup>3?</sup>  
 Ana\ i Neg-know\TIS1s 1s that\ a-Interr know\TIS2  
  
 ʔHi<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ɲiih<sup>3</sup> hning ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1?</sup>  
 that\ a-Interr Neg-know\TIS2 2s again  
 And I don’t know if you were aware of this or not. (TXT-29.304)

Question-Word questions, on the other hand, are more clearly indirect when embedded within a matrix clause without further marking to give them Indirect Question status. Questions based on the inanimate and animate forms of the interrogative pronoun *he²* ‘what?i’ and *hein²* ‘who(m)?\a’ may occupy nominal roles in clauses or as descriptive modifiers of nouns, as illustrated in (20)–(24).

- (20) Tsa¹guiang³ jni he² mi³jmo¹ hieh¹².  
Neg-know\TIS1s 1s what Opt-do\TII3 jaguar  
I have no idea what the jaguar intended to do. (TXT-01.079)
- (21) Chii² he² ta³ hniu¹ dsa² jmo¹ báh³ dsa².  
be\IIS3 whatever work want\TIS3 someone do\TII3 Aff someone  
There is whatever work a person wants to do. (TXT-11.016)
- (22) Tsa¹ne³ jnieh³ hein² na²u³jie¹ ja³ hiúgh³ hning.  
Neg-know\TIS1p 1x who? Hod-come\R-go=and=come\AIsR3 where be\AIsS3 2s  
We do not know who has been to where you were. (TXT-03.136)
- (23) Jøng² tsa¹guiang³ jni hein² dsa² ca¹mi¹gan¹² hning.  
Ana\i Neg-know\TIS1s 1s who? person Pst-deceive\TAC3 2s  
So I don't know what person has deceived you. (TXT-04.240)
- (24) A¹jáng¹ hi² uen¹² dsø¹ jni ja³ cog² hein² dsa² ñii²ti³ ñii²nio³.  
not=be\IIS3 that\i cruel\AIS1s 1s towards\3 who? people p-walk\AIpP3  
I am not mean to whomever happens along. (TXT-01.141)

Subordination to the conditional conjunction *ju³ná³* ‘if’ or adverbials such as *lóa¹² ju³* ‘whatever’, or the occurrence of certain adverbs, such as *jin³* ‘even, any’ or *jính³* (Intns), lend indefinite force to an indirect nominal question, as in (639)–(28).

- (25) Dóh³ ju² hiih¹ jmo¹ ju³ ná³ he² ca¹løa¹.  
because shame cause\TII3 if what PST-happen\IIC3  
Because it would cause shame if something happened. (TXT-22.289)
- (26) Góah¹² hieh¹² ñó¹² quiah¹² lóa¹² ju³ hein² jáh² lóh² jah.  
eat\TIP3 jaguar flesh of\TIS3 whatever who? animal bag\TAP3 animal  
The jaguar eats the meat of whatever animals it catches. (MJM-02 028)
- (27) Gu² quieng² jóg³ dsøg¹² quián² jniang³ jin³ he² jmo¹² hieh¹²  
go\AIs! fetch=back\TID2 report of\TIS1p 1i any what do\TIP3 jaguar  
na²ño¹², ha¹chian² hieh¹² ma²guónh¹.  
Hod-go\IIsP3 not=be\AIS3 jaguar Prf-arrive=back\AIsC3  
Go bring back word to us of what jaguar may be doing since he left and has not returned!  
(TXT-03.118)



- (28) ĩHein<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jǒ<sup>1</sup> he<sup>2</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hnøngh<sup>2</sup> hning?  
 who? do\TII3 all\3i what Intns that\i need\TIS2 2s  
 Who will do whatever you may need done? (TXT-015.055)

Indirect questions based on the Cause-Reason interrogative adverb *he<sup>2</sup> lǝa<sup>1</sup>* ‘why?’ are illustrated in (29) and (30).

- (29) Ju<sup>3</sup> ĩii<sup>2</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>ĩii<sup>2</sup>nio<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> he<sup>2</sup> lǝa<sup>1</sup> ĩii<sup>2</sup>nio<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 may p-walk\AIpP3 Aff people of\TIS3 why travel\AIpP3 3  
 Let people travel for whatever reason they have to travel. (TXT-21.086)
- (30) Li<sup>13</sup> jni héh<sup>1</sup> tiú<sup>12</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hning chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>já<sup>12</sup> héh<sup>1</sup> tiú<sup>12</sup>  
 calibrate\TIsII1s rifle of\TIS2 2s if Neg-come\IIsP3 finding rifle  
 he<sup>2</sup> lǝa<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hiogh<sup>3</sup> cuóh<sup>3</sup>.  
 why Neg-able\AIS2 shoot\TII2  
 I will calibrate your firearm to see if we cannot figure out why you can’t shoot. (TXT-49.024)

Indirect questions based on the Locative interrogative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup>* ‘whither, whence?’ are illustrated in (31)–(33).

- (31) Nei<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jni<sup>2</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> hnéngh<sup>1</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> gúh<sup>3</sup> hning  
 go\AIsII1s Aff 1s with\TMS1s 2s if whither? go\AIsII2 2s  
 I will go with you, if you are going somewhere. (TXT-07.034)
- (32) Ma<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> cǝng<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> neng<sup>12</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>.  
 let’s=go\AI1p see\TII1p extremely one\i where? that\i be\IIsS3 celebration  
 Let’s go take a look at where the party is going on. (TXT-37.337)
- (33) Ca<sup>1</sup>tǝh<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jǒ<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-invite\TAC3 3 people all\3i where? where be\AIS3 people  
 He invited the people in every place wherever people lived. (TXT-11.858)

Indirect questions based on the Locative interrogative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup> tǝh<sup>1</sup>* ‘where?’ are illustrated in (34) and (35).

- (34) Li<sup>1</sup>ĩgai<sup>3</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> tǝh<sup>1</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> dsǝa<sup>12</sup> guing.  
 able\I-ask\TID3 child where desire\AIS3 child  
 We should ask the child where his desire lies. (TXT-22.005)
- (35) Jǝng<sup>2</sup> ĩǝh<sup>1</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> tǝh<sup>1</sup> guó<sup>12</sup> rai<sup>13</sup> dsǝh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Ana\i ask\DAI3 3 people where reside\AIsS3 king sick\AIS3  
 Then he will ask the people where the sick king lives. (TXT-26.081)

Indirect questions based on the Manner interrogative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup> lǎh<sup>2</sup>* ‘how?’ are illustrated in (36)–(37).

- (36) Tsa<sup>1</sup>guiang<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lǎh<sup>2</sup> lǝ<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-know\TIS1s how happen\IIP3  
 I do not know how it happens. (TXT-49.021)

- (37) Ju<sup>3</sup> ɲie<sup>1</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> jénh<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 may receive\TII3 3 of\TIS3 3 however experience\TMI3 3  
 Let him get whatever he has coming to him. (TXT-02.144)

The point was made earlier that the Manner Interrogative *ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup>* ‘how?’ can sometimes be interpreted, at least in translation, as a direct object. In (38), note that this adverb functions as an interrogative manner constituent of the indirect question of which it is a constituent, but that the indirect question itself is the direct object of the main verb.

- (38) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>tě<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> góí<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 because Neg-know=how\TIS3 jaguar Ana\i how swim\AI3  
 Because Jaguar did not know how to swim. (TXT-03.395)

Indirect questions based on the Temporal interrogative adverb *ha<sup>2</sup> lóih<sup>2</sup>* ‘when?’ are illustrated in (39) and (40).

- (39) Ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> lóih<sup>2</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>lag<sup>3</sup>.  
 Prf-Pst-say\TIC1p li when go\AIpI1p li Tuxtepec  
 We have said when we will go to Tuxtepec. (APS-04 016)
- (40) Ma<sup>2</sup>ɲii<sup>12</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuai<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guóí<sup>1</sup>, ha<sup>2</sup> lóih<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> tai<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 Prf-know\TIS3 God person Pst-give\DNC3 world when time when call-for\TAI3 3  
 God who gave us life is he who decides when he will call us home. (TXT-54.041)

Indirect questions based on the interrogative numeral *ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup>* ‘how much?’ are illustrated in (41) and (42).

- (41) Ma<sup>2</sup>ɲii<sup>12</sup> dsa ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> cán<sup>2</sup> dsa cøng<sup>2</sup> kilo jneng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Prf-know\TIS3 3 how=much charge\TIP3 3 one\i kilo bean  
 He already knows how much he charges for a kilo of beans. (DB-03 012)
- (42) Ca<sup>1</sup>cang<sup>1</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> dsøg<sup>12</sup> ha<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> móa<sup>12</sup> tióh<sup>13</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> cuúh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-check\TIC3-3 how=much medicine contain\IIP3 3 one\i package  
 He checked to see how much medicine was in the package. (AGJ-01 073)

An indirect question based on the interrogative verb *naih<sup>12</sup>* ‘which?’\TIS3’ is illustrated in (43).

- (43) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ɲii<sup>12</sup> dsa naih<sup>12</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> dsóh<sup>2</sup>.  
 not-know\TIS3 3 which? God truly  
 They did not know precisely which one was God. (TXT-37.729)

## 16. Injunctions

Up to this point, the description has focused upon verbs in the indicative mood. This chapter presents a variety of forms that share the semantic notion of injunction, here conceived to include such categories as imperative, hortative, and optative moods. Imperative forms are second-person forms. There are two types, direct imperatives and negative imperatives. Hortative forms are first-person-plural forms. Optative forms may be inflected for any person-number or gender category.

### 16.1 The Direct Imperative

A direct or positive imperative verb enjoins a singular or plural second person to perform an action. Within any particular gender-transitivity paradigm (other than inanimate intransitive), there is a single direct imperative form, with which either of the second-person personal pronouns may occur (though neither is usually present). In almost all cases, the second-person, completive form of a verb root, without the ubiquitous second-person final glottal which is the hallmark of second-person indicative verbforms, is the direct imperative form of any given verb.

This is not, however, the case for all verbs, so that a full, paradigmatic listing for any given verb normally includes both a positive and a negative imperative form, as presented in the initial inflectional paradigms in chapter 2. In those paradigms, a sixth row is the IMPERATIVE row, where both a positive and a negative imperative form are listed.

This sixth row is almost, but not quite superfluous. In 99% of cases, a POSITIVE IMPERATIVE form is the same as the corresponding completive second-person form, less the second-person glottal suffix. But in a handful of cases, the positive imperative differs from the second-person completive, or there is a second, alternate form of the imperative which so differs. The verb in (44) is typical of verbs that show the normal pattern; the verb in (45) is typical of the few verbs that do not.

- |   |                                |                                     |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (44) Ca <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>h3</sup> hning,<br>i <sup>1</sup> Tse <sup>h3</sup> ! | Pst-split\TIC2 2s<br>split\TI! | ‘You have split it.’<br>‘Split it!’ |
| (45) Ca <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>h2</sup> hning,<br>i <sup>1</sup> Tse <sup>h1</sup> ! | Pst-send\TIC2 2s<br>send\TI!   | ‘You have sent it.’<br>‘Send it!’   |

Although in most cases based on the completive form of a verb root, the direct imperative, is clearly not completive in force.

Of the three aspectual forms of a root in any person-number category—progressive, intensive, completive—the completive form exhibit the widest range of diversity and unpredictability in form from verb paradigm to verb paradigm. It would appear, therefore, that the completive form of a root, in Chinantec, qualifies as being perhaps the least marked form of a verb root and the best starting point for any attempt that might be made to unravel the complex inflectional patterning of Chinantec verb paradigms. As the most-probable unmarked form, the second-person completive is also the most-logical source of the imperative form, which, in many languages, tends to this characteristic of unmarkedness.

The evidence that the second-person completive form of a verb is the model for the direct imperative is most easily seen by examining the more complex verbal paradigms, in which the inflectional differences between forms include changes in segmental phonology as well as in suprasegmental material. Three such complex paradigms—for *nang*<sup>12</sup> ‘hear\TIP3’, *chio*<sup>12</sup> ‘lift\TIP3’, and *tsih*<sup>12</sup> ‘stand\TIP3’—are presented in (46)–(48). Another common association also appears in these three verbs; namely, that the D2 form is also often the same as the C2 and Imperative forms.

- (46) *nang*<sup>1</sup> ‘hear\TIC1s\TII3  
*nang*<sup>12</sup> ‘hear\TIP1s\TIP3  
*nang*<sup>13</sup> ‘hear\TII1s  
*neng*<sup>1</sup> ‘hear\TID1s\TIR1s  
*neng*<sup>2</sup> ‘hear\TIP1p\TIC2\TID2\TIR2\TID3\TI!  
*néng*<sup>3</sup> ‘hear\TII1p\TIC1p\TID1p\TIR1p\TIR3  
*nøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘hear\TIP2\TIneg!  
*nóng*<sup>2</sup> ‘hear\TIC3  
*nóng*<sup>3</sup> ‘hear\TII2
- (47) *chio*<sup>1</sup> ‘lift\TIC1s\TID1s\TIR1s\TII3\TIC3  
*chio*<sup>12</sup> ‘lift\TIP1s\TIP3  
*chio*<sup>13</sup> ‘lift\TII1s  
*chieg*<sup>2</sup> ‘lift\TIP1p\TIP2\TIneg!  
*chiég*<sup>2</sup> ‘lift\TIR3  
*chiég*<sup>3</sup> ‘lift\TII1p\TIC1p\TID1p\TIR1p\TII2\TIR3  
*chiag*<sup>3</sup> ‘lift\TIC2\TID2\TIR2\TI!

- (48) *tsih*<sup>1</sup> 'stand\TII3\TIC3  
*tsih*<sup>12</sup> 'stand\TIP1p\TIP3\TID3  
*tsih*<sup>13</sup> 'stand\TII1p\TIC1p\TID1p\TIR1p\TIR3  
*tsíh*<sup>2</sup> 'stand\TID1s\TIC2\TID2\TI!  
*tsíh*<sup>3</sup> 'stand\TIR1s\TIR2  
*tsóh*<sup>2</sup> 'stand\TIP1s\TIC1s\TIP2\TIneg!  
*tsóh*<sup>3</sup> 'stand\TII1s\TII2

Sentences with the direct imperative forms of those verbs are presented below. The final glottal on the third of these verbs is lexical and is not to be confused with the glottal affix that marks second-person inflection in nonimperative forms.

- (49) *ĩNeng*<sup>2</sup> *jóg*<sup>3</sup> *quieg*<sup>1</sup> *jni*!  
 hear\TI! word of\TIS1s 1s  
 Listen to me!

- (50) *ĩChiag*<sup>3</sup> *hma*<sup>2</sup> *juu*<sup>12</sup> *guiuh*<sup>13</sup>!  
 lift\TI! wood road above  
 Lift up the wood!

- (51) *ĩTsíh*<sup>2</sup> *tsóa*<sup>12</sup> *ni*<sup>3</sup> *mesa*  
 stand\TI! glass face\3 table  
 Put the glass on the table!

None of the tense-aspect prefixes occurs with imperative verb itself, but the imperative form *gu*<sup>2</sup> of the singular motion verb *dság*<sup>12</sup> 'go\AIP3' occurs as a directional prefix with the second-person directional form of another verb to express a directional command, as in (52).

- (52) *ĩGu*<sup>2</sup>*hí*<sup>2</sup>! go\AIs!-sing\AID2 Go sing!  
*ĩGu*<sup>2</sup>*jló*<sup>1</sup> *cuøi*<sup>2</sup> go\AIs!-cover\TID2 maize Go cover the maize!

## 16.2 The Negative Imperative

A negative imperative verb enjoins a singular or plural second person to not perform a particular action. The negative verb form occurs with the negative prefix *tsa*<sup>1</sup>-and, like the direct imperative, lacks the second-person glottal; but is modeled on the second-person progressive verbform, rather than on the completive form. As in the case of the positive imperative, the negative imperative stem can, in 99% of cases, be predicted as the same as the second-person progressive stem.

It is the 1% of the cases, which are unpredictable that motivates the choice to show a sixth row in the presentation of a full, verb inflection paradigms. The verb in (53), is typical of the large majority of verbs. The verb in (54), is typical of a rare few.

- |      |  |                       |                            |
|------|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (53) | Tsogh <sup>13</sup> hning,             | take=apart\TIP2 2s    | ‘You are taking it apart.’ |
|      | ɿTsa <sup>1</sup> tsog <sup>13</sup> ! | not-take=apart\TIneg! | ‘Do not take it apart!’    |
| (54) | Tsogh <sup>2</sup> hning,              | choke\TIP2 2s         | ‘You are choking on it.’   |
|      | ɿTsa <sup>1</sup> tsog <sup>12</sup> ! | Neg-choke\TIneg!      | ‘Do not choke on it!’      |

Compare the negative imperatives in below with the positive imperatives in the corresponding verbs presented above.

- (55) ɿTsa<sup>1</sup>nøŋg<sup>2</sup>      jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>!  
 Neg-hear\TIneg! word of\TIS3 person Ana\ə  
 Do not listen to him!
- (56) ɿTsa<sup>1</sup>chieg<sup>2</sup>      hma<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>1</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup>!  
 Neg-lift\TIneg! wood road above  
 Do not lift up the wood!
- (57) ɿTsa<sup>1</sup>tsóh<sup>2</sup>      tsóa<sup>12</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> mesa!  
 Neg-stand\TIneg! glass face\3 table  
 Do not put the glass on the table!

The negative imperative form may occur with only one of the aspectual prefixes found on indicative verbforms, namely, the continuative prefix *ma<sup>1</sup>-*. With this prefix, a negative imperative enjoins a second person to cease performing an action, as in (58).

- (58) ɿTsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>2</sup>      láh<sup>1</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>!  
 Neg-Trm-do\TIneg! such\i Ana\i Asr  
 Please stop doing that!

### 16.3 Hortative

A hortative verb enjoins the second person, whether one or more, to participate with the first person to go and jointly perform an action. A hortative form consists of a unique, first-person-plural injunctive motion verb *ma<sup>1</sup>* ‘let’s-go\AII1p’, and the directional first-plural form (which are always the same as first-plural intentive forms) of the verb that expresses the enjoined action, as in (59). The inclusive first-person pronoun is usually not heard with a hortative verb, probably due to the inherent redundancy its presence entails; but it can also be included.

- (59) *Ma<sup>1</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup>!* let's=go\AII1p go\AID1p Let's go!  
*Ma<sup>1</sup> dsógh<sup>3</sup>!* let's=go\AII1p go=home\AID1p Let's go home!  
*Ma<sup>1</sup> lióh<sup>13</sup>!* let's=go\AII1p bathe\AID1p Let's go swimming!  
*Ma<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>13</sup>!* let's=go\AII1p see\TID1p Let's go see about it!

The first example above is a frequently heard leave-taking device, and it is not unusual for the response to be simply *ma<sup>1</sup>* 'let's=go\AII1p' or *ma<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>* 'let's go, then.' A few examples from text are presented in (60)–(62).

- (60) *Ma<sup>1</sup> quiéng<sup>3</sup> quiég<sup>3</sup>!*  
 let's=go\AI1p bring=home\TID1p eat\TID1p  
 Let's go fetch something to eat. (TXT-03.379)
- (61) *Ma<sup>1</sup> ηii<sup>3</sup>niang<sup>3</sup> máh<sup>2</sup>.*  
 let's=go\AI1p walk\AIpD1p mountain  
 Let's go take a walk on the mountain. (TXT-25.008)
- (62) *Ma<sup>1</sup> jag<sup>13</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>guø<sup>3</sup> jni!*  
 let's=go\AI1p carry=away\TND2 1s there where Impf-sit\AIsS1s 1s  
 Let's go, take me back to where I was before! (TXT-19.495)

In a sequence of sentences, shown in (63), *ma<sup>1</sup>* occurs with a pronoun and without a motion verb; but the motion verb then follows in the next sentence.

- (63) *Ma<sup>1</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>! juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa. !Dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> guó<sup>12</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ηieh<sup>1</sup>!*  
 let's=go\AI1p li say\TIP3 3 go\AIpI1p li where live\AIsS3 father\1s  
 "Let's go!" she said. "Let's go to my father's house!" (TXT-05.148–49)

## 16.4 Optative

The verbal auxiliary *ju<sup>3</sup>* 'may!' occurs with a Progressive or Intensive verb, with any person-number category as subject, to express a desired situational result in the form of an Optative Injunction. In the following passage, reproduced as (64)–(67), from a traditional text in which a folk hero runs off with the king's daughter, the king expresses a sequence of optative injunctions with, first, a stative verb and, then, a series of intensive verbs:

- (64) *Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>, ju<sup>3</sup> lóa<sup>13</sup>! juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.*  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 king may be\IIS3 say\TIP3 3  
 Then the king said, "Let it be!" he said. (TXT-47.388)
- (65) *Ju<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa! juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.*  
 may arrive=there\AIpI3 3 say\TIP3 3  
 "Let them arrive there!" he said. (TXT-47.389)

- (66) ꞑJu³ dsiég¹³ dsa! juúh² dsa.  
 may arrive-there\AIsI3 3 say\TIP3 3  
 “Let her arrive there!” he said. (TXT-47.390)
- (67) ꞑJu³ dsii³jmo¹ dsa jong¹² jmø¹guó¹! juúh² dsa,  
 may arrive\I-do\TID3 3 child\3 world say\TIP3 3  
 juúh² rai¹³ tsáih¹² dsa hio¹³.  
 say\TIP3 king tell\DAP3 3 woman  
 “Let them go and produce children in the world!” he said, the king said to his woman.  
 (TXT-47.391)

In the case of an optative inanimate intransitive verb, whose subject is a semantic patient rather than an agent, it expresses a wish that the action named by the verb be performed, not by the subject, but in respect to it.

- (68) !Ju³ dsø¹hén² hniú¹²!  
 may go\I-ruin\II3 house  
 May the house be destroyed!

Optative forms may be inflected for any person-number or gender category, as in (69) and (70). Note, in the first example, that ju³ may be separated from the verb that follows, suggesting that ju³ may best be considered a one-term predicate that takes an entire clause that follows as its subject complement.

- (69) ꞑJu³ hñiah¹ hning juúh³ hning!  
 may Refl\2s 2s say\I2 2s  
 May you yourself say it! (TXT-22.020)
- (70) ꞑJu³ quie¹³ jniang³!  
 may eat\TII1p 1i  
 Let’s eat! (TXT-03.074)

With a negative verb, an optative injunction results in a denial of authority for the subject to take the expressed action, as in (71).

- (71) A¹jáng¹ ju³ hñiah¹ hning hiéh¹³ hning.  
 not=be\IIS3 may Refl\2s 2s sweep\AII2 2s  
 You yourself are not to sweep! (TXT-37.170)

A variety of optatives follow to illustrate petitions directed to any person or impersonally to none.



- (72) ɿJu³ tsa¹ca¹jmo¹ báh³ jní²!  
 may Neg-Pst-do\TIC1s Aff 1s  
 I wish had not done it! (MJA-03.078)
- (73) ɿJu³ jmó³ jniang³ cøng² liánh² quianh¹³ jní²!  
 maydo\TII1p 1i one\i happiness with 1s  
 Let's celebrate together! (DCT.126)
- (74) ɿJu³ gog² guing² ju²ga¹³ quiah¹²! Mi³ jøng² tsa¹ma¹ho¹ tsih.  
 let play\TIP3 infant toy of\3i so Ana\i stop-cry\TAI3 youngster  
 Let the child play with its toy so that it will stop crying! (AGJ-11.019)
- (75) ɿDiú¹³ ju³ mi³hai¹² hning²!  
 God may bless\TNR3 2s  
 May God bless you! (MMM-06.024)
- (76) ɿJa³ jøng² cu² ñieih¹³ ju³ dsiég¹³ quiah¹²!  
 at Ana\i forthwith may arrive-there\AIsI3 of\3i  
 May he go straight there (to hell)!
- (77) ɿJu³ ñie³ dsa quiah¹² dsa ha² láh² jénh¹² dsa!  
 may get\AIsP3 3 of\3i 3 however experience\TIP3 3  
 Let him suffer whatever is coming to him! (TXT-02.144)
- (78) ɿJu³ lé³ dsóa¹² dsa hi² nang¹ dsa jóg³ dsio¹!  
 mayhappen\III3 heart\3 3 that hear\TII3 3 word good  
 May he listen to the good advice! (DB-06.030)
- (79) ɿJu³ lé² dsio¹ juøi² San² Pe³¹!  
 may happen\III3 good\III3 town Saint Peter  
 May the town of Saint Peter be rebuilt! (TXT-34.161)

## 16.5 Soft Injunctions

There are other ways to enjoin persons to act in Chinantec besides the use of the two imperative verbforms. Intensive aspect, for example, provides a softer suggestion to act with a second person subject, as in (80).

- (80) ɿNa¹ ñii³ méih¹ guónh³ hning!  
 later more go-home\AIsI2 2s  
 Stay a while! (DB-05.019)

In (81), from a traditional version of the Tower of Babel story, an optative is followed by two simple first-plural intentives having the same mildly injunctive force.

- (81) ɿJu³ jmó³ jniang³ cøng² hieh¹²! Hieh¹² jmó³ jniang³.  
 may make\TII1p 1i one\i masonry masonry make\TII2 1i

Dsógh<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> guó<sup>13</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 go=home\AIpI1p li where reside\AIsS3 God  
 Let's make a monument! We will build a monument. We will go to where God lives.  
 (TXT-38.163–65).

The intensitive can also be used as a negative injunction in first plural and second person, as in (82) and (83).

- (82) ;Tsa<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>jmó<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> møah<sup>13</sup>!  
 stop-do\THI1p li conflict  
 Let's stop fighting! (AGJ-03.038)
- (83) ;Tsa<sup>1</sup>jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning høa<sup>12</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup>!  
 Neg-do\THI2 2s worry\TIP2  
 You must not fret about this! (TXT-47.176)

## 17. Complement Clauses

A complement clause is either nominal, introduced by *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’, or adverbial, introduced by *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’. The discussion of nominal complements, which are introduced by the same complementizer as headless relative clauses, occupy—along with related topics—the larger part of this chapter. Adverbial complements are then introduced in the final section of the chapter, §17.10.

### 17.1 The Nominal Complement Clause

A relative clause may occur as the term of any verb either as modifier of a noun or as a headless relative in lieu of a noun head, but certain verbs may also take clauses that are otherwise independent in form as sentential complements without any special syntactic modification. For example, in (84), the independent clause *jmo*<sup>1</sup> *dsa* *hí*<sup>3</sup> *jni*<sup>2</sup> ‘he will cure me’ occurs as the direct object of *tiúh*<sup>1</sup> *dsa* ‘he is able to’, and, in (85), the direct question *ha*<sup>2</sup> *láh*<sup>2</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*løa*<sup>1</sup> ‘how did it happen?’ becomes an indirect question as the direct object of *tsa*<sup>1</sup>*ηji*<sup>12</sup> *dsa*<sup>2</sup> *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘those people do not know’.

- (84) *Tiúh*<sup>1</sup>      *dsa* *jmo*<sup>1</sup> *dsa* *hí*<sup>3</sup> *jni*<sup>2</sup>.  
 able\TII3 3    cure\TAI3    1s  
 He is able to cure me (*lit.*, he will cure me). (TXT-26.315)

- (85) *Tsa*<sup>1</sup>*ηji*<sup>12</sup>      *dsa*<sup>2</sup>    *héi*<sup>2</sup>    *ha*<sup>2</sup> *láh*<sup>2</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*løa*<sup>1</sup>.  
 not-know\TIS3 person Ana\ a how    Pst-happen\IIC3  
 Those people do not know how it happened. (TXT-34.141)

A nominal complement clause, which is an otherwise independent clause introduced by the nominal complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’, may also occur as the term of certain verbs, as in (86), where *chian*<sup>2</sup> *Diú*<sup>13</sup> ‘God exists’, introduced by *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’, occurs as the direct object of *tsa*<sup>1</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup>*hé*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* ‘they no longer believe’.

- (86) *Tsa*<sup>1</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup>*hé*<sup>2</sup>      *dsa* *hi*<sup>2</sup>    *chian*<sup>2</sup>    *Diú*<sup>13</sup>.  
 Neg-Cnt-believe\TIP3 3    that\i be\AIS3 God  
 They no longer believe that God exists. (TXT-38.269)

As a language having only finite verb forms, Chinantec complementation entails no nominal marking of verbs nor adjustments in tense-aspect or person-number-gender agreement. In the

absence of case or determiners other than deictics and anaphors, Chinantec provides no overt grammatical mark to distinguish a clause that functions predicatively from one that functions nominally as a complement, other than the presence of *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that<sub>i</sub>’.

The occurrence of complement clauses to express a nominal function within a clause is limited to the occurrence of certain specific classes of verbs as predicate of those clauses; specifically, to utterance verbs, emotion verbs, cognition verbs, manipulation verbs, and be verbs, all of which are illustrated in the following sections. Complement clauses may, however, also modify certain abstract nouns, they may be the grammatical partner that follows certain conjunctions or prepositions, and they may themselves function conjunctively to express a variety of cause-result or means-end relationships between clauses. This latter function is discussed in §10.10, but their occurrence within clauses is the subject of this chapter, first as terms and then as clause adjuncts.

## 17.2 With Utterance Verbs

Utterance verbs include *juúh*<sup>2</sup> ‘say\TIP3’, *tsáih*<sup>12</sup> ‘tell\DAP3’, *hløah*<sup>12</sup> ‘speak\TIP3’, *hlaih*<sup>12</sup> ‘speak\DNP3’, *lén*<sup>2</sup> ‘think\TIP3’, and the emotion verb *dsø<sup>2</sup>jiag<sup>12</sup> dsó<sup>12</sup>* ‘think=about\TIP3’. They may express either direct or indirect reports of speech. Reports of direct speech occur without adjustment of any sort from the way non-speech references are reported. Such reports simply precede or follow the utterance verb with its attendant clause partners, with subtle (unstudied) differences in rhythm and amplitude separating the ‘report’ from its utterance-verb matrix.

The verb *juúh*<sup>2</sup> ‘say\TIP3’ is the most common utterance verb to report direct speech. In (87), it and its partners follow the speech report. In (88), they precede the utterance verb. It is more common, however, when the utterance verb precedes the speech report, to repeat the utterance verb again along with at least its subject, after the Direct-Speech report, as in (89).

- (87) Dsa<sup>2</sup> néh<sup>13</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>quiúgh<sup>2</sup> jáh.  
 person go=home\AIsIIs 1s also say\TIP3 person Ana\ a who Pst-cut\TAC3 animal  
 “I am going home too,” said that fellow who had cut the animal. (TXT-01.238)

(88) Juúh<sup>2</sup> lɔ̃<sup>3</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup>, ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> tsenh<sup>12</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>jnøh<sup>2</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup>  
 say\TIP3 rabbit how? cause\3 2s stand\AIsP2 STA\s-block\TIP2 path of\TIS1s  
 The rabbit said, “What warrants your standing and blocking my path?” (TXT-04.026)

(89) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, Ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jin<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> muñeca ca<sup>1</sup>liánh<sup>1</sup> hningjuúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 person Ana\ a even whoever doll Pst-buy\TAC2 2s say\TIP3 3  
 Then that person said, “But what kind of doll did you buy?,” he said. (TXT-04.044)

The verb *juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘say’ can also report Indirect Speech by means of a complement clause in Object position, as in (90).

(90) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup>.  
 not\IIS3 say\TIP3 3 that\i do\TII1s 1s cure  
 He did not ask me to cure him (*lit.*, that I will do a cure). (TXT-26.300)

The ditransitive verb *tsáih<sup>12</sup>* ‘tell\DAp3’ often occurs associated with transitive *juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘say\TIP3’ and the same direct speech report, to overtly name the addressee, as in (91).

(91) ¿Jin<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup>? juúh<sup>2</sup> Gabino tsáih<sup>12</sup> dsa hio<sup>13</sup>.  
 whatever? Pst-happen\IIC3 say\TIP3 Gabino tell\DAp3 3 woman  
 “Whatever has happened?” Gabino asked the woman. (TXT-05.480)

But *tsáih<sup>12</sup>* ‘tell\DAp3’ may also occur alone, without *juúh<sup>2</sup>* ‘say\TIP3’, with associated speech always reported as Direct Speech, as in (92)–(94). Several examples are given in order to display a few of the radical forms of this verb (*juói<sup>2</sup>*, *tseih<sup>12</sup>*, *juáih<sup>12</sup>*, *tsáih<sup>12</sup>*).

(92) Juáih<sup>13</sup> hning rai<sup>13</sup>, hne<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>3</sup> quian<sup>1</sup> jni juáih<sup>13</sup> hning rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 tell\DAI2 2s king wild\AIS3 horse of\TAS1s 1s tell\DAI2 2s king  
 You will say to the king, “My horse is unruly,” you will say. (TXT-11.415)

(93) Tiog<sup>13</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> juói<sup>2</sup> jni hning<sup>2</sup>, tsa<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>3</sup> hning, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 strongly that\i tell\DAp1s 1s 2s Neg-say\TII2 2s say\TIP3 3  
 “I strongly urge you, ‘Do not say that,’” she said. (TXT-07.055)

(94) Quieng<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> njó<sup>12</sup>, tsáih<sup>12</sup> dsa hio<sup>13</sup>.  
 bring\TIS1s Aff 1s meat tell\DAp3 3 woman  
 “I have brought meat,” he tells his wife. (TXT-06.208)

Of the utterance verbs *hløah<sup>12</sup>* ‘speak\TIP3’ and *hlaih<sup>12</sup>* ‘speak\DNp3’, transitive *hløah<sup>12</sup>* takes noun objects but ditransitive *hlaih<sup>12</sup>* can take a noun object or can express Indirect Speech in the form of an indirect question, as shown in (95)–(97).

(95) Hliúg<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> rø<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hlaih<sup>1</sup> dsa quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>2</sup> hí<sup>3</sup> dsøa<sup>12</sup>.  
 many\IIS3 word true\IIS3 Pst-speak\DNc3 3 of\TIS3 person Impf-be\TMS3 anxiety  
 He spoke many good words to one who had been distressed. (AGJ-01 068)

(96) ɿJai³ láh¹ hiug¹² hløah³ hning jóg³ hlaih¹³!  
 Gracious! very\IIS3 speak\TIP2 2s word bad\IIS3  
 My, but you keep on saying bad things! (TXT-26.022)

(97) Ca¹hlaih¹ Diú¹³ ha² láh² jmo¹ dsa ha² láh².  
 Pst-speak\TNC3 God how do\TII3 3 how  
 God told them what to do. (TXT-37.784)

The utterance verb *lén²* ‘think\TIS3’ is like *juúh²* ‘say’; thoughts may be expressed either as Direct Speech or, by a complement clause, as Indirect Speech. Direct Speech is illustrated in (98) and (99).

(98) Ja³ jøng² báh³ dsø²quieng² dsa² ná¹² cog³, lén² roh¹³ dsa.  
 there Aff go\P3-fetch-back\TID3 person D1\ a money think\TIS3 kinsman\3 3  
It is from there that that one is bringing the money, his brother is thinking. (TXT-26.382)

(99) Lén² jni, tsa¹ju³ téng¹ jmø², lén² jni, juúh² dsa.  
 think\AIS1s 1s Neg-if spill\IID3 blood think\TIS1s 1s say\TIP3 3  
 I thought, I won’t let the blood be wasted, I thought. (TXT-06.177)

*Lén²* is associated with indirectly reported speech in (100), within a report of direct speech expressed in association with *tsáih¹²* ‘tell\DAp3’, and in (101), within a report associated with *juúh²* ‘say\TIP3’.

(100) Ha² láh² lénh² hning, tsáih¹² dsa guing, hi² tsa¹jóg¹ jni hning.  
 how? think\TIS2s tell\DAp3 3 child that\i Neg-capture\TAI1s 1s 2s  
 “How did you imagine,” she said to the child, “that I would not capture you?” (TXT-64.046)

(101) Jøng² juúh² dsa² héi², ha¹chii² lén² jni hi² guø³ jni jøng².  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 person Ana\ a not\IIS3 think\TIS1s 1s that\i live\AIS1s 1s Ana\i  
 Then that fellow said, “I’m not planning to live like that.” (TXT-25.258)

### 17.3 With Human Propensity Verbal Idioms

Some of the human propensity verbal idioms based on the noun *dsóa¹²* ‘seat of emotions\3’ and listed in §14.11 take sentential complements. Of these, *dsø²jiag¹² dsóa¹²* ‘think\AIP3’ is close in meaning to the utterance verb *lén²* ‘think\TIP3’, but has different syntax. *Dsø²jiag¹² dsóa¹²* may take an independent clause as same-subject sentential object, as in (102), but requires a complement clause for a different-subject sentential object, as in (103).

(102) ɿHa² láh² dsø²jiag¹² hogh¹² hning ca¹jmoh³ hning láh¹ jøng²?  
 how? go\P3-think\AIP2 2s Pst-do\TIC2 2s such\i Ana\i  
 What were you thinking to have done that? (TXT-01.160)

- (103) Ma<sup>2</sup>dsø<sup>2</sup>jiag<sup>12</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> jni hi<sup>2</sup> lán<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> høin<sup>2</sup>.  
 Prf-go\VP3-think\AID1s 1s that\i be\TMP3 3 thief  
 I have begun to think that he is a thief. (AGJ-07.047)

Another such idiom, *jén<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup>* ‘regret\AIS3’ expresses the grounds for the named sentiment as a complement clause, irrespective of same or different subject, as in (104).

- (104) Ca<sup>1</sup>hó<sup>2</sup> dsa son<sup>13</sup>, son<sup>13</sup> jén<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup> dsu<sup>1</sup>nang<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-sing\TIC3 3 song song regret\AIS3 3 that\i Pst-die\AIsC3 male=rat  
 She sang a song, a song of her sorrow that Mr. Rat had died. (TXT-45.024)

The particulars of a ‘desire’ may be expressed by a complement clause of *hiug<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup>* ‘desire\AIS3’, which occurs three times in (105), but only once with a complement clause. In its first occurrence, in a condition, the object of a couple’s desire is unexpressed. The nature of the man’s desire is expressed in its second occurrence as ‘to marry the girl’, while the nature of the woman’s desire is expressed nominally in the third occurrence as *dsa<sup>2</sup> njoh<sup>12</sup>* ‘the man’.

- (105) Ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa lán<sup>1</sup> jan<sup>2</sup> lán<sup>1</sup> jan<sup>2</sup>, hiug<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> njoh<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jian<sup>1</sup> dsa  
 if desire\AIS3 3 each\ a desire\AIS3 man that\i marry\TAI3 3  
 mó<sup>2</sup>, cónh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> mó<sup>2</sup> jian<sup>1</sup> dsa,  
 female\IIS3 once=again desire\AIS3 young=woman marry\TAI3 3  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> njoh<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>, jøng<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>1</sup> dsa roh<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 man also Ana\i speak\TAI3 3 partner\3 3  
 If the two of them desire it, the boy desires to marry the girl, and the girl he would marry  
 also desires the young man too, then they will speak with one another. (TXT-23.004)

## 17.4 With Cognition Verbs

Cognition verbs that take complement clauses as Direct Object include: *hé<sup>2</sup>* ‘believe\TIP3’, *hniu<sup>1</sup>* ‘want’, and *lih<sup>13</sup>* ‘realize\TIS3’.

The verb *hé<sup>2</sup>* ‘believe\TIP3’ frequently occurs with the noun *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘word’ as object with the particulars being expressed in a complement clause that follows, as in (106). This may be syntactically interpreted in two way. Either the complement clause is the Modifier of the Head noun it follows, or it is appositive to it, which is tantamount to the same thing since all Chinantec constituents of a noun are functionally appositive to one another. For this reason, I lean to the latter interpretation, which is supported by the ability of the complement clause to occur as Direct Object in the absence of a noun object, as in (107).

(106) Ca<sup>1</sup>hé<sup>1</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tiúh<sup>1</sup> tǝa<sup>12</sup> mǝa<sup>12</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> hí<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dsoh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-believe\TIC3 3 word that\i able\TII3 doctor cure\TAI3 person sick\AIS3  
 He believed that the doctor could cure the sick. (BJM-01.008)

(107) Dóh<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hé<sup>2</sup> dsa jǝng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 because Neg-believe\TIP3 3 Ana\i that\i exist\AIS3 God  
 Because they did not believe it, that there is a God. (TXT-27.021)

The verb *hniu<sup>1</sup>* ‘want\TIS3’ takes a normal independent clause when its subject has the same referent as that of the subject of *hniu<sup>1</sup>*, as in (108), but it takes a complement clause when its subject has a different referent from that of the subject of *hniu<sup>1</sup>*, as in (109).

(108) Hniu<sup>1</sup> dsa jian<sup>1</sup> dsa María.  
 want\TIS3 3 marry\TAI3 3 Mary  
 They wanted to marry Mary. (TXT-37.014)

(109) Cónh<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, hniu<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ǵieh<sup>1</sup> jni hi<sup>2</sup> ján<sup>3</sup> jni hning<sup>2</sup>.  
 like now want\TIS3 father\1s 1s that\i marry\TAI1s 1s 2s  
 Also, now, my father wants me to marry you. (TXT-25.303)

The verb *lih<sup>13</sup>* ‘realize\TIS3’ has been observed to occur with either an Independent clause (110) or a complement clause (111) as object to express a particular realization, without any discernible difference in meaning.

(110) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>lǝ<sup>1</sup>lih<sup>13</sup> dsa tsa<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>  
 because Prf-Hod-Act\C-realize\TIS3 3 Neg-present\AIS3 woman  
 na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>ǵié<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 when Prf-Pst-awake\AIC3 3  
 Because he had become aware that his wife was not there when he awoke. (TXT-07.011)

(111) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> lǝ<sup>2</sup>lih<sup>13</sup> dsa hi<sup>2</sup> cang<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 because that\i Act\P-realize\TIS3 3 that\i listen\TNP3 jaguar  
 Because he realizes that the jaguar is listening. (TXT-01.014)

## 17.5 With Manipulation Verbs

Manipulation verbs that may take a complement as Subject or Object include *jmo<sup>12</sup>* ‘do\TIP3, make\TIP3, cause\TIP3’, *cuǝ<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘give\TIP3, permit\TIP3’, and *jǵie<sup>12</sup>* ‘cease\IIP3’. The verb *jmo<sup>12</sup>* occurs with a complement clause as object, whether with same-subject clause and suppressed subject, as in (112), with same-subject clause and repeated subject, as in (113), or different-subject clause, as in (114).



(112) Dsa<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa tiá<sup>3</sup>.  
 person do\TIP3 that\i kind\AIS3 Aff 3 Daddy  
 He is a kind-hearted fellow, Daddy. (TXT-05.161)

(113) Ha<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>2</sup> ca'jmo<sup>1</sup> Gabino hi<sup>2</sup> ca'lóh<sup>1</sup> Gabino cog<sup>3</sup>.  
 how? Pst-do\TIC3 Gabino that\i Pst-earn\TIC3 Gabino money  
 What has Gabino done to earn his money? (TXT-05.246)

(114) Jeh<sup>12</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> dsóh<sup>3</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 frog Ana\A Aff do\TIP3 that\i sick\AIS3 king  
 It was those frogs that were making the king sick. (TXT-26.345)

The manipulation verb *cuø<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘permit\TIP3’ (and its negative counterpart *tsa<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘prevent\TIP3’) takes a complement clause as Direct Object, as in (115) and (116). The same argument presented above for the verb *hé<sup>2</sup>* ‘believe\TIP3’ applies to *cuø<sup>12</sup>* ‘give\TIP3’ in the configuration *cuø<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘permit\TIP3’, that a complement clause after *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘word, permission’ is more likely best construed as Appositive to the noun than as a dependent Modifier, since the clause may occur in the absence of the noun, as in (117).

(115) Tsa<sup>1</sup>cuuh<sup>2</sup> hning jóg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jñéh<sup>3</sup> jni jáh<sup>2</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> juu<sup>12</sup>.  
 Neg-give\DIP2 2s word that\i kill\TAsIIs 1s animal be\AIpS3 path  
 You have prevented me from killing animals along the path. (TXT-05.077)

(116) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cógh<sup>3</sup> hning mói<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>?  
 how? Neg-allow\TII3 God word that\i eat\TII2 2s fruit Prx  
 Why would God not permit you to eat this fruit? (TXT-38.068)

(117) Tø<sup>2</sup>júg<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cógh<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 lie\AIP3 Aff God Neg-permit\TII3 God that\i eat\TII2 2s  
 God is lying in not letting you eat it. (TXT-38.088)

The manipulation verb *jjie<sup>12</sup>* ‘cease\IIP3 takes a complement clause as subject, as in (118).

(118) Ca'jñie<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> quií<sup>12</sup> dsa cog<sup>3</sup> cuenta huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-cease\AII3 that\i pay\TIP3 3 money matter land  
He stopped paying for the land. (TXT-66.013)

## 17.6 With Be Verbs

The BE verbs that may occur with complement clauses as subject are *lóa<sup>12</sup>* ‘become\IIP3, happen\IIP3’ and *a'jáng<sup>1</sup>* ‘not-be\IIS3’. The verb *lóa<sup>12</sup>* ‘happen\IIS3’ is illustrated in (119).

- (119) Léi<sup>13</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> mẽ<sup>12</sup> dsa lách<sup>3</sup>.  
 evident\IIS3 happen\IIS3 that\i request\TAP3 3 Rhet  
 It is in the open that he is asking, right? (TXT-22.263)

The negative BE verb *a'jáng<sup>1</sup>* 'not-be\IIS3' may occur with either an Independent clause or a complement clause as subject without a noticeable difference in grammatical or rhetorical force. In (120), an independent clause with focused second-person subject occurs as subject of *a'jáng<sup>1</sup>*. In (121), however, a complement clause with focused third-person subject of *a'jáng<sup>1</sup>* occurs and, in (122), a complement clause without focused Subject occurs.

- (120) A'jáng<sup>1</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> ɲiih<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>jiag<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 2p know\TIS2 what? contemplate\TID3 people  
 You are not in a position to know what is in the heart of other people. (TXT-21.090)

- (121) A'jáng<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 that\i animal D2\ a make\TIP3  
 It is not that that animal over there is causing it. (TXT-05.046)

- (122) A'jáng<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ɲøa<sup>12</sup> hian<sup>3</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 not=be\IIS3 that\i walk\AISp3 rancorous\AIS1s 1s  
 It's not the case that I am going about with rancor. (TXT-30.018)

The expression *a'jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup>* 'it is not as if' (from *ju<sup>3</sup>* 'if') may also take a complement clause as Subject.

- (123) A'jáng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hóah<sup>3a</sup> tí<sup>2</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 if that\i declaim\TII2-2 loudly  
 But you must not declaim it loudly. (TXT-37.789)

The BE verbs of existence (*chii<sup>2</sup>* 'exist\IIS3', *ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>* 'not-exist\IIS3', *chian<sup>2</sup>* 'exist\AIS3', *ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>* 'not-exist\AIS3') are not found with complement clauses as terms, occurring with more underlyingly nominal terms or with independent clauses, as in (124)–(126).

- (124) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> cog<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tóg<sup>2</sup> cuø<sup>3</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 money Pst-defecate\TIC3 horse  
 But the horse defecated no money. (TXT-11.057)

- (125) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> tag<sup>12</sup> jah.  
 but not=be\IIS3 defecate\TIP3 animal  
 But the horse did not defecate. (TXT-11.191)

- (126) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hmah<sup>3</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>guøn<sup>1</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> la<sup>2</sup>.  
 not\IIS3 penalty exist\IIS3 Pst-arrive=here\AISc3 3 here  
 There is no penalty associated with his arrival here. (TXT-54 111)

What in surface syntax appear, with these verbs, to be very like complement clauses, in (127)–(130), are, rather, headless relative clauses.

- (127) Dóh<sup>3</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hui<sup>3</sup> nah<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 because be\IIS3 that\i be=in\IIS3 net of\TIS1s 1s  
 Because there is something in my carrying net. (TXT-11.103)
- (128) Ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>2</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 not=be\IIS3 that\i Hod-do\TIC1s 1s  
I have done nothing. (TXT-20.031)
- (129) Ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jón<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, ja<sup>3</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jñeh<sup>1</sup>.  
 there Aff die\AIS3 Ana\ a where be\AIS3 that\i kill\TAsI3  
 There he will die, there where there are killers. (TXT-09.096)
- (130) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> gan<sup>1</sup> guing jin<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup>.  
 no=one\AIS3 that\i fear\TAS3 child even one\ a  
The child feared absolutely no one. (TXT-09.078)

## 17.7 With Abstract Nouns

Certain abstract nouns, such as *mai*<sup>31</sup> ‘strategy, habit, tradition, personality’ (from Sp. *maña*) and *ta*<sup>3</sup> ‘work’, whose reference is inherently indefinite unless defined, may occur with a complement clause as Modifier to define them, as in (131)–(133).

- (131) Chii<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> mai<sup>31</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> júg<sup>2</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 be\IIS3 Aff strategy that\i captured\AII3 animal Ana\ a  
 There is a strategy for catching those animals. (TXT-04.011)
- (132) Hi<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> cógh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hógh<sup>3</sup> hning ma<sup>1</sup> méh<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>.  
 D1\ a Aff work\TII3 that\i eat\TII2 that\i drink\TII2 2s little-by-little Aff  
 They are the ones who will work so that you can eat and drink little by little. (TXT-17.032)
- (133) Cøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tióh<sup>12</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jó<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>, ta<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hiég<sup>2</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 continually that\i succeed\TIP3 John all\3i work work that\i hire\TNP3 king  
 John just kept on succeeding at all the tasks for which the king would hire him. (TXT-11.620)

As argued above, the interpretation of a complement clause following the indefinite noun *jóg*<sup>3</sup> ‘word’ is moot, as to whether the clause is a Modifier of or Appositive to the noun, as in (134).

- (134) Ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>1</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hián<sup>1</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>, hi<sup>2</sup> jní<sup>1</sup> jmø<sup>1</sup>guói<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-Act\C-exist\IIS3 decision that\i appear\AII3 sun that\i brighten\III3 world  
 A decision was made that the sun would rise and day would dawn in the world. (TXT-19.002)

The indefinite noun *héh<sup>1</sup>* ‘command’ is similar to the noun *jóg<sup>3</sup>* ‘word’ in this respect, as in (135). I know of no test to determine whether a complement clause that follows it is a Modifier or merely in Apposition to it.

- (135) Ju<sup>3</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>13</sup> héh<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jáinh<sup>1</sup> dsa tiog<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> té<sup>12</sup>,  
 if 1s able\I-do\TII1s command that\i hand=over\TII3 3 insistently very  
 tsa<sup>1</sup>jáinh<sup>1</sup> dsa juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Neg-hand=over\TII3 3 say\TIP3 3  
 Even if I could give a command that he should give it back without any question at all, he  
 says that he will not do it. (TXT-01.193)

## 17.8 With Conjunctions and Prepositions

The conjunction *ju<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’ and the prepositions *niúh<sup>1</sup>* *jính<sup>3</sup>* ‘before’ and *quianh<sup>13</sup>* ‘with’ may occur with a complement clause as syntactic partner, as in (645) and (137)

- (136) Ju<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hlian<sup>13</sup> jni jáinh<sup>13</sup> jni, ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> jáinh<sup>13</sup> jni.  
 if that\i paid\AIS1s 1s hand=over\TII1s 1s not\IIS3 hand=over\TII1s 1s  
 Even if I were employed to give it back, I would not give it back. (TXT-01.164)

- (137) Quianh<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> quii<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> guiónh<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 with that\i p-suck\TAP3 Ana\i Aff 3 Pst-die\AIsC3 3  
 It was by their continual sucking (of his blood) like that that he died. (TXT-54.142)

The syntactic partner of the Conditional Conjunction in its most common full form, *ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’, may be either an Independent clause, as in (634), or a complement clause, as in (635).

- (138) Tsa<sup>1</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> sióg<sup>3</sup> jni hjiéng<sup>1</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> guu<sup>1</sup> dsa hñiah<sup>12</sup> dsa cah<sup>3</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Neg-able\III3 descend\AII1s 1s Refl\1s if sit\AIsI3 3 Refl\3s 3 back\3 animal  
 I myself cannot get down to let her mount the animal alone. (TXT-11.418)

- (139) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jón<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> uénh<sup>2</sup>  
 Neg-die\AIsI3 people Ana\ a if that\i cut\TMC3  
 hi<sup>2</sup> quiégh<sup>2</sup> dsa lálh<sup>1</sup> quianh<sup>13</sup> ñí<sup>3</sup> tói<sup>2</sup>.  
 that\i cut=with=machete\TNC3 3 with machete  
 Such people will not die if they are cut or chopped by a machete. (TXT-08.083)

Yet another form of the Conditional, *ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>* ‘if it were the case’, may also occur with a complement clause as partner, as in 0.

- (140) Tiág<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jn<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>  
 able\AII1s Aff 1s do\DAI1s 1s cure king

ju<sup>3</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>3</sup> rai<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>13</sup> jni hí<sup>3</sup>.  
 if that\i say\TII3 king that\i do\DAI1s 1s cure  
 I am able to heal the king if the king would ask me to do it. (TXT-26.088)

In (141) and (142), a complement clause functions as a temporal constituent following the prepositional expressions *niúh<sup>1</sup> jính<sup>3</sup>* ‘before’ and *cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘when’.

(141) Ma<sup>2</sup>tiogh<sup>3</sup> dsa ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>lian<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 Prf-be\AIP3 3 there about before that\i arrive=home=there\AIP3 3  
 They were already there before the others would arrive. (TXT-08.101)

(142) Ma<sup>2</sup>huu<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup>, lálh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> hein<sup>13</sup> guie<sup>1</sup>, cónh<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>já<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Prf-night very\IIS3 like at o'clock ten\i when that\i Pst-come\AISC3 jaguar  
 It was very late at night, about ten o'clock, when the puma came. (TXT-19.585)

In (143), a complement clause expresses manner following the prepositional sequence *lálh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup>* ‘at such’.

(143) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>tiáng<sup>2</sup> dsa jniang<sup>3</sup> coh<sup>13</sup> huái<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>12</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 Neg-Pst-put\TNC3 3 li above\3 below\3 such\i at that\i Neg-see\TIP1p li  
 He has not wronged us every which way without our knowledge. (TXT-23.212)

## 17.9 Non-clause Predicates

A nonverbal constituent may function as a predicate, but occurrences are rare unless the affirmation modal adverb *báh<sup>3</sup>*, introduced in §11.1, occurs to lend predicative force to that constituent, as in (144)–(146), where noun phrases occur as predicate and subject respectively, due to affirmation of the first noun phrase.

(144) Tiú<sup>12</sup> la<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> tiú<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuø<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>ñieh<sup>1</sup> jni.  
 firearm Prx Aff firearm Pst-give\TIC3 father\1s 1s  
This is the rifle that my dad gave me. (AGJ)

(145) Hi<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>3</sup>dságh<sup>12</sup>.  
 that\i Prx Aff Ana\i that\i Neg-Impf-locate\IIP3  
 This is that thing we were unable to find. (AGJ)

(146) Jáh<sup>2</sup> hlanh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> cøh<sup>13</sup> uuh<sup>13</sup>, jáh<sup>2</sup> høh<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa quianh<sup>13</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>cong<sup>12</sup> jah.  
 animal evil\AIS3 Aff lizard=sp. animal stick\TIP3 of\TIS3 3 with tail\3 animal  
A poisonous animal is this species of lizard, one that stings with its tail. (AEA-02.035)

Various forms of fronting also interfere with the normal, unmarked functional association of nouns as terms and verbs as predicates, resulting in focused or topicalized nominals that effectively function as predicates, followed by the remainder of their clause as subject

complements requiring marking as complements by *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’. For example, the subject constituent *jmáh*<sup>1</sup> *láh*<sup>1</sup> *cong*<sup>12</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*jóg*<sup>2</sup> ‘only Possum’s tail’, in (147), is fronted and affirmed by *báh*<sup>3</sup> (Aff), effectively making it a predicate with the remainder of the clause ‘visible at the mouth of the cave’, introduced by *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’, as its subject complement.

- (147) *Jmáh*<sup>1</sup> *láh*<sup>1</sup> *cong*<sup>12</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>2</sup>*jóg*<sup>2</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup> *jní*<sup>2</sup> *hag*<sup>3</sup> *tøg*<sup>2</sup>.  
 only tail Aff opossum that\i appear\IIP3 mouth\3 cave  
 It was only Possum’s tail that was visible at the mouth of the cave. (TXT-03.178)

A nominal in contrastive fronting focus is also given predicative force. The sentence presented in (148) from the Tlatepuzcan version of the tar baby tale, follows the sentence ‘You should not buy just any old doll’. Then, the object noun phrase *muñeca tio*<sup>1</sup> *quiah*<sup>12</sup> ‘sticky doll’ is placed in contrastive fronted focus, casting the remaining optative expression *mi*<sup>3</sup>*lánh*<sup>3</sup> *hning* ‘you must buy’ as its subject complement by the addition of *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’.

- (148) *Muñeca tio*<sup>1</sup> *quiah*<sup>12</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup> *mi*<sup>3</sup>*lánh*<sup>3</sup> *hning*.  
 doll sticky\IIS3 of\TIS3 that\i Opt-buy\TAI2 2s  
 It is sticky doll that you must buy. (TXT-04.048)

By topicalizing and separating an element from its near grammatical partners, Left Dislocation may result in syntax that begs for a complement clause. In (149), the utterance verb *lén*<sup>2</sup> ‘think\TIP3’ and its Subject *dsa* ‘the person’ are topicalized and separated from the report of the expressed ‘thought’. In addition, the Subject noun *hieh*<sup>12</sup> ‘jaguar’ within that ‘report’ is given fronting focus and predicative force, with the remainder of the clause cast as its Subject in the form of a complement clause.

- (149) *Jøng*<sup>2</sup> *lén*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* *jøng*<sup>2</sup> *na*<sup>1</sup>, *hieh*<sup>12</sup> *hi*<sup>2</sup> *ŋøa*<sup>12</sup> *chiuh*<sup>3</sup> *cuøi*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i think\AIS3 3 Ana\i now jaguar that\i walk\AIsP3 edge\3 maize  
 Then the person is thinking, that it is a jaguar walking at the edge of the cornfield. (TXT-30.007)

## 17.10 The Adverbial Complement Clause

Parallel to the nominal complementizer *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’ is the manner complementizer, *láh*<sup>1</sup> ‘such\i’, that references the quality of a referent rather than its identity. It occurs quite commonly in the language, being found, in various combinations, 1589 times in the Tlatepuzco textual database. It commonly expresses a manner adverbial adjunct, as in (150)–(153).

(150) Ca<sup>1</sup>uóí<sup>2</sup> jni juu<sup>12</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> hma<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>hñioh<sup>3</sup> jni ñí<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup>  
 Pst-ascend\AIC1s 1s path above tree such\i Prf-belt\TMS3 1s machete of\TIS1s  
 I climbed up into a tree having my machete tied to my waist. (TXT-01.081)

(151) Ca<sup>1</sup>jmóh<sup>1</sup> dsa hning<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ló<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-hurt\TAC3 3 2s such\i desire\TIP3 3  
 They have hurt you according to their own notions. (TXT-37.1178)

(152) Dó<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ño<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIsP3 jaguar such\i Prf-go\AIsP3 opossum  
 Jaguar went (in the same direction) as Possum had gone. (TXT-03.174)

(153) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> chii<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa láh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>lóa<sup>12</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jián<sup>12</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 not=be\IIS3 be\IIS3 of\TIS3 3 such\i Impf-be\IIS3 beforehand  
 He was not destitute as he was earlier. (TXT-05.244)

The conditional conjunction *ju<sup>3</sup>* ‘if’ may introduce *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘thus\i’ without a significant change in meaning as a manner adjunct, as illustrated in (154) and (155).

(154) Ju<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> lóa<sup>12</sup> ñí<sup>3</sup> pala jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 if such\i be\IIS3 metal shovel make\TII2 2s  
 Make it like a steel spade. (TXT-08.078)

(155) Láh<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>ñoa<sup>12</sup> neng<sup>12</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, ju<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> ñoa<sup>12</sup> hieg<sup>2</sup>.  
 such\i D1\i Impf-travel\AIsP3 star Ana\ a if such\i travel\AIsP3 sun  
 That star (Venus) used to travel like that, the way the sun now travels. (TXT-27.034)

The manner complementizer, *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such\i’, combines with deictics and anaphors to form the adverbs of quality listed in §12.2. Two of these are illustrated in (156) and (157), where they function as direct object and noun modifier, respectively.

(156) Láh<sup>1</sup> la<sup>2</sup> jmóh<sup>3</sup> hning juáih<sup>13</sup> hning dsa.  
 such\i Prx do\TII2 2s tell\DAI2 2s 3  
 You will do like this, you will say to him. (AGJ-08.027)

(157) Dsa<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> ñieih<sup>13</sup> dsan<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 people such Ana\ a forthwith die\AIpP3 3  
 People of that sort die immediately. (TXT-54.009)

In (158), a manner complement stands alone as the first sentence of a story, and in (159), the complementizer is separated from the anaphor *jøng<sup>2</sup>* by the fronted verb ‘does not answer’ to feature the manner in which the subject is behaving—not responding to repeated inquiries.

(158) Láh<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lõih<sup>2</sup>.  
 such\i Pst-happen\IIC3 long=ago  
 How it happened long ago. (TXT-02.001)

(159) Láh<sup>1</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ŋai<sup>12</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 such\i Neg-answer\TIP3 Ana\i Aff 3  
 He just remained silent! (TXT-02.116)

I am not sure how to account for the syntactic role of *láh<sup>1</sup>* following the adverb *ja<sup>12</sup>*, in (160), where *tsih<sup>12</sup>* ‘be\IISp3’ is the main verb of the clause, except that its force is emphatic.

(160) Díh<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>12</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> tsih<sup>12</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> møah<sup>13</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>.  
 because much such\i be\IISp3 uproar much\IIS3 extremely  
 Because there was such a huge uproar. (TXT-51.023)

With a restricted number of intransitive inanimate be verbs, a manner complement may function as subject, as in (161); but it may also occur as direct object, as in (162), or as the descriptive modifier of the same sorts of abstract nouns that nominal complements may modify, as in (163).

(161) Tsa<sup>1</sup>lõ<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jog<sup>1</sup> dsa Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 Neg-occur\IIP3 such\i capture\TAI3 3 God  
A way to capture God does not present itself. (TXT-37.740)

(162) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa láh<sup>1</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>tiu<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i do\TIP3 3 such\i Impf-cut\TIP3 3 again  
 Then she repeated again the way she had been cutting. (TXT-48.048)

(163) Dóh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hnangh<sup>2</sup> dsa mai<sup>31</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> liúg<sup>2</sup> dsa iéh<sup>1</sup>.  
 because Pst-search\TIC3 3 strategy such\i deliver\TAI3 3 Expl  
 Because he sought for a way to escape, that is. (TXT-03.401)

The non-numeric quantifier *tan<sup>3</sup>* ‘entire’ combines with *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such\i’ to form the temporal prepositional expression *tan<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘during, while, forthwith’, as indicated in (164) and (165).

(164) Cøgh<sup>2</sup> dsa tøg<sup>2</sup> tan<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 chew\TIP3 3 banana while work\TIP3  
 He eats the banana while he works. (MJA-08.032)

(165) Tan<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>tég<sup>2</sup> dsa na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>gøah<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 forthwith go\p3-defecate\TID3 3 when Prf-Hod-eat\TIC3 3  
 He immediately defecates as soon as he has eaten. (AGJ-05.050)

With spatial locatives like *tø<sup>1</sup> coh<sup>13</sup>* ‘upriver\3 (Prx)’, *láh<sup>1</sup>* ‘such\i’ expresses a spatial reference relative to another, as in (166).



- (166) Guó<sup>12</sup>        Sə<sup>3</sup>méi<sup>1</sup> tɔ<sup>1</sup> coh<sup>13</sup>    láh<sup>1</sup>    guó<sup>13</sup>        Jlo<sup>3</sup>.  
reside\AIsS3 Domingo to    above\3 such\i reside\AIsS3 Florentino  
Domingo lives just above from where Florentino lives. (AGJ-03.041)

## 18. Participant Reference

The last three chapters of this study comprise a preliminary look at the use of grammatical devices to form Chinantec narrative as gleaned from an examination of the Tlapepuzco Chinantec database of sixty-seven texts and six songs. First, we look here at how participants are referenced in discourse; in chapter 19 we will then look at how referents or other discourse elements become topics or are otherwise brought into focus; and in chapter 20, three selected passages from the text database will be examined to illustrate a few examples of how information is more generally packaged in Chinantec discourse.

### 18.1 Referencing Devices

I begin by giving a brief list, by way of reminder, of the specific grammatical devices that are available to reference objects in the physical and mental worlds created in oral discourse, before further discussion is presented concerning how Tlapepuzcans use or choose between them in the process of developing discourse. These devices have been introduced previously, and include multi-element noun phrases; lone nouns, nouns with classifiers, surrogate nouns, names, other lone noun-phrase elements such as numerals and deictics, relative clauses, anaphors, null reference, and—in direct address—pronouns and vocative nouns.

**The Noun Phrase** is the prototypical device for identifying objects, including participants, in discourse, as in (167), where a person and a pot are referenced by noun phrases and fire is referenced by an unmodified noun.

(167) Ca<sup>1</sup>chi<sup>1</sup>dsí<sup>2</sup>                      báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> si<sup>2</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> ñi<sup>3</sup> juøh<sup>12</sup>                      ha<sup>3</sup>                      jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
Pst-place-over\DIC3 Aff elder=woman fire one\i pot large\IIsS3 contain\IIS3 water  
The old woman placed on the fire a large vessel containing water. (TXT-25.048)

**A Lone Noun**, such as the noun for ‘fire’ , illustrated above in (167), may of course also reference an object or participant. More will be said below about the special functions of nouns when occurring with classifiers and of certain nouns or phrases which Longacre (1995) has called Surrogate Nouns.

A **Personal Name** may be grammatically simple or complex, but in either case occur without additional adjuncts to reference particular individuals in a manner equivalent to noun phrases, as in (168).

- (168) Ca<sup>1</sup>tiúh<sup>1</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-prevail\TIC3 John entirely  
John was completely victorious. (TXT-09.143)

A **Numeral or Deictic**, normally elements of a noun-phrase, may also function alone, in the absence of a noun or other noun phrase elements, to reference a participant or object. Lone numerals and a deictic are illustrated in (169) and (170), respectively.

- (169) Hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>dsié<sup>1</sup> dsa lách<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> cai<sup>31</sup>, hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> tánh<sup>1</sup>,  
 that Pst-arrive\AIsC3 3 first street that Pst-reach\IIC3 second  
 hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tó<sup>2</sup> hnøa<sup>12</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>canh<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 that Pst-reach\IIC3 three Pst-fall\AIC3 3  
 Arriving at the first street, and to the second and to the third, he fell down. (TXT-63.008)

- (170) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsan<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-end\IIP3 Aff D1\i  
That is finished. (TXT-03.408)

**The Relative Clause**, the prototypical descriptive modifier within a Chinantec noun phrase, may also stand alone in reference to objects in discourse, although this usage is more common for inanimate referents, as in (171), since the noun *dsa*<sup>2</sup> ‘person’ functions in place of the relative word *hi*<sup>2</sup> ‘that\i’ when the reference is to persons, as in (172), where it can not be shown to be other than a noun phrase head.

- (171) Ju<sup>3</sup> ηii<sup>3</sup>quiin<sup>1</sup> jni ca<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> quie<sup>13</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>.  
 let go\IIs-bring\TIR1s 1s quickly that\i eat\TII1p Asv  
 Let me go quickly to get something for us to eat, OK? (TXT-03.321)
- (172) Hiog<sup>12</sup> dsa hlég<sup>2</sup>, hiog<sup>12</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup> hí<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 hire\TAP3 3 soldier hire\TAP3 3 people care-for\TAI3 of\TIS3 3  
 He hired soldiers; he hired people to protect him. (TXT-05.513)

Anaphors may include any nominal used anaphorically to reference something known from preceding discourse or general knowledge, but there are a few Tlapepuzcan words that are true anaphors, by definition, in that they never introduce new information but only occur in anaphoric

or, occasionally, in cataphoric reference to objects more specifically identified in the immediately context. The animate anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘said person’ is illustrated in (173).

- (173) A<sup>1</sup>jáng<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup> siáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 not=be\IIS3 Ana\ a like animal other\AIS3  
That one is not just some other animal. (TXT-01.107)

**Null Reference** of a known participant is relatively infrequent (in a clause count), but does in fact occur when ambiguity is unlikely, as in (174), where a sequence of five verbs all have the same subject which is overtly referenced only once, by the anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘said person’. In addition, a gap is left at object position within one relative clause, and null reference occurs in respect to that same object in the final clause of the sequence. Null reference is distinguished from gap (Ø) in this illustration by use of the symbol  $\mu$ .

- (174) Chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>1</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> li<sup>1</sup>dsøg<sup>12</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> ,  
 if want\TIS3 Ana\ a Act\I-asertain\AIS3  $\mu$  question of\TIS3  $\mu$  Ø  
 jøng<sup>2</sup> jii<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>, ηii<sup>1</sup>jái<sup>1</sup> .  
 Ana\i come\AIsI3  $\mu$  Aff go\I-see\TID3  $\mu$   $\mu$ ’  
 If the said person wants his request to be granted, then he will come and (he will) see to it.  
 (TXT-22.305)

**Pronouns** reference speakers and hearers in the special context of direct address, whether in actual or reported speech, as illustrated in (175).

- (175) Ju<sup>3</sup> hlanh<sup>13</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup>.  
 may speak\TAD2 2p 1x  
 May you (pl) speak to us! (TXT-22.378)

**Vocative words** may be used both vocatively and in reference to third persons; but when used vocatively, as in (176), they are like second-person pronouns, referencing hearers. Pronouns and noun phrases can also be used vocatively, as in (177).

- (176) Ma<sup>2</sup>guiógh<sup>1</sup> jni tiá<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>mái<sup>13</sup> rai<sup>13</sup>.  
 Prf-come=again\AIsC1s 1s Daddy say\TIP3 daughter\3 king  
 “I’m back, Daddy,” the princess said. (TXT-25.241)

- (177) jmo<sup>3</sup> dsio<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>2</sup> juuh<sup>3</sup>, hniah<sup>12</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup> hniú<sup>12</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>!  
 prepare\TI! little 2p people of\TIS2 house Asv  
 Prepare something good (for us to eat), all of you, you of the household, yes! (TXT-11.051)

With this quick reminder of referencing devices we now turn to some of the ways they are used in Chinantec discourse, beginning with a discussion of the use of how noun phrases are often strung together appositionally for purposes of character development and identification.

With this review of Tlapepuzcan nominals, I now proceed to a limited description of some of the ways speakers use them within oral discourse, beginning with a very common configuration in traditional narrative to introduce a participant for the first time, appositive noun phrases.

## 18.2 The Use of Noun Classifiers

Nouns may stand alone without adjuncts to reference a participant, as in (178); but Tlapepuzco Chinantec seems to be among those languages (cf. Givón 1990:750) that tend to use a noun classifier with a noun to mark it as thematically important, as in (179)–(181).

(178) Ca<sup>1</sup>chiánh<sup>2</sup>      hieh<sup>12</sup>    dsøi<sup>2</sup>.  
       Pst-catch\TAC3 jaguar dog  
       The jaguar caught a dog. (TXT-33.005)

(179) Tif<sup>2</sup>            dsa hniu<sup>3</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup>dsøg<sup>3</sup> tsønh<sup>3</sup>.  
       put\TIsP3 3    placenta      into    Cls-jug worn\IIS3  
       They place the placenta into a worn-out pot. (TXT-52.001)

(180) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tieh<sup>1</sup>                    chi<sup>3</sup>nang<sup>13</sup> na<sup>3</sup>cong<sup>12</sup> tøg<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup>.  
       Ana\i Pst-insert\TIsC3 Fem-rat    Cls-tail    nostril\3    John  
       Then the rat inserted its tail into John's nostril. (TXT-05.409)

(181) Na<sup>3</sup>ñií<sup>3</sup>    jní<sup>2</sup>                    jain<sup>3</sup>      ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
       Cls-metal appear\IIP3 long\IIS3 also  
       It is a piece of steel that looks long as well. (TXT-09.120)

## 18.3 The Use of Names

In traditional Tlapepuzcan narrative, an individual introduced by name is almost always a major participant and is often persistently referenced by name throughout the narrative. For example, in a narrative about a man named Gabino (TXT-05), of 570 references to him, his name is used 81% of the time (463 times) while atonic *dsa* ‘he’ references him only 107 times (19%). In a Tlapepuzcan take on Cinderella, the hero, John Cinders, is referenced 27 times by his full name and 87 times simply as ‘John’.

## 18.4 The Use of Surrogate Nouns

Tlatepuzcan surrogate nouns (Longacre 1995) are in most respects like other nouns, including the fact that they can be morphologically complex, but are characterized by their tendency to persist in any given narrative, almost like personal names and usually without adjuncts, to identify particular participants, typically in reference to their place in society. These include such nouns as *dsa² ta³* ‘town official’, *hlég²* ‘soldier, policeman’, *jmi² dsa²* ‘curate’, and *rai¹³* ‘king’, as in the sequence of sentences (182) – (184).

(182) Jøng² ca¹jii³téh³ dsa jmi² dsa².  
 Ana¹ Pst-go\R-call\TAR3 3 priest  
 So he went and called for the priest. (TXT-09.046)

(183) Ca¹ηó¹ jmi² dsa² quianh¹³ hlég² máh² jøng²,  
 Pst-go\AIsC3 priest with\TAS3 soldier mountain Ana¹  
The priest went off to the forest then with the soldiers then. (TXT-09.047)

(184) Quin¹² jmi² dsa² jmø³guøh¹³, juúh² dsa.  
 carry\TIS3 priest holy=water say\TIP3 3  
The priest took along holy water, they say. (TXT-09.048)

The minor character in a narrative, less often a major character, may be first introduced by a phrase with a noun head like *hio¹³* ‘woman’, *guing²* ‘child’, *hlég²* ‘soldier’, *rai¹³* ‘king’, *dsøi²* ‘dog’, *cuø³* ‘horse’, or a title like *dsa² ta³* ‘town official’ or *jmi² dsa²* ‘curate’. Then, after being introduced in this way, that simple noun tends to recur as the most common form of reference for that participant, much more frequently than would be expected in an English-language narrative which might more quickly resort to the use of pronouns. A typical example is found in (185), where the second reference to the king could just as well have been referenced by atonic *dsa* ‘he’, without loss of information, rather than by the repetition of the noun *rai¹³* ‘king’ (Sp. *rey*).

(185) Ca¹cuø¹ rai¹³ lög² dsi³ rai¹³ ca¹löh¹ Juøn¹³.  
 Pst-give\TIC3 king hat³ king Pst-win\TIC3 John  
 The king gave John the (king’s) crown that John had won. (TXT-47.057)

In a 29-sentence narrative (TXT-14) about a named male and his unnamed wife, she is first introduced as ‘a woman’, referenced subsequently four times as ‘his woman’ (17%), once by the anaphor *héi²* ‘said person’, but *thirteen times* simply as ‘(the) woman’ (56%). Atonic *dsa* ‘s/he/they’ is used three times to reference her jointly with her husband as ‘they

’, but only once to reference her alone as ‘she’ (4%), in a sentence which includes *dsa* two times, once in reference to her and once in reference to him. The husband, on the other hand, who is the main character of the narrative and known by name, after his introduction as ‘a man’, is referenced six times by one of his two names (24%), twice by the anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘said person’, and *thirteen times* by atonic *dsa* ‘he’ (52%), in addition to the three joint references to him and his wife by *dsa* ‘they’.

A string of thirteen consecutive sentences from this text is presented in English translation, in (186), to give a flavor of the persistence of the noun *hio*<sup>13</sup> ‘woman’ without a single use of atonic *dsa* ‘she’. This is typical of the persistent use of surrogate nouns in Tlapepuzcan narrative.

(186) He was married to a woman.

His woman—his woman abandoned him.

(the) woman went off to the base of the sky.

(the) woman was no longer there when he arrived home.

So then he asked around.

He asked someone which way (the) woman had gone.

And someone said, “(the) woman has gone to the base of the sky, (the) woman has.”

So then, he went off looking for (the) woman.

My, that woman was already in the midst of the Pleiades.

(the) woman had risen about halfway when John Light arrived at the foot of the sky.

So both of them traveled along the sky road.

His woman was traveling in the midst of the Pleiades.

(the) woman went on ahead of him. (TXT-14.003–15)

## 18.5 The Use of Appositive Nominals

In traditional narrative, a participant is often introduced by two or more nominals strung together in sequence in appositional relation to one another, each successive nominal progressively adding additional character detail. These apposed elements may include a personal name, data concerning age, sex, provenance, occupation, kinship, human condition, an initial or habitual action, or a specific event in the participant’s life—whatever is important to begin to establish the identity of the new participant. Typical strings of two nominals are presented in English translation in (187); a string of three is presented in (188); and a string of five is presented in (189).

- (187) Gabino, person who used to go hunting long ago (TXT-05.001)  
 an old woman, person who had three sons (TXT-11.001)  
 a man, person who used to work in his field long long ago (TXT-12.001)  
 two youths, youths who went to the forest (TXT-26.001)  
 a drunk, person who drank alcohol every day (TXT-28.002)  
 a person, person who used to make snares (TXT-39.002)  
 a child, orphaned child whom an old woman raised (TXT-47.002)  
 a person who used to hunt, person of Valle Nacional (TXT-49.001)
- (188) a person, person working in the field, person clearing (TXT-024.002)
- (189) a woman, king's daughter, person an orangutan took, person who had gone to the forest,  
 person who had been in her field working near the city (TXT-09.001)

## 18.6 The Use of Null Reference

An example of null reference was given above in (174), where the same referent occurred as Subject of five consecutive verbs and the same object was referenced twice. Null reference in respect to direct objects is much more frequent than null reference in respect to subjects. Another example of null reference in relation to a direct object is found in (190), from a short text that describes the disposal of the placenta of a new-born baby. Early in the text, the placenta (*lit.* 'house of fetus') is introduced as the direct object of the first main verb but is then suppressed as the direct object of the next verb (marked below as  $\mu$ ).

- (190)  $Ti^2$        $dsa$   $hniu^3$   $guiing$   $niuh^1$   $na^3dsog^3$   $ts\o nh^3$ ,     $mi^3$   $j\o ng^2$   $h\o h^2$      $dsa$      $niuh^1$   $hu\o^1$ .  
 put\TIsP3 3    placenta    into    Cls-jug    worn\IIS3    so=that    bury\TII3 3     $\mu$     under ground  
 They place the placenta into a worn-out pot, in order to bury it in the ground. (TXT-52.001)

Then after two sentences dealing with related matters but not the placenta itself, the placenta is, even so, again the unexpressed direct object of two successive verbs, in (191).

- (191)  $Mi^3$   $j\o ng^2$   $hniu^1$      $dsi^1$        $dsa$      $ca^1l\acute{a}h^1$ .  $Mi^3$   $j\o ng^2$   $ds\o^1r\o nh^1$        $dsa$  .  
 so=that    required\IIS3    extract\TIsI3 3     $\mu$     again    so=that    go\I3-scrub\TID3 3     $\mu$   
 Then they will have to take it out again, so they can wash it. (TXT-52.004–005)

The inclusive plural pronoun *jniang*<sup>3</sup> (1i) may be used in generic reference to all persons within a world of discourse, and in this context is sometimes suppressed to null reference. Compare the inclusive pronoun with the exclusive pronoun *jnieh*<sup>3</sup> (1x) in (192) and its overt occurrence in (193).



(192) Tsa<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> he<sup>2</sup> ləa<sup>1</sup> tó<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Neg-know\TIS1p μ why? call\TNP3 3  
No one knows why he is calling. (TXT-26.214)

(193) Jəng<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>3</sup> jnieh<sup>3</sup> hein<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hnáh<sup>12</sup>a.  
 Ana\i Neg-know\TIS1p 1x who? people search\TAP2-2  
We (excl) don't know who you are looking for. (TXT-37.600)

Another example of null reference of *jniang*<sup>3</sup> (1i), from TXT 36, is illustrated in (194), where it is used to state a general prohibition.

(194) Tsa<sup>1</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> lióh<sup>13</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> han<sup>13</sup>, jmai<sup>3</sup> táh<sup>12</sup> həa<sup>3</sup>.  
 Neg-permit\III3 bathe\AII1p μ day holy\AIS3 Easter  
 Bathing is not allowed on holy days such as Easter. (TXT-36.002)

In (195), an alienable third-person possessor (the subject of the allocation verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup>) is null following the equi-subject main verb.

(195) Máí<sup>12</sup> Səa<sup>13</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> , cuøi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuóh<sup>1</sup> dsa Sə<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>cəng<sup>2</sup> ηii<sup>2</sup>.  
 request=return\TIP3 Joseph maize of\TIS3 μ maize Pst-give\DAC3 3 Anastacio Prf-one\i year  
 Joe requests the return of his corn that he gave (on loan) to Anastacio a year ago. (MJA-01.060)

In (196), the inalienable third-person possessor of *roh*<sup>13</sup> is null, following the equi-subject main subject; whereas, in (197), where the inalienable third-person possessor of 'year', when fronted with a question word, is null while preceding the equi-subject main verb.

(196) Ca<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> roh<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-call\TAC3 jaguar partner\3 μ  
 The jaguar called to its mate. (TXT-01.026)

(197) ĭHa<sup>2</sup> cónh<sup>2</sup> ηiih<sup>12</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsié<sup>12</sup> ji<sup>2</sup>guiuh<sup>3</sup> hning?  
 how-much? year\3 μ Prf-arrive\IIsP3 grandfather\2 2s  
 How [his] old is your grandfather? (FLM-02.096)

In contrast with these instances of null reference is (198), where two appositive main verbs and a following possessed noun are all overtly marked for subject and possessor by the repetition of the same overt tonic noun.

(198) Ca<sup>1</sup>ηáh<sup>1</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>3</sup>téh<sup>3</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> roh<sup>13</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>.  
 Pst-go-home\AIsC3 jaguar Pst-go\R-call\TAR3 jaguar partner\3 jaguar  
 The jaguar went back and (jaguar) fetched his fellow jaguar. (TXT-01.078)

In two final examples of null equi reference within a noun phrase modifier, the equi subject of a complement clause is null in both (199) and (200), with a second null reference of the possessor of the object of the complement clause in (200).

(199) dsa<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ηii<sup>12</sup> jmo<sup>1</sup>  
 person not\IIS3 that\i know\TIS3 Ø do\TII3 μ  
 person who does not know what to do (TXT-01.177)

(200) dsa<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>1</sup> tión<sup>2</sup> roh<sup>13</sup>  
 person want\TIS3 Ø disown\TAsI3 μ partner\3 μ  
 person who will want to abandon his partner (TXT-23.190)

## 18.7 The Use of Anaphors

Two pairs of anaphors agree only in gender with referenced participants. One pair of ‘plain’ anaphors, *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘said object’ and *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘said person’, may occur within a noun phrase as the last element of the phrase, or they may occur alone, without other noun phrase elements, as in (201)–(202).

(201) Jó<sup>3</sup> quieg<sup>1</sup> bá<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, guih<sup>13</sup>.  
 request of\TIS1s Aff 1s Ana\i Sir  
That request is my own, Sir. (TXT-22.334)

(202) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup>.  
 not=be\AIS3 Ana\ a present\AIS3  
 No such person is here. (TXT-03.169)

Unlike these plain anaphors, two dramatic anaphors, *he*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\i) and *hein*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\ a), are always cataphoric, occurring immediately preceding a word or phrase to bring it into dramatic focus, as in (203) and (204).

(203) He<sup>3</sup> bá<sup>3</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jágh<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 how!Aff water Pst-come=again\IIsC3 D1\i  
How that water flowed there! (TXT-26.252)

(204) Ca<sup>1</sup>cágh<sup>12</sup> mih<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> guu<sup>12</sup>. Hein<sup>3</sup> guu<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cuøin<sup>1</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-sting\TNC3 wasp of\TIS3 gray=fox how!\ a gray=fox Pst-  
 flee\AIC3 again  
 The wasps stung the fox. How gray fox fled again! (TXT-04.226–27)

Four thousand deictics and anaphors occur in the Tlapezco text database. Of these fully half are occurrences of the inanimate anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> (Ana\i), with its animate counterpart *héi*<sup>2</sup> (Ana\ a)

coming in a distant second at 20%. One of the reasons for the many occurrences of *jøng*<sup>2</sup> is its use in several phrases that have rhetorical function within narrative. Fully 85% of its occurrences are of this nature; namely, *láh*<sup>1</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘thus’, *hi*<sup>2</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘therefore’, *ni*<sup>3</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘after that’, and *jøng*<sup>2</sup> as a conjunction meaning simply ‘and’ or ‘then’. These uses are illustrated in (205)–(208). Notice also a very common locative phrase *ja*<sup>3</sup> *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘that place’ in (208).

(205) Dsio<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> jmi<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, chii<sup>2</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> jmo<sup>12</sup> dsa,  
good\IIS3 Aff say\TIP3 priest if thus\i Ana\i do\TIP3 3

li<sup>1</sup>tsen<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
able-send\TAD3 person Ana\i

“All right,” said the priest, “if that is the way he is behaving, he will need to be sent away.”  
(TXT-09 088–89)

(206) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>bán<sup>2</sup> dsa tsih<sup>2</sup>.  
that\i Ana\i Pst-strike\TAC3 3 youth  
So he struck the children (TXT-04 266).

(207) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup> Ceniza.  
upon Ana\i Pst-call\TAC3 3 again John Ash  
After that, he called for John Ashes again (TXT-11 638).

(208) Jøng<sup>2</sup> guónh<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, ...  
Ana\i arrive-back\AIsC3 3 again where Ana\i  
Then having arrived back again at that place, ...

jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jñie<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
Ana\i Pst-stop\AIC3 3 again  
he then stopped [there] again (TXT-11 034–35).

In (209), a man is interviewing women who had witnessed a certain event. The inanimate anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> (Ana\i) occurs twice, first to reference the fact that Prisciliano’s wife is the second person to be interviewed and, secondly, to reference that she was the second person to pass by where the event had taken place.

(209) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jén<sup>2</sup> dsa hio<sup>13</sup> quián<sup>12</sup> Sø<sup>3</sup>lien<sup>3</sup>,  
Ana Pst-see\TAC3 3 woman\3 of\TAS3 Prisciliano

dsa<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> bíh<sup>3</sup> já<sup>12</sup> chí<sup>3</sup>cén<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
person Ana\i Aff come\AIsP3 μ later\AIS3 3

Then he saw the wife of Prisciliano Gregorio, who had then come along after her [the aforementioned woman]. (TXT-58.008)

There is no inanimate pronoun or semantically bleached-out inanimate noun comparable to the atonic form of the animate noun *dsa* ‘s/he/they’ to anaphorically reference previously referenced inanimate objects in a highly unmarked way. The inanimate anaphor *jøng²* ‘Anaì’ may, thus, be used as the inanimate counterpart to *dsa* in this role, as in (210), where *jøng²* refers back to *na³dsøg³* ‘the jar’.

- (210) Jøng² jne¹                      dsa                      cu² rø²    hag³ na³dsøg³,  
 Anaìi enclose\TII3              3                      properly\IIS3 mouth\3              Cls-jug  
 mi³ jøng² tsa¹dsø¹tóh¹²                      guøh³ niúh¹ jøng².  
 so=that    Neg-go\I3-enter\IIPD3 earth into Anaìi  
 Then they carefully cover the jar, so that dirt will not get into it. (TXT-52 002)

This, however, is not the most common way to reference an inanimate noun in an unmarked way. The expression *hi² jøng²* ‘said thing’, illustrated above in (206) with the rhetorical force ‘therefore’, which is based on the complementizer/relativizer *hi²* ‘that’, is more often used with its more literal interpretation, to reference an inanimate object in a semantically bleached and unmarked way, as in (211).

- (211) Ha¹chii²    hi²    juúh²    dsa hi²    jáinh¹                      dsa²    ná¹²    hi²    jøng².  
 not-be\IIS3 that\i say\TIP3 3    that\i hand-over\TII3 person D1\ a that\i Ana\i  
 He is not saying that that fellow should give that thing back. (TXT-01.197)

Both inanimate *jøng²* ‘said thing’ (in 10% of its occurrences) and its animate counterpart *héi²* ‘said person’ (in 3% of its occurrences) combine with *na¹* ‘now’, to form a Left Dislocation that marks a transition in a narrative to a new topic, as in (212) and (213).

- (212) Jøng² na¹, ca¹neng²                      cøng² sø²ma³¹ ta³    jøng².  
 Anaìi now Pst-dark\IIC3 one\i week    work Anaìi  
So now, night has fallen on one week of that task. (TXT-11 085).

- (213) Héi² na¹, jmáh¹ láh¹ hi²    hen¹²                      báh³ héi²    la³ ηøa¹²                      dsa.  
 Ana\ a now solely    that\i drunk\AIS3 Aff Ana\ a loaf=about\AIP3 3  
But as for that fellow, that one just wandered around drunk (TXT-28 024).

In a less dramatic way, without *na¹* ‘now’, the two anaphors shift into focus an object or participant previously referenced in a nonfocal way, as in (214) and (215).

- (214) Cog³ jøng² báh³ hlian¹³    dsa²    héi².  
 money Anaìi Aff wage\AIS3 person Ana\ a  
That is the money that that fellow earned. (TXT-40.140)

- (215) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 person Ana\ a Pst-Act\ C-of\ TIS3 land  
It was he who became the owner of the land. (TXT-66 010)

### 18.8 The Use of Atonic Nouns

Atonic forms of a few nouns occur in anaphoric (or cataphoric) reference to participants in a discourse, as in (289)–(291).

- (216) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> gan<sup>1</sup> guing jin<sup>3</sup> jan<sup>2</sup>.  
 no=one\ AIS3 that fear\ TAS3 child even one\ a  
The child feared absolutely no one. (TXT-09.078)

- (217) Tsa<sup>1</sup>jog<sup>12</sup> dsa jah.  
 Neg-capture\ TAP3 3 animal  
He does not capture the animals. (TXT-49.009)

Atonic *dsa* ‘s/he/they’ is the most ubiquitous of atonic nouns. Its frequent occurrence in discourse can occasionally provide an interpretive challenge. There is little challenge in (218), however, where, as subject of two consecutive verbs, atonic *dsa* is easily interpreted as referencing the same participant in both cases.

- (218) Ca<sup>1</sup>dsie<sup>1</sup> dsa jóg<sup>3</sup>quianh<sup>13</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hóg<sup>1</sup> jian<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-talk\ TIC3 with person ancient\ AIS3 fellow\ TAP3 3  
They talked together with their fellow ancestors. (TXT-34 007)

In (219), on the other hand, atonic *dsa* occurs twice in reference to two different participants. Nevertheless, the two preceding sentences, “The woman went on ahead of him; but that fellow now, he got left behind,” provide all the background required to make the interpretation routine. And more than that, the sentence that immediately precedes (219) changes the topic to ‘the man’, by use of a Left Dislocation, such that, by all normal expectations, he can safely be inferred to be the continuing subject/topic of this third sentence.

- (219) Ca<sup>1</sup>ηó<sup>1</sup> dsa ta<sup>1</sup> lálh<sup>1</sup> chí<sup>3</sup>cén<sup>1</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-go\ AIsC3 3 unto follow\ AIS3 3  
He went along following after her. (TXT-14.017)

In a similar circumstance, subjective atonic *dsa*, in “He tried to accuse those people without cause” (TXT-58.020), is unambiguously interpreted as referring to the same person referenced as subject of the earlier sentence “After that, the owner of the animal brought suit to the town

authorities” (TXT-58.011), notwithstanding that five other participants are referenced, but never this person, in the eight sentences that intervene between these two sentences. The shared information included in the two sentences provides all the interpretive clues required for a successful interpretation of *dsa*.

Narrators are not all equally skilled, however, and sometimes a particular narrative or the context of delivering it may present a special communicative challenge, with the result that ambiguities or misdirections do occur that hamper interpretation and sure participant identification. A case in point is the identification of the atonic subject noun *dsa* ‘they’ of the utterance verb in sentence 015 of this same TXT-58, represented in English translation in (220).

- (220) (a) So they said that the horse had fallen by itself. (TXT-58.015)  
(b) It was not that anyone had done it. (TXT-58.016)

In the sentence immediately preceding 015, two witnesses testify to village authorities concerning a mare that had been found grazing in the river, outside of its enclosed pasture, that “they did not know anything, because they did not see what had happened” (TXT-58.014). To then interpret the following atonic *dsa* ‘they’ as referencing the continuing testimony of these witnesses, the default interpretation, seems wrong. Sentence 015 appears to state a finding of the court, and not the judgment of witnesses who claim not to have seen anything.

This intuition is supported later in the text by two sentences, represented in (221), which appear to redress the misdirection of sentence 015.

- (221) (c) And they said, when they had returned to the town hall,  
that the horse had fallen into a bad place all by itself. (TXT-58.018)  
(d) It was not that anyone had done it. (TXT-58.019)

In the intervening sentence (017), the village authorities are said to have gone and inspected the alleged crime scene. The atonic subject noun *dsa* ‘they’ of the utterance verb in sentence 018 unquestionably references the village authorities who are also referenced by a second occurrence of atonic *dsa* as those who “had returned to the town hall.”

Stuff happens. I compromised the narration process by having to transcribe it by hand, as quickly as I could, in the days before personal tape recorders. Or the narrator was distracted by

my infant daughter’ s antics. Whatever. He lost concentration and produced a misdirection in communication which he then attempted to mend in the narrative that followed.

## 18.9 The Use of Pronouns

The first and second person singular pronouns have atonic forms, but with a different discourse function than atonic nouns. Tonic pronouns are focal or emphatic, as in (222), whereas atonic forms are nonfocal, as in (223).

(222) Jnɪ² na²jmo¹, juúh² dsa² héi².  
 1s Hod-pretend\TIC1s say\TIP3 person Ana\ a  
 “I am the one who did it,” that one said. (TXT-25.246)

(223) ɿHe² ləa¹ tsa¹dsanh¹² jni hning?  
 why? Neg-find\TAP1s 1s 2s  
 Why couldn’t I find you? (TXT-05.470)

There is no third-person pronoun in Tlapepuzcan Chinantec, but in the context of participant reference, the use of the noun *dsa²* ‘person’ requires special comment. Its atonic form, *dsa* ‘s/he/they’ , is the closest thing to a third-person pronoun, having ambiguous anaphoric force in relation to singular or plural, male or female referents, as illustrated in (224), where it occurs three times and only the larger context tells us that the reference is to a woman.

(224) Jøŋg² ca¹huan¹ dsa tai³ dsa lám¹ cónh¹ bø³jne¹ dsa.  
 Ana Pst-remove\TipC3 3 lower=leg\3 3 at=about knee 3  
 Then she removed her lower legs from about her knees. (TXT-29.037)

In its full form, however, *dsa²* is not at all anaphoric. When standing alone and unmodified as a full tonic form, as in (225), or with only a quantifier, as in (226) and (227), it always introduces new, previously unidentified participants. This functionally corresponds, albeit not morphologically, to *obviative* or fourth-person reference of other languages.

(225) Ca¹nji¹hniangh¹³ dsa cuøi² ja³ ma²ca¹huøi² cuøi² quiah¹² dsa².  
 Pst-go\C-search\TID3 3 maize where Prf-Pst-harvest\IIC3 maize of\3in person  
 They went in search of maize where the harvest of others was already done. (TXT-19.165)

(226) Jan² dsa² mi³quianh¹³ dsa.  
 one\ a person Impf-accompany\TAS3 3  
 He had one person with him. (TXT-05.164)

(227) Mi<sup>3</sup>tiogh<sup>3</sup>            mih<sup>2</sup>        dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 Impf-reside\AIP3   few\AIS3 people  
 There were just a few people there. (TXT-34.027)

In some contexts, the unmodified *dsa*<sup>2</sup> specifically contrasts a participant as being ‘other’ than known participants, as in (228) and (229).

(228) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca'jmo<sup>1</sup>        dsa ta<sup>3</sup>    quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-do\TIC3 3    work of\TIS3 other=person  
 So he worked for others. (TXT-26.181)

(229) ;Tsa<sup>1</sup>cánh<sup>3</sup>        hning hi<sup>2</sup>    rø<sup>2</sup>quie<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>!  
 Neg-take\TIR1s 2s    that\i lie\IIS3 of\TIS3 somebody=else  
 Never take things that belong to other people! (MJM-04.007)

As mentioned above, the tonic form *dsa*<sup>2</sup> also functions like a relative pronoun ‘who’ when occurring with a relative clause modifier in lieu of another animate noun as head. In this role, whether with or without modifiers, *dsa*<sup>2</sup> can be made anaphoric by appending the anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘said person’, as in (230), where the anaphor occurs in each of these contexts.

(230) Láh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    héi<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>ηó<sup>13</sup>    ηie<sup>3</sup>                    héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 thus        Aff say\TIP3 person Ana\a who long=time go=and=come\AIP3 Ana\a  
 So said said person, said one who had been going for a long time. TXT-02.043

## 18.10 Major and Minor Characters

Analysts commonly recognize a variety of participant roles within discourse, distinguishing major and minor participants, and various types of props that provide background and settings for events as well as objects which play passive or only marginally active roles. The difference between major and minor participants is not always clear and participants may vary in prominence over the duration of an extended narrative. A standard measure between the two types is number and frequency of reference, how much stage time does a particular participant get; and, secondly, which participants are the most frequent agents of action, as opposed to recipients or objects of action.

But, for the most part, the same devices used to reference major participants are also used to reference minor ones in Tlatepuzcan discourse. Factors other than prominence are in play in respect to their use. In the brief synopsis of participant reference in TXT-14 given immediately above, the frequent use of the anaphor *dsa* ‘s/he’ for the most prominent character (the man)



and its rare use in reference to the less prominent character (his wife) is not a direct function of their respective prominence. It is, rather, a function of his being *named* (which *is* a mark of his prominence) and that she is merely ‘the woman’ or ‘his woman’. It is the use of the noun ‘woman’ as a surrogate noun to identify her that results in reduced reference to her by *dsa*, because of the Tlapepuzcan tendency for surrogate nouns to persist as a less marked reference tool, more so than a name which is itself more highly marked. I believe that it is this relative markedness, then, that results in her being referenced much less frequently by *dsa* in this text than he.

## 19. Focus and Topic

The flow of old and new information is managed, in part, by the rhetorical functions of topicalization and focus. A number of syntactic devices speakers use to direct the flow of new information into a discourse are presented in this chapter.

All fluent Chinantec speakers and hearers already share knowledge prior to initiating speech among themselves, even if they have never met before. They know where the sun rises, that roosters may crow at any hour of the day or night, and innumerable other things about the world and society. If they do not know each other personally, any of a number of conversation openers are available, mostly in the form of questions. Take two men who meet for the first time along a path, one of whom might begin with one of the following questions:

- (231) ¿Ha<sup>2</sup> gúh<sup>3</sup> hning, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>?      Where are you going, Sir?  
¿Ha<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ηieh<sup>1</sup> hning, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>?      Where have you been, Sir?  
¿He<sup>2</sup> quiinh<sup>3</sup> hning ja<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup>, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>?      What have you got there, Sir?

In asking such questions, a speaker already knows certain basic things about the situation before him. His addressee appear to be a male. He can, and should, use the term of address *Guiuh*<sup>13</sup> ‘Sir’. The man is travelling to and from somewhere and has something in a bag over his shoulder or on his back. The underscored words in (231), *in fronted position*, constitute requests for *new information*. So, in a question of this kind, *old information follows* the question word; namely, the man is going somewhere, he has come from somewhere, or he is carrying something.

Now, typical answers to these questions might be as in (232), where the response is straightforward, using normal word order (VSL, VSO), with the new information about location and direct object following the old information (apart from the vocative).

- (232) Nei<sup>3</sup> jni jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>      I am going to town, Sir  
Na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>ηie<sup>1</sup> jni jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>.      I have been to town, Sir.  
Na<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>lií<sup>3</sup> jni mih<sup>2</sup> tah<sup>12</sup> u<sup>3</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup>, Guiuh<sup>13</sup>.      I have purchased a bit of sugar, Sir.

Or the addressee might just as easily respond as in (233), *fronting the new information* to give it more FOCUS, also adding the Affirmation Modal *báh*<sup>3</sup>, as in the first two answers, or not, as in the last.

- (233) Jø³juøi² báh³ nei³ jni, Guiuh¹³ It is to town I am going, Sir  
Jø³juøi² báh³ na²u³ñie¹ jni, Guiuh¹³. It is to town I have been, Sir.  
Tah¹² u³ cuøi² na²u³li³ jni mih², Guiuh¹³. It is Sugar that I have purchased a bit of, Sir.

In this last response, the addressee has generously answered the question and has contributed additional, unrequested information, by changing the verb in his response from *quiiñ³* ‘carry’ to *lá¹²* ‘purchase’. This is incidental new information, easily presumed by the first speaker without mention, and is presented without special linguistic marking or flourish.

The focus we see in the fronting of these answers in (233), conforms to our intuition that the original question words in (231), also fronted, are in focus as well (Givón 1990:713).

An encounter along a trail like this, is typically short, and may end after a first Q-A exchange, with a departing greeting. But if the conversation is to continue between these unacquainted men, further new information is typically sought by additional questions of the following sort, in order to establish a richer basis for continuing discourse.

- (234) ¿He² tsenh² hning, Guiuh¹³? What is your name, Sir?  
 ¿Ha² chianh² hning, Guiuh¹³? Where are you from, Sir?  
 ¿He² tsen² ti³ñieih¹² hning, Guiuh¹³? What is your father’s name, Sir?

Without further pursuing this specific discourse, we will, rather, turn to a more detailed discussion of some of the devices used to manage old and new information. We have already learned that FRONTING and AFFIRMATION are two such devices; these will be explored more thoroughly below along with LEFT DISLOCATION, as a TOPICALIZATION device.

## 19.1 Pragmatic Functions

Fronting focus and Affirming are very closely associated, both placing items in focus, but affirming is more marked than simple fronting, since it usually involves fronting as well as the modal word *báh³* (Aff). We will first discuss Chinantec fronting without affirmation, and then stir in affirmation with it. Dramatic Focus is then illustrated.

## 19.2 Fronting Focus

We have seen above that new information can appear, without special grammar, early or late in a sentence with normal word order. In the third sentence of (232) above, both the identification of ‘sugar’ as the item being carried by the stranger, occurring late in the sentence,

and the fact of its ‘purchase’ by the stranger, occurring early in the sentence, are new information. With normal word order, location within a sentence is not indicative in respect to whether information is old or new. In (235), the verb *ca<sup>1</sup>hen<sup>1</sup>* ‘was ruined’ occurs in its normal position preceding its subject and conveys new information about that subject, which is known and referenced by the atonic anaphor *dsa* ‘their’. Then, in the sentence that follows in the original text, here produced as (236), with normal word order being PSComp, this known information (‘their bodies’) is fronted and placed in focus along with further new detail (‘half of’); while additional new detail also appears at the end of the sentence; namely, that the half of their body in focus has been transformed to be like the body of a fish (as you might guess, from a traditional creation myth concerning mermaids).

(235) *Ca<sup>1</sup>hen<sup>1</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.*  
Pst-ruin\IIC3 of\TIS3 3  
Their bodies were ruined. (TXT-36.012)

(236) *Ca<sup>2</sup> hñang<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>løa<sup>1</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> hñiu<sup>2</sup>.*  
one part of\TIS3 3 Pst-become\IIC3 of\TIS3 catfish  
Half of their bodies became that of a catfish. (TXT-36.013)

In order to illustrate fronting, and the other devices for marking focus and topicalization, I will make reference to a few sentences from a traditional text about the life of Christ (TXT-37), which I present in English translation, in (237), for purposes of reference.

(237) <sup>1128</sup> They were thinking that God was to be pitied being hung on the cross naked.  
<sup>1129</sup> Therefore they went and stole a piece of cloth from the people in a store, they say.  
<sup>1130</sup> With this cloth they went and wrapped God’s loins.  
<sup>1131</sup> Because, “poor God!” they thought, “God is fastened to the cross naked.”  
<sup>1132</sup> Then, there were some thieves, they say.  
<sup>1133</sup> As for those thieves now, they arrested them also.  
<sup>1134</sup> They crucified the thieves.  
<sup>1135</sup> Upside down they crucified the thieves, in that same place there where God was crucified.

More will be said in the next chapter about the packaging of information in this passage, but there are two cases of simple fronting that I will mention here. First, sentence 1130, shown in (238), exhibits fronting focus of an anaphoric first object (this cloth), that refers back to its first reference in sentence 1129. Here, ‘this cloth’ is the first of two objects of the ditransitive inanimate verb ‘wrap around’, normal order of which would be VSO<sup>1</sup>O<sup>2</sup>.

(238) Hmøah<sup>12</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>3</sup>guionh<sup>13</sup> dsa huu<sup>13</sup> hñioh<sup>1</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 cloth Ana\i Pst-go\R-wrap\DIR3 3 loins\3 God  
With this cloth they went and wrapped God's loins. (TXT-37.1130)

The second case of fronting in this passage is found in the first part of sentence 1135, presented in (239), which recapitulates sentence 1134, with added fronted information (as well as additional anaphoric reference in the second half of the sentence). In 1135a, an adverbial adjunct clause is added in focal position, and the equi object of the recapitulated remainder (the thieves) is reduced to a null reference.

(239) Ta<sup>1</sup> lách<sup>1</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>jén<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> høin<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tion<sup>1</sup> dsa cróg<sup>13</sup>, ...  
 unto upside-down\AIS3 thief Pst-attach\DAC3 3 μ cross  
The thieves being upside down were crucified, ... (TXT-37.1135a)

Any clause adjunct can be placed in focus by simple fronting—Location, Time, Associative, Instrument—as in (240)–(243).

(240) Juu<sup>12</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa, juu<sup>12</sup> dsii<sup>3</sup>guøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 path above Pst-go\AIpC3 3 path sky  
Up above they traveled, through the air. (TXT-05.388)

(241) Na<sup>1</sup> lóh<sup>13</sup> jni.  
 now bathe\AIII1s 1s  
Right now I will bathe. (TXT-11.882)

(242) Quianh<sup>13</sup> jmi<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>, quianh<sup>13</sup> hlég<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 with\TAS3 priest go\AIpI1p 1i with\TAS3 soldier say\TIP3 3  
“Accompanied by the priest, we will go, and with soldiers,” he said. (TXT-09.044)

(243) Quianh<sup>13</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>2</sup> ñieih<sup>13</sup> jón<sup>2</sup> Juøn<sup>13</sup>.  
 means that Ana\i forthwith die\AIsI3 John  
By that means, forthwith, John will die. (TXT-11.737)

### 19.3 Affirmation

Focus is expressed, simply, in Tlatepuzcan Chinantec, by fronting—placing an element at the far left of its clause or sentence. More often than not, however, focus by fronting is accompanied by Affirmation, expressed by the addition of the Affirmation Modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> as the final element of the focused constituent. Virtually any element of a clause or sentence may be placed in affirmed focus in this way.

We will return later to TXT-37, but will here look at affirmation in a sequence of consecutive sentences from TXT-14 (about a husband and wife who became stars), in which several constituents are in affirmed focus. The passage is presented in English translation in (244).

- (244) <sup>8</sup> He asked someone where his wife had gone.  
<sup>9</sup> And the person said, “The woman has gone to the foot of the sky.”  
<sup>10</sup> So then, now, he went off to look for her.  
<sup>11</sup> She was already among the Pleiades.  
<sup>12</sup> The woman had risen about halfway when John Light arrived at the foot of the sky.  
<sup>13</sup> So along the sky road they traveled along together.  
<sup>14</sup> His wife was going along among the Pleiades.  
<sup>15</sup> She was ahead of him.  
<sup>16</sup> As for that fellow, now, he fell behind.  
<sup>17</sup> He went along following after her.

We have noted that questions entail focus, so that the affirming focal response in sentence 9 to the question in 8 conforms to our expectations, as seen in (245).

- (245) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, hio<sup>13</sup> ŋó<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hio<sup>13</sup>.  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 person woman go\AIsP3 Ø road base\3 sky Aff woman  
 And someone said, “The woman is one who has gone to the foot of the sky.” (TXT-14.009)

In fact, affirmation seems to create a predication, as indicated in (245), which, translated mechanically, yields “the woman *is a woman-gone-to-foot-of-sky*,” where the final noun *hio<sup>13</sup>* ‘woman’ is the old-information subject, while the noun phrase *hio<sup>13</sup> ŋó<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup>* ‘woman who is gone to the foot of the sky’, followed by *báh<sup>3</sup>* (Aff), is the focused, new-informational predicate. The first occurrence of the noun ‘woman’ is the head of the noun phrase, leaving a gap in normal subject position following the verb *ŋó<sup>12</sup>* ‘go’.

With long affirmations of this type, analytical questions may arise that can yield to more than one interpretation of the syntax. For example, it is conceivable that the modal *báh<sup>3</sup>* could be the immediate syntactic partner of just the locative *huu<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup>* ‘foot of the sky’. Or of *juu<sup>12</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup>* ‘to the foot of the sky’. Or of the noun-phrase modifier *ŋó<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> huu<sup>13</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup>* ‘(who) has gone to the foot of the sky’. Rather than to the entire noun phrase ‘a woman who has gone to the foot of the sky’. But the principle of analytical simplicity argues for the entire NP as its partner.

This is so because the two most basic and ubiquitously attested facts are that (1) affirmed constituents are fronted and that (2) *báh<sup>3</sup>* is the final element of an affirmed constituent. While

more than one element can be placed in focus in a sentence by fronting, as we saw above in (243), this is not the case here and there are no other syntactic facts available to argue for a better solution than the one chosen. Distinctions between such analyses appear to be moot.

In sentence 10 of the text, the narrator shifts to the husband as a new topic, using Left Dislocation, which is discussed below, but then the wife is brought back into dramatic focus in 11 by use of the animate dramatic anaphor *hein*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\A), as in (548).

- (246) *Hein*<sup>3</sup> *hio*<sup>13</sup>    *ma*<sup>2</sup>*hiúg*<sup>3</sup>    *jøa*<sup>3</sup>    *quiah*<sup>12</sup>    *cu*<sup>3</sup>*møi*<sup>2</sup>.  
 that! woman Prf-be\AIsS3 among of\TIS3 Pleiades  
My! The woman was already among the Pleiades. (TXT-14.011)

In sentence 12, two clauses are joined in neutral, unfocused order before a second example of affirmation occurs in sentence 13, presented below in (247), where focus is placed on anaphorically referenced plural subjects (husband and wife) having now begun to travel together across the sky. Without such focus, the locative *juu*<sup>12</sup> *dsøa*<sup>1</sup> ‘along the sky road’ would normally follow the Predicate and Subject *ca*<sup>1</sup>*ñii*<sup>1</sup>*lén*<sup>2</sup> *dsa* ‘they traveled along’, with only the conjunctive anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘so’ preceding the predicate, and the appositive Subject, *cu*<sup>1</sup> *dsié*<sup>12</sup> ‘together’ would be appended in final position as in (247).

- (247) *Jøng*<sup>2</sup> *juu*<sup>12</sup> *dsøa*<sup>1</sup> *báh*<sup>3</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*ñii*<sup>1</sup>*lén*<sup>2</sup>    *dsa* *cu*<sup>1</sup> *dsié*<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana road sky Aff Pst-go\AIP3 3 together  
 So, it is across the sky that they traveled along, together. (TXT-14.013)

In sentence 14 that follows, shown in (248), the woman’s journey to the Pleiades is highlighted by affirming focus on the verb *ñó*<sup>12</sup> ‘go’; and then, two sentences later, shown as (249), the topic switches again to the husband, again by Left Dislocation, and his lagging behind is highlighted, again by affirming focus on the verb *ca*<sup>1</sup>*cën*<sup>2</sup> ‘fell behind’.

- (248) *Ñó*<sup>12</sup>    *báh*<sup>3</sup> *hio*<sup>13</sup>    *quián*<sup>12</sup>    *dsa* *jan*<sup>3</sup>    *cu*<sup>3</sup>*møi*<sup>2</sup>.  
 go\AIsP3 Aff woman of\TAS3 3 among\A Pleiades  
 His wife was going along among the Pleiades. (TXT-14.014)

- (249) *Héi*<sup>2</sup>    *na*<sup>1</sup>, *ca*<sup>1</sup>*cën*<sup>2</sup>    *báh*<sup>3</sup> *héi*<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\A now Pst-fall=behind\TMC3 Aff Ana\A  
 As for that fellow now, he fell behind. (TXT-14.016)

Further examples of Affirming Focus on a variety of constituents are presented in (250)–(256). No shift from normal word order is required when a constituent normally in initial position is placed in focus, as in the case of verb as main predicate or conjunction.

(250) ɲii³jái¹ báh³ jni².  
go\IIs-see\TID1s Aff 1s  
I will go see. (TXT-01.120)

(251) Ca² tí² báh³ gúh³ hning.  
quickly Aff go\AIsI2 2s  
You'll be gone only very briefly! (TXT-37.080)

(252) Jøŋg² báh³ ho¹² dsa.  
Ana\i Aff weep\AIP3 3  
That is why she is crying. (TXT-37.550)

(253) Jmø¹guói¹ báh³ li¹rø².  
world Aff Act\I-true\IIS3  
The world will be set in order. (TXT-37.211)

(254) Hniú¹² ió¹ báh³ cuø¹³ jni, hniu³ cuø³.  
house D2 Aff give\TII1s 1s house\3 horse  
That house over there is what I will give, the horse barn. (TXT-37.295)

(255) Dsii³guøi² báh³ ca¹hløah¹ dsa, juúh² dsa.  
sky Aff Pst-speak\TIC3 3 say\TIP3 3  
It was from the sky that he spoke, they say. (TXT-37.225)

(256) Ma²ŋii³ jáŋg¹ báh³ ca¹tsø³juen¹³ jan² dsa² jmai³ jan¹² jni la² quieg¹.  
awhile-back Aff Pst-pass\AIC3 one\ə person when plant\TIP1s 1s Prx of\TIS1s  
It was some time ago that a fellow passed by here while I was planting my crop. (TXT-37.685)

In the case of affirming certain close-knit constructions, such as the inalienable nouns in (257) of (258), or the adverbial phrase of (259), *báh³* follows the first word immediately, but the remainder of the constituent is also fronted following *báh³*. In (260), an associated anaphor is fronted together with an affirmed subject noun phrase.

(257) Juøh¹² hniú¹² quián² báh³ jniang³ ca¹cuøh¹³ jniang³ dsa.  
large\IIsS3 house of\TIS1p Aff 1i Pst-give\DAC1p 1i 3  
Our house is large that we gave them. (TXT-37.340)

(258) Roh¹³ báh³ hieh¹² ca¹tánh².  
companion\3 Aff jaguar Pst-fall\AIsC3  
It was the jaguar's buddy that had fallen. (TXT-01.096)



(259) Tiog<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> gúh<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 assuredly Aff finally go\AIsI2 2s  
It is absolutely necessary that you go. (TXT-37.089)

(260) Hính<sup>3</sup> tsøh<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hui<sup>3</sup> dsii<sup>2</sup>jmøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 reflection\3 moon Aff Ana\i be=on\IIS3 Ø mid-water  
It was the moon's reflection that was on the water. (TXT-03.399)

In (261), affirming focus is placed on a quantifier within a noun phrase. Not only is the remainder of the noun phrase fronted along with the quantifier and *báh<sup>3</sup>*, an entire additional appositive noun phrase is also fronted as well.

(261) Jan<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> hnio<sup>1</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> ca'løa<sup>1</sup>.  
 one\A Aff person who love\TAS3 Ø God Pst-happen\IIC3  
There was just one person who loved God to be found. (TXT-38.206)

The Affirmation Modal can also occur more than once in a single constituent. In (262), a sentence about a man with a jaguar companion spirit that was killed when attacking someone in the forest, both the verb *ca'lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup>* 'lived' and the temporal constituent *ca'láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jii<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup>* 'about one year' appear to be affirmed, without any change in word order.

(262) Ca'lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa ca'láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jii<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 Aff 3 about one\i year=long Aff  
He lived only about a year. (TXT-06.220)

As argued above, it is perhaps moot as to whether the final *báh<sup>3</sup>* has just the temporal constituent or the entire sentence as its partner; but having an affirmation within an affirmation does not compute very well either. This sentence appears in a string of three sentence: *He did not live long after that. He lived only about a year. Because then he also died.* The first affirmation places the verb 'lived' in contrastive focus with the preceding negative 'did not live long'; the second affirmation elucidates the shortness of the time frame 'not long' by affirming it to have been 'about one year'.

Approximately the same force could have been achieved by merely affirming and fronting the temporal constituent, as in *Ca'láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jii<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca'lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> dsa*. Or, if it is important to place focus on both the temporal and the verb, as in the text, it would still be possible to front the temporal constituent, as in *Ca'láh<sup>1</sup> cónh<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> jii<sup>2</sup> jmai<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> ca'lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa*.

A similar example of affirming focusing on two elements of a clause is found in (263), where both the verbal idiom *túgh<sup>3</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup>* ‘trust’ and the Direct Object *jní<sup>2</sup>* (1s) are affirmed. This sentence occurs in the midst of the three sentences: *You will not die. Because you will trust me, understand? You can do this!* The occurrence of *báh<sup>3</sup>* (Aff) and the subject pronoun *hning* (2s) in the middle of an idiom based on *túgh<sup>3</sup>* ‘sit\AIpI2’ + *hogh<sup>12</sup>* ‘heart\2’ is syntactically common, inasmuch as the idiom can occur either intransitively as *túgh<sup>3</sup> hogh<sup>12</sup> hning*, as here, or as a transitive expression *túgh<sup>3</sup> hning hogh<sup>12</sup>*, with the same semantic force.

- (263) Dóh<sup>3</sup> túgh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning hogh<sup>12</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>.  
 but trust\DAI2 Aff 1s Aff Prot  
 Because you will trust me, understand? (TXT-11.806)

A final example of three consecutive sentences has six affirmed elements, one each in the first and third sentences and three in the second sentence. In these sentences, a folk hero challenges a rich king to a personal contest between them. The repeated affirmations build to a crescendo of affirmations: The hero will bathe, he will act only conditionally, the king himself also must bathe, together they will bathe.

- (264) Jmó<sup>13</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup> cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup>.  
 do\TII1s Aff 1s extremely work  
 I will indeed do this task. (TXT-11.831)

- (265) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jmó<sup>13</sup> jni mi<sup>3</sup>né<sup>3</sup>  
 but that Ana\i Aff do\TII1s 1s Prot  
 chii<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> lóh<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> hning<sup>2</sup> hñiah<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>.  
 if bathe\AII2 Aff 2s Refl\2s Aff  
 But this I will do only if you yourself will also bathe. (TXT-11.832)

- (266) Cu<sup>1</sup> dsié<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> lióh<sup>13</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup>.  
 together Aff bathe\AII1p 1i  
It will be together that we will bathe. (TXT-11.833)

Fronting and Affirming with *báh<sup>3</sup>* (Aff) is a primary strategy for marking CONTRASTIVE FOCUS in Chinantec. In (267) and (268), a conflict of opinion is highlighted by placing focus on two consecutive verbs, ‘permit’ and ‘deceive’, following the sentence that says, *They did not believe what people were saying about not being able to bathe during Lent*. (TXT-36 005)

(267) Lé<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> lóh<sup>12</sup> dsa, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 permit\III3 Aff bathe\AIP3 3 say\TIP3 3 say\TIP3 3  
 “It’s okay to bathe,” they said, they say. (TXT-36.006)

(268) La<sup>3</sup> mi<sup>2</sup>gag<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>lé<sup>2</sup> lóh<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 just deceive\AIP3 Aff person that Neg-permit\III3 bathe\AIP3 3  
 “They are simply lying that you cannot bathe.” (TXT-36.007)

Contrastive Focus is also shown in (269), which follows the sentence, *No one came back to live here anymore.* (TXT-66 002)

(269) Ca<sup>1</sup>ηii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-go\AIpC3 Aff 3  
 They went away. (TXT-66.003)

In (270), contrastive focus is shown twice in a sentence that consists of a conjunction and three relative clauses based on *ηøa*<sup>12</sup> ‘walk, live’. The first two clauses are focused and descriptive of the third. The sentence that precedes, showing the contrast, states, *Because I have never touched anyone wherever I have gone, whatever path I have traveled.* (TXT-01.139)

(270) Dóh<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ηøa<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>,  
 because that\i Pst-walk\AIsC1s one\i way\3 Aff 1s  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup> hiug<sup>2</sup> dsøa<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jní<sup>2</sup>, hi<sup>2</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup> jni.  
 who walk\AIsP3 agree\AIS1s Aff 1s that\i walk\AIsP1s 1s  
 Because I always live circumspectly, I live as a considerate person. (TXT-01.140)

#### 19.4 Dramatic Focus

Dramatic refocusing is signaled by the anaphoric gender pair *he*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\i) and *hein*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\ə), which always occur as the first element of a constituent to bring it into striking focus. Preceding a clause, inanimate *he*<sup>3</sup> would seem to function syntactically like a manner adverb, but when either *he*<sup>3</sup> or *hein*<sup>3</sup> precede a noun its syntactic function is more like that of a predicate since this is otherwise the normal position only for quantifiers. Such nouns always represent old information, thereby defining the force of *he*<sup>3</sup> and *hein*<sup>3</sup> as anaphoric. Both of these dramatic-focus elements may occur in close association with other focus devices, such as other anaphors, left-dislocation, affirmation, and, by definition, they always entail fronting.

The inanimate form *he*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\i) may occur preceding a clause to bring a situation into dramatic focus, as in (271)–(273). Notice that in the third of these examples the focus of *he*<sup>3</sup> is on John’s perceived character rather than on him directly, as an animate entity.

(271) Ca<sup>1</sup>cúg<sup>2</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup>. He<sup>3</sup> tø<sup>2</sup>ho<sup>12</sup> hieh<sup>12</sup> ηáh<sup>12</sup> .  
 Pst-burn\AIC3 jaguar Dr\i p-howl\AIP3 jaguar go=home\AIsP3 Ø  
 Jaguar got burned. My how he howled as he ran home! (TXT-03.130–31)

(272) He<sup>3</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa jan<sup>3</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa. Dsø<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> dsa jan<sup>3</sup>.  
 Dr\i go\AIP3 3 dance say\TIP3 3 go\AIP3 much\IIS3 3 dance  
 “My how they are dancing,” he says. “They are dancing like crazy.” (TXT-03.314–15)

(273) He<sup>3</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>dsiogh<sup>1</sup>o Juan Ceniza, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Dr\i Neg-good\AIS2-2 John ash say\TIP3 3  
 “My but you are a bad one, John Ashes!” she said. (TXT-11.486)

*He*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\i) may function like an English rhetorical question, as in (274).

(274) He<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>hiih<sup>3</sup> hning.  
 Dr\i that Neg-ashamed\AIS2 2s  
How is it that you are not ashamed? (TXT-54.029)

Preceding an inanimate NP, as in the second of the three sentences in (275), it acts syntactically as a Presentative Predicate with Dramatic Focus, albeit with a previously introduced referent.

(275) Jéinh<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2</sup> quiánh<sup>2</sup>. He<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2</sup> la<sup>2</sup>! Guønh<sup>2</sup>!  
 return\III3 Aff letter of\TIS2 Dr\i letter Prx go=home\AIs!  
 You will get your letter back. Here’s your letter! Now scram! (TXT-09.246–48)

In (276), *he*<sup>3</sup> occurs together with the affirmative modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> to dramatically focus an inanimate referent.

(276) He<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>liugh<sup>3</sup> dsa jní<sup>2</sup> , juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Dr\i Aff story Pst-prattle\DNC2 3 1s Ø say\TIP3 3  
 “My, how he prattled on to me,” she said. (TXT-47.382)

The animate form *hein*<sup>3</sup> (Drama\A) can also occur syntactically as a Presentative Predicate with Dramatic Focus preceding an animate NP that references a known participant, as in (277).

(277) Dsa<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> tiá<sup>3</sup>. Hein<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> já<sup>12</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 person D1\i Ana\A Daddy Dr\A who come\AIsP3 Ø D1\i  
 That’s him right there, Daddy! Therehe comes right there! (TXT-25.342–43)

In (278), *hein*<sup>3</sup> occurs after a Left Dislocation that resets the stage to dramatically focus upon the calming down of an absolutely inconsolable child.

(278) Ca<sup>1</sup>lá<sup>1</sup> dsa baraja jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, hein<sup>3</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>cén<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 Pst-buy\TIC3 3 cards Ana\i now that baby Pst-calm\AIC3 say\TIP3 3  
 Now then, when she had bought the cards, My, how the child quieted down, they say.  
 (TXT-47.022)

In (279), *hein*<sup>3</sup> occurs after a Left-Dislocated phrase and with the affirmation modal *báh*<sup>3</sup> to bring dramatic presentative focus to a previously referenced, major participant ‘horse’ from TXT-11.

(279) Jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ió<sup>1</sup> chi<sup>3</sup>hmih<sup>12</sup>,  
 Ana\i now when Pst-do\TIC3 person D2\ a STA\s-close=eyes\AIP3 μ  
 hein<sup>3</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> cuø<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jógh<sup>12</sup> juu<sup>12</sup> jmø<sup>3</sup>ñih<sup>13</sup>.  
 Dr\ a Aff horse Prf-return=home\AIP3 path ocean  
 Now then, no sooner had that person closed her eyes tightly than my, how the horse began heading home across the ocean. (TXT-11.481)

In (280), *hein*<sup>3</sup> places dramatic presentative focus on a re-introduced participant in conjunction with the anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘the aforementioned person’.

(280) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>tan<sup>1</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup>, hein<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>  
 person Ana\ a who Prf-Act\C-accustom\AIC3 travel\AIP3 Dr\ a person Ana\ a  
 ma<sup>2</sup>guønh<sup>12</sup> ton<sup>1</sup> dsøh<sup>13</sup> máh<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsøi<sup>2</sup>.  
 Prf-arrive=home\AIP3 halfway mountain Ana\i when Pst-come\AIP3 dog  
 That fellow, who was accustomed to going out, My, but that one was already halfway back through the forest when the dogs started coming. (TXT-06.091)

In answer to a direct question, *hein*<sup>3</sup> places the inquired-of person in focus, but the element of drama is not particularly apparent. The usage is not unlike an answer that would employ the anaphoric phrase *dsa*<sup>2</sup> *héi*<sup>2</sup>, but in (281), both *héi*<sup>2</sup> and *jnung*<sup>2</sup> have just been used in the question itself, this begs for the use of different topicalizing anaphor, such as *hein*<sup>3</sup> in the answer.

(281) Naih<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> jnung<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.  
 where? person that\ a say\TIP3 person Ana\ a  
 “Where is that fellow?” the man said. (TXT-09.020)

Hein<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ηøa<sup>12</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> núng<sup>1</sup> dsø<sup>2</sup>chiánh<sup>2</sup> jáh<sup>2</sup>.  
 Dr\ a person travel\AIP3 forest go\ P3-hunt\TAD3 μ animal  
 “He is out in the forest, hunting game.” (TXT-09.021)

## 19.5 Ordering by Left Dislocation

A Tlapepuzcan Left Dislocation (LD) is a fronted constituent ending with the adverb *na'* ‘now’ that is separated intonationally from a close syntactic constituent that follows by a brief pause. Tlapepuzcan LD is anaphoric and attention-getting. Its syntactic relation with the element that follows is either ORDERED or TOPICALIZING.

In its most simple form, the relation is ORDERED, where *na'* ‘now’ accompanies one of three anaphoric conjunctions—*jøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘given the foregoing’, *hi<sup>2</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup>* ‘consequently’, or *ni<sup>3</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup>* ‘after the foregoing’—to draw attention to the fact that the anaphorically referenced situation or event is ordered in respect to what follows, either logically or temporally. In this context, the conjunctions *jøng<sup>2</sup>* and *hi<sup>2</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup>* have roughly the same semantic force, indicating generally that the subsequent situation is an outcome of the foregoing one. The conjunction *ni<sup>3</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup>* (from *ni<sup>3</sup>* ‘upon’ and *jøng<sup>2</sup>* ‘the foregoing’) tends to have a more narrowly temporal interpretation. These uses are illustrated in (282)–(284).

(282) Jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, quieg<sup>1</sup> jni<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>jián<sup>1</sup> dsóg<sup>3</sup> jniang<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>jóg<sup>2</sup>.  
 Ana\i now of\TIS1s 1s first go\AIp1p 1i Pst-say\TIC3 opossum  
So then, “First let’s go do mine,” said Possum. (TXT-03.009)

(283) Hi<sup>2</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, hñiah<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 consequently now Refl\3s Aff elderly=woman Pst-die\AIsC3 say\TIP3 3  
So then, now, the old woman herself died, they say. (TXT-25.052)

(284) Ni<sup>3</sup> jæng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, tsa<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>2</sup> dsóa<sup>12</sup> hio<sup>13</sup> góah<sup>1</sup> hñiah<sup>12</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 afterwards now Neg-courageous\AIS3 woman eat\TII3 Refl\3s also  
Now after that, then, the woman herself also did not have the courage to eat. (TXT-02.126)

In a syntactically more complex ORDERED use of LD, *na'* ‘now’ combines with an entire clause which amplifies or simply reiterates reference to a situation that is temporally prior to that which follows. In (285), the LD clause has all the syntactic characteristics of a dependent temporal clause, so that its dislocation from what follows merely draws attention to the ordered relationship that exists between two events. In (286), however, the LD clause shows no syntactic characteristics of a dependent clause, so that it is the LD format itself that *provides* the interpretive clues to its ordered relationship in respect to what follows.

(285) Mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>jon<sup>1</sup> hio<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>,  
 when Pst-die\AIsC3 elderly=woman Ana\i now

ca<sup>1</sup>huan<sup>2</sup> og<sup>1</sup> dsøi<sup>2</sup> canh<sup>13</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa, niúh<sup>1</sup> ɲi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 Pst-leave\AIP3 two\ a dog large\AIP3 say\TIP3 3 within pot Ana\i  
When the old woman died then, two large dogs came out, they say, from inside the pot,  
 (TXT-25.054)

(286) Ca<sup>1</sup>siog<sup>2</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> cróg<sup>13</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>hiéh<sup>2</sup> chiég<sup>3</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-descend\AIC3 God cross Ana\i now Pst-receive\TNC3 mother\3 God  
God having descended then from the cross, his mother received (him). (TXT-37.1169)

In (287), the reference is spatial rather than temporal. The far mountain where they had gone, chasing a mountain lion, was very far from their starting point near the village.

(287) Ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ɲii<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup> dsa jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, uóin<sup>2</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>dsii<sup>2</sup>lén<sup>2</sup>  
 where Pst-go\AIP3 3 Ana\i now far\IIS3 very\IIS3 Prf-arrive=there\AIP3

dsa máh<sup>2</sup> uóin<sup>2</sup>.  
 3 hill far\IIS3  
There where they traveled then, it was very far off that they had arrived to a distant  
 mountain. (TXT-33.021)

Left Dislocation is also used to focus attention in reference to changing speakers in conversation. In (288), a person afflicted by witchcraft has just spoken and now the medicine man references what the sick person has said. Then in (289), he pointedly addresses those who are present in an LD phrase. Both of these cases use the formula *jøng<sup>2</sup> ... na<sup>1</sup>* and indicate ORDERED events. In the first case, the medical practitioner speaks after the patient; in the second example, judgment upon the perpetrator is the consequence of what the ill person has said. The vocative material is merely elliptical within the second LD phrase. There is no departure from normal word order, only attention drawn first to change of speakers and then to the justice being done in light of the afflicted person's statement.

(288) Jøng<sup>2</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> tɔa<sup>12</sup> móa<sup>12</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, lám<sup>1</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> bíh<sup>3</sup> juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup>.  
 Ana\i say\TIP3 doctor now thus\D1 Aff say\TIP3 person D1\i  
Then the doctor said then, "That is what this fellow says." (TXT-01.051)

(289) Jøng<sup>2</sup> hniah<sup>12</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> hniu<sup>3</sup>, quií<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ná<sup>12</sup> dsag<sup>3</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa.  
 Ana\i 2p now family pay\TII3 person D1\ a crime of\TIS3 3  
So then, you who live in this home, that person will pay for her crime. (TXT-01.052)

Utterance verbs in narrative may either precede or follow the quoted utterances with which they are associated. It thus turns out that, in the context of such verbs, when marking a change of speakers there may be no real left dislocation at all. In (290) and (291), the change of speaker is marked to the right of the quote material, and in each case is both anaphoric and cataphoric in that an appositive clause follows with clarification as to who the new speaker is.

(290) Na<sup>1</sup> jagh<sup>13</sup> hning jni, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> mẽ<sup>12</sup> mó<sup>2</sup>.  
 soon see\TNI2 2s 1s say\TIP3 person Ana\ a now person request\TAP3 female\IIS3  
 “You will see me soon,” that fellow says then, the one asking for the woman. (TXT-22.176)

(291) Dsio<sup>1</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, chiég<sup>3</sup> jming<sup>2</sup> mó<sup>2</sup>.  
 good\IIS3 Aff Ana\i say\TIP3 people Ana\ a now parents\3 female\IIS3  
 “That is good,” they said then, the girl’s parents. (TXT-22.284)

## 19.6 Topicalization by Left Dislocation

The second, TOPICALIZING type of LD phrase in Tlapezco Chinantec corresponds well with topicalizing Left Dislocation in other languages, including English, exhibiting all the expected general characteristics found elsewhere (Givón 1990:757); namely, a fronted NP at the beginning of a sentence, with a separate intonational contour of its own, with the possibility of gender neutralization of the anaphor, and resumptive representation within the following main clause. The referent is what Givón describes as *anaphorically topical*, by which he means that “it may be either definite or generic, but never REF-indefinite,” which is to say that it is not used “for introducing new topics into discourse” (758). In addition, as a concomitant of the brief pause between the dislocated NP and the following clause that characterizes the intonational contour over the NP, the temporal adverb *na<sup>1</sup>* ‘now’ is a required presence as the final element of the LD phrase. Further, the referent is always nominal and animate, almost always occurs with the anaphor *héi<sup>2</sup>* ‘the aforementioned person’, and relates cataphorically to a subject referent in the material that follows.

The resumptive reference that follows may be an NP as in (292), may include the anaphor *héi<sup>2</sup>* as in (293), or may be atonic nouns as in (294) and (295).



(292) Dsa<sup>2</sup> hõin<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>chiánh<sup>2</sup> dsa dsa<sup>2</sup> hõin<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.

thief Ana\ a now Pst-grab\TAC3 3 thief also

As for those thieves now, they arrested them also. (TXT-37.1133)

(293) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>3</sup>cang<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> jóg<sup>3</sup>.

person Ana\ a now Pst-go\R-take=back\TIR3 person Ana\ a message

That fellow then, he went and took the news. (TXT-26.194)

(294) Hio<sup>3</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> guiugh<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>con<sup>12</sup> dsa guing<sup>2</sup> hnói<sup>2</sup>,

elderly=woman Ana\ a now Pst-raise\TAC3 3 child orphaned\AIS3

That old woman then, she raised the orphaned child. (TXT-47.003)

(295) Dsøi<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, ca<sup>1</sup>ñii<sup>3</sup>nio<sup>3</sup> jah quianh<sup>13</sup> guing<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ñioh<sup>12</sup> héi<sup>2</sup>.

dog Ana\ a now Pst-walk\AIpR3 animal accompany\TAS3 child male Ana\ a

Those dogs then, they began to travel about with the young boy. (TXT-25.055)

It is not uncommon for two LDs to occur in sequence, the first of the ordered type, the second of the topicalizing type, as in (296).

(296) Jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, mót<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsio<sup>1</sup> hlaih<sup>13</sup> jniá<sup>2</sup> dsa.

Ana\ i now female\IIS3 Ana\ a now good\IIS3 very\IIS3 appear\AIS3 3

So then, that woman then, She was very pretty. (TXT-37.003)

In (297), an ordered LD is followed by a topicalizing LD, the latter having cataphoric reference to a second NP which is also fronted to precede the matrix clause.

(297) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>3</sup>tiogh<sup>3</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> arpa héi<sup>2</sup>,  
consequently now people Ana\ a now people Impf-be\AIpS3 within ark Ana\ a

ma<sup>2</sup>juen<sup>12</sup> dsa mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tót<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>siógh<sup>1</sup> jmøi<sup>2</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.

Prf-many\ a 3 when Pst-reach\IIC3 when Pst-recede\IIC3 water Ana\ i

Consequently then, those persons then, those who were in the ark, they had multiplied by the time the water had receded, they say. (TXT-38.339)

In (298), the topicalizing LD phrase is exceptional in not including the anaphor *héi<sup>2</sup>* ‘the aforementioned person’. This is the second sentence of a text where the major character of the story has been introduced as a woman with a married son. Here we have an almost incidental topicalizing reference to the son, with a cataphoric reference to his occupation, before stating that he is offline and incidental to what follows.

(298) Ja<sup>3</sup>ñiúh<sup>3</sup> dsa na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> ñøa<sup>12</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> hnai<sup>12</sup> lio<sup>13</sup>, ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup> dsa chian<sup>2</sup>.

son\3 3 now traveling=salesman not\be\AIS3 3 present\AIS3

As for her son then, a travelling salesman, he was not around. (TXT-29.002)

Similarly in (299), at the beginning of a story about two orphaned children, their father is introduced incidentally, without use of the animate anaphor, as a minor participant in the narrative, while placing affirming focus on his indigence.

(299) Ti<sup>3</sup>jming<sup>2</sup> tsih<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, dsa<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ŋøa<sup>12</sup> báh<sup>3</sup>.

father\3 youth now vagrant Aff

The children's father then, he was just a vagrant. (TXT-25.004)

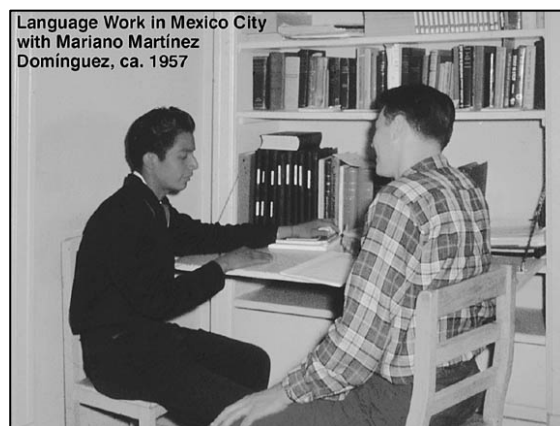
## 20. Managing Information Flow

In addition to questions of focus and topicalization, something needs to be said about how Tlatepuzco Chinantec speakers package clauses together in discourse. This chapter illustrates a few typical cases. The treatment is only illustrative, since the writer has a great deal yet to learn about such matters; but a number of insights can perhaps be gained from specific examples.

### **TXT-51. The Disposition of the Placenta**

The first illustration is drawn from one of the more simple texts in my database (TXT-52), a procedural text by Mariano Martínez Domínguez concerning the disposition of the placenta after an infant is born. Natural to a procedural text are specific events or actions (procedures) that need to be taken, often in a specific sequence. Also natural to such a text are statements of purpose, cause, and result that explicate the rationale for specific procedures to be taken in specific orders. All these are found and constitute the essential substance of Mariano's text.

But before we look at how Mariano packaged his thoughts, we should look at the situation in 1958, when I was first learning the language and was looking for text material to help me in the study of both phonology and syntax. That was too many years ago for me to remember all the details; but I must have asked him to tell me something about the culture and we had then decided upon



some aspect of childbirth. So with this general background, Mariano dictated, and I transcribed it sentence-by-sentence, by hand.

The text includes nine simple propositions, which are listed in (300) without reference to how Mariano packaged them. Four propositions address the procedure itself; five others address undesired consequences to be avoided by proper procedure.

- (300) a. An infant is born.  
 b. The placenta is put in an earthen jar.  
 c. The mouth of the earthen jar is carefully closed.  
 d. The earthen jar is buried beneath the ground.  
 e. Earth will not enter the earthen jar.  
 f. The baby's eyes will not be injured.  
 g. It will be unnecessary to remove the earthen jar again.  
 h. It will be unnecessary to scrub the placenta.  
 i. It will be unnecessary for the infant's eyes to heal.

The first sentence of the text is reproduced here as (301). It encodes the first, second, and fourth propositions listed above—in the form of a subordinated temporal clause, a main clause, and a subordinate purpose clause.

- (301) Na<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>chián<sup>1</sup> guing<sup>2</sup>,  
 when Prf-Pst-born\AIC3 infant  
 When an infant is born,  
  
 jøng<sup>2</sup> tí<sup>2</sup> dsa hniu<sup>3</sup> guing niúh<sup>1</sup> na<sup>3</sup>dsøg<sup>3</sup> tsønh<sup>3</sup>,  
 Ana\i put\TIsP3 3 placenta into Cls-jug worn\IIS3  
 they place the placenta into a worn-out earthen jar,  
  
 mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hóh<sup>2</sup> dsa niúh<sup>1</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 so=that bury\TII3 3 beneath ground  
 in order to bury it in the ground. (TXT-52.001)

In this first sentence, the first proposition (an infant is born) is treated as completed and as old information, which accords with the fact that Mariano and I had mediated the topic of the text before he started dictating. The first action taken in regard to the placenta (they place the placenta into a worn-out earthen jar), then becomes the first main clause, with atonic anaphoric subject (they), also due to the preliminary discussion. The adults who perform this procedure are already in the background and a cultural given; they never come into focus in this short text, always referenced simply as *dsa* 'they'. Lacking a passive construction in Chinantec, this atonic form may thus be used as an indefinite reference to out-of-focus actors whose identity is not in view.

The first two clauses place the birth event and the first action of placing the placenta in a jar in temporal order by use of a temporal clause beginning with 'when', followed by a main clause introduced by the anaphor 'then'. Mariano then proceeds to explain the purpose for taking this first action (to bury it in the ground) by means of a subordinate purpose clause introduced by 'so that'.

In the natural order of things, the second action to be taken, after placing the placenta in the jar, is to carefully stop up the mouth of the jar; but Mariano has departed from this natural order to present the fourth proposition as the third clause in the form of a purpose clause. Only then does he return to the second proposition (they cover the jar well), which he packages together with another purpose clause, this time negative, to state the first undesirable outcome to be avoided through proper procedure (so that dirt will not get into it), as presented in (302), again with indefinite *dsa* ‘they’ as subject of the main clause.

- (302) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>1</sup>                      dsa cu<sup>2</sup> rø<sup>2</sup>                      hag<sup>3</sup>                      na<sup>3</sup>dsøg<sup>3</sup>,  
 Ana\i enclose\TII3 3                      properly\IIS3 mouth\3 Cls-jug  
 But they cover the jar well,  
  
 mi<sup>3</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>1</sup>dsø<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>12</sup>                      guøh<sup>3</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup>.  
 so-that                      Neg-go\I3-enter\IIpD3 earth into Ana\i  
 so that dirt will not get into it. (TXT-52 002)

This second sentence again begins with the anaphor ‘then’, placing its main clause (they will cover the jar well), in time, after the main clause of the first sentence. The ‘so that’ formula is then repeated to explain the purpose of this second action (that dirt will not enter the jar). In two sentences, Mariano has packaged five propositions: the preliminary birth, the three steps of the simple procedure, and the first negative outcome to avoid.

Note that the third step (burial) is introduced only obliquely, as an explanation, and is not mentioned again as a categorical act. Of the three steps of the procedure, only the first is expressed by a habitual present-tense verb. The second and third steps are expressed, out of temporal order, as subsequent actions to be taken. The only other present-tense verb in the text occurs in the next sentence to follow, as an untoward outcome of bad procedure (the infant’s eyes become hurt).

The three steps of the procedure now having been expressed, Mariano moves on in his third sentence, as presented here in (303), to further explain why the undesired outcome (dirt enters jar) is to be avoided. Again there are two clauses, the first opening with the conjunction ‘because’ and reiterating the undesired outcome in the form of a condition, followed by the untoward result that ‘the infant’s eyes would become painful’.

- (303) DÍh<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>3</sup> ná<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tóh<sup>2</sup> guøh<sup>3</sup> niúh<sup>1</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>,  
 because if Pst-enter\IIP C3 earth into Ana  
 Because if dirt were to get in,  
 lø<sup>2</sup>uai<sup>12</sup> mø<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> guing.  
 Act\P-ache\IIS3 eye\3 infant  
 the infant's eyes would become painful. (TXT-52 003)

The first mention of this untoward result, in (302), is expressed by a pseudodirectional verb form (§3.13) that negatively expresses a possible undesirable process. This reiteration of that result is expressed as a completed hypothetical situation that would inevitably (habitually) lead to a subsequent process, the development of infection in the eyes of the infant.

Mariano then completes his text with a series of three purpose clauses, all of them introduced by the conjunction 'so that', as presented in (304)–(306). In these clauses, he presents two consecutive steps that would need to be taken and the desired return of health to the infant's eyes.

- (304) Mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> hniuh<sup>12</sup> dsí<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup>.  
 so=that required\IIS3 extract\TIS I3 3 again  
 So that they will have to take it out again. (TXT-52 004)
- (305) Mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> dsø<sup>1</sup>rønh<sup>13</sup> dsa.  
 so=that go\I3-scrub\TID3 3  
 So that they can wash it. (TXT-52 005)
- (306) Mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> jñie<sup>1</sup> uai<sup>12</sup> mø<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> guing.  
 so=that heal\III3 ache\IIS3 eye\3 infant  
 So that the pain in the infant's eyes will heal. (TXT-52 006)

Mariano's procedural text is fairly simple and straightforward, and yet it utilizes a number of packaging tools to provide coherence as each bit of information is introduced. There are a couple of events that Mariano apparently did not consider to be a part of the disposal procedure. After the birth of the child and prior to the presentation of the afterbirth itself, the infant is separated by cutting the umbilical cord. Neither the cutting of the cord nor the subsequent presentation of the placenta are mentioned.

### TXT-37. The Crucifixion

Now, I return to the short selection of eight sentences from TXT-37 that was presented in chapter 19 concerning the crucifixion of Christ to see how it is packaged. It presents several kinds of complexity not found in the Placenta text. The eight sentences form two related episodes of four sentences each. I repeat the English rendition of the first four sentences here as (307).

- (307) <sup>1128</sup> They were thinking that God was to be pitied being hung on the cross naked.  
<sup>1129</sup> Therefore they went and stole a piece of cloth from the people in a store, they say.  
<sup>1130</sup> With this cloth they went and wrapped God's loins.  
<sup>1131</sup> Because, "poor God!" they thought, "God is fastened to the cross naked."

Sentence 1128, presented in (308), sums up the theme of preceding sentences by packaging four propositions as four clauses in neutral word order, without special rhetorical effect.

- (308) Lén<sup>2</sup>            dsa, juói<sup>2</sup>            Diú<sup>13</sup> ton<sup>12</sup>            Diú<sup>13</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>ηó<sup>12</sup>            cróg<sup>13</sup>.  
think\AIS3 3    pitiful\AIS3 God attached\TMS3 God naked\AIS3 Ø cross  
They were thinking that God was to be pitied being hung on the cross naked. (TXT-37.1128)

The main cognition clause encompasses the entire sentence, with the other three constituting the content of the cognition. The cognition itself is expressed as two parallel, RESULT and GROUND clauses, one intransitive as Result (God is pitied) and one transitive as Ground (God hangs naked on the cross). The two clauses are simply juxtaposed without overt grammar to mark the relation between the two, leaving it to the hearer to figure it out.

The transitive clause expresses dual propositions, 'God is hanging on a cross' and 'God is naked', with the second of these embedded as the descriptive modifier of the subject (God) of the first. Though these two propositions are arguably semantically parallel, they are not encoded syntactically in parallel fashion.

This entire cognitive act is then referenced anaphorically in the next sentence, as presented in (309), by the introductory conjunction 'therefore', as Ground for the action expressed in this sentence (they go steal a piece of cloth from a store). Two appositive NPs express the object of a directional form of the verb 'steal' (*a piece of cloth, cloth from people in a store*), and an evidentiary clause (*they say*) is tagged onto the end, a frequent occurrence in traditional narratives. The use of the Spanish word *pieza* 'piece' by this narrator (Anastacio Martínez Velasco) is somewhat unusual, since there is a very common Chinantec equivalent for this word.

(309) Hi<sup>2</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ŋii<sup>3</sup>høin<sup>12</sup> dsa cøŋg<sup>2</sup> pieza hmøah<sup>12</sup>,  
 therefore Pst-go\R-steal\TIR3 3 one\i piece cloth  
 Therefore they went and stole a piece of cloth,

hmøah<sup>12</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> tiogh<sup>3</sup> tienda, juúh<sup>2</sup> dsa.  
 cloth of\TIS3 people have\TMS3 store say\TIP3 3  
 cloth from the people in a store, they say. (TXT-37.1129)

The directional form of the main verb in 1129 takes the participants on a round-trip tour to a store to get the cloth and return back to the scene portrayed in sentence 1128. Normal word order is preserved and the subjects are marked by the atonic anaphor *dsa* ‘they’. Then, back in the earlier setting, sentence 1130, presented as (310), anaphorically references the newly procured cloth in fronted focal position, as first object of the ditransitive inanimate verb ‘wrap’, with ‘God’s loins’ as second object. The verb is again a round-trip directional verb form. Those who had procured the cloth now step to the cross and wrap God’s loins, subsequently retreating away from the cross. Whereas the earlier reference to *cøŋg<sup>2</sup> pieza hmøah<sup>12</sup>* ‘a piece of cloth’ was indefinite, it here becomes definite by use of the anaphor *jøŋg<sup>2</sup>* ‘the aforementioned’.

(310) Hmøah<sup>12</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>ŋii<sup>3</sup>guionh<sup>13</sup> dsa huu<sup>13</sup> hŋioh<sup>1</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>.  
 cloth Ana\i Pst-go\R-wrap\DIR3 3 loins\3 God  
 With this cloth they went and wrapped God’s loins. (TXT-37.1130)

The Grounds for the theft and the covering of God’s loins are then recapitulated by a full rehearsal of sentence 1128 as sentence 1131, presented in (311), with two changes. First, the sentence overtly marks the Result-Ground relation between itself and the foregoing sentences by the opening conjunction *dóh<sup>3</sup>* ‘because’. Second, the subject of ‘naked’ is now overt, and not reduced to a gap, as it was in 1128.

(311) Dóh<sup>3</sup> juói<sup>2</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup>, lén<sup>2</sup> dsa, ton<sup>12</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>ŋó<sup>12</sup> Diú<sup>13</sup> cróg<sup>13</sup>.  
 because pitiful\AIS3 God think\AIS3 3 attached\TMS3 God naked\AIS3 God cross  
 Because, “poor God!” they thought, “God is fastened to the cross naked.” (TXT-37.1131)

The overt presence of the noun *Diú<sup>13</sup>* ‘God’ in both clauses (*God is hanging on a cross, God is naked*) indicates a subtle shift in structure from that of sentence 1128, which showed a gap at the subject of the second clause. In 1128, the second clause is attributive, modifying the subject of the main verb; in 1131, the second clause is an independent, adverbial adjunct of the main verb. To my admittedly foreign ears, the latter structure sounds more eloquent, though both are fine.



We may summarize the packaging of this first episode as follows: The first sentence, presented in (308), encodes four propositions which form the ground for two related actions in this episode. Specifically, a group of unidentified persons are (a) thinking that (b) God is to be pitied because (c) he is hanging on a cross (d) and naked. The next two sentences record two related acts by these same persons resulting from their thoughts of pity; namely, according to the sentence in (309) they go and steal a piece of cloth and, in (310), they go and cover God's loins with the cloth. The final sentence, in (311), then reprises the grounds for these two acts by a slightly variant reiteration of the sentence in (308). A well rounded presentation.

Now, let's look at the second four sentences of the selection from TXT-37. The English rendition of these sentences is repeated in (312). This episode has a simpler structure than the preceding one, but nevertheless with structures of some interest.

- (312) <sup>1132</sup> Then, there were some thieves, they say.  
<sup>1133</sup> As for those thieves now, they arrested them also.  
<sup>1134</sup> They crucified the thieves.  
<sup>1135</sup> Upside down they crucified the thieves, in that same place there where God was crucified.

By way of initial summary, in three sentences, one or more thieves is introduced, reported arrested, crucified, and then stated to have been crucified upside down. A more detailed analysis is presented as follows.

In sentence 1132, presented as (313), the scene from the preceding episode changes. New participants are introduced into the narrative, and the opening anaphoric conjunction (after that), indicates a new time horizon, subsequent to that of the aforementioned events. The matrix verb *ca'lø'chián'* 'was born' was seen in the afterbirth text above to express the birth a child. Here it simply has presentative force, expressing the introduction of thieves into the story line, full grown and guilty of criminal acts. The fronted, anaphoric temporal reference is the only marked element in the sentence.

- (313) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca'lø'chián<sup>1</sup>                      dsa<sup>2</sup> høin<sup>2</sup>, juúh<sup>2</sup>      dsa.  
then      Pst-Act\C-exist\AIS3 thief              say\TIP3 3  
After that, there were some thieves, they say. (TXT-37.1132)

It is not clear in sentence 1132 whether the narrator is assuming knowledge of these thieves on the part of his hearers or not. The difference between definite and indefinite reference is not

always clearly marked in Chinantec. Nor is the number of the thieves expressed anywhere in the text. As far as this text is concerned, there may be one or more thieves. The conjunction ‘after that’ does not seem to imply that the thieves who were arrested were the same persons who had stolen cloth to cover God’s nakedness, although that is perhaps possibly. I did not ask anyone if that is the belief.

Then in sentence 1133, shown in (314), reference to the thieves becomes definite by placing them in focus and topicalizing them, both by means of the anaphor *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘the aforementioned person(s)’ and by Left Dislocation.

(314) *Dsa*<sup>2</sup> *høin*<sup>2</sup> *héi*<sup>2</sup> *na*<sup>1</sup>, *ca*<sup>1</sup>*chiánh*<sup>2</sup> *dsa dsa*<sup>2</sup> *høin*<sup>2</sup> *ca*<sup>1</sup>*láh*<sup>1</sup>.  
 thief Ana\ a now Pst-grab\TAC3 3 thief also  
As for those thieves now, they arrested them also. (TXT-37.1133)

The thieves are brought into topic focus in 1133, but are at the same time moved from subject position of the presentative verb to object position of the verb ‘arrest’, and ‘soldiers’ are indefinitely referenced as subjects by atonic *dsa* ‘they’. These are presumably the same soldiers who had arrested and crucified God in an earlier reference, prior to that of the selected sentences of this sample. The adverb ‘also’ apparently references the earlier arrest of Jesus by these same subjects as well. The straight past tense of *ca*<sup>1</sup>*chianh*<sup>2</sup> ‘arrested’, however, cavalierly places this arrest of thieves in the past, without any indication of how the event specifically fits into the time line of the narrative.

In sentence 1134, of (315), the scene continues, with the thieves still in object position but now in normal word order. The soldiers who had arrested the thieves crucified them; and without any temporal reference, we are also left in the dark concerning how their crucifixion fits into the time line of the narrative, other than that it had to have followed their arrest.

(315) *Ca*<sup>1</sup>*tion*<sup>1</sup> *dsa dsa*<sup>2</sup> *høin*<sup>2</sup> *cróg*<sup>13</sup>.  
 Pst-attach\DAC3 3 thief cross  
 They crucified the thieves. (TXT-37.1134)

In the final sentence 1135 of this selection, presented in (316), the same event expressed in 1134 is recapitulated, but with an adverbial adjunct added in fronted focus in the form of a stative clause (the thieves are upside down). The verb and its terms that follow are identical to those in 1134, with the exception of null first-object reference, and locative details are then

added in default word order, following the clause nucleus, to bind reference back again to the preceding scene of God's crucifixion.

- (316) Ta<sup>1</sup> láh<sup>1</sup> chí<sup>3</sup>jén<sup>3</sup>                      dsa<sup>2</sup> hòin<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>tion<sup>1</sup>                      dsa      cróg<sup>13</sup>,  
 unto      upside-down\AIS3 thief              Pst-attach\DAC3 3      μ      cross  
 With the thieves being upside down, they crucified them,  
  
 cøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup>      chí<sup>3</sup>ton<sup>12</sup>                      Diú<sup>13</sup> cróg<sup>13</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup>.  
 one      there      where STA\s-attached\TMS3 God      cross Ana'i  
 in that same place there where God was crucified. (TXT-37.1135)

## **TXT-66. The Founding of Modern Palantla**

Now let's take a look at one more text, one that rehearses how the Chinantec people of San Pedro Tlatepuzco came to live at and reestablish the town of San Juan Palantla at its ancient site. This text was dictated to me in the village of Palantla in August, 1957, by the late José Villar Vicente, during the first year of my residency there. I recorded it by hand, as best I could in the early stages of language learning, later refining the transcription with the help of other speakers. It consists of twenty-one sentences, which I divide into six episodes. I will first present each episode of the text in English translation before discussing its structure, using Chinantec interlinearized examples. The first episode of six sentences is presented in (317).

- (317) <sup>01</sup> The people of Valle Nacional left [Palantla] and rebuilt their home town in the town of Valle Nacional, thus leaving [Palantla] land abandoned.  
<sup>02</sup> No one came to live here anymore.  
<sup>03</sup> They went away when they came out of this place long ago.  
<sup>04</sup> It was then that a few people arrived here, people of the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco.  
<sup>05</sup> A long time after the people had left this place, a few folk made residence here, coming and asking permission to work, paying the President, who lived in Valle Nacional.  
<sup>06</sup> That person took money for use of the land, charging each person five pesos per year to use the land for planting anything they wanted—maize, beans, chilies, sugar cane, cotton, tobacco, cassava—and to raise and fatten hogs.

The first three sentences of this episode comprise six active predicates to describe the abandonment of the ancient site of San Juan Palantla by its original inhabitants to reestablish themselves near current-day Valle Nacional. Though not mentioned in the text, these were speakers of a significantly different form of Chinantec than that spoken by Tlatepuzcans. They fled the site in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century in the wake of plagues brought to the area by the Spaniards under

Hernán Cortez who had arrived on the gulf coast only one hundred kilometers north of Chinantec territory (*cf.* Merrifield ms.).

The first sentence of the text, presented in 0, consists of three active clauses. The first two clauses (they left, they rebuilt) stand in an unmarked coordinate relation to each other to express the consecutive actions of leaving one location and rebuilding in Valle Nacional. No reference to Palantla as the point of departure reflects the fact that I had negotiated with Mr. Villar to tell me about the reestablishment of Palantla prior to the telling. Several motion verbs throughout the text implicitly reference Palantla as the vantage point from which the narrative was given.

The third clause in the sentence (was abandoned), introduced by the conjunction ‘so that’, expresses the outcome of the first two actions. Once again Palantla is left unnamed, being referenced only generally as the abandoned ‘land’.

- (318) Ca<sup>1</sup>huan<sup>2</sup>      dsa<sup>2</sup> chian<sup>2</sup> jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup>,      ca<sup>1</sup>jmóngh<sup>1</sup>      dsa go<sup>2</sup>      dsa  
Pst-leave\AIP3 native\3      Valle=Nacional Pst-build\TIC3 3      homeland\3 3  
  
jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup> Mø<sup>1</sup>hie<sup>1</sup>,      mi<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup>      ca<sup>1</sup>tø<sup>3</sup>ron<sup>13</sup>      báh<sup>3</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
town      Valle=Nacional so-that      Non Pst-be=abandoned\IIsC3 Aff land  
The people of Valle Nacional left [Palantla] and rebuilt their home town in the town of  
Valle Nacional, thus leaving [Palantla] land abandoned. (TXT-66.001)

Sentences two and three of this first episode, presented as (319) and (320), further establish the abandonment of the original community. The single-clause sentence (002) indicates that no one else came to live in Palantla after that; and the two-clause sentence (003) reiterates the departure away from the place of the locutionary act (which is to say, Palantla), when the people ‘left’ those many (almost three hundred) years ago. These final two clauses consist of a main clause followed by a locative adjunct clause, both of which are affirmed by *báh<sup>3</sup>* to put the period to that earlier inhabitancy.

- (319) Ha<sup>1</sup>chian<sup>2</sup>      ma<sup>1</sup>ca<sup>1</sup>túgh<sup>2</sup>.  
no=one\AIS3 Cnt-Pst-reside\AIP3  
No one came to live [here] anymore. (TXT-66.002)  
  
(320) Ca<sup>1</sup>ñji<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup>      báh<sup>3</sup> dsa      mi<sup>3</sup>      ma<sup>2</sup>lói<sup>1</sup>h<sup>2</sup>      ca<sup>1</sup>huan<sup>2</sup>      báh<sup>3</sup> dsa.  
Pst-go\AIP3 Aff 3      when long=ago Pst-leave\AIP3 Aff 3  
They went away when they came out of this place long ago. (TXT-66.003)

Sentence four of the text, presented in (321), then introduces the first few Tlapepuzcan settlers who ‘arrived *here*’ from across the mountain from the west. The intensifying modal *jính*<sup>3</sup> at the beginning of sentence four gives intensified temporal force to the anaphor *jøng*<sup>2</sup> ‘then’, begging the predicative interpretation “Only *then* did a few people ...”

(321) Jøng<sup>2</sup> jính<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>lén<sup>2</sup>                      jan<sup>2</sup> og<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>,    dsa<sup>2</sup>    chian<sup>2</sup>    jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup> cøh<sup>3</sup>.  
 Ana\i Intns Pst-arrive=here\AipC3 few        people people be\AIS3 town    Tlapepuzco  
 It was then that a few people arrived here, people of the town of San Pedro Tlapepuzco. (TXT-66.004)

Sentence five, in 0, frames the Tlapepuzcan’s making Palantla their place of residence as occurring after the long-ago departure of the earlier inhabitants by a reprise of the temporal clause in sentence three. Then the main verb in sentence five, *ca<sup>1</sup>túgh<sup>1</sup>* ‘they made residence’, echoes its occurrence in sentence two, where it had expressed that no one else had come to make their residence in Palantla for a long time after the original crowd left. A third clause in sentence five (asking permission to work ...) takes the form of an adverbial adjunct to the main verb. A fourth clause (paying ...) is then embedded in the third as modifier of its object noun ‘work’; and a fifth clause (resides ...) is further embedded as modifier of ‘President’, which is the object of a preposition in the fourth clause.

(322) Mi<sup>3</sup>    ma<sup>2</sup>ja<sup>1</sup>løih<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>huan<sup>2</sup>                      dsa, ca<sup>1</sup>túgh<sup>2</sup>                      jan<sup>2</sup> og<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup>,  
 when long=ago    Pst-leave\AipC3 3        Pst-reside\AipC3 few        people  
  
 ja<sup>2</sup>mái<sup>2</sup>    dsa héi<sup>2</sup>    ta<sup>3</sup>    quií<sup>12</sup>    dsa ja<sup>3</sup> cog<sup>2</sup> Presidente,  
 come\P3-request-return\TID3 3    Ana\ a work pay\TIP3 3        unto\3    President  
  
 dsa<sup>2</sup>    guó<sup>12</sup>                      jø<sup>3</sup>juøi<sup>2</sup> Mø<sup>1</sup>hie<sup>1</sup>.  
 person reside\AIsS3 town    Valle=Nacional  
 A long time after the people had left this place, a few folk made residence here, coming and asking permission to work, paying the President, who lived in Valle Nacional. (TXT-66.005)

In sentence six, the final sentence of the first episode, presented as (323), the President of Valle Nacional of sentence five is referenced anaphorically with *héi*<sup>2</sup> ‘the aforementioned person’ and lifted from his deeply embedded position in sentence five to a fronted focus position as subject of the main verb (‘charge’) of sentence six, in order to expand upon the financial arrangement between him and the Tlapepuzcans as the price for their being able to settle on and work Palantla land. In sentence six, the main verb and its terms declare that ‘that person was

charging a fee for the land’. What follows appears to be a noun phrase with ‘work’ as head, in apposition to ‘land’. The president charges for use of the land; that is, for work done on the land. Everything else following the head noun ‘work’ is its descriptive modifier.

- (323) Dsa<sup>2</sup> héi<sup>2</sup> cán<sup>2</sup> hlieh<sup>3</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>, ta<sup>3</sup> quií<sup>12</sup> dsa ma<sup>1</sup> hñi<sup>2</sup> héh<sup>1</sup> cøng<sup>2</sup> ñii<sup>2</sup>,  
 person Ana\ a charge\ TIP3 fee\ IIS3 land work pay\ TIP3 3 Ø each five peso one\ i year  
 hi<sup>2</sup> jne<sup>1</sup> dsa ca<sup>1</sup>láh<sup>1</sup> jø<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> hñiu<sup>1</sup> dsa, cuøi<sup>2</sup>, jneng<sup>2</sup>, høng<sup>2</sup>, hma<sup>2</sup> cuøi<sup>2</sup>,  
 that plant\ TII3 3 all\ 3i that\ i need\ TIS3 3 maize bean chili sugarcane  
 jøg<sup>2</sup>, røg<sup>2</sup>, sei<sup>3</sup> hma<sup>2</sup>, mi<sup>2</sup>con<sup>12</sup> dsa ñié<sup>12</sup>, mi<sup>2</sup>banh<sup>2</sup> dsa ñié<sup>12</sup>.  
 cotton tobacco cassava raise\ TAP3 3 hog fatten\ TAP3 3 hog  
 That person charged a fee for use of the land, each person paying five pesos per year for  
 planting anything they wanted—maize, beans, chilies, sugar cane, cotton, tobacco,  
 cassava—and to raise and fatten hogs. (TXT-66.006)

The second episode of the text seems to me to be a one-sentence episode; namely, sentence seven, presented in (324). This sentence states that a certain Mr. Sánchez owned the property for a short time. The sentence begins with a conjunction (after that) that resets the time frame from that of the preceding episode. Palantla is the suppressed subject of the verb *niu*<sup>12</sup> ‘settle\ IIP3’, with *gug*<sup>2</sup> *hlai*<sup>3</sup> *guiuh*<sup>13</sup>... ‘the hand of the late Mr....’ as locative. The expression *niu*<sup>12</sup> *gug*<sup>2</sup> ‘settle in his hands’ has the idiomatic force of ‘inherit’ or ‘obtain’.

- (324) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>niu<sup>1</sup> gug<sup>2</sup> hlai<sup>3</sup> guiuh<sup>13</sup> Rø<sup>2</sup>ma<sup>3</sup> Sánchez,  
 afterwards Pst-settle\ IIC3 µ hand\ 3 deceased Sir Raymond Sánchez  
 dsa<sup>2</sup> guø<sup>12</sup> Ma<sup>1</sup>lag<sup>3</sup>.  
 person reside\ AIs3 Tuxtepec  
 After that, ownership went to the late Mr. Raymond Sánchez of Tuxtepec. (TXT-66.007)

The third episode consists of four sentences, 8–11, presented in translation in (325).

- (325) <sup>08</sup> Now then, he saw that the land was not earning any money.  
<sup>09</sup> He therefore sold his entire holding to the Reverend Archbishop.  
<sup>10</sup> He became the owner of the land.  
<sup>11</sup> So he began to raise cattle to pay the cost of the land.

My decision to treat sentence eight as the beginning of a new episode is based on the ordered Left Dislocation ‘now then’ that introduces sentence eight, shown in (326). This resets the time frame of the text once again, and alerts the listener to expect a new topic. The imperfect clause that follows expresses this new topic—that Mr. Sánchez had begun to realize that his land

investment in Palantla was not producing income. Sánchez is referenced anaphorically by the atonic noun *dsa*, as he also is for a second and last time in sentence nine, presented as (327). Sentence eight presents the ground for sentence nine, as indicated by the ‘therefore’ of the latter, and the adverb ‘extremely’ emphasizes the decisive and complete nature of the disposal of the property by Sánchez, perhaps implying a bit of unhappiness with the specific turn of events; and then the Archbishop of Oaxaca is introduced obliquely as the new owner. From other sources, we know this person to have been the first Archbishop of Oaxaca, the Reverend Eulogio Gillow.

(326) Jøng<sup>2</sup> na<sup>1</sup>, mi<sup>3</sup>jái<sup>12</sup>      dsa tsa<sup>1</sup>chii<sup>2</sup>      cog<sup>3</sup>      cuø<sup>12</sup>      huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i now Impf-see\TIP3 3      Neg-be\IIS3 money give\TIP3 land  
 Now then, he saw that the land was not earning any money. (TXT-66.008)

(327) Hi<sup>2</sup>      jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>hnai<sup>1</sup>      dsa cu<sup>1</sup> té<sup>12</sup>      ja<sup>3</sup> cog<sup>2</sup> guih<sup>13</sup>      ñii<sup>1</sup>jmó<sup>2</sup>.  
 that\i Ana\i Pst-sell\TIC3 3      extremely unto\3      Sir      Archbishop  
 He therefore sold his entire holding to the Reverend Archbishop. (TXT-66.009)

Two final sentences of this episode, ten and eleven, presented in (328) and (329), describe the tenure of Archbishop Gillow as owner of the Palantla land. He is raised from the oblique reference in sentence nine to fronted focus in sentence ten, to emphasize his new ownership. Sentence eleven, introduced by simple anaphoric ‘and, then, so’, expresses his subsequent use and payment of the land in two clauses, in means-end relation, without overt syntactic markings.

(328) Dsa<sup>2</sup>      héi<sup>2</sup>      ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup>      huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 person Ana\ a Pst-Act\C-of\TIS3 land  
 He became the owner of the land. (TXT-66.010)

(329) Jøng<sup>2</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>con<sup>12</sup>      dsa<sup>2</sup>      héi<sup>2</sup>      vaca quií<sup>12</sup>      dsa cuenta      huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-raise\TAC3 person Ana\ a cattle pay\TIP3 3      account      land  
 So He began to raise cattle to pay the cost of the land. (TXT-66.011)

The fourth episode of the text describes Gillow’s loss of ownership of the land due to the renewal of the Mexican Revolution that began on 20 November, 1910. Gillow had been a close friend and confidant of the previous President, Porfirio Díaz; but after Díaz was deposed and exiled, the new regime of Francisco I. Madero further expropriated lands from large landholders and, particularly, from the Roman Church, including Gillow. Like episode two, episode four has just one sentence, sentence twelve, presented in (330).

This sentence consists of five active clauses, packaged as two temporal adjunct clauses followed by a main clause, two of the five clauses reprising the clause “he was paying off the cost of the land,” of sentence eleven. The first of these reprises occurs in the first temporal clause, which begins with an affirmed perfect progressive adjunct of its own (when [time] had been going along that ...). The second temporal clause, a perfective temporal adjunct (when war broke out), then marks the end point of the progressive ‘paying off’ period; and the main clause declares that payments then ‘ceased’. The subject of the main clause is the second reprise of “he was paying off the cost of the land,” in the form of a complement clause..

- (330) Láh<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>2</sup>ŋó<sup>12</sup> jǝng<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> quií<sup>12</sup> dsa cuenta huø<sup>1</sup>, mi<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>táh<sup>2</sup> tsën<sup>12</sup> hning<sup>2</sup>,  
 such\i Prf-go\AIsP3 Ana\i Aff pay\TIP3 3 account land when Pst-fall\IIsC3 war  
 ca<sup>1</sup>jnie<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup> quií<sup>12</sup> dsa cog<sup>3</sup> cuenta huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 Pst-cease\AII3 that\i pay\TIP3 3 money matter land  
 (TXT-66.013)  
 While he had for some time been paying off the cost of the land, when war broke out, he  
 stopped paying for the land. (TXT-66.012)

In the fifth episode, presented in English translation in (331), the federal government enters the story and becomes the subject of four consecutive sentences.

- (331) <sup>13</sup> After that, the government became the owner of the land.  
<sup>14</sup> And then the government passed a decree that they would make the land to be the  
 property of poor folk.  
<sup>15</sup> And the government said that the land would belong to the poor.  
<sup>16</sup> So then the government had them move onto the land where they now live, the land  
 belonging to them communally, paying 600 pesos per year from four villages of  
 Cerro Pita, Laguna, Palantla, and Ocote.

The first two sentences of this episode, thirteen and fourteen, in (332) and (333), begin with the temporal conjunctions ‘afterwards’ to reset the time frame and indicate successive events. First, in thirteen, Palantla land becomes government property, and then, in fourteen, it becomes the ‘property’ of the poor. Active forms of the ‘have’ verb *quiah*<sup>12</sup> occur in both sentences, but with different legal definitions. In the first case, true ownership of the land accrued to the government. In the second case, the right to use it may be assigned to specific communities by the government, but final control remains with the government. The narrator’s worldview is brought to the surface in his use of the phrase *dsa<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ŋié<sup>2</sup>* (a lyrical form of *dsa<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>2</sup>ŋié<sup>2</sup>*)



‘poor people’, in that, in the larger scheme of things, Chinantecs like José Villar tended to consider themselves, as a people, typical of Mexico’s poor. Of further interest in sentence fourteen is the use of the verb *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘make, do’ as a causative verb and the occasional use of Spanish infinitives within Chinantec discourse to express a variety of technical concepts. I heard such expressions in open debates in Palantla town meetings more often than anywhere else. They are not generally heard in everyday discourse.

(332) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup>    gobierno    báh<sup>3</sup> ca<sup>1</sup>lø<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup>    huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 afterwards government Aff Pst-Act\C-of\TIS3 land  
 After that, the government became the owner of the land. (TXT-66.013)

(333) Ni<sup>3</sup> jøŋg<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>    gobierno    decretar lei<sup>13</sup> quiah<sup>12</sup>    hi<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>jmo<sup>1</sup>  
 afterwards Pst-do\TIC3 government decree law of\TIS3 μ that\i Pst-cause\TIC3  
  
 hi<sup>2</sup>    li<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    ti<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ŋié<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 that\i Act\i-of\TIS3 people poor\AIS3 Aff land  
 And then the government passed a decree that they would make the land to be the property of poor folk. (TXT-66.014)

Sentence fifteen appears to be a restatement of fourteen, perhaps the statement in fourteen referencing the introduction of the legal statute (Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution of Querétaro) while the statement in fifteen references the application of the law to specific cases.

(334) Jøŋg<sup>2</sup>    ca<sup>1</sup>juúh<sup>2</sup>    gobierno    hi<sup>2</sup>    li<sup>1</sup>quiah<sup>12</sup>    dsa<sup>2</sup>    ti<sup>2</sup> dsa<sup>2</sup> ŋié<sup>2</sup> báh<sup>3</sup> huø<sup>1</sup>.  
 Ana\i Pst-say\TIC3 government that\i Act\i-of\TIS3 people poor\AIS3 Aff land  
 And the government said that the land would belong to the poor. (TXT-66.015)

Sentence sixteen, in (335), references the specific result (so then ...) of action by the government to authorize the communal use of Palantla land to four communities which all lie within and hours walk of each other. The causative verb *jmo*<sup>12</sup> ‘make, do’ has four appositive complement clauses (that they take residence, that they now live there, that they share in its use as their own, and that they pay such-and-such an annual land-use tax among the four towns). The four occurrences of the atonic noun *dsa* ‘they’ is the first anaphoric reference to the Tlatepuzcans since sentence four of the text, in the first episode, with the exception of the more general phrase ‘the poor’ in sentences fourteen and fifteen. Since this text is about the reestablishment of Palantla by the Tlatepuzcans, the narrator apparently feels no need to be more specific.

(335) *Hi² jøŋg² báh³ ca¹jmo¹      gobierno    hi²    ca¹túgh²      dsa hi²*  
*that\i An\i Aff Pst-do\TID3 government that\i Pst-reside\AIpC3 3    that\i*  
*tiogh³      dsa na¹,    hi²    ma²ni³quiah¹² dsa huø¹, hi²    quií¹²    dsa jñiéŋg² ñji²lóg²*  
*reside\AIpS3 3    today    that\i Prf-p-of\TIS3 3    land    that\i pay\TIP3 3    six\i    hundred*  
*héh¹ cog³ láh¹ cøŋg² ñji² quiah¹²    quiún² juøi², Cerro Pita, Laguna, Palantla, Ocote.*  
*peso      annually      of\TIS3 four    town Cerro Pita Laguna Palantla Ocote*  
 So then the government had them move onto the land where they now live, the land  
 belonging to them communally, paying 600 pesos per year from four villages of Cerro  
 Pita, Laguna, Palantla, and Ocote. (TXT-66.016)

The sixth and last episode of the text, presented in English translation in (336), consists of five sentences concerning the destruction of the village of San Pedro Tlatepuzco, the move to Palantla by the Tlatepuzcans, and the legalizing of the move by the government.

- (336) <sup>17</sup> Then the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco was destroyed in 1928.  
<sup>18</sup> It was on the July six that the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco was destroyed.  
<sup>19</sup> After that they made San Juan Palantla their home town.  
<sup>20</sup> Then they drew up a petition to the government to establish their home town here.  
<sup>21</sup> And the government responded with a document saying that they should live here, coming to make it their home town.

Sentence seventeen and eighteen, presented in (337) and (338), are coordinate reports of the destruction of San Pedro. Seventeen sets the new time frame with its opening conjunction, states the fact and the year. Eighteen opens with focal date, stating day and month, and reprises the fact of the destruction.

(337) *Ni³ jøŋg²    ca¹hen¹      juøi²    jø³juøi² cøh³      1928.*  
*afterwards Pst-end\IIC3 town town Tlatepuzco 1928*  
 Then the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco was destroyed in 1928. (TXT-66.017)

(338) *Ja³    jñiéŋg² tsøh²    julio ca¹hen¹      juøi²    cøh³.*  
*where six\i    month July Pst-ruin\IIC3 town Tlatepuzco*  
 It was on the July six that the town of San Pedro Tlatepuzco was destroyed. (TXT-66.018)

Sentence twenty, presented in (339), establishes another subsequent time frame and states that the people make Palantla their new home. The Tlatepuzcans, last referenced in sentence sixteen by atonic *dsa* ‘they’, are so referenced in eight of nine occurrences of *dsa* in the last three sentences of the text. The ninth occurrence references the government, the other major participant in the episode.

(339) Ni³ jøŋg² ca¹jmo¹ dsa go² dsa Jmø¹dsag¹.  
 afterwards Pst-make\TIC3 3 homeland\3 3 Palantla  
 After that they made San Juan Palantla their home town. (TXT-66.019)

Sentence twenty, presented in (340), represents an early detail of the summary statement given above in sentence nineteen. The known facts are that the narrator of this text, Mr. José Villar, was already farming lands near Palantla when San Pedro was destroyed—a protégé of Archbishop Gillow, helped by Gillow to get a bit of early education in the City of Puebla as a boy. José urged the refugees from San Pedro to join the few Tlatepuzcan families already living near Palantla to help reestablish Palantla as the new Tlatepuzcan homeland. And it was José himself who actually wrote the petition to the Oaxaca government referenced in sentence twenty. So the writing of the petition was an early step in the process of making the move to Palantla.

The elements of sentence twenty are: conjunction (then), verb (drew up), subject (they), object (letter to the government), purpose (that they [be permitted to] make the town their homeland).

(340) Jøŋg² ca¹chiágh¹ dsa si² quiah¹² gobierno hi² ca¹jmóŋgh¹ dsa juøi² go²  
 dsa..  
 Ana\i Pst-draw-up\TIC3 3 letter of\TIS3 government that\i Pst-build\TIC3 3 home\3 3  
 Then they drew up a petition to the government to establish their home town here. (TXT-66.020)

Sentence twenty-one, presented in (341), appears to be a complement clause functioning as an independent sentence, with the structure: complementizer, verb (responded), subject (government), object (letter saying [two things:] that they settle, that they come and make it their home town).

(341) Hi² ca¹jéinh¹ gobierno si² hi² juúh² dsa hi² tógh¹ dsa  
 that\i Pst-return\TIC3 government letter that\i say\TIP3 3 that\i reside\AIpI3 3  
 u¹jmóŋgh¹ dsa go² dsa.  
 come\C-build\TID3 3 homeland\3 3  
 And the government responded with a document saying that they should live here, coming to make it their home town. (TXT-66.021)

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