

# **SIL-Mexico Branch Electronic Working Papers #007: Animacy in Two Chinantec Variants**

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## Abstract

This paper describes the marking for animacy in two varieties of Chinantec, Lealao and Ozumacín. Concord agreement for animacy is required throughout the nominal phrase. In addition, the verb is marked for animacy of its arguments following an ergative-absolutive system.

## 1 A general description of animacy

Lealao and Ozumacín are two Chinantec towns that lie in the northeastern part of the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. In the previous century each town spawned two more towns and the two Chinantec languages in their respective regions are arbitrarily named for the towns of origin. Lealao Chinantec speakers number about two thousand and those of the Ozumacín variety number about five thousand. The Ozumacín language lies centrally among the twelve Chinantec variants and Lealao lies at the southeastern edge of the region. The Chinantec language is basically a VSO language but SVO constructions occur as well.<sup>1</sup>

Whether a noun is animate or inanimate is very important in Chinantec because there must be agreement of animacy for the adjectives and verbs which are referenced to nouns. Thus an inanimate adjective must be used to describe an inanimate noun. Likewise an animate adjective must be used to describe an animate noun. Persons and animals are animate nouns. Though they are living things, plants are not regarded as animate. Both Lealao and Ozumacín Chinantec variants share the feature that adjectives referenced to animate nouns add a syllable final **y**. This is illustrated in the table in (1).<sup>2</sup> Note also that Ozumacín differs from Lealao in that the vowel becomes nasalized, if not already nasal, and also frequently changes quality to indicate animateness.<sup>2</sup>

(1)		Lealao		Ozumacín	
	Adjective	Inanimate	Animate	Inanimate	Animate
	green	reeh <sup>3</sup>	reeyh <sup>3</sup>	eeh <sup>-</sup>	ääyh <sup>-</sup>
	red	yuú <sup>3</sup>	yuúy <sup>3</sup>	gyuu <sup>ʔ</sup>	gyuuy <sup>ʔ</sup>
	good	dxú <sup>4</sup>	dxúy <sup>4</sup>	llu <sup>1</sup>	lluuy <sup>1</sup>
	four	chiú <sup>3</sup>	chiúy <sup>3</sup>	kye <sup>ʔ</sup>	kyeey <sup>ʔ</sup>

Though the two variants both add a final **y** to show animateness on adjectives, this similarity is not so transparent in Ozumacín Chinantec because the **y** is deleted from an animate adjective when it co-occurs with the noun to which it is referenced.

<sup>1</sup>The data used in this paper were collected during the author's fieldwork under the auspices of SIL from 1968 to the present. Those who taught me about the Lealao Chinantec language include Máximo Alonso Marcial, Cirilo Alonso Marcial, Juan Marcial López. Among those who taught me the Ozumacín Chinantec language include Marcial Méndez de la Cruz, Bonifacio Mendoza López, Lucio Mendoza Carillo and Herminia Mendoza Sala. For more information on Chinantec, see Rupp & Rupp (1996). The abbreviations used in this paper are shown at the end.

<sup>2</sup>The tone marking and the orthography used in this paper are explained at the end.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(2) <b>Lealao</b></p> <p><b>chiú<sup>3</sup></b>    <b>mi<sup>1</sup>lí<sup>1</sup></b><br/> <b>chiú<sup>3</sup></b>    <b>mi<sup>1</sup>-lí<sup>1</sup></b><br/> four.inan Cla1-flower<br/> four flowers</p> <p><b>chiúy<sup>3</sup></b>    <b>mi<sup>1</sup>liuh<sup>2</sup></b><br/> <b>chiú<sup>3</sup>-y</b>    <b>mi<sup>1</sup>-liuh<sup>2</sup></b><br/> four-an Cla1-little<br/> four children</p> | <p><b>Ozumacín</b></p> <p><b>kyẽ̞</b>    <b>wa'le'<sup>1</sup></b><br/> <b>kyẽ̞</b>    <b>wa'-le'<sup>1</sup></b><br/> four.inan Cla3-flower<br/> four flowers</p> <p><b>kyeẽ̞</b>    <b>chih<sup>-</sup></b><br/> <b>kyeẽ̞-y</b>    <b>chih<sup>-</sup></b><br/> four.an-an child<br/> four children</p> |
|--|---|

In this section, all of the examples are restricted to third person and this animate marking **y** is really only for third person. In section 2 the suffixes for all persons are described. Before describing the person marking suffixes, though, I mention a small category of nouns that are considered animate though they are not living things. Then I describe how the part versus whole relationship affects animacy.

### 1.1 Special nouns regarded as animate

The heavenly bodies and certain atmospheric phenomena are regarded as animate, as well as the cross. Notice from the examples of Lealao Chinantec in (3-6) that animate adjectives occur with **sih<sup>3</sup>** ‘moon’ and **ñú<sup>4</sup>heé<sup>1</sup>** ‘star.’

- (3) **caa<sup>3</sup>**    **na<sup>1</sup>cúú<sup>1</sup>**  
**caa<sup>3</sup>**    **na<sup>1</sup>-cúú<sup>1</sup>**  
one.inan. Cla2-rock  
one rock
- (4) **jay<sup>3</sup>**    **sih<sup>3</sup>**  
**jay<sup>3</sup>**    **sih<sup>3</sup>**  
one.an. moon.an  
one month
- (5) **chiú<sup>3</sup>**    **na<sup>1</sup>cúú<sup>1</sup>**  
**chiú<sup>3</sup>**    **na<sup>1</sup>-cúú<sup>1</sup>**  
four.inan. Cla2-rock  
four rocks
- (6) **chiúy<sup>3</sup>**    **ñú<sup>4</sup>heé<sup>1</sup>**  
**chiúy<sup>3</sup>**    **ñú<sup>4</sup>heé<sup>1</sup>**  
four.an. star.an  
four stars

The table in (7) summarizes the animate nouns used for the heavenly bodies in both language variants.

(7)	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Lealao</b>	<b>Ozumacín</b>
	sun	ñih <sup>2</sup>	ñih <sup>1</sup>
	moon	sih <sup>3</sup>	siih <sup>-</sup>
	rainbow	jmí <sup>4</sup> cúú <sup>1</sup>	miih <sup>-</sup> cúú <sup>1</sup>
	star	nú <sup>4</sup> heé <sup>1</sup>	nøø <sup>ʔ</sup>
	cross	cruz	cru <sup>-</sup>

## 1.2 Part versus whole relationships

A part of an animate noun is considered to be inanimate, so ‘hand’ is inanimate but the entire body is animate. Compare the adjectives in example (8) with respect to the animacy of the noun. The free form of the animate adjective for swollen is *gyaa<sup>-</sup>* in Ozumacín Chinantec. But as discussed with example (2) the final *y* is deleted when it co-occurs with the noun. Note that the *a* to *e* vowel shift in Lealao in the word ‘swollen’ is simply due to the phonological environment and not to animateness. The vowel *a* is always raised to an *e* when it occurs between alveopalatal segments and when *y* occurs both fore and aft.

(8)	<b>Lealao</b>	<b>Ozumacín</b>
	guaa <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> yaa <sup>3</sup>	gooy <sup>-</sup> he <sup>-</sup> gyoo <sup>-</sup>
	guaa <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> -yaa <sup>3</sup>	goo <sup>-</sup> -y he <sup>-</sup> gyoo <sup>-</sup>
	hand.3 REL STA-swollen.inan	hand-3 REL.inan swollen.inan
	the hand that is swollen	the hand that is swollen
	mi <sup>1</sup> liuh <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> yee <sup>3</sup>	chih <sup>-</sup> hi <sup>-</sup> gyaa <sup>-</sup>
	mi <sup>1</sup> -liuh <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> -yee <sup>3</sup> -y	chih <sup>-</sup> hi <sup>-</sup> gyaa <sup>-</sup> -y
	Cla1-little REL STA-swollen.an-an	child REL.an swollen.an-an
	the child that is swollen	the child that is swollen

When a part of the body sinks, the inanimate form of the intransitive verb ‘sink’ is used. But if the entire body sinks the animate form is used. Note the addition of the final *y* on the verb in the Lealao animate example in (9). The *y* on the intransitive verb ‘sink’ shows that a third person animate subject is being referenced. In Ozumacín, the animate form of the verb ‘sink’ is *dsa<sup>-</sup>haay<sup>ʔ</sup>*. The vowel change shows that the verb is now marked for an animate third person subject but there is no final *y* on the verb, for it co-occurs with the noun ‘child’. The third person is glossed with ‘he’ in this paper but it could also be ‘she’ as Chinantec does not make a masculine/feminine gender distinction..

(9)	<b>Intransitive verb</b>	<b>Lealao</b>	<b>Ozumacín</b>
	Inanimate subject (Part)	Dsá <sup>4</sup> haáh <sup>4</sup> tii <sup>2</sup> . Dsá <sup>4</sup> -haáh <sup>4</sup> tii <sup>2</sup> FUT-sink.inan foot-3. His foot will sink.	Dsa <sup>-</sup> hoo <sup>ʔ</sup> tiy <sup>ʔ</sup> . Dsa <sup>-</sup> -hoo <sup>ʔ</sup> tii-y FUT-sink.inan foot-3 His foot will sink.
	Animate subject (Whole)	Dsá <sup>4</sup> haáyh <sup>4</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> liuh <sup>2</sup> . Dsá <sup>4</sup> -haáh <sup>4</sup> -y mi <sup>1</sup> -liuh <sup>2</sup> FUT-sink-an. Cla1-little The child will sink.	Dsa <sup>-</sup> haa <sup>ʔ</sup> chih <sup>-</sup> . Dsa <sup>-</sup> haa <sup>ʔ</sup> -y chih <sup>-</sup> FUT-sink.an-an child The child will sink.

In Lealao Chinantec the transitive verb **hi<sup>2</sup>chiuh<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>** ‘eat’ is marked for an inanimate object. It has a corresponding verb marked for an animate object. Table (10) shows an example of each verb. Since grasshoppers are eaten whole they are considered to be an animate object. It does not mean that they are eaten alive. It means rather that the whole thing is popped into one's mouth.

(10)	Transitive verb	Inanimate object (part)	Animate object (whole)
	eat	Nú <sup>2</sup> ba <sup>2</sup> ga <sup>3</sup> cuh <sup>3</sup> . Nú <sup>2</sup> ba <sup>2</sup> ga <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> meat Affirm HAB-eat.3.inan He eats meat.	lih <sup>3</sup> ba <sup>2</sup> ga <sup>3</sup> cuyh <sup>3</sup> . lih <sup>3</sup> ba <sup>2</sup> ga <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> -y grasshopper Affirm HAB-eat.3-an He eats grasshoppers.

The verb ‘eat’ has two additional senses: ‘bite’ and ‘kiss’. In table (11) the second column cites the two special senses illustrated with sample inanimate objects for each. Note that the object is a "part" of a whole. The third column shows examples of the verb now marked for an animate object and thus the object refers to an animate "whole".

(11)	Verb	Inanimate object (part)	Animate object (whole)
	bite	Ma <sup>3</sup> cuh <sup>3</sup> guaay <sup>4</sup> dsii <sup>3</sup> . Ma <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> guaa <sup>4</sup> -y dsii <sup>3</sup> PST-eat.3.inan hand-1 dog The dog bit my hand.	Ma <sup>3</sup> cuyh <sup>3</sup> jniá <sup>3</sup> dsii <sup>3</sup> . Ma <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> -y jniá <sup>3</sup> dsii <sup>3</sup> PST-eat.3-an 1 dog The dog bit me.
	kiss	Ma <sup>3</sup> cuh <sup>3</sup> xiuuh <sup>42</sup> ñi <sup>2</sup> xiu <sup>3</sup> ñih <sup>1</sup> . Ma <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> xiuuh <sup>42</sup> ñi <sup>2</sup> xiu <sup>3</sup> ñih <sup>1</sup> PST-eat.3.inan border mouth.3 baby He kissed the baby's mouth.	Ma <sup>3</sup> cuyh <sup>3</sup> xiu <sup>3</sup> ñih <sup>1</sup> . Ma <sup>3</sup> -cuh <sup>3</sup> -y xiu <sup>3</sup> ñih <sup>1</sup> PST-eat.3.an-an baby He kissed the baby.

Similarly the transitive verb ‘swallow’ has two forms, one for an inanimate complement and one for an animate complement. For example, the verb marked for an inanimate complement is used when one talks about swallowing water or, in the odd event that one swallows a piece of a frog. But if a snake swallows a frog, the verb marked for an animate object is used because it is common knowledge that snakes swallow their prey whole.

Now I will move on to describe in detail how person marking can interact with animateness on nouns, adjectives and verbs.

## 2 Person marking and animacy

In the previous section, the examples which were marked to show animateness were almost exclusively examples involving third person. Now I turn to describe the rest of the suffixes.

### 2.1 Pronominal suffixes

There are two sets of pronominal suffixes in Lealao Chinantec which are arbitrarily called Class I and II. The two classes are only distinct in the singular forms. When they occur on nouns they mark the possessor. Generally speaking, the Class I pronominal suffixes refer to inanimate nouns and Class II suffixes refer to animate nouns. Adjectives which directly modify a noun are always

marked for animacy using the third person forms. However, when the adjective occurs as a predicate within a relative clause or main clause, any of the pronominal suffixes may occur. The same two sets occur with verbs but, because of the complexity involved, I will address that matter in sections 4.1 and 4.2. The following table presents the two classes of pronominal suffixes which occur in Lealao Chinantec.

(12)		<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	Class I	y	a <sup>2</sup>	ah <sup>1</sup>	y	ah <sup>3</sup>	∅
	Class II	á <sup>2</sup> , á <sup>4</sup>	a <sup>2</sup>	ah <sup>1</sup>	u <sup>3</sup>	ah <sup>3</sup>	y

In Ozumacín Chinantec there is but a single set of pronominal suffixes and, except for second person, the suffixes are deleted in the presence of possessive adjectives, personal pronouns or head nouns. Since there is only one set of suffixes, I will introduce them in example (17) in section 2.2 where obligatory noun possession is described for Ozumacín.

## 2.2 Obligatorily possessed nouns

As is common in Otomanguean languages, there are obligatorily possessed Chinantec nouns. Most such nouns fall into two general categories: body parts and kinship terms. In Lealao Chinantec body parts are inflected to mark the person of the possessor by means of Class I suffixes, for that is the class that is generally linked with the inanimate gender. The table in (13) gives several examples of body parts inflected for the various persons.

(13)	<b>Body Part</b>	<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	foot	tiiy <sup>4</sup>	tii <sup>1</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	tii <sup>1</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	tiiy <sup>1</sup>	tii <sup>1</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	tii <sup>2</sup>
	head	dxiy <sup>4</sup>	dxí <sup>2</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	dxí <sup>2</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	dxíy <sup>1</sup>	dxí <sup>1</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	dxí <sup>2</sup>
	stomach	tuyh <sup>4</sup>	tuh <sup>32</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	tuh <sup>32</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	tuyh <sup>3</sup>	tuh <sup>3</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	túh <sup>2</sup>

The third person body part terms can be used in connection with both animate and inanimate nouns. Thus dxí<sup>2</sup> can refer to the head of a person or the head (bow) of a boat.

Table (14) shows examples of kinship terms inflected for person using the Class II suffixes. The bottom row of the table cites the personal pronouns, showing that this may well be the source of the Class II suffixes.

(14)	<b>Kinship term</b>	<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	companion	oóh <sup>2</sup> á <sup>4</sup>	oóh <sup>2</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	oóh <sup>2</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	oóh <sup>2</sup> u <sup>3</sup>	oóh <sup>2</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	oóyh <sup>2</sup>
	brother (of female)	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooh <sup>32</sup> á <sup>4</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooh <sup>32</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooh <sup>32</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooh <sup>32</sup> u <sup>3</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooh <sup>32</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	ñi <sup>3</sup> ooyh <sup>32</sup>
	Personal pronoun	jná <sup>3</sup>	jnia <sup>2</sup>	jniaah <sup>1</sup>	niu <sup>3</sup>	niaá <sup>4</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	∅ <sup>3</sup>

Of course, there are always crossovers. For example, ‘wages’ which uses the (usually animate) Class II suffix set:

<sup>3</sup>One would expect the form to be y here, but the pronominal form is null.

(15) **jñii<sup>42</sup>á<sup>4</sup>** my wages

The opposite case is shown in (16) since ‘son’ unexpectedly uses the (usually inanimate) Class I suffix set .

(16) **jaay<sup>4</sup>** my son

Obligatory noun possession in Ozumacín Chinantec is accomplished by using suffixes alone in the singular persons, and in combination with the first plural exclusive and second plural personal pronouns as shown in the first row of table (17). Or, one can use the personal pronoun to accompany the noun for each of the persons. This is shown in the second row along with the resultant deletion of the suffix in all except the second person forms.

(17)		<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	short form	<b>n<sup>+</sup></b>	<b>n<sup>`</sup></b>	<b>∅ jnääh<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>h</b>	<b>h hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>y</b>
	full form	<b>∅ jnä<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅ jne<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅ jnääh<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>h hne<sup>-</sup></b>	<b>h hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅</b>

A few examples of obligatorily possessed nouns in Ozumacín Chinantec are given in (18). There are two rows for each example in order to cite the short form and the full form. Since there is no third person personal pronoun for the full form, the examples use the word **dsa-** ‘person’ in place of the pronoun.

(18)		<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	<b>foot</b>	<b>tiin<sup>+</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup> jnä<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>tiin<sup>+</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup> jne<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>ti<sup>+</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>ti<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hne<sup>-</sup></b>	<b>ti<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>ti<sup>+</sup>y<sup>+</sup></b> <b>ti<sup>+</sup> dsa<sup>-</sup></b>
	<b>head</b>	<b>llen<sup>+</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup> jnä<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>llen<sup>+</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup> jne<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>lle<sup>+</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>lle<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hne<sup>-</sup></b>	<b>lle<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup>h<sup>+</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>lley<sup>+</sup></b> <b>lle<sup>+</sup> dsa<sup>-</sup></b>
	<b>companion</b>	<b>∅∅hn<sup>1</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> jnä<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅∅hn<sup>1</sup> jne<sup>ʔ</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> jne<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> jnääh<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> hne<sup>-</sup></b>	<b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> hnäh<sup>ʔ</sup></b>	<b>∅∅yh<sup>1</sup></b> <b>∅∅h<sup>1</sup> dsa<sup>-</sup></b>

Nouns that are not inflected to show possession use possessive adjectives to indicate possession. The possessive adjectives for inanimate and animate nouns are described in section 3.2.3.

### 3 Concord agreement in the noun phrase

As mentioned in section 1, there is agreement in animacy between nouns and their modifiers, and also with the verb. This section describes the animacy marking on the various nominal modifiers and shows the concord agreement within the noun phrase.

#### 3.1 Adjectives which precede the noun

In the noun phrase, numerals and indefinite quantifiers occur before the noun. The examples in (19) include both inanimate and animate nouns, thus the numeral ‘ten’ and the indefinite quantifier ‘all’ occur in their respective inanimate and animate forms.



(19) Quantitative Adjective		Lealao	Ozumacín
ten	inanimate	dxíá <sup>4</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> lí <sup>1</sup> dxíá <sup>4</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> -lí <sup>1</sup> ten.inan Cla1-flower ten flowers	gya <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>1</sup> le <sup>1</sup> gya <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>1</sup> -lí <sup>1</sup> ten.inan Cla3-flower ten flowers
	animate	dxiéy <sup>4</sup> dsii <sup>3</sup> dxié <sup>4</sup> -y dsii <sup>3</sup> ten.an-an dog ten dogs	gyaa <sup>1</sup> dsii <sup>-</sup> gyaa <sup>1</sup> -y dsii <sup>-</sup> ten.an-an dog ten dogs
all	inanimate	liáh <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>3</sup> nú <sup>2</sup> liáh <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>3</sup> nú <sup>2</sup> all.inan house all the houses	lä <sup>+</sup> jě <sup>+</sup> hne <sup>1</sup> lä <sup>+</sup> jě <sup>+</sup> hne <sup>1</sup> all.inan house all the houses
	animate	liáh <sup>4</sup> jiy <sup>3</sup> dsa <sup>3</sup> liáh <sup>4</sup> ji <sup>3</sup> -y dsa <sup>3</sup> all-an person all the people	lä <sup>+</sup> jěě <sup>+</sup> dsa <sup>-</sup> lä <sup>+</sup> jěě <sup>+</sup> -y dsa <sup>-</sup> all.an-an person all the people

I mentioned in section 1 that the third person animate marking **y** is deleted in Ozumacín Chinantec when the referenced noun is specified. However, when the adjective functions as the predicate this deletion does not occur. Notice the contrast based on the function of the adjective in the examples in (20).

(20) Adjective as modifier	Adjective as predicate
chih <sup>-</sup> jøøh <sup>1</sup> chih <sup>-</sup> jøøh <sup>1</sup> -y child big.an-an big child	Jøøyh <sup>1</sup> chih <sup>-</sup> . jøøh <sup>1</sup> -y chih <sup>-</sup> big.an-an child The child is big.

### 3.2 Adjectives which follow the noun

Qualitative, demonstrative and possessive adjectives follow the noun.

#### 3.2.1 Qualitative adjectives

In table (21) there are examples of qualitative adjectives from both Chinantec variants.

(21) Qualitative adjective		Lealao	Ozumacín
good	inanimate	mih <sup>3</sup> dxú <sup>4</sup> mih <sup>3</sup> dxú <sup>4</sup> clothing good.inan good clothing	hmiih <sup>-</sup> llu <sup>1</sup> hmiih <sup>-</sup> llæ <sup>1</sup> clothing good.inan good clothing

big (plural)	animate	<b>dsii<sup>3</sup> dxúy<sup>4</sup></b> <b>dsii<sup>3</sup> dxú<sup>4</sup>-y</b> dog good-an good dog	<b>dsii<sup>-</sup> lluu<sup>1</sup></b> <b>dsii<sup>-</sup> lluu<sup>1</sup>-y</b> dog good.an-an good dog
	inanimate	<b>ñú<sup>2</sup> cah<sup>2</sup></b> <b>ñú<sup>2</sup> cah<sup>2</sup></b> house big.Pl.inan big houses	<b>hne<sup>1</sup> kaah<sup>1</sup></b> <b>hne<sup>1</sup> kaah<sup>1</sup></b> house big.Pl.inan big houses
	animate	<b>güii<sup>42</sup> cáyh<sup>1</sup></b> <b>güii<sup>42</sup> cáh<sup>1</sup>-y</b> squirrel big.Pl-an big squirrels	<b>gyuu<sup>-</sup> caah<sup>1</sup></b> <b>gyuu<sup>-</sup> caah<sup>1</sup>-y</b> squirrel big.Pl.an-an big squirrels

It is also common in both language variants for a qualitative adjective to be introduced with a relative pronoun instead of having the modifier immediately following the noun, as shown by example (22) for Lealao. I will describe the form of the relative pronoun in more detail in the next section.

- (22) **güii<sup>42</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> cáyh<sup>1</sup>**  
squirrel REL big.Pl-an  
squirrels that are big

### 3.2.2 Demonstrative adjectives and the relative pronouns

In both Chinantec variants there are three demonstrative adjectives for locations progressively distant from the speaker, as shown in table (23). These adjectives are used with both animate and inanimate nouns.

(23)	<b>Position</b>	<b>Lealao</b>	<b>Ozumacîn</b>
	next to the speaker	<b>dsii<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup></b> dog here this dog	<b>kuu<sup>1</sup> la<sup>-</sup></b> money here this money
	further from the speaker	<b>cuu<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup></b> money there that money	<b>jah<sup>1</sup> na<sup>-</sup></b> animal there that animal
	distant from the speaker	<b>ñú<sup>2</sup> nîf<sup>4</sup></b> house way.over.there that house way over there	<b>hne<sup>1</sup> oo<sup>+</sup></b> house way.over.there that house way over there

However, in constructions with the relative pronoun the two demonstrative adjectives for the nearer positions in Lealao Chinantec have a distinct animate form to refer to an animate noun.

(24)	Position	Inanimate noun	with relative pronoun	Animate noun	with relative pronoun
	next to speaker	<b>guaá<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup></b> box here this box	<b>hi<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup></b> REL here this one	<b>dsii<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup></b> dog here this dog	<b>hi<sup>3</sup> ley<sup>32</sup></b> REL here.an this one
	further from speaker	<b>guaá<sup>2</sup> na<sup>3</sup></b> box there that box	<b>hi<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup></b> REL there that one	<b>dsii<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup></b> dog there that dog	<b>hi<sup>3</sup> niy<sup>32</sup></b> REL there.an that one

The animate forms only occur when they are contiguous with the relative pronoun. Thus in example (25) the animate form of ‘there’ is not used because of the intervening word ‘lying’.

- (25) **dsii<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup>cayh<sup>32</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>**  
 dog REL lying there  
 the dog lying there

The relative pronoun in Lealao Chinantec has only a single form, but in Ozumacín Chinantec there are separate forms for animate and inanimate. Thus when referring to a box close to themselves the Ozumacín Chinantec would say: **he<sup>-</sup> la<sup>-</sup>** ‘REL here ‘this one’’. But if referring to a dog close by they would say: **hi<sup>-</sup> la<sup>-</sup>** ‘REL there ‘this one’.’

In addition, each language has a pair of demonstratives which differ by animateness and are used when referring to something out of sight. In the case of the inanimate one, it can refer to an abstract item as in: "that's what I mean." These demonstratives are illustrated in table (26).

(26)	Out-of-sight or Abstract	Lealao	Ozumacín
	Inanimate	<b>guaá<sup>2</sup> ja<sup>3</sup></b> box that that box	<b>goo<sup>ʔ</sup> ja<sup>-</sup></b> box that that box
	Animate	<b>dsa<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>3</sup></b> person that.an that person	<b>chih<sup>-</sup> he<sup>ʔ</sup></b> child that.an that child

The interrogative pronouns appear to be related to the relative pronouns. Though the relative pronoun does not have an animate form in Lealao Chinantec, the interrogative pronoun does have separate forms as presented in table (27).

(27)	Interrogative pronoun	Lealao	Ozumacín
	inanimate	<b>¿He<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>?</b> <b>he<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>3</sup></b> what.inan there REL there What is that?	<b>¿Hee<sup>-</sup> na<sup>-</sup> he<sup>-</sup> na<sup>-</sup>?</b> <b>hee<sup>-</sup> na<sup>-</sup> he<sup>-</sup> na<sup>-</sup></b> what.inan there REL.inan there What is that?

animate	¿Hĩ <sup>2</sup> niy <sup>32</sup> ni <sup>3?</sup> hĩ <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>32</sup> -y ni <sup>3</sup> who.an there-an there Who is that?	¿Hĩ <sup>-</sup> dsa <sup>-</sup> na <sup>-?</sup> hĩ <sup>-</sup> dsa <sup>-</sup> na <sup>-</sup> who.an person there Who is that?
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### 3.2.3 Possessive adjectives

The following tables display the possessive adjectives for both Chinantec variants.<sup>4</sup>

(28)	<b>Lealao</b>	<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	Inanimate	chieéy <sup>4</sup>	chiaa <sup>42</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	chiaa <sup>42</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	chiúh <sup>2</sup> u <sup>3</sup>	chiaá <sup>2</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	chiáh <sup>2</sup>
	Animate	chiaá <sup>2</sup> á <sup>4</sup>	chiaa <sup>42</sup> a <sup>2</sup>	chiaa <sup>42</sup> ah <sup>1</sup>	chiúh <sup>2</sup> u <sup>3</sup>	chiaá <sup>2</sup> ah <sup>3</sup>	chiéy <sup>2</sup>

  

(29)	<b>Ozumacín</b>	<b>1 Sg</b>	<b>1 Pl incl</b>	<b>1 Pl excl</b>	<b>2 Sg</b>	<b>2 Pl</b>	<b>3</b>
	Inanimate	kin <sup>+</sup>	jnän <sup>`</sup>	kyaa <sup>+</sup> jnääh <sup>+</sup>	kyah <sup>+</sup>	kyah <sup>+</sup> hnäh <sup>+</sup>	kiyh <sup>+</sup>
	Animate	kyaan <sup>+</sup>	jnän <sup>`</sup>	kyaa <sup>+</sup> jnääh <sup>+</sup>	kyaa <sup>+</sup>	kyaa <sup>+</sup> hnäh <sup>+</sup>	kyay <sup>+</sup>

The possessive adjectives follow the noun and any qualitative adjectives, as shown in (30) and (31).

To conclude this section on adjectives I present an example from each language which has several kinds of adjectives in a single noun phrase. Note the concord agreement of either inanimate (a examples) or animate (b examples) marking throughout the phrase.

- (30) Lealao
- a. liáh<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>3</sup> dxiá<sup>4</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>lih<sup>3</sup> yuú<sup>3</sup> chiáh<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> tiaah<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>  
liáh<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>3</sup> dxiá<sup>4</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>lih<sup>3</sup> yuú<sup>3</sup> chiáh<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> tiaah<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>  
all.inan ten.inan machine red.inan POSS3.inan REL stand.Pl.inan there  
all ten of his red trucks there
- b. liáh<sup>4</sup>jiy<sup>3</sup> dxiéy<sup>4</sup> caballo yuúy<sup>3</sup> chiéy<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup>taay<sup>4</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>  
liáh<sup>4</sup>ji<sup>3</sup>-y dxiéy<sup>4</sup>-y caballo yuúy<sup>3</sup>-y chiéy<sup>2</sup>-y hi<sup>3</sup> na<sup>3</sup>-taa<sup>4</sup>-y ni<sup>3</sup>  
all-an ten-an horse red-an POSS3.an-an REL STA-stand.Pl.an-an there  
all ten of his red horses there
- (31) Ozumacín
- a. lä<sup>-</sup>jē<sup>-</sup> gya<sup>+</sup> carro gyuu<sup>+</sup> kiyh<sup>+</sup> he<sup>-</sup> tääh<sup>+</sup> na<sup>-</sup>  
lä<sup>-</sup>jē<sup>-</sup> gya<sup>+</sup> carro gyuu<sup>+</sup> kiyh<sup>+</sup> he<sup>-</sup> tääh<sup>+</sup> na<sup>-</sup>  
all.inan ten.inan truck red.inan POSS3.inan REL.inan stand.Pl.inan there  
all ten of his red trucks there

<sup>4</sup>To express third person plural in Lealao Chinantec, the plural word is added after the possessive adjective, so the third person plural forms are **chiáh<sup>2</sup> diáh<sup>4</sup>** and **chiéy<sup>2</sup> diáh<sup>4</sup>**. Ozumacín Chniantec does not have a plural word.

- b.  $\text{lā}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{jēē}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{gyaa}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{kya}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{jīih}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{gyuu}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{kyaay}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{hī}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{tāäh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{na}^{\text{ˉ}}$   
 $\text{lā}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{jēē}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{gyaa}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{kya}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{jīih}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{gyuu}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{kyaay}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{hī}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{tāäh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{na}^{\text{ˉ}}$   
 all.an ten.an horse red.an POSS.3.an REL.an stand.Pl.an there  
 all ten of his red horses there

The next section moves to the complex issue of how animacy is marked on verbs.

## 4 Verbal marking for animacy

Animacy marking for verbs seems to follow an ergative-absolutive system (Foris 1993, Dixon 1994) in that the same set of pronominal suffixes on verbs is used for the animate subject of an intransitive verb and the animate object of a transitive verb, as shown in the following sections. Section 4.3 then describes the special transformations that take place when a transitive verb has both an animate subject and an animate object.

### 4.1 Animacy and intransitive verbs

With inanimate verbs, it is the subject which is marked for animacy. When the subject is animate, Lealao Chinantec normally uses the Class II suffixes which were shown in example (12). Table (32) gives an example from each variant for the third person with both animate and inanimate subjects.

(32) Subject	Lealao	Ozumacín
Inanimate third person	$\text{Hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{mí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{lí}^{\text{ˉ}}$ $\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-cíh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{mí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-lí}^{\text{ˉ}}$ FUT-fall PRE1-flower The flower will fall.	$\text{Dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-tòh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{wa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{'le}^{\text{ˉ}}$ $\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-tòh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{wa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{'-le}^{\text{ˉ}}$ FUT-fall.inan PRE2-flower The flower will fall.
Animate third person	$\text{Hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíyh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{mí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{liuh}^{\text{ˉ}}$ $\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-cíh}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-y} \text{mí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-liuh}^{\text{ˉ}}$ FUT-fall-an PRE1-little The child will fall.	$\text{Dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-täh}^{\text{ˉ}} \text{chih}^{\text{ˉ}}$ $\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-täh}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-y} \text{chih}^{\text{ˉ}}$ FUT-fall.an-an child The child will fall.

Table (33) displays the inflection of the intransitive verb ‘fall’ for each of the variants for the various persons when the subject is animate. However, only the singular persons and first person plural inclusive are shown, since these are the only persons that are unique. Since there is no subject specified for the third singular in Ozumacín Chinantec, the final y is not deleted.

(33)	1 Sg	1 Pl incl	2 Sg	3
Lealao	$\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíh}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{á}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíh}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{a}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíh}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{u}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{hí}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{cíyh}^{\text{ˉ}}$
Ozumacín	$\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-tähn}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-tähn}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-täh}^{\text{ˉ}}$	$\text{dsa}^{\text{ˉ}}\text{-täyh}^{\text{ˉ}}$

The respective verb stems in the above example  $\text{cíh}^{\text{ˉ}}$  and  $\text{täh}^{\text{ˉ}}$  obviously have the same tone regardless of person. It is true that there is less variation of tone paradigms among intransitive verb stems; however, they are not all as uniform as the ones cited here. Also there are a few intransitive verbs in Lealao that use the class II suffixes in first and second person but not in third person. Thus the intransitive verb ‘moan’ does not manifest the final y in third person as expected.

- (34) **hí<sup>4</sup>heé<sup>4</sup>**  
**hí<sup>4</sup>-heé<sup>4</sup>**  
 FUT-moan  
 he will moan

In Ozumacín Chinantec, just like the third person **y** deletion previously shown, the first singular and plural marking suffixes on the verb are deleted when the subject is overtly present in the clause. However, the second person suffix does not undergo this deletion.<sup>5</sup>

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (35) | <b>Short Form</b><br><b>Ma-tahn̄.</b><br><b>ma-tah̄-n</b><br>PST-fall.an-1Sg<br>I fell.<br><b>Ma-tahn̄'.</b><br><b>ma-tah̄'-n</b><br>PST-fall.an-1Pl<br>We fell. | <b>Full Form</b><br><b>Ma-tah̄ jnă̄.</b><br><b>ma-tah̄ jnă̄'</b><br>PST-fall.an 1Sg<br>I fell.<br><b>Ma-tah̄' jnē.</b><br><b>ma-tah̄' jnē'</b><br>PST-fall.an 1Pl<br>We fell. |
|------|--|---|

Now I will describe the animacy concordance with transitive verbs.

## 4.2 Animacy and transitive verbs

As I mentioned in section 2.1 there is but one set of pronominal suffixes in Ozumacín which is used with adjectives, intransitive and transitive verbs. Lealao on the other hand has two sets. Intransitive verbs in Lealao use almost exclusively Class II suffixes. With transitive verbs, Class I suffixes are used when the direct object is inanimate and Class II suffixes are used when the direct object is animate. The following tables present the inflection of the transitive verb ‘make’ which is marked for an inanimate object and then for an animate object in Lealao Chinantec. An example of ‘make’ with an animate object would be ‘create’ (draw, paint or sculpt) but the item created is not necessarily an animate object.

- |      |  |   |   |   |
|------|--|---|---|---|
| (36) | <b>1 Sg</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jmeey<sup>42</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jmeey<sup>42</sup>-y</b><br>FUT-make.inan-1Sg<br>I will make it                      | <b>1 Pl incl</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jmeey<sup>2a2</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jmeey<sup>2a2</sup></b><br>FUT-make.inan-1Pl<br>we will make it | <b>2 Sg</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jmeey<sup>3</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jmeey<sup>3</sup>-y</b><br>FUT-make.inan-2Sg<br>you will make it | <b>3</b><br><b>hi<sup>4</sup>jmeé<sup>4</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>4</sup>-jmeé<sup>4</sup></b><br>FUT-make.inan<br>he will make it       |
| (37) | <b>1 Sg</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jme<sup>44</sup>á<sup>4</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jme<sup>44</sup>-á<sup>4</sup></b><br>FUT-make.an-1Sg<br>I will create it | <b>1 Pl</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jme<sup>32a2</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jme<sup>32a2</sup></b><br>FUT-make.an-1Pl<br>we will create it        | <b>2 Sg</b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>jme<sup>32u3</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>2</sup>-jme<sup>32u3</sup></b><br>FUT-make.an-2Sg<br>you will create it | <b>3</b><br><b>hi<sup>4</sup>jme<sup>32</sup></b><br><b>hi<sup>4</sup>-jme<sup>32</sup>-y</b><br>FUT-make.an-3Sg<br>he will create it |

<sup>5</sup>The tones, including ballistic accent on the verb stem, also mark aspect and person. However, in this paper the stem glosses are cited as an infinitive for the sake of simplicity. See Rupp & Rupp (1996:section 6) for more details.

These same two verbs in Ozumacín Chinantec are:

- |      |   |  |  |   |
|------|---|--|--|---|
| (38) | <b>1 Sg</b><br>jmeen`<br>jmeen`-n<br>will.make.inan-1Sg<br>I will make it | <b>1 Pl</b><br>jmeen`<br>jmeen`-n<br>will.make.inan-1Pl<br>we will make it | <b>2</b><br>jmeeh<br>jmeeh-h<br>will.make.inan-2<br>you will make it | <b>3</b><br>jmeey`<br>jmeey`-y<br>will.make.inan-3<br>he will make it |
| (39) | <b>1 Sg</b><br>jmään<br>jmään-n<br>will.make.an-1Sg<br>I will create it   | <b>1 Pl</b><br>jmään<br>jmään-n<br>will.make.an-1Pl<br>we will create it   | <b>2</b><br>jmääh<br>jmääh-h<br>will.make.an-2<br>you will create it | <b>3</b><br>jmääy~<br>jmääy~-y<br>will.make.an-3<br>he will create it |

Even though transitive verbs are inflected for the person of the subject, there is a potential for ambiguity between subject and direct object when both are third person. This is true even though Chinantec is a VSO language. A Chinantec could guess which is the subject and probably be right most of the time. But they prefer to avoid the formation of a clause which consists of a transitive verb followed by the subject as well as the direct object. I will now describe what they use in its place.

### 4.3 Transformation of transitive verbs

In Lealao Chinantec a transitive verb marked for an animate object can be converted into a transitive verb marked for an inanimate object and at the same time retain the imprint of what it once was. The transformed verb never occurs with an overt object, for it is immediately followed by the transitive verb and its accompanying direct object. In the examples below I first cite a transitive verb ‘*speak*’ marked for an inanimate object. Then I cite the related transitive verb ‘*speak to*’ which is marked for an animate object. The third example presents a transformed verb ‘*speak to*’ which can only be accompanied by a subject, followed by the normal verb for ‘*speak to*’ and its direct object.

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (40) | Gá <sup>4</sup> liú <sup>3</sup><br>gá <sup>4</sup> -liú <sup>3</sup><br>PST2-speak.inan.3<br>He spoke a few words.          | caa <sup>3</sup> tú <sup>4</sup> jaah <sup>42</sup> fáh <sup>4</sup> liu <sup>4</sup> .<br>caa <sup>3</sup> -tú <sup>4</sup> jaah <sup>42</sup> fáh <sup>4</sup> -liu <sup>4</sup><br>one-two stairs NOM-speech |
| (41) | Gá <sup>4</sup> liúy <sup>2</sup><br>gá <sup>4</sup> -liú <sup>2</sup> -y<br>PST2-speak.to.an-3 1Sg<br>He spoke to me.       | jniá <sup>3</sup> .<br>jniá <sup>3</sup>  |
| (42) | Gá <sup>4</sup> liuu <sup>4</sup><br>gá <sup>4</sup> -liuu <sup>4</sup><br>PST2-speak.to.3 John<br>John spoke to the people. | Faay <sup>32</sup> gá <sup>4</sup> liúy <sup>2</sup><br>Faay <sup>32</sup> gá <sup>4</sup> -liú <sup>2</sup> -y<br>PST2-speak.to.an-3 Pl person   |

There is also another way to avoid the third person subject-object ambiguity. Both Lealao and Ozumacín Chinantec can use a transformed transitive verb (marked now for inanimate object) and then introduce the animate object by inserting the **inanimate** possessive adjective **chiáh<sup>2</sup>** or **kih<sup>1</sup>** before the object. Example (43) shows a transitive verb marked for animate object along with an animate object in Lealao Chinantec, followed by the respective transformed verb and animate object, now introduced by the inanimate possessive adjective in (44).

- (43) **Gá<sup>4</sup>liúy<sup>2</sup>**                      **diáh<sup>4</sup> dsa<sup>3</sup>.**  
**gá<sup>4</sup>-liú<sup>2</sup>-y**                      **diáh<sup>4</sup> dsa<sup>3</sup>**  
 PST2-speak.to.an-3 Pl            people  
 He spoke to the people.
- (44) **Gá<sup>4</sup>liuu<sup>4</sup>**                      **chiáh<sup>2</sup>**                      **diáh<sup>4</sup> dsa<sup>3</sup>.**  
**gá<sup>4</sup>-liuu<sup>4</sup>**                      **chiáh<sup>2</sup>**                      **diáh<sup>4</sup> dsa<sup>3</sup>**  
 PST2-speak.to.3 POSS.3inan Pl            people  
 He spoke to the people.

Example (45) shows a similar case from Ozumacín Chinantec of a transitive verb marked for animate object along with an animate object, followed by the respective transformed verb and animate object, now introduced by the inanimate possessive adjective.

- (45) **Ga<sup>ˈ</sup>jngëëyh<sup>1</sup>**                      **dsii<sup>-</sup>.**  
**ga<sup>ˈ</sup>-jngëëh<sup>1</sup>-y**                      **dsii<sup>-</sup>**  
 PST2-kill.an.3-3 dog  
 He killed the dog.
- (46) **Ga<sup>ˈ</sup>jniih<sup>1</sup>**                      **kih<sup>1</sup>**                      **dsii<sup>-</sup>.**  
**ga<sup>ˈ</sup>-jngiih<sup>1</sup>**                      **kih<sup>1</sup>**                      **dsii<sup>-</sup>**  
 PST2-kill.inan.3 POSS.inan dog  
 He killed the dog.

This transformation process is quite common and used even more frequently in Ozumacín Chinantec than in Lealao Chinantec. However, there are many contextual situations where the discourse flow is such that there is no ambiguity between third person subject and object. This can be illustrated in English with the statement: "The authorities summoned the townspeople and told them". The first verb mentions both the subject and the object, while only the object is mentioned in conjunction with the second verb, yet without any ambiguity.

## 5 Conclusion

This paper has described the marking for animacy in two varieties of Chinantec. We saw that concord agreement for animacy is required throughout the nominal phrase. In addition, the verb is marked for animacy of its arguments following an ergative-absolutive system.



## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
Affirm	Affirmative
an	Animate
Cla1	Classifier 1 - a noun prefix denoting spherical, or diminutive
Cla2	Classifier 2 - a noun prefix denoting piece of, or deprecatory
Cla3	Classifier 3 - a noun prefix
excl	Exclusive - includes the speaker (and others) but not the hearer
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
inan	Inanimate
incl	Inclusive - includes the speaker and the hearer (and others)
NOM	Nominal - a nominalizing prefix
Pl	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRE1	A nominal prefix (which exceptionally occurs with <i>little</i> to express <i>child</i> )
PRE2	A nominal prefix
PST	Past - past tense of today
PST2	Past 2 - past tense prior to today
REL	Relative pronoun
Sg	Singular
STA	Stative - a stativizing prefix

## Tone marking

The tones in Lealao Chinantec are represented with numbers 1-4 where 1 is high. There are also two upglides 32 and 42. A syllable with a ballistic accent is slightly shorter and the pitch decays more rapidly than that of a controlled syllable (i.e. not ballistic). In Ozumacín Chinantec the tones are represented by diacritics and this variant of Chinantec has three upglides. The ballistic accent is represented by a dot beside the tone diacritic.

(47) Tone	Lealao		Ozumacín	
	Controlled	Ballistic	Controlled	Ballistic
Very high	1	ʼ1		
High	2	ʼ2	ˈ	ˈˈ
Mid	3	ʼ3	ˌ	ˌˌ
Low	4	ʼ4	ˋ	ˋˋ
Low-high	42		ˊ	
Low-mid	32		ˊˊ	
Mid-high			ˊˊˊ	

## Orthography

The practical orthography for the consonants used in the examples is shown in (48) for Lealao and in (49) for Ozumacín Chinantec. The place and type of articulation is shown, with the phonetic symbol given in parentheses when it is different from the orthographic symbol.

(48)	Bilabial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>	p b	t d		c (k) g (g)	h (?)
<b>Affricates</b>			ch (tʃ) ds (dʒ) dx (dʒ)		
<b>Fricatives</b>	f	s	x (ʃ)		j (h)
<b>Nasals</b>	m	n	ñ (ɲ)	ŋ	
<b>Laterals</b>		l			
<b>Approximants</b>	v (w)	r (r)	y (j)		

Additional consonants used in Spanish loan words include **z** and **q** in Lealao Chinantec.

(49)	Bilabial	Dental	Palato-Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>	p b	t d		k g (g)	h (?)
<b>Affricates</b>			ch (tʃ) ds (dʒ) ll (dʒ)		
<b>Fricatives</b>		s			j (h)
<b>Nasals</b>	m	n	ñ (ɲ)	ng (ŋ)	
<b>Laterals</b>		l			
<b>Approximants</b>	w	r (r)	y (j)		

Additional consonants used in Spanish loan words include **f**, **v**, **z** and **q** in Ozumacín Chinantec.

The practical orthography for the vowels used in the examples is shown in (50) for Lealao and in (51) for Ozumacín Chinantec.

(50)	Front	Mid	Back
<b>High</b>	i	ɨ	u
<b>Low</b>	e (æ)	a	o

In Lealao Chinantec, labialization is written with a **u** and palatalization is written with a **y**. Nasalization is marked by underlining the vowel and a long vowel is doubled.

(51)		<b>Front (unrounded)</b>	<b>Front (rounded)</b>	<b>Mid (unrounded)</b>	<b>Back (rounded)</b>
	<b>High</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>ɥ (y)</b>	<b>ɨ</b>	<b>u</b>
	<b>Mid</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ø</b>	<b>ẽ (ə)</b>	<b>o</b>
	<b>Low</b>	<b>ä (æ)</b>		<b>a</b>	

In Ozumacín Chinantec, labialization is written with a **w** and palatalization is written with a **y**. Nasalization is marked by underlining the vowel and a long vowel is doubled. Palatalization causes the back rounded vowels to become the corresponding front rounded vowels, and the mid unrounded vowels to become the corresponding front unrounded vowels.

## References

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