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A grammar of Sochiapan Chinantec

Foris, David Paul, Ph.D.

University of Auckland (New Zealand), 1994

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A GRAMMAR

OF

SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC

David Paul Foris

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
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University of Auckland
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12 Royal Viking Way, Lynfield, Auckland 4.
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ABSTRACT

Sochiapan Chinantec is a native American tone language spoken in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico.

A phonemic analysis of Sochiapan Chinantec is given in Chapter 2; and in Chapter 3 various lexical formation strategies are discussed.

The complexities of verbal inflection--changes in the tone, stress, and nucleus--which index the verb for person, tense, motion, mood, aspect, voice, transitivity, direct and inverse cross-referencing, reflexivity, and reciprocity are discussed in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 5, there is a description of the Verb Phrase; the structure of the Noun Phrase is explored in Chapter 6; and prepositional phrases are discussed in Chapter 7.

The focus of Chapter 8 is the clause. The primary clause constituents include the subject, object, and indirect object, which are discussed with respect to transitivity, split-ergativity, direct and inverse cross-referencing, the passive constructions (including impersonal passives), and the antipassive. The secondary clause constituents include the benefactive, recipient/source, manner, locative, comitative, temporal, instrumental, illocutionary, and vocative.

In Chapter 9, I discuss complex and compound sentences; included are relative clauses, complementation, clauses of purpose, result, cause, conditionals, concessives, substitutives, comparatives, and the coordination of clauses.

A description of interrogative constructions is given in Chapter 10, and in Chapter 11, there is a description of illocutionary adverbs and particles which a speaker may use to convey her/his attitude to the proposition and/or the addressee.

Lastly, in Chapter 12, the topic-comment construction and the focus strategies are discussed.

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vi

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.0 Geographical, Historical, and Linguistic Background of the Chinantec People.....	1
1.1 The Sochiapan Chinantecs.....	2
1.1.1 Topography and Climate.....	2
1.1.2 History.....	3
1.1.3 The Economy and Agriculture.....	4
1.1.4 The Social Infrastructure.....	5
1.1.5 Education.....	6
1.1.6 Religion and the Supernatural.....	7
1.2 The Data and Methodology.....	8
1.3 Salient Linguistic Characteristics.....	9
Chapter 2: SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC PHONOLOGY	
2.0 Introduction.....	13
2.1 Vowels.....	15
2.2 Non-nuclear Vowels.....	16
2.2.1 The Non-nuclear Vowel /i/.....	17
2.2.2 The Non-nuclear Vowel /u/.....	18
2.2.3 The Non-nuclear Vowel /w/.....	18
2.3 Nasalisation.....	20
2.4 Consonants.....	20
2.5 Stress and Tone.....	23
2.5.1 Stress.....	23
2.5.1.1 Stress on Final Syllables.....	23
2.5.1.2 Stress on Non-final Syllables.....	25
2.5.2 Tone.....	25
2.5.2.1 Tone on Final Syllables.....	25
2.5.2.2 Tone on Non-final Syllables.....	27
2.5.3 Tone-stress on Borrowed Words.....	28
2.6 Whistle Speech.....	29
2.7 Intonation.....	34
2.8 The Practical Orthography.....	34
NOTES.....	37

Chapter 3: LEXICAL FORMATION STRATEGIES

3.0 Introduction	39
3.1 Stem Formation Processes	39
3.1.1 Phonological Modification of the Root	39
3.1.2 Derivation of Stems by Affixation	41
3.1.2.1 The Causative Prefix <i>má²-</i>	41
3.1.2.2 The Posture-Oriented Derivational Prefixes	44
3.1.3 Derivation of Stems by Compounding	50
3.1.3.1 Phonological Modifications in Compound Stems	50
3.1.3.2 Classification of Compounds	62
3.1.3.2.1 Modified-modifier Compounds	62
3.1.3.2.2 Modifier-modified Compounds	63
3.1.3.2.3 Verb-object Compounds	64
3.1.3.2.4 Subject-predicate Compounds	65
3.1.4 Coordinate Compounds	65
3.2 Binomial and Polynomial Expressions	65
3.2.1 Binomial Expressions	67
3.2.1.1 Binomial Nouns	69
3.2.1.2 Binomial Adjectives	70
3.2.1.3 Binomial Adverbs	71
3.2.1.4 Binomial Verbs	73
3.2.2 Non-permutable Polynomials	79
3.3 Residue	80
NOTES	80

Chapter 4: THE VERB

4.0 Introduction	83
4.1 Dynamic Verbs	85
4.1.1 Inflectional Rules	89
4.1.1.1 Inflection of Class A Verbs	92
4.1.1.2 Inflection of Class B Verbs	97
4.1.1.3 Inflection of Class C Verbs	99
4.1.2 Inflection Set Paradigms	102
4.1.2.1 Inflection Set I-a Paradigms	103
4.1.2.2 Inflection Set I-b Paradigms	107
4.1.2.3 Inflection Sets I-c and I-d Paradigms	108
4.1.2.4 Paradigmatic Combinations for Class A Verbs	110
4.1.2.5 Summary of Class A Verb Tone-stress Paradigms	112
4.1.2.6 Paradigmatic Combinations for Class B Verbs	113
4.1.2.7 Summary of Class B Verb Tone-stress Paradigms	114
4.1.2.8 Class C Verb Paradigms	114
4.1.2.9 Summary of Class C Verb Tone-stress Paradigms	115
4.1.3 Intransitive Inanimate Verbs	116
4.1.4 Verbs which Inflectionally Distinguish between Singular and Plural Subjects	117
4.1.5 Disyllabic Verbs	120
4.1.6 Phonological Changes in the Verb Root	126
4.1.6.1 Stable and Unstable Nuclei	127
4.1.6.2 Unstable Nuclei	128
4.1.6.2.1 Unstable Nuclei which Do Not Undergo Change	128
4.1.6.2.2 Nuclei which Undergo a Single Change	130
4.1.6.2.3 Nuclei which Undergo Two Changes	134

4.1.6.2.4 Nuclei which Undergo Three Changes	136
4.1.6.2.5 Degrees of Vocalic Change	138
4.1.6.3 The Verb Matrix and Unstable Nuclei	139
4.1.7 The Interaction of Tone-stress and Vocalic Change	141
4.1.8 Verb Morphology	141
4.1.8.1 Inflection for Transitivity	142
4.1.8.2 Ditransitives	143
4.1.8.3 Inflection for Reflexive	144
4.1.8.4 Inflection for Reciprocal	147
4.1.8.5 Marking for Animacy	148
4.1.8.6 Inflection for Person-of-subject	148
4.1.8.7 Inflection for Subject-and-object	149
4.1.8.8 Inflection for Number	150
4.1.8.9 'Echo'	151
4.1.8.10 The Present and Future Tenses	152
4.1.8.10.1 The Present Tense	152
4.1.8.10.2 The Future Tense	154
4.1.8.11 Inflection for the Imperative	155
4.1.8.12 Verb Prefixes	156
4.1.8.12.1 The Progressive Aspect Prefixes	157
4.1.8.12.2 The Ambulative Prefix <i>ñi</i> ³⁻	161
4.1.8.12.3 The Andative and Venitive Prefixes	162
4.1.8.12.3.1 The Andative Prefixes	162
4.1.8.12.3.2 The Attainment Prefix <i>cha</i> ³⁻	164
4.1.8.12.3.3 The Venitive Prefixes	166
4.1.8.12.3.4 Directional Prefixes and Verbal Inflection	168
4.1.8.12.4 The Progressive Motion Prefix <i>hi</i> ¹⁻	170
4.1.8.12.5 The Intentive Prefix <i>ñi</i> ¹⁻	171
4.1.8.12.6 The Continuous Prefix <i>tá</i> ²⁻	173
4.1.8.12.7 The Past Tense Prefixes: <i>ca</i> ³⁻ and <i>li</i> ²⁻	175
4.1.8.12.8 The Evidential Prefix <i>ñi</i> ¹⁻	178
4.1.8.12.9 The Injunctive Prefixes	179
4.1.8.12.9.1 The Hortative <i>cuf</i> ¹⁻	179
4.1.8.12.9.2 The Exhortative <i>ma</i> ³⁻	180
4.1.8.12.9.3 The Classification of <i>cuf</i> ¹⁻ as a Prefix	182
4.2 The Derivational Prefixes	183
4.2.1 The Causative Derivational Prefix	183
4.2.2 The Continuous Derivational Prefix	185
4.2.3 The Pseudo Activiser	188
4.3 Binomial Verbs	189
4.4 State Verbs	191
4.4.1 Posture State Verbs	192
4.4.2 Non-posture Possessives	194
4.4.3 Existentials	194
4.4.4 Other State Verbs	196
4.5 State Verbs vs. Adjectives	197
4.5.1 Shared Characteristics of Adjectives and State Verbs	198
4.5.2 Differences Between Adjectives and State Verbs	198
NOTES	202
Chapter 5: THE VERB PHRASE	
5.0 Introduction	207

5.1 The Verb Phrase Adverbs	209
5.1.1 The Discontinuative	209
5.1.2 Perfect Aspect	209
5.1.3 The Evidential Adverb	212
5.1.4 The Terminative Adverb	213
5.1.5 The Nonentailment Adverb	215
5.1.6 The Neoteric Adverb	216
5.1.7 The Negative Constituent	218
5.1.7.1 The Negative <i>tiá²</i>	219
5.1.7.2 The Prohibitive <i>lí²</i>	220
5.1.7.3 The Improbability Adverb <i>uí²</i>	222
5.1.7.4 The Interruptive <i>tiú²uí²</i>	223
5.1.7.5 The Cessative <i>lí²uí²</i>	224
5.1.7.6 The Preventative <i>su³uí²</i>	225
5.1.7.7 The Moderative Adverb <i>há³</i>	226
5.1.7.8 The Attenuative Adverb <i>ngá³</i>	227
5.1.8 The Verb Phrase Intensifier <i>lín³²</i>	227
5.2 The Verb Phrase Constituents and Binomial Verbs	228
NOTES	229
Chapter 6: THE NOUN PHRASE	
6.0 Introduction	231
6.1 The Noun Phrase Head	232
6.1.1 The Base	233
6.1.1.1 Noun Classes	233
6.1.1.2 Count and Mass Nouns	234
6.1.1.3 Common and Proper Nouns	235
6.1.1.4 Contingent Nouns	236
6.1.1.5 Concrete and Abstract Nouns	238
6.1.1.6 Idioms	239
6.1.1.7 Vocative Nouns	239
6.1.1.8 Pluralisation	240
6.1.1.9 Pronouns	241
6.1.1.9.1 Personal Pronouns	241
6.1.1.9.1.1 First-Person Singular	243
6.1.1.9.1.2 First-Person Plural	245
6.1.1.9.1.3 Second-person Singular	246
6.1.1.9.1.4 Second-person Plural	247
6.1.1.9.1.5 Third-person	248
6.1.1.9.1.6 The Disambiguating Pronoun <i>dí²</i>	249
6.1.1.9.1.6.1 Tracking Third-Person Participants with <i>dí²</i> and <i>tsú²</i> ..	249
6.1.1.9.1.6.2 First-person Inclusive - <i>dí²</i>	250
6.1.1.9.2 Reflexive Pronouns	250
6.1.1.9.3 The Interrogative Pronoun	253
6.1.2 The Categoriser	253
6.1.2.1 The Shape Oriented Categorisers: <i>mí³</i> , <i>mu²¹</i> , and <i>jo²¹</i>	256
6.1.2.2 The Categorisers <i>chí²</i> and <i>chí³</i>	258
6.1.2.3 The Categorisers <i>hná¹</i> and <i>tsí¹</i>	259
6.1.2.4 The Categorisers <i>mí¹</i> and <i>ñú²</i>	260
6.2 The Possessive Construction	261
6.2.1 Possession of Inalienable Nouns	261
6.2.1.1 Monosyllabic Inalienable Nouns	263
6.2.1.2 Disyllabic Inalienable Nouns	264
6.2.1.3 Inalienable Noun Paradigms	264

Table of Contents

xi

6.2.1.4	The Vocative Form of Inalienable Nouns.....	265
6.2.1.5	Inalienable Nouns which have Alienable Counterparts.....	266
6.2.1.6	The Possessor Noun Phrase	268
6.2.2	Possession of Alienable Nouns	270
6.2.2.1	The Possessive Verbs <i>quioh</i> ²¹ and <i>joh</i> ¹	271
6.2.2.2	The Possessor Relative Clause	274
6.2.2.3	Other Uses of the Possessive Verb <i>quioh</i> ²¹	278
6.3	The Noun Phrase Modifier	279
6.3.1	Agreement as to Animacy.....	280
6.3.2	Agreement as to Number	281
6.3.3	Ordering of Adjectives	281
6.3.4	Colour Adjectives.....	285
6.3.5	The Adjective Phrase.....	287
6.4	The Deictic Constituent	288
6.4.1	The Spatial Deictics	289
6.4.2	Anaphoric Deictics	291
6.4.3	Deictic Pronouns	292
6.4.4	Presentatives	294
6.4.5	Temporal Deixis	294
6.5	The Relative Clause Constituent	296
6.6	The Evaluative Constituent	298
6.7	The Quantifier	299
6.7.1	The Specific Quantifier Phrase	301
6.7.1.1	The Amount Phrase	301
6.7.1.1.1	The Measure Phrase	302
6.7.1.1.1.1	The Numeral Phrase	302
6.7.1.1.1.1.1	The Numerals 'one' to 'nineteen'.....	304
6.7.1.1.1.1.2	The Vigesimal Phrase	306
6.7.1.1.1.1.3	The Hundreds Phrase.....	310
6.7.1.1.1.1.4	The Thousands Phrase and the Millions Phrase	310
6.7.1.1.1.2	Interrogative Quantifiers	311
6.7.1.1.1.3	The Divisor Phrase	312
6.7.1.1.2	The Classifiers.....	314
6.7.1.1.2.1	Sortal and Mensural Classifiers	317
6.7.1.1.2.2	The Divisible Classifiers	318
6.7.1.1.2.3	The Indivisible Classifiers	322
6.7.1.1.3	The Modifier	323
6.7.1.2	The Coordinate Amount Phrase	324
6.7.1.3	The Complex Amount Phrase	325
6.7.1.4	The Qualifiers of the Specific Quantifier Phrase	326
6.7.1.5	The Limiter	330
6.7.2	The Approximate Quantifier Phrase	331
6.7.3	The Indefinite Quantifier Phrase.....	333
6.7.3.1	The Head of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase	334
6.7.3.2	The Qualifiers of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase	335
6.7.3.3	The Classifier Constituent of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase... 336	
6.7.3.4	Morphophonemics within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase..... 337	
6.7.3.5	Co-occurrence Restrictions within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase.....	338
6.7.3.6	Permutation of Qualifiers within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase.....	338
6.8	Coordination of Noun Phrases	339

6.9 Residue.....	340
6.10 Conclusion	341
NOTES.....	341
 Chapter 7: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES	
7.0 Introduction.....	345
7.1 The Locative Prepositional Phrase	346
7.1.1 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrase ₁	346
7.1.2 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrase ₂	350
7.1.3 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrase ₃	352
7.1.4 Deictic Complements of Locative Prepositional Phrases	353
7.1.5 The Locative Adverbial Phrase	353
7.2 The Temporal Prepositional Phrase	355
7.2.1 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase ₁	355
7.2.2 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase ₂	355
7.2.3 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase ₃	356
7.2.4 The Temporal Adverbial Phrase.....	356
7.3 The Instrumental Prepositional Phrase.....	357
7.3.1 The Prepositional Constituent of the Instrumental Prepositional Phrase	357
7.3.2 The Instrumental Adverbial Phrase.....	359
NOTES.....	359
 Chapter 8: THE CLAUSE	
8.0 Introduction.....	361
8.1 The Primary Constituents	361
8.1.1 The Predicate.....	361
8.1.2 Valence	363
8.1.2.1 Intransitive Verbs	364
8.1.2.2 Transitive Verbs	365
8.1.2.3 Ditransitive Verbs	366
8.1.3 Split-ergativity	375
8.1.3.1 Morphological Accusativity in Chinantec.....	376
8.1.3.1.1 Indexing of Verbs for Person Of Subject	376
8.1.3.1.2 Glottal Closure of Verb Nucleus Marks Second-person Subject	378
8.1.3.2 Morphological Ergativity in Chinantec	380
8.1.3.2.1 Agreement as to Animacy	381
8.1.3.2.2 Agreement as to Number.....	385
8.1.3.3 When Ergative and Accusative Systems Co-occur	387
8.1.3.4 Syntactic Accusativity and Ergativity	390
8.1.4 Direct and Inverse Cross-referencing	391
8.1.4.1 Inflection for Person-of-subject and Person-of-object in the Inverse Cross-referencing System	393
8.1.4.2 Tracking Third-person Proximate and Third-person Obviative Participants with the Pronouns <i>tsú²</i> and <i>df²</i>	402
8.1.4.3 Cross-referencing when the Subject is Inanimate.....	405
8.1.5 Chinantec Passive Constructions.....	408
8.1.5.1 The Conventional Passive	412
8.1.5.2 The Posture Passive	416

Table of Contents

xiii

8.1.5.3 Agented Passives 420
8.1.5.4 Impersonal Passives 422
8.1.5.5 The Function of the Chinantec Passive 423
8.1.5.6 Constraints on the Passive 425
8.1.6 The Antipassive 426

8.2 The Secondary Constituents 431
8.2.1 The Benefactive and Recipient/Source Constituents 432
8.2.2 The Manner Constituents 433
8.2.3 The Locative Constituent 437
8.2.4 The Comitative Constituent 440
8.2.4.1 The Structure and Use of the Comitative 440
8.2.4.2 Comitative *quionh³* vs. Instrumental/Agent *quionh³* 443
8.2.5 The Temporal Constituent 447
8.2.6 The Instrumental Constituent 451
8.2.7 The Illocutionary Constituent 453
8.2.8 The Vocative Constituent 453

NOTES 455

Chapter 9: COMPLEX AND COMPOUND SENTENCES

9.0 Introduction 459

9.1 Relative Clauses 459
9.1.1 The Restrictive Relative Clause 460
9.1.1.1 The Determiner of the Domain Noun 460
9.1.1.2 Positions which Can Be Relativised 466
9.1.1.3 Multiple Relativisation 470
9.1.2 Non-restrictive Relative Clauses 473

9.2 Complementation 474
9.2.1 The Complementiser 474
9.2.2 Equi-deletion? 476
9.2.3 Subject and Object Complements 476

9.3 Purpose Clauses 477

9.4 Result Clauses 478

9.5 Cause Clauses 479

9.6 Conditional Constructions 482
9.6.1 Reality Conditionals and Predictive Conditionals 482
9.6.2 Imaginative Conditionals 485
9.6.3 Concessive Cnditionals 487

9.7 Concessive Clauses 488
9.7.1 Definite Concessive Clauses 488
9.7.2 Indefinite Concessive Clauses 489

9.8 Substitutive Clauses 491

9.9 Comparative Constructions 492
9.9.1 Comparison of Equality 492
9.9.2 Comparisons of Inequality 494
9.9.3 Comparison of Situations Across Time 494
9.9.4 Counterfactual Comparison 496

9.10 Coordination of Clauses	497
9.10.1 The Conjunctives <i>jí^ə</i> and <i>hi^ə</i>	497
9.10.2 The Adversative <i>tí^əla^ə</i>	499
9.10.3 The Disjunctives <i>ho^ə</i> and <i>ho^əlá^ədá^ə</i>	499
NOTES	500
 Chapter 10: QUESTIONS	
10.0 Introduction	503
10.1 Yes/No Questions	503
10.2 Tag Questions	507
10.3 Information Questions	508
10.3.1 The Interrogative Adjectives and Pronoun	508
10.3.1.1 The Interrogative Adjectives	508
10.3.1.2 The Interrogative Pronoun	511
10.3.2 Interrogative Quantifiers	512
10.3.2.1 The Interrogative Quantifier <i>cónh^ə</i>	512
10.3.2.2 The Interrogative Quantifiers <i>jáh^ə</i> and <i>jánh^ə</i>	512
10.3.3 The Interrogative Adverbs	513
10.3.3.1 The Interrogative Locative Adverb	513
10.3.3.2 The Interrogative Temporal Adverb	513
10.3.3.3 The Interrogative Adverb of Manner	513
10.3.3.4 The Interrogative Adverb of Purpose and Cause	514
10.3.4 The Adverb <i>ha^ə</i>	515
10.3.5 The Interrogative Locative Verb	516
10.4 Indirect Questions	516
10.5 Rhetorical Questions	518
NOTES	520
 Chapter 11: ILLOCUTIONARY ADVERBS AND PARTICLES	
11.0 Introduction	521
11.1 Illocutionary Adverbs	525
11.1.1 The Explication Adverb <i>né^ə</i>	526
11.1.2 The Contraexpectation Adverb <i>má^əna^ə</i>	527
11.1.3 The Assentive Adverb <i>na^ə</i>	529
11.1.4 The Commentative Adverb <i>neh^ə</i>	530
11.1.5 The Evaluative Adverb <i>neh^ə</i>	530
11.1.6 The Assumption Adverb <i>láh^ə</i>	531
11.1.7 The Supplication Adverb <i>tí^ə</i>	532
11.2 Illocutionary Particles	534
11.2.1 The Affirmation Particle <i>bíh^ə</i>	534
11.2.2 The Verification Particle <i>dá^ə</i>	537
11.2.3 The Indubitative Particle <i>dúh^ə</i>	539
11.2.4 The Exclamative Particle <i>máh^ə</i>	541
11.2.5 The Quotative Particle <i>neh^ə</i>	544
11.2.6 The Anticipative Particle <i>uá^ə</i>	545
11.2.7 The Assertion Particle <i>yáh^ə</i>	546

Figures	xv
11.3 Co-occurrence of Illocutionary Markers	548
11.4 Summary: A Comparison of Implications	551
11.5 Conclusion	553
NOTES.....	553
 Chapter 12: TOPIC-COMMENT AND FOCUS	
12.0 Introduction	555
12.1 The Topic-comment Construction	555
12.1.1 Topic versus Subject.....	555
12.1.2 Characteristics of Chinantec Topic-comment Constructions	558
12.1.3 The Topic Marker <i>né³</i>	560
12.1.4 The Contraexpectation Topic Marker <i>má⁴na²¹</i>	562
12.1.5 Language Typology Based on Subject versus Topic Prominence...	564
12.2 Focus	565
12.2.1 Focus Marked by Word Order	566
12.2.2 Focus Marked by Illocutionary Particles.....	566
12.2.3 Focus Marked by Word Order and Illocutionary Particles	567
12.2.4 Interrogative Words and Focus	569
12.2.5 Degrees of Focus	570
NOTES.....	570
REFERENCES.....	571
INDEX	577

Figures

Figure 1 Map of the Chinantec Region of Mexico	xxi
Figure 2 Aerial Photograph of San Pedro Sochiapan.....	xxiii
Figure 2.1 Final Syllable Structure	14
Figure 2.2 Non-final Syllable Structure	14
Figure 2.3 The Tone and Stress Contours for /lé ³ / 'ear of maize' when Spoken	32
Figure 2.4 The Tone and Stress Contours for /lé ³ / 'ear of maize' when Whistled	32
Figure 2.5 The Tone and Stress Contours for /h ³ / 'child'.....	33
Figure 2.6 The Tone and Stress Contours for /ʔm ¹³ / 'let's sing'	33
Figure 4.1 Inflection Sets for Verb Classes A, B, and C	87
Figure 4.2 Verb Paradigm Reference, Class A Verbs	89

Figure 4.3	Verb Paradigm Reference, Class B Verbs	89
Figure 4.4	Verb Paradigm Reference, Class C Verbs	89
Figure 4.5	Verb Paradigm Reference, Class B Disyllabic Verbs	124
Figure 4.6	Verb Paradigm Reference, Class C Disyllabic Verbs	124
Figure 4.7	The Verbal Prefixes	156
Figure 5.1	The Verb Phrase	208
Figure 5.2	The Negative Phrase	218
Figure 6.1	The Noun Phrase Rule	231
Figure 6.2	The Noun Phrase Head	232
Figure 6.3	The Noun Phrase Modifier	280
Figure 6.4	The Quantifier	300
Figure 6.5	The Specific Quantifier Phrase	301
Figure 6.6	The Amount Phrase	302
Figure 6.7	The Numeral Phrase	302
Figure 6.8	The Vigesimal Phrase	306
Figure 6.9	The Divisor Phrase	312
Figure 6.10	Coordinate Amount Phrase	324
Figure 6.11	Complex Amount Phrase	325
Figure 6.12	The Approximate Quantifier Phrase	331
Figure 6.13	The Indefinite Quantifier Phrase	334
Figure 6.14	Coordination of Noun Phrases	339
Figure 7.1	The Prepositional Phrase	345
Figure 7.2	The Adverbial Phrase	345
Figure 8.1	The Person/Animacy Hierarchy	391
Figure 8.2	The Clause Constituents	431
Figure 8.3	The Temporal Adverb Phrase	447
Figure 8.4	The Vocative Phrase	454

Tables

Table 2.1	Sochiapan Chinantec Vowels	15
Table 2.2	Sochiapan Chinantec Consonants	20
Table 2.3	Duration of Nuclear and Non-nuclear Vowel Segments	24
Table 2.4	Phonetic, Phonemic, and Practical Orthographic Equivalents	35
Table 3.1	The Progressive Aspect Prefixes	44
Table 3.2	Base Roots and Derived Stems	45
Table 3.3	Binomial Preverbs	75
Table 4.1	Abbreviations For Verb Types	84
Table 4.2	Verb Inflection Matrix - Class A Verbs	93
Table 4.3	Class A Verb Inflection Matrix, Reorganised	93
Table 4.4	Examples of Tone-stress Inflection on Class A Transitive Inanimate Verbs	94
Table 4.5	Class B Verb Inflection Matrix	97
Table 4.6	Examples of Tone-stress Inflection on Class B Transitive Inanimate Verbs	98
Table 4.7	Class C Verb Inflection Matrix	100
Table 4.8	Examples of Tone-stress Inflection of Class C Verbs	102
Table 4.9	Inflection Set I-a Paradigms	103

Table 4.10	Inflection Set I-a Paradigms Incorporated into Paradigm P12	106
Table 4.11	Inflection Set I-a Paradigms Shared by Class A, B, and C Verbs	107
Table 4.12	Inflection Set I-b Paradigms	107
Table 4.13	Inflection Set I-c (1SG) Paradigms	108
Table 4.14	Inflection Set I-d (1PL) Paradigms	109
Table 4.15	Tone-stress Inflections Found with each Inflectional Parameter	109
Table 4.16	Combinations of 3, 2, 1SG, and 1PL Paradigms for Class A Verbs	110
Table 4.17	Class A Verb Tone-stress Paradigms Summary	112
Table 4.18	Class A Verb Transitivity Types	112
Table 4.19	Combinations of Third-person and Non-third-person Paradigms for Class B Verbs	113
Table 4.20	Class B Verb Tone-stress Paradigms Summary	114
Table 4.21	Class B Verb Transitivity Types	114
Table 4.22	Transitivity Types for Class C Verbs	115
Table 4.23	Class C Verb Transitivity Types	116
Table 4.24	Examples of Tone-stress Inflection of Intransitive Inanimate Verbs	117
Table 4.25	Verbs with Singular and Plural Suppletive Stems	119
Table 4.26	Inflection of the Initial Syllable of Disyllabic Verbs, Paradigm α	121
Table 4.27	Inflection of the Initial Syllable of Disyllabic Verbs, Paradigm β	123
Table 4.28	Stable Nuclei	127
Table 4.29	Unstable Nuclei	127
Table 4.30	Unstable Nuclei which Do Not Undergo Change	129
Table 4.31	Nuclei which Undergo One Change	131
Table 4.32	Nuclei which Undergo Two Changes	135
Table 4.33	Nuclei which Undergo Three Changes	137
Table 4.34	Matrix of Potential Single Vocalic Change	140
Table 4.35	Matrix of Potential Double Vocalic Change	140
Table 4.36	Matrix of Potential Triple Vocalic Change	140
Table 4.37	Reflexive and Non-reflexive Forms of Verbs	146
Table 4.38	Derivation of the Imperative	155
Table 4.39	Derivation of the Progressive Prefixes	157
Table 4.40	The Andative Prefixes	163
Table 4.41	The Verbs 'go (home)' and 'go (non-home)'	163
Table 4.42	The Venitive Prefixes	166
Table 4.43	The Verbs 'come (home)' and 'come (non-home)'	167
Table 4.44	The Verbs 'arrive (home)' and 'arrive (non-home)'	167
Table 4.45	Inflection of the Continuous Prefix	185
Table 4.46	Posture State Verbs	193
Table 4.47	First-person Plural and Non-first-person Plural Counterparts of Predicate Adjectives	200
Table 6.1	Formation of Plurals	241
Table 6.2	Personal Pronoun Paradigm	242
Table 6.3	Reflexive Pronoun Paradigm	251
Table 6.4	Categorisers	256
Table 6.5	The Categoriser <i>mí³</i> 'spherical'	257
Table 6.6	The Categoriser <i>chí²</i> 'diminutive'	258
Table 6.7	Categorisers with Proper Names	261
Table 6.8	Inalienable Noun Paradigms	265
Table 6.9	The Vocative Form of Inalienable Nouns	266
Table 6.10	Inalienable and Alienable Noun Counterparts	267
Table 6.11	Ranking of Inanimate Adjectives	283
Table 6.12	Ranking of Animate Adjectives	284
Table 6.13	Deictic Pronouns	292
Table 6.14	Chinantec Numerals	305
Table 6.15	Vigesimal Numerals	309
Table 6.16	Apportional Divisors	313
Table 6.17	Divisible Classifiers Which Take <i>cáun²</i> or <i>cu³</i> 'one'	320
Table 6.18	Divisible Classifiers - Time, Which Take <i>cáun²</i> or <i>cú²</i> 'one'	320

Table 6.19	Divisible Classifiers Which Take <i>cá²</i> 'one'	321
Table 6.20	Indivisible Classifiers Which Take <i>cáun²</i> or <i>cu³</i> 'one'	322
Table 6.21	Indivisible Classifiers Which Take <i>cá²</i> 'one'	322
Table 6.22	Indivisible Classifiers - Monetary, Which Take <i>cá²</i> 'one'	323
Table 6.23	The Indefinite Quantifiers	335
Table 6.24	The Morphophonemics of <i>ǰǰ³²</i> 'most, all', <i>lǰn³²</i> 'very', and Implied Degrees of Totality	337
Table 7.1	Class 1 Locative Prepositions	346
Table 7.2	Locative Prepositions Derived From Inalienable Nouns	347
Table 7.3	Class 2 Locative Prepositions	351
Table 7.4	Class 1 Temporal Prepositions	355
Table 7.5	Instrumental Prepositions	358
Table 8.1	Inflectional Paradigms for 'give'	370
Table 8.2	Second-person Syllable Types	379
Table 8.3	Syllable Types Indexed for Animacy of S/O	384
Table 8.4	IA Verb Stem Types	388
Table 8.5	Examples of Vocalic Differences in Direct and Inverse Forms	393
Table 8.6	Inverse Cross-referencing, Class A Verbs	393
Table 8.7	Inverse Cross-referencing, Class B Verbs	394
Table 8.8	Inverse Cross-referencing, Class C Verbs	394
Table 8.9	Combinations of DO and IO Based on Animacy and Person	400
Table 8.10	Transitive Verbs with Inanimate Agents	408
Table 8.11	Comparison of Direct and Inverse Forms with the Passive Forms	410
Table 8.12	The Passive Prefixes	412
Table 8.13	The Verbs 'go (home)' and 'go (non-home)'	413
Table 8.14	The Verbs 'come (home)' and 'come (non-home)'	413
Table 8.15	The Andative Prefixes (Partial)	414
Table 8.16	The Venitive Prefixes (Partial)	414
Table 8.17	The Posture Prefixes	418
Table 8.18	Comparison of the Two Passive Constructions	424
Table 10.1	Tone Perturbation as a Result of Interrogative Intonation	504
Table 10.2	Phonological Changes when Nouns Occur with <i>hin²</i> (AN) or <i>hǰn²</i> (IN) 'which?'	509
Table 11.1	Illocutionary Adverbs and Particles, and the Sentence Type with which Each May Occur	523
Table 11.2	Distribution of Illocutionary Adverbs and Particles According to Sentence Type	524
Table 11.3	Illocutionary Adverbs	526
Table 11.4	Illocutionary Particles	534
Table 11.5	Substitution Sets of the Illocutionary Particles and Adverbs	549

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first-person	DI	ditransitive inanimate
2	second-person	DIR	directional (andative or venitive)
3	third-person (proximate)	DISC	discontinuative
3 ¹	third-person obviative	DIV	divisor
A	subject of (di)transitive verb	DO	direct object
ADJ	adjective	EVAL	evaluative
ADV	adverb	EVID	evidential
ADVP	adverb phrase	EXCL	exclamative
AFF	affirmation	EXCM	exclamation
AH	accessibility hierarchy	EXH	exhortative
AL	alienable	EXPC	expectation
ALT	alternative	EXPL	explication
AMB	ambulative		
AMP	amount phrase	FRP	fraction phrase
AN	animate	FUT	future
ANDT	andative		
ANTP	anticipative	G	glottal (/h ?/)
APP	appositional constituent	H	head
APP_QP	approximate quantifier phrase	HAB	habitual
ASN	associate nucleus	HOD	hodiernal past (since mid- night)
ASNT	assentive	HORT	hortative
ASSR	assertion		
ASUM	assumption	IA	intransitive animate
ATT	attainment	II	intransitive inanimate
ATTN	attenuative	ILLOC	illocutionary
		IMP	imperative
BEN	benefactive	IMPR	improbability
BN	base nucleus	IMPRS	impersonal
		IN	inanimate
C	consonant	INAL	inalienable
CATEG	categoriser	INCL	inclusive
CAUS	causative	IND_QP	indefinite quantifier phrase
CECIL	Computerised Extraction of Components of Intonation In Language	INDE	indubitative
		INDQ	indefinite quantifier
CES	cessative	INST	instrumental
CEXP	contraexpectation	INT	intensive
CLASS	classifier	INTERR	interrogative
CNEG	contraexpectation negative	INTRP	interruptive
COM	comitative	IO	indirect object
COMM	commentative	IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
COMP	complement; complementiser		
COM_AMP	complex amount phrase	IQ	interrogative quantifier
CONJ	conjunction	IQH	indefinite quantifier head
CONT	continuous		
CRD_AMP	coordinate amount phrase	LIM	limiter
CTOPIC	contraexpectation topic	lit.	literally
		LOC	locative
DA	ditransitive animate		
DEIC	deictic	MA	manner
DES	desiderative	MOD	modifier
DET	determiner	MODR	moderative

xx

Abbreviations

MOT	motion	V	vowel
MP	measure phrase	vd	voiced
N	nasal	VEN	venitive
NEG	negative	VER	verification
NEO	neoteric	vl	voiceless
NON	nonentailment	VOC	vocative
NP	noun phrase	VOCP	vocative phrase
NUM	numeral	VP	verb phrase
NuP	numeral phrase	VSO	verb-subject-object
O	object		
OO	oblique object		
P	predicate		
PASS	passive		
PAST	remote past		
PH	phrase		
PL	plural		
POSS	possessive		
POSS_NP	possessor noun phrase		
PP	prepositional phrase		
PPAS	posture passive		
PREP	preposition		
PRES	present		
PREV	preverb		
PREVEN	preventative		
PRF	perfect		
PROG	progressive		
PROH	prohibitive		
PRT	partitive		
PSR	possessor		
Q	quantifier		
QH	quantifier head		
QL	qualifier		
QUOT	quotative		
RC	relative clause		
rd	rounded		
S	subject		
SG	singular		
SIA	state intransitive animate		
SII	state intransitive inanimate		
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics		
Sp.	Spanish		
SQP	specific quantifier phrase		
STA	state transitive animate		
STI	state transitive inanimate		
SUPL	supplication		
T	tone		
TA	transitive animate		
TEMP	temporal		
TI	transitive inanimate		
TRM	terminative		
unrd	unrounded		

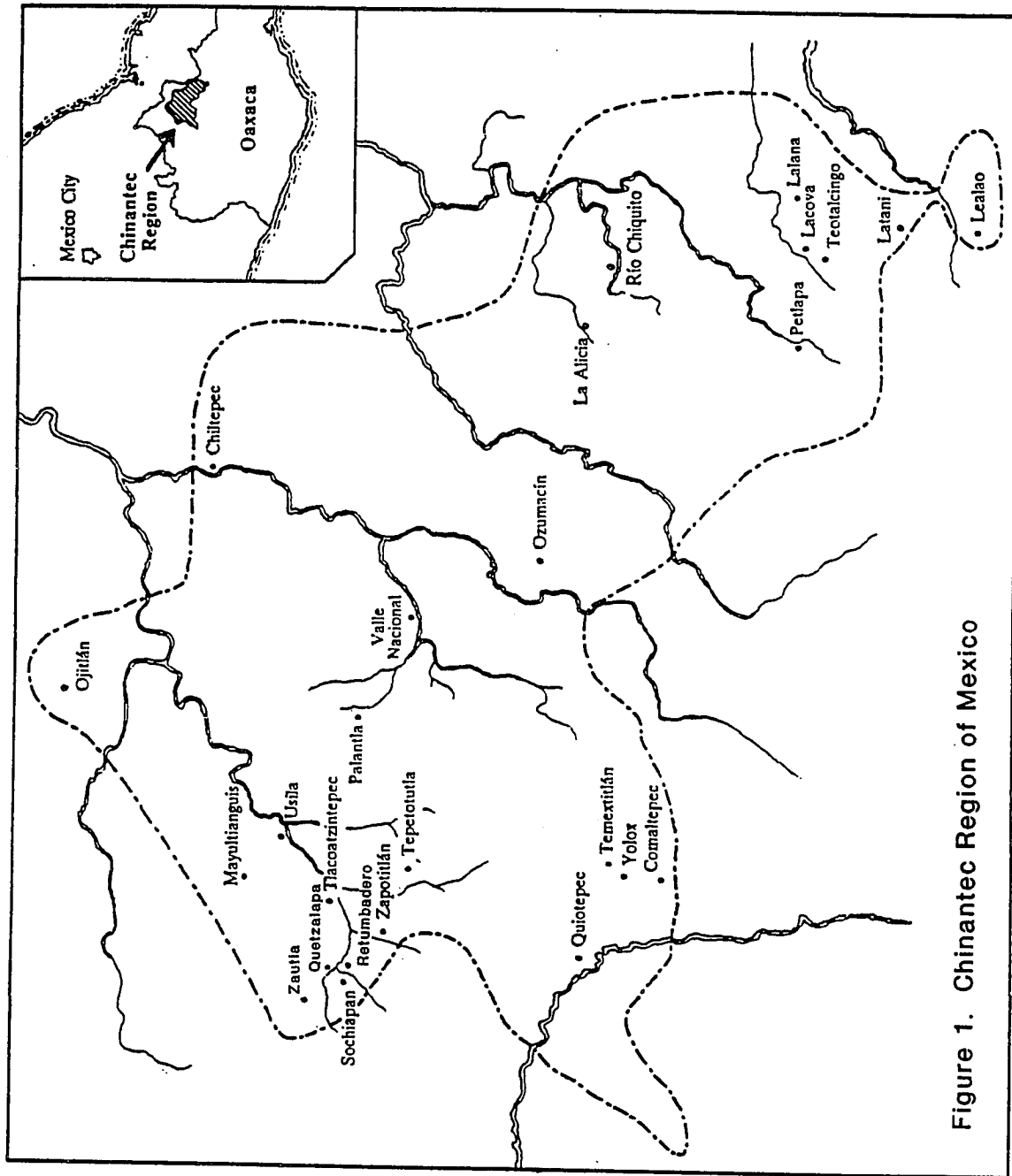


Figure 1. Chinantec Region of Mexico

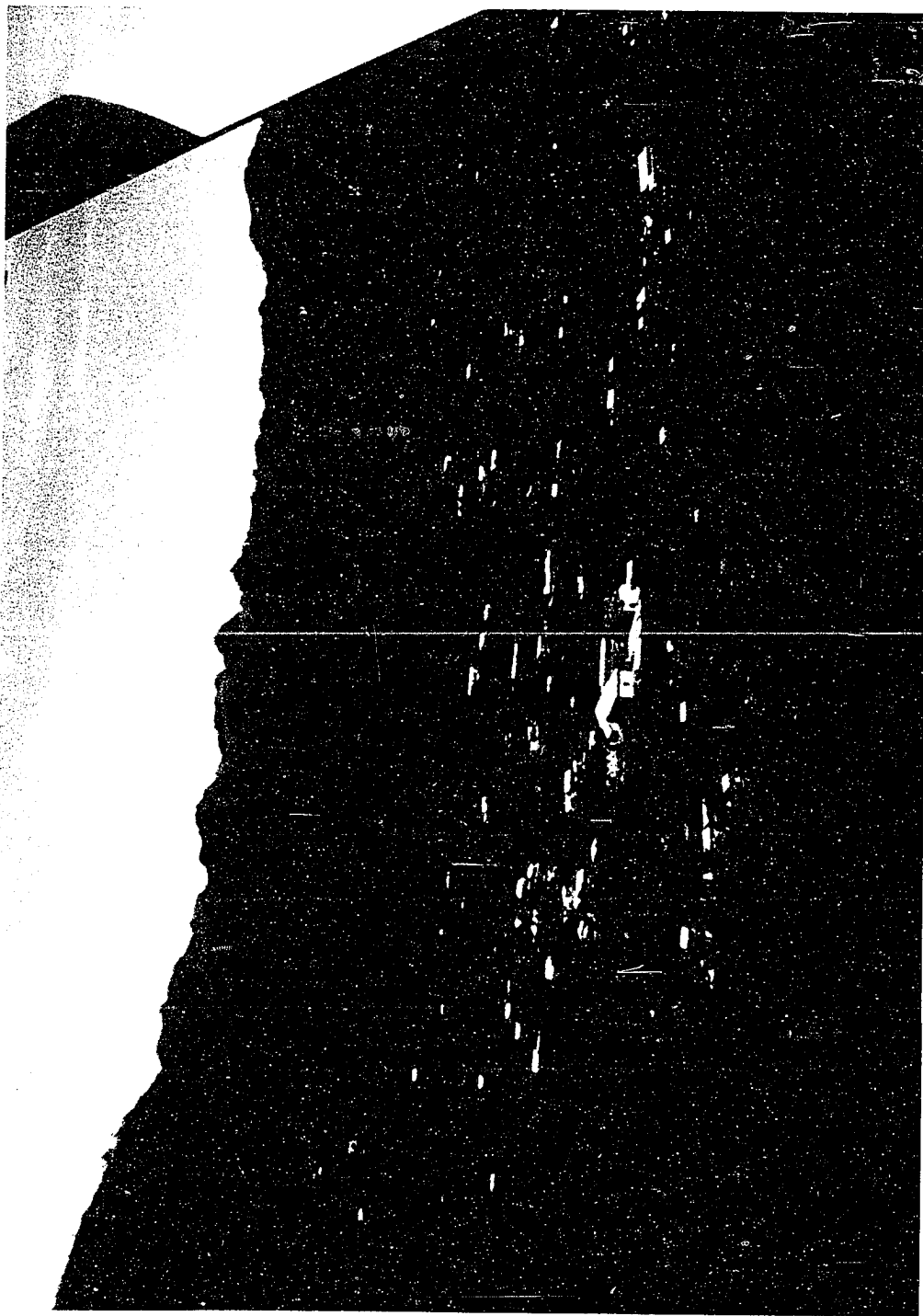


Figure 2. The Town of San Pedro Sochiapan

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This is a grammar of Sochiapan Chinantec, a language spoken in the State of Oaxaca, in southern Mexico.

1.0 Geographical, Historical, and Linguistic Background of the Chinantec People

Historians and anthropologists customarily consider the Chinantec region of Mexico, or Chinantla, to include 'all modern settlements where Chinantec has been spoken as the major language' (Weitlaner and Cline, 1969:523). Chinantec is spoken in an area in the northeast quadrant of the State of Oaxaca in Southern Mexico; see the map (Figure 1, page xxi).

The Chinantec languages comprise one of the major branches of the Otomanguean stock of Mesoamerican tone languages.

On the basis of intelligibility testing done by Egland in 1978, 'fourteen mutually unintelligible languages have been recognized within the Chinantec language family. When intelligibility scores between two dialects fell below approximately the 80% range the dialects were recognized as separate languages' (Rensch 1989:3).

According to Bevan (1938), the name Chinantla comes from the Aztec *chinamitl* 'enclosed place', an appropriate term for this area, which is enclosed by high mountains, making access difficult. Soon after the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, an epidemic of measles, and swelling of the glands (mumps?) devastated the Chinantec people; for example, the town of Usila, which originally had a population of 16,000, was left with 400 inhabitants. Although early records indicate that the Chinantecs used to have many fiestas, with dances

and songs, nowadays, indigenous dances and songs have, for the most part, disappeared.

1.1 The Sochiapan Chinantecs

Sochiapan Chinantec is one of the fourteen Chinantec languages which have been established or confirmed by the abovementioned dialect intelligibility tests, and is the most northwestern. On the basis of these tests, the closest Chinantec language to Sochiapan is Tlacoatzintepec; the people of Sochiapan understand 66% of the speech of Tlacoatzintepec, whereas the people of Tlacoatzintepec understand 74% of the speech of Sochiapan (Rensch 1989:2).

My family and I had the privilege of living in the town of San Pedro Sochiapan (see photograph, Figure 2, page xxiii) for various periods of time between 1970-1986 while studying the Sochiapan Chinantec language. San Pedro Sochiapan is the municipal town; there are four other smaller towns in its jurisdiction: San José Retumbadero, San Juan Zautla, San Juan Zapotitián, and Santiago Quetzalapa; see Figure 1, page xxi. The inhabitants of Sochiapan readily identify the inhabitants of the other four towns by their accents. No study has been made of the phonology or grammar of these dialects.

1.1.1 Topography and Climate

Sochiapan is located in the district of Cuicatlán, in the state of Oaxaca, at a medial elevation of 4,000 feet above sea level, at latitude 17° 49 minutes and longitude 96° 40 minutes. The elevation, climate, flora, and fauna is typical of a cloud forest (Gary Ross, personal communication). The terrain is extremely mountainous, with steep limestone cliffs dropping from about 4000ft to 1800ft by the Rio Hormiga, or 'Ant River'. The rainy season extends from about mid-June to mid-September; during this period there are nightly rains of two to 12 cm. Even during the driest time of the year, rarely is there more than a month between rains. In the winter months, December and January, there may be the occasional nighttime frosts. During the hottest time of the year, just prior to the rainy season, daytime temperatures are around 30-35 Celsius. Humidity is high throughout the year.

A small airstrip near the former town of Santa Ana de Tecomaltepec served San Pedro Sochiapan from about 1965 until 1971, when a longer airstrip (280 metres) was carved out of the hillside adjacent to Sochiapan. Until recently, travel overland meant a 40 kilometre hike over mountainous terrain to a dirt road used principally by lumber trucks. Traffic being sparse, one generally had to walk an additional eight kilometres to the nearest town of Concepción Pápalo; once there, one could get a ride in a truck down to the district capital, Cuicatlán, where both bus and train are available. In 1986, construction of a road was begun towards Sochiapan. Approximately eight kilometres of road remains to be bulldozed, plus the construction of a bridge over the Rio Hormiga. Trucks now regularly make the six to seven hour trip between Cuicatlán and the end of the new road.

1.1.2 History

Originally San Pedro Sochiapan was a small town or ranch under the jurisdiction of Santa Ana de Tecomaltepec, but after the majority of people in Tecomaltepec died in an epidemic about mid-19th century, the people abandoned the town and moved to the less affected town of Sochiapan. Sochiapan is divided into two boroughs: San Pedro and Santa Ana, reflecting the amalgamation of the two communities. Despite intermarriage, even to this day there is a slight dialect difference between the people of the two boroughs.

The town's name, San Pedro Sochiapan, reflects Catholic and Aztec influence. San Pedro is the patron saint of the town, while Sochiapan was the Aztec name for the town (Sochi or Xochi means 'flower'). The people call their town *Ha³li¹³*, a compound of *há²-* 'foliage' and *li¹³* 'flowers'; and they call their language *Jú¹jma²*. The first syllable of *Jú¹jma²*, *jú¹-*, is the compound form of the word *já¹³* 'word, message'; however, the etymology of *-jma²* remains a mystery. Some candidates are the phonologically similar words *jma¹* 'cleared land', *jma²* 'daytime', *jma³* 'spring (of water)', and *jma⁴* 'tasty', but my language assistants have rejected these words and other suggestions as the derivational source of *-jma²*.

1.1.3 The Economy and Agriculture

The inhabitants of Sochiapan practice Swidden agriculture (slash and burn). After one crop had been harvested, the land used to lie fallow for five to seven years, but now that artificial fertiliser is being used, some land is used again after just two to three years of lying fallow. There is no plowing of the land. A few people have begun to make small terraces for garden plots adjacent to their houses.

The staple food is maize, which is used in a variety of ways, and at various stages of maturity. In addition, various type of beans, squash, chokos, bananas, and citrus fruit are cultivated, along with leaf cabbage, head cabbage, sweet potato, and manioc.

Chickens, turkeys, and a few ducks roam freely through the town during the day, and find their own way home in the evening. Pigs are kept in town, either on a tether or in an enclosure. A few people keep goats, but this has not proven popular. Some people have become very adept bee-keepers, using commercial-type hives. Several people have cattle in private paddocks. Most families now have a horse, mule or burro.

Presently, coffee is the only cash crop; however, once the road reaches Sochiapan, it will probably become economical to transport and sell other crops, such as bananas and oranges. Sugarcane is grown and processed to make crude sugar; or the juice is allowed to ferment, producing an alcoholic beverage, which is occasionally distilled to produce rum.

The traditional house is made with split balsa wood slats, tied together with vines; the roof is thatched with sugarcane leaves. Due to the steady improvement of the local economy over the past few years, walls may now be rough-sawn boards, locally manufactured concrete blocks, or rarely, adobe bricks; roofs are usually corrugated iron, although some are made of locally manufactured cedar slats, or flat roofs of poured concrete. Generally, the interior is one large room used for cooking and sleeping, although many families now construct a separate cooking hut to prevent the blackening of the

main dwelling by smoke from the open-hearth cooking fires. Very few houses have anything other than tamped-earth floors.

Traditionally, cotton was grown and spun locally. Men's clothing was a simple white shirt and pants. Women wore simple skirts and colourful huipils--a long heavy tunic made by stitching together three woven panels incorporating stylised birds and geometric patterns. The weaving was done on a pre-Columbian back-strap loom. Sadly, the young women of Sochiapan have not learned this craft, although it is still practised in the nearby town of Quetzalapa. Most clothing is now either bought ready made, or sewn on treadle sewing machines from lengths of fabric.

1.1.4 The Social Infrastructure

Extended family units often share a single dwelling, with up to four generations living together.

Traditionally, marriages were arranged by the parents, sometimes without the knowledge of their children; other times, a boy would ask his parents to speak with a girl's parents and arrange a marriage. Nowadays, most young people decide among themselves who they wish to marry, although the final decision still generally rests with the parents. It is considered improper for the marriage partner to be more closely related than third cousin, and even that is regarded as barely acceptable. A betrothal gift is usually given by the boy's parents to the girl's parents; if the relationship later breaks up, the gifts are not returned. Generally, the newlyweds live at the boy's house. If husband and wife separate, a mutually agreeable arrangement is made for the children.

Children are treated as small adults, and are quickly given responsibilities such as washing their own clothes, carrying water and firewood, weeding gardens, minding younger siblings, and making tortillas.

For entertainment, little boys play with home-made tops; little girls make pretend kitchens, and make dolls out of rags. Teenage boys and men (but not girls and women) play basketball. In recent years, volleyball has become

popular, and is played by both genders, often in mixed teams.

The society is patriarchal. Property is handed down from father to son.

Traditionally, community decisions were made in town meetings by the men, although widows attended and occasionally spoke on issues. Nowadays, participation by the women is more common.

Town officials are democratically elected for a three year term, but during this time they receive no wage; reelection of the town President is prohibited by law. The town secretary is the only non-elected official, is paid a wage, and may serve under various administrations. All young men must serve for four years as 'police', with duties ranging from apprehending criminals to carrying official letters to other towns. In addition, the young men serve another three years on the 'school committee', assisting the teachers in a variety of ways, such as the transportation of school supplies, painting the school, cutting the lawn, etc. The duties are generally alternated on a yearly basis, beginning with police duty.

Each group meets early in the morning for about an hour to see if there is any task for that day, either for a few individuals or for the whole group; if there are no assignments, they disperse and do their own field work. These duties are generally unpaid, but major undertakings by the whole group may result in a small gratuity to buy a soft drink and some fresh baked bread.

1.1.5 Education

There has been a government school in Sochiapan for many years. When my wife and I arrived in Sochiapan in 1970, the local Primary School offered only two grades. Later, the remaining four years of Primary education were added. Because the education was (and still is) purely in Spanish, the children generally take four to five years to get through the first two grades. The typical Primary School graduate is between 15 and 18 years old. As of 1993, the first year of Secondary School has become available. Although a few teachers speak the local language, they generally avoid using it in

school because of the social stigma (among the other teachers) of not being competent in Spanish.

My wife and I have published four primer books in Sochiapan Chinantec; the first three teach how to read and write in Chinantec, and the fourth is a 'bridge' primer for developing reading ability in Spanish, and gives practice in using a small bilingual (Spanish-Chinantec) dictionary; the full Spanish-Chinantec dictionary is still in preparation. A teacher's guide has also been prepared, which is designed to be used by anyone who has taken the 15 week course. So far, about 250 adults have been through the course, many being taught in our absence by their own people.

1.1.6 Religion and the Supernatural

The traditional religion is animism. According to Bevan (1938), animal sacrifice was practised in some Chinantec communities, and in others, human sacrifice. The pre-Columbian practices of the communities in and around Sochiapan are unknown.

Many folk stories exist which refer to the sun and moon as male and female deities respectively. Monkeys are believed to be humans who were out in the open when the sun deity first climbed into the sky and shone on the earth; all those who were struck by sunlight became monkeys.

Catholicism was quickly introduced throughout the Chinantla soon after the Spanish conquest; however, a syncretism of Catholicism and animism developed. In Sochiapan, the images in the Catholic Church were referred to as 'gods' in Chinantec. In 1970, a new itinerant priest to the area, Father Luis Pacheco, promoted Bible studies for the first time. When he left the area a year later, the next itinerant priest forbade the Bible studies, but a handful of people continued, and later organised themselves as a Protestant fellowship. Presently, about two-thirds of the community consider themselves Protestants.

Belief in the supernatural is integral to the fabric of life. Some men, particularly those who are bald, are reputed to command the power of the thunder spirit, and are able to cause illness and death. Some women, particu-

larly those with unusually long hair, are reputed to command the power of the rainbow spirit in a similar fashion. Many stories exist of men and women who have the power to transform themselves into a puma, buzzard, snake, rat, or coati. Stories of spirit manifestations, particularly on New Year's Eve, are common. Many spirits are considered just mischievous, although others are regarded as evil. Animal sacrifices to such evil spirits to gain healing from serious illness is practised to this day.

1.2 The Data and Methodology

This grammatical description stems from 16 years (1970-1986) of involvement in the Chinantec community, working on a phonemic analysis (Foris 1973), developing an alphabet, and producing an array of literacy materials, most of which are bilingual (Chinantec-Spanish). My wife and I did analyses of various aspects of the syntax, only two of which we published (Foris 1978 and 1980). Approximately six years were spent in actual residence in the village. When outside of the village, more often than not, one or more language assistants lived with our family and assisted my wife and me in the study of their language.

I am compiling a bilingual Chinantec-Spanish dictionary (the computer database includes English as well). Presently, the dictionary has nearly 5000 main entries.

The data for this study have been drawn from a collection of folklore, procedural texts, historical commentary, biographical and autobiographical materials, the Chinantec New Testament (1986), and field notes. Several oral and written texts were processed in 1973 using a computer programme of the Linguistics Project of the University of Oklahoma, under grant GS1605 of the National Science Foundation. FIESTA, an interactive concordancing programme developed for personal computers by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has facilitated searches for grammatical patterns and illustrations in oral and written texts gathered since 1973.

Two recent field trips, one in August 1991, and another in August 1992,

enabled me to clarify many issues in the grammatical analysis. As mentioned in the Acknowledgements, the data and analysis have been finally checked with Wilfrido Flores Hernández, a native speaker of Chinantec, who lived with us in New Zealand from February to October 1993.

In an attempt to make this grammar of Sochiapan Chinantec as accessible as possible to readers of any theoretical persuasion, I have sought to produce a model-neutral description. The occasional use of 'process terminology' is more a matter of convenience than a tacit agreement to that methodology.

1.3 Salient Linguistic Characteristics

Apart from verbs, which may have several prefixes, most Sochiapan Chinantec words are monosyllabic. Only prefixes occur in Chinantec, whether inflectional or derivational.

Despite its apparent simplicity, the Chinantec noun phrase has proven to be remarkably complex.

Chinantec is a numeral-classifier language; however, the nouns which require classifiers when enumerated are mainly those which refer to small inanimate items of specific shapes.

Descriptive adjectives, anaphoric deictic adjectives, quantifiers, and numerals agree with the head of the noun phrase as to animacy. Complex numerals are based on a vigesimal system.

Intransitive verbs agree with their subject as to animacy, and transitive verbs agree with their object, giving an ergative pattern. By change in tone, stress, nucleus, or a combination of these, verbs are indexed for person of subject and for direct and inverse cross-referencing, and they are inflected for tense, aspect, mood, motion, and voice, often in combination with a prefix.

Sochiapan Chinantec has two ways of forming passives, one of which can be used to express impersonal passives. The language also has an antipassive construction.

A variety of first and second-person pronouns enables the speaker to express her/his attitude to self and/or the addressee; in addition, there is a

so-called 'fourth-person' pronoun used for keeping track of two third-person participants in discourse.

The speaker is able to convey her/his attitude to the proposition and/or the addressee by means of a rich array of illocutionary adverbs and particles.

In the relative clause construction, the determiner of the domain noun generally occurs within the restrictive clause, a possibility not mentioned in Keenan's typology (1985:145).

Certain features of Sochiapan Chinantec offer counter-examples to generalisations made in the literature, such as Dixon's claim (1987:3) that 'absolutive is the unmarked case from an absolutive-ergative system', Noonan's claim (1985:135) that all languages have at least two complementation strategies, and Li and Thompson's claim (1976:484) that in topic-comment constructions, so-called 'double-subject' constructions are always of the form:

NP1	NP2	V
topic	comment	

Typologically, Chinantec is principally a VSO language; however, the order VOS is not uncommon in clauses where the verb is inflected for inverse cross-referencing.

Chinantec is typical of VO languages (Greenberg 1966) in that demonstratives, descriptive adjectives, relative clauses, and the possessor follows the noun; however, numerals and some evaluative adjectives precede the noun.

In Sochiapan Chinantec, up to seven emic tone distinctions and two stress distinctions, ballistic and controlled, can occur in monosyllabic words or final syllables of polysyllabic words. Ballistic stress is characterised by a rapid enunciation of the syllable, whereas controlled stress prolongs the enunciation of the syllable. This differs from vowel length in that the entire syllable (any non-plosive onset, nuclear and non-nuclear vowels) is compressed or prolonged. In non-final syllables, three emic tone distinctions can occur, and the ballistic/controlled stress distinctions are neutralised.

Whistle speech based on 31 etic tone-stress distinctions is used to

communicate complex messages with minimal ambiguity.

Apart from Chapter 2, in which I give the phonemic analysis of Sochia-pan Chinantec, the Chinantec examples in this grammar are given in the practical orthography. The orthography is based on Spanish, but with certain additional symbols for sounds not found in Spanish, and some modification of the phonetic value for others. With respect to the practical orthography, the number /¹/ represents a high tone, /²/ a mid tone, and /³/ a low tone. Double numbers such as /³²/ represent a glide from one level to another. Ballistic stress is shown by an acute accent over the nuclear vowel (for example, *táú²* 'banana'); controlled stress is unmarked.

CHAPTER 2

SOCHIAPAN CHINANTEC PHONOLOGY

2.0 Introduction

Sochiapan Chinantec syllable structure was described in Foris 1973. Since then, however, I have learned more about the phonology, and this chapter presents an updated description.

In §2.8 I describe the practical orthography, which is used for the Chinantec data in §3-§12. Chinantec examples that are based on the practical orthography are italicised (together with Spanish words from which Chinantec words have derived).

Chinantec tends to be an isolating language, with the majority of words consisting of a single syllable. There is a small percentage of disyllabic words, and less than a dozen known trisyllabic ones. In both polysyllabic words and prefixed monosyllabic words, the non-final syllable displays a more limited inventory of tones and segmental combinations than final syllables, and a simplified system of stress. Monosyllabic words have the same characteristics as final syllables.

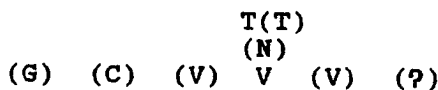
The two kinds of stress which can occur on final syllables are marked by the presence or absence of an accent on the nuclear vowel of the final syllable; see §2.5.1.1.

Tones are written as the final constituent of their syllable, and are represented by raised numerals. Tone is described in §2.5.2.

The essential components of a final syllable are a vowel nucleus and a tone, either of which can be simple or complex. Most syllables have a consonantal onset.

The general structure of the final syllable can be diagrammed as follows:

Figure 2.1 Final Syllable Structure



where G is the class of glottals, C is the class of consonants, V is the class of vowels, N is nasalisation, and T is the class of tones. (V) represents a set of three vowels, /i u/, which are always unstressed. (T) represents the second component of tone in a tone glide. The glottals and other consonants together constitute the elements of syllable onsets. (V) V (V) constitutes the syllable nucleus; only the obligatory V can take the stress. The syllable nucleus may be open, or it may be checked by glottal stop /?/, which is the only phoneme that can occur in the coda. There seem to be no limitations on occurrence of final glottal stop with other elements in a final syllable.

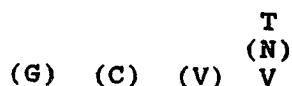
In the non-final syllable of polysyllabic roots, there is a strong tendency to disallow glottal closure and complex tones. For example:^{<1>}

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) /mi ² ɲi ³ / 'pig' | /?i ⁴ mii ² /? ² / 'bread' |
| /tu ² hém ¹ /? ³ / 'police' | /ku ³ ðiv ² hǣ ² / 'suddenly' |
| /mi ¹ hlm ² kéi ³ /? ² / 'scissors' | /tsii ⁴ ke ² lú ³ /? ³ / 'type of caterpillar' |

There are a few exceptions to this tendency; for example, older speakers say /hum²ku²/ 'sugar' with a rising tone on the non-final syllable, but the younger generation say /hum¹ku²/.^{<2>} Prefixes, however, are strictly open syllables and take simple tones; see §2.5.2.2 below.

If the exceptions mentioned above are disregarded, the non-final syllable structure can be simplified to that of Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Non-final Syllable Structure



In non-final syllables, the class of glottals (G) is rarely realised concurrently with (C); (V) includes only /i u/, not /m/.

2.1 Vowels

There are seven vowels that may occur in simple syllable nuclei:³ close front unrounded /i/, close back unrounded /u/, close back rounded /ɔ/, close-mid back unrounded /ɤ/, open-mid front unrounded /ɛ/, open-mid back rounded /ɔ/, and open central unrounded /ə/. For example:

- (2) /ʔiʔ³²/ '(my) nose' /ʔmʔ³²/ '(s/he) injects'
 /ʔuʔ³²/ '(my) fingernail' /ʔɛʔ²/ '(her/his) nose'
 /ʔɤʔ²/ '(her/his) fingernail' /ʔɔʔ³/ '(s/he) dislikes'
 /ʔəʔ²/ 'crack' (noun)

Table 2.1 Sochiapan Chinantec Vowels

	Front	Central	Back	
	unrd	unrd	unrd	rd
Close	i		u	ɔ
Close-mid			ɤ	
Open-mid	ɛ			
Open		ə		

The vowel /i/ is found following all consonants except for /ɣ/; see Table 2.2.

The vowel /u/ is found following all consonants except for /β ɸ ɾ ʒ ɣ/; see Table 2.2.

The vowel /ɔ/ is found following all consonants except for /ɸ ɾ ɣ/; see Table 2.2.

The vowel /ɔ/ is found following all consonants except for /m β ɸ/; see Table 2.2. /ɔ/ has an offglide to an open-mid central vocoid [ə] in open syllables; for example, /kɔ²/ [k^hɔə²] '(he) plays'. The vocoid represented by [ə] is slightly lower than the position given in the IPA chart (Ladefoged 1990:551): [ə] represents an open-mid central unrounded vocoid.

The vowel /ə/ is found following all consonants except for /ɸ/ (see Table 2.2). The symbol /ə/ represents a vowel that is lower than the position given in the IPA chart; it is an open central unrounded vowel.

The vowel /ɛ/ is found following all the consonants except for /ŋ ɣ/; see

Table 2.2.

The vowel /ɣ/ is marginal to the system, occurring only following /m k h ʔ/ (see Table 2.2), and never in combination with other vowels. /ɣ/ never occurs in non-final syllables. Only 30 words with this vowel have been found; for example, /kɣ³/ 'money', /hɣ¹/ '(her/his) word, message', /ʔɣʔ²/ '(her/his) fingernail'. The only example of /ɣ/ following /m/ is the word /mɣ²¹/ 'nut' (from Spanish *nuez*). In some idiolects this vowel is even more marginal, with /mɛ/ corresponding to /ɣ/ in all but a handful of words. For example, almost all known speakers utilise /ɣ/ in /hɣ¹/ '(her/his) word, message', but many speakers say /ʔmɛʔ²/ instead of /ʔɣʔ²/ '(her/his) fingernail'.

If the marginal vowel /ɣ/ is disregarded, then the Sochiapan Chinantec vowel system corresponds to Crother's (1978) Type 6.1--six vowels, five of them peripheral /i u ɛ ɔ ɐ/, one of them interior /m/ (see Table 2.1).

2.2 Non-nuclear Vowels

There are three close vowels, /i u u/, that can combine with each other or with the vowels /ɛ ɔ ɐ/ to form complex nuclei of two or three vowels.

In diphthongs,⁴ the vowel receiving the greatest stress (the nuclear vowel) can be determined by the following formula:

For V_1V_2 , where $V_1 \neq V_2$, the more open V takes the stress. If $V_1 = V_2$ in height, then V_2 takes the stress.

In other words, in any sequence of two vowels, stress will fall on the first vowel, except when that vowel is /i u u/, in which case stress falls on the immediately following vowel.

The unstressed vowel /i/ can precede /i u ɛ ɔ ɐ/, and can follow /ɛ/; the unstressed vowel /u/ can precede /m u ɛ ɔ ɐ/, and can follow /ɐ ɔ/. The unstressed vowel /m/ can precede or follow /ɛ ɐ/.

In a sequence of two vowels, if /i/ is the unstressed first vowel, it is either realised as the semivowel [j], or else it affects the articulation of the preceding consonant, resulting in either palatalisation or retraction of that consonant, and is lost (see §2.4). If /u/ is the unstressed first vowel, it is

realised as the semivowel [w] (see §2.2.2).

In a sequence of two vowels, if /u/ is the unstressed final vowel, it has the allophones [ɣ] and [ŋ] (see §2.2.3).

In triphthongs $V_1V_2V_3$, V_1 and V_3 are always one of the close vowels /i u/, and V_2 never is; consequently V_2 always takes the stress in triphthongs.

There are five permissible sequences of V V V: /iei/, /ieu/, /ueu/, /uou/, and /uəu/. The sequence /uəu/ collocates only with /k/; only four words that utilise this sequence are known: /kueu²³/ 'eat!' (2 IMP), /kueu²³/ '(your) money', /kueu²³/ '(it) is closed', and /tsi¹kueu²³/ 'stuck' (IN). The sequence /ueu/ is known to occur in only one word: the verb /kuu²³/ 'abandon' when it is inflected for inverse cross-referencing (§8.1.4); for example, /kuu²¹/ '(I) will abandon (you)'.

2.2.1 The Non-nuclear Vowel /i/

Of the vowels that follow the non-nuclear vowel /i/, /e/ is fronted to [a], /ɛ/ is raised to [e], and /o/ is raised to [o]; however /i/ and /u/ are unaffected. For example:

(3) /mi ² / [mji ²] 'year'	/tsi ³ / [tʃi ³] 'wind'
/ʔiú ² / [ʔju ²] 'sun'	/siu ²¹ / [ʃu ²¹] 'crisp'
/tiɛ ¹ / [tʰe ¹] '(I) shave'	/ʔie ² / [ʔje ²] 'stem'
/siɛ ¹ / [ʃe ¹] 'manioc'	/ʔie ² / [ʔja ²] 'hello'
/tiɛ ²¹ / [tʰa ²¹] 'father'	/kie ¹ / [kʰja ¹] 'dirty'
/ʔniɔ ³ / [ʔnɔ ³] '(s/he) wants'	/ŋiɔ ¹ / [ŋɔ ¹] '(I) know'
/ʔisi ²¹ / [ʔjei ²¹] 'excessively' (full)	/θieu ²³ / [θjau ²³] '(it) is left over'

When /i/ occurs as the first element in a complex nucleus following certain alveolar and velar consonants, various phonological changes occur, including palatalisation of some consonants and retraction of others; see §2.4.

The sequence /ii/ is not in contrast with simple /i/ following alveolars or velars, and /ie/ is not in contrast with /ɛ/ following velars. The sequences /ii/ and /ie/ are interpreted as including the semivowel [j] since

the consonant in these cases has the same phonetic quality as when preceding sequences /ie io iu/, which are in contrast with simple /e o u/ in these environments; for example:

- (4) /tse¹³/ [tse¹³] '(it) will run out' /tsie¹³/ [tʃa¹³] '(I) will tell'
 /tsii¹³/ [tʃi¹³] '(I) will loan' /ɾú³/ [ɾú³] 'flesh'
 /ɾiú³/ [ɾú³] '(s/he) will vomit' /ɾií³/ [ɾí³] 'sit down!'
 /kʂ¹/ [kʂ¹] '(I) will put down' /kiʂ¹/ [kʂ¹] 'steep'
 /kiʂ¹/ [kʂ¹] '(I) will tie together'

In the absence of a preceding consonantal onset, the semivowel [j] is perceived as having somewhat more oral friction than otherwise. For example:

- (5) /ie²/ [je²] 'tick' /iei²/ [jei²] '(you) will extinguish'.
 /iɔ²/ [jɔ²] '(s/he) spreads, smears'

When /i/ occurs as a postnuclear vowel, its phonetic quality is [i].

2.2.2 The Non-nuclear Vowel /u/

When the non-nuclear vowel /u/ occurs as the first element in a complex nucleus, it is realised phonetically as labialisation of the preceding consonant. Only /k h ʔ/ are able to precede non-nuclear /u/. For example:

- (6) /kuú²/ [kʰú²] 'maize' /kué²/ [kʰé²] 'church'
 /kuc²/ [kʰc²] 'scar' /hum²/ [u²] 'road'
 /hué²/ [u²] 'rotten' /ʔu²/ [ʔ²] 'earth'
 /ʔu²/ [ʔ²] 'shoddy' /ʔue¹/ [ʔ¹] 'soft'
 /ʔu²/ [ʔ²] '(I) skin'

In the absence of a preceding consonantal onset, /u/ is realised as the semivowel [w], with somewhat more oral friction than otherwise. For example:

- (7) /uú³/ [wú³] '(s/he) will climb' /u³/ [w³] '(my) mouth'
 /uú²/ [wú²] 'smooth'

When /u/ occurs as a postnuclear vowel, its phonetic quality is [u].

2.2.3 The Non-nuclear Vowel /u/

[u] and [ú] occur as the second element in a diphthong when functioning as the nuclear vowel (that is, receiving syllable stress; see §2.2), or when

occurring postnuclear and followed by /ʔ/; see (8a) and (8b) respectively:

- (8)(a) /uú³/ [wú³] 'difficult' /kuú²³/ [k^hwú²³] 's/he disposes' (AN)
 /huu³²/ [u^wu³²] 'road' /ʔuú^{ʔ1}/ [ʔ^wú^{ʔ1}] 'dark-brown' (AN)
- (b) /kém^{ʔ1}/ [k^hém^{ʔ1}] '(I) cinch' /ʔl^éu^{ʔ1}/ [ʔl^éwú^{ʔ1}] 'bad, evil' (AN)

Postnuclear [ɣ] (a lenis velar fricative) occurs only in non-nasalised open syllables (that is, there is no glottal closure of the syllable); and postnuclear [ŋ] occurs only in nasalised open syllables (see §2.3 on nasalisation). Since [u] occurs postnuclear in closed non-nasalised syllables, whereas [ɣ] does not, and since [ú] occurs postnuclear in closed nasalised syllables, whereas [ŋ] does not, [u], [ɣ], [ú], and [ŋ] are in complementary distribution. Consequently, I have interpreted postnuclear [u], [ɣ], [ú], and [ŋ] as allophones of /u/.

Further evidence that [ɣ] and [ŋ] are allophones of /u/ is found in verbs which index the second-person by glottal closure (§4.1.8.6). For example, although postnuclear [ɣ] occurs in the 1PL present of [heɣ³²] 'cut (a field)' when the verb is indexed by glottal closure for second-person present, the allophone [u] occurs: [heu^{ʔ32}]. Similarly, although postnuclear [ŋ] occurs in the 1PL present of [ʔéŋ²³] 'jump': when the verb is indexed for second-person present by glottal closure, the nasalised allophone [ú] occurs: [ʔ^éwú²³]. Further examples of these allophones are:

- (9) /kém²/ [k^héɣ²] 'cage' /hém¹³/ [p^éɣ¹³] 'word'
 /ŋeu³²/ [ŋ^éŋ³²] '(we) ask' /néu²/ [n^éŋ²] 'weed'
 /k^éu¹/ [k^héŋ¹] 'rock' /ʔ^éu²³/ [ʔ^éŋ²³] '(it) bounces'

This interpretation of [ɣ] and [ŋ] as allophones of [u] is mentioned in Foris 1973 as an alternative analysis to positing postnuclear /ɣ/ and /ŋ/.

The sequence /ɛu/ has a very limited distribution; for most speakers /ɛu/ can only follow /k/. A few speakers use /ɛu/ in place of the sequence /eu/ following /h/, not as a generalised rule, but only for selected lexemes; for example, although most people say /hém¹³/, a few say /h^éwú¹³/ 'word, message'. Some speakers use /ɛu/ in place of /u/ following /k/; for example,

/kū¹/ or /kēu¹/ 'rock'.

The sequence /me/ has been found in only one word: /hmeʔ³/ 'look!'.

2.3 Nasalisation

Any combination of segments may occur in the presence or absence of nasalisation, and such nasalisation is phonemic. Nasalisation affects both non-nuclear and nuclear vowels; however, it is marked by /~/ only over the nuclear vowel. Examples of minimal pairs of oral and nasal syllable nuclei are:

(10) /ke ² / 'candle'	/kē ² / '(I) pluck'
/tsii ³² / '(s/he) sifts'	/tsif ³² / '(my) head'
/tm ³ / 'to, at, from'	/tū ³ / 'is turn of'
/ʔeʔ ¹ / '(I) am embarrassed'	/ʔē ¹ / '(I) leave (some food)'
/ʔyʔ ² / '(her/his) fingernail'	/ʔyē ² / 'type of snake'
/hleu ³² / '(s/he) replaces (a lid)'	/hlēu ³² / '(s/he) is hit by'
/ʔliu ³² / '(I) push (you)'	/ʔliēu ³² / '(s/he) wears (a prosthesis)'

The contrast between oral and nasal nuclei is neutralised following a nasal consonant; see (12) further below.

2.4 Consonants

A simple onset may consist of any one of 18 consonants; the bilabials /p β m/, interdental /θ ð/, alveolars /t ts s z r l n/, velars /k γ ŋ/, and glottals /ʔ h/; see Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Sochiapan Chinantec Consonants

	Bilabial	Interdental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	ŋ	
Plosive	p		t	k	ʔ
Fricative	vl	θ	s		h
	vd	ð	z	γ	
Affricate			ts		
Lateral			l		
Flap			r		

/p t k/ are voiceless stops, which vary from unaspirated to slightly aspirated. The stops towards the back of the mouth are progressively more aspirated; for example: /pe²¹/ [pe²¹] 'fat', /te²¹/ [t^he²¹] 'work', /ke³²/

[k^he³²] 'crooked'.

/β ð γ/ are voiced fricatives, and are all marginal to the system. Of native Chinantec words, /β/ has been found to occur in seven words, /ð/ in about 40 words, and /γ/ in five words. For example: /βíʔ³/ 'brown eyed', /ðē³/ 'baby maize', /ðʒ²/ '(s/he) twists', /γʒ³/ 'three' (AN). In addition, there are several words borrowed from Spanish. /βéʔ³/ *Roberto* 'Robert', /ðe²¹/ *Adela* 'Adele', /γéu³/ *Gregorio* 'Gregory'. Examples of contrasts between the voiceless stops and voiced fricatives are:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| (11) /piʔ ²¹ / 'small' | /βíʔ ¹ / (affirmation) |
| /pe ²¹ / 'big' (IN) | /βe ²¹ / 'godfather' (from Sp. <i>compadre</i>) |
| /teʔ ¹ / '(I) block' (you) | /ðeʔ ¹ / '(I) chew' |
| /keu ³ / 'cooked' (IN) | /γeu ³ / '(we) two' |

When the nasals /m n ŋ/ occur in the syllable onset, the following vowel nucleus is nasalised, resulting in the neutralisation of the phonemic contrast between oral and nasal vowels. Since such nasalisation is non-contrastive, it is left unmarked in the phonemic transcript; for example:

- (12) /mu³²/ [m^hu³²] 'bone' /no²/ [n^ho²] 'rat'
 /ɾu³/ [ɾu^h] '(s/he) will extend' (border of field)

The phoneme /ɸ/ occurs only in words borrowed from Spanish; for example, /ɸé³/ 'Felix' (Sp. *Felix*), /ɸis¹/ 'Alfred' (Sp. *Alfredo*).

/z/ is a voiced slightly retroflexed fricative; for example, /zéʔ²/ 'green' (IN), /zéu³/ 'sweet' (IN).

/ts/ is the only affricate; for example, /tséu²/ [tséu²] 'people', /tsʒ²/ 'true'.

/θ/ is a voiceless interdental fricative; for example, /θá³/ 'bottle', /θʒ¹/ 'type of grass'.

/l/ is a voiced lateral; for example, /lí¹³/ 'flower', /ʔle¹/ 'corpse'.

An alveolar flap /r/ occurs in onomatopoeic words, in one expletive, and in words borrowed from Spanish. For example, /tʃí¹/ 'chirp' (sound made by cricket), /féi¹³/ (emphasis), /co²fo¹né¹/ 'crown' (Sp. *corona*).

When /k/ precedes /i/, /k/ is fronted to [k̟] and /i/ is realised phonetically as the semivowel [j]; however, when /s/, /ts/, /l/, and /ŋ/ precede /i/, the /i/ is lost, and the consonant is palatalised to [ʃ], [tʃ], [ʎ], and [ɲ] respectively; when /t/ and /n/ precede /i/, /i/ is lost, and the consonants are retracted to [t̠] and [n̠] respectively. Examples of minimal pairs are:

- (13) /kɛʔ²/ [kʰɛʔ²] 'type of vine' /kiɛʔ²/ [k̟ʰjɛʔ²] '(s/he) splits'
 /sɛ¹/ [sɛ¹] '(I) will sprinkle' /siɛ¹/ [ʃɛ¹] 'manioc'
 /tsɛ¹³/ [tʃɛ¹³] '(we) will grab (you)'
 /tsiɛ¹³/ [tʃɛ¹³] '(s/he) will offend (me)'
 /lɛʔ³²/ [lɛʔ³²] '(it) will roll down'
 /liɛʔ³²/ [ʎɛʔ³²] '(s/he) will wash hands'
 /ŋú³/ [ɲú³] 'meat' /ŋiú³/ [ɲú³] '(s/he) will vomit'
 /tɛ²¹/ [tʰɛ²¹] 'work' /tiɛ²¹/ [t̠ʰɛ²¹] 'dad' (VOC)
 /nɛ²¹/ [n̠ɛ²¹] 'open' /niɛ²¹/ [n̠ɛ²¹] '(I) will open'

The nasals /n/ and /ŋ/ are in clear contrast in all environments except before /ii/; for example:

- (14) /niɛ³²/ [n̠ɛ³²] '(s/he) opens' /ŋiɛ³²/ [ŋ̠ɛ³²] 'come in'
 /niɛ¹/ [n̠ɛ¹] 'dark colour' /ŋiɛ¹/ [ŋ̠ɛ¹] 'high'
 /niɔ²/ [n̠ɔ²] 'be present' (PL) /ŋiɔ¹/ [ŋ̠ɔ¹] '(I) know'
 /niu²³/ [n̠u²³] '(s/he) stretches' /ŋiu²³/ [ŋ̠u²³] '(s/he) vomits'

Preceding the sequence /ii/, the contrast between /n/ and /ŋ/ is neutralised. In this environment, the phonetic quality of the nasal in question is like that of /ŋ/ in (14), and is thus interpreted as an /ŋ/; for example, /ŋii¹/ [ŋ̠i¹] '(my) face'.

The glottals /ʔ h/ may occur as simple syllable onsets or preceding nasals or the lateral. The glottal fricative /h/ is the voiceless counterpart of the phoneme it precedes; for example:

- (15) /ʔɛú²/ 'medicinal herb' /ʔmɛ²/ 'wood'
 /ʔnú²/ 'you' (SG) /ʔŋɛ²¹/ 'spotted cavy'
 /ʔléú²/ 'cliff' /hú¹³/ [uú¹³] 'mosquito'
 /hmu²/ [m̠u²] 'blood' /hnoʔ¹/ [n̠noʔ¹] 'we'

/hɲiu¹³/ [ɲɲj¹³] 'hairy' /hliɛ³/ [ɬɬe³] 'deep'
 /heʔ³²/ [ɣeʔ³²] 'fist' /hɛ³/ [ɛ³] 'bed'
 /hu³²/ [u³²] 'tough' /hiɛ³/ [ijɛ³] 'odour'

Some complex onsets have been introduced from Spanish: /βr tɾ kɾ/; for example, /ʔa²βri²¹/ 'April' (Sp. *abril*), /tɾɔ¹/ 'Petrona' (Sp. *Petrona*), /kɾei²¹/ 'cross' (Sp. *cruz*).

2.5 Stress and Tone

Chinantec displays a complex interaction of tone and stress, resulting in 14 tone-stress patterns for final syllables, and three for non-final syllables. Tone and stress analysis has been carried out using the CECIL programme.^{<5>}

2.5.1 Stress

There are three stress patterns found in Chinantec syllables; two in final syllables and one in non-final syllables.

Final syllables can have either ballistic stress, which is characterised by brevity and high intensity, or controlled stress, which is characterised by length and medium intensity. For simplicity, syllables with ballistic stress are hereafter called ballistic syllables, and those with controlled stress are called controlled syllables.

The contrast of ballistic and controlled stress is neutralised in non-final syllables; stress on non-final syllables is characterised by brevity, similar to ballistic syllables, but with medium intensity, similar to controlled syllables.^{<6>}

2.5.1.1 Stress on Final Syllables

Monosyllabic words and final syllables in polysyllabic words are either ballistic (marked by an acute accent over the nuclear vowel) or controlled (unmarked).

In both ballistic and controlled syllables, high and high-falling tones have the greatest intensity, low and low-rising tones have the least.

The stress graphs produced with CECIL for isolated words within a word list show that, although the stress varies in intensity from syllable to syllable, the average intensity of ballistic syllables is greater than that of

controlled syllables.

Ballistic syllables are characterised by an initial surge and rapid decay of intensity, with a resultant fortis articulation of the consonantal onset. Ballistic syllables are also shorter in duration than those with controlled stress. When syllables begin with the semivowels [j w], there is greater friction in the articulation of the semivowels if receiving ballistic stress than if receiving controlled stress.

Controlled syllables generally display a more gradual surge and decay of stress, as well as a longer duration of the maximum stress. Controlled syllables whose nuclei consist of a single vowel give the impression that the vowel is lengthened. Those syllables whose nuclei contain two or three vowels have all vowel segments lengthened.

Because of this lengthening of the vowel segments in the syllable nucleus in controlled syllables relative to that of ballistic syllables, it is preferable to talk in terms of ballistic and controlled stress, rather than vowel length.

A comparison of the duration of non-nuclear and nuclear vowel segments in ballistic and controlled syllables is set out in Table 2.3.^{<7>}

Table 2.3 Duration of Nuclear and Non-nuclear Vowel Segments

DURATION OF VOWEL SEGMENTS (in seconds)			
	1st	2nd	Total
/heʔ ¹ / 'basket'	.342		.342
/hɛʔ ¹ / 'fly'	.111		.111
/θiɔʔ ³ / '(you) serve up'	.132	.223	.355
/θiɔʔ ³ / '(s/he) will serve up'	.066	.067	.133
/tsemʔ ³² / '(s/he) burns'	.249	.192	.441
/tsémʔ ³² / '(s/he) will burn'	.090	.053	.143

From Table 2.3 it can be seen that controlled syllables last for approximately three times as long as ballistic syllables; and the nuclear vowel in controlled syllables lasts for about 1.5 times as long as the non-nuclear vowel. In ballistic syllables two patterns emerge, depending on whether the nuclear vowel comes first or second. When the nuclear vowel is second, both the

prenuclear and nuclear vowels are about equal in length; when the nuclear vowel comes first, it is about 1.5 times as long as the following vowel segment.

2.5.1.2 Stress on Non-final Syllables

Non-final syllables have only three simple tones, see §2.5.2.2.

Based on graphs produced with CECIL, non-final syllables are characterised by being brief in duration, similar to syllables with ballistic stress, but lacking the intensity of a ballistic syllable. The intensity of non-final syllables closely approximates the intensity of controlled syllables with simple tones, low tone having the least intensity, and high tone the greatest.

Stress graphs of affixed roots^{<8>} with controlled stress indicate that when both prefix and root have the same simple tone, the stress on the prefix varies from slightly less than that of the root, to about 1.5 times the intensity of the root. Those affixes that occur on roots with ballistic stress, however, have a relative intensity that varies from about half to nearly equal the intensity of the root, but never exceeding it.

For example, the word /ke³ke³/ 's/he tore' displayed a slightly greater stress on the final syllable; the length of the non-final syllable was .151 seconds, and that of the final syllable was .270 seconds.

2.5.2 Tone

Final syllables display both simple and complex (or contour) tones. Only simple tones are found in non-final syllables. Tones are written as the final constituent of their syllable.

2.5.2.1 Tone on Final Syllables

There are three simple tones: high /¹/, mid /²/, and low /³/, and four tone sequences: two upglides /²¹ ³²/ and two downglides /¹³ ²³/. The tone sequences roughly span the distance in pitch for which each is named; that is, tone /²³/ is a glide from /²/ to /³/. All Chinantec syllables have one of the simple tones or tone sequences.

Simple tones are typically level in pitch. Exceptions are that mid tone descends slightly in pitch when occurring with controlled stress, and low tone

descends markedly when occurring with ballistic stress in an open syllable. The step from low to mid tone is generally greater than that from mid to high. Measurements in several sentences show that there is generally a difference of three to four semitones between low and mid tones, and two to three semitones between mid and high tones in normal unemotional speech. Utterances which had only high and low tones averaged a span of five semitones.

In each of the four tone sequences, the sequence begins on or close to the indicated pitch, but does not quite reach the final pitch. When tone /¹³/ follows a /¹/, it begins slightly higher than /¹/. Ballistic /³²/ shows the shallowest tone contour, having a pitch rise of only a half to one semitone.

In Foris 1973 I stated that stress contrasts (ballistic vs. controlled) are limited in the presence of tone sequences. Further investigation, however, has shown that such a limitation exists only in certain idiolects. My main language assistant from 1973 to 1986, Marcelino Flores Mariscal, has all seven tones in both ballistic and controlled syllables. Ballistic /²¹/ appears to be a predictable perturbation of ballistic /³²/, occurring when contiguously following a syllable with a tone /¹/, or when ballistic /³²/ is perturbed to ballistic /²¹/ to mark question intonation; see (16). Ballistic /²¹/ does occur in a few disyllabic roots; the preceding syllable, however, is again a /¹/; for example, /ku¹iēi²¹/ 'nighthawk'. There are no known monosyllabic roots with unperturbed ballistic /²¹/. Native speakers react to ballistic /²¹/ as distinct from ballistic /³²/, so I treat it as phonemic, although largely predictable.

A comprehensive study was done of all possible combinations of consonants, vowels and tones in monosyllabic roots. There are several sequences that display 11 and 12 semantic distinctions. Most combinations yielded seven to eight semantic distinctions. Both very low yield and very high yield distinctions are uncommon. A few combinations yielded only one or two meanings, such as the combination /pəu[?]/ which yielded the unique word /pəu[?]/ 'bald, bare' (for example, bald head, bare tree/mountain).

Two sequences have been found that display 14 tone-stress patterns,

/tɛ/ and /ʔiɛ/. The set /tɛ/ is as follows:

(16) /tɛ ¹ / ‘(I will) be prompt’	/tɛ ¹ / ‘entire’
/tɛ ² / ‘(I) am prompt’	/tɛ ² / ‘recently’
/tɛ ³ / ‘(her/his) foot’	/tɛ ³ / ‘a weaving’
/tɛ ¹³ / ‘(we) will fight’	/tɛ ¹³ / ‘(we) will carve’
/tɛ ²³ / ‘(we) fight’	/tɛ ²³ / ‘(we) carve’
/tɛ ²¹ / ‘work’	/tɛ ²¹ / ‘will (s/he) weave?’
/tɛ ³² / ‘ladder’	/tɛ ³² / ‘(s/he) will weave’

An alternate example of ballistic /²¹/ is found in /ŋi¹tɛ²¹/ ‘(s/he) wants to weave’, where the verb is prefixed by /ŋi¹-/ to mark intent; see §4.1.8.12.5.

Tone and stress are particularly susceptible to variation among individual speakers. This may be due to the fact that historically the town of San Pedro is an amalgamation of two towns, which were evidently of slightly differing dialects (§1.1.2). These slight differences are still reflected in the choice of tone and stress patterns that modern speakers make for individual words, some speakers lacking contrasts that others have. For example, although all speakers appear to have both the tones /¹³/ and /¹/, some pronounce words such as /kuéʔ¹³/ ‘soil’ and /ʔéuʔ¹³/ ‘compost’ with a simple high tone /kuéʔ¹/, /ʔéuʔ¹/. Some speakers appear to completely lack the contrast between ballistic and controlled tone /²³/.

2.5.2.2 Tone on Non-final syllables

Only three level tones occur in non-final syllables.^{<9>} Both high and mid tones are level and of brief duration, like that of ballistic /¹/ and /²/ in final syllables, but of less intensity. Low tone is brief like the ballistic /³/ of final syllables, but lacks the sharp downglide that characterises this tone in open syllables; it is like controlled /³/ in both degree of intensity and level pitch.

Since the contrast of ballistic and controlled is neutralised in non-final syllables, phonemically they can be left unmarked. Because of their brevity,

however, those non-final syllables that occur on high and mid tones tend to be identified by native speakers with ballistic tones /¹/ and /²/, and non-final syllables on a low tone are identified with controlled tone /³/. This is discussed further in §2.8 on the practical orthography.

2.5.3 Tone-stress on Borrowed Words

Borrowed words that have been assimilated into Chinantec are usually monosyllabic, and display the same range of tone-stress variations as native Chinantec words. Generally, with names, only the Spanish stressed syllable (underlined in the following examples) is retained and modified to fit the Chinantec phonology. For example:

- (17) /βéʔ³/ Roberto 'Robert' /ʃie¹/ Alfredo 'Alfred'
 /ké¹/ Carlos 'Charles' /ðíʃ³²/ diós 'god'
 /mi²¹/ Carmelo 'Carmelo' /liʃ²¹/ Julián 'Julian'

Examples of assimilated polysyllabic words are:

- (18) /mɛ²ʒéi³/ María 'Mary' /ʃe²βi²¹/ David 'David'
 /βi²ne¹díʔ³/ Bernadino 'Bernard'

Words that are recent borrowings into Chinantec are similarly modified to fit Chinantec phonology; the tone-stress, however, appears to follow a set pattern that is not entirely consistent with the above description of tone-stress on non-final syllables. When a Spanish word is borrowed into Chinantec, and that word takes stress on any non-final syllable, the stressed syllable from the Spanish word is given a high tone with high intensity similar to a ballistic syllable, but with length similar to that of a controlled syllable. Chinantec speakers associate it with a controlled /¹/, a tone that is not normally permitted in a non-final syllable. In the practical orthography, this stressed syllable is written as controlled /¹/; see (19) below.

Borrowed words of up to four syllables exist. Any syllables which precede or follow the stressed syllable of the borrowed word take tone-stress that is normally associated with non-final syllables for native words: all syllables that precede the stressed syllable are given a tone /²/; all syllables

which follow the stressed syllable are tone /¹/, but they are briefer and slightly lower in pitch than the tone /¹/ of the stressed syllable. In the practical orthography, all syllables which follow the stressed syllable are written as ballistic /¹/.

In the following examples, the stressed syllable of both the Chinantec and Spanish are underlined:

- (19) /li¹tlɔ¹/ litro 'litre' /ki¹lɔ¹/ kilo 'kilo'
 /su²mɛ¹ne¹/ semana 'week' /mi²nu¹tlɔ¹/ minuto 'minute'
 /pu²ye¹ðe¹/ pulgada 'inch' /ra²sɛ¹ne¹/ docena 'dozen'
 /tɔ²ne²le¹ðe¹/ tonelada 'ton' /ki²lɔ¹ms¹tlɔ¹/ kilómetro 'kilometre'

2.6 Whistle Speech

Tone has a high functional load in Chinantec; almost all verbs, for example, mark the difference between present (§4.1.8.10.1) and future (§4.1.8.10.2) simply by a change in the tone-stress.

These tone-stress contrasts are utilised in whistle speech to facilitate long distance communication. In addition, falsetto speech is used as an alternative to whistling for reasons described further below.

The three forms of whistle speech and falsetto speech described in this section are almost entirely the domain of the men in the Sochiapan Chinantec community. When I have tried to get female language assistants to whistle tones on words, the usual reaction has been that they are incapable of whistling; if an effort was made, it was done with great mirth and some embarrassment. Nonetheless, most women understand whistle speech.

When men wish to communicate over a distance, they will use one of four methods: (i) whistling by putting the tongue against the alveolar ridge for close-by communication (up to 10 metres); (ii) bilabial whistling for mid- to far-distance (up to 200 metres); (iii) fingers-in-mouth whistling for far-distance, sometimes audible more than a kilometre away, depending on terrain and background noise; and (iv) falsetto speech for mid- to far-distance (up to a kilometre). There are three verbs for the different styles of whistling:

/sɪs²/ (close-by), /hʊm³²/ (mid-distance) and /hʊɔ²/ (far-distance). Falsetto speech (the verb /hʃh³²/ 'shout') is used in place of whistling in the following situations: (i) the person is unable to whistle (e.g. dry mouth); (ii) person is in danger; (iii) person is acting authoritatively; for example, a member of the police force walking through town summoning the inhabitants to a town meeting; (iv) as part of the training to understand whistle speech.

With respect to this final point above, in observing my main language assistant training his son to understand whistle speech, he would whistle to him from about 7-10 metres, then speak to him using falsetto, immediately followed by a whistled repetition of the same utterance.

All young men in the village must do seven years of town duty: four years as assistants to the municipal authorities, alternating with three years as assistants to the town's teachers (§1.1.4). When a young man begins his first tour of obligatory town duty, he is given a test to see if his whistle can be heard over a set distance of about a kilometre; if not audible, he is fined the equivalent of three days' wages. In the early morning the village comes alive with whistled messages as people communicate with one another their plans for the day.

Virtually anything that can be expressed by speech can be communicated by whistling. The most complex example that I had interpreted for me was on the occasion that the supply plane was due to come in. Because of heavy rains, I checked the dirt airstrip for erosion and saw that it needed extensive repairs. I went to the town president and explained the need for immediate repairs, a job that was the responsibility of the town police in those days. The town is set on a horseshoe-shaped hillside; his house is at one end of the 'arm', with the town hall at the centre, about 1/2 a kilometre away. He put his fingers in his mouth and whistled to get their attention. They responded that they were listening, and he whistled a long message. I asked for the interpretation, which he gave as the following: 'The plane will be here soon. The airstrip needs to be repaired. Get the picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows

and fix it right away'.

I have not purposefully collected data in an attempt to analyse whistle speech. However, the incidental information that I have gathered is sufficient for me to present the salient characteristics, which are:

(i) Syllable final glottal stop is incorporated into whistle speech, interrupting the air flow. This effectively doubles the 14 tone-stress distinctions to 28 on final syllables; non-final syllables allow only three tone-stress distinctions; see §2.5.1.2 and §2.5.2.2.^{<9>} Thus, in effect, 31 tone-stress distinctions are utilised in whistle speech.

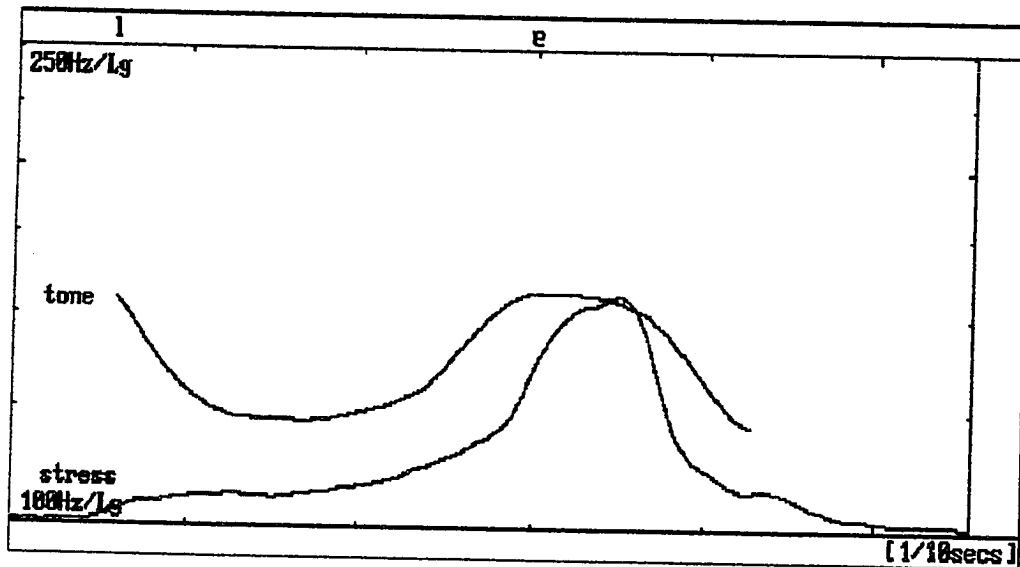
(ii) All whistled utterances end with the whistling of the word /léi¹³/, which might be glossed as a radio operator's 'over!'.

(iii) Looking at tone and stress on syllables with the CECIL programme, it has become apparent that the concomitant tone on non-obstruent voiced onsets such as nasals and fricatives is ignored in whistle speech (Figure 2.3), as well as the tone on prenuclear vowels (Figure 2.6).

In Figures 2.3-2.6, the tone graphs are labelled on the vertical axis for pitch (Hz); the superimposed stress graphs, however, are not labelled for intensity, which can vary considerably from utterance to utterance depending on the proximity of the speaker to the microphone and the speaker's focus on the work (interested/bored). Tone appears to be quite stable, generally varying less than a semitone from utterance to utterance for words of the same phonemic tone. The significance of the stress graph lies in the point of maximum stress and its intersection with the tone graph.

In Figure 2.3, the spoken word /lé³/ 'ear of maize' illustrates that words with a non-obstruent voiced onset and ballistic tone /³/ in open syllables have a tone contour that is an almost perfect sine wave. The tone starts high at the beginning of the /l/ (but with minimal intensity), then falls, then rises again to a point slightly higher than the starting point; the point of highest pitch approximates the point of maximum stress, and then both pitch and stress fall away together.

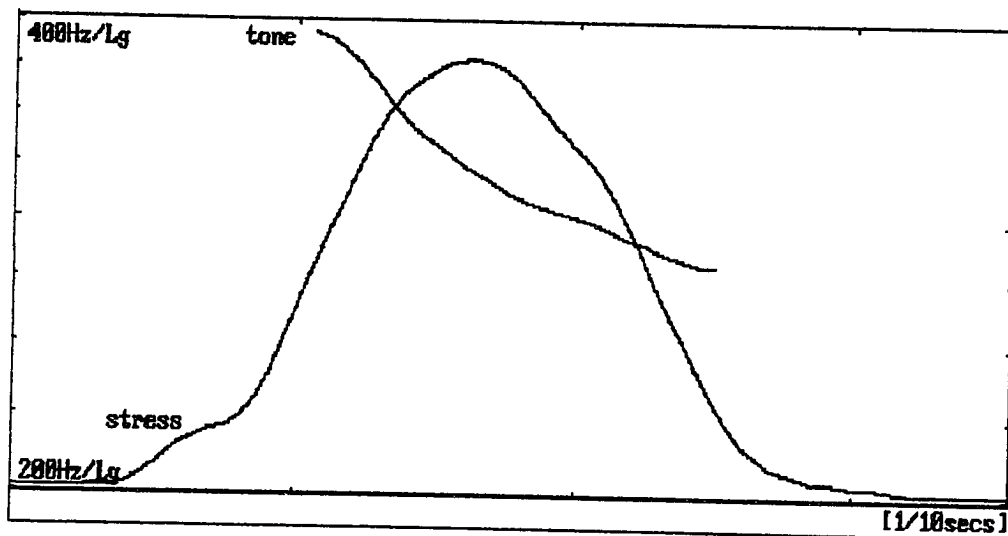
Figure 2.3 The Tone and Stress Contours for /lé³/ 'ear of maize' When Spoken



When /lé³/ 'ear of maize' is whistled, however, only the final falling component is whistled; that is, the point from maximum stress onwards; the component of tone that is part of the onset /l/ is not incorporated into the whistle. For example:

Figure 2.4 The Tone and Stress Contours for /lé³/ 'ear of maize'

When Whistled

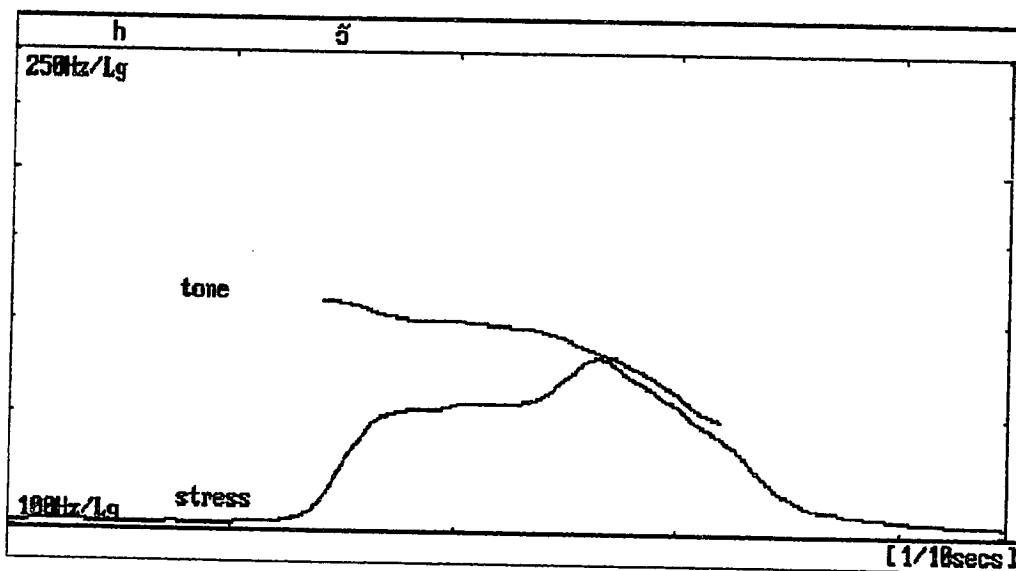


Other words with non-obstruent voiced onsets and tone-stress ballistic /³/ produce a tone contour similar to that of /lé³/ 'ear of maize' when

spoken, as in Figure 2.3, and a tone contour as in Figure 2.4 when whistled.

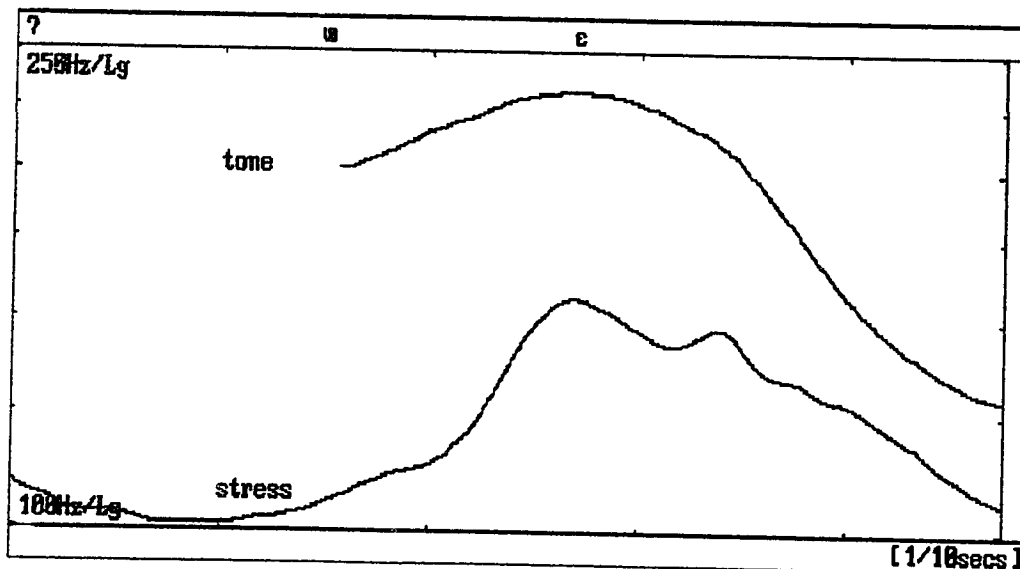
Syllables with obstruent onsets, however, such as the word /hɔ̃^ə/ 'child' (VOC), yield only a falling tone trace when spoken, as in Figure 2.5:

Figure 2.5 The Tone and Stress Contours for /hɔ̃^ə/ 'child'



Based on a comparison of whistle speech with the tone tracings of spoken words, it would appear the tone of prenuclear vowels is also non-emic. Figure 2.6 shows the tone and stress of /ʔmɛ¹³/ 'let's sing' when spoken:

Figure 2.6 The Tone and Stress Contours for /ʔmɛ¹³/ 'let's sing'



The tone is rising during the production of the vowel /u/, reaching its peak at the start of the vowel /ɛ/, which is also the point of maximum stress. When the tone /¹³/ is whistled, however, only the falling component is utilised.

2.7 Intonation

I have done very little study of Sochiapan Chinantec intonation. Two patterns that are immediately apparent, however, are question and anger intonation.

If a question is introduced by a question word, there is no change from the normal intonational pattern. One way of forming yes/no questions is by placing the first syllable of the first word on a higher than normal pitch, but usually preserving it as level, upglide or downglide (if the first word is monosyllabic, then only the first word is affected); see §10.1. The stress of the first syllable increases slightly in intensity, but the distinction between ballistic and controlled stress is still apparent. The remainder of the utterance is as for normal speech.

Anger intonation is marked by the use of a higher register for all the tones in the utterance, and by a diminishing of the span between each of the tone levels and the corresponding tone sequences.

2.8 The Practical Orthography

The Sochiapan Chinantec data in §3-§12 are presented in the practical orthography developed in consultation with several native speakers of Chinantec, and SIL linguistic and literacy consultants. It has been tested extensively through adult literacy classes. The practical orthography is based on the Spanish values of the letters as far as is possible; see Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Phonetic, Phonemic, and Practical Orthographic Equivalents

VOWELS			
PHONETIC	PHONEMIC	PRACTICAL	
[ɐ a]	/ɐ/	a	
[e e]	/ɛ/	e	
[ɤ]	/ɤ/	è	
[i j ʝ]	/i/	i y	
[m ɣ ŋ]	/m/	í	
[ɔ œ o oə]	/ɔ/	o	
[u w ʋ]	/u/	u	
CONSONANTS			
PHONETIC	PHONEMIC	PRACTICAL	
[β]	/β/	b	
[k k̄]	/k/	c qu	
[ts tʃ]	/ts/	ts ch	
[ð]	/ð/	d	
[ɸ]	/ɸ/	f	
[ɣ]	/ɣ/	g	
[ʔ]	/ʔ/	h	
(voiceless counterpart of following phone)	/h/	j	
[l Δ]	/l/	l	
[m]	/m/	m	
[n ɲ]	/n/	n	
[ŋ ɲ]	/ŋ/	ng ñ	
[p]	/p/	p	
[z]	/z/	r	
[r]	/r/	r	
[s ʃ]	/s/	s	
[t t̄]	/t/	t	
[θ]	/θ/	z	

Comments on Table 2.4:

Both *i* and *y* are used to represent the phoneme /i/. The *y* is used word initial, *i* is used elsewhere. This is because of the friction associated with /i/ when there is no consonantal onset, approximating the sound of *y* in Spanish words such as *verno* 'son-in-law'.

The representation of the phoneme /k/ by *c* and *qu* parallels the Spanish practice of *c* before *a o u*, and *qu* before *i* and *e*. In addition, *qu* is used before *í* and *è*.

Because the allophone [ɲ], (phonemically, the sequence /ɲi/), approximates the pronunciation of the Spanish ñ, it was decided to use the ñ for the sequence /ɲi/: [ɲɛ³²] /ɲie³²/ ñɛ³² 'come here', [ɲɛ¹] /ɲie¹/ ñe¹ 'high'.

Similarly, the allophone [tʃ] (phonemically, the sequence /tʃi/) approximates the Spanish *ch* in quality, so it was decided to use the *ch* for the sequence /tʃi/: [tʃáú¹] /tʃiéú¹/ *cháú¹* 'steam'. All the other palatalised allophones are written as the phoneme plus *i*. Since there is no contrast of /ii/ with /i/ following alveolars and velars, only one *i* is written: [ʃí²] /sií²/ *sií²* 'book'. The digraph *ng* represents the phoneme /ŋ/; since the Spanish alphabet already includes the digraphs *ch* and *ll*, an additional digraph for Chinantec was felt to be preferable to introducing another new symbol.

The Spanish *h*, which has no phonetic quality, represents /ʔ/.

The phoneme /h/ is represented by *j* since it approximates the Spanish *j* in quality.

The phoneme /θ/ is represented by *z*. The Castillian *z* has the quality of the /θ/, although in Mexican Spanish *z* and *s* are pronounced identically.

The one symbol *r* represents both the /ɹ/ and /r/. When Spanish words with the phoneme /r/ in a simple consonantal onset are borrowed into Chinantec, /r/ is usually transformed into /ɹ/; for example, /ɹí¹/ *Ricardo* 'Richard', /me²ɹéi³/ *María* 'Mary'. Although /r/ and /ɹ/ contrast before /e/: /réi¹/ 'over!' and /ɹé²/ 'green', there are no known minimal pairs, so the possibility of ambiguity or confusion is low. Because /r/ is uncommon, and no minimal pairs of /r/ and /ɹ/ are known, it was felt unnecessary to use two separate symbols for the two phonemes.

Nasalisation of the syllable nucleus is marked by an *n* after the final vowel, except when a nasal occurs in the onset, in which case no special marking is required.

Most native speakers equate the high and mid tones of non-final syllables with ballistic /¹/ and /²/, so they are marked with an accent on the nuclear vowel. Since the low tone, however, is equated to controlled /³/, such non-final syllables are written without an accent. The accents accompanying tones /¹/ and /²/ on non-final syllables are superfluous, but in the framework of teaching the reading and writing of tones, using an accent was found to be

helpful, and this practice has become part of the practical orthography.

NOTES

1. The presence of an accent over the nuclear vowel of Chinantec words marks ballistic stress, controlled stress is unmarked; see §2.5.1. In the phonemic transcription, nasalisation of the vowel nucleus is marked by /~/ only over the nuclear vowel; if there is a nasal consonant in the syllable onset, the following nucleus is always nasalised, so it is not marked.
2. The word /hum²¹kuú²/ 'sugar' is a compound of /hum²¹/ 'powder' and /ʔne¹kuú²/ 'sugarcane'. This compound appears to be in the process of being assimilated to the normal pattern for a single word. There are no known polysyllabic words consisting of a single morpheme that allow a tone glide on the non-final syllable.
3. The symbols and description are taken from the revised IPA (Ladefoged 1990). The diacritic ◌ represents 'voiceless', ◌ marks 'advanced', and ◌ marks 'retracted'.
4. Lass 1984:253 states:

Now diphthongs are uncontroversially VV sequences; the only real difference between a diphthong and a long vowel is that the latter remains qualitatively the same for its whole duration, while the former changes quality. . . . So a long vowel is V₁V₁, and a diphthong V₁V₂
5. CECIL (Computerised Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language) consists of software for IBM compatible computers, and a small hardware component that plugs into the parallel port on the computer. Elements of pitch, stress and length are graphically displayed on the screen. CECIL can accept data for analysis from either microphone or tape recorder.

6. Merrifield (1968:14) identifies two syllable types for Palantla Chinantec: stressed and unstressed, where 'the stressed syllable is the last toned syllable of a phonological word'. The stressed syllables are of two types, ballistic and controlled. Prefixes would be an example of unstressed syllables. However, if stress is regarded as intensity, these labels do not accurately portray the situation for Sochiapan Chinantec. Measurements using CECIL show that the intensity of prefixes approximates that of a contiguous controlled syllable of the same level tone. In this respect they cannot be called 'unstressed'. The relevant distinction appears to be between final and non-final syllable types.
7. The first two words were spoken in isolation in a word list, the following four were spoken as pairs in a language practice tape. Words with final glottal were chosen as it is easier to determine syllable closure.
8. The affixed roots that were chosen were clause medial to lessen any possible influence from utterance initial or utterance final intonation.
9. When teaching Chinantecs to write tone, initial literacy trials showed that if two key words were given for each emic tone, one for the open syllable and one for the closed syllable, the students could more readily compare a new word (one for which the tone symbol was not yet known) with the key words to determine which tone-stress symbol was appropriate. If a closed syllable was compared to only key words with open syllables (or vice versa), the students would assert that there was no match. As a consequence, the literacy books utilise 28 key words for teaching tone-stress, even though there are only 14 emic tone-stress patterns on final syllables (or 13?; see §2.5.2.1).

CHAPTER 3
LEXICAL FORMATION STRATEGIES

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the way that Sochiapan Chinantec extends its lexicon through word (stem) formation and by non-permutable binomial and polynomial expressions.

3.1 Stem Formation Processes

Sochiapan Chinantec uses phonological modification of the root, affixation, and compounding of roots and stems for stem formation. These three processes are presented here in turn.

3.1.1 Phonological Modification of the Root

There are a few words formed by phonological processes that seem totally idiosyncratic, involving any of the following: suprasegmental modification of the root (that is, tone-stress change and nasalisation), vocalic change, and the addition of glottal closure to the syllable coda, or combinations thereof. The input root is always a noun, the derived stem is either a noun, an adjective, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb. See Table 4.1 in §4.0 for the abbreviations used for the different verb types.

In the following examples, inalienable nouns are marked for the person of the possessor; thus (3) means the possessor is third-person inanimate, and (1PL/3) means the possessor is either first-person plural animate or third-person animate/inanimate; see §6.2.1.

(i) Tone-stress change;

[N] → [V]:

(1) *jnaɪ²¹* 'lid, closure' (3) → *jnaɪ³²* 'close, shut' (TI)

[N] → [ADJ AN]:

- (2) *hmá²* 'tree, wood' → *hma²* 'paralysed'
 (ii) Nasalisation; [N] → [ADJ AN]:
- (3) *chí¹* 'head' (1PL/3) → *chín¹* 'prime, leading, supreme'
 (iii) Nasalisation and tone change;
 [N] → [V]:
- (4) *tiúh¹³* 'breast' (1P/3) → *tiuh²* 'nurse' (TA)
 and [N] → [ADJ AN]:
- (5) *láu²* 'skin' → *láun³* 'naked'
 (iv) Glottal closure of syllable coda;
 [N] → [N]:
- (6) *cuo²* 'hand' (1PL/3) → *cuoh²* 'branch' (3)
 and [N] → [V]:
- (7) *cuo²* 'hand' (1PL/3) → *cuoh²* 'thrust hand inside' (TI)
 (v) Glottal closure and tone-stress change;
 [N] → [N]:
- (8) *jmáí²* 'water, liquid' → *jmáih²¹* 'broth, sap' (3)
 [N] → [ADJ]:
- (9) *nú²* 'fellow, guy' → *nuh¹³* 'male'
 [N] → [ADJ]:
- (10) *no¹* 'grease, fat, oil' → *noh³* 'greasy, oily'
 and [N] → [V]:
- (11) *ho³* 'mouth' (1P/3) → *hóh³²* 'yell, shout' (IA)
 (vi) Glottal closure, vocalic change, and tone-stress change;
 [N] → [ADJ]:
- (12) *fi¹* 'salt' → *feh¹* 'salty' (IN)

The noun *hñe¹³* 'rope' yields several related verbs, each one exhibiting a variety of modifications:

- (13) *hñe¹³* 'rope' → *hñéí³²* 'tie up' (TA)
 → *hñéih³²* 'tether' (an animal) (TA)
 → *hñeih³²* 'tie together' (TI)

→ *hñe*² 'tie up' (TI)

→ *hñeh*² 'retie' (TI)

→ *hñéih*²³ 'tie to (something)' (DI)

Ignoring examples (6) and (8), which are [N] → [N], it is difficult to say categorically that the processes are [N] → [ADJ/V]; conceivably it could also be [ADJ/V] → [N]. In (1), it is perhaps easier to see *jnaí*²¹ 'lid' as deriving from the verb *jnaí*³² 'shut, close' than the other way around. It is hard to imagine, however, the derivation of *cuo*² in (7) from an unusual verb such as *cuoh*² 'thrust hand into'. There are no comparable verbs from which other body parts such as *ta*³ 'foot' or *chí*¹ 'head' might be derived. Among all the phonological irregularity it would be gratifying at least to posit a common source (that is, nouns) for the derived adjective and verb stems.

3.1.2 Derivation of Stems by Affixation

In this section I discuss the way in which the causative prefix is used to derive verbs from non-verb lexemes, and how the progressive aspect prefixes can also function derivationally.

3.1.2.1 The Causative Prefix *má*²⁻

The causative prefix *má*^{2-⟨1⟩} is generally productive, combining with many, but not all adjectives, ^{⟨2⟩} and a few nouns and adverbs, resulting in transitive verbs which are generally causative in implication. (The manner in which *má*²⁻ functions derivationally with verbs is discussed in §4.2.1.)

The root to which *má*²⁻ is affixed does not inflect for person, tense, etc.; however, *má*²⁻ inflects according to paradigm α ; see Table 4.26 in §4.1.5. For example, when the derived verb is inflected for third-person, *má*²⁻ marks the verb for the present tense, while *ma*³⁻ marks the future. The past tense is marked by prefixing either *ca*³⁻ (remote past) or *lɛ*²⁻ (hodiernal past) (§4.1.8.12.7) to the derived stem as inflected for the future. For example:

- (14) *Ca*³⁻ *ma*³⁻ *chú*³² *tsú*² *má*³² *quiú*¹³.
 PAST-CAUS-good^TI^3 3 food have^STI^1PL
 'She prepared our food.'

The adjective roots of most derived transitive verbs do not undergo any

modification. For example:

- (15)(a) *jáu²* 'empty' (IN) → *má²jáu²* 'tidy up' (TI)
 (b) *tson²* 'true' (IN) → *má²tson²* 'assess, judge' (TI)
 (c) *chú³²* 'good' (IN) → *má²chú³²* 'prepare' (TI)
 (d) *jueh³²* 'large' (IN) → *má²jueh³²* 'enlarge' (TI)

There are, however, some derived transitive verbs in which the adjective roots undergo tone-stress change, and occasionally nasalisation as well.

Examples of each respectively are:

- (16) *tson³* 'accused' (AN) → *má²tson¹³* 'capture' (TA)
 (17) *tiéh³* 'castrated' (AN) → *má²tienh²* 'castrate' (TA)

Transitive verbs derived from adjectives are illustrated by the following examples:

- (18) *Jlánh¹ ré² jmá³ má³² má²- chú³² hiá¹tí³².*
 really well be[^]tasty[^]SII food CAUS[^]PRES-good[^]TI female[^]teacher
 'The food which the lady teacher prepares is really delicious.'
 (19) *Né³² bí¹ má³- jueh³² Fé³ cho³.*
 today AFF CAUS[^]FUT-large[^]TI Felix cut[^]field[^]3
 'Shortly Felix will enlarge the area of his field.'
 (i.e. by cutting down more of the jungle)^{<3>}

I have found only two transitive verbs derived from adverb roots:

- (20)(a) *uóunh³²* 'far away' → *má²uóunh³²* 'move away' (IA)
 (b) *ré²* 'well' → *má²ré²* 'arrange, adjudicate' (TI)

Má²ré² of (20b) is exemplified by the following:

- (21) *Tsáu¹³ tsá² jmí¹ tiáunh¹ hñu³mí¹ñí² má²*
 crime[^]3 person TRM occupy[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3PL jail PRF
ná¹- má²- ré² tsá²tan²¹ ta³né³².
 PROG[^]PL-CAUS[^]PRES-well[^]TI authorities now
 'The crimes of those who were in jail are now being adjudicated by the town authorities.'

Transitive verbs derived from nouns are relatively uncommon; most appear to undergo tone-stress change; for example:

- (22)(a) *hmah²¹* 'price, wage' → *má²hmah¹* 'pay' (TI)
 (b) *tso³* 'crime, sin' → *má²tson¹³* 'punish' (TA)

but in a few derived verbs the root remains unaltered:

- (23) *li²¹* 'signal, proof' → *má²li²¹* 'demonstrate' (TI)

A sentential example using the derived transitive verb in (22a) is:

- (24) *Hliám³ quie³ ca³- ma³- hmah¹ yeh³ cháu³*
 plentiful^{IN} money PAST-CAUS-wage^{TI} elder yesterday.
 'The old man paid a large wage yesterday.'

The causative prefix *má²-* can be affixed to inalienable nouns which refer to items associated with human usage, or that can be owned; that is, not kinship terms, bodily excretions or body parts (§6.2.1). For example, the noun *hñú¹³* 'house' (1PL/3 POSS) can become the verb *má²hñú¹³* 'acquire a house':

- (25) *Hñú³ nî² bîh¹ má² ca³- ma³- hñú¹³ tsú².*
 house that AFF PRF PAST-CAUS-house^{TI} 3 3
 'He has acquired that house.'
- (26) *Hñú³ nî² bîh¹ má² má¹- hñú³² jná¹³.*
 house that AFF PRF CAUS^{FUT}-house^{TI} 1SG I
 'I will now acquire that house.'

The implication in (25) and (26) is that the acquisition requires expenditure of much effort, either legal or financial, to take the house away from someone else.

Even though native speakers find the verbalising of inalienable nouns by *má²-* to be grammatical, they regard it as an unusual construction.

In Foris 1980 I proposed that inalienable nouns could also be verbalised by an intransitiviser (INTRV) prefix *lî²-* in the following manner:

- (27) *Hñú³ nî² bîh¹ má² ca³- lî²- hñú³² jná¹³.*
 house that AFF PRF PAST-INTRV-house^{1SG} I
 'That house is the house that became mine'.

I now realise that illocutionary particles such as *yáh³* (ASSR) can intrude between *lî²* and the inalienable noun. For example:

- (28) *Hñú³ nî² bîh¹ má² ca³- lî² yáh³ hñú³² jná¹³.*
 house that AFF PRF PAST-become^{II} PRES³ ASSR house^{1SG} I
 'That house is the house that became mine'.

Illocutionary particles cannot intrude between an affix and the stem (see §11), so the construction in example (28) must be analysed as being the verb *lî²* 'become, happen, occur', followed by a complement; in this case, the inalienable noun *hñú³²* 'house' (1SG).

Testing with native speakers has shown that, although illocutionary particles (§11) can intrude between *lî²* 'become' and a following inalienable

noun (or verb), such intrusion is not possible between *má²-* (CAUS) and a following inalienable noun (or verb).

3.1.2.2 The Posture-Oriented Derivational Prefixes

The progressive aspect prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1), function as derivational prefixes. The progressive motion prefix *hí¹-* (§4.1.8.12.4) also functions derivationally in a parallel manner, and so is included here as part of the same set. The posture-oriented derivational prefixes have been grammaticised from verbs of position; see Table 4.39 in Chapter 4.

Because of the apparently limited output of this derivational process it may be best regarded as non-productive, 'serving simply to analyse existing word forms in the lexicon' (Anderson 1985:56).

The following Table summarises the semantic value of these prefixes when used as progressive aspect markers (§4.1.8.12.1):

Table 3.1 The Progressive Aspect Prefixes

PREFIX	MEANING
<i>chí¹-</i>	'upright, sustained, indefinite' (SG)
<i>cuá¹-</i>	'sitting, indefinite (AN SG)
<i>dí¹-</i>	'vertical, upright (SG)
<i>rá¹-</i>	'flat, horizontal' (SG)
<i>hú¹-</i>	'containing, holding' (SG)
<i>ná¹-</i>	'unspecified' (PL)

<i>hí¹-</i>	'motion'

When these same prefixes function derivationally, the root to which they are affixed may undergo phonological changes such as tone-stress change, and/or modification of the nucleus by vocalic change, and/or nasalisation.

This set of derivational prefixes can combine with verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and nouns to produce adjectives, adverbs, and nouns.

The classes of base roots and the resultant classes of derived stems produced by this set of derivational prefixes is set out in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 Base Roots and Derived Stems

Class of Base Roots	Class of Derived Stems
V or N	→ ADJ, ADV, N
V or ADJ	→ ADJ, ADV
ADV	→ ADV

As derivational prefixes, they individually exhibit varying degrees of semantic bleaching. Sometimes it is no longer clear why one prefix is preferred over another. In many derived stems, for example, the posture distinction between *cuá¹-* 'sitting' and *dí¹-* 'vertical, upright' seems to be lost, both prefixes simply marking 'singular' in contrast to *ná¹-* 'unspecified', which regularly marks plurality on the same root.

The (apparently) idiosyncratic preference for *cuá¹-* 'sitting, indefinite' or *dí¹-* 'vertical, upright' can be seen in the way they combine with the verbs *hien²* 'nominate, appoint' (TA) and *hlánh¹* 'earn' (TI) respectively:

(29) (a) *cuá¹hien¹* 'nominated, appointed' (AN-SG)

(b) *ná¹hien¹* 'nominated, appointed' (AN-PL)

(30) (a) *dí¹hlánh¹* 'tenured, enslaved' (person);
'purchased' (animal) (AN-SG)

(b) *ná¹hlánh¹* 'tenured, enslaved' (person);
'purchased' (animal) (AN-PL)

In other instances there is still some recognisable semantic content in the prefixes, as can be seen, for example, in the adverbs *rá¹hin³* 'lying face down', *cuá¹hin³* 'squatted, crouched, cowering', *dí¹hin³* 'leaning over, bent (while standing)'. The root *-hin³* is not a free morpheme. Note also the semantic difference that results when the verb *za²* 'alter, change' (TI) is affixed by *rá¹-* 'flat, horizontal' and *ná¹-* 'unspecified' in (51) and (61) respectively below.

Of the seven derivational prefixes in this set, *chí¹-* 'upright, sustained, indefinite' is the most productive; *dí²-* 'vertical, upright' and *hú¹-* 'containing, holding' have maintained their posture orientation the most, and *ná¹-* 'unspecified' consistently marks the derived stem as plural. Each prefix is

discussed in turn below.

(i) *Chí¹-* 'upright, sustained, indefinite':

When *chí¹-* functions as a progressive prefix, it marks the posture of the subject/agent as either upright, indefinite, or participating in some kind of sustained action (for example, the pushing and shoving of a crowd). Being the least specific of the posture-oriented prefixes, in its derivational function it forms a wide variety of stems.

Example (31) illustrates vowel loss in the derived stem:

(31) *hnéih³²* 'blink' (TI) → *chí¹hnh¹* 'shut-eyed' (N)

Example (32) illustrates tone-stress change in the derived stem:

(32) *jan²* 'get ahead' (IA) → *chí¹ján³* 'ahead' (ADV)

The remaining examples of stems derived by *chí¹-* show no phonological changes:

(33) *hnái³* 'widow(er), orphan' (ADJ AN) → *chí¹hnái³* 'incomplete' (ADJ)

(34) *nga²* 'pass through' (TI) → *chí¹nga²* 'excessively' (ADV)

(35) *ñí¹* 'first' (ADJ IN) → *chí¹ñí¹* 'incessantly' (ADV)

(36) *tson³* 'detained' (ADJ AN) → *chí¹tson³* 'forcibly' (ADV)

(37) *hniéi²* 'struggle' (N) → *chí¹hniéi²* 'forcefully' (ADV)

The implication of (36) and (37) may be identical: a person is being forced to do something against her/his will; however, (37) may alternatively imply that s/he is determined to do something.

A sentential example of *chí¹-* based on (37) is:

(38) *Chí¹- hniéi² hniáuh³²*
 indefinite-struggle be[^]necessary[^]SII

cuoh¹³ hnú² tsa³háu².
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]2SG you[^]SG tomorrow
 'You must go tomorrow without fail.'

(ii) *Cuá¹-* 'sitting, indefinite':

As a progressive aspect prefix, *cuá¹-* marks the subject/agent of the verb as animate singular, and either seated, or with posture unspecified. When used derivationally, it appears that mainly adjective stems result (but

note the adverb *cuá¹hin³* 'crouched' (above). A few derived stems retain the 'seated' denotation, but usually the posture is irrelevant. In all cases, however, the derived adjective is animate singular.

(39) and (40) illustrate tone-stress changes in the derived stem:

(39) *chan³* 'leave' (TA) → *cuá¹chan¹* 'consecrated' (ADJ)

(40) *quianh²³* 'choose' (TA) → *cuá¹quiánh¹* 'chosen' (ADJ AN)

There are no phonological changes in (41):

(41) *ñf¹* 'first' (ADJ IN) → *cuá¹ñf¹* 'preeminent' (ADJ AN)

In (41), since those in authority (preeminent) are generally seated while exercising their power, the sense of 'seated' is retained (cf. (35) *chi¹ñf¹* 'incessantly').

A sentential example of *cuá¹-* based on *cuá¹chan¹* 'consecrated' in (39) is:

(42) *Hf³ bñh¹ lín³ jan² tsá² cuá¹- chan¹*
 that^AN AFF be^IA^PRES^3 one^AN person indefinite-leave
ñf¹con² Dió³².
 towards God
 'That (person) is a person consecrated to God.'

(iii) *Df¹-* 'vertical, upright':

As a progressive prefix, *df¹-* marks the subject as oriented vertically to the earth's plane, and singular. As a derivational prefix *df¹-* can substitute for *cuá¹-* in both (39) and (40) above, expressing the explicit vertical orientation of the person or animal concerned, although *cuá¹-*, by virtue of its non-specific orientation, is the more common prefix of the two.

Tone-stress change in the derived stem is illustrated by:

(43) *junh²³* 'fold' (TI) → *df¹junh³* 'valley' (N)

Nasalisation of the vowel nucleus is illustrated by:

(44) *tsán²* 'person' (N) → *df¹tsám²* 'bodily' (ADV)

There are no phonological changes in (45):

(45) *tín³* 'intact' (IA) → *df¹tín³* 'reliable' (ADJ AN)

A sentential example of *df¹-* based on *df¹tsám²* 'bodily' in (44) is:

- (46) *Ca³- ma³- jnia³² tsú² hi³ zenh² dí¹- tsám².*
 PAST-CAUS-appear^TA^3 3 COMP stand^SIA^3 upright-person
 'He presented (himself), standing bodily.' (i.e. not as a spirit-being
 or in a vision)

(iv) *Rá¹-* 'flat, horizontal':

As a progressive aspect marker, *rá¹-* denotes that the subject/agent is in a flat or horizontal position. This orientation is preserved in some derived stems, as can be seen in (47) and (50) below.

In (47)-(49), tone-stress changes occur in the derived stem.

- (47) *can³²* 'side, edge' (N) → *rá¹can²* 'sideways' (ADV)

In (48b), the nasalisation in the derived form marks agreement for animacy (see §6.3.1):

- (48)(a) *jua²* 'ash' (N) → *rá¹juá¹³* 'ashen, grey' (ADJ IN)

- (b) *jua²* 'ash' (N) → *rá¹juán²* 'speckled grey' (ADJ AN)

In (49), however, the derived adjective is inanimate, so nasalisation of the vowel nucleus is purely part of the derivational process:

- (49) *l̄h³²* 'disc, hoop' (N) → *rá¹l̄nh²* 'round' (ADJ IN) <4>

There are no phonological changes in (50) and (51):

- (50) *jliu³²* 'crooked' (ADJ IN) → *rá¹jliu³²* 'crooked'
 (ADJ IN), e.g. a path

- (51) *za²* 'be altered, be changed' (II) → *rá¹za²*
 'loose (cash), change' (ADJ IN)

A sentential example of *rá¹za²* 'loose (cash), change' is:

- (52) *Tiá² quion¹ jná¹³ quie³ rá¹- za².*
 not bring^STI^1SG I money flat-be^altered
 'I didn't bring any change.'

(v) *Hú¹-* 'containing, holding':

As a progressive aspect marker, *hú¹-* denotes that the subject is enclosed, held, or contained. This denotation carries over in its role as derivational prefix as well, as seen in the following examples:

- (53) *ta²¹* 'work' (N) → *hú¹ta²¹/hú¹tá¹* 'certainly' (ADV)
 (lit. 'contains work' in the sense of 'worthwhile, worth the effort')

- (54) *chí¹* 'head' (1PL/3) → *hú¹chí¹* 'hat'
 → *hú¹chí¹³* 'hat' (1PL/3)

In (54), note that although there is not an alienable counterpart for 'head', 'hat' has both alienable and inalienable counterparts (§6.1.1.1).

(vi) *ná¹-* 'unspecified plural':

As a progressive aspect prefix, *ná¹-* gives no posture orientation; it does, however, mark the verb as agreeing with a plural subject. All stems derived with *ná¹-* denote plurality or suggest multiplicity in the larger sense.

Tone-stress changes occur in (55) and (56):

(55) *jni²³* 'enclose' (TI) → *ná¹jni²* 'sections, rooms' (N)

(56) *ngó¹³* 'son-in-law' (1PL/3) → *ná¹ngó²¹* 'be brothers-in-law (SIA)

but there are no phonological changes in (57-61) below:

(57) *he²* 'hang, suspend' (II) → *ná¹he²* 'identically' (ADV)

(58) *jnie²* 'cloud' (N) → *ná¹jnie²* 'cloudy' (ADJ IN) (many clouds)

(59) *ñí¹* 'first' (ADJ-IN) → *ná¹ñí¹* 'preeminent' (ADJ AN PL)

(Compare (59) with the singular form *cuá¹ñí¹* in (41) above).

(60) *hñéih²³* 'tie up' (TI) → *ná¹hñei²¹* 'tied up' (ADJ IN) (several items)

(61) *za²* 'alter, change' (II) → *ná¹za²* 'unequal' (ADJ IN)

(Compare (61) with *rá¹za²* in (51) above, which, when referring to the mass noun 'cash', means 'loose change').

A sentential example of *ná¹-* based on (58) is:

(62) *Cáun² jná¹¹ ná¹- jnie² bíh¹ né³².*
 one-IN day indefinite-PL-cloud AFF today
 'It is a cloudy day today.' (there are many clouds in the sky)

(vii) *hí¹-* 'motion':

As a verbal prefix, *hí¹-* marks progressive motion of unspecified direction. The sense of 'progressiveness' appears to be largely retained when functioning as a derivational prefix, but not actual motion. I have only a few examples in my data of word formation with *hí¹-*, none of which exhibit any phonological changes:

(63) *tán¹* 'complete' (ADJ) → *hí¹tán¹* 'full (moon)' (ADJ AN) <5>

(64) *tiá³* 'intensively' (ADV) → *hí¹tiá³* 'continuously' (ADV)

A sentential example of *hí¹-* based on (64) is:

- (65) *Jlánh¹ hí¹- tiá³ má² ca³- ngih³² tsá²juú².*
 really motion-intensively PRF PAST-assemble^{IA}3 townsfolk
 'The townsfolk have been assembling continuously.'

(viii) In addition to the above examples where the root is readily identifiable, there are several other words which appear to utilise this set of derivational prefixes, but the root is not identifiable as a free morpheme. All are adverbs:

- (66) *chí¹hlín¹* 'on tiptoe' (ADV)
df¹hiunh¹ 'upside down' (ADV)
rá¹sian² 'lying crosswise' (ADV)
hí¹sian² 'bent over, stooping' (ADV)

3.1.3 Derivation of Stems by Compounding

Compounding is the most productive word formation process in Sochia-pan Chinantec. Compound stems are found for most word classes: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. I have not found any examples of compound verb stems. Except for certain words such as *tí³²* 'teacher, master', *jmáí²* 'water, liquid', and *jáí¹³* 'word, message', which combine with a fairly wide range of nouns and adjectives, compounding does not appear to be a productive process. The phonological, syntactic, and semantic rules presented here are non-productive, serving only to analyse existing lexemes.

The great majority of Chinantec compounds yield nouns, regardless of the elements of which the compound is composed.

I will first discuss the phonological modifications that occur in the formation of compound stems (§3.1.3.1), with passing reference to their formal structure, followed by a more systematic discussion of the formal structure of compounds (§3.1.3.2).

3.1.3.1 Phonological Modifications in Compound Stems

Stems formed by both affixation (§3.1.2) and compounding may undergo phonological modification. There are, however, some differences between the two processes.

(i) Although phonological modification of the root occurs occasionally with the derivational process of affixation, when compounding occurs, phonological modification of both roots is prevalent.

(ii) The non-final root is more frequently affected than the final root, resulting in a typical non-final syllable (see §2.5.1.2 and §2.5.2.2). These processes include:

- (a) deletion of glottal closure in the syllable coda, if it occurs;
- (b) neutralisation of syllable stress;
- (c) a strong tendency to disallow tone glides. If a tone glide is neutralised, the resultant level tone is usually the higher component of the two (e.g. /³²/ → /²/, or /¹³/ → /¹/).

In addition, there may be an accompanying tone change (for example, /²/ → /¹/) and/or vocalic change in one or both of the roots.

When a non-final root already has the phonological characteristics of a non-final syllable, it will undergo only stress neutralisation, which is not readily apparent in the practical orthography; see §2.5.1.2 and §2.5.2.2.

There are only a few compound words in which a non-final syllable retains its vowel glide; for example:

(67) *juɪ²¹* 'powder' + *hná¹cuú²* 'sugar cane' → *juɪ²¹cuú²* 'sugar'

In (67), however, a special condition exists: a non-final syllable of the second root is deleted. I have also noticed that a number of speakers eliminate the tone glide and say *juɪ¹cuú²*. There may be phonological pressure in this direction to increase the differentiation between sugar and the substance called *juɪ²¹ cuú²* 'maize powder' (lit. 'powder maize'); that is, corn-borer droppings, which are used to make a type of porridge.

The majority of compound stems consist of two roots; only a few compound stems consist of three roots. These latter stems, however, can be analysed as a compound of two elements, a root plus a compound stem which itself consists of two roots.

There are (at least) nine compounding patterns, seven of which involve

more phonological modification than just simply stress neutralisation on the non-final syllable. Compound stems that lack phonological changes or involve only stress neutralisation of the non-final syllable are discussed under patterns (viii) and (ix) respectively.

Noun roots which undergo phonological modification when they are the non-final element of a compound need to be distinguished from inalienable nouns (§6.2.1) which have an inanimate possessor. The alienable noun *táu*² 'hole', for example, has two phonologically and semantically related forms *to*¹ and *tá*². Without reference to the phonological rules for non-final syllables it is not readily apparent which is the inalienable noun form and which is the compounding form. For example:

(68)(a) *to*¹ 'hole' + *jmá*¹ 'crop, sown field' → 'seed-hole'

(b) *tá*² 'hole' + *hláu*² 'cliff' → 'cave, cavern' (lit. 'cliff-hole')

Of the two forms *to*¹ and *tá*², *tá*² exhibits the characteristics of a typical non-final syllable, being phonologically deintensified and shorter (thus identifiable as the compounding form), whereas *to*¹ exhibits syllable final stress (thus identifiable as the inalienable form).

In addition, the form *to*¹ may have animate possessors:

(69)(a) *to*¹ *chi*³*mah*²
hole³ ant
'ant's hole' (i.e. 'anthill, ant nest')

(b) *to*¹ *tsá*² *cú*²*niéi*²
hole³ person darkness
'cavern of prehistoric people' <6>

Thus the alienable noun *táu*² 'hole' has an inalienable counterpart *to*¹ (1PL/3), and the compounding root *tá*²-. The form for 'cave, cavern' in (68b) is the compound: *tá*²*hláu*².

Some examples of other nouns with inalienable and compounding forms are:

(70)(a) *jáí*¹³ (AL), *jě*¹ (1PL/3), *jú*¹- 'word, message'

(b) *hio*²¹ (AL), *hio*¹ (3), *hiá*¹- 'weed'

(c) *láu*² (AL), *lo*³ (1PL/3), *lá*²- or *lú*²- 'skin, hide'.

The following examples are primarily meant to illustrate the types of phonological modifications that may occur; the input stems and the resulting forms are supplied only to illustrate some of the variety of compounds that exist within each phonological process. Details on the classifications of compounds are given in §3.1.3.2.

(i) When roots are compounded, the most common modification involves a tone-stress change on the first and/or second root. The class of input stems and the resulting forms that I have found for this pattern include: [N-N]_N, [N-ADJ]_N, [N-PREP]_N, [V-N]_N, [V-PREP]_N, and [V-ADJ]_{ADV}. For example:

(a) With tone-stress change on first root;

[N-N]_N:

(71) *jon*² 'child' (1PL/3) + *raɪnh*²¹ 'relative' (1PL/3) →
jón¹raɪnh²¹ 'sibling, cousin' (1PL/3)

and [N-PREP]_N:

(72) *tsáɪh*³ 'roof (3)' + *ñeh*² 'within' → *tsɪ³ñeh²* 'attic'

(b) With tone change on second root;

[N-N]_N:

(73) *ho*³ 'mouth' (1PL/3) + *hñú*³ 'house' → *ho³hñú¹³* 'doorway'

and [N-ADJ]_N:

(74) *hmá*² 'wood' + *tiéi*² 'narrow' → *hmá²tiéi¹³* 'rod'

The noun *tɪ³²* 'teacher, master' productively combines with many other nouns as the first root, involving a tone-stress change on *tɪ³²*, for example:

(75)(a) *tɪ³²* + *si*² 'book' → *tɪ²si²* 'secretary'

(b) *tɪ³²* + *hmá*² 'wood' → *tɪ²hmá²* 'carpenter'

(c) *tɪ³²* + *mi¹ñi²* 'metal' → *tɪ²mi¹ñi²* 'mechanic'

The compounding of *tɪ³²* with various nouns may be a relatively recent phenomenon, as many speakers still utilise the non-compounded forms and regard the two elements as separate words.

(ii) The second pattern involves a shift in the vowel quality and/or quantity in the first root and, for some stems, tone-stress change in the first

and/or second root. Such shifts, however, are not regular to the point of being able to predict the syntactic class of the derivative.

The class of input stems and the resulting forms that I have found for this compounding pattern are: [N-N]_N, [N-V]_N, [V-N]_N, [N-ADJ]_N, [ADJ-ADJ]_{ADJ}, [ADV-ADV]_{ADJ}, [ADJ-N]_{ADJ}, [ADV-V]_{ADV}, [N-ADV]_{ADV}, [ADJ-N]_{ADV}, [ADV-ADJ]_{ADV}, and [ADV-V]_{ADV}. For example:

(a) With vocalic change in the first root:

[N-N]_N:

(76) *láu²* 'skin, hide' + *ho³* 'mouth' (1PL/3) → *lú²ho³* 'lip(s)' (1PL/3)

and [N-V]_N:

(77) *láu²* 'skin, hide' + *ñe²* 'stretch' (TI) → *lá²ñe²* 'rubber band'

Note that in (76) and (77), the first root is the same, but undergoes different vocalic changes when compounded.

(b) With vowel and tone-stress change in the first root:

[N-N]_N:

(78) *cho²* 'lake' + *sí²* 'fire' → *cha³sí²* 'conflagration'

and [N-ADJ]_N:

(79) *quie³* 'money' + *dáin³* 'red' → *cú¹dáin³* '(copper) cent'

(c) With vocalic change in the first root and tone change in the second root; the example is [N-N]_N:

(80) *jmái²* 'liquid' + *toh²* 'bee' → *jmí²toh¹* 'honey'

(d) [ADV-V]_{ADV}, with vowel and tone-stress change in the first root, and tone change in the second root:

(81) *cháu³* 'yesterday' + *hlo³²* 'become late' (II) →
cha³hlo¹ 'yesterday evening'

The noun *jái¹³* 'word, message' productively combines with many adjectives and a few nouns, involving a tone-stress change on *jái¹³*. For example:

(82)(a) *jái¹³* 'word' + *toh²* 'bee' → *jú¹toh²* 'boast' (noun)

(b) *jái¹³* 'word' + *tson²* 'true' → *jú¹tson²* 'truth'

(c) *jái¹³* 'word' + *hún¹* 'complex' → *jú¹hún¹* 'sarcasm, proverb'

(d) $jáí^{13}$ 'word' + te^3 'ignorant' \rightarrow $jú^{13}te^3$ 'erroneous teaching'

The above compounds with $jáí^{13}$ appear to follow the rules for compounds. When native speakers write their language, however, they react to most sequences of $jú^1$ - plus an adjective as separate words (for example (82b-d)), whereas $jú^1$ - plus a noun (such as (82a)) is readily accepted as a compound word. That the negative $tiá^2$ 'not' can be inserted between $jú^1$ plus an adjective, but not other compounds of the form [N-ADJ]_N, appears to lend support to native-speaker intuition; for example:

(83) $jáí^{13}$ 'word' + $tiá^2$ 'not' + $tson^2$ 'true' \rightarrow $jú^1-tiá^2-tson^2$ 'untruth'

Perhaps, to satisfy both the phonological compounding rules and native-speaker intuition, it may be feasible to posit 'close-knit' and 'loose' compounds, with some compounds further along the cline to close-knit than others. Such a concept of degree of 'compoundedness' would be analogous to the cline from preferred expression to conventional expression for binomials, discussed in §3.2.1.

Thus if the structure in (83) is considered to be a loose-knit compound, it could be analysed as the sequence of [N-[ADV-ADJ]_{ADJ}]_N.

Another consideration is that native speakers may be unduly influenced by Spanish. When they do a literal translation into Spanish of compounds which are a N-ADJ sequence, such as in (82), the result is two free forms in their natural Spanish sequence; for example:

(84) $jú^1$ - $tson^2$
 palabra-verdadero
 word- true
 'truth'

Since Spanish does not exhibit any phonological changes characteristic of compounding in N-ADJ sequences involving *palabra* 'word', and since *palabra* and its following ADJ modifier are written as separate words, Chinantec speakers may feel a (subconscious) desire to separate the Chinantec roots into two words to parallel the Spanish. In this analysis I will be treating all sequences that follow phonological compounding rules as compounds.

(iii) The third compounding pattern involves vocalic change on the first root, and both tone-stress change and vocalic change on the second root. Only one example is available, [N-V]_N:

- (85) *mí¹jlá²* 'knife' + *queih³²* 'close, shut' (II) →
mí¹jlí²quéih³² 'scissors'

(iv) The fourth compounding pattern involves a tone-stress change and loss of glottal closure on the first root. The forms of the compounds are:

[N-N]_N:

- (86) *tuh³²* 'bag' + *cho¹* 'henequen' → *tú²cho¹* 'sack'

[N-ADJ]_N:

- (87) *cuáh¹³* 'soil' + *quíén²* 'dry' → *cuá¹quíén²* 'desert'

and [N-V]_N:

- (88) *hmih³²* 'cloth' + *ñe²* 'stretch' → *hmí²ñe²* 'singlet, sock'

(v) The fifth compounding pattern involves a loss of glottal closure on the first root, together with vocalic change and/or tone-stress change. The compounds found are [N-N]_N and [N-ADJ]_N. For example:

(a) With loss of glottal in the syllable coda of the first root, together with vocalic change; illustrated by [N-N]_N:

- (89) *mah²* 'viper' + *táh¹* 'bamboo' → *mí²táh¹* 'coral snake'

(Based on how the sections of colour in the snake's body resemble the sections of bamboo.)

(b) With loss of glottal in the syllable coda of the first root, together with vowel and tone change; illustrated by [N-ADJ]_N:

- (90) *cah²* 'lizard' + *rénh²* 'green' → *quí³rénh²* 'type of green lizard'

(vi) The sixth compounding pattern requires the second root to be nasalised. Only one example is available, [N-N]_N:

- tsá²* 'person' + *ta²¹* 'task' → *tsá²tan²¹* 'authorities'

(vii) Because of the scarcity of stems that are comprised of a root plus a stem, and the fact that each of them appears to be unique in the type of phonological change involved, I have grouped them together here. The

compounds have the form: [N-[V-N]_{ADJ}]_N or [ADV-[ADV-V]_V]_{ADV}.

The first example, of the form [N-[V-N]_{ADJ}]_N, displays loss of glottal in the coda of the verb root, together with tone-stress change. Most likely, the form *hmá²ñi²sí²* 'match' was originally a relative clause construction (§9.1) which has undergone loss of the complementiser (COMP) *hi³* 'that, which' and phonological change:

- (91) *hmá²* 'wood' + [*hi³* 'that' + *ñih³₂* 'ignite' (II)
+ *sí²* 'fire'] → *hmá²ñi²sí²* 'match'

The second example, of the form [ADV-[ADV-V]_V]_{ADV}, displays tone-stress change plus vocalic change on the first root.

- (92) *cáun²* 'simply' + [*diá²* 'not' + *jan²* 'wait' (TA)] →
cu³diá²jan² 'suddenly'

(viii) Some stems are compounds of an identifiable free root plus another morpheme for which the meaning may be inferred, although it never occurs on its own. In the following examples, those roots which are affixed with a hyphen are found only as a bound form. Examples are:

- (93) *tsá²* 'person' + *-daun³₂* 'old' → *tsá²daun³₂* 'old person'

The morpheme *-mih²₁* appears to mean 'foreign' or 'strange' based on the meanings derived from the words in which it occurs.

In (94-96), tone-stress changes and/or vocalic changes occur on the free (first) root:

- (94) *hi³* 'tortilla' + *-mih²₁* 'foreign' → *hi¹mih²₁* 'bread'
(95) *jáí¹₃* 'word' + *-mih²₁* 'foreign' → *jú¹mih²₁* 'Spanish'
(96) *jmáí²* 'water' + *-mih²₁* 'foreign' → *jmáí²mih²₁* 'ocean'

but none occur in (97):

- (97) *cuú²* 'maize' + *-mih²₁* 'foreign' → *cuú²mih²₁* 'wheat, rye'
(and other introduced grains except for rice)

There are other compounds in which neither morpheme is a free root, but one morpheme keeps recurring, and so the meaning may be inferred. The ancillary morpheme on its own, however, is meaningless (a 'cranberry' morpheme). For example, the morpheme *mi¹-* appears to mean 'metallic':

- (98) *mi¹ñi²* 'bell, metal' *mi¹ja²* 'shovel'
mi¹ja² 'knife' *mi¹táí³* 'machete'
mi¹hu³ 'chisel'

but the morphemes *-ñi²*, *-ja²*, *-ja²*, *-táí³*, and *-hu³* are meaningless on their own.<7>

The only exception is the word *mi¹chi¹* 'axe', which is a compound of *mi¹*- 'metallic' and *chi¹* 'head'.

The final group of words discussed in this section is a mixture of (a) compounds formed from an identifiable free root plus a bound morpheme for which the meaning may be inferred, and (b) compounds for which neither root occurs as a free morpheme, but one root keeps recurring.

The factor that unifies this group of words is that they share many of the characteristics of what Welmers (1973:459-474) describes as 'ideophones' for various African languages (see also Schachter 1985:21).

Almost all Chinantec ideophones are manner adverbs, representing specific sounds and imparting a vividness or picturesqueness to the utterance. Some ideophones are onomatopoeic, such as, *panh³* 'glug' (the sound of swallowing water); but with other ideophones such as *ja³* 'thud' (the sound of a galloping horse or running feet), it is difficult to see the correlation between the phonetics of the word and the sound to which it refers.

Phonologically, all ideophones have only simple tones (§2.5.2.1), usually low; other adverbs, however, have both simple tones (e.g. *caín²* 'later') and tone glides (e.g. *lín³* 'very'). A few ideophones are anomalous as to the sequence of phonemes which occur: all five words that begin with the sequence *pou*, for example, are ideophones; for example, *póun³* 'thump, bang' and *póun¹* (noise reputedly made by snakes at night). Other ideophones are anomalous as to the phonemes they contain: the adverb *uá¹zri³*, '(defecate) noisily' for example, has the unique sequence /zr/ (a voiceless interdental fricative, followed by a flapped r), which is found only in onomatopoeic words.

All manner adverbs that have *uá¹*- 'quite' as their first root are ideo-

phones (words such as *uá¹jinh¹* 'even though' and *uá¹lǎh³* 'never' have *uá¹-* as their first root, but they are not ideophones). *Uá¹-* 'quite' conveys a sense of intensity to a punctiliar event. Only three ideophones compounded with *uá¹-* occur in my data, but it is likely that more exist:

- (99) *uá¹jua³* 'thud' (sound of someone falling from a height
into weeds or onto soft ground)
uá¹pón³ 'boom' (sound of a heavy door banging shut)
uá¹zri³ (noise of explosive defecation, e.g. diarrhoea)

The second root of each compound listed in (99): *-jua³*, *-pón³*, and *-zri³* does not occur as a free root.

A sentential example is:

- (100) *Cáun² uá¹- jua³ ca³- tánh³ hnú².*
simply quite-thud PAST-fall^{IA}2SG you^{SG}
'You fell with quite a thud.'

Some ideophones may repeat, a feature not found with other adverbs.

Pounh³ 'thud, thump', for example, may occur on its own:

- (101) *Ca³la³ pounh³ ca³- tánh³ jáh³.*
really thud PAST-fall^{IA}3SG animal
'The animal fell with a real thud.' (when it was shot)

or repeated:

- (102) *Pounh³ pounh³ ngǎ³2 juh²1.*
thump thump walk^{IA}PRES³SG armadillo
'The armadillo walks thump thump.'

Several ideophones are optionally prefaced by *pa³i³-* 'quite', resulting in a trisyllabic stem which is not found in other adverbs. *Pa³i³-* conveys a sense of intensity and iterativity (in contrast to *uá¹-* 'quite' described above, which conveys a sense of intensity to a punctiliar event); for example:

- (103) *Ca³la³ pa³i³-pounh³ jmu² tsú² ta²1 quioh²1.*
really quite-thump do^{TI}PRES³ 3 work have^{STI}3
'S/he really thumps and bangs around when working.'
- (104) *Cuá¹- jmu² tsá² tson³ pa³i³-tǎn³ hǎu³mǐ¹ǎi².*
indefinite^{PROG}-do^{TI}3 person accused quite-crash jail
'The prisoner/accused is banging and crashing around in the jail.'
- (105) *Ca³la³ pa³i³-panh³ náh³ tsú² jmá¹2.*
really quite-glug swallow^{TI}PRES³ 3 water
'S/he really glugs down the water.'

Ideophones such as *jlié³* 'snort', *panh³* 'glug', *póun³* 'bang', and *poumh³* 'thud', which exist as free roots, undergo no phonological modification when compounded with *pa³i³-* 'quite'.

Non-adverb roots which otherwise are not ideophones, however, undergo tone-stress change when compounded with *pa³i³-*; for example:

- (106) *juá²³* 'shake' (II/TI) → *pa³i³juá³* 'clatter'
siuh²¹ 'crisp, dry' (ADJ-IN) → *pa³i³siuh³* 'rustle'
tín²³ 'fight' (IA) → *pa³i³tín³* 'rumble, crash, bang'

The following is a complete list of all the ideophones in my data which are formed with *pa³i³-* 'quite', but most likely there are more:

- (107) *pa³i³hneh³* 'creak, groan' (sounds made by house in an earthquake)
pa³i³jaih³ 'swish' (sound of timber being cut)
pa³i³jla³ 'thud' (e.g. sound of galloping, slap of running feet)
pa³i³jliah³ 'slap' (e.g. slap on the face)
pa³i³jlié³ 'snort, snuffle' (sound made by pig)
pa³i³jloh³ 'bubble' (sound of boiling water)
pa³i³jua³ 'clatter' (e.g. sound of putting dishes away)
pa³i³panh³ 'glug' (sound of swallowing water)
pa³i³póun³ 'thump and bang' (sound of moving furniture, pots and pans, etc. around inside a house; sound of fireworks)
pa³i³poumh³ 'bang and clatter' (sound of working energetically)
pa³i³sin³ 'snuffle' (e.g. sound of heavy breathing when asleep)
pa³i³siuh³ 'rustle' (sound when walking through dry leaves)
pa³i³tín³ 'rumble' (sound of thunder, of drums)

The only root common to the list of those compounded with *pa³i³-* 'quite' and *uá¹-* 'quite' is *-jua³*. I have glossed *-jua³* as 'clatter' when compounded with *pa³i³-* due to the sense of iterativity *pa³i³-* conveys, but as 'thud' when compounded with *uá¹-* 'quite'.

There are only two ideophones in my data that do not represent a sound, one is an adverb, and the other an adjective.

The adverb *póun³* not only denotes the sound 'thump', but also functions as an intensifier which can be expressed by 'tremendously'. For example:

- (108) *ó³² zeh² cáun² hmá² pa²¹ póun³.*
 yonder stand^{SII} one^{IN} tree big tremendously
 'Over there stands a tremendously big tree.'

The only adjective ideophone I have found is *póun¹* 'jiggly' (due to fatness); for example:

- (109) *Ní² cuá¹⁻ ja³² tsá^{2mi3}*
 there indefinite^{PROG}-come^{to} non^{home} IA^{3SG} woman

póun¹ jmáh¹ hí³.
 jiggly rump³ that^{AN}
 'Here (lit. 'there') comes that woman with a jiggly rump.'

(As an adverb *póun¹* refers to the noise that is reputedly made by snakes at night.)

In summary then, there is no single phonological or syntactic criterion by which a Chinantec ideophone may be distinguished. There are, however, a set of partially overlapping features which help to identify an ideophone: the first root may be *uá¹⁻* 'quite' or *pa³ⁱ³⁻* 'quite'; the root is most likely to be a manner adverb referencing a kind of noise; the adverb may be repeated; all have simple tones, usually low; and/or there may be anomalous phonological features. As Welmers remarks: 'the borderline between the normal lexicon and ideophones may not be sharply defined in all respects' (1973:467). The only feature which is common to all ideophones is humour--a mischievous twinkle to the eye, a smile, or outright laughter inevitably accompanies their use as even serious situations (for example, a prisoner trying to break out of jail) are made light of.

(ix) In the ninth and final process, the only phonological change is stress neutralisation of the non-final syllable(s). Both elements may occur as free roots but, as with the other compounds dealt with so far, the meaning of the compound as a whole is not readily predictable from knowledge of the component parts. Nor can any other lexeme be inserted between the two

elements that make up the compound. Six types of combinations are found in this category:

(a) [N-N]_N:

Alienable nouns may be compounded:

(110) *hmá²* 'wood' + *si¹* 'saddle' → *hmá²si¹* 'chair'

An alienable may be compounded with an inalienable noun:

(111) *mi¹ñi²* 'metal' + *ján¹* 'tooth' (1PL/3) → *mi¹ñi²ján¹* 'saw'

And two inalienable nouns may be compounded:

(112) *jñi²* 'vein' (1PL/3) + *mu¹* 'bone' (1PL/3) → *jñi²mu¹* 'body' (1PL/3)

(b) [N-ADJ]_N:

(113) *tsá²* 'person' + *láin¹* 'illustrated' → *tsá²láin¹* 'doll'

(c) [N-V]_N:

(114) *si²* 'fire' + *cu^hh³2* 'squeeze' (TI) → *si²cu^hh³2* 'flashlight'

(d) [PREP-N]_N:

(115) *hñu³* 'within' + *mi³cu^ú2* 'world' → *hñu³mi³cu^ú2* 'heaven'

(e) [ADV-V]_{ADV}:

(116) *cu³* 'simply' + *ti³* 'be complete' (II) → *cu³ti³* 'certainly'

(f) [CONJ-V]_{CONJ}:

(117) *ní¹* 'when' (FUT) + *juáh³* 'say' (TI FUT 3) → *ní¹juáh³* 'if'

3.1.3.2 Classification of Compounds

Following Anderson's formal structure classification of compounds (1985: 46-52), the following categories can be identified:

3.1.3.2.1 Modified-modifier Compounds

In this type of compound, the second element of the compound modifies the first, which is parallel to the normal structure of an NP (§6.0). In (118), for example, the noun *mi¹ñi²* functions as a modifier, specifying or restricting the types of houses that could be referred to:

(118) *hñú³* 'house' + *mi¹ñi²* 'metal' → *hñú³mi¹ñi²* 'jail'

The following types of modified-modifier compounds are found:

(i) Modified-modifier compounds which function as nouns,

(a) with the form [N-N]_N; for example:

(119) *jmáí²* 'liquid' + *toh²* 'bee' → *jmí²toh¹* 'honey'

(b) with the form [N-ADJ]_N; for example:

(120) *jmáí²* 'liquid' + *ráu³* 'sweet' → *jmí²ráu³* 'refreshment'

(*Jmí²ráu³* 'refreshment' refers to any sweet drink, such as real or artificial fruit-flavoured drinks, whether carbonated or not.)

(c) with the form [N-V]_N; for example:

(121) *hu³²* 'glass' + *jnióh³²* 'see far' (SIA) → *hú²jnióh³²*
'telescope, binoculars, microscope, magnifying glass'

(d) with the form [N-PREP]_N; for example:

(122) *tsáih³* 'roof' (3) + *ñeh²* 'within' → *tsí³ñeh²* 'attic'

(ii) Modified-modifier compounds which function as adverbs,

(a) with the form [ADV-V]_{ADV}; for example:

(123) *cháú³* 'yesterday' + *hlo³²* 'become late' (II) →
cha³hlo¹ 'yesterday evening'

(b) with the form [V-ADJ]_{ADV}; for example:

(124) *hu²¹* 'be contained' (II) + *niéí²* 'darkness' → *hú²niéí²* 'dawn'

(c) with the form [N-ADV]_{ADV}; for example:

(125) *jmáí¹* 'day' + *tin²* 'prior' → *jmí¹tin²* 'previously'

(d) with the form [CONJ-ADV]_{ADV}; for example:

(126) *ta³* 'while' + *né³²* 'today, now' → *ta³né³²* 'immediately'

(iii) Modified-modifier compounds which function as adjectives,

(a) with the form [ADJ-ADJ]_{ADJ}; for example:

(127) *mí²niáú³* 'yellow' + *réh²* 'green' → *mí²niá³rénh²* 'chartreuse'

(b) with the form [ADJ-N]_{ADJ}; for example:

(128) *mí²niáú³* 'yellow' + *jláí²* 'egg' → *mí²niá³jláí²*
'egg-yolk yellow' <8>

3.1.3.2.2 Modifier-modified Compounds

In addition to modified-modifier compounds, there are also modifier-modified compounds, most of which involve the quantifier *cáun²*. The word *cáun²* functions both adjectivally as the number 'one', and also adverbially,

meaning 'simply, just'. Both adjectivally and adverbially, *cáun*² precedes the element it modifies. <9> The same holds true in compounds. The adjectival and adverbial uses are illustrated respectively below:

(129) *Ca*³- *la*³ *tsú*² *cáun*² *mí*¹*tá*³ *hmai*²*2*¹.
 PAST-buy^{TI}^3 3 one^{IN} machete new
 'S/he bought a new machete.'

(130) *Cáun*² *ca*³- *jmú*³ *bíh*¹ *tsú*² *ta*²*2*¹ *jáun*².
 simply PAST-do^{TI}^3 AFF 3 work that^{IN}
 'S/he simply (went ahead and) did that work' (albeit unwillingly)

(i) Modifier-modified compounds which function as adverbs,

(a) with the form [ADJ-N]_{ADV}; for example:

(131) *cáun*² 'one' + *jmá*¹ 'day' → *cá*²*jmá*¹ 'long ago'

(b) with the form [ADV-ADJ]_{ADV}; for example:

(132) *cáun*² 'simply' + *jueh*³*2* 'large' → *cú*²*jueh*³*2* 'preferably'

(c) with the form [ADV-V]_{ADV}; for example:

(133) *cáun*² 'simply' + *tf*³ 'be complete' (II) → *cu*³*tf*³ 'certainly'

(d) with the form [ADV-[ADV-V]_V]_{ADV}; for example:

(134) *cáun*² 'simply' + [*diá*² 'not' + *jan*² 'wait' (TA)] →
*cu*³*diá*²*jan*² 'suddenly'

(ii) Modifier-modified compounds which function as adjectives,

(a) with the form [ADV-ADV]_{ADJ}; for example:

(135) *cáun*² 'simply' + *ré*² 'well' → *cá*²*ré*² 'alike'

(b) with the form [N-N]_{ADJ}; for example:

(136) *có*³*2* 'periphery' + *juú*² 'town' → *cú*²*juú*² 'foreign'

(c) and with the form [ADJ-N]_{ADJ}; for example

(137) *tso*² 'straight' + *ta*²*2*¹ 'work' → *tsú*²*ta*²*2*¹ 'upright'

(iii) Modifier-modified compounds which function as conjunctions, with the form [CONJ-V]_{CONJ}; for example:

(138) *ní*¹ 'when' (FUT) + *juáh*³ 'say' (TI FUT 3) → *ní*¹*juáh*³ 'if'

3.1.3.2.3 Verb-object Compounds

Verb-object compounds are uncommon. An example of [V-N]_N, is:

(139) *caí*³*2* 'tear' (TI) + *háu*² 'herb' → *cá*¹*háu*² 'chicken'

3.1.3.2.4 Subject-predicate Compounds

In subject-predicate compounds, the noun which functions as the subject precedes the verb, unlike the unmarked VSO structure of Chinantec. Those compounds that consist of two elements all have the form [N-V]_N; for example:

(140) *hmá²* 'wood' + *tsan³²* 'dance' → *hmá²tsan³²* '(toy) top'

This differs from (121) above in that *hu³²* 'glass' is not the item which sees far, but rather facilitates the seeing.

3.1.4 Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds are 'compounds consisting of two (or more) members of the same lexical class' Anderson (1985:50). The other important characteristics of coordinate compounds is that (a) 'neither element can be identified as the center'; that is, one element cannot be identified as the modified element (the centre), and the other as modifier; and (b) they can be assigned a unitary meaning; that is, they are not merely logical conjunctions. For example, the difference between (141) and (142) below is that the former has as its centre *hñú³* 'house', whereas in the latter there is no centre:

(141) *hñú³* 'house' + *mí¹ñí²* 'metal' → *hñú³mí¹ñí²* 'jail'

(142) *jñí²* 'vein' (1PL/3) + *mú³²* 'bone' (1PL/3) → *jñí²mú¹* 'body' (1PL/3)

Although Anderson observes that cross-linguistically, such compounds 'may function as a member of the same class as its members, or as a member of other classes' (1985:50), in Chinantec only nouns have been found to form such compounds, and the compounds function solely as nouns.

Other examples of [N-N]_N coordinate compounds are:

(143) *cuáh¹³* 'soil' + *hué³²* 'land' → *cuáh¹hué²¹* 'planet'

(144) *hngá¹* 'forest' + *máh³* 'mountain' → *hngá¹máh³* 'world'

(145) *cuah²¹* 'gourd' + *uon²* 'plate' → *cuáh¹uon²* 'crockerly' (a half gourd was traditionally used as a bowl)

3.2 Binomial and Polynomial Expressions

The term 'binomial' is used by Kikuchi (1985) to refer to constructions

consisting of two juxtaposed words of the same word class, some of which are frozen in a strict order, and others which are not. I have called constructions with more than two juxtaposed words of the same word class 'polynomials'.

In Chinantec, the features which distinguish binomial and polynomial expressions from compounds are:

- (i) The potential for pause between the elements of a binomial.
- (ii) Some binomials permit reversal of the elements, a feature which cannot occur in compounds (see 'preferred expressions' in §3.2.1 below).
- (iii) No compounds exist of three members of the same lexical class (based on the phonological criteria alluded to in point (v) below), whereas polynomial expressions are found which function as a single lexeme. It would seem odd to have such polynomials without binomials.

(iv) Binomial nouns are comprised of two inalienable nouns or two alienable nouns, but not a mixture of both. The two roots of a compound, however, can be a mixture of both types; for example:

(146) *ho*³ 'mouth' (1PL/3) + *hñú*³ 'house' → *ho³hñú¹³* 'doorway'

(v) In (146), the non-final root *ho*³ 'mouth' undergoes stress neutralisation, resulting in a much briefer enunciation of the syllable. Such stress neutralisation, together with tone neutralisation and loss of final glottal in the non-final root, characterise compounds (see §3.1.3.1). These processes do not occur in the non-final base of binomial expressions, except for binomial verbs. The two bases of binomial verbs, however, are marked as separate by the potential repetition of an adverb with both bases; see §3.2.1.4. and §5.2.

Both binomials and polynomials serve to extend the Chinantec lexicon. The main discussion will centre around the identification and structure of irreversible binomials, followed by a brief look at the structure of non-permutable polynomials.

In Chinantec, mainly binomial rather than polynomial expressions are found. These expressions can be regarded as idioms, but they function as a

lexeme with an identifiable part of speech: nouns, adverbs etc., rather than being an entire utterance such as *Pigs might fly* or *A stitch in time saves nine*; or a predicate such as [*S/he*] *kicked the bucket*. I do not discuss idiomatic expressions such as these; nor do I discuss idioms which function as a nominal, such as:

- (147) *míʔííʔ jmu² tsú² huéh³*
 metal do^TI^PRES^3 3 symbol
 'typewriter'
- (148) *tuh³² tloh³² ta³ tsú²*
 bag be^put^in^II^PRES^3PL foot^3 3
 'shoes'

3.2.1 Binomial Expressions

A Chinantec coordinate phrase requires a coordinator such as *hi³* 'and' or *jí³* 'and, also' (see §6.8 and §9.10), whereas in binomial expressions, the elements are simply juxtaposed. The following two examples illustrate the difference between a coordinate NP and a binomial expression respectively:

- (149) *La³ jáun² ca³- juáh³ jméi² tsú² jí³ míʔziú¹³ tsú².*
 idea that^IN PAST-say^TI^3 father^3 3 and mother^3 3
 'That is what (both) her/his father and mother said.'
- (150) *La³ jáun² ca³- juáh³ jméi² míʔziú¹³ tsú².*
 idea that^IN PAST-say^TI^3 father^3 mother^3 3
 'That is what her/his parents said.'

In discussing translation problems, Kikuchi (1985) uses two terms which are useful in talking about binomials. She labels English expressions such as *brothers and sisters* as 'preferred expressions' since the elements may be reversed with no appreciable change of meaning. Preferred expressions, through repeated usage, can turn into irreversible 'conventional expressions'. 'There is a continuum from free to preferred to conventional expressions' (Kikuchi 1985:64).

I do not attempt to evaluate the relative degree of conventionalisation of the following preferred expressions, but have found that Chinantec speakers readily understand these expressions when reversed (and they regard the reversal of the elements as highly amusing).

Examples of preferred binomial expressions which function as inalienable

nominals are:

(151)(a) *jméi*² *mí²ziú¹³*
 father^{^1PL/3} mother^{^1PL/3} → 'parents' (1PL/3)

(b) *df¹hio³* *ñú¹deh³*
 grandmother^{^1PL/3} grandfather^{^1PL/3} → 'grandparents' (1PL/3)

Both components of an inalienable binomial expression decline for person; for example, the second-person possessive form for (151a) is:

(152) *ñeh²* *mí²ziúh²*
 father^{^2} mother^{^2} → 'parents' (2)

Examples of preferred expressions which function as alienable nominals are:

(153)(a) *tsá²mí³* *tsá²ñuh²*
 woman man → 'ladies and gentlemen, people'

(b) *chi³* *hlah²¹* *chi³* *náih²*
 diminutive cricket diminutive grasshopper → 'hopping insects'

(*Chi³* 'diminutive' in (153b) is one of a small set of categorisers; see §6.1.2.2.)

Kikuchi identifies two sub-types of conventional expressions: (a) those 'which cannot be interpreted literally and have unique conventional interpretations' (Kikuchi 1985:62), e.g. *spic and span*, and (b) those which have a conventional meaning in addition to a literal meaning, e.g. *oil and water*, which has its literal meaning and the conventional meaning 'incompatible' (Kikuchi 1985:64). Most Chinantec binomials appear to have only conventional meanings.

Irreversible binomials are found for the open-class parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. Binomial nouns exhibit a new meaning which is more often than not transparently derived from the parts. Binomial adjectives, adverbs, and verbs usually denote an intensification of the attribute or action; binomial verbs also convey a durative, intensity, iterative or complete-affectedness sense as well. Binomial verbs frequently acquire a meaning that is not readily transparent as the sum of the parts. Binomial adverbs are unlike the other binomials in that the two bases of which they are composed are not necessarily themselves adverbs.

3.2.1.1 Binomial Nouns

There are alienable and inalienable binomial nouns. The non-final base of a binomial noun does not undergo any of the phonological modifications that regularly occur in compounds. In (154) and (155), there is no loss of the tone glide in the first base:

(154) *mí²zióh²* 'source' + *sí²* 'fire' → 'generator'

(155) *cuah²* 'gourd' + *hia³* '(earthenware) jar' →
'pots and pans, kitchenware'

And in (156-158), there is no neutralisation of the ballistic /³/ tone of the non-final base:

(156) *hñú³* 'house' + *cú³jen²* 'sheet metal' → 'house with galvanised
iron roof'

(157) *jmí³* 'rain' + *chí³* 'wind' → 'gale'

(158) *mí³-jmá³* 'fruit-tasty' + *mí³-ráu³* 'fruit-sweet' → 'edible fruit'

In (158), the morpheme *mí³* is derived from *máí³* 'fruit', and forms the first part of each compound noun.

An example of an inalienable binomial noun is:

(159) *tsá²cuú²* 'person-hand' + *tsá²ta³* 'person-foot' →
'assistant' (1PL/3)

In (159), *tsá²cuú²* is clearly a compound stem of *tsá²* 'person' + *cuo²* 'hand, arm' (1PL/3) due to the vowel and tone-stress change from *cuo²* to *cuú²*. No phonological changes occur with the final root of *tsá²ta³*, but being the second component of a juxtaposition, with parallel semantics, it too is a compound stem.

The measurement *cá² táun²* 'one span' normally refers to the distance from fingertip to mid-chest, with outstretched arm. When this measurement is repeated: *cá² táun² cá² táun²*, the meaning is 'from one side through to the other':

(160) *Nga²* *joh¹ cá² táun² cá² táun².*
pass^{TI}^PRES³ light one span one span
'The light passes from one side through to the other.'

In the context of a named individual, the preferred expression in (151b):

di⁴hio³ ñú⁴deh³ (lit. 'grandmother grandfather') 'grandparents' (1PL/3) acquires the meaning 'ancestor'; for example:

- (161) *Há²bran²1 di⁴hio³ ñú⁴deh³ di²*
 Abraham grandmother[^]1PL grandfather[^]1PL we[^]INCL
 'Our ancestor Abraham'

In such a context, *di⁴hio³ ñú⁴deh³* has probably moved further along the cline towards an irreversible binomial. See also §3.2.2.

3.2.1.2 Binomial Adjectives

Binomial adjectives convey a sense of intensification of the named attribute.

There appear to be two types of binomial adjectives, those that require a repetition of the NP head, and those that do not. The former type is an AB AC doublet, in which A is the repeated noun, and B and C are semantically similar adjectives; for example, see (162b) below.

Binomial adjectives which require a repetition of the head noun differ from an appositional NP (see §9.1.1.3) in that they often denote plurality as well. Most binomial adjectives of this type consist of two synonymous adjectives. Examples are:

- (162) *pih²1 siúm¹*
 small little → 'tiny' (AN PL)

For example:

- (a) *jáh³ pih²1 jáh³ siúm¹*
 animal small animal little[^]AN
 'tiny animals' (refers mainly to insects)

- (b) *tsá² pih²1 tsá² siúm¹*
 person small person little[^]AN
 'tiny people' (i.e. toddlers)

- (163) *hngá¹ náí²*
 undomesticated wild → 'wild/savage' (AN PL)

For example:

- jáh³ hngá¹ jáh³ náí²*
 animal undomesticated[^]AN animal wild
 'savage/wild animals'

- (164) *hlah³ hó³2*
 bad repugnant → 'despicable, contemptible, repulsive' (IN)

For example:

hi³ hlah³ hi³ hó³²
 thing bad^IN thing repugnant^IN
 'despicable thing(s)'

In (164), other nouns can be substituted for *hi³* 'thing'; for example, *si²* 'book', which results in the meaning: 'contemptible book(s)', that is, book(s) that may affect the reader's attitude or life-style negatively.

The first base of some binomial adjectives appears to be either the numeral *cú²* 'one' or, more likely, the adverb *cú²* 'simply, just' (variants of *cám²* 'one' (IN)).^{<9>} However, unlike the modifier-modified compounds discussed in §3.1.3.2.2, the modified noun is repeated. For example:

(165) *tsá² cú² tsá² lám³*
 person just person bare^AN
 'entirely bare person'

(*Tsá² lám³* 'bare person' would refer to someone in a swimming suit, or wearing only shorts on the basketball court, etc.)

(166) *tsá² cú² tsá² juenh²*
 person just person large^AN
 'mighty/powerful person' (e.g. God)

Repetition of the noun with each base of the binomial adjective is not obligatory with those binomials whose first base is *cú²*; (166), for example, can occur simply as:

(167) *tsá² cú² juenh²*
 person just large^AN
 'mighty/powerful person'

Similarly, the binomial adjective *tsí¹ juí³* 'abject, impoverished' can optionally occur with a repetition of the noun *tsá²* 'person'; for example, *tsá² tsí¹ juí³* or *tsá² tsí¹ tsá² juí³* 'an abject (to be pitied) person'. The longer form is slightly stronger in sentiment (as is (166) in comparison to (167)).

3.2.1.3 Binomial Adverbs

As will be seen in most of the examples in this section, the two bases of a binomial adverb are not necessarily themselves adverbs.

There are three classes of manner adverbs, those which precede the

element they modify (e.g. *jlánh*¹ 'really'), those which follow (e.g. *siáh*³ 'again'), and those which may occur either before or after (e.g. *tiáh*³ 'forcefully, intensively, rapidly'); see §8.2.2. I have not found any examples of binomial adverbs that must precede the element they modify, but both other types are found.

An example of a binomial adverb which may occur before or after the element it modifies is *hiú*² *cuóh*³² 'continually'; its component elements can be glossed literally as 'day' + 'arrive' (II-FUT-3), that is, 'the day will arrive'. In the interlinear gloss of the following examples, however, I have not indicated the tense and person marking of *cuóh*³² since, when functioning as the second base of a binomial adverb, the inflection is invariable.

The adverb *hiú*² *cuóh*³² 'incessantly' is a binomial, not a compound. This is seen by the way this adverb can be intensified by the adverb *cú*² 'simply, just', which is repeated on both bases of the binomial. Although the construction is an AB AC doublet, as described in §3.2.1.2, in this case it is the modifier that is repeated rather than the head:

- (168) *Jlánh*¹ *cú*² *hiú*² *cú*² *cuóh*³² *hi*¹-*zau*³² *hmah*²¹.
 really simply day simply arrive MOT-rise^{II} price
 'Prices are incessantly rising.'

The unmodified adverb can precede or follow the element it modifies.

Examples of each respectively are:

- (169) *Hiú*² *cuóh*³² *hngá*² *tsú*².
 day arrive ask^{TI}^PRES³ 3
 'S/he is incessantly asking.'
- (170) *Tsá*²*mí*³ *hi*³ *jmí*¹ *tsá*²- *jién*³ *hiú*² *cuóh*³²
 woman that^{AN} TRM ANDT^{PRES}-see^{TA}^3 day arrive
*jue*²¹ *hi*³.
 judge that^{AN}
 'That woman used to go incessantly to see that judge.'

Many binomial adverbs appear to require the repetition of a modifier with both bases of the binomial; for example, *la*³ 'even' is repeated with both bases of the temporal adverb *la*³ *huá*² *la*³ *jma*² 'night and day', and with both bases of the manner (or locative) adverb *la*³ *coh*³ *la*³ *ñeh*³ 'inside out'.

Examples of both binomial adverbs respectively are:

(171) *Jmú² tsú² ta²¹ la³ huá² la³ jma².*
do^{TI}^PRES^3 3 work even night even day
'S/he works night and day.'

(172) *Cuoh² tsú² liei²¹ la³ coh³ la³ ñeh³.*
know^{TI}^PRES^3 3 law even outside even inside
'S/he knows the law inside out.'

The preposition *ja¹* is repeated in the locative adverb *ja¹ juú² ja¹ hñú³*
'throughout the town, up and down the streets':

(173) *He³ ta²¹ tɬ¹ ngɬ¹ hniú³² ja¹ juú² ja¹ hñú³?*
what? work PREV^PRES walk^{IA}^PRES^2SG you^{SG} among town among house
'Why are you constantly walking up and down the streets?'

3.2.1.4 Binomial Verbs

Binomial verbs are discussed in §4.3 with reference to affixation for tense, aspect, and mood. In brief, any preverbal adverbs that form part of the VP, together with any affixation for tense, aspect, and mood, may occur with the first base of the binomial verb. The innermost preverbal element, whether adverb or prefix, and it alone, is obligatorily repeated with the second base of the binomial.

Binomial verbs denote intensity, durativity, iterativity, or complete-affectedness.

Many binomial verbs consist of two synonymous verbs. In this case the first verb has usually undergone phonological modification similar to that seen for non-final elements in compound noun stems. Phonologically then, they resemble a compound word. Semantically, also, they appear to function as a single lexeme, not a sequence of two actions or events. Syntactically, however, the two bases function as separate words as seen in the way that the innermost prefix or adverb that occurs with the first base is obligatorily repeated with the second base.

An example of the way a prefix occurs with both bases of the binomial verb is illustrated by the hodiernal past (HOD) prefix *lɬ²-* (§4.1.8.12.7):

(174) *Jlánh¹ ré² má² lɬ²-hlɬ² lɬ²-liéinh³² yeh³ jon².*
much well PRF HOD-speak^{TI} HOD-tell^{DA}^3 elder child^3
'The old man really admonished his child well.'

The occurrence of an adverb with both bases is illustrated by the negative adverb *tiá²* (§5.1.7.1):

- (175) *Ca²- mǝ³ dí² nǝ¹juáh³ hi³ lǝ¹³ hi³ tiá²*
 PAST-ask^TI^3 he if COMP be^able^II^FUT COMP not
- há¹ tiá² ngá¹³ dí² la³ jáun².*
 step^on^TI^FUT not pass^by^TI^FUT^3 he idea that^IN
 'He asked if it would be possible that he not go through those experiences.'

In (175), both iterativity (several tasks) and intensity (great effort will be necessary) are conveyed.

Examples of binomial verbs are:

- (176)(a) *chi²* 'remove' (TI SG) + *huéh²³* 'remove' (TI PL)
 → *chǝ² huéh²³* 'extract' (TI PL)
- (b) *ha²* 'step on' (TI) + *nga²* 'pass by' (TI) →
há² nga² 'experience, pass through' (TI)
 (physically and/or emotionally)
- (c) *hen²* 'desire' (TI) + *jan²* 'await' (TA) →
hé² jan² 'anticipate' (TA)
- (d) *hle^{h32}* 'speak' (TI) + *liéinh³²* 'tell' (TA) →
hlǝ² liéinh³² 'admonish, exhort' (TA)
- (e) *hma³²* 'store' (TI) + *jni³²* 'enclose' (TI) →
hmá² jni³² 'conceal, hide' (TI)
- (f) *zaih³²* 'inform' (TA) + *cha³²* 'relate' (TI) →
zǝ² cha³² 'proclaim' (TI)

Some verbs such as *ha²* 'step on' in (176b), and *quiunh³²* 'strike' (with an instrument) form the first element of several binomial verbs. Some examples of the latter are:

- (177)(a) *quiunh³²* 'strike' (TA) + *pan²³* 'hit' (TA)
 → *quiú² pan²³* 'beat up' (TA)
- (b) *quiunh³²* 'strike' (TA) + *jin²* 'scold' (TA)
 → *quiú² jin²* 'discipline' (TA)
- (c) *quiunh³²* 'strike' (TA) + *táinh²³* 'obstruct' (TA)
 → *quiú² táinh²³* 'argue with' (TA)
- (d) *quiunh³²* 'strike' (TA) + *juóun³²* 'hurl down' (TA)
 → *quiú² juóun³²* 'curse, defame', or
 'throw down repeatedly' (TA)
- (e) *quiunh³²* 'strike' (TA) + *jnah²³* 'whack' (TA)
 → *quiú² jnah²³* 'criticise, malign', or
 'strike repeatedly with something' (TA)

By comparing the examples in (177), it can be seen that not all binomial verbs formed with *quih*³² 'strike' refer to physical events. (177a) definitely implies physical action, (177b-e) may or may not include physical action.

The first base of a binomial verb may also be one of a set of preverbs (PREV). Preverbs are semantically empty, but syntactically they function identically to the first base of those binomial verbs illustrated in (176) and (177); that is, the innermost adverb or prefix that occurs with the first element is repeated with the second element. They have, however, pragmatic force, as can be seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Binomial Preverbs

PREVERB	PRAGMATIC FORCE
<i>quí</i> ²	neutral or positive evaluation by speaker
<i>pí</i> ²	deprecatory evaluation by speaker
<i>cuú</i> ²	desired effect achievable
<i>tú</i> ²	desired negative effect achievable
<i>quí</i> ²	undesirable effect achievable
<i>tí</i> ²	neutral goal
<i>chú</i> ²	neutral or mildly negative goal
<i>ziú</i> ²	negative goal

By using a preverb with those verbs that lack a synonym (or, if a synonym exists, for some reason it has not been utilised to form one or the other of the two bases), the speaker is able to achieve aspectual nuances of intensity, durativity, iterativity, or complete-affectedness. Each of the eight preverbs is discussed in turn below.

(i) The most common of the preverbs is *quí*². It conveys minimal evaluation; the pragmatic force is either neutral or mildly approbative. For example:

- (178) *Hlián*³ *quí*² *quin*²³ *tiú*³ *quih*²¹ *háin*².
 soldier PREV^PRES remove^TI^PRES^3 rifle have^STI^3 thief
 'The soldiers remove the thieves' rifles.'

The aspectual denotation in (178) is complete-affectedness; the soldiers are thorough.

(ii) *Pí*², in contrast to *quí*², denotes a derogatory evaluation by the speaker of the action performed by the agent. The action in itself may be

good or proper, but the manner in which it is undertaken, or the result achieved, is negatively evaluated. The verb *tsáih²³* 'wind up' (TI) in the following two examples illustrates the contrast between *quí²* and *pí²*:

- (179) *Qí² tsáih²³ tsú² hñe¹³.*
 PREV^PRES wind^up^TI^PRES^3 3 rope
 'S/he winds up the rope' (quality of action unspecified)
- (180) *Pí² tsáih²³ tsú² hñe¹³.*
 PREV^PRES wind^up^TI^PRES^3 3 rope
 'S/he winds up the rope' (doing a messy job every time)

(iii) The preverb *cuú²* implies only that the desired effect is achieved or achievable, whether the intent is good or bad. Examples of both intentions respectively are:

- (181) *Né³² cǎnh³ cuú² ngǎh²³ hlián³*
 today precisely PREV^PRES assemble^TA^PRES^3 soldier
tsá² chin¹ tsá² joh¹.
 person supreme person have^STA^3
 'The captain assembles his unit promptly (lit. 'precisely today').'
 (complete-affectedness and/or iterative)
- (182) *Tá¹ ní² jlánh¹ cuú² hlián²³ tsá¹mǎh¹ rainh²¹.*
 Gustavo that really PREV^PRES shove^TA^PRES^3 children companion^3
 'That Gustavo really shoves around his companions.' (iterative)

(iv) An example of the way the preverb *tú²* denotes negative evaluation by the speaker is the way it collocates with *jua²³* 'shake, agitate' (TI):

- (183) *Jlánh¹ lí¹ tú² lí¹ jua²³ tsú² hú¹chí¹³*
 really NON PREV^PRES NON shake^TI^PRES^3 3 hat^3
Tu²¹.
 Anthony
 'They are tossing Tony's hat around.'

The verb *quí² jua²³* 'shake', on the other hand, simply denotes intensity or persistence; for example, to give a blanket a thorough shaking.

(v) The pragmatic force of the preverb *quí²* is that the agent achieves or is capable of achieving an undesirable effect; for example:

- (184) *La³ ná¹- quí² ná¹- jmi²³ nǎh²*
 apparently PROG^PL-PREV PROG^PL-attack^TA^2 you^PL
renh² la³jmi¹ jmu² tsá¹2.
 companion^2 like do^TI^PRES^3 dog
 'Apparently you are attacking your companions as if you were a dog.' (metaphorically, e.g. by gossip)

In (184), the aspect is iterative--they do this repeatedly.

Similarly, *quí²* marks the subject of an intransitive verb as undergoing an undesirable or counter-productive experience. In the following example there is also the denotation of complete-affectedness:

- (185) *Jám² hñú³ jám² né³, ca³-quí² cá²-cuon³ bñh¹.*
 then house that^{IN} TOPIC PAST-PREV PAST-run^{II} AFF
 'Then as for that house, it fell to pieces.'

(vi) The preverb *tí²* appears to be neutral in its evaluation of the goal of the action, and marks the process as iterative or durative.

With the verb *jinh²³* 'turn back' (TA), the meaning is 'correct, admonish'; for example:

- (186) *Tí² jinh²³ tsú² jon².*
 PREV^{PRE} turn^{back} TA^{PRE} 3 3 child³
 'S/he corrects her/his child.' (iterative)

With the verb *ngí³²* 'walk' (IA), the meaning is 'walk back and forth'; for example:

- (187) *Jlánh¹ ñi³-tí¹ ñi³-ngí³² ñú²mih¹ ní² ja¹ hñú³.*
 really AMB-PREV AMB-walk^{IA} 3SG boy that among house
 'That boy is constantly walking back and forth between the houses.'

(vii) The pragmatic force of the preverb *chú²* is either a neutral or slightly negative evaluation on the part of the speaker. It marks a process with intensive or durative aspect. When it occurs with the verb *ñih²³* 'start, activate, ignite' (TI), for example, the meaning is 'check, investigate thoroughly' (TA/TI) or, depending on the larger context, it may have the negative sense of 'spy on'. The former meaning is illustrated in (188):

- (188) *Tí³² mí³ chú² ñih²³ tsá² tsám¹ jám²*
 master medicine PREV^{PRE} check^{TA} PRES³ person sick then

choh¹³ ní¹juáh³ hín² mí¹u¹³ jau² tsú².
 find^{TI} FUT³ if which illness take^{TA} PRES³ 1>3 3
 'A doctor investigates the patient thoroughly to find whatever illness s/he may have.' (lit. 'whatever illness takes her/him')

(viii) By using the preverb *ziú²*, the speaker is evaluating the goal of the agent as negative; the process is intensive, durative or iterative. With the verb *hien²* 'indicate, nominate, appoint' (TA), the meaning is 'criticise':

- (189) *má² ziu² má² hien² tsú² Pé¹ hliá²*
 PRF PREV[^]PRES PRF indicate[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 Peter because
ca³- pan³ jon².
 PAST-strike[^]TA[^]3 child[^]3
 'They are criticising Peter because he struck his child.'

In (189), the action is iterative; the criticism may continue over a period of several days. The goal is negative, but there is no implication as to the success of such criticism.

A question that needs to be addressed is: are 'binomial verbs' a type of verb serialisation? The fact that the same prefix for motion, mood, aspect, or tense which occurs on the first base is obligatorily repeated on the second is one of the characteristics of serial verb constructions. However, there are several characteristics of Chinantec binomial verbs which differentiate them from serial verb constructions:

(i) Although the first base may have several prefixes, only the innermost prefix is repeated on the second base.

(ii) Only two bases ever occur in sequence, whereas serial verb constructions may consist of two or more predicates (Foley and Olsen, 1985:18).

(iii) Foley and Olsen (1985:19), observe that 'the second verb in a serial construction is "always in some sense a further development, result or goal" of the first verb in the construction.' (quoting from Lord (1974)). The first base of the Chinantec binomial verb construction, however, is usually synonymous with the second base, or is a preverb. Generally, the two bases describe neither successive nor simultaneous events; rather, in the manner of compounds, the meaning of the whole frequently is not derivable from a knowledge of the parts.

(iv) The first base may be one of a set of semantically empty preverbs, and so do not satisfy the attributes of a serial verb construction as described in the quote from Foley and Olsen in (iii) above. The sequence of preverb + verb does not appear to be found in languages which utilise verb serialisation.

(v) With binomial constructions evident among the other open classes of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, a syntactic pattern exists which appears to be equally available to Chinantec verbs.

3.2.2 Non-permutable Polynomials

There are a few non-permutable polynomial expressions, all of which are nouns.

The preferred expression *dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³* ('grandmother' + 'grandfather') 'grandparents' was cited in §3.2.1 above. This same expression occurs in non-permutable polynomials. Note that all the following polynomials based on *dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³* denote plurality:

- (190) *jméi² dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³*
 father^{1PL/3} grandmother^{1PL/3} grandfather^{1PL/3}
 'ancestors' (1PL/3)
- (191) *tsá²haun³² dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³*
 ancestor grandmother^{1PL/3} grandfather^{1PL/3}
 'ancestors' (1PL/3) (temporally more remote than (190))
- (192) *tsá²haun³² jméi² dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³*
 ancestor father^{1PL/3} grandmother^{1PL/3} grandfather^{1PL/3}
 'remote ancestors' (1PL/3) (more remote than (191))

A sentential example of (190) is:

- (193) *la³ jáun² tí² jmu² jméi²*
 idea that^{IN} DISC do^{TI} PRES³ father^{1PL}
- dí¹hio³ ñú¹deh³ dí²*
 grandmother^{1PL} grandfather^{1PL} we^{INCL}
 'That is what our ancestors used to do.'

In contrast to the above polynomials, which all denote plurality, the following polynomial expression does not:

- (194) *juí³² co¹ juí³² hñú¹³*
 path community path house³
 'home town' (1PL/3)

Juí³² co¹ juí³² hñú¹³ 'home town' (1PL/3) is an unusual polynomial expression because it is composed of four juxtaposed nouns forming an AB AC doublet.

I have noticed that a few speakers apply phonological compounding rules to the repeated element *juí³²* 'path' of this polynomial, reducing it to

an irreversible binomial similar to (158):

- (195) *juú²-co¹* *juú²-hñú¹³*
 path-community path-house
 'home town' (1PL/3)

3.3 Residue

In addition to the above methods used to expand its lexicon, Chinantec also makes extensive use of metaphor, especially metaphors based on the heart; for example:

- (196) *quiéin² tsí³* ('dry' + 'heart') 'be thirsty' (IA)

- (197) *jngih³² tsí³* ('kill self' + 'heart') 'be preoccupied' (IA)

These metaphors are free expressions, not compounds, as seen by the non-application of phonological compounding rules (§3.1.3.1, note the tone glide on *jngih³²* 'kill' in (197)), and the possibility of insertion of an adverb between the elements of the metaphor. For example:

- (198) *Quiéin² lín³² tsí³ tsú².*
 dry very heart 3
 'S/he is very thirsty.'

With over 150 examples of 'heart' metaphors collected so far, this merits a separate study.

NOTES

1. The causative prefix *má²-* (§4.2.1) is distinct from the perfect aspect marker *má²* (§5.1.2).
2. Adjectives are marked for animacy when they have separate forms for animate (AN) or inanimate (IN); for example, *tiám²* 'white' (AN), *tiáu²* (IN). An adjective for which only one form exists is not marked for animacy; for example, *dáin³* 'red' (§6.3.4).

The legitimacy of the word class 'adjective' as distinct from state verbs is discussed in §4.5.

3. Swidden (slash and burn) agriculture is the main practice.

4. Alternatively, *rá¹lín^h²* may derive from *l^h³²* 'roll' (II).
5. The moon and a few other entities are regarded as animate based on the agreement for animacy seen in adjectives (§6.3.1) and verbs (§4.1.8.5). 'Month' and 'moon' are one word, *z^h²*; the moon being a female deity in Chinantec mythology.
6. According to legend, the prehistoric people were a race of humans that lived on the earth before the existence of the sun and moon, dwelling in caves. When the sun first shone, those who were struck by the sunlight turned into monkeys (thus their physical resemblance to humans). Those within the caves remained unaffected, and continue to live in underground cities to this day.
7. There is a transitive verb *jlá²* 'cover', but this seems to bear no relationship to *mí¹jlá²* 'knife'. Similarly, there is a noun *hu³²* 'glass', but this does not appear to be the morpheme in *mí¹hu³²* 'chisel'. *Hu³²* possibly could be a reference to a chisel-like tool made from obsidian; however, all obsidian tools found in the area are called *hna³ chí¹jbaí²²¹* 'star excrement', the same expression for meteorites.
8. The yolk of a free-run chicken's egg is bright orange-yellow.
9. *Cáun²* may also follow the noun it modifies, meaning 'other, next'. In this position, however, it does not form compounds. For example: *sí² cáun²* '(the) other book', *mí² cáun²* 'next year'.

CHAPTER 4

THE VERB

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss verb classes and inflection, and the various prefixes which occur with both dynamic and state verbs.

Chinantec syntactically encodes two main types of verbs: 'dynamic' and 'state'. Givón (1984:53) distinguishes semantically 'instantaneous' verbs, 'activity/process' verbs, and 'states'. On syntactic grounds, Chinantec dynamic verbs include those which are semantically instantaneous as well as those which are activity/process in nature.

Both dynamic and state verbs are inflected for person-of-subject, transitivity and, if transitive, animacy of object; if the object of a transitive verb is animate, it is further inflected for direct or inverse cross-referencing; see §8.1.4. Dynamic verbs, but not state verbs, are additionally inflected for tense, mood, motion, and aspect; and some dynamic verbs are inflected for the passive voice.<1>

Dynamic Verbs are discussed in §4.1, and state verbs are discussed in §4.4.

An 'animate verb' is one which is indexed for an animate subject if intransitive, or an animate direct object if either transitive or ditransitive. Similarly, an 'inanimate verb' is one which is indexed for an inanimate subject if intransitive, or an inanimate direct object if either transitive or ditransitive.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate a verb's type (dynamic or state), transitivity valence (intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive), the

animacy of the nominal for which the verb is indexed, and the nature of the cross-referencing:

Table 4.1 Abbreviations For Verb Types

IA	'(dynamic) intransitive animate'
II	'(dynamic) intransitive inanimate'
TA	'(dynamic) transitive animate (direct)'
TA [^] I	'(dynamic) transitive animate inverse'
TI	'(dynamic) transitive inanimate'
DA	'(dynamic) ditransitive animate (direct)'
DA [^] I	'(dynamic) ditransitive animate inverse'
DI	'(dynamic) ditransitive inanimate (direct)'
DI [^] I	'(dynamic) ditransitive inanimate inverse'
SIA	'state intransitive animate'
SII	'state intransitive inanimate'
STA	'state transitive animate'
STI	'state transitive inanimate'

There are only a few DI[^]I verbs which have been identified; for example: *cue*³² 'give', *hie*³² 'show', and *jienh*³² 'return, give back'. These verbs are indexed for an inanimate direct object, and an inverse animate indirect object; see §4.1.8.2 and §8.1.2.3.

In Sochiapan Chinantec, prefixes are the only form of segmental affixation.

There are certain features which I believe give grounds for distinguishing between verbal prefixes and adverbs which are part of the verb phrase.<2>

Prototypical verbal prefixes are those elements which:

- (i) occur in a fixed order;
- (ii) occur only on verb roots;
- (iii) occasion inflection of the verb root;
- (iv) can collocate only with a dynamic verb root. State verbs must first be made dynamic by the causative *ma*²⁻ or be marked for the inception of a new state by the continuous *ta*²⁻ before they can take these prefixes.

The pre-head verb phrase elements (§5) differ from the prefixes in the following ways:

- (i) their order is not entirely fixed;

(ii) they can function outside of the verb phrase, acting as modifiers of other parts of speech, which prefixes cannot;

(iii) they do not occasion any inflection of the verb.

Some elements may fail one or two of the criteria set up above for identifying prefixes; however, an element can still be considered to be a prefix if it fulfils the majority of the criteria, or adjacent clearly defined elements require the one in question to function as a prefix.

4.1 Dynamic Verbs

Although most non-derived dynamic verbs are phonologically simple (monosyllabic), they have a high degree of complexity in other respects.

A non-derived dynamic verb root inflects by means of changes in tone-stress, and/or phonological changes to mark:

(i) transitivity (including reflexive and reciprocal);

(ii) animacy of subject of intransitive verbs, animacy of object of transitive verbs;

(iii) person-of-subject;

(iv) person-of-object, if the verb is animate transitive; see §4.1.8.7 and §8.1.4 on direct and inverse cross-referencing;

(v) a few intransitive verbs mark agreement as to number of the subject, and a few transitive verbs mark agreement as to number of the object;

(vi) motion by the subject: non-specific, andative, venitive;

(vii) tense: the future, present, hodiernal past (midnight just prior to the time of the speech act), and remote past (prior to midnight);

(viii) mood: imperative, hortative, intentive, prohibitive, and evidential.

The parameters (i)-(iv) above are marked purely by internal inflection (change in the tone, stress, nucleus, or a combination of these).

Parameter (v) marks number by the use of suppletive forms for singular and plural.

The motion, tense, and mood, parameters, (vi)-(viii), are marked by internal inflection of the verb, usually in conjunction with a prefix.<3>

However, the present and future tenses and the imperative mood are not marked by any affixation, only by internal inflection. For example:

- (1) *quiéih*¹³ 'you will cut' (TI)
*quiéih*²³ 'you cut'
*quieh*¹ 'cut!'
- (2) *cuóuh*¹ 'you will run' (IA)
*cuouh*³² 'you run'
*cuóun*³ 'run!'

In addition to the above inflectional parameters, the progressive aspect is marked by a set of prefixes, and non-directional motion by the prefix *hi*¹⁻, but the form of the verb is the same as for the present (see §4.1.8.12.1 and §4.1.8.12.4 respectively); intentive aspect is marked by *ñi*¹⁻, but with the same form of the verb as for the future (see §4.1.8.12.5); and the iterativity/intensity aspect is marked by binomial verbs (see §3.2.1.4 and §4.3).

In summary, the present and future tense, and the imperative mood of non-derived dynamic verbs are marked exclusively by root inflection; however, the other tense, aspect, motion, and mood parameters are marked by a combination of both root inflection and prefixes.

Derived dynamic verbs do not inflect for tense, mood, motion, etc.; they only inflect to mark animacy of subject (if intransitive), person-of-subject (if animate), and animacy of object (if transitive). The derivation of dynamic verbs from state verbs is discussed in §4.2.

The present analysis is based on a corpus of 607 dynamic verbs; it is unclear whether all the tone-stress paradigms have been accounted for.^{<4>}

There are three major classes of dynamic verbs in Chinantec:

- (i) Class A verbs, which have separate tone-stress inflection sets for third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL;
- (ii) Class B verbs, which have separate tone-stress inflection sets for third-person and non-third-person. The non-third-person exhibits a single tone-stress throughout the entire inflectional paradigm; the tone-stress inflection of the non-third-person is not related to any third-person form;

(iii) Class C verbs, which have only one tone-stress inflection set for all persons.

Figure 4.1 summarises the characteristics of the three verb classes. The letters a, b, c, and d represent different inflection sets (that is, a, b, c, and d each subsume multiple tone-stress paradigms).

Figure 4.1 Inflection Sets for Verb Classes A, B, and C

Verb Class	Grammatical Person			
	3	2	1SG	1PL
A	a	b	c	d
B	a	b	b	b
C	a	a	a	a

These inflection sets will be referred to as I-a, I-b, I-c, and I-d in the following discussion of verb paradigms.

Examples of the verb classes A, B, and C are given in (3)-(5) respectively. The inflectional parameters PRESENT, FUTURE, etc. which appear in the verb paradigms in (3)-(5) are explained in §4.1.1.1.

(3) Class A: *hliá*³² 'push' (TI)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	<i>hliá</i> ³²	<i>hliáh</i> ³²	<i>hliá</i> ²³	<i>hliá</i> ²³
FUTURE	<i>hliá</i> ³²	<i>hliáh</i> ¹	<i>hliá</i> ¹³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>hliá</i> ³	<i>hliáh</i> ¹	<i>hliá</i> ³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
AMBULATIVE	<i>hliá</i> ²¹	<i>hliáh</i> ²¹	<i>hliá</i> ¹³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
HORTATIVE	<i>hliá</i> ²¹	xxx	<i>hliá</i> ¹³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
EVIDENTIAL	<i>hliá</i> ²¹	<i>hliáh</i> ²¹	<i>hliá</i> ¹³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
HODIERNAL	<i>hliá</i> ³²	<i>hliáh</i> ¹	<i>hliá</i> ³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
ANDATIVE	<i>hliá</i> ²	<i>hliáh</i> ¹	<i>hliá</i> ³	<i>hliá</i> ¹³
PROHIBITIVE	---	<i>hliá</i> ²	---	---

Note that each grammatical person of a Class A verb has its own tone-stress paradigm; see Figure 4.1.

(4) Class B: *ñih*²³ 'light, ignite' (TI)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	ñih ²³	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
FUTURE	ñih ³	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
PAST	ñih ³	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
AMBULATIVE	ñih ¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
HORTATIVE	ñih ¹	xxx	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
EVIDENTIAL	ñih ¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
HODIERNAL	ñih ³	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
ANDATIVE	ñih ³	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹	ñih ²¹
PROHIBITIVE	---	ñih ²¹	---	---

Note that the tone-stress paradigm of second-person, 1SG and 1PL are identical for Class B verbs, and unrelated to the tone-stress paradigm of the third-person; see Figure 4.1.

(5) Class C: *cuoun*³² 'sleep' (IA)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	cuoun ³²	cuoun ³²	cuoun ³²	cuoun ³²
FUTURE	cuóun ³²	cuóun ³²	cuóun ³²	cuóun ³²
PAST	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²
AMBULATIVE	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹
HORTATIVE	cuóun ²	xxx	cuóun ²	cuóun ²
EVIDENTIAL	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹	cuoun ²¹
HODIERNAL	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²
ANDATIVE	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²	cuóun ²
PROHIBITIVE	---	cuóun ²	---	---

Note that the tone-stress paradigm of all four grammatical persons of Class C verbs are identical. (Most Class C verbs do not have a prohibitive form, using instead the form of the hortative; see §4.1.2.8.) Since the tone-stress paradigm of many Class C verbs matches that of the third-person of Class A and B verbs, I regard the third-person paradigm as primary (that is, the tone-stress of the third-person paradigm is the source of the tone-stress of the non-third-person forms; see Figure 4.1).

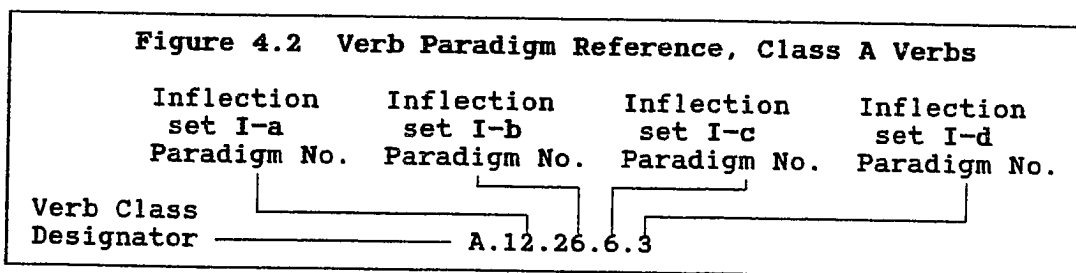
A few verbs, mainly those referring to motion (for example, *tsau*³² 'go'), additionally distinguish between 2SG and 2PL, and between 3SG and 3PL; these are discussed in §4.1.4.

In disyllabic verbs, it is the final syllable that exhibits the tone-stress and vocalic changes discussed below; in monosyllabic verbs, the only syllable is also the 'final' syllable. The first syllable and other features of disyllabic

verbs are discussed in §4.1.5.

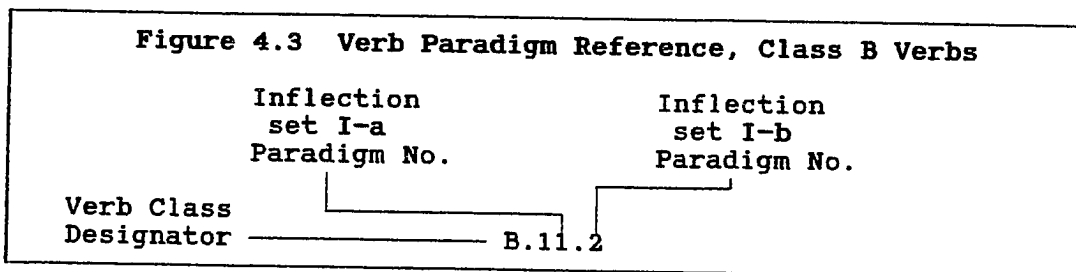
I have numbered the paradigms in each inflection set (Figure 4.1) for ease of reference. The paradigms are presented in §4.1.2.

Class A verbs are referenced in the manner presented in Figure 4.2.



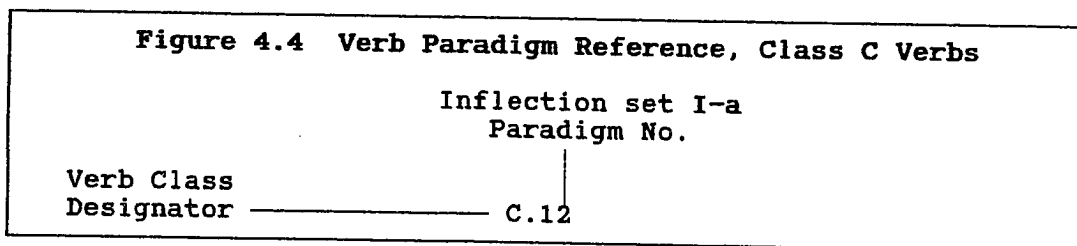
Thus, for example, *hɪn*²³ 'count' is (TA)-A.38.26.6.2.

Class B verbs are referenced in the manner presented in Figure 4.3.



Thus, for example, *tsaɪh*³² 'rewrap' is (TI)-B.65.1.

Class C verbs are referenced in the manner presented in Figure 4.4.



Thus, for example, *cnoum*³² 'sleep' is: (IA)-C.55.

4.1.1 Inflectional Rules

There are a total of 31 prefixes that affect the tone-stress inflection of the verb, plus the future and present tenses and the second-person imperative, which are marked purely by inflection, and the second-person prohibitive, which is marked by the prohibitive adverb *lɛ*² plus tone-stress inflection

of the verb. Many of these inflectional parameters share the same tone-stress inflection (see Table 4.2 below), so only some of them need to be incorporated into the inflectional matrix. The following section focuses primarily on the tone-stress inflectional matrices of Class A, B, and C verbs; the prefixes themselves are discussed in §4.1.8.12.

The hodiernal past and remote past are only differentiated inflectionally in the third-person paradigm in about 40% of Class A and Class B verbs. In the second-person, 1SG, and 1PL paradigms, this inflection is simply categorised as past, the hodiernal and remote past being distinguishable only by the prefix (§4.1.8.12.7).

There are a few automatic tone-stress perturbations on monosyllabic verbs and the final syllable of disyllabic verbs. (When referring to the stress and tone of a syllable, the symbols *b* and *c* in conjunction with the tone numbers represent ballistic stress and controlled stress respectively; see §2.5.1). These perturbations are:

(i) When a monosyllabic verb with tone-stress *b32* follows a verb phrase adverb or a prefix with tone-stress *b1*,^{<5>} *b32* is perturbed to *b21*. Examples of each respectively are given in (6) and (7).

(6)(a) *Sén³² tsú² tsáu² jmáí².*
 spray^{DA}FUT³ 3 people water
 'S/he will spray people (with) water.'^{<6>}

(b) *Jmí¹ sén²¹ tsú² tsáu² jmáí².*
 TRM spray^{DA}FUT³ 3 people water
 'S/he intended to spray people (with) water.' (but didn't)

The terminative (TRM) adverb *jmí¹* is discussed in §5.1.4; it collocates with either the future or present tense form of the verb. In (6b), the verb 'spray' is inflected for the future.

(7)(a) *Yéí³² sí² cu³lé³ mih¹.*
 be^{extinguished}II^{FUT} fire soon quite
 'The fire/lamp will go out shortly.'

(b) *Ná² ñí¹-yéí²¹ sí².*
 PRF INT-be^{extinguished}II fire
 'The fire/lamp is about to go out.'

The intentive (INT) prefix *ñí¹-* is discussed in §4.1.8.12.5; it always takes the

future form of the verb.

The same principle applies to disyllabic verbs: a final syllable with tone-stress b32 which follows an initial syllable with tone-stress b1 is always perturbed to b21. For example:

- (8) *ñi¹- má¹cón²¹ tsú² tsá² má²lieih²¹.*
 EVID-serve^{TA}³ 3 person elderly
 'Evidently s/he is serving the elderly person.'

In addition, the ambulative (AMB) prefix *ñi³-* (§4.1.8.12.2) induces the same perturbation of b32 to b21 despite its low tone. Since *ñi³-* governs the tone-stress of the verb, there are no minimal pairs to demonstrate this perturbation; however, there are no verbs with tone-stress b32 following *ñi³-*. For example:

- (9) *ñi³-tsónh²¹ tsú² mi¹tiei²¹ joh¹ tɿ³ ó³².*
 AMB-distribute^{TA}³ 3 cat have^{STA}³ at yonder
 'S/he is walking around distributing her/his cats over there.'

These rules allow us to write the underlying tone-stress b32 for b21 in all verbal inflection charts. However, the tone-stress b21 will continue to be used in examples, following native-speaker perception of a difference between b32 and b21 (§2.5.2.1).

(ii) There are two tones which appear only to be affected by the andative-past prefix *ñi¹-* 'went' (which is optionally preceded by the past prefix *ca³-*): tone-stress b3 in the verb is perturbed to b13, and c3 is perturbed to c13. Examples of these perturbations respectively are:

- (10)(a) *ca³cua³quián³* '(s/he) arrived carrying' (TI)
ca³ñi¹quián¹³ '(s/he) went carrying' (TI)
 (b) *ca³cua³han³* '(s/he) arrived stepping on' (TA)
ca³ñi¹han¹³ '(s/he) went stepping on' (TA)

On the basis of this rule for tone-stress perturbation, the form of the verb when affixed with *ñi¹-* (andative-past) is also predictable. In conclusion, all 17 directional prefixes (10 andative and 7 venitive) induce the same tone-stress inflection on the verb; see §4.1.8.12.3.

4.1.1.1 Inflection of Class A Verbs

Of the four grammatical persons which are distinguished inflectionally in Class A verbs, the third-person paradigm is potentially the most complex and exhibits the greatest variety of inflectional paradigms, decreasing in turn for the second-person, 1SG and 1PL paradigms respectively. Of the 607 dynamic verbs in my corpus, 311, or 51% are Class A verbs.

The inflectional matrix for Class A verbs is set out in Table 4.2 below. Some cells in the matrix are dependent; that is, their form is the same as a form elsewhere in the paradigm for that same grammatical person. Such cells are cross-referenced to the cell that shares the same tone-stress. Other cells disallow any form; these are indicated by xxx. Independent cells, that is, cells for which the inflection is not the same as a form elsewhere in the verb matrix, are indicated by +. With but seven known exceptions, the continuous is not able to be directly prefixed to the dynamic verb root (§4.1.8.12.6). Since the innermost prefix always governs the tone-stress inflection of the verb, and since the continuous generally cannot occupy that position, its non-governing nature is indicated by ---. The same holds true for three of the four prohibitive cells.

The leftmost column, labelled 'INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER', sets out the three non-affixed tenses first, followed by the motion, mood, and tense parameters from innermost prefix to outermost, finishing with the prohibitive. The inflectional parameters which are grouped together are members of the same distribution set and cannot co-occur. If an inflectional parameter consists of a set of prefixes, the number of prefixes in that set is supplied immediately following the name given to that parameter (for example, PROGRESSIVE-5).

From Table 4.2 it can be seen that in the 64 cell matrix of Class A verbs there are 18 independent cells, 33 dependent cells, 7 non-governing cells, and 6 non-functional cells.

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	3(SG)	2(SG)	1SG	1PL
PRESENT (PRES)	+	+	+	+
FUTURE (FUT)	+	+	+	+
IMPERATIVE (IMP)	xxx	PAST	xxx	xxx
PROGRESSIVE-5 (PROG)	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
AMBULATIVE (AMB)	+	+	FUT	FUT
ANDATIVE-10 (ANDT)	+	PAST	PAST	FUT
VENITIVE-7 (VEN)	ANDT	PAST	PAST	FUT
MOTION (MOT)	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
INTENTIVE (INT)	FUT	FUT	FUT	FUT
CONTINUOUS (CONT)	----	----	----	----
REMOTE PAST (PAST)	+	+	+	FUT
HODIERNAL PAST (HOD)	+	PAST	PAST	FUT
EVIDENTIAL (EVID)	+	AMB	FUT	FUT
HORTATIVE (HORT)	+	xxx	FUT	FUT
EXHORTATIVE<7> (EXH)	xxx	PAST	xxx	FUT
PROHIBITIVE (PROH)	----	+	----	----

If the order in which the prefixes affix to the verb stem is disregarded, the above matrix can be reorganised to gain a more symmetrical appearance:

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	+	+	+	+
FUTURE	+	+	+	+
REMOTE PAST	+	+	+	FUT
AMBULATIVE	+	+	FUT	FUT
HORTATIVE	+	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVIDENTIAL	+	AMB	FUT	FUT
HODIERNAL PAST	+	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDATIVE	+	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROHIBITIVE	----	+	----	----
PROGRESSIVE	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
MOTION	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
INTENTIVE	FUT	FUT	FUT	FUT
VENITIVE	ANDT	PAST	PAST	FUT
EXHORTATIVE	xxx	PAST	xxx	FUT
IMPERATIVE	xxx	PAST	xxx	xxx
CONTINUOUS	----	----	----	----

When paradigms for Class A verbs are supplied, the arrangement set out in Table 4.3 is followed. However, since the progressive, motion, intentive, venitive, exhortative, imperative, and continuous parameters for all four grammatical persons (third-person, second-person, 1SG and 1PL) have no independent inflection, they are ignored; see Table 4.4 below. Class B and C verbs follow an arrangement similar to that of Table 4.3, which is appropriate to their peculiarities; see Tables 4.5 and 4.7.

A few examples of the possible variety of tone-stress paradigms found in Class A monosyllabic verbs are set out in Table 4.4, ignoring the segmental elements and the prefixes. The inflectional parameters which are the same as elsewhere are not included. For consistency in the comparison, all the following verbs are TI, and they do not undergo phonological changes in the root.

Table 4.4 Examples of Tone-stress Inflection on Class A Transitive Inanimate Verbs

<i>jlɛ²³</i> 'cover'	3	2	1SG	1PL	<i>juóh²³</i> 'whip'	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	b23	b23	b23	b23	PRES	b23	b32	b32	b32
FUT	b3	b13	b13	b13	FUT	b3	c21	c21	c21
PAST	b3	b3	b3	b13	PAST	b3	c3	b32	c21
AMB	b13	b13	b13	b13	AMB	b3	b32	c21	c21
HORT	b13	xxx	b13	b13	HORT	b13	xxx	c21	c21
EVID	b13	b13	b13	b13	EVID	b13	b32	c21	c21
HOD	b3	b3	b3	b13	HOD	b3	c3	b32	c21
ANDT	c32	b3	b3	b13	ANDT	b3	c3	b32	c21
PROH	---	b3	---	---	PROH	---	b32	---	---
<i>ton²</i> 'confess'	3	2	1SG	1PL	<i>jmu²</i> 'make'	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	c2	c23	c2	c23	PRES	c2	c32	c2	b23
FUT	c3	c13	c1	c13	FUT	c3	b1	c1	b13
PAST	c3	c3	c3	c13	PAST	b3	c3	b32	b13
AMB	c1	c13	c1	c13	AMB	c1	c21	c1	b13
HORT	c1	xxx	c1	c13	HORT	c1	xxx	c1	b13
EVID	c1	c13	c1	c13	EVID	c1	c21	c1	b13
HOD	c3	c3	c3	c13	HOD	b3	c3	b32	b13
ANDT	c3	c3	c3	c13	ANDT	b3	c3	b32	b13
PROH	---	c3	---	---	PROH	---	b2	---	---

If a verb has b23/c32, c23, or b32 for 1PL-PRES, it is usually a Class A verb. A few Class C verbs (§4.1.2.8) also exhibit the tones b23, c23, and c32 for 1PL-PRES. If a verb cannot collocate with *lɛ²⁻* (HOD), it is a Class C

verb; however, if it can collocate with *lɛ2-* but exhibits the same tone-stress for the present of the 1PL, 1SG, second and third-person, it is a Class C verb. Otherwise, it is a Class A verb.

Initially, when researching the verb paradigms, there appeared to be an almost overwhelming variety of tone-stress combinations for each grammatical person and inflectional parameter. Further research has shown that much of this variety is due to four main factors: free variation, speaker preference, generational preference (§1.1.2), and verb-specific aspectual nuances. Examples of each factor are as follows:

(i) Free variation:

All Class A verbs which mark the 1PL-FUT by tone-stress c21 exhibit either the expected c21 for the 1PL-AMB, or alternatively b32 (which is perturbed to b21 by the ambulative prefix *ni³-*); however, b32 is not a valid alternative for the 1PL-FUT. I have not been able to establish any difference in meaning for the variation.

Verbs which mark the 1SG-FUT with tone-stress c21 may exhibit c21 for the 1SG-AMB or an alternate tone-stress of b32 (which is perturbed to b21), an option not available to 1SG-FUT. There does not appear to be any difference in meaning in the alternatives.

Most verbs which mark the 2-AMB by tone-stress c21 have an alternate tone-stress of b32 (which is perturbed to b21); however, there does not appear to be any difference in meaning. Similarly, many verbs which exhibit tone-stress b1 for the 2-FUT always exhibit b1 for the 2-INT. In many such verbs the 2-INT exhibits an alternative tone-stress of b2; however, b2 is not available to the 2-FUT; there does not appear to be any difference in meaning.

(ii) Speaker preference:

All Class A verbs that mark the 1PL-FUT by tone-stress b13 exhibit either the expected b13 for the 1PL-AMB or alternatively c21; however c21 is not a valid alternative for the 1PL-FUT. Although b13 is generally in free variation with c21 in this environment, there is a tendency to prefer c21 when

referring to past events, and b13 elsewhere. This preference does not appear to be generation based.

(iii) Generational preference:

All Class A verbs that mark the 1PL-PRES with b23 permit the alternative tone-stress c32 for the 1PL-PRES. Tone-stress c32 tends to be preferred by the older generation, with the younger generation vacillating between b23 and c32, but with no discernible difference in meaning. Verbs that exhibit the alternatives of b23 and c32 for the 1PL-PRES have been standardised with tone-stress b23 in the paradigm analysis. (Note that verbs which exhibit tone-stress c23 in the 1PL-PRES have no alternative.)

(iv) Aspectual difference:

Some verbs with tone-stress c21 for the 1SG-FUT permit an alternate tone-stress of c13; for most such verbs there is no difference in meaning. However, in a few verbs, the 1SG-AMB (which utilises the same tone-stress as the 1SG-FUT) marks habitual aspect that implies frequency or regularity of action by c13, whereas irregular habitual aspect and/or infrequency of action is marked by c21. For example:

(11)(a) *ʃi³-jan¹³ jná¹³ tsáí² joh² ja¹ cuú².*
 AMB-take^{TA}³ I dog have^{STA}¹SG among maize
 'I (regularly) take my dog walking in my cornfield.'

(b) *ʃi³-jan²¹ jná¹³ tsáí² joh² ja¹ cuú².*
 AMB-take^{TA}³ I dog have^{STA}¹SG among maize
 'I (occasionally) take my dog walking in my cornfield.'

A few verbs which have tone-stress b32 in the 1SG-PAST offer an alternative tone-stress of c32. For such verbs, b32 implies either a permanent state (for example, *quin²³* 'remove' TI) or prolonged activity (for example, *hin²³* 'erase' TI), whereas the tone-stress of c32 implies a temporary state or brief activity.

The fact that some, but not all, verbs mark the aspectual difference of 'frequency' and 'degree of affectedness' (permanent vs. temporary) by a change in the tone-stress helps explain some of the tone-stress variety.

Without going into further detail, I will simply note that many more such

variations have been found in the third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL paradigms. Similar variations are also found with Class B and C verbs.

The reasons why some verbs have alternate tone-stresses and others do not, and why only some of the verbs which have alternatives should convey aspectual differences must await future research.

The 'standardised' tone-stress that is supplied in the following paradigms is the tone-stress that is most wide-spread; that is, it is the tone-stress for which there is no alternative in some verbs, or in others verbs, it is a valid possibility, although perhaps not the preferred choice.<8> This approach has helped reduce the proliferation of paradigms, but as will be seen below, the picture is still by no means simple.

4.1.1.2 Inflection of Class B Verbs

A prototypical Class B verb is characterised by a single form for all cells in the non-third-person part of the verb matrix. There are a few exceptions, which are presented at the end of this section. Of the 607 dynamic verbs in my corpus, 139, or about 23% are Class B verbs.

The matrix for Class B verbs is set out in Table 4.5; it is based on the reorganised matrix of Class A verbs found in Table 4.3.

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	3	Non-3
PRESENT	+	+
FUTURE	+	PRES
REMOTE PAST	+	PRES
AMBULATIVE	+	PRES
HORTATIVE	+	(PRES)
EVIDENTIAL	+	PRES
HODIERNAL PAST	+	PRES
ANDATIVE	+	PRES
PROHIBITIVE	----	(PRES)
PROGRESSIVE	PRES	PRES
MOTION	PRES	PRES
INTENTIVE	FUT	PRES
VENITIVE	ANDT	PRES
EXHORTATIVE	xxx	(PRES)
IMPERATIVE	xxx	(PRES)
CONTINUOUS	----	----

Although the hortative, prohibitive, imperative, and exhortative forms in the column labelled 'Non-3' are identical to any non-third-person present form (for example, the 2-PRES), the hortative can only be used with the first-person, the prohibitive and imperative can only be used with the second-person, and the exhortative can only be used with the second-person and 1PL; this is indicated in Table 4.5 by placing the tone-stress referent in parentheses: (PRES).

When paradigms for Class B verbs are supplied, the arrangement set out in Table 4.5 is followed. However, since the tone-stress inflection of the prohibitive, progressive, motion, intentive, venitive, exhortative, imperative, and continuous forms are identical to the tone-stress inflection of forms elsewhere (or are non-governing, or non-functional; see §4.1.1.1), they are ignored (for example, see Table 4.6 below).

Two examples of the possible variety of tone-stress paradigms found in Class B monosyllabic verbs are set out in Table 4.6, ignoring the segmental elements and the prefixes. For consistency in the comparison, both verbs are TI, and they do not undergo phonological changes in the root. The tone-stress inflection for the non-third-person hortative is in parentheses since it can only be used with the first-person.

Table 4.6 Examples of Tone-stress Inflection on Class B Transitive Inanimate Verbs

<i>rauh</i> ³² 'embroider'	3	non-3	<i>tsunh</i> ² 'wreck'	3	non-3
PRES	c32	b1	PRES	c2	c21
FUT	b32	b1	FUT	c3	c21
AMB	c21	b1	AMB	c1	c21
PAST	c3	b1	PAST	c3	c21
HORT	c21	(b1)	HORT	c1	(c21)
EVID	c21	b1	EVID	c1	c21
HOD	b32	b1	HOD	c3	c21
ANDT	b1	b1	ANDT	c3	c21

A tone 1, 13 or 21 in the 1PL-PRES, is usually diagnostic of a Class B verb. A few Class C verbs also exhibit these tones in the 1PL-PRES. If the verb in question cannot collocate with *lɛ̀2-* (HOD), it is a Class C verb; howev-

er, if it can collocate with $l\acute{a}^2-$, it is a Class B verb.

At the beginning of §4.1.1.2, I stated that a prototypical Class B verb is characterised by a single form for all cells in the non-third-person part of the verb's paradigm. There are seven known exceptions to this generalisation:⁹

1. The verb *cah*²³ 'win, gain' (TI) exhibits vocalic modification in 2SG (§4.1.6). It is also the only Class B verb that is unable to collocate with $l\acute{a}^2-$ (HOD), thus resembling the majority of Class C verbs.
2. The verb *má*²*hon*¹ 'assist' (TA) exhibits vocalic modification in 1SG.
3. The verb *quiaum*²³ 'impress, force to carry' (DA[^]I) exhibits two possible tone-stress paradigms for second-person: one option is inflection set I-b paradigm P2, and the other is paradigm P18 (§4.1.2.2).
4. The verb *ñi*²*tsá*¹ 'mount' (IA) exhibits inflection set I-b paradigm P2 only in the 1PL, but paradigm P1 elsewhere.
5. The 1SG of *tsáih*³² 'burn' (TA[^]I) exhibits two possible tone-stress paradigms for 1SG, one option being inflection set I-b paradigm P2, the other being inflection set I-c paradigm P7. In addition, if paradigm P7 is utilised, the nucleus of 1PL and second-person are alike (*tsah*¹), and that of 1SG and third-person are alike.
6. The verb *jienh*³² 'return, hand over' (DI[^]I) exhibits inflection set I-c paradigm P3 for the 1SG, but inflection set I-b paradigm P1 for second-person and 1PL.
7. The 2-PROH of *má*² *jái*³² 'lie' (IA) is *má*² *jái*² instead of the expected *má*² *jai*²¹ (see §4.3 on binomial verbs).

4.1.1.3 Inflection of Class C Verbs

The prototypical Class C verb is characterised by a single tone-stress paradigm for all grammatical persons, that of the third-person; see Figure 4.1.

The quickest diagnostic of a Class C verb is to check the tone-stress of the 1PL-PRES (which is the same as the 3-PRES; see Table 4.7). The 1PL-PRES of a class C verb exhibits seven possible tone-stresses: b2, c2, b3, c3,

b23, c23, and c32. The four level tones are unique to Class C verbs in the 1PL-PRES; the other three contour tones are also found in Class A verbs. If the tone-stress is one of the contour tones, the verb may be either Class C or Class A. If the verb under consideration cannot collocate with $l\dot{\bar{2}}$ - (HOD), it is a Class C verb. If the verb can collocate with $l\dot{\bar{2}}$ -, but exhibits the same tone-stress for the present of the 1PL, 1SG, second and third-person, it is a Class C verb. Otherwise, it is a Class A verb. Of the 607 dynamic verbs in my corpus, 146, or 24% are Class C verbs.

The matrix for Class C verbs is set out in Table 4.7; it is based on the reorganised matrix of Class A verbs found in Table 4.3. Unlike Class A and B verbs, the hortative is found with all persons. The prohibitive and imperative of Class C verbs is generally dependent on the presence of the hortative prefix, which governs the tone-stress inflection, thus these two inflectional parameters are indicated by ----. The referent for the exhortative is in parentheses to indicate that it is used only with the second-person and 1PL (see Table 4.3).

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	All Grammatical Persons
PRESENT	+
FUTURE	+
REMOTE PAST	+
AMBULATIVE	+
HORTATIVE	+
EVIDENTIAL	+
HODIERNAL PAST	+
ANDATIVE	+
PROHIBITIVE	----
PROGRESSIVE	PRES
MOTION	PRES
INTENTIVE	FUT
VENITIVE	ANDT
EXHORTATIVE	(PAST)
IMPERATIVE	----
CONTINUOUS	----

When paradigms for Class C verbs are supplied, the arrangement set out

in Table 4.7 is followed. However, since the tone-stress inflection of the prohibitive, progressive, motion, intentive, venitive, exhortative, imperative, and continuous forms are identical to forms elsewhere in the paradigm, (or are non-governing; see §4.1.1.1), they are ignored; for example, see Table 4.8 below.

As mentioned above, the formation of the imperative and prohibitive of Class C verbs generally differs from that of Class A and B verbs.

The imperative of most Class C verbs is replaced by the hortative; that is, most Class C verbs do not have an imperative tone-stress inflection (in Class A and B verbs, however, the hortative cannot be used with the second-person; see Table 4.3). For example:

- (12) *Cuí¹-jenh² nú² renh² jéh³ jmí²-ngí³.*
 HORT-meet^{TA}2 you^{SG} sibling² gully water-choko
 '(May you) meet your sibling at Choko gully.'

Generally, the sense of this construction is not like a true imperative, but is subjunctive in force. The few irregular Class C verbs which have an imperative inflection will be noted in the forthcoming Chinantec Dictionary.

The prohibitive of most Class C verbs requires the hortative prefix *cuí¹-* on the verb; for example:

- (13) *Lí² cuí¹-cáin² nú² ñú¹.*
 PROH HORT-get^{behind}IA² you^{SG} friend
 'Don't get behind, mate.'

Since it is the innermost prefix (the hortative *cuí¹-*) which influences the tone-stress on the verb, I have eliminated the prohibitive inflectional parameter from Table 4.7 above as redundant. The few irregular verbs where the prohibitive does not require *cuí¹-*, and consequently the tone-stress of the prohibitive must be supplied, will be noted in the forthcoming Chinantec dictionary.

A few examples of the possible variety of tone-stress paradigms found in Class C monosyllabic verbs are set out in Table 4.8, ignoring the segmental elements and the prefixes. For consistency in the comparison, all the following verbs are IA, and they do not undergo phonological changes.

Table 4.8 Examples of Tone-stress Inflection of Class C Verbs

<i>ranh</i> ³²	All	<i>son</i> ²	All	<i>cuoun</i> ³²	All
'fly'	Persons	'descend'	Persons	'sleep'	Persons
PRES	c32	PRES	c2	PRES	c32
FUT	c13	FUT	c13	FUT	b32
PAST	c32	PAST	c2	PAST	b2
AMB	c13	AMB	c1	AMB	c21
HORT	c32	HORT	c2	HORT	b2
EVID	c21	EVID	c2	EVID	c21
HOD	c32	HOD	c2	HOD	b2
ANDT	c32	ANDT	c2	ANDT	b2

Of the 146 Class C verbs in my corpus, 140 cannot take the hodiernal past prefix and the set of directional prefixes. All intransitive inanimate (II) verbs are defective. The defective non-II verbs do not appear to form a semantic class. Examples are: *csín*² 'get behind' (IA), *juénh*² 'be frightened' (IA), *jenh*² 'meet' (TA), *loh*² 'harvest' (TI), *rónh*³² 'manage' (TI), and *hín*²³ 'believe' (TI).

At the beginning of §4.1.1.3, I stated that a prototypical Class C verb is characterised by a single tone-stress paradigm for third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL. There are three irregular verbs which do not follow this generalisation:

1. The verbs *rónh*³² 'manage' (TI) and *tióh*³² 'manage to' (TI) follow inflection set I-a paradigm P42 only in third-person and 1SG; whereas second-person and 1PL follow I-a paradigm P35.

2. The third-person paradigm of *tsoh*² 'finish' (TI) governs the tone-stress of all the respective inflectional parameters for second-person, 1SG, and 1PL, except in the past, where it governs only the tone-stress of the 1SG; the tone-stress for 2-PAST and 1PL-PAST are identical to each other but different from that of 3-PAST.

4.1.2 Inflection Set Paradigms

In this section, the various paradigms found in the inflection sets I-a, I-b, I-c, and I-d (Figure 4.1) are charted; the paradigms found in each inflection set are labelled P1, P2 etc. Following the presentation of the paradigms,

I have charted the paradigmatic combinations.

Tone-stress alternatives are supplied in the paradigm Tables. Alternatives which are not in parentheses are valid for all verbs; alternatives in parentheses are only valid for some verbs.<10>

The row labelled 'Quant' indicates the number of verbs in the corpus which follow that paradigm. The row labelled 'V-Chng' indicates the number of verbs of that paradigm which exhibit vocalic change with respect to the nucleus of the 3-PRES base form. Vocalic change is discussed in §4.1.6.

4.1.2.1 Inflection Set I-a Paradigms

Seventy-four inflection set I-a (Figure 4.1) tone-stress paradigms have been identified. Inflection set I-a is the set of third-person tone-stress paradigms for Class A and B verbs; but it is the set of tone-stress paradigms for all grammatical persons for Class C verbs.

The symbol xx in Table 4.9 indicates that no form exists for that inflectional parameter in any of the verbs which follow that paradigm (defective paradigms are characteristic of Class C verbs; see §4.1.1.3).

Table 4.9 Inflection Set I-a Paradigms

PRES	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10
FUT	b1	b1	c1	b2	b2	b2	b2	b2	c2	c2
PAST	b1	c21	c1	b2	b2	c3	b13	b13	c2	c3
AMB	b1	b1	c1	b2	b13	b13	xx	b13	c2	b3
HORT	b1	b1	c1	b2	b2	b2	b2	b2	c1	c1
EVID	b1	c21	c1	b2	b2	b13	b2	b13	c2	c1/(c13)
HOD	b1	c21	c1	b2	b2	c3	xx	b2	c2	c1
ANDT	b1	xx	c1	b2	b2	b2	xx	b2	c2	b3
Quant	3	6	9	2	2	1	5	4	9	19
V-Chng	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	17
PRES	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18		
FUT	c2/(b23)	c2/(c23)	c2	c2	c2	c2	c2	c2		
PAST	c3/(b3)	c3	b13	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13		
AMB	c3/b3	c3	b32	c2	c2	c2	c2	c2		
HORT	c1/b13	c1/(c13)	xx	c1	c13/(c1)	c1	c13	c13		
EVID	c1/b13	c1/(c13)	c2	c2	c2	b2	c2	c13		
HOD	c1/b13	c1/(c13)	xx	c2	c2	c13/(c1)	c1	c2		
ANDT	b3/c3	c3	xx	c2	c2	xx	xx	xx		
Quant	2	50	1	13	23	1	1	1		
V-Chng	2	5	0	1	17	0	1	0		

	P19	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	
PRES	c2	c2	c2	b3	b3	c3	b23	b23	b23	
FUT	c13	b32	b32	b3	b3	c3	b3	b3	b3	
PAST	b32	b3	b3	b3	b3	c3	b3	b3	b3	
AMB	xx	b32	b32	b13	b13	c13/(c1)	b13	b13	b13	
HORT	c2	b32	b32	b3	b13	c3	b13	b13	b13	
EVID	c13	c13	c21	b3	b13	c3	b13	b13	b13	
HOD	xx	b32	b32	b3	xx	c3	b3	b3	b3	
ANDT	xx	b32	b32	b3/(c32)	xx	c3	c1	b2	b3	
Quant	1	2	1	4	1	7	1	4	64	
V-Chng	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	14	
	P28	P29	P30	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36	P37
PRES	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23
FUT	b3	b3	b3	b3	b3	b3	c3	b13	b13	b13
PAST	b3	b3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	b2	c3	b13
AMB	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	xx	b13	xx	b13	b13
HORT	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b2	b13	b13
EVID	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	c21	b13	xx	c21	b13
HOD	b3	b3	b3	b3	b3	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
ANDT	c21	c32/(b3)	b2	b3	c32	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
Quant	1	30	1	2	5	1	2	1	3	5
V-Chng	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
	P38	P39	P40	P41	P42	P43	P44	P45	P46	
PRES	c23	c23	c23	c23	c21	b32	b32	b32	b32	
FUT	c3	c13	c13	c13	c21	c3	c21	b32	b32	
PAST	c3	c2	c3	c13	c21	b32	c21	b3	c3	
AMB	c1/c13	xx	xx	c13	c21	c13/(b32)	xx	b32	xx	
HORT	c1/c13	c2	c13	c13	c21	c13	c21	b32	b32	
EVID	c1/c13	xx	c1	xx	c21	b32	b32	b32	xx	
HOD	c3	xx	c3	xx	c21	b32	xx	b32	xx	
ANDT	c3/(c2/c1)	xx	xx	xx	c21	b3	xx	c3	xx	
Quant	58	2	1	2	4	11	2	1	1	
V-Chng	14	0	1	1	2	11	2	1	0	
	P47	P48	P49	P50	P51	P52	P53	P54	P55	
PRES	b32	b32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	
FUT	b32/(c3)	b32	c13	c13	b3	c3	c21	b32	b32	
PAST	b32	b32	c32	c32	b2	c3	b32	b2/(c2)	b2	
AMB	b32/(c13)	b32	c13	c21	xx	c21	xx	c21	c21	
HORT	b32/(c13)	b32	c32	c32	c21	c13	c21	c21	b2	
EVID	b32/(c13)	b32	c21	c21	xx	c21	xx	c21	c21	
HOD	b32	b32	c32	c32	xx	b32	xx	xx	b2	
ANDT	c3/(b32)	b32	c32	c32	xx	b3	xx	xx	b2	
Quant	88	3	1	5	1	1	6	11	2	
V-Chng	63	0	0	0	1	1	6	3	1	

	P56	P57	P58	P59	P60	P61	P62	P63	P64	P65
PRES	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32
FUT	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32	b32
PAST	c2	b3	b3	b3/(c3)	b3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3
AMB	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	xx	xx	c21	c21	c21
HORT	c2	b2	c21	c21	c21	b2	c21	b13	b32	c21
EVID	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21
HOD	c2	b2	b32	b32	b32	xx	c3	c3	b32	b32
ANDT	c2	b2	c1	b2/(c2)	c32	xx	xx	xx	b32	b1
Quant	1	1	2	34	1	1	3	2	1	18
V-Chng	1	0	1	5	0	1	1	2	1	10
	P66	P67		P68			P69			P70
PRES	c32	c32		c32			c32			c32
FUT	b32	b32		b32			b32			b32
PAST	c3	c3		c3			c3			b32
AMB	c21	c21/(b13)		c21/(b13/c13)			c21/(c13)			c21
HORT	c21	c21/(b13)		c21/(b13/c13)			c21/(c13)			c21
EVID	c21	c21		c21/(b13/c13)			c21/(c13)			c21
HOD	b32	b32/(b3)		b32			b32			b32
ANDT	c1	b3/(c2/c32)		c3/(b3/b32/c2/c32)			c32/(b2/c2)			c2/c3
Quant	3	26		15			5			14
V-Chng	1	18		7			1			0
	P71	P72	P73	P74						
PRES	c32	c32	c32	c32						
FUT	b32	b32	c32	c32						
PAST	b32	c32	c3	c32						
AMB	c21	xx	xx	c21						
HORT	c21	c32	c32	c32						
EVID	c21	xx	c32	c32						
HOD	b32	xx	xx	c32						
ANDT	b2	xx	xx	c32						
Quant	1	1	1	2						
V-Chng	1	0	1	0						

Paradigm P12 in Table 4.9 is representative of how alternative paradigms have been combined. Included in P12 are verbs in which the PRES may have (i) only tone-stress c2, or (ii) either c2 or c23, with one verb preferring c2 and another c23; similar choices are found for the AMB, HORT, EVID, and ANDT. If c23 is the preferred option for the PRES, then the tendency is that c13 will be the preferred option for the AMB, HORT, and EVID. Similarly, if c2 is the only or the preferred option for the PRES, then c1 tends to be the only or the preferred option for the AMB, HORT, and EVID. However, there are verbs in which the opposite holds true. In the ANDT, generally tone-stress c3 is

preferred, and in many verbs it is the only option; however, in some verbs, c2 is the preferred option. A preference for c3 or c2 in the ANDT does not appear to correlate to the remainder of the paradigm.

The seven paradigms in Table 4.10 have been combined into paradigm P12 in Table 4.9 above.

Table 4.10 Inflection Set I-a Paradigms Incorporated into Paradigm P12

PRES	c2	c2	c2	c2	c2/c23	c23/2	c23/2
FUT	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3
PAST	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3
AMB	c1	c1	c1/c13	c1/c13	c1	c13/c1	c13/c1
HORT	c1	c1	c1/c13	c1/c13	c1	c13/c1	c13/c1
EVID	c1	c1	c1/c13	c1/c13	c1	c13/c1	c13/c1
HOD	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3	c3
ANDT	c3	c3/c2	c3	c3/c2	c3	c3	c3/2

Not fully differentiated in Table 4.10 above are those verbs which share the same set of alternatives, with one verb exhibiting a preference for one alternative, and another verb exhibiting a preference for the other alternative. As can be seen from this one combined paradigm, if all the variations were to be mapped separately, there would be many more paradigms than have been charted in Table 4.9.

Eight I-a paradigms (P1, P3, P5, P9, P22, P24, P42, and P74) occur exclusively on the final syllable of disyllabic verbs. Of the 88 verbs which exhibit paradigm P47, 3 are disyllabic. By comparing the paradigms in Table 4.9 above, it can be seen that the final syllables of disyllabic verbs tend to exhibit simpler tone-stress paradigms relative to the paradigms of monosyllabic verbs. Disyllabic verbs are discussed further in §4.1.5.

Two I-a paradigms, P2 and P64, occur exclusively with the 3PL of verbs which exhibit an inflectional distinction between 3SG and 3PL. The paradigms P1 and P26 occur in both the 3PL and non-differentiated third-person.

Several of the inflection set I-a paradigms are unique to either Class A, B or C verbs. For example, paradigms P10, P29, and P67 are unique to Class A verbs; paradigms P9, P22, P48, P65, and P66 are unique to Class B verbs;

and P7, P14, P36, P37, P50, P58, and P54 are unique to Class C verbs. However, there is also a fair degree of overlap, as illustrated in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Inflection Set I-a Paradigms Shared by Class A, B, and C Verbs

Class A	Class B	Class C
	P3	P3
P8		P8
P12	P12	P12
P15	P15	P15
	P24	P24
P27		P27
P32		P32
P38	P38	P38
	P42	P42
P43		P43
P47	P47	
P59		P59
P68	P68	
P69	P69	
P70		P70

Because of this overlap of paradigms across the verb classes, I have combined the third-person paradigms of all three verb classes into the single inflection set I-a.

4.1.2.2 Inflection Set I-b Paradigms

Inflection set I-b (Figure 4.1) is the set of second-person paradigms for Class A verbs; but it is the set of non-third-person paradigms for Class B verbs. Inflection set I-b is not relevant to Class C verbs.

Thirty-nine inflection set I-b paradigms have been identified; see Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Inflection Set I-b Paradigms

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10
PRES	b1	c1	b13	c13	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23	b23
FUT	b1	c1	b13	c13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13
PAST	b1	c1	b13	c13	c1	c1	c1	b2	c2	c2
AMB	b1	c1	b13	c13	b13/c21	b13	b13/(c21)	b13	b13	b13
PROH	b1	c1	b13	c13	b2	c2	b3	b2	b3	c3
Quant	31	72	9	8	7	1	10	1	4	1
V-Chng	17	40	1	0	7	0	9	1	4	1

	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18	P19
PRES	b23	b23	b23	b23/(c32)	b23	b23	b23	c23	c23
FUT	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	c13	c13
PAST	b3	b3	c3	c21	c21	c32	c32	c1	c1
AMB	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	b13	c13	c13
PROH	c2	b3/(b2)	c2	c2/(b2)	b3	b3	c3	c1	c3
Quant	2	35	1	5	1	3	1	6	13
V-Chng	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	6	7
	P20	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	
PRES	c23	c23	c23	c23	c23	c23	c23	c23/(c32)	
FUT	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13	
PAST	c2	c2	c2	c3	c21	c21/(c32)	c32	c32	
AMB	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13	c13/(c21)	c13	c13	
PROH	c2	b3	c3	c3	c3	c21	c3	c32	
Quant	9	1	27	32	17	3	23	6	
V-Chng	2	1	7	13	0	0	7	0	
	P28	P29	P30		P31				
PRES	c21	b32	b32		b32/(c32)				
FUT	c21	c21	c21/(b1)		c21				
PAST	c21	b3/c1	c3/(c1)		b32/(c32)				
AMB	c21	c21/b32	c21/(b32/c13)		c21/(b32)				
PROH	c21	b32	b32		b32/(c32)				
Quant	26	1	36		3				
V-Chng	0	1	17		3				
	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36	P37	P38	P39	
PRES	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	c32	
FUT	b1	b1	b1	b1	b1	c1	c21	c21	
PAST	b1	b2	b3	c3/(c1)	c21	b3/(c3)	c3	c3	
AMB	c21	c21	c21	c21	c21/b1	c21/(b13)	xx	c21/b32	
PROH	b2	b2	b2	b2/(c2)	b2	c32	c32	b3	
Quant	26	11	15	7	2	3	2	1	
V-Chng	8	11	10	5	0	2	2	1	

4.1.2.3 Inflection Sets I-c and I-d Paradigms

Inflection sets I-c and I-d (Figure 4.1) apply only to Class A verbs, corresponding to the 1SG and 1PL paradigms respectively.

There are seven I-c (1SG) paradigms; see Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 Inflection Set I-c (1SG) Paradigms

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7
PRES	c2	c2	b23	c23	c23/(c32)	b32	c32/(c23)
FUT	c1	c1	b13	c13	c13/(c21)	c21	c21/(c13)
PAST	c3	b32	b3	c2	c3/(b32)	b32	b32/(c32)
Quant	25	33	69	8	10	36	129
V-Chng	4	21	3	0	3	3	18

There are three I-d (1PL) paradigms; see Table 4.14.

Table 4.14 Inflection Set I-d (1PL) Paradigms

	P1	P2	P3
PRES	b23/c32	c23	b32
FUT	b13	c13	c21
Quant	131	144	38
V-Chng	23	31	3

From Tables 4.9, 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14 it can be seen that there are constraints on the 13 tone-stresses which potentially occur with each inflectional parameter in each inflection set (tone-stress b21 is predictable; see §4.1.1). These are charted in Table 4.15:

Table 4.15 Tone-stress Inflections Found with each Inflectional Parameter

Inflectional Parameter	Tone-Stress Inflections, Inflection Set I-a											
PRES	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b23	c23	c21	b32	c32	
FUT	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	
PAST	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	
AMB	b1	c1	b2	b13	c13	c21	b32					
HORT	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	
EVID	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	
HOD	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	c21	b32	c32			
ANDT	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	c21	b32	c32			

Inflectional Parameter	Tone-Stress Inflections, Inflection Set I-b											
PRES	b1	c1	b13	c13	b23	c23	c21	b32	c32			
FUT	b1	c1	b13	c13	c21							
PAST	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	
AMB	b1	c1	b13	c13	c21	b32						
PROH	b1	c1	b2	c2	b3	c3	b13	c13	c21	b32	c32	

Inflectional Parameter	Tone-Stress Inflections, Inflection Set I-c											
PRES			c2	b23	c23	b32	c32					
FUT	c1	b13	c13	c21								
PAST			c2	b3	c3	b32	c32					

Inflectional Parameter	Tone-Stress Inflections, Inflection Set I-d											
PRES												
FUT					b13	c13	b23	c23	b32	c32		
								c21				

From Table 4.15 it can be seen that:

(i) no more than 11 of the 13 possible tone-stresses occur with any given inflectional parameter;

(ii) the tone-stresses b23 and c23 are unique to the present tense in every inflection set.

4.1.2.4 Paradigmatic Combinations for Class A Verbs

In Table 4.16, the combinations of the inflection set paradigms found in Class A verbs are charted. The column under QNT refers to the number of verbs in the corpus which exhibit that paradigm; TRAN refers to the verb's transitivity valence, together with the quantity of verbs with that valence; TA[^]I, DA[^]I, and DI[^]I indicates inverse cross-referencing on a transitive or ditransitive verb (§4.1.8.7 and §8.1.4); PHON gives the number of verb roots which exhibit some kind of phonological change (§4.1.6). The symbol xx for 1SG indicates that no forms exist; the verb permits plural subjects only (§4.1.4).

Recall that for Class A verbs, inflection sets I-a, I-b, I-c, and I-d correspond to the set of third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL paradigms respectively.

Table 4.16 Combinations of 3, 2, 1SG, and 1PL Paradigms for Class A Verbs

....Paradigms.....				QNT	PHON	TRAN-QNT
I-a	I-b	I-c	I-d			
3	2	1SG	1PL			
6	34	7	1	1	1	TA-1
8	33	3	1	1	1	TI-1
8	34	3	1	1		TI-1
10	13	2	1	1		TI-1
10	29	6	3	1	1	TI-1
10	32	2	1	8	8	IA-1 TI-7
10	34	2	1	1	1	IA-1
10	35	2	1	7	6	IA-2 TI-5
10	39	2	1	1	1	TI-1
11	23	5	2	1	1	TI-1
11	30	2	1	1	1	TI-1
12	19	7	2	4		TA [^] I-3 TA [^] I/DA [^] I-1
12	22	1	2	1		TA [^] I/DA [^] I-1
12	22	7	2	10	5	TA/TI-1 TA [^] I-8 DA-1
12	23	1	2	14		TA-6 TA/TI-1 TI-4 TA [^] I-1 TA/DA-2
12	24	7	2	10		TA-6 TA/DA-3 DA [^] I-1

12	25	7	2	:	1		TA-1
12	26	7	2	:	3		TA-3
15	9	7	1	:	1	1	TI-1
15	20	3	1	:	1	1	TA^I-1
15	21	7	2	:	1	1	TI-1
15	22	7	2	:	3	3	TA^I-3
15	26	7	2	:	5	3	TA-2 TI-1 TA/DA-2
15	33	2	1	:	1	1	TI-1
15	34	3	1	:	1		TI/DI-1
20	31	6	3	:	1	1	TI/DI-1
21	31	6	3	:	1	1	TI-1
25	37	1	1	:	1	1	TA-1
26	8	3	1	:	1	1	TA^I-1
27	12	3	1	:	2		TA-1 TA^I-1
27	16	7	1	:	1		IA-1
27	30	6	3	:	30	14	TI-11 TI/DI-1 DI-18
27	30	xx	3	:	2		TI-1 TA-1
28	15	7	1	:	1		TI/DI-1
29	11	3	1	:	1		TI-1
29	12	3	1	:	28		IA-4 TI-22 DI-2
29	30	xx	3	:	1		TI-1
30	12	7	1	:	1	1	TI-1
31	16	3	1	:	1	1	TI-1
31	33	3	1	:	1	1	TI-1
38	17	7	2	:	1	1	TA-1
38	22	7	2	:	8	8	TA^I-8
38	23	5	2	:	2	1	TA-1 DI-1
38	24	7	2	:	6		TI-1 TA/TI-1 TA-4
38	26	7	2	:	15	4	TI-2 TA-11 TA/DA-2
38	27	7	2	:	5		TI-4 TA-1
43	33	2	1	:	4	4	IA-1 TI-3
43	34	2	1	:	5	5	TI-4 DI-1
43	34	2	2	:	1	1	TI-1
47	2	7	2	:	1	1	TA^I-1
47	10	7	2	:	1	1	TA-1
47	18	7	2	:	3	3	TA-2 TA^I-1
47	19	7	2	:	12	10	TA-7 TA^I-5
47	20	7	2	:	1	1	TA^I-1
47	22	1	2	:	1	1	TA^I-1
47	22	7	2	:	3	3	TA-2 TA^1-1
47	23	1	2	:	9	9	TA-7 TA^I-1 DA-1
47	23	2	2	:	1	1	TA-1
47	30	6	3	:	1		IA-1
52	33	2	1	:	1	1	TI-1
58	37	1	2	:	1		DI-1
58	37	5	2	:	1	1	DI-1
59	1	3	1	:	1		TI-1
59	3	3	1	:	1		DI^I-1
59	12	3	1	:	2		TI-1 TI/DI-1
59	32	3	1	:	17		IA-1 IA/TI-1 TI-12 DI-2 DI^I-1
59	33	3	1	:	1	1	TI-1
59	34	3	1	:	4	1	TI-4
60	11	3	1	:	1		DI-1
67	5	7	1	:	6	6	TI-6
67	6	7	1	:	1		TI-1
67	7	7	1	:	9	8	TI-9
67	9	7	1	:	3	3	TA-1 TI-1 TI/DI-1
67	14	7	1	:	4		TI-4
67	16	7	1	:	1	1	TI-1
67	36	7	1	:	2		IA-1 TI-1

68	7	7	1		1	1	TI-1
68	14	7	1		1		TI-1
68	20	4	2		6	1	IA-1 TA-4 TA/DA-1
68	23	5	2		5	4	TA-1 TI-1 DA-3
68	30	6	3		1	1	DA-1
69	12	3	1		2		TI-2
69	20	4	2		1		TA-1
69	34	3	1		1	1	TI-1
70	22	4	2		1		TA-1
71	33	3	1		1	1	TI-1

4.1.2.5 Summary of Class A Verb Tone-stress Paradigms

The total number of paradigms found for each person category for Class A verbs are set out in Table 4.17:

Table 4.17 Class A Verb Tone-stress Paradigms Summary

I-a (3)	-----	27 paradigms
I-b (2)	-----	36 paradigms
I-c (1SG)	-----	7 paradigms
I-d (1PL)	-----	3 paradigms

The totals for each transitivity type for Class A verbs are set out in Table 4.18:

Table 4.18 Class A Verb Transitivity Types

TRAN	QNT	
IA	14	— 4.5%
IA/TI	1	
TI	135	— 43.4%
TA/TI	3	
TA^I	68	┌ 33.8%
TI/DI	37	└
TA/DA	5	
TA^I/DA^I	10	
DI	2	
DI^I	27	┌ 9.3%
DA	2	└
DA^I	6	┌ 2.3%
	1	└
TOTAL	311	

From Table 4.18 above it can be seen that in Class A, type 'I' verbs (TI and DI) are more common than type 'A' verbs (TA and DA): 52.7% vs. 36.1% respectively.

4.1.2.6 Paradigmatic Combinations for Class B Verbs

For Class B verbs, inflection sets I-a and I-b correspond to the set of third-person and non-third-person paradigms respectively; see Figure 4.1.

Only I-b paradigms P1, P2, P3, P4, and P28 (see Table 4.12) are found in the non-third-person. Among Class B verbs, only those which exhibit second-person paradigms P1 or P2 potentially undergo vocalic change as part of the inflection (§4.1.6); 17 of the 29 Class B verbs which exhibit paradigm P1 and 38 of the 69 Class B verbs which exhibit paradigm P2 undergo vocalic change with respect to the 3-PRES base form.

The combinations of inflection set I-a (the third-person paradigms) with inflection set I-b (the non-third-person paradigms) are set out in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 Combinations of Third-person and Non-third-person Paradigms for Class B Verbs

Paradigms		QNT	PHON	TRAN-QNT
I-a	I-b			
3	non-3			
1	1	2	1	TA-1 TI-1
3	2	3		TA-2 TA [^] I-1
3	28	2		TA-1 TI-1
4	3	1		TI-1
5	3	2		TI-2
9	2	1		TI-1
9	3	2		TI-1 TA/TI-1
9	4	6		TA/TI-1 TA-2 TA [^] I-3
12	2	1		TA [^] I-1
12	28	3		TI-2 TA/TI-1
15	1	7	6	TI-7
22	1	2		TI-2
22	3	2		IA-1 TI-1
24	2	3	2	TA-2 TA [^] I-1
24	4	1		TA-1
24	28	1		DI-1
38	2	3	1	TA [^] I-1 DA [^] I-2
38	28	12		TA-3 TI-3 TA/TI-1 DI-2 DA-2
41	2	1	1	TI-1
41	28	1		TI-1
45	2	1	1	TA-1
47	2	52	33	TA-14 TI-5 TA/TI-1 TA [^] I-13 DA-13 DA [^] I-6
47	28	3		IA-1 TA-1 TA [^] I-1
48	28	3		IA-1 TI-1 DI-1
65	1	18	10	TI-18
66	2	3		IA-2 TI-1
68	2	1		TA-1
69	28	1		TI-1
74	4	1		DA-1

There are a few tendencies that can be extracted from Table 4.19 above:

(i) Non-third-person paradigm P2 (tone-stress c1) is found in 69 Class B verbs (50%), 61 of which are animate.

(ii) Of the 32 Class B inverse cross-reference verbs in my corpus, 25 utilise non-third-person paradigm P2.

4.1.2.7 Summary of Class B Verb Tone-stress Paradigms

The total number of paradigms found for each person category for Class B verbs are set out in Table 4.20 (not inclusive of the exceptions for non-third-person outlined in §4.1.1.2 above):

Table 4.20 Class B Verb Tone-stress Paradigms Summary

I-a (3)	-----	20 paradigms
I-b (non-3)	-----	5 paradigms

The totals for each transitivity type for Class B verbs are set out in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21 Class B Verb Transitivity Types

TRAN	QNT		
IA	5	—	3.6%
TI	51	—	36.7%
TA/TI	5		
TA	29	┌	36.0%
TA^I	21	└	
DI	4	—	2.9%
DA	16	┌	17.3%
DA^I	8	└	
TOTAL	139		

From Table 4.21 it can be seen that in Class B, type 'A' verbs (TA and DA) are more common than type 'I' verbs (TI and DI): 53.3% vs. 39.6% respectively, which is the opposite of Class A verbs.

4.1.2.8 Class C Verb Paradigms

For Class C verbs, inflection set I-a (see Figure 4.1) corresponds to the set of paradigms for all grammatical persons. All intransitive inanimate (II) verbs are Class C; their special characteristics are discussed in §4.1.3.

Table 4.22 Transitivity Types for Class C Verbs

Paradigms I-a	QNT	PHON	TRAN-QNT
3	4	1	IA-2 II-2
4	1		IA-1
7	5		IA-1 II-4
8	2		IA-1 TA/TI-1
12	3		IA/II-1 II-2
13	1		II-1
14	13	1	IA-1 II-10 TA-1 TA [^] I-1
15	3	1	II-2 TI-1
16	1		IA-1
17	1	1	IA-1
18	1		IA-1
19	1	1	TI-1
20	1		II-1
23	1		IA-1
24	2		II-1 TI-1
29	29		IA-3 II-25 TA-1
32	4		IA-2 II-2
34	2		IA-1 II-1
35	1		II-1
36	3		II-3
37	5		IA-1 II-2 TI-1 TA-1
38	4	1	IA-3 II-1
39	2		II-2
41	1		II-1
42	3	2	II-1 TI-2
43	1	1	II-1
44	2	2	TI-1
46	1		II-1
49	1		IA-1
50	5		IA-3 II-2
51	1	1	II-2
53	6		II-6
54	11	3	IA-1 II-9 IA/II-1
55	1		IA-1
59	6	3	IA-1 II-5
62	2		II-2
70	12		IA-1 II-8 TA-3
72	1		II-1
73	1		II-1
74	1		TI-1

4.1.2.9 Summary of Class C Verb Tone-stress Paradigms

A total of 40 paradigms have been identified in Class C, 7 of which are found only in the final syllable of disyllabic verbs (P3, P4, P24, P42, P46, P73, and P74).

The totals for each transitivity type for Class C verbs are set out in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23 Class C Verb Transitivity Types

TRAN	QNT	
IA	28	— 19.2%
II	100	— 68.5%
IA/II	2	
TA	6] 4.8%
TA^I	1	
TA/TI	1	
TI	8	— 5.5%
TOTAL	146	

From Table 4.23 above it can be seen that Class C verbs are predominantly II. The proportion of IA verbs is significantly greater than that of either TA or TI verbs; in contrast, IA verbs comprise a rather small percentage of Class A and B verbs (Tables 4.18 and 4.21 above). There are no known examples of Class C ditransitive verbs.

4.1.3 Intransitive Inanimate Verbs

All the II verbs in my corpus are defective like the majority of other Class C verbs; that is, they cannot collocate with the hodiernal or directional prefixes. Some II verbs are defective for additional inflectional parameters such as the ambulative and/or the evidential.

Many of the 100 intransitive inanimate (II) verbs in my corpus follow existing inflection set I-a paradigms; for example, P3, P8, P12, P15, P24, P27, etc. (see Table 4.11). The paradigmatic designation of II verbs is the same as for other Class C verbs (see Figure 4.4); for example: *háin*²³ 'bounce' (II)-C.29.

Examples of II verbs are given in Table 4.24. The symbol xx indicates that no form exists for that inflectional parameter.

Table 4.24 Examples of Tone-stress Inflection of Intransitive Inanimate Verbs

<i>zauh</i> ² 'elevate'		<i>háin</i> ²³ 'bounce'		<i>fiéi</i> ³² 'burst'	
PRES	c2	PRES	b23	PRES	c32
FUT	c13	FUT	b3	FUT	b32
PAST	c2	PAST	b3	PAST	b2
AMB	c1	AMB	xx	AMB	c21
HORT	c2	HORT	b13	HORT	c21
EVID	c1	EVID	b13	EVID	c21
HOD	xx	HOD	xx	HOD	xx
ANDT	xx	ANDT	xx	ANDT	xx

Several II verbs, such as the verb for 'fall down', exhibit suppletive stems for singular and plural: *tah*³² (II^{SG})-C.59 and *sub*³² (II^{PL})-C.70; see §4.1.4.

4.1.4 Verbs which Inflectionally Distinguish between Singular and Plural Subjects

Some verbs, including all the motion verbs, make a six-way distinction of person and number for the subject: 3SG, 2SG, 1SG, 3PL, 2PL, and 1PL. This six-way distinction is accomplished in a variety of ways and, as will be seen, most such verbs are a combination of stems within the Class A, B, C system.

Each verb's paradigmatic combination can be referenced according to the system already established (Figures 4.2-4.4). For example, the verb *hi*²³ 'enter' (TI) is referenced as A.32.31.6.x/A.64.31.x.3. The slash in this notation means there are two stems; the first stem (which is singular) is a Class A verb, and only inflection sets I-a, I-b, and I-c can occur, with their respective paradigms P32, P31, and P6; similarly the second stem (which is plural) is a Class A verb, and only inflection sets I-a, I-b, and I-d can occur, with their respective paradigms P64, P31, and P3. The symbol x in the above notation for *hi*²³ indicates that the inflection set which would normally occur in that position does not occur; thus, in the first stem, inflection set I-d does not occur, and in the second stem, inflection set I-c does not occur; the inflection of *hi*²³ is illustrated in (14) below.

(i) Some verbs exhibit suppletive stems for singular and plural subject, with both stems inflecting like Class A verbs. For example:

(14) *hí²³* 'enter' (IA)-A.32.31.6.x/A.64.31.x.3

	3SG	2SG	1SG	3PL	2PL	1PL
PRES	<i>hí²³</i>	<i>húh³²</i>	<i>hú³²</i>	<i>taunh³²</i>	<i>tónh³²</i>	<i>táuh³²</i>
FUT	<i>hí³</i>	<i>huh²¹</i>	<i>hu²¹</i>	<i>tónh³²</i>	<i>tonh²¹</i>	<i>tauh²¹</i>
PAST	<i>hi³</i>	<i>húh³²</i>	<i>hú³²</i>	<i>taunh³</i>	<i>tiónh³²</i>	FUT
AMB	<i>hí¹³</i>	<i>huh²¹</i>	FUT	<i>taunh²¹</i>	<i>tonh²¹</i>	FUT
HORT	<i>hí¹³</i>	xxx	FUT	<i>tiónh³²</i>	xxx	FUT
EVID	<i>hí¹³</i>	AMB	FUT	<i>taunh²¹</i>	AMB	FUT
HOD	<i>hí³</i>	PAST	PAST	<i>tiónh³²</i>	PAST	FUT
ANDT	<i>hi³²</i>	PAST	PAST	<i>tiónh³²</i>	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>hú³²</i>	---	---	<i>tónh³²</i>	---

(ii) Most motion verbs exhibit one stem for 3SG, 2SG, 1SG, and 1PL which inflects like a Class A verb, and a different stem for 2PL and 3PL which inflects like a Class B disyllabic verb (see §4.1.5). All the verbs which follow this pattern are motion verbs. For example:

(15) *ngí³²* 'walk' (IA)-A.59.1.3.1/α.B.1.1

	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	3PL	2PL
PRES	<i>ngí³²</i>	<i>ngíh¹</i>	<i>ngí²³</i>	<i>ngí²³</i>	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>
FUT	<i>ngí³²</i>	<i>ngíh¹</i>	<i>ngí¹³</i>	<i>ngí¹³</i>	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	<i>ñi¹táunh¹</i>
PAST	<i>ngí³</i>	<i>ngíh¹</i>	<i>ngí³</i>	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>
AMB	<i>ngí²¹</i>	<i>ngíh¹</i>	FUT	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>
HORT	<i>ngí²¹</i>	xxx	FUT	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	xxx
EVID	<i>ngí²¹</i>	AMB	FUT	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	AMB
HOD	<i>ngí³²</i>	PAST	PAST	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	PAST
ANDT	<i>ngí²</i>	PAST	PAST	FUT	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>	PAST
PROH	---	<i>ngí²</i>	---	---	---	<i>ñi³táunh¹</i>

(iii) For other verbs the picture is more complex, with up to three suppletive stems occurring. Based on the stems, the division is not strictly between singular and plural subjects; however, paradigmatically, it is possible to treat a verb such as *quiau³²* in (16) as a combination of two class A verbs, with 3SG, 2SG, 1SG, and 1PL forming a full class A verb, and 3PL with 2PL forming a truncated class A verb with only inflection sets I-a and I-b occurring. For example:

(16) *quiau*³² 'lie down' (IA)-A.56.12.7.1/A.26.23.x.x

	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	3PL	2PL
PRES	<i>quiau</i> ³²	<i>zánh</i> ²³	<i>zan</i> ³²	<i>zan</i> ²³	<i>tiánh</i> ²³	<i>tianh</i> ²³
FUT	<i>quió</i> ³²	<i>zánh</i> ¹³	<i>zan</i> ²¹	<i>zan</i> ¹³	<i>tiánh</i> ³	<i>tianh</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>quiu</i> ²	<i>zánh</i> ³	<i>zán</i> ³²	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ³	<i>tianh</i> ³
AMB	<i>quiau</i> ²¹	<i>zánh</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ¹³	<i>tianh</i> ¹³
HORT	<i>quiu</i> ²	xxx	FUT	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ¹³	xxx
EVID	<i>quiau</i> ²¹	AMB	FUT	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ¹³	AMB
HOD	<i>quiu</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ³	PAST
ANDT	<i>quiu</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT	<i>tiánh</i> ²	PAST
PROH	---	<i>zán</i> ³	---	---	---	<i>tianh</i> ³

Several Class C verbs exhibit suppletive stems for singular and plural. For example, the inanimate verb 'fall down' has the singular and plural forms *tah*³² (II^SG)-C.59 and *suh*³² (II^PL)-C.70 (see (17a)); and the IA verb 'fall down' has the singular and plural forms *tanh*³² (IA^SG)-C.59 and *sunh*²³ (IA^PL)-C.38 (see (17b)). A peculiarity of most Class C IA plural stems is that the 1PL is distinguished from the non-1PL by vocalic change (§4.1.6); the tone-stress paradigm, however, is the same for both the 1PL and non-1PL forms. The paradigms for both the II and IA verb 'fall down' are:

	(17)(a) 'fall down' (II)		(b) 'fall down' (IA)		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	...Plural...	
				Non-1PL	1PL
PRES	<i>tah</i> ³²	<i>suh</i> ³²	<i>tanh</i> ³²	<i>sunh</i> ²³	<i>sauh</i> ²³
FUT	<i>táh</i> ³²	<i>súh</i> ³²	<i>tánh</i> ³²	<i>sunh</i> ³	<i>sauh</i> ³
PAST	<i>táh</i> ³	<i>súh</i> ³²	<i>tánh</i> ³	<i>sunh</i> ³	<i>sauh</i> ³
AMB	<i>tah</i> ²¹	<i>suh</i> ²¹	<i>tanh</i> ²¹	<i>sunh</i> ¹	<i>sauh</i> ¹
HORT	<i>tah</i> ²¹	<i>suh</i> ²¹	<i>tanh</i> ²¹	<i>sunh</i> ¹	<i>sauh</i> ¹
EVID	<i>tah</i> ²¹	<i>suh</i> ²¹	<i>tanh</i> ²¹	<i>sunh</i> ¹	<i>sauh</i> ¹
HOD	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
ANDT	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx

Other verbs with suppletive stems, II and IA are shown in Table 4.25.

Table 4.25 Verbs with Singular and Plural Suppletive Stems

Inanimate....	Animate.....		
	Singular	Plural	SingularPlural.....	
				Non-1pl	1PL
'sprout'	<i>hia</i> ³²	<i>hion</i> ²			
'leave'	<i>cuá</i> ² <i>hai</i> ³²	<i>hue</i> ³²	<i>cuá</i> ² <i>hai</i> ³²	<i>huen</i> ³²	<i>hue</i> ³²
'stand'	<i>tá</i> ² <i>zah</i> ¹	<i>tá</i> ² <i>no</i> ¹	<i>tá</i> ² <i>zanh</i> ¹	<i>tá</i> ² <i>tonh</i> ¹	<i>tá</i> ² <i>tau</i> ¹
'die'			<i>jún</i> ²³	<i>tsan</i> ²	<i>tsau</i> ²

The singular IA verbs *tanh*³² 'fall down' and *jún*²³ 'die' may also be used for the plural (but the plural forms can never be used for the singular).

If the speaker chooses the form for the singular, the individuals are seen as acting independently; if the form based on the plural stem is chosen, the individuals are seen as acting corporately. For example:

- (18)(a) *Juón³² tsú² ca³- tánh³ hú¹ juí³²*
 many^AN 3 PAST-fall^down^IA^3^SG along trail

ñí¹ ca³- cuon³ cuáh¹³.
 place PAST-slip^II soil

'Many people fell down along the trail where the slip occurred.'
 (i.e. one by one, as they came to the slip)

- (b) *Juón³² tsú² ca³- sunh³ hú¹ juí³²*
 many^AN 3 PAST-fall^down^IA^3PL along trail

ñí¹ ca³- cuon³ cuáh¹³.
 place PAST-slip^II soil

'Many people fell down along the trail where the slip occurred.'
 (i.e. they were together, and fell together)

There are also verbs which exhibit suppletive stems for SG and PL object. These are discussed separately in §4.1.8.8.

4.1.5 Disyllabic Verbs

The majority of Chinantec verbs are monosyllabic; of 607 dynamic verbs in my corpus, only about 20 are non-derived disyllabic; that is, the etymology of the final syllable is not recognisable. Disyllabic verbs appear to be restricted to Class B and Class C, whether derived or not.

The final syllable of disyllabic verbs behaves like a monosyllabic verb, marking the second-person by glottal closure (§4.1.8.6) and marking animacy by nasalisation (§4.1.8.5). In the majority of disyllabic verbs, the final syllable inflects like a Class B verb (the non-third-person paradigm consists of a single tone-stress for all inflectional parameters for second-person, 1SG, and 1PL, whereas the third-person inflects for tense, mood etc.); in a few verbs the final syllable inflects as a Class C verb (the tone-stress inflection found in the third-person is also found in the corresponding inflectional parameter of second-person, 1SG, and 1PL; see Figure 4.1).

Regardless of whether the tone-stress of the final syllable inflects like a Class B or C verb, the initial syllable of most disyllabic verbs exhibits limited tone-stress inflection (see note <5>) for third-person, second-person, 1SG, and

1PL in a manner similar to that of Class A verbs (see Table 4.26 below); I have labelled this paradigm α . The combination of paradigm α with a final syllable which inflects like a Class B or C verb is illustrated in (21a) and (21b) respectively below.

In only two disyllabic verbs does the initial syllable inflect as a Class C verb (see Table 4.27 below); in both verbs the final syllable also inflects as a Class C verb. This inflection is labelled as paradigm β . The combination of paradigm β with a final syllable which inflects like a Class C verb is illustrated in (23) below.

The tone-stress paradigms of the final syllable of some disyllabic verbs are also found in monosyllabic verbs. On this basis I have classified disyllabic verbs according to their final syllable type.

Table 4.26 below sets out the independent and dependent cells for disyllabic verb paradigm α (that is, the tone-stress inflection of the initial syllable). The tone-stress is supplied for the independent cells in the matrix (see note <5>). Several cells have alternative tones, in which case the preferred tone is given first.

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	b2	c3/b2	b2/c3	b2/c3
FUTURE	c3	b1	b1	b1
REMOTE PAST	FUT	c3	c3	c3/b1
AMBULATIVE	FUT	PAST	c3/b1	c3
HORTATIVE	b1/c3	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVIDENTIAL	b1	FUT	FUT	FUT
HODIERNAL PAST	FUT	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDATIVE	FUT	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROHIBITIVE	---	PAST	---	---

To maintain consistency of presentation with monosyllabic verbs, I have not reorganised the order of the inflectional parameters in Table 4.26 to gain a more symmetrical appearance.

Although most of the alternative tones in Table 4.26 appear to be in free

variation, the 3-HORT with tone c3 implies that the speaker expects prompt compliance, whereas tone b1 implies that compliance is expected as soon as possible (for example, the person concerned may not be present). For example:

(19)(a) *Cu¹-ma³h¹ma¹ tsú² qui²oh² tsá² lá².*
 HORT-pay^{TI}^3 3 have^{STI}^3 person this
 'S/he ought to pay (the wages of) this person.' (now)

(b) *Cu¹-má¹h¹ma¹ tsú² qui²oh² tsá² lá².*
 HORT-pay^{TI}^3 3 have^{STI}^3 person this
 'S/he ought to pay (the wages of) this person.' (soon)

A 1PL-PAST with tone c3 in the first syllable implies that the action was premeditated, whereas a tone b1 implies non-premeditated action. For example:

(20)(a) *Ca³-ma³h¹on¹ jnoh¹ Pé¹ hú¹ ju¹32.*
 PAST-help^{TA}^1PL we Peter on trail
 'We helped Peter on the trail.'

(b) *Ca³-má¹h¹on¹ jnoh¹ Pé¹ hú¹ ju¹32.*
 PAST-help^{TA}^1PL we Peter on trail
 'We helped Peter on the trail.'

In (20a), the event is premeditated; we had planned to do this. In (20b), the event is spontaneous; when we came across Peter on the trail, he needed assistance, and so we gave it.

The combination of paradigm α with a final syllable which inflects like a Class B and C verb is illustrated in (21a) and (21b) respectively:

(21)(a) *di²ñu³* 'prop up, support' (DI)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	di ² ñu ³	di ³ ñuh ²	di ² ñu ²	di ² ñu ²
FUT	di ³ ñu ³	di ¹ ñuh ²	di ¹ ñu ²	di ¹ ñu ²
PAST	di ³ ñu ³	di ³ ñuh ²	di ³ ñu ²	di ³ ñu ²
AMB	di ³ ñu ¹ 3	di ³ ñuh ²	di ³ ñu ²	di ³ ñu ²
HORT	di ¹ ñu ³	xxx	di ¹ ñu ²	di ¹ ñu ²
EVID	di ¹ ñu ³	di ¹ ñuh ²	di ¹ ñu ²	di ¹ ñu ²
HOD	di ³ ñu ³	di ³ ñuh ²	di ³ ñu ²	di ¹ ñu ²
ANDT	di ³ ñu ³	di ³ ñuh ²	di ³ ñu ²	di ¹ ñu ²
PROH	---	di ³ ñu ²	---	---

(b) *má²ho³* 'assist, help with' (TI)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	má ² ho ³	má ² hoh ³	má ² ho ³	má ² ho ³
FUT	ma ³ ho ³	má ⁴ hoh ³	má ⁴ ho ³	má ⁴ ho ³
PAST	ma ³ ho ³	ma ³ hoh ³	ma ³ ho ³	ma ³ ho ³
AMB	ma ³ ho ¹³	ma ³ hoh ¹³	ma ³ ho ¹³	ma ³ ho ¹³
HORT	má ⁴ ho ³	xxx	má ⁴ ho ³	má ⁴ ho ³
EVID	má ⁴ ho ³	má ⁴ hoh ³	má ⁴ ho ³	má ⁴ ho ³
HOD	ma ³ ho ³	ma ³ hoh ³	ma ³ ho ³	má ⁴ ho ³
ANDT	ma ³ ho ³	ma ³ hoh ³	ma ³ ho ³	má ⁴ ho ³
PROH	---	ma ³ ho ³	---	---

Disyllabic verbs which exhibit paradigm β in the initial syllable are inflectionally simple. As with monosyllabic Class C verbs, the tone-stress of the third-person β paradigm inflectional parameters is exhibited by the corresponding non-third-person inflectional parameters:

INFLECTIONAL PARAMETER	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRESENT	b2	b2	b2	b2
FUTURE	b1	b1	b1	b1
REMOTE PAST	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
AMBULATIVE	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
HORTATIVE	FUT	FUT	FUT	FUT
EVIDENTIAL	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
HODIERNAL PAST	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
ANDATIVE	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
PROHIBITIVE	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx

Both the disyllabic verbs which exhibit paradigm β are IA; for example:

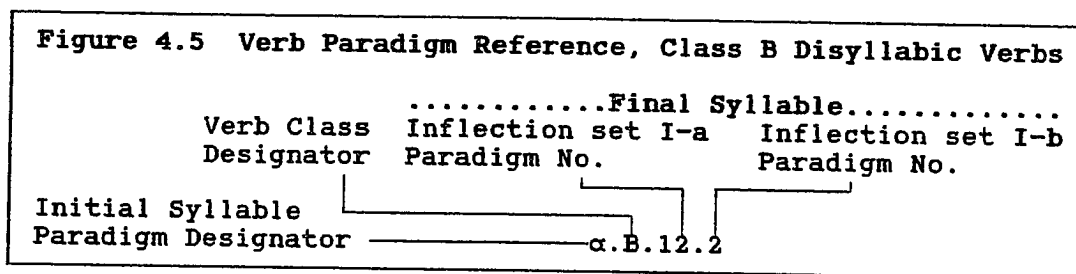
- (22) *Ca³-hiá²tsin¹* *tsú²tsi³cuánh²ó³²*.
 PAST-appear^{on^top^of^IA^3} 3 top hill yonder
 'S/he appeared on top of that hill over there.'

The combination of paradigm β with a final syllable which inflects like a Class C verb is illustrated by:

(23) *yá²han¹* 'be frightened by' (TA)

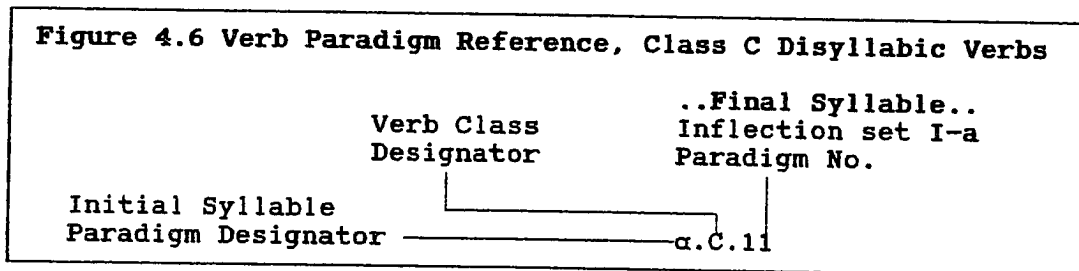
	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>yá²han¹</i>	<i>yá²han¹</i>	<i>yá²han¹</i>	<i>yá²han¹</i>
FUT	<i>yá¹han¹</i>	<i>yá¹han¹</i>	<i>yá¹han¹</i>	<i>yá¹han¹</i>
PAST	PRES	PRES	PRES	PRES
AMB	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
HORT	FUT	FUT	FUT	FUT
EVID	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
HOD	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
ANDT	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
PROH	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx

Class B disyllabic verbs are referenced in the manner shown in Figure 4.5 (there are no Class A disyllabic verbs).



Thus, for example, *má²hon³* 'assist' is (TA)- $\alpha.B.24.2$.

Class C disyllabic verbs are referenced in the manner shown in Figure 4.6.



For example, *má²ho³* 'assist, help with' is (TI)- $\alpha.C.24$, and *yá²han¹* 'be frightened' is (IA)- $\beta.C.3$.

There is a limited set of first syllable morphemes found in disyllabic verbs:

(i) The causative *má²-* (§4.2.1) can be prefixed to state verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and nouns, generally resulting in a transitive verb (see §3.1.2.1). There are, however, a few inherently disyllabic verbs which utilise *má²-*; that

is, there is no clear etymology for the final syllable (see (21b) above).

(ii) The first syllable of a few disyllabic verbs appears to derive from the preposition *ñi¹* 'on'; as the first syllable, it inflects according to Table 4.26 above. For example:

- (24) *Ca³- ñi³tsin²¹ jná¹³ jan² cuá¹juí².*
 PAST-sit^{on}TA^{1SG} I one^{AN} steer
 'I sat on (i.e. rode) a steer/bull.'

(iii) A subset of the progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1)--*rá¹-* (singular, horizontal orientation), *dí¹-* (singular, vertical orientation) and *ná¹-* (plural, non-specific orientation)--is found as the initial syllable of some disyllabic verbs, but the progressive aspectual force is lacking. When functioning as initial syllables in a disyllabic verb, they inflect as outlined in Table 4.26 above; the forms for the present being *rá²-*, *dí²-*, and *ná²-* respectively.

Disyllabic verbs formed with these morphemes are able to occur with the progressive prefixes.

In transitive verbs, the progressive prefixes mark number and physical orientation of the subject; whereas the morphemes *rá²-*, *dí²-*, and *ná²-* of disyllabic verbs mark the number and orientation of the object. These morphemes, however, are integral to the semantics of several verbs, the final syllable either having no meaning or a different meaning without them (for example, *ñu³* of *dí²ñu³* 'support, brace' (DI) has no meaning on its own).

Examples of the verbs *ná²tsí³* 'put (plural, non-specific orientation of object)' (TI), *rá²tsí³* 'put (singular, horizontal orientation of object)' (TI), and *dí²chí³* 'put (singular, vertical orientation of object) marked for the progressive aspect (singular, vertical orientation of subject), are:

- (25)(a) *Dí¹- ná²tsí³ tsú² sí² ñí¹ jó¹há² ó³².*
 upright^{PROG}-put^{TI}-PL³ 3 book on board yonder
 'S/he is putting the books on that board over there.' (while s/he is in a standing position)
- (b) *Dí¹- rá²tsí³² tsú² sí² ñí¹ jó¹há² ó³².*
 upright^{PROG}-lie^{TI}-SG³ 3 book on board yonder
 'S/he is lying the book on that board over there.' (while s/he is in a standing position)

- (c) *Dí¹- dí²chí³ tsú² sí² ñí¹ jó¹hmá² ó³².*
 upright^{PROG}-stand^{TI}^{SG}³ 3 book on board yonder
 'S/he is standing the book on that board over there.' (while
 s/he is in a standing position)

In addition, disyllabic verbs formed with these morphemes are able to be affixed directly with the past tense prefixes *ca³-* (PAST) or *lí²-* (HOD), whereas verbs affixed with any of the progressive prefixes cannot. For example:

- (26) *Jám² ca³- ra³tsa² jná¹³ tsú² ñí¹ jen³.*
 so PAST-lie^{TA}³>1 I 3 on bed
 'So they laid me down on top of the bed.'
- (27) *Jan² hliáu³ má² lí²-di³chin³ tsá²tan²¹ tsáih³ hñú³.*
 one^{AN} soldier PRF HOD-stand^{TA}³ authority roof³ house
 'The authorities stood a soldier on the roof of the house.'

In disyllabic intransitive verbs, the orientation of the subject is marked by the first syllable *dí²-* (vertical) or *rá²-* (horizontal), but it appears that grammatical number is no longer implicit; instead, when a verb is marked for progressive aspect, the grammatical number is taken from the progressive prefix. For example, the verb *dí²jñí³²* 'kneel' can collocate with the progressive plural prefix *ná¹-*:

- (28) *Ná¹- dí²jñí³² tsáu² ta³ ñí¹ mí³jmú³.*
 PROG^{PL}-kneel^{IA}³ people before face³ bishop
 'The people are kneeling in front of the bishop.'

As a progressive aspect prefix, however, *dí¹-* is strictly singular.

(iv) There are two other syllables with obscure etymologies which are found as the first syllable in disyllabic verbs: *yá²-* and *hiá²-*; for example, *hiá²tsín¹* 'appear on top of' (IA) (see (22) above), and *yá²han¹* 'be frightened by' (TA) (see (23) above).

4.1.6 Phonological Changes in the Verb Root

About 37% of the 614 verbs in my data (see <4>) exhibit varying degrees of change in their nuclei as they are inflected for person, tense, motion, mood, and aspect. I have chosen the nucleus as found in the 3-PRES as the base form principally because 3-PRES is the citation form;<11> in addition, the third-person is also the only relevant grammatical person for intransitive

inanimate verbs. A base form needs to be designated for the purposes of describing the types of vocalic changes that take place, and 3-PRES seems to be preferable to any other choice.<12>

4.1.6.1 Stable and Unstable Nuclei

Some of the nuclei in Chinantec (§2.1, §2.2) appear to be stable, while others have the potential of undergoing change. By 'stable' I mean that if one of the nuclei in Table 4.28 is found in 3-PRES, it will be found throughout the entire verb paradigm.

Table 4.28 Stable Nuclei

eɨ	iau
ii	(ieɨ)
ou	
ue	
uɨ	
uu	

The nucleus *ieɨ* is tentatively included in the list of stable nuclei; no verb has yet been found in which *ieɨ* occurs in the 3-PRES.

The unstable nuclei (that is, those having the potential for change) are listed in Table 4.29.

Table 4.29 Unstable Nuclei

a	aɨ	iei
e	au	uaɨ
(ɛ)	ei	uou
i	ia	
ɨ	ie	
o	io	
u	iu	
	(ɨa)	
	ie	
	ua	
	uo	

The nuclei *ɛ* and *ɨa* are uncommon, so a verb may yet be found in which they undergo some form of modification. They are included in the list of unstable nuclei because many speakers utilise the unstable diphthong *ie* in place of *ɛ* and/or *ɨa*.

The main generalisations from Tables 4.28 and 4.29 are:

- (i) if the nucleus is simple, it is unstable;
- (ii) geminate vowels (*ii, uu*) are stable.

As a verb is inflected for person, tense, motion, mood, and aspect, some unstable nuclei do not change, others undergo only one change from the third-person base form, and others may undergo two or even three changes; for this reason the changes discussed in §4.1.6.2 are termed 'potential'.

There are two factors which condition whether change will occur or not, and the degree of change which occurs:

- (i) the preceding consonant;
- (ii) the tone-stress paradigm.

4.1.6.2 Unstable Nuclei

Unstable nuclei which undergo no change, one change, two changes, and three changes from the third-person base form are discussed respectively in this section.

4.1.6.2.1 Unstable Nuclei which Do Not Undergo Change

There are 142 Class A verbs, 74 Class B verbs and 113 Class C dynamic verbs in my corpus which have unstable nuclei but do not exhibit any change in the nucleus. Those unstable nuclei which do not undergo change are charted in Table 4.30 below, together with the environments in which they occur.

Since it would be cumbersome to supply all the tone-stress paradigms associated with vocalic change, the paradigms supplied under the heading 'Complementary Paradigms' are not a complete set, but are restricted to those paradigms essential to determine the absence or presence of vocalic change, and the degree of change which occurs. Some of the complementary paradigms supplied may not be relevant to the Table in which they occur (none of them are essential to Table 4.30), but will be seen to be relevant when comparisons are made between Tables 4.30, 4.31, 4.32, and 4.33. In each case, the complementary paradigm is preceded by the consonant to which it pertains.

Table 4.30 Unstable Nuclei which Do Not Undergo Change

Nucleus Following		Complementary Paradigms		
a	c ch h j l	c-B.9.4	c-B.22.1	h-A.10.12.2.1
	m n ñ ng p	h-A.12.23.1.2	h-B.66.2	h-B.3.2.
	r t ts y z	h-C.3	j-A.12.24.7.2	j-A.12.26.7.2
		j-A.38.26.7.2	j-A.59.32.3.1	j-A.67.14.7.1
		j-A.67.36.7.1	j-A.68.20.4.2	j-B.38.28
		l-C.16	n-A.12.23.1.2	n-A.38.24.7.2
		n-A.59.32.3.1	ng-A.12.23.1.2	t-A.12.24.7.2
		t-A.29.12.3.1	t-A.59.32.3.1	t-A.69.20.4.2
		t-B.9.4	t-C.59	z-C.50
		ts-A.68.23.5.2	z-A.12.23.1.2	z-A.38.22.7.2
e	l h j r s			
	ts z			
i	ch h j l ñ	h-A.38.26.7.2	h-A.68.20.4.2	h-C.37
	qu s t z			
í	h l m n ng	h-C.50	l-A.29.12.3.1	l-A.38.26.7.2
	qu t ts z	l-A.68.20.4.2	qu-A.29.12.3.1	qu-A.59.32.3.1
		qu-A.68.20.4.2	qu-C.38	ts-B.3.28
		ts-B.22.1	ts-C.74	
o	c d h j l	c-A.27.30.6.3	c-B.47.28	c-B.48.28
	r t ts y	h-A.12.23.1.2	h-A.29.12.3.1	h-A.47.30.6.3
		h-C.24	j-B.47.2	l-A.12.23.1.2
		l-A.27.30.6.3	l-B.47.2	r-B.47.2
		t-A.12.23.1.2	t-A.29.12.3.1	ts-A.27.30.6.3
		ts-B.9.2	ts-B.9.4	ts-B.47.2
u	c j m n ñ	c-A.15.26.7.2	c-A.59.32.3.1	c-B.38.28
	s t ts			
ai	c h j ng ts	c-C.4	c-C.7	c-C.37
		h-A.29.12.3.1	j-B.48.28	j-C.29
		ng-A.29.12.3.1	ts-B.65.1	ts-C.70
au	c h j m r	c-B.4.3	c-B.9.4	c-B.47.28
	t ts	t-A.12.19.7.2	t-B.65.1	
ei	h y	h-C.70		
ia	h l n qu	qu-B.38.28		
ie	m qu	qu-B.9.4	qu-B.38.2	
io	h l qu s z	z-A.12.23.1.2	z-A.27.30.6.3	z-B.47.2
iu	l qu s t z	qu-A.12.24.7.2	qu-A.59.32.3.1	
ie	h j p qu	qu-A.27.30.6.3		
ou	m	m-A.12.22.7.2		
ua	c j	c-A.57.12.7.2/A.26.23.x.x		
uo	c j	c-A.38.27.7.2	c-A.67.7.7.1	j-A.27.30.6.3
		j-B.24.4	j-B.47.2	
iei	qu t	qu-B.5.3	t-C.29	
uou	c	c-C.55		

There are no known instances of a given unstable nucleus being preceded by the same consonant and sharing the same tone-stress paradigm, yet undergoing different changes in the nucleus, or undergoing some kind of change in one instance and no change in another.

Although the conditioning factors of preceding consonant and tone-

stress paradigm may be of equal importance in determining vocalic change, I have treated the preceding consonant as primary in the present analysis simply because it is much easier to list all the consonants which occur with any given vowel than it is to list all the tone-stress paradigms.

4.1.6.2.2 Nuclei which Undergo a Single Change

There are 115 Class A verbs, 55 Class B verbs, and 17 Class C verbs in my corpus which exhibit one change in the nucleus.

The abbreviations BN and ASN in Tables 4.31-4.33 correspond to 'Base Nucleus' and 'Associate Nucleus' respectively. The term Base Nucleus refers to the nucleus found in the 3-PRES form of the verb, the Associate Nucleus is the nucleus (or nuclei; see Tables 4.32-4.33) found in other parts of the verb paradigm.

A single change in the nucleus of a verb occurs with the nuclei and tone-stress paradigms set out in Table 4.31.

From Table 4.31 it can be seen that the degree of vocalic change cannot be based solely on the consonant preceding the nucleus; for example, the nucleus /a/ may change to /aɪ/ or /ia/ following /c/, /n/ or /z/. Similarly, it can be seen that the degree of vocalic change cannot be based solely on the tone-stress paradigm; for example, the nucleus /e/ may change to /aɪ/ or /ei/ with tone-stress paradigm B.15.1.

Table 4.31 Nuclei which Undergo One Change

BN	ASN	Following	Complementary Paradigms
a	→ ai	c h n ng z	c-A.38.22.7.2 h-A.10.32.2.1 n-A.10.32.2.1 z-A.10.29.6.3
a	→ ia	c i n t z	c-A.31.33.3.1 n-A.15.26.7.2 z-A.31.16.3.1 z-A.38.26.7.2
a	→ i	c	c-B.41.2
e	→ ai	t ts	t-A.10.32.2.1 t-A.38.22.7.2 ts-B.15.1
e	→ ei	ñ y z	ñ-B.15.1 z-A.10.29.6.3 z-A.31.16.3.1 z-A.38.26.7.2
e	→ ie	t	t-A.38.23.5.2 t-A.26.8.3.1 t-A.25.37.1.1 t-A.15.20.3.1
i	→ u	h	h-A.32.31.6.3/A.64.31.x.x
ɛ	→ i	h qu	h-A.38.26.7.2 h-A.59.34.3.1 h-A.71.33.3.1 qu-A.38.26.7.2 qu-A.67.16.7.1
ɛ	→ a	l ts	l-A.68.20.4.2 ts-B.1.1
o	→ au/ou	p	
o	→ au	c h j l r s	c-A.10.32.2.1 j-A.10.32.2.1 l-A.10.32.2.1 r-C.44/C.37
o	→ io	c l t z	c-A.47.10.7.2 l-B.45.2 t-A.68.23.5.2 t-A.47.23.1.2 t-A.20.31.6.3 t-B.47.2 z-A.47.23.1.2
u	→ ei/i	c	c-A.6.34.7.1
ai	→ a	d l m n ng z	n-A.27.30.6.3 ng-A.47.19.7.2 ng-B.66.2
ai	→ e	r ts	ts-A.27.30.6.3 ts-B.47.2
au	→ iau	c l n t z	c-A.15.21.7.2 l-B.15.1 t-A.47.22.1.2 t-A.15.22.7.2 t-B.47.2
au	→ o	c l	c-A.67.7.7.1 l-C.54
ei	→ e	h j ñ p y z	h-A.27.30.6.3 h-A.68.7.7.1 h-B.47.2
ei	→ ie	qu	qu-B.65.1
ia	→ a	qu	
ie	→ iei	qu t	qu-A.10.35.2.1 qu-A.12.22.7.2 qu-B.15.1
io	→ iau	t z	z-A.10.35.2.1
ie	→ iei	qu	qu-A.15.22.7.2 qu-B.15.1
ou	→ o	m	m-B.65.1
ua	→ uai	c	c-A.38.22.7.2
ua	→ uo	c	c-C.40/C.2 c-C.62
uo	→ uou	c j	c-A.10.34.2.1 j-A.10.35.2.1
iei	→ ie	j l qu t	qu-A.47.19.7.2 qu-A.67.7.7.1 t-A.27.30.6.3 t-A.47.23.1.2 t-B.47.2 t-B.65.1
uai	→ ua	j	
uou	→ uo	c h j	c-A.47.19.7.2 c-A.67.7.7.1

Three examples of Class A verbs are given below to illustrate changes in the nuclei. The symbol xxx in the following verb matrices signifies a non-

functional cell (no form is possible), and the symbol --- signifies a non-governing cell; see the description accompanying Table 4.2 in §4.1.1.1.

*Jñéih*²³ 'uncover' (TI)-A.27.30.6.3 exhibits change in only one cell of the verb matrix, the 2-PAST; for example:

(29)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	jñéih ²³	jñéih ³²	jñéih ³²	jñéih ³²
FUT	jñéih ³	jñéih ²¹	jñéih ²¹	jñéih ²¹
PAST	jñéih ³	jñéh ³	jñéih ³²	FUT
AMB	jñéih ¹³	jñéih ²¹	FUT	FUT
HORT	jñéih ¹³	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	jñéih ¹³	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	jñéih ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	jñéih ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	jñéih ³²	---	---

*Cauh*³² 'utilise' (TI)-A.67.7.7.1 exhibits change in four cells in the verb matrix: 3-PAST, 3-HOD, 2-PAST, and 1SG-PAST; for example:

(30)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	cauh ³²	cáuh ²³	cauh ³²	cáuh ²³
FUT	cóh ³²	cáuh ¹³	cauh ²¹	cáuh ¹³
PAST	cauh ³	coh ¹	cóh ³²	FUT
AMB	cauh ²¹	cáuh ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	cauh ²¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	cauh ²¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	cóh ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	cáuh ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	cáuh ³	---	---

*Han*² 'rob' (TI)-A.10.32.2.1 exhibits change in several cells of the verb matrix; three cells in third-person, all second-person and 1PL cells, and one cell in the 1SG; for example:

(31)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	han ²	háinh ³²	han ²	háin ²³
FUT	han ³	háinh ¹	han ¹	háin ¹³
PAST	háin ³	háinh ¹	háin ³²	FUT
AMB	han ¹	háinh ²¹	FUT	FUT
HORT	han ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	han ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	háin ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	háin ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	háin ²	---	---

Two examples of Class B verbs are given below to illustrate the changes

in the nucleus. The form for the non-third-person hortative is in parentheses to indicate that it cannot be used with second-person; see §4.1.1.2.

*Quiéh*² 'chop up' (TI)-B.15.1 exhibits change in only the non-third-person cells; for example:

(32)

	3	non-3
PRES	quiéh ²	quiéih ¹
FUT	quiéh ¹³	quiéih ¹
PAST	quiéh ²	quiéih ¹
AMB	quiéh ¹³	quiéih ¹
HORT	quiéh ²	(quiéih ¹)
EVID	quiéh ¹³	quiéih ¹
HOD	quiéh ²	quiéih ¹
ANDT	quiéh ²	quiéih ¹
PROH	---	quiéih ¹

*Ngaí*³² 'cross (over)' (IA)-B.66.2 exhibits change in two third-person cells and the non-third-person cells; for example:

(33)

	3	non-3
PRES	ngaí ³²	nga ¹
FUT	ngái ³²	nga ¹
PAST	nga ³	nga ¹
AMB	ngaí ²¹	nga ¹
HORT	ngaí ²¹	(nga ¹)
EVID	ngaí ²¹	nga ¹
HOD	ngái ³²	nga ¹
ANDT	nga ¹	nga ¹
PROH	---	nga ¹

With respect to vocalic change, there are two types of Class C verbs: (i) those which exhibit a change in one of the non-third-person paradigms, which is retained throughout the entire paradigm for that person; and (ii) those which exhibit a change in one or more of the third-person cells, which is then exhibited by the corresponding inflectional parameter for the non-third-person paradigms. In both types of Class C verbs, the tone-stress paradigm found in the third-person is the same for all grammatical persons (see Figure 4.1).

In type (i) Class C verbs, the stem^{<13>} of the 1PL must be obtained to establish the segmental elements for the remainder of that paradigm; in (34) I supply the form of the present. The symbol <^^^ indicates that the nucleus is the same as that of the present for that person; however, the tone-stress is

the same as that of the corresponding third-person inflectional parameter. In other words, tone-stress and segmental elements are independent features in this type of Class C verb.

(34) *son*² 'descend' (IA)-C.14

	Non-1PL	1PL
PRES	<i>son</i> ²	<i>sau</i> ²
FUT	<i>son</i> ¹³	<^^^
PAST	<i>son</i> ²	<^^^
AMB	<i>son</i> ¹	<^^^
HORT	<i>son</i> ²	<^^^
EVID	<i>son</i> ²	<^^^
HOD	<i>son</i> ²	<^^^
ANDT	<i>son</i> ²	<^^^

In type (ii) Class C verbs, the segmental elements and tone-stress of all grammatical persons are the same; (35a) illustrates verbs in which there is vocalic change, and (35b) illustrates those verbs in which no vocalic change occurs.

(35)

(a) *caun*³² 'be burnt'
(IA)-C.59

(b) *hián*²³ 'become angry'
(IA)-C.29

	All Persons		All Persons
PRES	<i>caun</i> ³²	PRES	<i>hián</i> ²³
FUT	<i>cón</i> ³²	FUT	<i>hián</i> ³
PAST	<i>cáun</i> ³	PAST	<i>hián</i> ³
AMB	<i>caun</i> ²¹	AMB	<i>hián</i> ¹³
HORT	<i>caun</i> ²¹	HORT	<i>hián</i> ¹³
EVID	<i>caun</i> ²¹	EVID	<i>hián</i> ¹³
HOD	xxx	HOD	xxx
ANDT	xxx	ANDT	xxx

Although there are a few class C verbs such as illustrated in (34), the majority of class C verbs exhibit only one stem (see note <13>) for each inflectional parameter for all grammatical persons, as in (35).

4.1.6.2.3 Nuclei which Undergo Two Changes

Two changes in the nucleus of a verb occur with the following nuclei and tone-stress paradigms:

Table 4.32 Nuclei which Undergo Two Changes

BN	ASN	Following	Complementary Paradigms	
a	→ e, aɪ	h	h-A.38.22.7.2	
a	→ ei, aɪ	j	j-A.21.31.6.3	
ɪ	→ i, u	j		
o	→ a, au	l ts	l-C.15	ts-C.19
aɪ	→ a, ɪ	n	n-A.47.18.7.2	
aɪ	→ a, ei	j	j-A.43.34.2.1	
aɪ	→ a, iei	c	c-A.68.30.6.3	
aɪ	→ ie, iei	t	t-A.67.9.7.1	
iu	→ o, au	qu	qu-A.15.33.2.1	

It can be seen from Table 4.32 that if there are two vocalic changes in a verb's nucleus, the nature of the change is conditioned by the preceding consonant alone. However, to determine if one, two or three changes take place, the tone-stress paradigms must also be taken into account; see §4.1.6.2.5.

There are 8 Class A verbs and 2 Class C verbs in my corpus which exhibit two vocalic changes. No Class B verbs have been found which exhibit two changes. Two examples of Class A verbs and one example of Class C verbs are given to illustrate the changes which may occur. Where alternate forms are supplied, the first form is the 'preferred' one (see note <8>):

(36) *jah*² 'clean, weed' (TI)-A.21.31.6.3:

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jah</i> ²	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²
FUT	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²	<i>jaɪh</i> ²¹	<i>jaɪh</i> ²¹	<i>jaɪh</i> ²¹
PAST	<i>jaɪh</i> ³	<i>jeɪh</i> ³²	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>jaɪh</i> ³² / <i>jeɪh</i> ³²	<i>jaɪh</i> ²¹ / <i>jeɪh</i> ³²	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jeɪh</i> ³² / <i>jah</i> ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jaɪh</i> ²¹ / <i>jah</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jeɪh</i> ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	<i>jeɪh</i> ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>jaɪh</i> ³²	---	---

(37) *quiu*² 'put, leave' (TI)-A.15.33.2.1 (where *qu* and *c* are both phonemically /k/; see §2.8):

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>quiu</i> ²	<i>cauh</i> ²	<i>co</i> ²	<i>cáu</i> ²
FUT	<i>quiu</i> ¹	<i>cáuh</i> ¹	<i>co</i> ¹	<i>cáu</i> ¹
PAST	<i>quiu</i> ²	<i>quiúh</i> ²	<i>có</i> ²	FUT
AMB	<i>quiu</i> ¹	<i>cauh</i> ²	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>quiu</i> ²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>quiu</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>quiu</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	<i>quiu</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>cáu</i> ²	---	---

In Class C verbs, the tone-stress of the third-person inflectional parameter is identical for all grammatical persons (see Figure 4.1); consequently, only the tone-stress paradigm for third-person need be given in full. However, the nucleus of second-person, 1SG, and 1PL may differ from that of third-person. Since the nucleus which occurs in the present of second-person, 1SG, and 1PL is found throughout the remainder of the paradigm for each person respectively, only the form for the present of each non-third-person needs to be supplied. The symbol <^^^ indicates that the tone-stress is taken from the form to the left, and the segmental elements are taken from the form above.

(38) *loh*² 'harvest' (TI)-C.15:

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>loh</i> ²	<i>lan</i> ² / <i>lon</i> ²	<i>lo</i> ²	<i>lo</i> ² / <i>lau</i> ²
FUT	<i>loh</i> ¹	<^^^	<^^^	<^^^
PAST	<i>loh</i> ²	<^^^	<^^^	<^^^
AMB	<i>loh</i> ¹	<^^^	<^^^	<^^^
HORT	<i>loh</i> ²	<^^^	<^^^	<^^^
EVID	<i>loh</i> ¹	<^^^	<^^^	<^^^
HOD	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
ANDT	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx

4.1.6.2.4 Nuclei which Undergo Three Changes

Three changes in the nucleus of a verb occur with the following nuclei and tone-stress paradigms:

Table 4.33 Nuclei which Undergo Three Changes

BN	ASN	Following	Complementary Paradigms	
o	→ io, au, iau	n t z	t-A.43.34.2.2 z-A.43.34.2.1	t-A.43.33.2.1
aɪ	→ a, e, ei	h	h-A.47.23.1.2 h-A.43.34.2.1	h-A.47.22.7.2
aɪ	→ e, ie, ei	n	n-A.43.33.2.1	
aɪ	→ e, ie, iei	t	t-A.47.23.2.2 t-A.43.33.2.1	t-A.47.22.7.2
aɪ	→ a, ie, iei	c	c-A.52.33.2.1	
au	→ o, io, iau	l t	l-A.67.9.7.1	t-A.67.9.7.1

It can be seen from Table 4.33 that if three vocalic changes occur in a verb's nucleus, the nature of the change can be determined from the preceding consonant alone; however, to determine if one, two or three changes take place, the tone-stress paradigm must also be taken into account; see §4.1.6.2.5.

There are 19 Class A verbs in my corpus which exhibit three changes. No Class B or C verbs have been found which exhibit three changes. Two examples are given to illustrate the changes which occur. Where alternate forms are supplied, the first form is the 'preferred' one (see note <8>):

(39) tó³² 'toast, roast' (TI)-A.43.34.2.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	tó ³²	tau ^{h32}	to ²	tau ²³
FUT	tau ³	táuh ¹	to ¹	tau ¹³
PAST	tó ³²	tiáuh ³	tó ³²	FUT
AMB	tio ¹³	tau ^{h21}	FUT	FUT
HORT	tio ¹³	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	tó ³²	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	tió ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	tiáuh ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	táu ²	---	---

(40) taun^{h32} 'put (in)' (TI)-A.67.9.7.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	taun ^{h32}	táun ^{h23}	taun ^{h32}	táun ^{h23}
FUT	tón ^{h32}	táun ^{h13}	taun ^{h21}	táun ^{h13}
PAST	taun ^{h3}	tion ^{h2}	tón ^{h32}	FUT
AMB	taun ^{h21} /tiáun ^{h13}	táun ^{h13}	FUT	FUT
HORT	taun ^{h21} /tiáun ^{h13}	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	taun ^{h21}	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	tión ^{h32}	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	tiáun ^{h3}	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	táun ^{h3}	---	---

4.1.6.2.5 Degrees of Vocalic Change

As indicated in §4.1.6.1, vocalic changes in the nucleus are only potential; some verbs which employ one of the unstable nuclei do not exhibit any change. The unstable vowel *o* illustrates this point: in the verb *tón²³* 'put, stick on' (TI) there is no vocalic change anywhere in the verb matrix; in the verb *tón³²* 'throw' (TA), there is one vocalic change (*o* → *io*); and in the verb *tón³²* 'throw' (TI) three changes of the nucleus *o* occur, with *o*, *io*, *au*, and *iau* occurring in various cells of the matrix. The full paradigms for these three verbs respectively are given in (41)-(43).

(41) *tón²³* 'put, stick' (TI)-A.29.12.3.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	tón ²³	tónh ²³	tón ²³	tón ²³
FUT	tón ³	tónh ¹³	tón ¹³	tón ¹³
PAST	tón ³	tónh ³	tón ³	FUT
AMB	tón ¹³	tónh ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	tón ¹³	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	tón ¹³	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	tón ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	ton ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	tón ³	---	---

(42) *tón³²* 'throw' (TA)-A.47.23.1.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	tón ³²	ton ²³	ton ²	ton ²³
FUT	tón ³²	ton ¹³	ton ¹	ton ¹³
PAST	tón ³²	tion ³	ton ³	FUT
AMB	tión ³²	ton ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	tión ³²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	tón ³²	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	tión ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	tion ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	ton ³	---	---

(43) *tón³²* 'throw' (TI)-A.43.33.2.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	tón ³²	taunh ³²	ton ²	táun ²³
FUT	taun ³	táunh ¹	ton ¹	táun ¹³
PAST	tón ³²	tiáunh ²	tón ³²	FUT
AMB	tion ¹³	taunh ²¹	FUT	FUT
HORT	tion ¹³	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	tón ³²	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	tión ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
ANDT	tiáun ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	táun ²	---	---

Comparing the base nuclei of Table 4.30 with the base nuclei in Tables 4.31, 4.32, and 4.33, and comparing the nature of the changes which occur, it becomes evident that neither the consonant which precedes the nucleus nor the tone-stress paradigm alone is sufficient to predict whether one, two or three changes will occur for a given nucleus, or the nature of the change, or even if change will occur at all, as in (41)-(43) above. However, by taking into account both the consonant preceding the nucleus and the tone-stress paradigm, it appears that the degree and nature of vocalic change can be determined. For example, when the nucleus /aɪ/ is preceded by /n/, the tone stress paradigm A.27.30.6.3 is associated with one vocalic change, the paradigm A.47.18.7.2 is associated with two changes, and the paradigm A.43.33.2.1 is associated with three changes.

Although the two conditioning factors of the preceding consonant and the tone-stress paradigm determine the absence or presence of change in the nucleus, and the degree of that change if it occurs, there appear to be no rules for determining precisely which cell in a verb's matrix will exhibit change. This is discussed further in §4.1.6.3.

4.1.6.3 The Verb Matrix and Unstable Nuclei

The following Tables 4.34-4.36 diagram those points in the verb matrix where unstable nuclei may exhibit change. An x without parentheses indicates that if a verb exhibits change in its nucleus, it will obligatorily change at that point in the matrix. An (x) indicates that change may occur at that point in the matrix depending on the tone-stress paradigm followed by the verb (that is, one verb requires a change at that point in the matrix, another does not). If a change occurs in the 1SG-PRES, it will also occur in the 1SG-FUT, so only one needs to be charted; the same for 2-PRES and 2-FUT. In both instances I have chosen the PRES. To economise on space in the following chart, I have assigned numbers to the relevant matrix cells as follows:

- | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 = 3-PRES | 2 = 3-FUT | 3 = 3-PAST | 4 = 3-AMB | 5 = 3-HORT |
| 6 = 3-EVID | 7 = 3-HOD | 8 = 3-DIR | 9 = 2-PRES | 10 = 2-PAST |
| 11 = 2-AMB | 12 = 1SG-PRES | 13 = 1SG-PAST | 14 = 1PL-PRES | |

Verbs which exhibit one change in the nucleus exhibit change in the following matrix cells:

Table 4.34 Matrix of Potential Single Vocalic Change

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ei		x											
ou		x											
u									x				
ua											x	x	
ia								x		x	x	x	x
i								x	x	x	x	x	
ï			(x)	(x)		(x)	(x)		(x)				(x)
ie									(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)
uai	x								(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)
uo		x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x
uou		x			(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
io		(x)			(x)		(x)	(x)		(x)			x
ie		(x)				(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)
a		(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
au	(x)		(x)	(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
ai	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
e		(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
o	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
ei	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
iei	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)

Verbs which exhibit two changes in the nucleus exhibit change in the following matrix cells:

Table 4.35 Matrix of Potential Double Vocalic Change

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
iu								x		x	x	x	x
ï			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
o	(x)			(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	x				(x)
ai	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)	(x)	(x)	x				(x)
a	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	x	x	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)

Verbs which exhibit three changes in the nucleus exhibit change in the following matrix cells:

Table 4.36 Matrix of Potential Triple Vocalic Change

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
au	x		(x)	x		x	x		x			x	
o	x		(x)	x		x	x	x	x	x			x
ai	(x)	(x)	(x)	x		x	x	(x)	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)

From Tables 4.34-4.36 above it can be seen that, for the majority of

nuclei, neither the fact of change nor its degree (one, two or three changes) can be reliably predicted by comparing the nucleus of 3-PRES (the citation form) with the nucleus of any one cell (for example, 2-PAST), or even a restricted set of cells; the only exceptions being the few nuclei such as *u* and *ua* for which the cells in which change may occur are more constrained.

4.1.7 The Interaction of Tone-stress and Vocalic Change

At this stage of my analysis, it is unclear whether (i) the utilisation of a particular tone-stress paradigm for a grammatical person triggers vocalic change, or if (ii) vocalic change influences the choice of a particular tone-stress paradigm.

Against (i) is the fact that there are certain inflectional parameters which permit alternate tone-stresses, but there is no concomitant change in the nucleus.

In favour of (ii) is the intuition of my language assistant (however reliable this may be), who feels that it is the awareness that a verb exhibits change in the nucleus which influences the choice of the tone-stress paradigm.

Against (ii) is the fact that there are verbs which exhibit alternate nuclei for certain matrix cells, but both forms share the same tone-stress (see the 3-AMB in (36)). Another argument against (ii) is that there are verbs which utilise stable nuclei but exhibit tone-stress paradigms which are primarily associated with nucleus-changing verbs.

The only issue that is clear is that some tone-stress paradigms for a particular grammatical person are associated with change in the nucleus, whereas other tone-stress paradigms are associated with the absence of change; the degree of association forming a cline from 100% to 0%. See, for example, Table 4.12 (inflection set I-b), paradigms P33 and P28 respectively.

4.1.8 Verb Morphology

Each of the eight parameters outlined in §4.1 that occasion inflection of the dynamic verb root is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

4.1.8.1 Inflection for Transitivity

I have not found any rule for predicting the changes that occur on a verb root when the valence (degree of transitivity) is altered. Even though some tone-stress paradigms appear to be unique to intransitive verbs (for example, C.54), transitive verbs (for example, A.47.19.7.2), and ditransitive verbs (for example, A.58.37.5.2), there are many paradigms that are not valence specific. For example, the verbs *cué²³* 'sneeze' (IA), *cuí²³* 'discard' (TI), and *hó²³* 'excavate' (DI) all share the same paradigm A.29.12.3.1; and *jmih³²* 'urinate' (IA), *hlia³²* 'push' (TI), and *cha³²* 'measure' (DI) all share the same paradigm A.59.32.3.1. Thus the precise relationship between tone-stress paradigms and a verb's valence, if there is any, is unclear.

Inflectionally related verbs^{<14>} of differing valence appear to follow separate tone-stress paradigms, often with vocalic differences as well. I have limited the following examples to the third-person, with inflections for future, present, remote past, and the hortative, which is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of different paradigms. Examples are:

(44)(a)		PRES	FUT	PAST	HORT
	'suckle' (IA)	<i>tiúh²³</i>	<i>tiúh³</i>	<i>tiúh³</i>	<i>tiúh¹³</i>
	'suckle' (TA)	<i>tiunh²</i>	<i>tiunh³</i>	<i>tiunh³</i>	<i>tiunh¹³</i>
(b)		PRES	FUT	PAST	HORT
	'lower' (IA)	<i>son²</i>	<i>son¹³</i>	<i>son²</i>	<i>son²</i>
	'lower' (TA)	<i>sión³²</i>	<i>sión³²</i>	<i>sión³²</i>	<i>sión²¹</i>
(c)		PRES	FUT	PAST	HORT
	'laugh' (IA)	<i>ngái²³</i>	<i>ngái³</i>	<i>ngái³</i>	<i>ngái¹³</i>
	'laugh at' (TA)	<i>ngái³²</i>	<i>ngái³²</i>	<i>ngái³²</i>	<i>ngái²¹</i>
(d)		PRES	FUT	PAST	HORT
	'run' (IA)	<i>cuon²</i>	<i>cuon³</i>	<i>cuón³</i>	<i>cuon¹</i>
	'disarray' (TI)	<i>cuon²³</i>	<i>cuon³</i>	<i>cuon³</i>	<i>cuon¹³</i>

In (44a), the intransitive form of the verb 'suckle' is not nasalised, but the transitive counterpart is nasalised to mark an animate object (see §4.1.8.5).

In (44b), the transitive form of the verb 'lower' is palatalised; the intransitive form is not.

In (44c), there is no phonological difference between the two verbs 'laugh' and 'laugh at', only tone-stress inflectional differences.

In (44d), there are both tone-stress and vocalic differences between the verbs 'run' and 'cause to run, disarray' (for example, the knocking over and scattering of a stack of bricks).

Although the object of most transitive verbs is generally present, some transitive verbs such as *cúh²* 'eat' and *hle^h²* 'speak' regularly omit the object. There is no change in the internal inflection (tone, stress, or nucleus) of the verb when this occurs. For example:

- (45) *Jláh¹ ué² ca³-hle^h² tɨ² (já¹¹).*
 really long^{time} PAST-speak^{TI}³ teacher word/message
 'The teacher went on speaking (the message/lesson) for ages.'

4.1.8.2 Ditransitives

Chinantec ditransitives cross-reference three nominal constituents directly, without prepositions. <15>

The animacy of the DO and the person of a recipient IO affects the ditransitive verb's paradigm, yielding four sub-types of verbs: ditransitive inanimate direct (DI), ditransitive inanimate inverse (DI^I), ditransitive animate direct (DA), and ditransitive animate inverse (DA^I); for the direct-inverse contrast; see §8.1.4. Examples of each respectively are:

- (46) P S IO DO T
Cué² tsú² jon² quie² tsa²háu².
 give^{DI}^{FUT}³ 3 child³ money tomorrow
 'S/he will give her/his child money tomorrow.'
- (47) P S IO DO T
Cué² tsú² jná¹ quie² tsa²háu².
 give^{DI}^I^{FUT}³>1 3 I money tomorrow
 'S/he will give me money tomorrow.'
- (48) P S IO DO
Cuen² tsú² jon² jan² mí¹tiei².
 give^{DA}^{FUT}³ 3 child³ one^{AN} cat
 'S/he will give her/his child a cat.'
- (49) P S IO DO
Cue² tsú² Pé¹ jná¹.
 give^{DA}^I^{FUT}³>1 3 Peter I
 'S/he will give me (to) Peter.' (in marriage)

Ditransitive verb arguments (subject, direct object, indirect object) and their permutability are discussed in §8.1.2.3.

Some combinations of the inflection set paradigms appear to be unique

to ditransitive verbs (see Tables 4.16 and 4.19); for example, A.58.37.1.2 (the verb *cueh*³² 'give' (DI)), and B.24.28 (the verb *dí²ñu³* 'brace' (DI)). The majority of ditransitive verbs, however, are not identifiable as ditransitive simply by means of their tone-stress paradigms.

Some verbs may be used either transitively or ditransitively with no change in the internal inflection; other verbs appear to be only transitive or ditransitive. There is no semantic difference for most verbs which may be used transitively or ditransitively (see (50) below); however, a few verbs with transitive and ditransitive counterparts differ semantically (see (51) below).

(50)(a) P S DO IO
Há² dí¹- *toh²* *tsú² zió³ lá¹ háin².*
 PRF upright[^]PROG-put[^]DI[^]PL[^]PRES[^]3 3 noose neck[^]3 thief
 'He is already (standing) putting the nooses (around) the thieves' necks.'

(b) P S DO
Há² dí¹- *toh²* *tsú² máh³ cuá³*
 PRF upright[^]PROG-put[^]TI[^]PL[^]PRES[^]3 3 squash chilacayote
 L
ñéih³ hñu³cuá³.
 inside crib
 'S/he is already putting the chilacayote squash in her/his (storage) crib.'

(51)(a) *Hien³ tsú² Pé¹.*
 slander[^]TA[^]FUT[^]3 3 Peter
 'S/he will slander Peter.'

(b) *Hien³ tsú² Pé¹ tsa³cuá¹ joh¹.*
 show[^]DA[^]FUT[^]3 3 Peter horse have[^]STA[^]3
 'S/he will show Peter her/his horse.'

4.1.8.3 Inflection for Reflexive

Chinantec reflexive verbs are transitive or ditransitive. The internal inflection of reflexives differs from that of the non-reflexive counterpart, both direct and inverse (§4.1.8.7). Compare the reflexive forms of 'kill' in (52a) and the non-reflexive direct and inverse TA forms in (52b) and (52c):

(52)(a) *jngih*³² 'kill oneself, commit suicide' (TA)-A.68.20.4.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jngih</i> ³²	<i>jngih</i> ²³	<i>jngih</i> ²³	<i>jngih</i> ²³
FUT	<i>jngih</i> ³²	<i>jngih</i> ¹³	<i>jngih</i> ¹³	<i>jngih</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>jngih</i> ³	<i>jngih</i> ²	<i>jngih</i> ²	FUT
AMB	<i>jngih</i> ²¹	<i>jngih</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
INT	<i>jngih</i> ³²	FUT	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jngih</i> ²¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jngih</i> ²¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jngih</i> ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>jngih</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	xxx	<i>jngih</i> ²	xxx	xxx

(b) *jngih*² 'kill' (TA)-A.12.26.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jngih</i> ²	<i>jngih</i> ²³	<i>jngih</i> ³²	<i>jngih</i> ²³
FUT	<i>jngih</i> ³	<i>jngih</i> ¹³	<i>jngih</i> ²¹	<i>jngih</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>jngih</i> ³	<i>jngih</i> ³²	<i>jngih</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>jngih</i> ¹	<i>jngih</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
INT	<i>jngih</i> ³	FUT	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jngih</i> ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jngih</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jngih</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>jngih</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	xxx	<i>jngih</i> ³	xxx	xxx

(c) *jngah*² 'kill' (TA^I)-A.12.22.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jngah</i> ²	<i>jngah</i> ²³	<i>jngaih</i> ³²	<i>jngah</i> ²³
FUT	<i>jngah</i> ³	<i>jngah</i> ¹³	<i>jngaih</i> ²¹	<i>jngah</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>jngah</i> ³	<i>jngah</i> ²	<i>jngaih</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>jngah</i> ¹	<i>jngah</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
INT	<i>jngah</i> ³	FUT	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jngah</i> ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jngah</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jngah</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>jngah</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	xxx	<i>jngah</i> ³	xxx	xxx

Other reflexive verbs which have been identified, with their non-reflexive counterparts, direct and inverse, are given in Table 4.37.

The two reflexive verbs for 'fall' in Table 4.37 imply a deliberate act; for example, committing suicide.

Table 4.37 Reflexive and Non-reflexive Forms of Verbs

	REFLEXIVE	NON-REFLEXIVE	
		DIRECT	INVERSE
'hide'	<i>hmah</i> ³² (TA)-A.70.22.4.2	<i>hma</i> ² (TA)-A.12.24.7.2	<i>hmou</i> ² (TA)-A.12.22.7.2
'fall' (SG)	<i>tanh</i> ³² (TA)-A.69.20.4.2	<i>tónh</i> ³² (TA)-A.47.23.1.2	<i>táun</i> ³² (TA)-A.47.22.1.2
'fall' (PL)	<i>sunh</i> ³² (TA)-A.69.20.x.2	<i>sunh</i> ²³ (TA)-A.38.26.7.2	<i>sauh</i> ² (TA)-A.38.19.7.2
'cover' (completely)	<i>jlín</i> ³² (DA)-A.68.20.4.2	<i>jlín</i> ²³ (DA)-A.38.26.7.2	<i>jlái</i> ³² (DA)-B.47.2
'put on' (pants)	<i>tonh</i> ³² (DA)-A.68.23.5.2	<i>tónh</i> ³² (DA)-B.47.2	<i>táuh</i> ³² (DA)-B.47.2
'wrap up'	<i>tseñh</i> ³² (DA)-A.68.23.5.2	<i>tsáinh</i> ³² (DA)-B.47.2	<i>tsáih</i> ³² (DA)-B.47.2

Reflexive verbs optionally take as the DO a reflexive pronoun (§6.1.1.9.2), which agrees in person and number with the subject. For example:

- (53) *Cainh*³² *tsú*² (*hngá*²) *ñí*¹*ján*² *ní*¹ *má*¹
cover^{DA}PRES³ 3 self^{3SG} blanket when^{FUT} PRF

*ca*³-*niéi*².

PAST-become^{dark}II

'S/he covers (herself) with a blanket at night.'

The presence of the reflexive pronoun appears to add an element of contrastiveness: s/he does it to herself rather than to someone else; or, s/he does it to herself rather than permit someone else to do it to her/him.

Some verbs which are semantically reflexive do not permit the use of the reflexive pronouns in the sense of 'self'; they are IA verbs rather than TA. For example, if any of the set of reflexive pronouns (§6.1.1.9.2) occurs with *lauh*³² 'bathe', the meaning is 'solitariness' (adverbial in force) rather than reflexive:

- (54) *Tiá*² *ñí*¹-*lób*²¹ *tsú*² *hngá*².
not INT-bathe^{IA}3 3 alone
'S/he does not want to bathe alone (by her/himself).'

4.1.8.4 Inflection for Reciprocal

Chinantec reciprocal verbs imply that the subjects, which must be plural animate, are doing something to one another.

The internal inflection of reciprocal verbs is distinct from that of their non-reciprocal counterparts. All the reciprocal verbs that have been identified inflect as Class A or C. Since the subject must be plural, they inflect only for 3PL, 2PL, and 1PL. Compare the paradigms of the non-reciprocal verbs for 'kill' in (52) above with the following paradigm:

(55) *jngáh²³* 'kill (one another)' (TA)-A.27.12.x.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jngáh²³</i>	<i>jngáh²³</i>	xxx	<i>jngáh²³</i>
FUT	<i>jngáh³</i>	<i>jngáh¹³</i>	xxx	<i>jngáh¹³</i>
PAST	<i>jngáh³</i>	<i>jngáh³</i>	xxx	FUT
AMB	<i>jngáh¹³</i>	<i>jngáh¹³</i>	xxx	FUT
INT	<i>jngáh³</i>	FUT	xxx	FUT
HORT	<i>jngáh¹³</i>	xxx	xxx	FUT
EVID	<i>jngáh¹³</i>	AMB	xxx	FUT
HOD	<i>jngáh³</i>	PAST	xxx	FUT
DIR	<i>jngáh³</i>	PAST	xxx	FUT
PROH	xxx	<i>jngáh³</i>	xxx	xxx

A sentential example of *jngáh²* 'kill (one another)' (TA) is:

(56) *Jngáh²³ tsáu² hliá² táinh² hué³².*
 kill-TA-PRES^3PL people because dispute-TI-PRES^3 land
 'People kill (each other) because they dispute over land.'

With TI reciprocal verbs an overt object is common; but an object need not be present. Examples of each respectively are:

(57) *Jlánh¹ ca³- juónh³ tsú² jú¹- hlah³ hi³*
 really PAST-discuss-TI^3PL 3 word-bad-IN COMP

ca³- tñ¹ Pé¹.
 PAST-regard-TA^3 Peter
 'They really discussed bad things about Peter.' (i.e. gossip)

(58) *Tí³ ó³² bíh¹ ná¹- juónh²³ tsú².*
 at yonder AFF PROG^PL-discuss-TI^3PL 3
 'They are having a discussion over there.' (lit. 'They are discussing over there.')

With TA and DA reciprocal verbs, however, an overt DO is grammatical, but is generally regarded as superfluous. An example of each respectively is (see also (56) above):

- (59) *Tín²³* *tsáu²* (*tsá² jan² tsá² jan²*)
 fight^{TA}PRES³PL people person one^{AN} person one^{AN}

hliá² jlánh¹.

because quarrelsome^{SIA}3

'They fight (each other) because they are quarrelsome.'

- (60) *Jnáb²* *tsáu² quín¹* (*tsá² jan²*
 strike^{DA}PRES³PL people rock person one^{AN}

tsá² jan²) ní¹ má¹ ca³- jenh².

person one^{AN} when PRF PAST-meet^{TA}3

'They throw rocks (at one another) whenever they meet.'

4.1.8.5 Marking for Animacy

Most intransitive verbs mark an animate subject by nasalisation of the verb nucleus, but there are some verbs that do not (19 verbs out of 76 in my corpus).^{<16>} Nearly all transitive and ditransitive verbs inflected for direct cross-referencing (§4.1.8.7) exhibit nasalisation of the verb root to mark a third-person animate object (2 exceptions out of 143 verbs). Morphological nasalisation does not occur with the inverse system (§4.1.8.7, §8.1.3.2.1).

Although animacy tends to entail nasalisation, especially for transitive and ditransitive verbs, the presence of a nasalised verb nucleus does not necessarily entail animacy. Morphological nasalisation to mark animacy is obscured when the final syllable begins with a nasal consonant, or when nasalisation of the nucleus of an II, TI or DI verb is integral to the verb. For example:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (61) <i>són²³</i> 'go down, diminish' (II) | <i>son²</i> 'go down' (IA) |
| <i>hma³²</i> 'hide' (TI) | <i>hma²</i> 'hide' (TA) |
| <i>taunh³²</i> 'put in' (DI) | <i>tónh³²</i> 'put in' (DA) |

4.1.8.6 Inflection for Person-of-subject

Intransitive animate verbs mark person-of-subject by internal inflection. In addition, intransitive animate, transitive inanimate, and ditransitive inanimate verbs which do not already end in glottal closure as part of the verb root are usually indexed for second-person subject by the addition of glottal closure; however, transitive and ditransitive animate verbs are not; see Table 8.2 in §8.1.3.1.2. In (62), the first three verbs exhibit morphological glottal

for the second-person subject; in the fourth verb, *tiúh²³* 'suckle' (IA), the glottal is part of the verb root, neutralising the indexing for second-person. All four verbs in (62) are IA, and inflected for the PRES.

(62)	'run'	'whistle'	'sneeze'	'suckle'
3	<i>cuon²</i>	<i>juo²</i>	<i>cué²³</i>	<i>tiúh²³</i>
2	<i>cuoumh³²</i>	<i>juouh³²</i>	<i>cuéh²³</i>	<i>tiúh²³</i>
1SG	<i>cuon²</i>	<i>juo²</i>	<i>cué²³</i>	<i>tiuh³²</i>
1PL	<i>cuóun²³</i>	<i>juóu²³</i>	<i>cué²³</i>	<i>tiúh²³</i>

4.1.8.7 Inflection for Subject-and-object

A transitive or ditransitive animate verb is indexed for either the direct or the inverse cross-referencing system by the presence or absence of morphological nasalisation respectively. In addition, there is frequently a change in the verb nucleus, and occasionally a change in the tone-stress inflection; such inflectional change generally affects only the 2-PAST, but occasionally it may affect the whole verb paradigm.

In the direct system, either (i) the agent (subject) is non-third-person, and the patient (object) is third-person; or, (ii) the agent is third-person proximate, and the patient is third-person obviative. The term 'proximate' refers to the first third-person participant introduced in a series of clauses; 'obviative' refers to the next third-person participant introduced (usually in the patient role).

In the inverse system, if the patient is non-third-person, then any person may be the agent (other than self; see §4.1.8.3), or if there are two third-person participants, then the agent must be third-person obviative and the patient must be third-person proximate. In examples, the inverse system is indicated by the use of an arrow, where the agent is shown to the left of the arrow and the patient is shown to the right; for example, 1SG>2 means there is a first-person singular agent and a second-person patient/recipient.

Details and examples of the direct and inverse systems, and their interaction with accusativity and ergativity are given in §8.1.4.

Examples of the direct system, inanimate and animate respectively, are:

- (63) *Jlánh¹ ré² pá²³ tsú² lán².*
 really well hit^{TI}PRES³ 3 skin
 'He really plays the drums well.'
- (64) *Pan²³ tsú² jon² hliá² tiá² neh³.*
 hit^{TA}PRES³ 3 child³ because not be^{obedient}SIA³
 'S/he hits her/his children because they are disobedient.'

Examples of the inverse cross-referencing system are:

- (65) *Cun³ tsa³hán² bíh¹ po²³ tsú² jná¹³.*
 each tomorrow AFF hit^{PRES}TA³>1 3 I
 'S/he hits me every day.'
- (66) *Má² ní¹-pou²¹ jná¹³ hnú².*
 PRF INT-hit^{TA}1SG>2 I you^{SG}
 'I am about to hit you.'

In (64), the verb 'hit' is inflected for the direct system, and is nasalised to mark an animate third-person object. In (65) and (66), the verb 'hit' is inflected to mark the inverse system, which involves the absence of nasalisation, and for this verb, a change of the nucleus from /a/ to /o/ or /ou/.

An example of two third-person participants in which the first and second verbs are inflected for the direct system (indicating that the subject of the second clause is co-referential with the subject of the first clause) is:

- (67) *Ca³- jin³ Má²rúi³ Pé¹, tí³la³ tiá²*
 PAST-scold^{TA}3 Mary Peter but not
- ca³- pan³ yáh³ tsú².*
 PAST-hit^{TA}3 ASSR 3
 'Mary scolded Peter, but she didn't hit him.'

An example of two third-person participants in which the first verb is inflected for the direct system and the second for the inverse system (indicating that the subject of the second clause is not co-referential with the subject of the first clause) is:

- (68) *Ca³- jin³ Má²rúi³ Pé¹, tí³la³ tiá²*
 PAST-scold^{TA}3 Mary Peter, but not
- ca³- po³ yáh³ tsú².*
 PAST-hit^{TA}3⁴>3 ASSR 3
 'Mary scolded Peter, but he didn't hit her.'

4.1.8.8 Inflection for Number

All Class A verbs differentiate between 1SG and 1PL subjects by internal inflection regardless of their transitivity, but only a few differentiate

between 3SG and 3PL and between 2SG and 2PL. This has already been extensively discussed and illustrated in §4.1.1 and §4.1.4 above.

A few TI and TA verbs use suppletive forms to mark the number of the object; for example, the verbs *tón³²* (TI[^]SG)-A.47.23.1.2 and *sunh²³* (TI[^]PL)-A.38.26.7.2 'cause/make to fall down'. An example of each respectively is:

(69) *#i¹-tón²¹* *tsú² cá¹hán² cuá¹- tsí²¹ hiúh¹.*
INT-make[^]fall[^]TA[^]SG[^]3 3 chicken sit[^]PROG-sit[^]IA[^]3 perch
'S/he wants to make the chicken sitting on its perch fall (off).'

(70) *Ca³-sunh³* *tsú² chí³mah² chu³ sí².*
PAST-make[^]fall[^]TA[^]PL[^]3 3 ant midst fire
'S/he made the ants fall into the fire.'

This agreement of a verb with its object as to number is discussed further in §8.1.3.2.2.

4.1.8.9 'Echo'

Merrifield (1968:30ff.) described an inflectional category for Palantla Chinantec which he termed 'echo', in which verbs form pairs, with one denoting a first time action, and the other a related action which is subsequent to the first. The same inflectional category is found in Sochiapan Chinantec, as illustrated below.

The following verbs are transitive inanimate:

- (71) *jmu²* 's/he makes' *jmouh³²* 's/he fixes'
hna² 's/he sells' *hnaih³²* 's/he resells'
lo² 's/he wraps' *lauh²* 'she rewraps'
hmi³² 's/he sews' *hmai³²* 's/he mends'
la³² 's/he buys' *lau²* 's/he buys secondhand'

Examples of transitive animate verbs are:

- (72) *hna²* 's/he sells' *hnih²³* 's/he resells'
lan²³ 's/he buys' *lón³²* 's/he buys secondhand'

Examples of intransitive animate verbs are:

- (73) *ja³²* 's/he comes' *jáunh²³* 's/he returns here'

From the examples above it can be seen that the 'echo' form tends to have glottal closure and a more complex nucleus, but there do not appear to

be any definitive characteristics.

4.1.8.10 The Present and Future Tenses

Sochiapan Chinantec verbs distinguish the present and future tenses purely by internal inflection of the verb root.

What I have labelled as present and future tenses, Rupp (1989:6), for Lealao Chinantec, and Anderson (1989:8), for Comaltepec Chinantec, refer to by aspectual names: the 'progressive' and the 'intensive' respectively. In Sochiapan Chinantec, however, the progressive seems to be clearly marked by the set of posture oriented prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1), and the intensive is marked by the prefix *ñi¹-* (§4.1.8.12.5).

4.1.8.10.1 The Present Tense

The verbal inflection I have called present may mean either a present actuality or habitual aspect with certain verbs. There are five classes of verbs which have been identified that permit either meaning:

(i) verbs of cognition, such as *ngí²³* (TI) 'understand', *lín²³* 'think' (TI), *tsá²con²* 'forget' (TI), *chau³² tsí³* 'remember' (TI) (lit. '(her/his) heart arrives'), *quiah³² chí¹* 'plan' (IA) (lit. '(s/he) selects (in her/his) head'), *hnauh² tsí³* 'cogitate' (IA) (lit. '(s/he) searches (her/his) heart');

(ii) attitudinal verbs, such as *jeih³²* (TI) 'like', *jeín²³* (TA) 'like', *cáín²³* 'be compatible' (IA), *juénh²* 'fear' (IA, TA, TI), *jeính³²* 'experience' (TI), *hí³² tsí³* 'worry' (IA) (lit. '(her/his) heart counts'), *tính³² tsí³* 'feel empathy for' (IA) (lit. '(her/his) heart is prompt'), *zau³² tsí³* 'become angry' (IA) (lit. '(her/his) heart rises'), *tan²* 'watch' (TA), *jan³²* 'wait' (IA), and *jan²* 'wait for' (TA);

(iii) accompaniment/transportation verbs, such as *cán²³* 'take with' (TI), *caun²* 'take back' (TI), *jan²³* 'take with' (TA), *jón³²* 'take home' (TA);

(iv) verbs of speech, such as: *juónh²³* 'discuss', *juáh²³* 'say' (IA), *hleh³²* 'speak' (IA), *léính³²* 'speak to' (TA), *cha³²* 'relate, tell' (TI), *má²can²* 'tease', *hóh³²* 'shout, cry' (IA), and *ho²³* 'cry' (IA);

(v) the verbs *cuí²³* 'discard' (TI^PL) and *súh²³* 'sow, make fall'

(TI^{PL}). (Note, however, that all the singular verbs and the animate plural verbs, which can be glossed as 'discard, abandon, throw down', permit only the habitual meaning.)

Note that verbs of perception such as 'hear', 'smell', etc. do not permit both meanings, allowing only the habitual sense.

Examples from each set of verbs which can mean both present process and habitual aspect when inflected for the present are:

(74)(a) *Ngí²³* *jnëá¹³ jáí¹³ hí³*
understand^{TI}^{PRES}³ I word COMP

dí¹⁻ hleh³² tsá² ó³².
upright^{PROG}-speak^{TI}³ person yonder
'I understand what that person over there is saying.'

(b) *Ngí²³* *jnëá¹³ Jú¹mih²¹.*
understand^{TI}^{PRES}³ I Spanish

'I understand Spanish.' (i.e. I understand it whenever I hear it spoken - habitual)

(75) *Jan³²* *tsú² tá¹la³ lí¹³* *má³².*

wait^{IA}^{PRES}³ 3 while finish^{II}^{FUT} food
'S/he waits while the food finishes (cooking).'
or: 'S/he is waiting while the food finishes (cooking).'

(76) *Cán²³* *tsú² sí² hñú¹³ tí³².*
take^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 book house³ teacher

'S/he takes the books to school.'
or: 'S/he is taking the books to school.'

(77) *Hín²* *jáí¹³ juónh³² hnoh².*
which^{IN?} word discuss^{TI}² you^{PL}

'What things do you discuss?'
or: 'What things are you discussing?'

(78) *Cuí²³* *tsú² má¹quí³² cá¹hñu²¹ hñú¹³.*

discard^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 rubbish back³ house³
'S/he discards rubbish at the back of her/his house.'
or: 'S/he is discarding rubbish at the back of her/his house.'

The majority of dynamic verbs permit only the habitual sense. For example:

(79) *Cúh²* *tsú² tán².*
eat^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 banana

'S/he eats bananas.' (habitually, but not necessarily presently)

(80) *Cuom³²* *tsú² hí¹ ní².*
sleep^{IA}^{PRES}³ 3 place that

'S/he sleeps there.' (habitually, but not necessarily presently)

4.1.8.10.2 The Future Tense

The inflection I have labelled future conveys a definite sense of futurity, sometimes with a sense of intent, sometimes without. For example:

- (81) *Jngáh³ tsú² mí²ñí³ tsa³háu².*
kill-TA-FUT³ 3 pig tomorrow.
'S/he will kill the pig tomorrow.'
- (82) *Hnúh³² ñú²mih¹ ní² jmáí² ní¹juáh³ hi³*
suffocate-TA-FUT³ boy that water if COMP
tsa³- liáuh³ cua³.
ANDT-FUT-bathe-IA³ river
'That boy will drown if he goes swimming in the river.' (lit. 'The water will suffocate that boy if')
- (83) *Jáum² bíh¹ jmu³ ta²¹ mí³ ní¹juáh³ hi³*
so AFF do-TI-FUT³ work medicine if COMP
cúh¹ hnú² hí³.
eat-TI-FUT³ you-SG tortilla
'The medicine will be effective if you eat food (lit. 'tortillas').'

As can be seen in examples (82) and (83), the future does not necessarily imply intent.

When the future occurs with certain adverbs, such as the perfect *má²* (§5.1.2), the temporal reference is future. For example:

- (84) *Má² jmu³ tsú² hí¹mih²¹.*
PRF make-TI-FUT³ 3 bread
'S/he is about to make bread.'

When a verb inflected for the future occurs with some of the other adverbs, there may be aspectual or modal connotations which do not necessarily have a future temporal reference. For example, when the terminative adverb *jmí¹* (§5.1.4) occurs with the future, unfulfilled desire (irrealis mood) can be expressed:

- (85) *Jmí¹ lá¹³ jná¹³ cáum² jmí²ráu³ hi³ jmí¹ aih²¹.*
TRM buy-TI-FUT¹SG I one-IN soda and TRM drink-TI-FUT¹SG
'I was going to buy a soda and drink it (but didn't).'

Or polite request:

- (86) *Jmí¹ mí¹³ jná¹³ cáum² hí³ quián¹³.*
TRM ask-TI-FUT¹SG I one-IN tortilla have-STI²
'I was wanting to ask you for a tortilla.' (i.e. I want one, but I'm not sure if you will give it to me)

4.1.8.11 Inflection for the Imperative

The imperative mood is marked on Class A and B verbs by internal inflection alone. In §4.1.8.6 I explained how many IA verbs, and most transitive and ditransitive verbs inflected for direct cross-referencing, are indexed for a second-person subject by morphological glottal closure of the final syllable^{<17>} (generally speaking, if the citation form (3-PRES) does not end in glottal, the second-person inflectional forms will). The imperative is based on the form of the 2-PAST minus this morphological glottal. However, if glottal closure forms part of the final syllable, masking (or neutralising) the morphological glottal, the form of the imperative is identical to that of the 2-PAST.

In Table 4.38, the first three verbs illustrate the loss of morphological glottal closure when the verb is inflected for the imperative, and the fourth verb, *tiúh*²³ 's/he suckles' (TA), illustrates how inherent glottal closure is retained.

Table 4.38 Derivation of the Imperative

	'run' (IA)	'sneeze' (IA)	'slash' (TA)	'suckle' (IA)
3-PRES	<i>cuon</i> ²	<i>cué</i> ²³	<i>jáí</i> ³²	<i>tiúh</i> ²³
2-PRES	<i>cuounh</i> ³²	<i>cuéh</i> ²³	<i>jaíh</i> ³²	<i>tiúh</i> ²³
2-FUT	<i>cuóunh</i> ¹	<i>cuéh</i> ¹³	<i>jáíh</i> ¹	<i>tiúh</i> ¹³
2-PAST	<i>cuóunh</i> ³	<i>cuéh</i> ³	<i>jeíh</i> ³	<i>tiuh</i> ³²
2-IMP	<i>cuóun</i> ³	<i>cué</i> ³	<i>jeí</i> ³	<i>tiuh</i> ³²

In imperatives, second-person singular pronouns are usually omitted; however, second-person plural pronouns are usually retained. An example of each respectively is:

(87) *Nia*²¹ *ho*^{3hñú13}.
 open^TI^IMP doorway
 'Open the door (lit. 'doorway, entrance')!'

(88) *Ré*² *jie*³ *náh*².
 well look^TI^IMP you^PL
 'Look closely!' or 'Watch!'

A few Class C verbs form a true imperative the same way as Class A and B verbs (§4.1.1.3). The functional equivalent to the imperative for the majority of Class C verbs is formed by prefixing the hortative *cuí*¹⁻

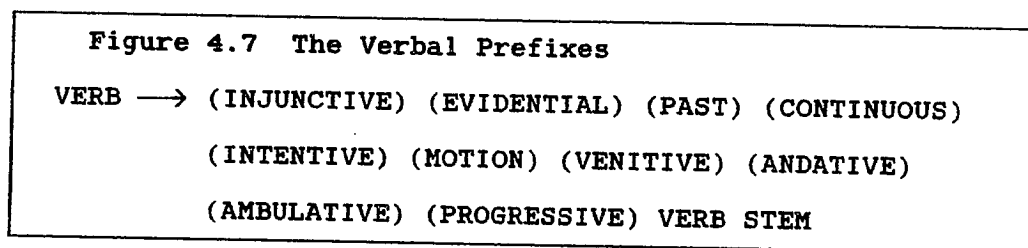
(§4.1.8.12.9.1) to the verb. An example of a typical Class C verb injunction is:

- (89) *Cuɿ¹-cáin¹³ nú² quiúnh¹ mí¹mih¹ lá².*
 HORT-get[^]on[^]with[^]TA^{^2} you[^]SG accompany[^]STA^{^2} little[^]girl this
 'You must get on with (i.e. make friends with) this little girl.'

Class C verb injunctions formed with *cuɿ¹-* generally retain the second-person pronoun, as illustrated in (89).

4.1.8.12 Verb Prefixes

The thirty-one verbal prefixes which have been identified fall into ten ordered constituent sets; these are set out in Figure 4.7.



Six of the ten constituents have a variety of manifesting morphemes; for example, the injunctive constituent includes the hortative (HORT) prefix *cuɿ¹-*, and the exhortative (EXH) prefix *ma³-*.

A maximum of five prefix constituents can occur together in a single verb, although rarely do more than three co-occur. The following example illustrates this maximum; included are the evidential, past, continuous, motion, and progressive prefixes respectively:

- (90) *ñí¹-ca³-ta³-hí¹-chí¹- hóh³² dáin² pih²¹*
 EVID-PAST-CONT-MOT-sustain[^]PROG-cry[^]IA^{^3} baby little

hñu³ mí²tiéí².
 inside shawl.

'The little baby in the shawl was evidently constantly crying nonstop (while) hanging (there).'

In (90), the prefix *ñí¹-* connotes that the speaker could hear the action; *ca³-* marks the event as at least one day prior to the speech act, *ta³-* marks the event as continuous enough to be regarded as a state, *hí¹-* connotes that the noise of the crying was progressive or constant, and *chí¹-* connotes that the subject is suspended above terra firma.

4.1.8.12.1 The Progressive Aspect Prefixes

The first constituent to the left of the verb stem consists of a set of posture oriented prefixes which generally connote progressive aspect (PROG), but may at times be closer to continuous aspect in connotation.

There are five progressive prefixes (or six if counting the two forms used to indicate 'sitting'; see Table 4.39) which can collocate with dynamic verbs; four are used to specify the posture of singular subjects, the fifth is used whenever the subject is plural, neutralising the posture distinctions: *rá¹-* 'flat, horizontal' (SG), *dí¹-* 'upright' (SG), *cuá¹-* 'sitting, indefinite' (SG), *chí¹-* 'upright, sustained, indefinite' (SG), and *ná¹-* 'non-specific' (PL).

For example:

- (91) *Rá¹- hleh³² tsú².*
flat¹PROG-talk³TI³ 3
'S/he is talking.' (in a horizontal position).
- (92) *Cuá¹- hleh³² tsú².*
sit¹PROG-talk³TI³ 3
'S/he is talking.' (in a sitting position).
- (93) *Ná¹- hleh³² tsú².*
PROG¹PL-talk³TI³ 3
'They are talking.' (posture unspecified)

Each of these posture-oriented prefixes has been grammaticised from various posture-oriented verbs. The phonological shape of the prefix is often only suggestive of its origin, as can be seen in Table 4.39. (In addition, there are two progressive prefixes which are found only with state verbs: *hú¹-* 'holding, containing' (SG) and *há¹-/há²-* 'open' (SG); see §4.4.4.)

Table 4.39 Derivation of the Progressive Prefixes

VERB	MEANING	PREFIX	MEANING
<i>rón³²</i>	'lying flat' SG	> <i>rá¹-/rá²-</i>	'flat, horizontal' SG
<i>zeh²³</i>	'stand' IN ¹ SG	> <i>dí¹-</i>	'upright' SG
<i>zenh²</i>	'stand' AN ¹ SG	> <i>cuá¹-</i> , <i>ñi³-</i>	'sitting, indefinite' AN ¹ SG
<i>cua³²</i>	'sit' AN ¹ SG	> <i>chí¹-</i>	'upright, indefinite' SG
<i>chi²¹</i>	'stand' IN ¹ SG	> <i>ná¹-</i>	'indefinite' PL
<i>chin¹</i>	'stand' AN ¹ SG		
<i>nio²</i>	'be present' PL		

Each of the progressive prefixes in Table 4.39 are discussed in turn below.

(i) *Rá¹-* or *rá²-* 'flat, horizontal' collocates with both animate and inanimate verbs. There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between the two variants, although *rá²-* tends to occur more frequently when the following syllable is on a low or low-rising tone. The verb must have as its subject/agent either a singular animate or inanimate nominal, or an inanimate mass nominal. Examples of each respectively are:

- (94) *Jlánh¹ rá¹-* *huónh¹* *ñú²* *ní²* *hliá²*
really flat^{PROG}-be^{tired}^{SIA}³ fellow that because

ñéi¹ *Cú¹quiú³.*
go^{non}^{home}^{PAST}^{IA}³SG Santa^{Maria}
'That fellow is lying around exhausted because he went to (and returned from) Santa Maria.'

- (95) *Há² rá²-* *cau³²* *cháu²* *quich²¹* *yeh³* *Pé¹.*
PRF flat^{PROG}-burn^{II} cut^{field} have^{STI}³ elder Peter
'Old man Peter's cut field is burning.'

- (96) *Ré² bíh¹ rá¹-* *hmá¹* *quéi¹³* *Pé¹.*
well AFF flat^{PROG}-hide^{II} money³ Peter
'Peter's money is well hidden.'

(ii) *Dí¹-* 'upright' (that is, perpendicular to the plane of the earth) appears to collocate almost exclusively with animate verbs; examples of *dí¹-* with inanimate dynamic verbs are uncommon, the preferred prefix being *chí¹-* 'upright, sustained, indefinite' (see (iv) below). Examples illustrating the use of *dí¹-* with animate and inanimate verbs respectively are:

- (97) *Dí¹-* *co²* *mí¹mih¹* *tí³* *ó³².*
upright^{PROG}-play^{IA}³ girl at yonder
'The (little) girl is playing over there.'

- (98) *Há² dí¹-* *jmu²* *ta²¹* *refrigerador* *quion²¹.*
PRF upright^{PROG}-do^{TI}³ work refrigerator have^{STI}¹SG
'My refrigerator is now functioning.'

However, *dí¹-* readily collocates with inanimate state verbs; for example:

- (99) *Há² dí¹-* *hun¹* *ca²* *hñú¹³* *yeh³* *Tu²¹.*
PRF upright-shine^{SII} candle house³ elder Anthony
'A candle is now burning/shining in old man Tony's house.'

(iii) *Cuá¹-* (non-second-person) and *ñi³-* (second-person) 'sitting, indefinite' collocates with only animate verbs. For example:

- (100) *He³* *ñi³-* *jmu³²* *nú²* *ñú¹?*
what? sit^{PROG}-do^{TI}² you^{SG} friend
'What are you sitting (there) doing (my) friend?'

- (101) Lá² má² cuá¹- hí²³ jná¹³ cáun² sí².
 here PRF sit[^]PROG-read[^]TI[^]1SG I one[^]IN book
 'I'm sitting here reading a book.'
- (102) Juí³² Hngoh³ bíh¹ cuá¹- jáí³² Pé¹ chá² jñéi².
 path Zautla AFF indefinite[^]PROG-cut[^]TI[^]3 Peter field[^]3 bean
 'Peter is cutting his beanfield (lit. 'the bean's field') by the trail to
 Zautla.'

(iv) The prefix *chí¹-* 'upright, sustained, indefinite' collocates with either animate or inanimate verbs; the inanimate verb may reference either a singular noun or a group of objects viewed as a singular entity, such as a field of maize. For example:

- (103) Tí³ ó³² chí¹- hén²³ jmáí² ñí¹
 at yonder sustain[^]PROG-sound[^]II water place
 chí¹- he² láh¹.
 sustain[^]PROG-be[^]suspended[^]II trough
 'Over there is the sound of water (lit. 'water is sounding') where a
 (raised) trough is situated.'
- (104) Ná² chí¹- ho² dáín² hñu³ mí²tiéi².
 PRF sustain[^]PROG-cry[^]IA[^]3 baby inside shawl
 'The baby is now hanging (there) crying inside the shawl.' (i.e.
 the shawl is hung from a hook or rope)

(v) The prefix *ná¹-* marks both the progressive aspect and plurality of the subject, but does not denote any specific posture. *Ná¹-* may replace any of the singular, posture specific prefixes. Examples of *ná¹-* with inanimate and animate verbs respectively are:

- (105) Ná² ná¹- sub³² mí³ má¹ hliá² tiá³
 PRF PROG[^]PL-fall[^]II[^]PL spherical mango because intensely
 lín³² ja³² chí³.
 very come[^]PRES[^]II wind
 'The mangoes are falling now because the wind is blowing so in-
 tensely.'
- (106) Ná¹- jñu³² jñoh¹ ta²¹ quioh²¹ yeh³.
 PROG[^]PL-do[^]TI[^]PRES[^]1PL we work have[^]STI[^]3 elder
 'We are working for the old man.'

The set of progressive prefixes fail two of the criteria that I have set up as diagnostic of a prefix (§4.0):

(i) When the verb is affixed with any of the progressive aspect prefixes, the internal inflection remains the same as for the present tense.

(ii) This set of prefixes is able to collocate with parts of speech other

than just the dynamic verb stem: they can also affix directly to adjectives and state verbs. An example of each respectively is:

- (107) *Ca³- tsan³ la³ ján³² tsá² ná¹- quien² hí³.*
 PAST-die^{IA}3PL about all^{AN} person PROG^{PL}-important those^{AN}
 'All of those people in authority died.'
- (108) *Ná¹- ñi³² tsú² hin² tsánh² tsau³².*
 PROG^{PL}-know^{STI}3 3 which person go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{3SG}
 'They know which person will go.'

In (107), the function of *ná¹-* is to mark the adjective *quien²* for plurality. Similarly in (108), *ná¹-* is not necessary to mark the state verb *ñi³²* 'know' for progressive aspect, but it does mark the verb for plural subject.

On the basis that other morphemes which fulfil all the criteria for prefixes are able to precede the progressive morphemes (for example, *ñi¹-* (EVID)), I consider the progressive morphemes to function as verbal prefixes.

Another problem is the designation of the set of progressive prefixes as 'first order'. Neither the second order ambulative *ñi³-*, nor any member of the third order set of andative prefixes, nor any member of the fourth order set of venitive prefixes are able to occur with any member of the progressive set. The fifth order motion prefix *hí¹-* is able to occur with members of the progressive set, which places the progressive set to the right of *hí¹-*; see (90) above.

I have designated the progressive set as first order for the following reasons:

(i) Verbs affixed for the progressive exhibit the same form of the verb as for the present (which has no prefix). This argument is weakened by the fact that the fourth-order motion prefix *hí¹-* also takes the present form of the verb.

(ii) Some disyllabic verbs (§4.1.5) have as their first syllable one of the progressive prefixes. Assimilation of a prefix resulting in a new lexeme seems more likely to occur with the innermost prefix.

(iii) The ambulative *ñi³-*, which fulfils all the criteria for a prefix, is able to precede disyllabic verbs which have an incorporated progressive

prefix as the first syllable. In (109) the verb *di²jñi³²* 'kneel' is etymologically a compound of the progressive *di¹-* (vertical orientation) and *cú¹jñi¹* 'knee':

- (109) *ñi³-di³jñi²¹ tsáu² ñi¹ lí³ cúh³².*
 AMB-kneel^{IA}3 people place be^{II}^PRES church
 'People walk around on their knees in church.' (i.e. doing penance)

(iv) Even though the set of progressive prefixes could be positioned immediately to the right of the motion prefix *hi¹-* with which they can collocate, it seems plausible to group together the four orders of prefixes which connote directional and non-directional motion than to interpose a non-motion set somewhere in their midst.

4.1.8.12.2 The Ambulative Prefix *ñi³-*

The ambulative (AMB) prefix *ñi³-* is used when the direction of the motion is unknown, insignificant, or suppressed for some reason. If no other tense-designating prefix occurs with *ñi³-*, the connotation may be either actual present or habitual aspect. Examples of the uses of *ñi³-* are:

- (110) *He³ ta²¹ ñi³-ngíh¹ nú² ñi¹ lá^{2?}*
 what? work AMB-walk^{IA}2SG you^{SG} place this
 'Why are you walking around here?' (i.e. 'What do you want?')
 (actual present)
- (111) *ñi³-juí²¹ tsú² ja¹ hñú³ hi³ téh²³ raính²¹.*
 AMB-whistle^{IA}3 3 among house COMP call^{TA}^PRES³ companion³
 'He walks around in the streets calling his companions/peers.'
 (habitual, but not right now)

By metaphorical extension the ambulative can also collocate with the verb *ngí³²* 'walk' when it references an inanimate nominal; for example:

- (112) *Jlánh¹ hí²táí³² ñi³-ngí²¹ trein²¹ ó³².*
 really slowly AMB-walk^{II}^SG train yonder
 'That train over there is moving very slowly.' (present)
 or: 'That train over there moves very slowly.' (habitual)

When a verb is inflected for second-person and affixed with *ñi³-*, the tone-stress of the verb generally disambiguates between the second-person progressive 'sitting, unspecified' and the ambulative. For example:

- (113)(a) *He³ ta²¹ ñi³- jmu^{h32} nú² ñú^{1?}*
 what? work sit^{PROG}-do^{TI}^2 you^{SG} friend
 'What are you sitting (there) working on (my) friend?'

- (b) *He³ ta²¹ ñi³-jmuh²¹ nú² ñú¹?*
 what? work AMB-do^TI^2 you^SG friend
 'What are you walking around working on (my) friend?'

The probable source of *ñi³-* (AMB) is the verb *ngí³²* 'walk'.

4.1.8.12.3 The Andative and Venitive Prefixes

Because of the functional and etymological similarity between the third-order andative and fourth-order venitive prefixes, they are discussed here together. The general term for both sets is 'directional prefixes' since motion is seen as taking place with reference to the speaker as the deictic centre.

To establish the andative as the third-order prefix, an example of the second-order ambulative *ñi³-* being preceded by an andative is:

- (114) *Tsá²- ñi³-liáuh¹³ tsú² cua³.*
 ANDT^PRES-AMB-bathe^IA^3 3 river
 'S/he goes to the river to swim around.' (i.e. swimming is here viewed as a kind of locomotion)

The order venitive-andative is illustrated by the following example where the andative prefix *ñi¹-* 'go' (PAST) is preceded by the venitive prefix *cua³-* 'come' (PAST), resulting in *cuá²ñi¹-* 'went and returned' (note the anticipatory tone perturbation of *cua³-* whereby the low tone is raised to mid by the following high tone). The implication of *cuá²ñi¹-* is that the subject of the verb has gone, fulfilled the action specified by the verb, and returned. When these prefixes co-occur, neither of the past tense prefixes (§4.1.8.12.7) can occur; for example:

- (115) *Ná² cuá²- ñi¹- jéih²¹ tsú² hiá¹ cuú².*
 PRF VEN^PAST-ANDT^PAST-weed^TI^3 3 weed^3 maize
 'S/he has returned from weeding her/his cornfield.'
 (lit. '... from weeding/removing the maize's weeds.')

4.1.8.12.3.1 The Andative Prefixes

There are ten distinct andative prefixes (ANDT) denoting motion away from the speaker as deictic centre, as well as marking person, tense, and mood. These are set out in Table 4.40:

Table 4.40 The Andative Prefixes

	3	2	1SG	1PL
HABITUAL	<i>tsá²⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>ñí²⁻</i>	<i>tsá²⁻</i>
PRESENT	<i>já²⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>ñí²⁻</i>	<i>tsá²⁻</i>
FUTURE	<i>tsa³⁻</i>	<i>cuá¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>tsá¹⁻</i>
PAST	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>
IMPERATIVE	XXX	<i>cuá²⁻</i>	XXX	XXX

ATTAINMENT	<i>cha³⁻</i>	<i>cha³⁻</i>	XXX	XXX

The attainment prefix *cha³⁻* in Table 4.40 above is treated as a subset of the andative prefixes. It is discussed separately below in §4.1.8.12.3.2.

Most motion verbs consist of pairs that are oriented towards 'home' or 'non-home'. As noted in Foris (1978:353):

Home is defined as the place where a person lives and works for himself. Depending on the scope of reference, the place here called home may be taken as one's house, home-town, ranch or cornfield.

Non-home is elsewhere.

There are two possible verbs that could have become grammaticised into the set of andative prefixes (apart from the prefix *já²⁻* (3-PRES), the etymology of which is unknown): *tsau³²* 'go (home)' or *tsanh³²* 'go (non-home)'. A partial paradigm for each verb is set out in Table 4.41, incorporating only those inflectional parameters which correspond to the andative prefixes:

Table 4.41 The Verbs 'go (home)' and 'go (non-home)'

	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
'go (home)'						
PRES	<i>tsanh³²</i>	<i>cuánh²³</i>	<i>ñih³²</i>	<i>tsáuh²³</i>	<i>cuá²tánh¹</i>	<i>tsá²tánh¹</i>
FUT	<i>tsánh³²</i>	<i>cuánh¹³</i>	<i>ñih²¹</i>	<i>tsáuh¹³</i>	<i>cuá¹tánh¹</i>	<i>tsa³tánh¹</i>
PAST	<i>ngah³</i>	<i>chánh³</i>	<i>ngah³</i>	<i>ngauh³</i>	<i>cha³tánh¹</i>	<i>ja³tanh²¹</i>
IMP	XXX	<i>cuánh³</i>	XXX	XXX	<i>cua³tánh¹</i>	XXX
'go (non-home)'						
PRES	<i>tsau³²</i>	<i>cuóh²³</i>	<i>ñe²</i>	<i>tsáu²³</i>	<i>cuá²taúnh¹</i>	<i>tsá²taúnh¹</i>
FUT	<i>tsó³²</i>	<i>cuóh¹³</i>	<i>ñe¹</i>	<i>tsáu¹³</i>	<i>cuá¹taúnh¹</i>	<i>tsa³taúnh¹</i>
PAST <	<i>ngau³</i>	<i>cháuh³</i>	<i>ngau³</i>	<i>ngau³</i>	<i>cha³taúnh¹</i>	<i>ja³taúnh²¹</i>
IMP	XXX	<i>cuó³</i>	XXX	XXX	<i>cua³taúnh¹</i>	XXX

In the 'go (non-home)' paradigm, the upper set of past forms imply that the

person has gone but not yet returned, the lower set imply that s/he has gone and returned.

Since the andative prefixes generally imply motion away from the speaker as deictic centre, it seems logical that they are derived from *tsau*³² 'go (non-home)'; however, the formal correspondence between the set of andative prefixes and the paradigm for *tsanh*³² 'go (home)' appears to be greater than with the paradigm for *tsau*³² 'go (non-home)', apart from the forms for the past. Native speaker reaction favours the paradigm of *tsau*³² 'go (non-home)' as the source of the andative prefixes.

The Chinantec present can include both actual present and habitual aspect; see §4.1.8.10.1. However, a distinction is made between the actual present and habitual aspect in the third-person andative prefixes. The form *já*²⁻ is used to mark the actual present, and *tsá*²⁻ is used to mark the habitual aspect. For example:

(116) *há*² *já*²⁻ *quiaun*² *tsú*² *cuo*¹ *quioh*²¹.
 PRF ANDT³PRES-bring³ TI³ 3 firewood have³ STI³
 'S/he is on her way to bring back her/his firewood.'

(117) *Jmá*¹ *la*³ *lá*² *má*² *tsá*²⁻ *jéi*³ *tsú*² *chá*² *jñéi*².
 time about this PRF ANDT³PRES-slash³ TI³ 3 field³ bean
 'About this time of year people go to cut (the jungle to make) their beanfields.' (lit. '... the bean's field.')

Other examples of the use of the andative prefixes are found in §4.1.8.12.3.4 below.

4.1.8.12.3.2 The Attainment Prefix *cha*³⁻

When a verb is affixed with the attainment (ATT) prefix *cha*³⁻, the actual journey to the point of the action is not in mind, as occurs with both the andative and venitive prefixes. Instead, the subject is visualised as undertaking (or undergoing) the action from the moment of arrival. *Cha*³⁻ is restricted in its distribution, occurring only with second and third-person.

When *cha*³⁻ occurs with a verb inflected for the third-person, it is obligatorily found in conjunction with the hortative prefix *cu*¹⁻ (§4.1.8.12.9.1); a wish is being expressed by the speaker, which can function as an indirect

command. For example:

- (118) *Cuí¹-cha³-lia³² tsú² má³² hi³ cuh³.*
 HORT-ATT- buy^{TI}^3 3 food COMP eat^{TI}^FUT^3
 'May they attain the purchasing of food to eat.' (i.e. 'I am telling you to tell them to go and buy some food to eat.')

However, if the subject is inanimate, only a wish is being expressed, which is generally adversative. For example:

- (119) *Cuí¹-cha³-cái¹ ha¹ tsú².*
 HORT-ATT- be^{torn}^II shirt^3 3
 'May his shirt attain (the state of) being torn.' (e.g. when he climbs the tree which he insists on climbing)

The only prefix that is able to occur with *cuí¹-* (HORT) and *cha³-* (ATT) when both are present, is the intensitive *ñí¹-* (§4.1.8.12.5). For example:

- (120) *Cuí¹-ñí¹-cha³-tsumh¹ tsú² hñu³² ná¹.*
 HORT-INT-ATT- ruin^{TI}^3 3 house¹SG I
 'May they keep wanting to attain the ruination of my house.' (i.e. from the speaker's point of view, their intention is futile)

Note that the speaker must be situated away from her/his house to utter (120).

When *cha³-* (ATT) is affixed to a verb inflected for the second-person, the sense is of a gentle imperative or a polite request. The second-person pronoun is obligatory. For example:

- (121) *Cha³-jien¹ nú² renh².*
 ATT- see^{TA}^2 you^{SG} sibling²
 'Go see your sibling.' (lit. 'Attain (the) seeing (of) your sibling.')

In contrast, a verb affixed with the second-person imperative andative prefix *cuá²-* requires the omission of the second-person singular pronoun (but not the plural). For example:

- (122) *Cuá²- jien¹ renh²!*
 ANDT^{IMP}-see^{TA}^2 sibling²
 'Go see your sibling!'

The prefix *cha³-* (ATT) derives from *chau³²* 'arrive (non-home)' (IA). The form of the verb is the same as when affixed for the andative. When there are optional tone-stresses available for marking inflection for the third-person andative, often the preferred tone-stress for marking attainment is the lower tone of the two options.

The position of *cha*³⁻ (ATT) in the scheme of things is somewhat problematic. *Cha*³⁻ is not able to collocate with any member of the set of progressive prefixes, nor with *ñi*³⁻ (AMB), nor any member of the set of andative or venitive prefixes, nor with the motion prefix *hi*¹⁻ (§4.1.8.12.4). The first prefix to the left of the verb with which *cha*³⁻ can collocate is the sixth-order intentive *ñi*¹⁻ (§4.1.8.12.5). Because the sense of *cha*³⁻ is motion away from the deictic centre, and the form of the verb is the same as when inflected for the andative, I have tentatively included *cha*³⁻ in the same distribution class as the andative prefixes.

4.1.8.12.3.3 The Venitive Prefixes

There are seven distinct venitive prefixes (VEN) denoting motion towards the speaker as deictic centre, as well as marking person, tense, and mood. These are set out in Table 4.42.

Table 4.42 The Venitive Prefixes

	3	2	1SG	1PL
HABITUAL	<i>já</i> ²⁻	<i>ña</i> ³⁻	<i>já</i> ²⁻	<i>já</i> ²⁻
PRESENT	<i>ja</i> ³⁻	<i>ña</i> ³⁻	<i>ja</i> ³⁻	<i>ja</i> ³⁻
FUTURE	<i>ja</i> ³⁻	<i>ña</i> ¹⁻	<i>já</i> ¹⁻	<i>já</i> ¹⁻
PAST	<i>cua</i> ³⁻	<i>cua</i> ³⁻	<i>cua</i> ³⁻	<i>cua</i> ³⁻
IMPERATIVE	xxx	<i>ña</i> ²⁻	xxx	xxx

There are two verbs that could have become grammaticised into the non-past venitive prefixes: *jáunh*²³ 'come (home)' and *ja*³² 'come (non-home)'. The possible sources for the past venitive prefixes are presented and discussed later.

Partial paradigms for the verbs *jáunh*²³ 'come (home)' and *ja*³² 'come (non-home)' are set out in Table 4.43, incorporating only those inflectional parameters which correspond to the venitive prefixes. Note that the actual verbs for 'come' have only a present inflection, which is habitual in force rather than actual present (§4.1.8.10.1); however, the venitive prefixes distinguish between the habitual aspect and actual present. This distinction is illustrated in (128) and (129).

Table 4.43 The Verbs 'come (home)' and 'come (non-home)'

'come (home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>jáunh²³</i>	<i>ñeih³²</i>	<i>jáunh²³</i>	<i>jáuh²³</i>	<i>ñá²tánh¹</i>	<i>já²tánh¹</i>
FUT	<i>jáunh³</i>	<i>ñeih²¹</i>	<i>jáunh¹³</i>	<i>jáuh¹³</i>	<i>ñá¹tánh¹</i>	<i>ja³tánh¹</i>
PAST	<i>jaunh³</i>	<i>ñeh³</i>	<i>jaunh³</i>	<i>jauh³</i>	<i>ña³tanh²¹</i>	<i>ja³tanh²¹</i>
IMP	xxx	<i>ñah³²</i>	xxx	xxx	<i>ña³tánh¹</i>	xxx
'come (non-home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>ja³²</i>	<i>ñeih³²</i>	<i>já²³</i>	<i>jáu²³</i>	<i>ña³táunh¹</i>	<i>já²táunh¹</i>
FUT	<i>já³²</i>	<i>ñeih²¹</i>	<i>já¹³</i>	<i>jáu¹³</i>	<i>ñá²táunh¹</i>	<i>ja³táunh¹</i>
PAST	<i>ja³</i>	<i>ñeh³</i>	<i>ja³</i>	<i>jau³</i>	<i>ña³taunh²¹</i>	<i>ja³taunh²¹</i>
IMP	xxx	<i>ña³²</i>	xxx	xxx	<i>ña³táunh¹</i>	xxx

The past venitive prefixes are most likely derived from either *cuanh³²* 'arrive (home)' or *cuan²³* 'arrive (non-home)'. Partial paradigms for both verbs are given in Table 4.44, incorporating only those inflectional parameters which correspond to the venitive prefixes (there are no imperative forms).

Table 4.44 The Verbs 'arrive (home)' and 'arrive (non-home)'

'arrive (home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>cuanh³²</i>	<i>cuanh³²</i>	<i>cuanh³²</i>	<i>cuoh³²</i>	<i>cuá²tánh¹</i>	<i>cuá²tánh¹</i>
FUT	<i>cuánh³²</i>	<i>cuánh³²</i>	<i>cuánh³²</i>	<i>cuóh³²</i>	<i>cua³tánh¹</i>	<i>cua³tánh¹</i>
PAST	<i>cuanh³</i>	<i>cuanh³</i>	<i>cuanh³</i>	<i>cuoh³</i>	<i>cua³tanh²¹</i>	<i>cua³tanh²¹</i>
'arrive (non-home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>cuán²³</i>	<i>cuán²³</i>	<i>cuán²³</i>	<i>cuó²³</i>	<i>cuá²táunh¹</i>	<i>cuá²táunh¹</i>
FUT	<i>cuán¹³</i>	<i>cuán¹³</i>	<i>cuán¹³</i>	<i>cuó¹³</i>	<i>cuá¹táunh¹</i>	<i>cuá¹táunh¹</i>
PAST	<i>cuan³</i>	<i>cuan³</i>	<i>cuan³</i>	<i>cuo³</i>	<i>cua³taunh²¹</i>	<i>cua³taunh²¹</i>

Phonologically, there is little to recommend either *jáunh²³* or *ja³²* from Table 4.43 as the source of the non-past venitive prefixes; nor is there an obvious choice between *cuanh³²* and *cuan²³* from Table 4.44 as the source of the past venitive prefixes. Considering the speaker as the deictic centre, it is logical to regard *jáunh²³* 'come (home)' and *cuanh³²* 'arrive (home)' as their sources. However, native speaker reaction (however reliable this may be) favours the paradigms of *ja³²* 'come (non-home)' and *cuán²³* 'arrive (non-home)' as the sources.

4.1.8.12.3.4 Directional Prefixes and Verbal Inflection

The original verbs that became grammaticised into the andative and venitive prefixes are difficult to determine categorically. What is important is the function these prefixes now serve in indicating the directionality of motion.

When verbs are prefixed for direction, the sense is motion towards or away from the speaker as the deictic centre, not in the sense of motion towards 'home' or 'non-home'. If the direction of motion is indeterminate, either *ñi*³- (AMB) or *hi*¹- (MOT) is used; see §4.1.8.12.2 and §4.1.8.12.4 respectively.

A verb inflected for third-person and directionality exhibits a single form regardless of the andative or venitive prefix used. This is illustrated by the verbs in (123). In the first row of each partial paradigm the verb is not affixed for directionality, in the second row it is affixed for the andative, and in the third row it is affixed for the venitive. As can be seen, a verb affixed for directionality undergoes tone-stress inflection (with reference to the third-person present citation form as the base), and sometimes change in the nucleus as well.

(123)

(a) *la*³² 'buy' (TI):

	FUTURE	PRESENT	HOD	PAST
'buy'	<i>lá</i> ³²	<i>la</i> ³²	<i>liá</i> ³²	<i>la</i> ³
'go buy'	<i>tša</i> ³ <i>lia</i> ³²	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>lia</i> ³²	<i>ñi</i> ¹ <i>lia</i> ³²	
'come buy'	<i>ja</i> ³ <i>lia</i> ³²	<i>já</i> ² <i>lia</i> ³²	<i>cua</i> ³ <i>lia</i> ³²	

(b) *tó*³² 'toast, roast' (TI):

	FUTURE	PRESENT	HOD	PAST
'toast'	<i>tau</i> ³	<i>tó</i> ³²	<i>tió</i> ³²	<i>tó</i> ³²
'go toast'	<i>tša</i> ³ <i>tiáu</i> ³	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>tiáu</i> ³	<i>ñi</i> ¹ <i>tiáu</i> ¹³	
'come toast'	<i>ja</i> ³ <i>tiáu</i> ³	<i>já</i> ² <i>tiáu</i> ³	<i>cua</i> ³ <i>tiáu</i> ³ <18>	

(c) *tú*²³ 'drop' (TI):

	FUTURE	PRESENT	HOD	PAST
'drop'	<i>tú</i> ³	<i>tú</i> ²³	<i>tú</i> ³	<i>tú</i> ³
'go drop'	<i>tša</i> ³ <i>tu</i> ³²	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>tu</i> ³²	<i>ñi</i> ¹ <i>tu</i> ³²	
'come drop'	<i>ja</i> ³ <i>tu</i> ³²	<i>já</i> ² <i>tu</i> ³²	<i>cua</i> ³ <i>tu</i> ³²	

When affixed for directionality, the form of the verb for any of the non-

third-persons is always identical to a form elsewhere in the verb's paradigm; for the non-imperative correlates, see the descriptions for Class A, B, and C verbs in §4.1.1.1-§4.1.1.3.

When a verb is affixed with the imperative directional prefixes *cuá²-* (ANDT) or *ñá²-* (VEN), the verb is inflected identically as for the simple imperative (which is derived from the past; see §4.1.8.11). For example:

- (124) *ñá²-* *hliá¹* *tiá³* *quín¹* *lá²* *ñú¹*.
 VEN^{IMP}-push^{TI}^{IMP}² SUPL rock this friend
 'Please come and push this rock, mate.'

When a verb is not affixed for directionality, *lí²-* (HOD) or *ca³-* (PAST) are generally obligatory to mark the past tense (§4.1.8.12.7). When affixed for directionality and past tense, *lí²-* (HOD) is obligatorily absent, and *ca³-* (PAST) may optionally precede the directional prefix; however, it appears that the more remote in time the event is from the time of the speech act, the more likely *ca³-* (PAST) will be used.

Examples of the use of directional prefixes are:

Andative future:

- (125) *Hí¹* *jan²* *tsáu²* *tiá²* *tióh³²* *hi³*
 not^{even} one^{AN} person not be^{able}^{TI}^{PRES}³ COMP
tsa³- *quiaun²* *hi³* *tsín¹* *chin³²* *jnëá¹³*.
 ANDT^{FUT}-bring^{TI}³ thing place^{STI}³ head^{1SG} I
 'No-one is able to go and bring the thing which my head rests on.'

Andative present (see also (116) and (117) above):

- (126) *Tsau³²* *tsá²mí³* *hí³* *máh³* *hi³*
 go^{non}^{home}^{PRES}^{IA}^{3SG} woman that^{AN} mountain and
tsá²- *hniauh²* *jonh²* *cúh²*.
 ANDT^{PRES}-search^{for}^{TI}³ edible^{plant} eat^{TI}^{PRES}³
 'That woman goes to the mountains and searches for plants to eat.'

Andative past:

- (127) *Jmí¹jám²* *ca³-* *ñí¹-* *hi³²* *tsú²* *siáh³* *ñeh²* *jen³*.
 then^{PAST} PAST-ANDT^{PAST}-enter^{TI}^{3SG} 3 again under bed
 'Then he went and got under the bed again.'

Venitive present (actual):

- (128) *Jáun² ca³⁻ zá¹³ jnoh¹ tsú² hi³*
 then PAST-tell^{DI}1PL us 3 COMP
ja³⁻ cán¹³ tsá² tson³ bñh¹ jnoh¹.
 VEN^{PRES}-bring^{TA}1PL person suspect AFF us
 'Then we told them that we were (lit. 'are') coming back bringing
 the suspect.' (i.e. 'we are on our way to where he is staying, then
 we will return with him')

Venitive habitual:

- (129) *Já²⁻ jan² tsú² tsá² tsám¹ hñú¹³ tí^{2m}í³.*
 VEN^{HAB}-bring^{TA}3 3 person sick house³ doctor
 'They come bringing sick people (here) to the clinic.'

Venitive past:

- (130) *Qui¹ Cristo dá² cuan³ hi³*
 because Christ VER come^{IA}PAST³SG and
cua³⁻ can³² jú¹⁻ chú³².
 VEN^{PAST}-bring^{TI}3 word-good^{IN}
 'Because Christ came and brought the good news.'

4.1.8.12.4 The Progressive Motion Prefix *hi¹⁻*

The progressive motion (MOT) prefix *hi¹⁻* denotes an event as progressive and in motion. Like the ambulative prefix *ñi³⁻*, *hi¹⁻* (MOT) does not imply a direction; reference to a deictic centre is absent. Generally, *hi¹⁻* implies that the subject, singular or plural, is walking along while fulfilling the action of the verb. The form of the verb is the same as for the present.

- (131) *Jáun² juóun³² tsá^{2m}í³ jmi¹ hi¹⁻hóh³² hi³*
 so many^{AN} woman TRM MOT-shout^{IA}3 and
hi¹⁻ho² hi³ ca³⁻ tñ¹ tsú².
 MOT-cry^{IA}3 COMP PAST-concern^{IA}3 3
 'So, many women were walking along shouting and crying because of
 him.' (they were upset because they knew what was about to
 happen to him)

When *hi¹⁻* is affixed to a verb which references an inanimate subject, simple progressive motion is denoted; for example:

- (132) *Jlánh¹ ré² hi¹⁻tsau³² hmá²lñh³² lǎ².*
 really well MOT-go^{II}3SG wagon this
 'This wagon really moves along well.'
- (133) *Má² hi¹⁻hmuh³² mu² ó³² chu³ jmá¹².*
 PRF MOT-sink^{II} boat yonder within water
 'That boat over there is sinking beneath the water.'

Hí¹- (MOT) is the first prefix to the left of the verb which is able to occur with the set of progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1). For example:

- (134) *Hí¹-chí¹- lah³² jmaí¹² tsoh² hláu².*
 MOT-sustain[^]PROG-flow[^]II water side[^]3 cliff
 'The water is steadily flowing down the cliff face.'

Hí¹- (MOT) is also able to occur with the andative and venitive prefixes. An example of *hí¹-* with a fourth-order venitive is:

- (135) *Ó³² bíh¹ má² hí¹-já²-jéih³² tsú² jui³².*
 yonder AFF PRF MOT-[^]VEN-slash[^]TI[^]3 3 trail
 'From over there they are coming along slashing (the overgrowth beside) the trail.'

In some contexts the two non-directional motion prefixes *ñi³-* (AMB) and *hí¹-* (MOT) are interchangeable; for example:

- (136) *Jlánh¹ hí²táí³² ñi³-ngí²¹ tsa³cuá¹ ó³².*
 really slowly AMB-walk[^]IA[^]3SG horse yonder
 'That horse walks very slowly.' (habitual)
 or: 'That horse is walking very slowly.' (actual present)

- (137) *Jlánh¹ hí²táí³² hí¹-ngí³² tsa³cuá¹ ó³².*
 really slowly MOT-walk[^]IA[^]3SG horse yonder
 'That horse is walking very slowly.' (actual present only)

However, if the action referred to by the verb can be iterative in nature, then *ñi³-* is used to convey the sense of motion between the points where the action of the verb takes place, whereas *hí¹-* denotes that the action is carried out while in motion. For example:

- (138) *Má² ñi³-jui³² Gáu¹ ja¹ hñú³.*
 PRF AMB-whistle[^]IA[^]3 Gregory among house
 'Gregory is walking along whistling in the streets.' (i.e. he walks some distance, stops to whistle, then walks further and whistles again) <19>

- (139) *Má² hí¹-jui³² Gáu¹ ja¹ hñú³.*
 PRF MOT-whistle[^]IA[^]3 Gregory among house
 'Gregory is walking along whistling in the streets.' (i.e. he is walking and whistling at the same time)

4.1.8.12.5 The Intentive Prefix *ñí¹-*

When the intentive (INT) *ñí¹-* occurs with an animate verb (IA, TA, or DA), it is generally intentive or desiderative in its implication; see (140b) and (142).

The form of the verb when inflected for the intentive is the same as for

the future for each grammatical person respectively. For example:

- (140)(a) *Jnɿ³* *tsú² jmáí² cu³lé³.*
 transport^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3 water later
 'S/he will transport/haul water later.'
- (b) *ñí¹-jnɿ³* *tsú² jmáí² cu³lé³.*
 INT-transport^{TI}³ 3 water later
 'S/he intends/wants to transport/haul water later.'

With an inanimate intransitive verb *ñí¹-* always implies imminence; for example:

- (141) *ñá² ñí¹-yéí²¹* *bíh¹ sɿ² quiú¹³.*
 PRF INT-be^{extinguished}^{II} AFF fire have^{STI}^{1PL}
 'Our fire/lamp is about to go out.'

ñí¹- (INT) is able to occur with the future directional prefixes. An example of *ñí¹-* preceding fourth-order *ja³-* (VEN) is:

- (142) *ñí¹-ja³- hính² tsú² jmɿ²ráu³.*
 INT-VEN^{FUT}-drink³ 3 soda
 'S/he wants to come drink a soda.'

However, it appears that *ñí¹-* (INT) cannot collocate with the fifth-order motion prefix *hí¹-*, probably because of the clash between the progressive connotation of *hí¹-* and the future connotation of *ñí¹-*. In order to group together the four prefix constituents which denote movement (motion, venitive, andative, and ambulative) I have assigned *hí¹-* (MOT) to fifth-order and *ñí¹-* (INT) to sixth-order, rather than the other way around. The other possibility would be to group *hí¹-* and *ñí¹-* into the same distribution class, but this would involve grouping together a modal prefix, which has no connotation of movement, with a motion prefix, which has no modal connotation.

Since the intensive *ñí¹-* is homophonous with the first-person future directional, there is potential ambiguity; however, usually a difference in the internal inflection of the verb and/or the context clarifies which prefix is occurring. Compare the following examples using the verb *jmu²* 'make, do':

- (143) *ñí¹-jmu¹* *jná¹³ má³².*
 INT-make^{TI}^{1SG} I food
 'I want/intend to eat.' (lit. 'I intend to make a meal')

- (144) *ñí¹- jmu²¹ jná¹³ má³².*
 ANDT[^]FUT-make[^]TI[^]1SG I food
 'I am going to eat.' (actual movement)
 or: 'I am going to prepare food to eat.' (actual movement)

In (143), the intensitive prefix does not entail movement, although movement is not precluded; and in (144) the andative prefix indicates the necessity of motion to another location, but intent or desire is not entailed. For example, it is possible to combine (144) with a negated version of (143):

- (145) *ñí¹- jmu²¹ jná¹³ má³² uá¹jinh¹*
 ANDT[^]FUT-make[^]TI[^]1SG I food even[^]though

ta³ tiá² ñí¹-jmu¹ ná¹.
 while not INT-make[^]TI[^]1SG I
 'I will go eat, even though I don't want to.'
 or: 'I will go prepare food to eat, even though I don't want to.'

Based on native speaker intuition, *ñí¹-* appears to derive from the verb *hnió³* 'want, intend' (STI); the semantic equivalence of the intensitive prefix to the verb 'want, intend' supports this; compare (143) with (146).

- (146) *hnió³² jná¹³ jmu¹ má³².*
 want[^]STI[^]1SG I make[^]TI[^]FUT[^]1SG food
 'I want/intend to eat.' (lit. 'I intend to make a meal.')

Other prefixes undergo similar phonological alteration relative to their source; see, for example, Table 4.39.

4.1.8.12.6 The Continuous Prefix *tá²-*

The continuous (CONT) prefix *tá²-* marks continuous aspect. *Tá²-* (CONT) inflects for the present, past, and future; the past form being *ta³-*, which is the only form found with dynamic verbs (the use of *tá²-* with state verbs is discussed in §4.2.2). It must be preceded by the past tense prefix *ca³-* (PAST), and generally is followed by one of the progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1). This is illustrated in (147b):

- (147)(a) *Ná¹- jíé²³ tsú² lio²¹ quioh²¹.*
 PROG[^]PL-watch[^]TI[^]3 3 cargo have[^]STI[^]3
 'They are watching their cargo.'
- (b) *Lí¹ ca³- ta³- ná¹- jíé²³ tsú² lio²¹ quioh²¹.*
 NON PAST-CONT-PROG[^]PL-watch[^]TI[^]3 3 cargo have[^]STI[^]3
 'They just stood watching their cargo.' (i.e. as the truck went off with their cargo still inside)

When *tá²-* (CONT) is directly affixed to a dynamic verb, there is tone-

stress inflection, and occasionally change in the nucleus as well. This is illustrated in (148b):

- (148)(a) *Ca³-cuá³ tsú² ñí¹ hmá²sí¹.*
 PAST-sit^{IA}3 3 on chair
 'S/he sat on the chair.'
- (b) *Lí¹ ca³-ta³-cuá¹³ hngá² bíh¹ tsú² ñéih³.*
 NON PAST-CONT-sit^{IA}3 alone AFF 3 inside
 'S/he just remained sitting alone inside.'

The internal inflection of dynamic verbs which can be directly affixed with *tá²-* (CONT) is not equivalent to that of any other inflectional parameter. There are, however, only seven such verbs known (semantically, only three verbs): *cua³²* 'sit' (IA), *zánh²³* 'grab, hold' (TI), *zanh²³* 'grab, hold' (TA), *zauh²³* 'grab, hold' (TA^I), *cán²³* 'carry' (TI), *can²³* 'carry' (TA), and *caun²³* 'carry' (TA^I). Because these make up just 1% of all the dynamic verbs in my corpus, I prefer to treat them as irregular verbs in the forthcoming Chinantec Dictionary. Of interest is the semantic shift that occurs when any of the verbs glossed 'carry' are affixed directly with *tá²-*; the sense becomes 'be responsible for'.

The construction of *tá²-* (CONT) plus progressive prefix can also function as an alternative to the passive (PASS) formed with the directional prefixes (§8.1.5.2). An example of a normal passive construction, and the posture passive (PPAS) construction respectively is:

- (149)(a) *Ca³-ja³-hín¹³ tsá²juú² chán³.*
 PAST-PASS-count^{IA}3 townsfolk yesterday
 'The town inhabitants were counted yesterday.' (i.e. the census was taken)
- (b) *Ja¹ tsá² ren² tso³ bíh¹*
 among person owe^{TI}^PRES^3 offence AFF
- ca³-ta³-dí¹- hín¹³ tsú².*
 PAST-CONT-upright^{PROG}-count^{IA}^PPAS^3 3
 'He was counted/included among those guilty of offences/crimes.'

The position of *tá²-* as the seventh-order prefix is established by being able to precede sixth-order *ñí¹-* (INT). For example:

- (150) *Lí¹ ca³-ta³-ñí¹-cuh³ tsú² hí³.*
 NON PAST-CONT-INT-eat³ 3 tortilla

'For no obvious reason s/he remained hungry.' (lit. '... remained wanting to eat tortillas (i.e. food)').

Tá²⁻ appears to derive from *tám³* 'be situated, be standing' (SII[^]PL/SIA[^]PL).

4.1.8.12.7 The Past Tense Prefixes: *ca³⁻* and *lɛ²⁻*

There are two prefixes that make up the eighth-order set of prefixes: *lɛ²⁻* generally marks a verb for the hodiernal past (HOD)--an event that has occurred earlier in the day of the speech act, and *ca³⁻* generally marks the remote past (PAST)--an event prior to the day of the speech act. In addition, the past is marked on the verb by internal inflection, (see §4.1.1.1-§4.1.1.3 for description of tone-stress inflection in Class A, B, and C verbs). Exceptions to these prototypical functions are discussed later in this section.

Examples of the use of *lɛ²⁻* and *ca³⁻* respectively are:

- (151) *Cú¹pih²¹ bíh¹ lɛ²⁻cúh³² jná¹³ má²hmáí³.*
 little AFF HOD-eat[^]TI[^]1SG I earlier[^]today
 'I ate only a little (food) earlier today.'
- (152) *#í¹ jueh³² bíh¹ ca³⁻ cáh¹³ jnoh¹.*
 place large[^]IN AFF PAST-dig[^]TI[^]1PL we
 'We excavated a large area.'

In the non-third-person paradigms of class A and B verbs, the hodiernal past and remote past are not distinguished by internal inflection, the prefixes alone marking the past event as hodiernal or remote. Only in the third-person, and only in about 40% of the verbs, does internal inflection distinguish between the hodiernal and remote past. The examples in (153) illustrate respectively: no difference in the verb between hodiernal and remote past, inflectional differentiation by tone-stress, differentiation by vocalic change, and differentiation by a combination of tone-stress and vocalic change:

- (153)(a) *lɛ²jan³* 's/he took' (TA)
ca³jan³ 's/he took' (TA)
- (b) *lɛ²hính³²* 's/he hid' (IA)
ca³hính³ 's/he hid' (IA)
- (c) *lɛ²tiéh³* 's/he called' (TA)
ca³téh³ 's/he called' (TA)

- (d) *lɛ́²quiéih³²* 's/he cut' (TI)
ca³quieh³ 's/he cut' (TI)

The majority of Class C verbs, such as *tah³²* 'fall' (II), *caín²* 'fall behind' (IA), and *juénh²* 'fear' (TI/TA), do not take *lɛ́²-* (HOD), occurring only with *ca³-* (PAST) even though the event may have just occurred. Even the prefix *ca³-* is optional for the Class C verb *júm²³* 'die' (IA), the past being marked by internal inflection alone: *jum³* 's/he died'; however, the more remote the event is in time, the greater the likelihood that *ca³-* will be used.

None of the motion verbs can be affixed with *lɛ́²-* (HOD), and *ca³-* (PAST) is optional, the past tense generally being marked by internal inflection of the verb root alone. For example:

- (154) *nií² cá²- tsá³²* *bíh¹ níí¹* *jná¹³ ní²hiáh³²*.
 year PAST-finish^{II} AFF go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{1SG} I Zapotitlán
 'I went to Zapotitlán last year.'

It appears that when *ca³-* (PAST) is used with a motion verb, it specifies a deliberate act, although its absence does not necessarily imply that the act was non-deliberate.

When *ca³-* (PAST) is preceded by a high tone and followed by a mid or rising tone, it optionally permutes to *ca¹-*. For example:

- (155) *jmí¹* *ca¹- chánh²¹* *tsú² hué³² jáum² né³,*
 when^{PAST} PAST-arrive^{home}TI^{3PL} 3 land that TOPIC
 'When they arrived home in that land'

When *ca³-* (PAST) is preceded by a high or mid tone and followed by a low or rising tone, it optionally permutes to *ca²-*. For example:

- (156) *tiá² cá²- náí³²* *jná¹³ jáí¹³ jáum²*.
 not PAST-hear^{TI}1SG I word that^{IN}
 'I didn't hear that word/message.'

Although the prototypical use of *lɛ́²-* (HOD) is to mark the 'past-of-today', it can also be used to mark past in the past, denoting one past event as preceding another past event; the event of the verb marked with *lɛ́²-* (HOD) temporally precedes the event of the verb marked with *ca³-* (PAST), but the two past events generally occur on the same day. For example:

- (157) *la³* *má² lɛ́²-jngih³* *tsú² mí²ní³ jmí¹*
 apparently PRF HOD-kill^{TA}3 3 pig when^{PAST}

ca¹- cháu²¹ jnoh¹.
 PAST-arrive^{non}home^{IA}1PL we
 'Apparently they had just killed a pig when we arrived.'

(158) *Jmí¹ má² lǎ²-jǎéi³² tsú² mí¹tái³,*
 when^{PAST} PRF HOD-sharpen^{TI}3 3 machete

ca³- jáih³ tsú² hiá¹ cú².
 PAST-cut^{TI}3 3 weed³ maize
 'When s/he had finished sharpening her/his machete, s/he cut down the weeds in her/his cornfield (lit. 'the maize's weeds').'

Although *lǎ²-* (HOD) generally refers to an event since midnight just prior to the time of the speech act, and *ca³-* (PAST) refers back to an event prior to midnight. There is some flexibility in the use of *lǎ²-* in the midnight hours; an event that took place late at night, say at 11 p.m., may be referred to at 2 a.m. with *lǎ²-* due to the brevity of time since the event. However, by sunrise, the event at 11 p.m. would be referred to with *ca³-*.

Lǎ²- (HOD) may also be used in a manner similar to the English 'historic present'; the speaker chooses *lǎ²-* as if the events had just occurred earlier in the day. The following extract is from a hortatory monologue, where one of the elders of San Pedro berates the inhabitants of a neighbouring town, Retumbadero, for their apparent ingratitude after San Pedro helped them several years earlier to become a legally established township:

(159) *Cám² hi³ chu²¹ lǎ²-jǎú³ tsá² zian²*
 one^{IN} thing good HOD-do^{TI}3 people exist^{SIA}3

ja¹ jǎú² lá².
 among town this
 'The people of this town did a big favour (for you).'

An example of *ca³-* (PAST) preceding seventh-order *ta³-* (CONT) is:

(160) *Ca³- ta³- hí¹-tsá²jéin²³ hmá² chí²jiéh² ué³ lín³².*
 PAST-CONT-HOT-spin^{II} wood clacker long^{time} very
 'The wooden clacker went on spinning for a long time.'

Ca³- is also able to contiguously precede the past forms for the venitive and andative prefixes, and the ambulative prefix. On the other hand *lǎ²-* is unable to precede any other verbal prefix. Both *lǎ²-* and *ca³-* are able to be preceded by the ninth-order evidential *ñf¹-*; see (162) and (163) respectively in §4.1.8.12.8.

4.1.8.12.8 The Evidential Prefix *ñi¹-*

The ninth-order constituent *ñi¹-* denotes that there is audible evidence for the action encoded by the verb. For example:

- (161) *ñi¹- jmu¹ tsú² hi²ráu³ tí³ ó³².*
 EVID-make^{TI}³ 3 crude^{sugar} at yonder
 'Evidently they are making (crude) sugar over there.' (the sound of the sugarcane press is quite distinctive)

In contrast, the evidential adverb *la³* is nonspecific as to the source of information; see §5.1.3.

The evidential (EVID) *ñi¹-* is able to precede either eighth-order past tense prefix. For example:

- (162) *ñi¹- lí¹-hléh²¹ tsá² lín³ ta²¹ má²hmái³.*
 EVID-HOD-speak^{TI}³ person be^{IA}³ authority earlier^{today}
 'Evidently the mayor was speaking earlier today.' (i.e. 'I could hear his voice over the loud speaker but couldn't understand what he was saying.')

- (163) *ñi¹- ca³- jñú³ Pé¹ hmá² cháu³.*
 EVID-PAST-plane^{TI}³ Peter wood yesterday
 'It sounded like Peter was planing boards yesterday.'

The only prefixes closer to the verb root which *ñi¹-* (EVID) cannot contiguously precede are *ñi¹-* (INT) and *ta³-* (CONT). However, *ñi¹-* (EVID) is able to collocate with them if *ca³-* (PAST) also occurs. For example:

- (164) *Lí¹ ñi¹- ca³- ta³- ñi¹-hính³ yeh³ jmi²ráu³.*
 NON EVID-PAST-CONT-INT-drink^{TI}³ elder refreshment
 'Apparently the old man was just left wanting to drink a soda pop.'
 (i.e. he never got it, and made his disappointment audible)

Anderson (1986:286) seems to consider the auditory evidential primary in the development of (or at least a frequent source of) grammaticised sensory evidentials, and proposes the following hypothesis:

Non-visual sensory evidentials often arise by weakening and generalization of an auditory evidential '[I hear] . . .', which (always?) arises from a verb 'to hear'.

The Chinantec auditory evidential *ñi¹-* lends at least partial support to his hypothesis in that it has been grammaticised from the verb *niéih³* 'be audible' (SII). However, it is the only grammaticised evidential; there is no evidence of other non-visual sensory evidentials arising from it. The eviden-

tial adverb *la³* is nonspecific as to the source of information, but its etymology is uncertain; see §5.1.3.

The auditory evidential is related to the quotative (or hearsay) evidential *néh¹* (§11.2.5), but phonologically it appears that they have separately derived from the verb *niéh³* 'be audible' (SII) rather than one from the other. As Anderson notes (1986:281) 'We have no examples in which an auditory evidential changes into a hearsay evidential, or the reverse.'

4.1.8.12.9 The Injunctive Prefixes

The tenth and last order of prefixes, the injunctive constituent, consists of the hortative (HORT) *cuí¹-*, and the exhortative (EXH) *ma³-*. The hortative is generally used to express wishes or desires, and in some constructions it is analogous to the imperative (§4.1.8.11); apart from Class C verbs, it is restricted to first and third-person subjects. The exhortative is similar to the hortative in function, but also connotes that motion is necessary for fulfilment of the injunction; it occurs only with first-person plural and second-person subjects.

Examples of *cuí¹-* (HORT) preceding ninth-order *ñí¹-* (EVID) and sixth-order *ñí¹-* (INT) respectively are:

- (165) *Cuí¹-ñí¹-ho¹ dáín².*
 HORT-EVID-cry[^]IA[^]3 baby
 'Let the baby keep on crying.' (i.e. child not visible)
- (166) *Cuí¹-ñí¹-hau³ dáín².*
 HORT-INT-cry[^]IA[^]3 baby
 'Let the baby keep on acting like it wants to cry.' (i.e. the child is acting like it is about to burst into tears, but since it isn't ours, let's not get involved)

I have assigned *ma³-* (EXH) to the same distribution set as *cuí¹-* (HORT) purely on a semantic basis. The only prefix which *ma³-* can collocate with is the first-person plural future andative *tsá¹-*. *Ma³-* is discussed further in §4.1.8.12.9.2.

4.1.8.12.9.1 The Hortative *cuí¹-*

The hortative (HORT) *cuí¹-* expresses a wish or desire on the part of the speaker with reference to first or third-person in Class A, B, and C

verbs. It is also used to form the second-person imperative in Class C verbs (§4.1.8.11).

Examples of *cuí¹-* (HORT) with first-person singular, first-person plural and third-person respectively are:

- (167) *Cuí¹-ñih²¹* *jná¹³ hñu³².*
 HORT-go^home^IA^FUT^1SG I house^1SG
 'I should go home.'
- (168) *Cuí¹-jmú¹³* *jnoh¹ cáun² hñú³ reh³.*
 HORT-make^TI^FUT^1PL we one^IN house temporary
 'Let's make a temporary shelter.'
- (169) *Cuí¹-jmu¹* *tsú² juenh² tsí³.*
 HORT-make^TI^3 3 large^AN heart^3
 'May s/he be patient/forgiving.'
- (170) *Zéih³* *tiá³ tsú² hi³ cuí¹-ja³- ma³hau³ jná¹³.*
 tell^TI^IMP SUPL 3 COMP HORT-VEN^FUT-help^TA^3>1 I
 'Please tell her/him to come help me.'

As mentioned in §4.1.8.11, the majority of Class C verbs form the functional equivalent to the imperative by prefixing *cuí¹-* (HORT) to the verb, forming an injunction. Depending on the Class C verb, this construction may range in force from subjunctive, expressing wish or desire, to being comparable to a true imperative. For example:

- (171) *Cuí¹-nyí¹³* *hnoh² jái¹³ lá².*
 HORT-understand^TI^FUT^2 you^PL word this
 'May you understand this word/message.'
- (172) *Cuí¹-cáin¹³* *nú² quiúnh¹ mí¹mih¹ lá².*
 HORT-get^on^with^TA^2 you^SG accompany^STA^2 little^girl this
 'You must get on with (i.e. make friends with) this little girl.'

The first-person singular hortative and the first-person plural hortative of Class A and B verbs exhibit the same form of the verb as for the future of their respective paradigms. The tone-stress inflection of the verb for the third-person hortative is not identifiable with any of the other inflectional parameters; see Table 4.9.

4.1.8.12.9.2 The Exhortative *ma³-*

The exhortative (EXH) *ma³-* can occur only with a first-person plural or second-person subject. *Ma³-* probably derives from the uninflected injunction word *má³²* 'come on!'. This injunction can often be heard when someone in a

group is trying to exhort the group to go and do some project or play some sport together. There is always a sense of motion involved. In the following example the speaker utilises the injunction *má³²* to exhort a hesitant sick person to accompany him:

- (173) *Náu², má³², qui¹ ó³²*
 get^{up}^IA^IMP come^{on} because yonder
dí¹- t^é²³ tsú² hnú².
 upright^PROG-call^TA^3>2 3 you^SG
 'Get up, come on, he's standing over there calling you.'

When affixed by *ma³⁻*, the form of the verb is the same as when inflected for the future. The prefix *ma³⁻* is found most frequently with the motion verbs *tsau³²* 'go (non-home)' and *tsanh³²* 'go (home)' inflected for the first-person plural. For example:

- (174) *Cám² ma³-tsáuh¹³ jnoh¹ quiú¹³!*
 simply EXH-go^home^IA^1PL we have^STI^1PL
 'Let's get going home!'
 (175) *Ma³-tsáuh¹³ tí³ jo²¹ jmái².*
 EXH-go^non^home^IA^1PL at side water
 'Let's get going to the other side of the lake.'

When *ma³⁻* occurs with a non-motion verb, the future andative prefix *tsá¹⁻* 'go' (1PL) may also occur; in this context, *tsá¹⁻* is generally altered phonologically to *tsí¹⁻*. For example:

- (176) *Jám² ma³-tsí¹⁻ neh²¹ dí².*
 so EXH-ANDT^FUT-see^TI^1PL we^INCL
 'So let's go take a look.'

Even when *ma³⁻* (EXH) occurs directly affixed to a non-motion verb, movement to the location where the action will take place is implied; for example:

- (177) *Ma³-jlaí²¹ dí² mí¹ sí² cuo¹.*
 EXH-cover^DI^1PL we^INCL flat paper firewood
 'Let's go cover the firewood with a sheet (of plastic).'

Examples of *ma³⁻* (EXH) with a second-person subject are rare. The form of the verb is the same as for the imperative (which in turn derives from the past; see §4.1.8.11). For example:

- (178) *Ma³-pá³ hnú² jñéi².*
 EXH-strike^TI^2 you^SG bean
 'Let's (go and) have you thresh the beans.'

In (178), the implication is that the speaker and addressee will travel together to where the beans are located, but the addressee will do the work.

4.1.8.12.9.3 The Classification of *cuí¹-* as a Prefix

To classify *cuí¹-* (HORT) as a prefix does present a few problems. *Cuí¹-* affects the internal inflection of the verb, which is one of the criteria I give for identifying a prefix.

However, *cuí¹-* also fulfils one of the criteria I give for distinguishing an adverb from a prefix: it is able to permute with other elements of the verb phrase, specifically with the negative adverb *tiá²* 'not'. When preceding *tiá²*, I regard the hortative to be functioning adverbially and will write it as a free morpheme: *cuí¹*. For example:

(179) *Hniéh³² hún¹ nú² hua³jan²¹*
be[^]necessary[^]SII be[^]established[^]STI[^]2 you[^]SG ready

hi³ hléh¹³ nú² já¹¹³ cuí¹ hnió³ cuí¹
COMP speak[^]TI[^]FUT[^]2 you[^]SG word HORT want[^]STI[^]3 HORT

tiá² hnió³ tsú² ne³.
not want[^]STI[^]3 3 hear[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3
'You need to be in a state of readiness to announce the message, whether they want to listen or not.'

In (179), *cuí¹ . . . cuí¹ tiá²* appears to be a frozen or formulaic expression with the semantic force of the English expression 'whether or not'. A further point of peculiarity is that the verb *hnió³* 'want' (STI) normally cannot collocate directly with the hortative *cuí¹-* as it does in (179), requiring affixation with the derivational prefix *má²-* (CAUS) before it can be affixed with *cuí¹-*.

For example:

(180) *Cuí¹-má¹- hnió³ tsú² hmah²¹ quióh²¹.*
HORT-CAUS-want[^]TI[^]3 3 wage have[^]STI[^]3
'May s/he be wishing for her/his wages.' (i.e. she won't be getting them)

The expression *cuí¹ . . . cuí¹* 'whether . . . or' is also found with nominals; for example:

(181) *cuí¹ tsá¹mih¹ cuí¹ tsá² má²lieih²¹*
HORT children HORT person mature
'whether they are children or adults'

As can be seen from the above description and examples, *cuí¹-* as one

of the outermost (tenth-order) prefixes, shows a mixture of prefix-like and adverb-like qualities, although the adverb-like qualities appear to be restricted to formulaic expressions. In the examples I have treated it as prefix or adverb according to context.

4.2 The Derivational Prefixes

There are two derivational prefixes, the causative (CAUS) prefix $má^2-$ and the continuous (CONT) prefix $tá^2-$. There is also a verb $lǎ^2$ 'become, happen', which appears to be becoming grammaticised into a derivational prefix, which I have labelled as a 'pseudo-activiser'. Each of these is discussed in turn below.

4.2.1 The Causative Derivational Prefix

The causative prefix $má^2-$ can collocate with many state verbs (§4.4) and dynamic verbs (§4.1), but not all.

When dynamic verbs are derived from state verbs by $má^2-$ (CAUS), they function as any non-derived dynamic verb and can be affixed by any of the inflectional prefixes, but there is no concomitant inflection of the root to mark tense, mood, aspect, or motion as occurs in dynamic verbs. The prefix $má^2-$ itself inflects like the first syllable of disyllabic verbs (§4.1.5) to mark person, tense, motion, and mood, although in a very limited fashion.

An example of third-person present is:

- (182) $Jlǎnh^1 rǎ^2 má^2- tǐ^3 tsá^2 nǎ^2 jǎ^1$.
 really well CAUS^PRES-be^complete^TI^3 person that word^3
 'That person really keeps her/his word.'

Third-person future is illustrated by:

- (183) $má^3- tǎn^2 tsú^2 jon^2 sí^2$.
 CAUS^FUT-be^able^DI^3 3 child^3 book
 'S/he will teach her/his child books.' (i.e. how to read)

The past tense is marked by prefixing either the remote past ca^3- or the hodiernal past $lǎ^2-$ (see §4.1.8.12.7) to the derived verb stem. An example of third-person hodiernal past is:

- (184) $má^2 lǎ^2-má^3- tǎn^2 tsú^2 tsá^1 mǐh^1 sí^2$.
 PRF HOD-CAUS-be^able^DI^3 3 children book
 'S/he has just taught the children to read.' (lit. '. . . taught the children books.')

As mentioned above, a derived dynamic verb can take any of the inflectional prefixes. An example with the intentive *ñi¹-* is:

- (185) *He³ lãih³² ñi¹-má¹- tãn¹³ nú² tsá¹mih¹ sí²?*
 what? be^gained^SII INT-CAUS-be^able^DI^2 you^SG children book
 'Why do you intend to teach children to read?'

Not only does *má²-* (CAUS) derive a dynamic verb from a state verb, often there is also an increase of one in that verb's transitivity valence: intransitive verbs become transitive, and transitive verbs become ditransitive. The same is true for many dynamic verbs.

An example of a state intransitive verb becoming a dynamic transitive verb can be seen by comparing (186a) and (186b):

- (186)(a) *Tiá² tí³ quie³ quion²¹ jná¹³.*
 not be^complete^SII money have^STI^1SG I
 'I don't have enough money.'
- (b) *Tiá² má²- tí³² tsú² jái¹³ quioh²¹.*
 not CAUS^PRES-be^complete^TI^3 3 word have^STI^3
 'S/he doesn't keep her/his word.'

An example of a dynamic intransitive verb becoming transitive can be seen by comparing (187a) and (187b):

- (187)(a) *Cu³ ní² bih¹ ca³- táuh³ jái¹³ ní².*
 about that AFF PAST-end^II word that
 'That's the end of that story.'
- (b) *Ná² ca³- ma³- táuh³² tsú² jái¹³ quioh²¹.*
 PRF PAST-CAUS-end^TI^3 3 word have^STI^3
 'S/he has finished her/his story.'

An example of a state transitive verb becoming a dynamic ditransitive can be seen by comparing (188a) and (188b):

- (188)(a) *Tín² tsú² Jú¹mih²¹.*
 be^adept^at^STI^3 3 Spanish
 'S/he is adept at Spanish.'
- (b) *Ná²- tín² tsú² jon² jú¹tson².*
 CAUS^PRES-be^adept^at^DA^3 3 child^3 truth
 'S/he teaches her child the truth.'

No examples have been found of a dynamic transitive verb which can be affixed with *má²-* (CAUS).

Although many verbs exhibit an increase of one in their transitivity valence when affixed with *má²-* (CAUS), a few verbs retain the same valence.

Often, however, there is a discernible semantic shift. For example:

- (189)(a) *Hliám³ jmáí¹ ca³- lé³ jnoh¹ hú¹ juí²².*
 many^{IN} day PAST-delay^{IA}1PL we on trail
 'We spent many days on the trail.' (unintentional)
- (b) *Tiá² ca³- ma³- lé¹³ yáh³ jná¹³.*
 not PAST-CAUS-delay^{IA}1SG ASSR I
 'I didn't delay/hesitate.' (intentional)

The causative can also be used to derive verbs from adjectives, adverbs, and nouns; see §3.1.2.1.

4.2.2 The Continuous Derivational Prefix

Not all state verbs (§4.4) can take the continuous (CONT) prefix *tá²-*, but it appears that most, if not all, dynamic verbs can be stativised by *tá²-*. There is no change in valence. When *tá²-* (CONT) is affixed to a state verb, it marks a change of state; when affixed to a dynamic verb, it marks the inception and continuance of a state-like condition. These observations are elaborated and illustrated below.

The continuous *tá²-* does not follow the tone-stress inflectional pattern of first syllables in disyllabic verbs (§4.1.5). There are only four tone-stress inflections (see note <5>) for tense and mood, regardless of the grammatical person. These are set out in Table 4.45.

Table 4.45 Inflection of the Continuous Prefix

PRESENT	<i>tá²-</i>
FUTURE	<i>tá¹-</i>
PAST	<i>ta³-</i>
HORTATIVE	<i>tá¹-</i>

When *tá²-* is prefixed to a state verb and inflected for the present, the state is seen as holding true from time to time (habitual); it may or may not be currently true. For example:

- (190) *He³ tá²- tsaih²¹ tsú² hi³ jmu² la³ ní²²?*
 what? CONT^{PRES}-gain^{STI}3 3 COMP do^{PRES}TI³ idea that
 'What does s/he gain by doing that?'

- (191) *Tá²- raunh²¹ yeh³ pih²¹ ó³² cáun² tiú³.*
 CONT^{PRES}-possess^{flat}STI³ elder little yonder one^{IN} rifle
 'That little old man over there has a rifle.' (which is in a horizontal position)

In (191), the sense is that the old man borrows a rifle from time to time, and when he does, he usually keeps it for a prolonged period.

An example of a state verb with the future continuous is:

- (192) *tá¹- raunh²¹ nù²mih¹ mi¹tá³³.*
 CONT¹FUT-possess¹flat¹STI¹³ boy machete
 'The boy will acquire a machete.' (horizontal orientation of the object possessed)

When *tá²-* (CONT) is prefixed to a state verb and is inflected for the past, it is optionally preceded by the remote past prefix *ca³-*; whether *ca³-* is used or not, there does not appear to be any change in meaning. The hodiernal past prefix *lá²-*, however, cannot occur with *tá²-*. An example of the use of *tá²-* inflected for the past is:

- (193) (*Ca³-*) *ta³- ron³ tsú² hué³².*
 (PAST)-CONT-lie¹SIA¹³ 3 ground
 'S/he ended up flat on the ground.' (e.g. s/he slipped)

An example of the continuous with the hortative is:

- (194) *Cuí¹-tá¹- ron³ nù²mih¹ ní¹ jéin³² jná¹³.*
 HORT-CONT-lie¹SIA¹³ boy on bed¹1SG I
 'Let the little boy continue to lie on my bed.'

The state verbs which have been found to collocate with *tá²-* include all of the state transitive verbs which express the orientation of the item possessed, and other state verbs which express the orientation of the subject (if intransitive) or the object (if transitive); see §4.4.1. Frequently the state verb root undergoes tone, stress, or vocalic change, or a combination of these when affixed with *tá²-*. Examples are: *rón³²* → *tá²ron¹³* 'be present (horizontally)' (SII¹SG), *zenh²* → *tá²zanh¹* 'stand' (SIA¹SG). An example of a verb root which does not change phonologically is *tsaih²¹* 'possess (group of plants)' (STI¹PL) → *tá²tsaih²¹* 'derive, gain (for example, money, abstract qualities)' (STI¹PL).

Other state verbs, such as *quich²¹* 'have' (STI) and *zia³²* 'exist' (SII), are unable to take the continuous *tá²-*.

A sentential example of the state verb *nio²* 'stay, be present at' both without and with *tá²-* (CONT) follows. Note the tone-stress and vocalic change

in (195b) when *nio*² is affixed with *tá*²⁻.

- (195)(a) *Ca*³⁻ *jín*³ *tsú*² *tiú*³ *cáh*¹ *hi*³
 PAST-fire^{TI}^3 3 rifle large^{PL} COMP

*nio*² *hñu*³ *palacio*.
 be^{present}^SII^{PL} inside palace
 'They fired the cannons that are present in the (Presidential) palace.'

- (b) *ñi*¹ *jám*² *bih*¹ *ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *no*¹
 place that AFF PAST-CONT-be^{present}^SII^{PL}

*la*³ *jí*³² *hi*³ *quich*²¹ *tsú*².
 about all^{IN} thing have^{STI}^3 3
 'That is where all his possessions remained.'

The use of *tá*²⁻ (CONT) with dynamic verbs has been discussed and illustrated in §4.1.8.12.6. As mentioned there, for *tá*²⁻ to affix a dynamic verb, it must occur with *ca*³⁻ (PAST), and generally one of the progressive prefixes must also co-occur. The event encoded in a dynamic verb affixed with *tá*²⁻ is regarded as having persisted for such a prolonged period that it is like a state. For example:

- (196) *Ué*³ *lín*³² *ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *dí*¹⁻ *ji*²³ *tsá*¹².
 long^{time} very PAST-CONT-upright^{PROG}-bark^{IA}^3 dog
 'The dog went on barking for a long time.'

When either a progressive prefix or continuous prefix is affixed to a state verb, the sense is 'continuous'; however, there are functional differences:

(i) The progressive prefixes indicate that the subject is singular or plural and, if singular, give the physical orientation of the subject. The continuous prefix does not.

(ii) The continuous prefix is inflected for tense and mood (see Table 4.45); the progressive prefixes are not.

The set of progressive prefixes and the continuous prefix supplement each other by being able to co-occur. Normally the progressive prefixes cannot occur with any of the other verbal prefixes that have a future connotation, such as the intentive *ñi*¹⁻ (§4.1.8.12.5), or a past connotation, such as the remote past *ca*³⁻ and the hodiernal past *lí*²⁻ (§4.1.8.12.7). However, the

set of progressive prefixes can occur with the continuous inflected for the past. For example (see also (196)):

- (197) (Ca³)-ta³-cuá¹- hleh³² yeh³ hñu³² jná¹³.
 PAST-CONT-sit³PROG-speak³TI³ elder house³ I
 'The old man kept on speaking in my house (while sitting).' (i.e. continuously, not iteratively)

4.2.3 The Pseudo-activiser

While on the topic of derivational prefixes, it seems appropriate to discuss the function of the morpheme *lɛ²*. At first glance, *lɛ²* appears to function like the causative *má²*, deriving dynamic verbs from state verbs. In other Chinantec languages, the cognate has been analysed as an activating prefix; for example, in Tepetotutla Chinantec (Westley 1991:18) and in Comaltepec Chinantec (Anderson 1989:13). In Sochiapan Chinantec, however, *lɛ²* is an intransitive inanimate verb meaning 'occur, happen, become', not an affix. *lɛ²* takes only complements as its subject. The complementiser *hi³* 'that, which' is not found in any text material between *lɛ²* 'become, happen, occur' and a state verb, but if inserted, the construction is accepted as grammatical by native speakers. For example:

- (198) Ca³- lɛ³ (hi³) zain³² tsú² mi³ má¹.
 PAST-happen³II (COMP) like³STI³ 3 spherical mango
 'It happened (that) s/he came to like mangoes.'

There are, however, several textual examples of *lɛ²* 'become, happen, occur' followed by *hi³* (COMP) when there is a dynamic verb in the complement. For example:

- (199) Ca³- lɛ³ hi³ ñi¹-cuóun²¹ jná¹³.
 PAST-happen³II COMP INT-sleep³IA¹1SG I
 'I became very sleepy.'

Also, illocutionary particles such as *yáh³* (ASSR) can intrude between *lɛ²* 'occur, happen, become' and the verb. For example:

- (200) Ca³- lɛ³ yáh³ zain³² tsú² mi³ má¹.
 PAST-happen³II ASSR like³STI³ 3 spherical mango
 'S/he really did come to like mangoes.' (I didn't think it would happen)

Illocutionary particles do not intrude between affixes, or between an affix and stem (see §11), so the construction in (200) must be analysed as the

verb *lɛ²* 'occur, happen, become', followed by a complement clause.

There is evidence that *lɛ²* 'occur, happen, become' is becoming grammaticised as a prefix. When *lɛ²* occurs with certain verbs such as *hnió³* 'want' (STI) or *tɪ³* 'complete' (SII), none of the illocutionary particles, nor the complementiser *hi³* can intrude. Based on a limited random sampling, there appear to be more verbs which permit such intrusion than those that do not.

Although illocutionary particles and the complementiser *hi³* can intrude between *lɛ²* 'occur, happen, become' and a following state or dynamic verb, such intrusion is not possible between *má²-* (CAUS) or *tá²-* (CONT) and the verb.

4.3 Binomial Verbs

Many verbs form couplets to express intensity, iterativity, persistence or complete-affectedness of an action. The nature of the two bases which comprise binomial verbs are discussed in §3.2.1.4.

These verbal couplets are not compounds, as almost any of the prefixes and verb phrase adverbs can be repeated with both bases.

Nor are they serial verbs for the following reasons:

(i) The first base can be one of a set of 'preverbs' which can imply positive or negative affectedness (§3.2.1.4, Table 3.3) among other modal nuances. The preverb itself can never function as a verb in its own right.

(ii) The first verb of the couplet often is a phonologically altered synonym of the second verb. Even when the segmental elements remain unaltered in the first verb, the tone-stress paradigm is greatly simplified. The second verb, on the other hand, is generally able to function without the first base, and is no different in form or internal inflection whether on its own or when part of a binomial verb.

(iii) The connotation of binomial verbs may remain similar to that of the two bases, but there are also binomial verbs that appear to be more idiomatic, requiring some imagination to see how the meaning has been acquired.

These three points are all illustrated in §3.2.1.4. The purpose of this section is to illustrate how affixation works with binomial verbs.

The first base of a binomial verb can take any permissible combination of prefixes. The second base, however, takes only the innermost prefix (or adverb, if no prefix occurs) that occurs with the first base. Examples of both a preverb and a phonologically modified verb functioning as the first base respectively are:

- (201) *Tsá² má²lieih²¹ hí³ né³, ca³- hí¹- híú²*
 person elderly that^AN TOPIC PAST-ANDT^PAST-PREV

hí¹- mí² lá³ lá²
 ANDT^PAST-ask^TI^3 idea this

‘That old man, he went and kept on pleading in this manner’

- (202) *hí¹- ca³- hí¹ ca³- líéinh³² yeh³ jon² ué³ lán³².*
 EVID-PAST-speak PAST-admonish^TA^3 elder child^3 long^time very
 ‘Evidently (i.e. by the sounds of it) the old man kept on admonishing his child for a very long time.’

In (201), the preverb *híú²* is of unknown etymology; its presence denotes iterativity of the second base verb *mí³²* ‘ask’ (TI). In (202), the first base verb *hí¹* derives from *hle³²* ‘speak’.

An example of a first-order progressive prefix occurring with a binomial verb is:

- (203) *Jlánh¹ ná¹- tí² ná¹- hóh³² tsá¹míh¹.*
 really PROG^PL-PREV PROG^PL-shout^IA^3 children
 ‘The children are yelling and shouting.’

An example of a directional prefix with a binomial verb is:

- (204) *Hníáuh³² cúá¹- chú¹ cúá¹- jah²¹ hnú² já¹ lá².*
 be^necessary^SII ANDT^FUT-PREV ANDT^FUT-spread^3 you^SG word this
 ‘You must keep on going everywhere announcing this message.’

An example of eighth-order *ca³-* (PAST) with a binomial verb is:

- (205) *Chú¹ja²¹ lán²¹ bíh¹ ca³- quiú³ ca³- pò³ tsú² jnoh¹.*
 publicly very AFF PAST-smite PAST-hit^TA^3>1 3 we
 ‘They kept on beating us publicly.’

An example of tenth-order *cú¹-* (HORT) with a binomial verb is:

- (206) *Juoh¹ hnú² tsá² tsá¹hú¹ hí³ cú¹-tí¹*
 tell^DA^FUT^2 you^SG person young^men COMP HORT-PREV

cú¹-jinh¹³ tsú² hmóu³².
 HORT-correct^TA^3 3 self^PL

'Tell the young men that they must keep on controlling themselves.'

One rather peculiar feature of binomial verbs is the way the first base is formed if the second base is disyllabic.

When a disyllabic verb forms the second base, it is unable to take any adverb or prefix; instead, the first syllable of the disyllabic verb affixes to the verb or preverb (PREV) of the first base. For example, in (207) the preverb *qui²* is used in the first base with the verb *di²jñi³²* 'kneel', and the binomial verb is: *di²qui¹ di²jñi³²* 'kneel (repeatedly)':

- (207) *Ca³⁻ di³qui³ di³jñi³² di² ta³ ñi¹ tsú².*
 PAST-PREV kneel^{IA^3} 3 before face³ 3
 'They kept kneeling repeatedly before him.'

In (208) the second base consists of a derived dynamic verb using the causative *ma³⁻*; the derivational prefix is required on the first base as well.

- (208) *Ná¹⁻ má²⁻ qui² ma³⁻ quien² tsú² Di⁶32.*
 PROG^{PL}-CAUS-PREV CAUS-important^{TA^3} 3 God
 'They are praising and honouring God.'^{<20>}

4.4 State Verbs

State verbs are syntactically distinct from dynamic verbs in the following ways:

(i) they cannot be directly affixed with the tense, mood, and motion prefixes without first being prefixed with either the causative (§4.2.1) or continuous (§4.2.2);

(ii) they do not inflect by tone-stress or vocalic change for tense, mood or motion.

Dynamic verbs, on the other hand, exhibit both of the above features.

Not all semantically state verbs are syntactically distinct from dynamic verbs. Some verbs that appear to describe a state do not require a derivational prefix to collocate with the tense, mood, and motion prefixes. For example, the verb *ngí²³* 's/he understands' is syntactically a dynamic verb, with the past tense *ca³ngí¹³* 's/he understood' (TI), whereas the verb *tín²* 's/he is able' (STI) is syntactically a state verb, requiring the causative *má²⁻* before being affixed with *ca³⁻* (PAST): *ca³má³tín²* 's/he taught'.

There are a few state verbs that have only one form for all grammatical persons, for example *tonh²* 'brag' (SIA) and *hon²* 'hate' (STA).

However, many intransitive animate state verbs appear to inflect for 1PL and non-1PL; for example, *zian²* 'live' (SIA).

(209)		Non-1PL	1PL
	'live'	<i>zian²</i>	<i>ziáun²</i>

Transitive state verbs can inflect for the same range of person-of-subject as Class A dynamic verbs: 3, 2, 1SG, 1PL (§4.1.1.1); for example, the verb *hnió³* 'want' (STI):

(210)		3	2	1SG	1PL
	'want'	<i>hnió³</i>	<i>hnáuh²</i>	<i>hnó³²</i>	<i>hnáun²</i>

Some transitive state verbs display only one contrastive inflection for person-of-subject, but it is the third-person form that is distinctive rather than the first-person plural as for the SIA verbs; for example, the verb *hnió³* 'want, love' (STA):

(211)		3	Non-3
	'want'	<i>hnió³</i>	<i>hno³</i>

There appear to be at least four sub-classes of state verbs: (a) 'posture' (including 'posture possessives'), (b) 'non-posture possessives', (c) 'existentials', and (d) others. These sub-classes are established on the basis of the affixability of (i) the continuous prefix (§4.2.2), (ii) the causative prefix (§4.2.1), and (iii) the progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1). Each sub-class is discussed in turn below.

4.4.1 Posture State Verbs

State verbs which indicate the orientation of the subject (if intransitive) or the object (if transitive) I have called 'posture state verbs', although the concept of 'posture' is applied somewhat loosely. Some of these are discussed and illustrated in §6.2.2.1 on the 'possessive' construction. One of the special features of posture state verbs is that number (SG vs. PL) of subject or object is implicit in the verb stem, which is uncommon in Chinantec verbs; see Table 4.46.

Posture state verbs are distinguishable from the other state verbs by (i) permitting affixation with the continuous (CONT) *tá²⁻*, (ii) not permitting affixation with the causative (CAUS) *má²⁻*, and (iii) permitting affixation of all the transitive possessive verbs and those intransitive possessive verbs which reference plural or mass nominals with the progressive plural *ná¹⁻* (§4.1.8.12.1); only a few of the transitive possessive verbs permit affixation with other progressive prefixes. When the transitive possessive verbs are prefixed with *ná¹⁻*, the connotation is that there is more than one possessor.

The known posture state verbs, possessive and non-possessive, are set out in Table 4.46. The intransitive and transitive counterparts are adjacent.

The verbs *chin¹* 'stand' (SIA^{SG}) and *tsin¹* 'stand' (SIA^{PL}) do not appear to have a phonologically related counterpart which expresses possession of an animate entity; instead, the verbs *zéinh³²* 'possess' (STA^{SG}) and *tíoh³²* 'possess' (STA^{PL}) are their semantic counterparts for expressing possession of animate entities.

Table 4.46 Posture State Verbs

INTRAN	GLOSS		TRAN	GLOSS
<i>rón³²</i>	lie	(SG)	<i>rauh³²</i>	possess (horizontal) (SG ^{IN})
<i>zeh²</i>	stand	(SG ^{IN})	<i>zéih³²</i>	possess (vertical) (SG ^{IN})
<i>zenh²</i>	stand	(SG ^{AN})	<i>zéinh³²</i>	possess (vertical) (SG ^{AN})
<i>tsi²¹</i>	stand	(PL ^{IN})	<i>tsaih²¹</i>	possess (vertical) (PL ^{IN})
<i>tsin¹</i>	stand	(PL ^{AN})		
<i>chi²¹</i>	stand	(SG ^{IN})	<i>cheih²¹</i>	possess (vertical) (SG ^{IN})
<i>chin¹</i>	stand	(SG ^{AN})		
<i>nio²</i>	be extended	(PL ^{IN})	<i>nióh³²</i>	possess (extended) (PL ^{IN})
<i>jna¹</i>	be planted	(PL ^{IN})	<i>jnauh²¹</i>	possess (mass) (PL ^{IN})
<i>ha²¹</i>	hold-liquid	(SG/PL ^{IN})	<i>hauh²¹</i>	possess (liquid) (SG/PL ^{IN})
<i>hu²¹</i>	hold-solid	(SG ^{IN})	<i>haih²¹</i>	possess (mass) (SG ^{IN})
<i>tíoh³</i>	contain	(PL ^{IN})	<i>tiauh²¹</i>	possess (confined) (PL ^{IN})
<i>tíoh^{h2}</i>	live at	(PL ^{AN})	<i>tíoh³²</i>	possess (PL ^{AN})

Of the verbs in Table 4.46, the two posture verbs *jna¹* 'be planted' (SII) and *ha²¹* 'hold (liquid)' (SII) cannot take the continuous *tá²⁻*; however, the possessive counterparts *jnauh²¹* 'possess (mass)' (STI) and *hauh²¹* 'possess (liquid)' (STI) can collocate with the continuous, and so I have included all four verbs with the other posture state verbs.

When a posture state verb is affixed with the continuous (CONT) *tá²-*, there is often internal inflection of the verb root. Examples of the posture state verbs *zeh²* 'stand' (SII) and *zéih³²* 'stand' (STI) affixed respectively with *tá²-* (CONT) are:

- (212) *Ja¹ juú² bñh¹ tá¹- zah¹ hñú¹³ tñ²mí³.*
 among town AFF CONT^FUT-stand^SII house^3 doctor
 'The doctor's house (i.e. clinic) will stand in the middle of the town.'
- (213) *Lñh³ ca³- ta³- zéih³² tsú² sum¹ nñ²?*
 when? PAST-CONT-possess^upright^STI^3 3 radio that
 'When did s/he acquire that radio (standing) there?'

The continuous prefix is discussed further in §4.2.2.

4.4.2 Non-posture Possessives

The non-posture possessives *quioh²¹* 'have' (STI) and *joh¹* 'have' (STA) are discussed extensively in §6.2.2.1. They are distinguishable from the other state verbs by (i) not permitting direct affixation with *tá²-* (CONT), (ii) permitting affixation with *má²-* (CAUS), and (iii) not permitting direct affixation with the progressive prefixes.

When a state verb is prefixed with *má²-* (CAUS), it becomes a dynamic verb stem and is able to be prefixed by any semantically appropriate dynamic verb prefix (§4.1.8.12). In the interlinear glosses, such derived verbs are no longer marked as 'state'. Examples of affixation with the causative are:

- (214) *Má² ca³- ma³- quioh²¹ tsú² hué³² jám².*
 PRF PAST-CAUS-have^TI^3 3 land that^IN
 'S/he has acquired that land.'
- (215) *Cñí¹-ma³- joh¹ tsú² mñ²ñí³ hí³.*
 HORT-CAUS-have^TA^3 3 pig that^AN
 'May s/he acquire that pig.'

4.4.3 Existentials

There are three existential state verbs: *zia³²* 'exist' (SII), 'have' (STI); *zian²* 'exist, be present' (SIA), 'have' (STA); and *zián³²* 'not exist, be absent' (SIA). Although transitive examples are found for the first two existentials, they are uncommon. There is also an existential possessive related to *zia³²* 'have' (STI): *zioh²* 'possess (mass)' (STI).

When *zián³²* 'not exist, be absent' is affixed with *má²-* (CAUS) and takes an oblique object with the preposition *ñi¹con²* 'towards', it means 'disregard, neglect'; see (219) below. *Zián³²* is the only known negative verb in Chinantec.

Existential state verbs are distinguishable from other state verbs by (i) not permitting affixation with the continuous *tá²-*, (ii) permitting affixation with the causative *má²-*, (except for the inanimate *zia³²* 'exist'), and (iii) permitting affixation with the progressive plural prefix *ná¹-*.

The causative is found with both the positive and negative animate existentials, but not the inanimate existential. Examples of the existentials with the causative are:

- (216) *He³ láih³² ca³- ma³- zian² tsú² cáun² hi³ cáun¹?*
 what? be[^]gained[^]SII PAST-CAUS-live[^]TI 3 one[^]IN thing foolish
 'Why ever did s/he live so foolishly?' (lit. 'Why ever did s/he (make him/herself) live as a foolish thing?')
- (217) *Lih³ ca³- ma³- zian² tsú² jon² ní¹ Be²¹?*
 when? PAST-CAUS-live[^]TA[^]3 3 child[^]3 feminine Isabel
 'When did s/he deliver Isabel's child?'
- (218) *Tiá² hniánh³² yáh³ ma³- zian³² tsú² tsa³háu².*
 not be[^]necessary[^]SII ASSR CAUS[^]FUT-be[^]absent[^]IA[^]3 3 tomorrow
 'S/he must not absent herself tomorrow.' (i.e. s/he must not give excuses for not fulfilling her/his obligations)
- (219) *He³ láih³² ca³- ma³- zian³² tsú² ñi¹con² ñi²cuo²?*
 what? be[^]gained[^]SII PAST-CAUS-be[^]absent[^]IA[^]3 3 towards spouse
 'Why did s/he neglect her/his spouse?' (e.g. give excuses for not assisting with any chores)

Examples of the existentials with the progressive plural *ná¹-* are:

- (220) *Jlánh¹ ré² má² ná¹- zia³² tán² ta³né³².*
 really superb PRF PROG[^]PL-exist[^]SII banana now
 'It's great/superb that bananas are now in abundance.'
- (221) *Jmí¹ ná¹- zian² tsá² hí³ la³ cum³*
 TRM PROG[^]PL-live[^]SIA[^]3 people that[^]AN about only
hi³ tí³² tsí³ Dió³².
 COMP reach[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 heart[^]3 God
 'Those people were living in a way which was pleasing to God.'
- (222) *Ná¹- zian² tsá¹mih¹ mí¹uí³ jléh³².*
 PROG[^]PL-have[^]STI[^]3 children sickness measles
 'The children have measles.'

Note that in (221), *ná¹zian²* is intransitive, whereas in (222) it is transitive

(the subject is 'children'). The transitive form of the verb can only take an inanimate object.

4.4.4 Other State Verbs

The remaining group of state verbs do not exhibit the same degree of semantic cohesiveness as is found within each of the first three groups. Included in this final group are verbs such as *hon*² 'hate' (STA), *hnio*³ 'love' (STA), *hnió*³ 'want' (STI), *ñi*³² 'know' (STI), *hniah*³ 'lack, require' (SIA), *háun*³ 'care for' (STA), *tonh*² 'brag' (SIA), *juo*²³ 'be pitiable' (SIA), *tín*² 'be able, be adept at' (STI), *tí*³ 'be complete' (SII), *tín*³ 'be complete' (SIA), and *ren*² 'owe' (STI).

This final group of state verbs are distinguishable from the other state verbs in the following ways (i) they do not permit direct affixation with the continuous *tá*²⁻, (ii) some, but not all of these verbs permit affixation with the causative *ma*²⁻, and (iii) they permit affixation with the progressive prefixes. Each of these points is elaborated below.

With reference to point (i), if a state verb is first affixed for the progressive aspect (§4.1.8.12.1), it can then be further affixed with the continuous, marking the inception of a new state.

Although the criterion in (ii) is not definitive, there does not appear to be anything to be gained by further distinguishing between those verbs which can take the causative and those which cannot; no obvious semantic sub-classes emerge. Of the verbs given above, *hon*² 'hate', *hnio*³ 'love', *hnió*³ 'want', *ñi*³² 'know', *tonh*² 'brag', *juo*²³ 'be pitiable', *tín*² 'be able, be adept at', and *tí*³ 'be complete' are able to take the causative; the others cannot. For example:

- (223) *Jlánh*¹ *ca*³⁻ *ma*³⁻ *hnio*³ *tsú*² *rañh*²¹.
 really PAST-CAUS-want-TA[^]3 3 relative[^]3
 'S/he really showed love to her/his relative/companion.'

The implication of (223) is that a conscious decision was made by the agent to actively benefit the patient on a particular occasion.

With reference to point (iii), the label progressive for the prefixes in

Table 4.39 is more appropriate to the sense conveyed when they are affixed to dynamic verbs; when affixed to state verbs the sense is more 'continuous'. (The function of the progressive prefixes and the continuous prefix are compared in §4.2.2.) Generally, with the progressive prefixes, there is also the sense that the state, although continuous at the time of the speech act, has not or will not always hold true. For example:

(224) *Ná¹-* *tí³* *bíh¹ hní²ñe²*
 PROG¹PL-be¹complete¹SII AFF stretchy¹fabric

tioh¹³ *tan²* *jná¹³.*
 put¹PRES¹TI¹PL foot¹1SG I
 'My socks are all accounted for.'

(225) *Hliám³ quie³ cuá¹-* *ren²* *jná¹³.*
 much¹IN money indefinite¹PROG-owe¹STI¹1SG I
 'I owe a lot of money.'

In addition to the progressive prefixes in Table 4.39, there are two other progressive prefixes which are found exclusively with state verbs: *hú¹-* 'holding, containing' (from: *hu²¹* 'enclose, contain' (SII)) and *há¹-/há²-* 'open' (from: *hó³²* 'open' (SII)) (*há¹-* and *há²-* appear to be completely substitutable for one another, with no difference in meaning).

The inclusion of *hú¹-* and *há¹-/há²-* with the progressive prefixes of Table 4.39 is based on their similarity to these posture-oriented verbs; as mentioned above, all progressive prefixes convey the sense of 'continuous' when affixed to state verbs.

Examples of *hú¹-* 'holding, containing' and *há¹-/há²-* 'open' respectively are:

(226) *#í¹* *ní²* *hú¹-* *hon²* *hla¹* *Sé³².*
 place that containing¹PROG-be¹buried¹SIA¹³ corpse Joseph
 'That is where Joseph's remains are buried.'

(227) *Há²* *há¹-* *na²¹* *ho³tá²quié².*
 PRF open¹PROG-be¹open¹SII window
 'The window is already open.'

4.5 State Verbs vs. Adjectives

In other Chinantec languages the question has been raised as to the validity of the grammatical class 'adjective'. For example, Rupp (1989:5), in

describing Lealao Chinantec, states: 'For the most part, the class of Chinantec stative roots corresponds to the class of adjectives of the Indo-European languages.' In this section I will specifically address this issue from the point of view that in Sochiapan Chinantec, adjectives form a separate syntactic class.

4.5.1 Shared Characteristics of Adjectives and State Verbs

Adjectives resemble state verbs in the following ways:

(i) Adjectives can function predicatively in a stative construction.

Examples (228) and (229) contain state verbs, while (230) and (231) contain predicate adjectives:

- (228) *Zia³² bñh¹ táu².*
 exist^{SII} AFF banana
 'There are bananas.'
- (229) *Tiá² tí³ bñh¹ quie³ quion²¹ jná¹³.*
 not be^{complete}^{SII} AFF money have^{TI}^{1SG} I
 'I do not have sufficient money.'
- (230) *Ráu³ bñh¹ táu².*
 be^{sweet}^{SII} AFF banana
 'The banana(s) is(are) sweet.'
- (231) *Tiá² chu²¹ yáh³ tuh³² ní².*
 not be^{good}^{SII} ASSR bag that
 'That bag is damaged.' (lit. 'That bag is not good.')

(ii) Many adjectives, like state verbs, can be made into dynamic verbs by the use of *má²-* (CAUS). Examples of derived dynamic verbs based on an adjective and on a state verb respectively are:

- (232) *Ca³- má³- quien² tsú² jméi².*
 PAST-CAUS-important^{TI}³ 3 father³
 'S/he honoured her/his father.' (e.g. by obeying him)
- (233) *Ca³- má³- tán² tsú² tsáu² lánh³ hí³² sí².*
 PAST-CAUS-able^{DI}³ 3 people how read^{TI}^{FUT}³ book
 'S/he taught them how to read.'

This second similarity is not of great significance however, as verbs can also be derived from nouns and adverbs by *má²-*, see §3.1.2.1.

4.5.2 Differences Between Adjectives and State Verbs

Adjectives differ from state verbs in the following ways:

(i) There are at least two incontrovertible adjectives that always pre-

cede nouns, but cannot be utilised in a stative construction: the evaluative adjectives *uɬ¹* 'nice, pleasant, desirable, useful' and *hna¹* 'crude, rough, undesirable, despicable' (see §6.6). These words alone validate the existence of the syntactic class of adjectives. So the focus of the discussion will shift to the distinction between descriptive adjectives, which can function predicatively, and state verbs.

(ii) Although adjectives can function predicatively, as in (230) and (231), if a state verb and an adjective co-occur in a sentence, the adjective cannot exchange places with the state verb. For example:

(234)(a) *Nio²* *si² dáin³*.
 be^{present}^SII^PL book red
 'There are (some) red books.'

(b) **Dáin³ si² nio²*.
 red book be^{present}^SII^PL
 'Red books there are.'

Other state verbs can be substituted for *nio²* 'be present' (SII^PL) in (234a) with no loss of grammaticality; for example, *ti³* 'be complete, be whole' (SII), *jniá³* 'be visible' (SII), and most of the posture state verbs (§4.4.1). Similarly, many other adjectives could be substituted for *dáin³* 'red'; for example, *pieh¹* 'hefty', *hmai²¹* 'new', *cuo²* 'long', etc.; however, no substitution of state verbs or adjectives for their counterparts in (234b) results in a grammatical utterance.

(iii) When functioning predicatively, many descriptive adjectives exhibit a special form for 1PL, as is common among SIA verbs (see §4.4 above); for example:

(235)(a) *Pin³* *jáh³*.
 be^{strong}^SIA^3 animal
 'The animal is strong.'

(b) *Pe³* *jneh¹*.
 strong^SIA^1SG we
 'We are strong.'

The 1PL form is not available when an adjective is functioning as a modifier. For example:

(236)(a) *Jáh³ pin³ bíh¹ lá³².*
 animal strong AFF this¹one
 'This animal is strong.' (lit. '(A) strong animal (is) this one.')

(b) **Jnoh¹ pe³ bíh¹ lá³².*
 we strong¹SIA¹1PL AFF this¹one
 lit. 'We strong (are) these ones.'

Examples of other adjectives which have a special 1PL form when functioning predicatively are set out in Table 4.47, together with the corresponding non-1PL forms. The non-1PL forms are the same whether the adjective is functioning descriptively or predicatively:

Table 4.47 First-person Plural and Non-first-person Plural Counterparts of Predicate Adjectives

inanimate	animate	1PL	gloss
<i>jlíh²¹</i>	<i>jlánh¹</i>	<i>jláih¹</i>	'wet'
<i>cháuh³</i>	<i>cháun³</i>	<i>cháuh³</i>	'warm'
<i>liáh²</i>	<i>liánh²</i>	<i>liáuh²</i>	'black'
<i>pin³</i>	<i>pin³</i>	<i>pe³</i>	'strong'
	<i>juính³</i>	<i>juah³</i>	'lazy'

(iv) There is evidence that neutralisation of the distinction between state verbs and descriptive adjectives is not complete when adjectives are functioning predicatively. Strings of two or more descriptive adjectives are grammatical; see §6.3.5. Such strings are still possible in the stative construction, although fewer combinations are grammatical. For example:

(237) *Jlánh¹ ráuh³ ñeh¹ mí³ dúh³ ní².*
 really be¹sweet¹SII be¹salty¹SII spherical candy that
 'That candy is really sweet and salty.'

A string of state verbs, or a mixture of state verbs and adjectives, however, is not grammatical. It would appear then, that the distinction between state verbs and adjectives is largely neutralised in a stative construction, although not fully, as seen in (237).

(v) State verbs are able to participate in a relative construction (§9.1) introduced by the complementiser *hi³* when modifying inanimate and animate nouns, but adjectives cannot. Examples of constructions involving state verbs are:

- (238) *jñéi² hi³ zia³² jmí¹ ñí¹hiú²*
 bean COMP exist^{SII} occasion spring
 'beans which are available in spring'
- (239) *hmih³² hi³ nio² ɔ³²*
 clothes COMP be^{present}^{SII}^{PL} yonder
 'the clothes which are lying over there'
- (240) *tsái² hi³ zian² ja¹ hngá¹*
 dog COMP exist^{SIA}³ among jungle
 'the dog(s) which live in the jungle'
- (241) *mí²ñí³ hi³ rón³² chu³ jen²*
 pig COMP lie^{SIA}³ middle mud
 'the pig which is lying in the middle of the mud puddle'

In all of the above constructions, the complementiser *hi³* is optional; however, if the complementiser is present, substituting any inanimate or animate adjective for the state verbs in examples (238-241) (with or without the temporal or locative elements) results in an ungrammatical construction; for example:

- (242) **jñéi² hi³ zñh³ (jmí¹ ñí¹hiú²)*
 bean COMP young^{IN} (occasion spring)
 'beans which are young/tender (in spring)'
- (243) **hmih³² hi³ quiá¹ (ɔ³²)*
 clothes COMP dirty^{IN} (yonder)
 'the clothes which are dirty (over there)'
- (244) **tsái² hi³ quián¹ (zian² ja¹ hngá¹)*
 dog COMP dirty (live^{SIA}³ among jungle)
 'the dog which is dirty (living in the jungle)'

If the complementiser *hi³* is deleted from (242-244), the utterances are grammatical: 'the tender beans (in spring); 'the dirty clothes (over there)'; and 'the dirty dog (living in the jungle)' respectively.

The absolute restriction on both inanimate and animate adjectives occurring with the complementiser *hi³* is further evidence that a distinction between descriptive adjectives and state verbs is valid.

In summary, state verbs cannot function in a post-nominal position as descriptive adjectives, but adjectives are able to function predicatively in a pre-nominal position.

Also, note that although relative clauses can occur following inalienable nouns, adjectives cannot; signifying a difference between state verbs and

adjectives; see §6.2 and §6.5.

I conclude that, although the distinction between descriptive adjectives and state verbs is somewhat tenuous when an adjective is functioning predicatively, there are sufficient differences to merit treating them as separate syntactic categories.

NOTES

1. The citation form for verbs is in the third-person present tense, unless otherwise indicated.
2. Rupp (1989) in describing Lealao Chinantec, and Anderson (1989) in describing Comaltepec Chinantec treat the perfect, the negative, the terminative and the nonentailment as prefixes. Co-occurrence and ordering of the various elements is not discussed in any detail. I believe there are sufficient grounds for treating these elements as distinct from prefixes, as outlined in §4.0; see also §5.0.
3. The innermost set of prefixes which mark the progressive aspect, however, do not occasion any inflection of the verb root; they occur with the form of the verb inflected for present tense. The prohibitive is marked by the adverb *lɛ²* plus verbal inflection.
4. There are 607 dynamic verbs and seven state verbs in the main verb corpus, which has been carefully checked. I also have a secondary corpus of 322 dynamic verbs and 19 state verbs which has been partially checked. Generally, the verb analysis does not draw on the verbs in the secondary corpus; however, sometimes I have used portions of the secondary corpus to give a more comprehensive picture than would be possible from the primary corpus alone (for example, Table 8.4). In such instances, the verbs from the secondary corpus have been carefully checked with respect to the point being discussed, and I have indicated that data is drawn from the secondary corpus.
5. Strictly speaking, non-final syllables undergo stress neutralisation, and

- exhibit only three simple tones (§2.5.2.2); however, following the practical orthography, tones on non-final syllables are represented as b1, b2, and c3.
6. In Chinantec, the third-person pronoun *tsú*² is indeterminate both as to gender (masculine, feminine) and number (SG, PL). Glosses of examples that are drawn from text material reflect the implicit gender and number. Elicited material either reflects the normal social roles; when such roles are ambivalent the gloss 's/he' is provided; often 'they' could be equally implied.
7. The form of the verb for the exhortative is the same as for the imperative, both of which are derived from the past, but with the morphological glottal which marks second-person omitted (§4.1.8.6).
8. I use the term 'preferred' guardedly, since this reflects individual speaker's preference, or the language assistant's perception of what is the more commonly used tone-stress.
9. Although the exceptions for Class B and Class C verbs are partially discussed, the details of matters such as unusual and/or alternate paradigms for 2, 1SG, and 1PL are left to the Chinantec-Spanish Dictionary, which is in preparation.
10. The tone-stress paradigms have been organised on the following basis: ballistic stress (b) precedes controlled stress (c); the tones are prioritised with the three level tones first, followed by the two falling tones, and then the two rising tones: 1, 2, 3, 13, 23, 21, 32. The paradigm columns are ordered on the basis of the tone-stress found in the first row (PRESENT), then the second row is taken into consideration, etc.
11. When a Chinantec speaker is presented with a Spanish infinitive, the Chinantec equivalent is generally supplied in the 3-PRES, although occasionally the 3-FUT may be given. Wilfrido Flores Hernández, who has been the principle language assistant in analysing verb paradigms, intuitively considers the 3-PRES to be fundamental in determining a verb's tone-stress paradigm and vocalic changes; however, the precise interaction of tone-stress inflection and changes in the nucleus remains elusive.

12. The other main contender would be the form for 1PL, since the division of verbs into the three main classes is most easily determined by referring to the tone-stress of the 1PL-PRES.
13. The term 'stem' refers to the segmental elements, not the tone-stress.
14. The term 'inflectionally related' refers to a verb's syntactic/semantic counterparts; that is, forms which are not just synonyms, but are syntactically in complementary distribution. This may involve differences in transitivity valence (e.g. *cue*³² 'give' (TI) and *cueh*³² 'give' (DI)), animacy (e.g. *chi*² 'remove' (DI^SG) and *chin*² 'remove' (DA^SG)), number (e.g. *chin*² 'remove' (DA^SG) and *huen*² 'remove' (DA^PL)), and cross-referencing (e.g. *chin*² 'remove' (DA^SG) and *che*² 'remove' (DA^I^SG)). Some TA verbs have inflectionally related forms for subject ≠ object, subject = object (reflexive) and subject § object (reciprocal), e.g. *jngih*² 'kill' (TA), *jngih*³² 'kill oneself' (TA), and *jngih*²³ 'kill one another' (TA). The term 'inflectionally related' does not imply that the verbs share the same tone-stress inflectional paradigm, although they may; if verbs share the same tone-stress paradigm, they generally differ vocally.
15. Sochiapan Chinantec ditransitives commonly exhibit both the IO and DO constituents within a single clause, unlike Tepetotutla Chinantec which evidently prefers a kind of clause chaining, expressing the two objects in conjunction with separate verbs (Westley 1991:24-25).
16. The figure of 76 IA verbs includes all the Class A, B, and C verbs of the primary verb corpus, plus 16 IA verbs from the secondary verb corpus which have been incorporated into the verb analysis in Table 8.4.
17. In monosyllabic verbs, the final syllable is the only syllable.
18. Note that tone-stress b3 of *tián*³ 'toast, roast' (inflected for the directional) is perturbed to b13 by the past andative *ñi*¹⁻; see §4.1.1, point (ii).
19. *Ju*³² 'whistle' denotes communicating in whistle speech; see §2.6.
20. Since this binomial verb is in the present tense, the causative prefix should be inflected to *má*²⁻ on the second base, as it is on the first base.

This appears to be one of the few instances where tonal dissimilation occurs, a process not yet studied. Tonal assimilation is the normal process, where a syllable following a high tone can optionally be perturbed: a low tone is perturbed to a mid, a mid tone to a high, and a low-rising to a mid-rising. Again, the mechanics of this process are not fully understood, but it appears to be limited to elements within a syntactic unit.

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CHAPTER 5

THE VERB PHRASE

5.0 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe the adverbs which function within the Verb Phrase (VP) and their relationship to one another.

In this introductory section I set out the criteria by which the Verb Phrase adverbs are differentiated from both verbal prefixes and clause level adverbs.

The Verb Phrase adverbs differ from the verb prefixes (§4.1.8.12) in the following ways:

- (i) they have some, albeit limited, possibility of permutation of order;
- (ii) they can function outside of the Verb Phrase, acting as modifiers of other parts of speech, which the prefixes cannot;
- (iii) they do not occasion any internal inflection (tone, stress, or vocalic change, or a combination thereof) of the verb;
- (iv) they can directly modify state verbs.

As will be seen, there are some elements that may fail one or more of the criteria set up above. However, an element can still be considered to be a Verb Phrase adverb if it fulfils the majority of the criteria, or adjacent clearly defined elements require the one in question to be classified as an adverb.

Adverbs which function within the Verb Phrase can be distinguished from clause level adverbs by the following criteria:<1>

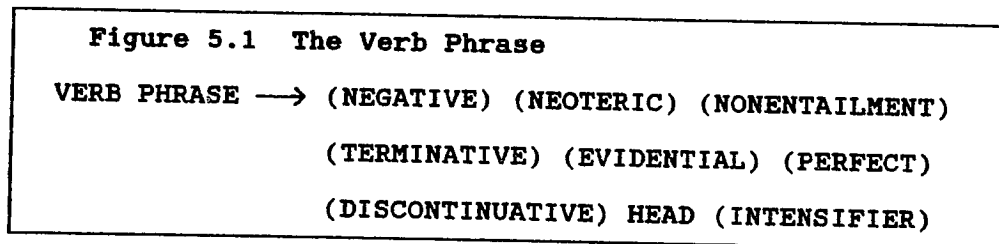
- (i) Both prefixes and adverbs that are part of the Verb Phrase share the common characteristic of occurring with both bases of a binomial verb (see §4.3 and §5.2). The ability to occur with both bases of a binomial verb marks these constituents as more closely bound to the verb than adverbs which

cannot. Those adverbs which cannot occur with the second base of a binomial verb are considered to be outside of the Verb Phrase.

(ii) Adverbs which precede the Verb Phrase head and can be followed by an illocutionary adverb or particle such as *bíh*¹ (AFF) are outside of the Verb Phrase. The illocutionary adverbs and particles are unable to intrude between the verb and its affixes or between the verb and the adverbs that are part of the Verb Phrase; when illocutionary adverbs and particles follow a verb phrase, they have the whole verb phrase in their scope (§11).

The adverbs that comprise the clausal elements include (among others) the manner adverb *jlánh*¹ 'really', the temporal adverbs *jmí*¹ 'when (past)' and *ní*¹ 'when (future)'; these always precede the Verb Phrase. There are other temporal, locative and manner adverbs which may precede or follow the Verb Phrase; see §8.2. No systematic analysis of these clause-level adverbs has yet been undertaken for Sochiapan Chinantec.

The constituents of the Sochiapan Chinantec Verb Phrase are set out in Figure 5.1:



Examples of the Verb Phrase (VP) are:

- (1) VP[NEG NON TRM H]
Tiá² lí¹ jmí¹ cue³² tsáú² má³² hí³ cuh³ tsú².
 not NON TRM give^{TI^PRES^3} people food COMP eat^{TI^FUT^3} 3
 'People would not freely give/offer any food for her/him to eat.'
- (2) VP[TRM EVID PRF DISC H]
Jmí¹ la³ má² tí² jmu² tsú² ca³lá² ta²¹.
 TRM EVID PRF DISC do^{TI^PRES^3} 3 some work
 'Apparently s/he had begun doing some work.'

The implication in (2) is that the person was young and had finally reached the age of working regularly, but is no longer around. Generally, this would imply an untimely death, although it could mean that the person has left town.

5.1 The Verb Phrase Adverbs

As illustrated in Figure 5.1, the Verb Phrase consists of seven optional pre-head constituents, the head of the Verb Phrase, and one optional post-head constituent. I will present the pre-head Verb Phrase constituents first, followed by the single post-head constituent.

5.1.1 The Discontinuative

The first-order Verb Phrase constituent is the discontinuative (DISC) adverb *tɬ²*. The discontinuative marks an event as no longer true. *Tɬ²* collocates with a dynamic verb in the present tense or with a state verb. It can precede the set of progressive prefixes, the ambulative, and the present tense directional prefixes. Examples of the discontinuative directly preceding the verb, and collocating with a directional prefix are:

- (3) *Tɬ² jɯ² jná¹³ ta²¹ quioh²¹ tsú².*
 DISC do^TI^PRES^1SG I work have^STI^3 3
 'I used to work for her/him.'
- (4) *Tɬ² já²- jan² tsú² tsá² tsám¹ ñí¹ lá².*
 DISC VEN^PRES-take^TA^3 3 people sick place this
 'They used to bring sick people to this place.'

An example of *tɬ²* (DISC) with a state verb is:

- (5) *Tɬ² zain³² mí¹mih¹ nɬ² cónh³² tsa³cuá¹.*
 DISC like^STI^3 girl that handle^TA^PRES^3 horse
 'That little girl used to like handling/riding horses.'

As mentioned in §5.0, one of the features that generally distinguishes Verb Phrase adverbs from prefixes is that they can also function outside of the Verb Phrase, acting as modifiers of other parts of speech, while prefixes generally cannot. <2> The discontinuative, which is the first Verb Phrase constituent, exhibits this property; it is able to collocate with inalienable nouns. The result is an equative clause (§8.1.1). For example:

- (6) *Tɬ² hñu³² jná¹³ hñú³ nɬ².*
 DISC house^1SG I house that
 'That house used to be my home.'

5.1.2 Perfect Aspect

The second-order Verb Phrase constituent is the perfect (PRF) aspect marker *má²*.

The perfect collocates with the non-affixed verb stem in the present and future tenses, and with most of the prefixes discussed in Chapter 5.

Má² (PRF) plus a verb inflected for the future tense marks a situation as imminent. *Má²* plus a verb inflected for the present tense marks a situation as inchoative; the focus is on the recent inception and current relevance. Depending on the semantics of the verb, the situation encoded by the verb may be either actual present or habitual (§4.1.8.10). *Má²* plus the past prefixes, whether hodiernal or remote (§4.1.8.12.7), marks a situation as recent and perfective. Examples of each use respectively are:

- (7) *Má² tiú³² yeh³ SÉ³² jó¹ hmá² quián¹³ nú².*
 PRF cut^{TI}^{FUT}³ elder Joseph flat wood have^{STI}² you^{SG}
 'Old man Joseph is about to cut boards for you.' (i.e. using the pit-saw method)
- (8) *Má² len³ jná¹³ hi³ ñe¹ jmáí¹.*
 PRF think^{TI}^{PRES}^{1SG} I COMP go^{non}^{home}^{IA}^{FUT}^{1SG} fiesta
 'I now think that I will go to the fiesta.' (present)
- (9) *Má² cūh² ñú²mfh¹ lí¹.*
 PRF eat^{TI}^{PRES}³ boy tepejilote
 'The boy now eats tepejilote (a bitter edible palm).' (habitual)
- (10) *Má² ca³-jñí³ tsú² cui² t³ jú³² Cua³uóum².*
 PRF PAST-sow^{TI}³ 3 maize at path Quetzalapa
 'S/he has just/already sown maize (in her/his field) by the trail to Quetzalapa.'

Má² (PRF) with a state verb generally implies that the opposite condition was true until recently, an implication that is also true when *má²* occurs with verbs in the present (see (9) above). For example:

- (11) *Má² ñi²¹ jná¹³ jú³² t³ Jính³².*
 PRF know^{STI}^{1SG} I trail to Usila
 'I now know the way to Usila.'
- (12) *Má² zia³² ta²¹ quiú¹³ jnoh¹.*
 PRF exist^{SII} work have^{STI}^{1PL} we
 'There is now work for us.'

Má² can occur with most of the inflectional prefixes (§4.1.8.12) and both of the derivational prefixes (§4.2). Examples of *má²* with a first-order progressive prefix, the fifth-order motion prefix, and the ninth-order evidential prefix respectively are:

- (13) *Má² dí¹- hleh³² t³ Tú²¹.*
 PRF upright^{PROG}-speak^{TI}³ teacher Anthony

'The teacher Anthony is now standing (there) speaking.'

- (14) *Tá¹la³ má² hí¹-tiáuh¹ jnoh¹ jáum² juí³²,*
 while PRF HOT-be^{present} IA¹PL we then trail
 'While we were already on the trail at that time,'

- (15) *Hla¹ tí³² jě¹ Dió³² má² hí¹- téh¹³ tsá² ní².*
 deceased master word³ God PRF EVID-call^{TA}3 person that^{AN}
 'It sounds like that person is now calling on the deceased prophet.'

Examples of *má²* (PRF) with the causative and continuous derivational prefixes respectively are:

- (16) *Ná² má²- siúnh¹ tsú² chí³ táh² pih²¹ hí¹ sí²hia³².*
 PRF CAUS^{PRES}-dry^{TA}3 3 diminutive crayfish little on clay^{dish}
 'S/he is now/already toasting the little crayfish in the clay dish.'

- (17) *Ná² tá¹- raunh²¹ hñh³² jná¹³*
 PRF CONT^{FUT}-possess^{horizontal} STI³ father¹SG I

cáum² sun¹ hmaí²¹.

one^{IN} radio new

'My father is about to acquire a new radio.'

The verb *raunh²¹* 'possess' in (17) implies that the item is in a horizontal orientation; see §6.2.2.1.

A future perfect is constructed by using a verb inflected for the past tense, and preceded by the perfect adverb on a high tone. The words *ní¹* 'when (FUT)' and *ní¹juáh³* 'if' in the following examples are optional:

- (18) (*Ní¹*) *má¹ ca³- jngih³ tsú² mí²hí³ né³,*
 (when^{FUT}) PRF PAST-kill^{TA}3 3 pig TOPIC
 'When the pig has been killed,'

- (19) (*Ní¹juáh³*) *má¹ ca³- hion² hí¹ cuú²,*
 (if) PRF PAST-sprout^{II}3 weed³ maize
 'If the weeds have sprouted in the cornfield' (lit 'the maize's weeds')

The position of *má²* as a second-order adverb can be seen in (20), where *má²* precedes first-order *tí²* (DISC):

- (20) *Jmí¹ má² tí² jmu² hla¹ Pé¹ ca³lá² ta²¹.*
 TRM PRF DISC do^{TI} PRES³ deceased Peter some work
 'The deceased Peter had begun to do some work.'

Ná² (PRF) has been written in Sochiapan Chinantec literature as a prefix. However, it would appear better on syntactic grounds to consider *má²* as an adverb for the following reasons:

- (i) When *má²* contiguously precedes the verb, it does not occasion any

internal inflection of the verb. In fact, *má²* can occur with the verb inflected for either present or future.

(ii) *Má²* can permute with the seventh-order negative *tiá²*. Examples of the unmarked (more common) order and the marked order respectively are:

- (21) *Tiá² má² nga² tsú² hí¹ cá² jon¹ jái¹³.*
 not PRF answer^TI^PRES^3 3 not^even one^IN portion word
 'S/he is not yet answering (with) even a single word.'
- (22) *La³ má² tiá² nga² jáun² bíh¹ tsú² hí¹ cáun² jái¹³.*
 as PRF not answer^TI^PRES^3 then AFF 3 not^even one^IN word
 'Like before, s/he is still not answering (with) a single word.'

When the negative adverb precedes the perfect adverb, as in (21), the meaning is 'not yet' (a statement of fact); but when the order is reversed as in (22), the meaning is 'still not' (implying surprise or irritation).

(iii) *Má²* can collocate with adverbs and inalienable nouns; for example:

- (23) *Tsá¹- ján¹³ dí² chán² quiú¹³ hí³*
 ANDT^FUT-burn^TI^1PL we cutting have^STI^1PL COMP
rón³² hí¹ má² uóunh³.
 lie^SII place PRF far
 'We will go burn one of our further cuttings.'
- (24) *Hí¹ cá³la³ tí³ hí³ quióh²¹ tsá² má² renh²*
 even^to even at thing have^STI^3 person PRF relative^2
yáh³ nán² ná¹- háinh³².
 ASSR you^PL PROG^PL-steal^TI^2
 'You are even stealing those things that belong to those who are now your relatives.'

5.1.3 The Evidential Adverb

The third-order Verb Phrase constituent is the evidential (EVID) adverb *la³*.

The evidential adverb *la³* is non-specific as to the source of information, unlike the evidential prefix *hí¹-*, which requires that the source of information be audible (§4.1.8.12.8). Nevertheless, if there is no obvious source of information (as in (27)), the speaker is assumed to have heard the information that s/he is expressing. *La³* can denote sources of information other than audible; examples of visual and taste perception are:

- (25) *La³ cuá²- hí¹ jmí³ ja¹ niéi².*
 EVID VEN^PAST-go^II rain among darkness

'It looks like it rained during the night.' (lit. 'Apparently rain came and went during the dark.'--said upon observing the damp ground)

- (26) *la³ jma² bih¹ sandia.*
 EVID be[^]tasty[^]SII AFF watermelon
 'Watermelon is tasty after all.' (Until I tried it, I didn't think it would be.)

Sometimes, as in (25), *la³* may imply surprise or, as in (26), contraexpectation.

An example of *la³* preceding second-order *má²* (PRF) is:

- (27) *la³ má² lí²-quiéih³² Gáu¹ mih¹ ta³.*
 EVID PRF HOD-slash[^]TI[^]3 Gregory little leg[^]3
 'Apparently little Gregory has just slashed his leg.'

5.1.4 The Terminative Adverb

The fourth-order Verb Phrase constituent is the terminative (TRM) adverb *jmí¹*.

When *jmí¹* (TRM) combines with a verb in the present tense, the implication is that the situation is no longer true, resembling the implication of *tí²* (DISC) with the present (§5.1.1). However, *jmí¹* generally refers to a more recent situation than that referred to by *tí²*. The choice of adverb is dependent on the larger discourse context. Examples of both adverbs respectively are:

- (28) *Jmí¹ tiu³² tsú² hmá² la³ cáun² lá².*
 TRM cut[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 wood about one[^]IN this
 'They used to cut logs (into boards) in this area.' (relatively recent past)
- (29) *Tí² tiu³² tsú² hmá² la³ cáun² lá².*
 DISC cut[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 wood about one[^]IN this
 'They used to cut logs (into boards) in this area.' (relatively distant past)

Alternatively, *jmí¹* (TRM) can imply that, although the former situation is not currently true, it may become true again; whereas *tí²* implies that the former situation is unlikely to ever hold true again.

The truth condition of both the terminative and the discontinuative adverbs is absolute; neither permits the addition of '. . . and s/he still does'.

It is possible for both *tí²* and *jmí¹* to co-occur, indicating even more strongly the improbability of the former situation recurring; for example:

- (30) *Jmɿ¹ tɿ² ta³² tsá²mi³ háu¹³ nɿ²cuo².*
 TRM DISC weave^TI^PRES^3 woman pants^3 spouse^3
 'The women used to weave their husband's pants.'

Jmɿ¹ (TRM) with a verb in the future tense generally marks either a change in plans due to extenuating circumstances or unfulfilled potential. For example:

- (31) *Jmɿ¹ jú¹³ jná¹³ cháu² tsa³háu².*
 TRM burn^TI^FUT^1SG I cuttings tomorrow
 'I was going to burn the cuttings tomorrow.' (but no longer will)
- (32) *Sɿ² hi³ jmɿ¹ lɿ¹³ jɯ³ bih¹ tsá²*
 book COMP TRM be^able^TI^FUT^3 do^TI^FUT^3 AFF person
hi³, tiá² ca³- jmú³.
 that^AN not PAST-do^TI^3
 'The books that s/he could have written, s/he never did.'

Jmɿ¹ (TRM) with a verb in the future tense may also have an optative connotation, encoding a very polite request; for example:

- (33) *Hɿ³ bih¹ jmɿ¹ lá¹³ jná¹³ ca³lá².*
 medicine AFF TRM buy^TI^FUT^1SG I some
 'I would like to buy some medicine.'
 or: 'I was wanting some medicine.'

My language assistants have found this particular construction amusing due to its ambiguity, which can be seen in the alternate gloss 'I was wanting some medicine'; that is, the person was wanting some medicine, but has had a change of mind.

Jmɿ¹ (TRM) plus the tentative (INT) prefix *nɿ¹-* (§4.1.8.12.5) generally marks a change in intention. For example:

- (34) *Tiá² jmɿ¹ nɿ¹-cuɿ²¹ hnú² tsá² hi³ hi³ mɿh³².*
 not TRM INT-give^DI^3>2 you^SG person that^AN thing ask^TI^PRES^2
 'That person wasn't intending to give you the thing you were (lit. 'are') asking for.' (but s/he did)

In addition, *jɯ¹* (TRM) is able to collocate with the motion, past, ambulative, and directional prefixes (§4.1.8.12); see, for example, (35) and (37) below.

The temporal adverb *jɯ¹* 'when (PAST)' and the terminative adverb *jɯ¹* have probably both derived from the temporal noun *jɯá¹* 'day, time, occasion, fiesta'. Although homophonous, they can be easily disambiguated.

The temporal adverb for 'when (PAST)' can be readily replaced by the phrase *jmáí¹ hi³* 'time that', but the terminative adverb cannot.

The following example illustrates both *jmí¹* forms:

- (35) *Jmí¹ hi¹-cauh³² tun³² hla¹ Sé³² jmí¹ ca³- tánh³.*
 TRM MOT-play^TI^3 guitar deceased Joseph when^PAST PAST-fall^IA^3
 'The late Joseph was walking along playing his guitar when he fell.' <3>

(35) can be readily rephrased as:

- (36) *Jmí¹ hi¹-cauh³² tun³² hla¹ Sé³² jmáí¹ hi³ ca³- tánh³.*
 TRM MOT-play^TI^3 guitar deceased Joseph time COMP PAST-fall^IA^3
 'The late Joseph was walking along playing his guitar at the time he fell.'

However, if the first instance of *jmí¹* is replaced with *jmáí¹ hi³*, the result is ungrammatical. (The implication of the terminative *jmí¹* in (35) and (36) is: consequently, he no longer plays the guitar.)

When the terminative occurs with a verb in the past tense in a complex sentence, it marks the clause as temporally antecedent to the subordinate clause. Combined with the perfect *má²*, the sense is pluperfect. For example:

- (37) *Jmí¹ má² lǎ²-hon¹ jnoh¹ hla¹ jmí¹*
 TRM PRF HOD-bury^TA^1PL we deceased when^PAST
ca¹- chó²¹ mí²tsáu².
 PAST-arrive^non^home^IA^3SG priest
 'We had already buried the deceased (person) when the priest arrived.'

The terminative *jmí¹* is able to modify a nominal predicate (see §8.1.1) as can most of the other VP adverbs. (None of the verbal prefixes can occur in this type of construction.) For example:

- (38) P S
Jmí¹ hué¹³ Tu²¹ hué³² ó³².
 TRM land^3 Anthony land yonder
 'That land there used to be Anthony's (land).'

An example of *jmí¹* preceding third-order *la³* (EVID) is:

- (39) *Jmí¹ la³ ñí¹-ziau³ tsú² hmá² ní².*
 TRM EVID INT-raise^TI^3 3 log that
 'Apparently s/he was wanting to raise that log up.'

5.1.5 The Nonentailment Adverb

The fifth-order Verb Phrase constituent is the nonentailment (NON)

adverb *lí¹*. *Lí¹* marks an action or state as having no causal antecedent, and often can be represented by the gloss 'just'. The nonentailment adverb is able to collocate with a wide variety of other verb phrase adverbs and verbal prefixes. Two examples of the many possibilities are:

- (40) *Ha³ lí² lí¹ cuí¹-lín¹³ hnoh² la³ ní².*
 MODR PROH NON HORT-think^TI^FUT^2 you^PL idea that
 'Don't just think such things.' (without any reason)
- (41) *Lí¹ jmí¹ ná¹- táinh²³ bíh¹ tsú² jái¹³.*
 NON TRM PROG^PL-obstruct^DI^3 AFF they word
 'They used to just constantly argue.' (for no reason)

The numeral *cáun²* 'one (IN)' frequently occurs with *lí¹*, functioning adverbially as an intensifier; *cáun²* is glossed 'simply' when it collocates with *lí¹*. For example:

- (42) *Tiá² cáun² lí¹ ní¹³ jná¹³ quie³.*
 not simply NON request^TI^FUT^1SG I money
 'I don't just simply ask for handouts (lit. 'money').'
- (43) *Cáun² lí¹ ca³- cuen³ tsú² jná¹³ mí¹tiei²¹ lá².*
 simply NON PAST-give^DA^3>1 3 I cat this
 'S/he just simply gave me this cat.' (as a gift)

An example of *lí¹* preceding fourth-order *jmí¹* (TRM) is:

- (44) *Lí¹ jmí¹ jnáh²³ bíh¹ tsá¹mh¹ ní² quín¹*
 NON TRM throw^DI^PRES^3 AFF children those stone

ní¹ má² ca³- jenh².
 when^FUT PRF PAST-meet^TA^3
 'Those children just used to throw stones at each other whenever they met.' (see §4.1.8.4 on reciprocal verbs)

5.1.6 The Neoteric Adverb

The sixth-order neoteric (NEO) adverb *tá²* denotes that the situation encoded by the verb has occurred sometime within the past few days or weeks, but not today. Generally, the meaning of *tá²* can be expressed by 'recently'. *Tá²* usually occurs with the verb inflected for the past (but note (48)). Of the two past tense prefixes, only the remote past *ca³-* (§4.1.8.12.7) may occur with the neoteric adverb. For example:

- (45) *Tá² ca³- jenh² jná¹³ tí²mí³ hmaí²¹ hí³.*
 NEO PAST-meet^TA^1SG I doctor new that^AN
 'I recently met that new doctor.'

Verbs which are able to mark the past by internal inflection alone can

also be modified by *tá²*

- (46) *Tá² ngau³* *bíh¹ tsú² Hngo³jmáí².*
 NEO go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} AFF 3 Mexico^{City}
 'S/he has recently gone to Mexico City.'

Other prefixes and adverbs may occur with *tá²* (NEO); for example (see also (48) below):

- (47) *Tá² la³ ca³- jmouh³* *bíh¹ tsú² mí'zióh²¹ sí² quioh²¹.*
 NEO EVID PAST-repair^{TI}³ AFF 3 source fire have^{STI}³
 'Apparently he recently repaired his generator.'

Establishing the neoteric adverb *tá²* as sixth-order is somewhat problematic. An example of *tá²* preceding fourth-order *jmí¹* (TRM) is:

- (48) *Tá² jmí¹ ñí¹-tsó²¹* *bíh¹ tsú² jmáí¹ Cua³uóum².*
 NEO TRM INT-go^{non}home^{IA}³SG AFF 3 fiesta Quetzalapa
 'Recently s/he was wanting to go to the Quetzalapa fiesta.' (but s/he changed her/his mind)

It is possible to construct utterances with the neoteric adverb *tá²* preceding the fifth-order nonentailment adverb *lí¹*; such utterances are considered marginally grammatical. For example:

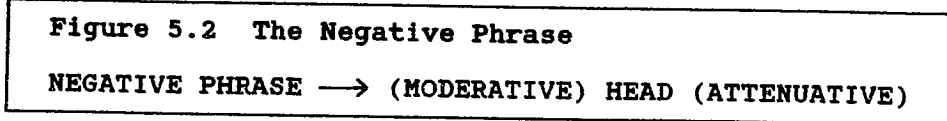
- (49) *Tá² lí¹ ca³- ráín³²* *bíh¹ tsú² hmíh³² quion²¹.*
 NEO NON PAST-wash^{TI}³ AFF 3 clothes have^{STI}¹SG
 'S/he recently just washed my clothes.' (here *lí¹* means 'for free')

Reversing the order of these two constituents results in an ungrammatical construction. Tentatively, then, the neoteric adverb *tá²* is considered to precede the fifth-order nonentailment constituent.

The problem deepens, however, when trying to establish the relationship of the neoteric constituent to the remaining VP constituent not yet discussed, the negative. The negative constituent may precede the fifth-order nonentailment constituent, but cannot occur with the neoteric constituent. Due to the semantic dissimilarity, it seems implausible to put the neoteric and the negative constituents into the same distribution class. At this point in my analysis, I have tentatively assigned the neoteric constituent to the sixth-order on the basis that this is the furthest position to the left in which it can yield a marginally grammatical construction. The negative then is the seventh-order constituent.

5.1.7 The Negative Constituent

The seventh and final constituent of the Verb Phrase consists of a Negative Phrase. The structure of the Negative Phrase is given in Figure 5.2:



The head element of the Negative Phrase consists of one of a set of six modal adverbs, all of which are negative in one way or another.

There are three simple adverbs: the negative (NEG) *tiá²* 'not', the prohibitive (PROH) *lɛ²* 'don't', and the improbability (IMPR) *uú²* 'improbable, unlikely' (with an adversative or pessimistic connotation). The improbability *uú²* forms the second element of three compound words: a combination of the improbability with the negative and prohibitive adverbs to give an interruptive (INTRP) *tiú²uú²* 'no longer, never', a cessative (CES) *lɛ²uú²* 'cease', and a preventative (PREVEN) *su³uú²* '(please) don't'. I consider these latter three words to be compounds rather than separate constituents of the Negative Phrase for the following reasons:

- (i) The first syllable of the preventative, *su³-*, never occurs as a free morpheme.
- (ii) The negative *tiá²* generally changes phonologically to *tiú²* when conjoined with *uú²*, and the prohibitive *lɛ²* optionally changes to *lú²*.
- (iii) Five of the six members of this constituent set (excluding the improbability *uú²*) may be modified by the attenuative adverb *nga³*, which may be glossed as '(not) much, (not) often'. Four of the six members (excluding the improbability *uú²* and the preventative *su³uú²*) may be modified by the moderate (MODR) *ha³*. In other words, the only time that either the moderate or the attenuative adverbs may modify the improbability *uú²* is when it occurs with *tiá²* (NEG) or *lɛ²* (PROH). The attenuative is discussed further in §5.1.7.8, and the moderate in §5.1.7.7.

5.1.7.1 The Negative *tiá²*

Tiá² is the most common of the negative adverbs, functioning in a manner similar to the English 'not', and is able to modify elements other than verbs; see (55). Any dynamic or state verb may be negated by *tiá²*. There does not appear to be any co-occurrence restrictions between *tiá²* and the verb prefixes or other constituents of the Verb Phrase, except for the neuter-ic adverb *tá²*; see §5.1.6. For example:

- (50) *Tiá² cuh³² jná¹³ hén².*
not eat^{TI}PRES^{1SG} I chili
'I do not eat chili.'
- (51) *Tiá² lɛ¹ ca³- ñéi¹ yáh³ hnú² Cua³tá³.*
not NON PAST-go^{non}home^{IA}2SG ASSR you^{SG} Cuicatlán
'You didn't just fruitlessly go to Cuicatlán.' (e.g. the person went to obtain justice at the district court, and was successful)
- (52) *Tiá² cuɛ¹-má¹cau² tsú² jnoh¹.*
not HORT-deceive^{TA}3>1 3 us
'May s/he not deceive us.'

If *tiá²* modifies a verb inflected for the second-person future, it may connote a mild prohibition; for example:

- (53) *Tiá² uóh¹³ nú² hmá² nɛ².*
not climb^{TI}FUT² you^{SG} tree that
'Don't (ever) climb that tree.'

In (53), the speaker assumes that the addressee may at some future date be tempted to climb the tree, so is being forewarned against the action.

The negative *tiá²* is heard more frequently as *diá²* in the speech of older people. Among the young people *diá²* is rarely heard, but when used it seems to have a more moderate negative connotation.

Tiá² exhibits two of the features that distinguish adverbs from prefixes:

- (i) It is permutable with fifth order *lɛ¹* (NON): In (51), *tiá²* precedes *lɛ¹*, which is the more common order. When these elements permute, a change of meaning results. Compare (51) with the following:

- (54) *lɛ¹ tiá² ca³- ñéi¹ bíh¹ hnú² Cua³tá³.*
NON not PAST-go^{non}home^{IA}2SG AFF you^{SG} Cuicatlán
'You just didn't go to Cuicatlán.' (i.e. you had the opportunity, but chose not to go)

- (ii) *Tiá²* is also able to function outside of the Verb Phrase, having the

entire clause in its scope. For example:

- (55) *Tiá² quie³ zia³² quion²¹ jná¹³.*
 not money exist^{SII} have^{STI}1SG I
 'I don't have any money.'

In (55), the normal Predicate-Subject order is changed to Subject-Predicate, with the subject nominal *quie³* 'money' being fronted for focus. If it were only the nominal being negated, then a construction such as found in (56) should be grammatical, but it is not:

- (56) **Hnió³ tsú² tiá² quie³, má³² bñh¹ hnió³ tsú².*
 want^{STI}3 3 not money food AFF want^{STI}3 3
 'S/he wants not money, s/he wants food.'

This can be made grammatical by bringing the clause into the scope of *tiá²* 'not':

- (57) *Tiá² quie³ hnió³ tsú², má³² bñh¹ hnió³ tsú².*
 not money want^{STI}3 3 food AFF want^{STI}3 3
 'S/he doesn't want money; s/he wants food.'

5.1.7.2 The Prohibitive *lɛ²*

The prohibitive (PROH) *lɛ²* is generally used when the addressee is obviously about to undertake an undesirable action; for example:

- (58) *Lɛ² quiéih³ hmá² nɛ²!*
 PROH cut^{TI}PROH² tree that
 'Don't cut down that tree!'
- (59) *Lɛ² hiá³ sɛ²táh² nɛ² ñú²mih¹!*
 PROH touch^{TI}PROH² ember that boy
 'Don't touch that ember, boy!'

There is a problem in classifying *lɛ²* as an adverb rather than a prefix. Unlike the other adverbs in this set, *lɛ²* occasions a further internal inflection of the verb; see Table 4.2 in §4.1.1.1.^{<4>} Verbs that lose the morphological glottal closure of the final syllable to mark the second-person imperative (§4.1.8.11) likewise lose the glottal when inflected with *lɛ²* (PROH). For example, the forms of the verb *jmu²* 'do, make' (TI) inflected for second-person are:

- (60) PRES FUT PAST AMB IMP PROH
jmu^{h32} jmu^{h1} jmu^{h3} jmu^{h21} jmu³ jmu²

Verbs which have glottal closure of the final syllable as part of the

verb root, masking (or neutralising) the morphological glottal, may still mark the prohibitive by tone-stress inflection, or vocalic change, or a combination of these. For example, the forms of the verb *hính*²³ 'drink' (TI) inflected for second-person are:

- (61) PRES FUT PAST AMB IMP PROH
*húh*²³ *húh*¹³ *hính*³ *húh*¹³ *hính*³ *húh*³

Despite the prefix-like characteristic of the prohibitive *lɛ̃*² in governing the tone-stress inflection of the verb, its classification as an adverb is apparent by the following:

(i) The prohibitive precedes other adverbs; it may precede either fifth-order *lɛ̃*¹ (NON), as in (62), or second-order *má*² (PRF), as in (63):

- (62) *lɛ̃*² *lɛ̃*¹ *jmú*² *náh*² *liúmh*¹ *ñí*¹*con*² *tsú*².
 PROH NON make^TI^PROH^2 you^PL nuisance towards 3
 'Don't just make yourself a nuisance to her/him.'

- (63) *Ha*³ *lɛ̃*² *má*² *húh*³ *jmí*²*ráu*³ *nɛ̃*².
 MODR PROH PRF drink^TI^PROH^2 refreshment that
 'Don't drink that soda yet.'

When *lɛ̃*² (PROH) occurs with any other verb phrase adverbs, the prohibitive verb inflection is used, as in (62) and (63).

(ii) The prohibitive adverb *lɛ̃*² and the negative adverb *tiá*² both form compounds with the improbability adverb *uú*² in the same manner: *lɛ̃*²*uú*²/*lú*²*uú*² and *tiá*²*uú*²/*tiú*²*uú*² respectively.

When the prohibitive is used with a verb inflected for the second-person, of the various verb prefixes, only the present tense directional prefixes can co-occur. Surprisingly, the verb is inflected not for the prohibitive as occurs in (62) and (63), nor for the andative (see Table 4.2 in §4.1.1.1) as might be expected since the directional prefix is contiguous to the verb; rather, the verb is inflected for the imperative (§4.1.8.11). For example:

- (64) *Ha*³ *lɛ̃*² *cua*³⁻ *cuonh*¹ *tsa*³*cuá*¹.
 MODR PROH ANDT^PRES-pull^TA^IMP horse
 'Don't go (and) pull that horse.'

Although the prohibitive is most commonly found in association with the second-person, it is able to function as a prohibition for third-person. The

co-occurrence of the hortative (HORT) prefix *cuɬ¹-* (§4.1.8.12.9.1) is obligatory, in which case the verb is inflected as for the 3-HORT (see Table 4.2 in §4.1.1.1). For example:

- (65) *Ha³ lɬ² cuɬ¹-son² tsú².*
 MODR PROH HORT-go^down^IA^3 3
 'They ought not to get/go down!'

Although it is possible to construct grammatical sentences for the 1SG and 1PL in the same manner as for the third-person, apparently such sentences would not be spoken aloud, but merely thought (muttered?) to oneself.

For example:

- (66) *Ha³ lɬ² cuɬ¹-tanh²¹ jná¹³ ñí¹ lá².*
 MODR PROH HORT-fall^IA^1SG I place this
 'I had better not fall here.'

5.1.7.3 The Improbability Adverb *mú²*

In clauses that lack any negative element outside the Verb Phrase, the improbability (IMPR) adverb *mú²* (or *uɬ²*) 'improbable, unlikely' has an adverbative or pessimistic connotation. It appears to be very constrained in its use, always appearing in rhetorical questions with the verification illocutionary particle *dá²* (§11.2.2), and with the verb inflected for the future. It is difficult to map the gloss 'improbable, unlikely' to the Chinantec construction without losing the rhetorical sense, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (67) *Ma³tsá¹³ má³² nɬ² quián¹³, qui¹ hin²*
 finish^TI^IMP food that have^STI^2 because which^AN?

dá² uú² cuh³?

VER IMPR eat^TI^FUT^3

'Finish your food, who (else) is likely to eat it?' (i.e. '... it is unlikely anyone else will eat it!')

- (68) *Hin² dá² tsánh² uú² jmu³ hi³ lɬ³*
 which^AN? VER person IMPR make^TI^FUT^3 COMP become^II^FUT

hiúm² tsɬn³² jná¹³?

be^happy^SII heart^1SG I

'Who (else) would be likely to make me happy?' (i.e. 'It is unlikely anyone else would be able to make me happy!')

- (69) *He³ dá² uú² ñih¹³ nú² jmúh¹³?*
 what? VER IMPR know^STI^2 you^SG do^TI^FUT^2

'Are you likely to know what (else) to do?' (lit. 'What (else) are you likely to know to do?'; i.e. 'It is unlikely that you would know what (else) to do!')

Ūú² does not occur with any other Verb Phrase adverbs. The only verb prefixes with which it may occur are the future directionals (§4.1.8.12.3). For example:

- (70) *Cuá²- hinh²¹ jáh³ jmáí², qui¹ hin² dá²*
 ANDT² IMP-give² drink² DA² animal water because which² AN? VER

uú² tsa³- hinh¹?
 IMPR ANDT³ FUT-give³ drink³ DA³
 'Go give the animal water to drink, who (else) is likely to give it (water to drink)?'

When a clause is introduced by a clause level negative adverb such as *sa³jun³* 'neither' or *jun³juáh¹³* 'not as if', the improbability adverb may gain a positive affective connotation, depending on the context. The restrictions mentioned at the beginning of this section no longer pertain. For example:

- (71) . . . *sa³jun³ uú² hau³ tsú².*
 neither IMPR cry³ IA³ FUT³ 3
 '. . . neither will they be likely to cry.'

- (72) *Jun³juáh¹³ jmáí¹ uú² cúh² lí¹ yáh³ tsú² la³².*
 not³ as³ if day IMPR eat³ TI³ PRES³ tepejilote ASSR 3 this³ one
 'It's not as if this is the season one is likely to eat tepejilote (a type of bitter edible palm).'

Ūú² (IMPR) occurs much more frequently as the second element in compound negative adverbs, see §5.1.7.4-§5.1.7.6 below.

5.1.7.4 The Interruptive *tiú²uú²*

The interruptive (INTRP) adverb *tiú²uú²* 'no longer, never' is a compound of the negative adverb *tiá²* and the improbability adverb *uú²*. Although generally the stressed vowel of the nucleus of the first morpheme *tiá²* assimilates to that of the second morpheme *uú²*, the interruptive is occasionally heard as *tiá²uú²*. The interruptive marks a state or event as no longer true. For example:

- (73) *Tiú²uú² jmu³ tsú² ta²¹ jám² quiú¹³.*
 INTRP do³ TI³ FUT³ 3 work that³ IN have³ STI³ 1PL
 'S/he won't do that job for us.' (i.e. S/he has done work for us before, but won't any more.)

The interruptive appears to collocate with most other Verb Phrase adverbs and verbal prefixes. For example:

- (74) *Tiú²uú² cá²- jính³² tsá²mí³ hí³ hñú¹³.*
 INTRP PAST-return^home^3 woman that^AN house^3
 'That woman never returned home.'
- (75) *Tiú²uú² lɛ¹ ñí¹- còh²¹ jná¹³ mí³ láu².*
 INTRP NON ANDT^FUT-play^TI^1SG I spherical hide
 'I won't just go play basketball any longer.' (i.e. I won't play as frequently; or, I won't play unless there is some prize.)

When the interruptive is used with a verb inflected for the second-person future, a mild prohibition results, imploring the addressee not to repeat a particular action, even when there may not be any evidence that the addressee had any such intent. For example:

- (76) *Tiú²uú² uúh¹³ nú² ñí¹ háính¹ ní².*
 INTRP climb^TI^FUT^2 you^SG place dangerous that
 '(Please) don't climb that dangerous place again.'

Like *tiá²* (NEG), *tiú²uú²* (INTRP) is able to have the entire clause in its scope. In (77), the verb alone lies within the scope of the interruptive, but in (78) it is the entire clause:

- (77) *Tiú²uú² zia³² yáh³ mí³ jáum².*
 INTRP exist^SII ASSR medicine that^IN
 'There is no more of that medicine.'
- (78) *Tiú²uú² mí³ jáum² zia³² yáh³.*
 INTRP medicine that^IN exist^SII ASSR
 'There is no more of that medicine.'

In (77), the unmarked Predicate-Subject order is a simple statement, whereas in (78) the Subject-Predicate order is contrastive - that particular medicine, in contrast to other medicines. (78) also hints that there is a medication with similar properties.

Tiú²uú² has a form which is more frequently heard among older speakers; *diú²uú²* (or less frequently *diá²uú²*), based on the variant of the negative *diá²* used by older speakers (§5.1.7.1).

5.1.7.5 The Cessative *lɛ²uú²*

The cessative (CES) *lɛ²uú²* is a compound of the prohibitive adverb *lɛ²* and the improbability adverb *uú²*. The cessative implies that the addressee is in a particular state, presently engaged in an action, or has done something before, and is being told to terminate that state or activity. *Lɛ²uú²* occasions

the same internal inflection of the verb as does *lɛ²* (PROH) when there is no verb prefix (§5.1.7.2). The same co-occurrence constraints that apply to *lɛ²* also apply to *lɛ²uú²*. Examples are:

- (79) *ɦa³ lɛ²uú² ʝuú² tso³.*
 MODR CES do^TI^PROH^2 wrong
 'Stop doing improper things!' (as you have done before)
- (80) *lɛ²uú² lɛ¹ ra³tsɛ³² náb² héih³² ɦí¹con² tsáu².*
 CES NON apply^TI^PROH^2 you^PL measure towards people
 'Stop making unfounded judgments of people.' (as has been your practice previously)

When the cessative is used with a verb inflected for the second-person, of the various verb prefixes, only the present tense directional prefixes can co-occur (§4.1.8.12.3). The verb is inflected for the imperative (§4.1.8.11), not the prohibitive nor the future (see also §5.1.7.2). For example:

- (81) *lɛ²uú² ɦa³- táín¹ ʝmáí² hlah³ ɦí¹ lɛ².*
 CES VEN^PRES-dump^TI^IMP water bad^IN place this
 'Stop coming and dumping filthy/dirty water here.'

The cessative is able to occur with the third-person only if the hortative *cuí¹-* also occurs. The internal inflection of the verb is as for the third-person hortative. For example:

- (82) *lɛ²uú² cuí¹-ʝéih²¹ tsú² ɦí¹ne² ʝná¹³.*
 CES HORT-weed^TI^3 3 field^1SG I
 'May s/he never again weed my field.'

The cessative has the optional variant *lú²uú²*, in which the vowel of the first morpheme has assimilated to that of the second.

5.1.7.6 The Preventative *su³uú²*

The preventative (PREVEN) adverb *su³uú²* is a compound of the morpheme *su³*, which is of uncertain origin, and the improbability adverb *uú²*. *Su³uú²* is a milder prohibition than *lɛ²*; it may be used in an attempt to dissuade someone from initiating a course of action, or to dissuade someone from repeating an action; in either case the speaker believes that action by the addressee is imminent.

Su³uú² (PREVEN) follows the same co-occurrence restrictions and requires the same internal inflection of the verb as *lɛ²uú²* (CES) and *lɛ²*

(PROH). For example, if there is no intervening prefix between *su³uú²* and the verb, the verb inflects as for the prohibitive *lɛ²*:

- (83) *Su³uú² jmú² la³ nɛ².*
 PREVEN do^{TI}PROH² idea that
 '(Please) don't do that!'

And if an adverb occurs between the preventative and the verb, it is still the prohibitive inflection which is used on the verb:

- (84) *Su³uú² lɛ¹ hléh² jú¹- hlah³ nũ¹.*
 PREVEN NON say^{TI}PROH² word-bad friend
 '(Please) don't say bad/evil things, (my) friend!'

5.1.7.7 The Moderative Adverb *ha³*

The moderative (MODR) adverb *ha³* may precede and modify four of the six negative adverbs; excluded are the improbability *uú²* and the preventative *su³uú²*. The presence of the moderative does not appear to affect the collocation restrictions of those adverbs with which it may occur. It appears that the pragmatic effect of *ha³* is to moderate or lessen the force of the negative statement, but there is no appreciable semantic difference in an utterance whether *ha³* is present or absent.

The moderative is often found with the negative *tiá²*, for example:

- (85) *Ha³ tiá² cuú³2 yáh³ jná¹3 hnú²!*
 MODR not know^{TA}1SG>2 ASSR I you^{SG}
 'Why, I certainly don't know you!'

The interruptive *tiú²uú²* is infrequently found modified by the moderative. For example:

- (86) *Ha³ tiú²uú² ca³- jnia³ yáh³ tsá² hí³.*
 MODR INTRP PAST-appear^{IA}3 ASSR person that^{AN}
 'Why, that person never reappeared!'

The prohibitive *lɛ²* occurs more commonly with *ha³* (MODR) than without; for example:

- (87) *Ha³ lɛ² jmú² hian² honh² fi¹con² jná¹3!*
 MODR PROH do^{TI}PROH² cruel heart² towards I
 'Why, don't be mean to me!'

The cessative *lɛ²uú²* is occasionally found modified by the moderative; there does not appear to be any noticeable difference in meaning whether *ha³* is present or not. For example:

- (88) *Há³ lǎ²uú² há³- hu³² siáh³ hñu³² jná¹³.*
 MODR CES VEN^PRES-enter^IA^PROH^2 again house^1SG I
 'Don't ever come into my home again!'

5.1.7.8 The Attenuative Adverb *nga³*

The attenuative (ATTN) adverb *nga³* '(not) much, (not) often' may occur following any of the negative adverbs, apart from the improbability *uú²*. The effect is to diminish the force of the negative. Its presence does not appear to affect the collocation restrictions of the negative adverbs.

Examples of the attenuative with each of the negative adverbs respectively are:

- (89) *Tiá² nga³ tsau³² tsú² Cua³tá³.*
 not often go^non^home^IA^PRES^3SG 3 Cuicatlán
 'S/he doesn't often go to Cuicatlán.'
- (90) *Lǎ² nga³ cuó³ ñí¹ cuo¹!*
 PROH often go^non^home^IA^PROH^2SG place firewood
 'Don't go to get firewood frequently!'
- (91) *Tiú²uú² nga³ tsá²- hñiah² tsú² jáh³.*
 INTRP often ANDT^PRES-search^TA^3 3 animal
 'S/he doesn't often go hunting for animals any more.'
- (92) *Lǎ²uú² nga³ cùh² jlá¹².*
 CES often eat^TI^PROH^2 egg
 'Stop eating eggs (so) much!' (lit. 'Cease eating eggs often.'--the addressee has done so in the past, and is being advised not to carry on with this habit)
- (93) *Su³uú² nga³ conh³ mí¹tiei²¹ mí¹mih¹.*
 PREVEN much play^with^TA^PROH^2 cat girl
 '(Please) don't play too much with the cat, little girl!'

In (93), the implication is that the little girl was about to begin playing with the cat, or had played with/annoyed the cat too frequently before, and was about to start again.

The attenuative and moderative elements may co-occur. For example:

- (94) *Há³ tiú²uú² nga³ rónh³² yeh³ nǎ² lio²¹!*
 MODR INTRP much manage^TI^PRES^3 elder that cargo
 That old man sure can't manage (to carry) much cargo any more!'

5.1.8 The Verb Phrase Intensifier *lǎn³²*

The intensifier *lǎn³²* 'much, very' is the only adverb that may occur after the Verb Phrase head as part of the Verb Phrase.

As mentioned in §5.0, and discussed in §11, the illocutionary particles

and adverbs have within their scope any preceding syntactic unit, and are not able to intrude within that unit. Since no illocutionary particle or adverb is able to come between the head of the Verb Phrase and *lín³²*, I consider *lín³²* to be part of the Verb Phrase. Examples of *lín³²* both without and with an illocutionary particle (the affirmation particle *bíh⁴*) respectively are:

- (95) *Má² hí¹-áih²⁴ lín³² jná¹³ jmí²jma³.*
 PRF INT-drink^{TI}1SG very I potable^{water}
 'I am really wanting to drink some (potable) water.'
- (96) *Má² hí¹-cuóm²¹ lín²¹ bíh¹ tsú².*
 PRF INT-sleep^{IA}3 very AFF 3
 'S/he is very sleepy.' (lit. 'S/he is really wanting to sleep.')

By comparing (95) and (96), it can be seen that the tone-stress of *lín³²* 'much, very' optionally permutes to a ballistic mid-rising tone when it follows a syllable with a high or mid-rising tone.

5.2 The Verb Phrase Constituents and Binomial Verbs

As mentioned in §5.0, one of the features that distinguishes adverbs which function within the Verb Phrase from those which function at the clause level is that the former are obligatorily repeated with the second base of a binomial verb (as are prefixes, see §4.3), whereas the latter cannot be repeated. Examples of the second-order perfect *má²*, fourth-order terminative *jmí⁴* and seventh-order prohibitive *lí²*, repeated with both bases of a binomial verb are given in (97)-(99). (The preverb in (97) and (98) is *quí²*, and in (99) it is *zí²*; see §3.2.1.4):

- (97) *Má² qui² má² juá²³ tsú² jmu² cheih³².*
 PRF PREV^{PRES} PRF shake^{TI}^{PRES}3 3 palm^{mat} outside
 'S/he is shaking the grass mats outside.'
- (98) *Jmí⁴ qui² jmí² ho² lín³² jón³² jná¹³.*
 TRM PREV^{PRES} TRM cry^{IA}^{PRES}3 much child^{1SG} I
 'My child used to keep crying incessantly.'
- (99) *Lí² zí² lí² chá² jáí¹³ ní² má¹na²¹.*
 PROH tell PROH relate^{TI}^{PROH}2 word this CEXP
 'However, don't spread this word around.'

In contrast, the clause level adverb *jlánh¹* 'really' can occur only with the first base of a binomial verb. For example:

- (100) *Jlánh¹ tí³ hch³² tsá¹mih¹ ja¹ hñú³.*
 really PREV^{PRES} shout^{IA}^{PRES}3 children among house

'The children really yell and shout in the streets.'

When nonentailment *lɛ́¹* is modified by *cáun²* 'simply' and occurs with a binomial verb, only *lɛ́¹* appears on both bases:

- (101) *Cáun² lɛ́¹ tú² lɛ́¹ hion³² tsú² rainh²¹.*
 simply NON PREV^PRES NON malign^TA^PRES^3 3 peer
 'S/he just keeps on maligning her/his peers.'

Similarly, when any of the negative adverbs are modified by the moderative *ha³*, only the negative adverb is repeated with the second base.

If a negative is modified by the attenuative *nga³* '(not) much', the presence of the attenuative bars the repetition of the negative with the second base. The effect of the attenuative is seen in (102b):

- (102)(a) *Tiá² qui² tiá² pán²³ yeh³ jon².*
 not PREV^PRES not hit^TA^PRES^3 elder child^3
 'The old man doesn't beat up his child.'
- (b) *Tiá² nga³ qui² pán²³ yeh³ jon².*
 not much PREV^PRES hit^TA^PRES^3 elder child^3
 'The old man doesn't beat up his child much.'

When any of the three compound negatives (§5.1.7.4-§5.1.7.6) occurs with a binomial verb, only the final syllable is repeated with the second base; this is illustrated in (103) with the cessative *lɛ́²uú²*, which is reduced to *uú²* preceding the second base:

- (103) *Lɛ́²uú² tú² uú² hion³ renh².*
 CES PREV^PRES (IMPR) malign^TA^PROH^2 peer^2
 'Stop maligning your peers.'

In (103), the form of *uú²* is that of the improbability, but the meaning is as if the full cessative has been repeated; however, the repetition of the full cessative *lɛ́²uú²* is ungrammatical.

NOTES

- Both Rupp (1989) for Lealao Chinantec, and Anderson (1989) for Comaltepec Chinantec, treat the perfect, the negative, the terminative and the nonentailment as prefixes. Co-occurrence and ordering of the various elements is

not discussed in any detail. I believe there are sufficient grounds for treating these elements as adverbs in Sochiapan Chinantec, and for establishing the unmarked order of these and other adverbs.

2. Some of the first-order progressive prefixes also exhibit the ability to collocate with non-verbal elements; see §4.1.8.12.1.
3. The motion prefix *hiʔ-* indicates that the subject was walking along while playing the guitar; see §4.1.8.12.4.
4. Merrifield (1968:31) states that in Palantla Chinantec the 'direct imperative' (positive imperative) is based on the completive form, and the 'negative imperative' (which I have called the 'prohibitive') is based on the progressive form; in both cases minus the morphological second-person glottal. The formation of the (positive) imperative for Sochiapan Chinantec parallels that of Palantla (see §4.1.8.11), but the form of the prohibitive in Sochiapan Chinantec appears to require a tone-stress inflection not predictable from other forms.

CHAPTER 6
THE NOUN PHRASE

6.0 Introduction

The Sochiapan Chinantec Noun Phrase has been described previously in Foris 1980. This chapter supersedes my former analysis.

The structure of the Chinantec Noun Phrase (NP) is set out in Figure 6.1 below:

Figure 6.1 The Noun Phrase Rule

NOUN PHRASE → (QUANTIFIER) (EVALUATIVE) (HEAD)
({ POSSESSOR }) (DEICTIC) (RELATIVE CLAUSE)ⁿ
({ MODIFIER })

Potentially, up to six of the NP constituents may co-occur, but more than four is uncommon in natural discourse. All but the evaluative and possessor constituents agree with the head as to animacy (see §6.1.1.1). At the discourse level, the head of the NP can be omitted when information is assumed to be shared by both speaker and addressee; or when there is ellipsis under co-referentiality.

The possessor and modifier constituents may not co-occur, and so could be collapsed into a single NP constituent; however, the possessor constituent must be expressed by a nominal, and the modifier by an adjective, so on this basis I have kept them separate.

Relative clauses are discussed in detail in §9.1; however, since the possessor of alienable nouns (§6.1.1.1) is expressed by means of a relative clause, the possessor relative clause construction is dealt with in this chapter, in §6.2.2. The superscript ⁿ accompanying the RELATIVE CLAUSE constituent

in Figure 6.1 indicates that there may be multiple relative clauses with the same head/domain noun; in practice, it is rare to find more than two.

All but the evaluative and deictic constituents have the potential of being internally complex; if one of the NP constituents is complex, other co-occurring constituents tend to be simple.

A subject NP with quantifier (Q), head (H), modifier (MOD), and deictic (DEIC) constituents is illustrated in (1):

- (1) NP[Q H MOD DEIC]
Ca³-tsan³ tá¹ hñá³ cá¹háu² pih²¹ hí³.
 PAST-die^{IA}^3PL entire five chicken little that^{AN}
 'All those five little (baby) chicks died.'

An object NP with quantifier, head, deictic and relative clause (RC) constituents is illustrated in (2):

- (2) NP[Q H DEIC RC]
Niéi² náh² cá² jon¹ jái¹³ lá² quion²¹ jná¹³.
 hear^{TI}^IMP^2 you^{PL} one^{IN} piece word this have^{STI}^1SG I
 'Listen to this brief message of mine.'

An object NP with quantifier, evaluative, head, and deictic constituents is illustrated in (3):

- (3) NP[Q EVAL H DEIC]
Cué¹ hñi³² mái³ uí¹ mí³ ñí²ráu³ ní².
 give^{DI}^IMP^2>1 three^{IN} sphere nice spherical orange that
 'Give (me) three of those nice oranges.'

(The verb *cué¹* 'give' in (3) is marked for inverse cross-referencing by the code 2>1, indicating that the agent is second-person and the patient is first-person; see §8.1.4.)

6.1 The Noun Phrase Head

The head of the NP consists of an optional categoriser and an obligatory base, in that order; see Figure 6.2

Figure 6.2 The Noun Phrase Head
 NP HEAD → (CATEGORISER) BASE

The base element is discussed in §6.1.1; the categoriser element is discussed in §6.1.2.

6.1.1 The Base

The base element may consist of a noun stem, nouns in juxtaposition, an idiom, or a pronoun. A noun stem may be a single root, usually monosyllabic, or be a derived (§3.1.2) or compound (§3.1.3) stem. Juxtaposed nouns (non-permutable binomials and polynomials) are discussed in §3.2.1.1 and §3.2.2. Idioms which can function as an NP head are discussed in §6.1.1.6.

6.1.1.1 Noun Classes

Nouns are divided into four main classes based on two parameters: alienable (AL) versus inalienable (INAL), and animate (AN) versus inanimate (IN).^{<1>}

Inalienable nouns are nouns that are obligatorily possessed. They include:

- (i) kinship terms such as *mí'ziú'íá* 'mother' (3 POSS);
- (ii) part-whole relationships such as body parts; for example: *cuo'* 'hand' (3 POSS), and parts of other entities; for example: *mu'* 'leaf' (3 POSS);
- (iii) some items commonly associated with humans, such as *tsái'íá* 'dog' (3 POSS), *jéin'íá* 'bed' (3 POSS); and bodily excretions (human or animal) such as *hna'* 'excrement' (3 POSS).

The person and number of the possessor of inalienable nouns is indicated by inflection of the possessed noun and optionally by a following NP or pronoun (§6.2.1.6).

Alienable nouns are those that may optionally be possessed, possession being expressed by means of a relative clause (see §6.2.2). Alienable nouns do not inflect to agree with the person of the possessor.

Some nouns in group (ii) and most nouns in group (iii) above have an inalienable and an alienable counterpart. For example, compare the following alienable nouns with their inalienable counterparts in (ii) and (iii) above: *mu'* 'leaf', *tsái'* 'dog', *jen'* 'bed', and *hna'* 'excrement'; see §6.2.1.5.

Animacy is not marked on nouns. Descriptive adjectives, anaphoric

deictic adjectives, quantifiers, and numerals agree with the head of the noun phrase as to animacy. Intransitive verbs agree with their subject as to animacy, and transitive verbs agree with their object, giving an ergative pattern; see §8.1.3.

The animacy of nouns closely follows the real world except for *míh³²* 'thunder', *jmí²quín¹* 'rainbow', *zih²* 'moon, month', *hiú²* 'sun', *chí¹jmáí²¹* 'stars', which are spirit beings in Chinantec mythology and are treated grammatically as animate. <2> Plant life and body parts are regarded as inanimate.

Examples of these four classes are as follows:

- (4) *mí²ñí³* 'pig' (AL AN) *jméí²* 'father' (INAL AN 3 POSS)
quín¹ 'rock' (AL IN) *chí¹* 'head' (INAL IN 3 POSS)

Nouns may be further subclassified as:

1. count and mass nouns
2. common and proper nouns
3. vocative nouns
4. contingent nouns
5. concrete and abstract nouns

6.1.1.2 Count and Mass Nouns

Mass nouns such as *cuo¹* 'firewood', *jmáí²* 'liquid, water', *hmáí²* 'excrement' (AL), and *hma³* 'excrement' (1PL/3 POSS) require a preceding mensural classifier to be counted (see §6.7.1.1.2).

- (5) *tun³ piénh¹ hmáí²*
two^IN pile excrement
'two piles of excrement/manure'
- (6) *tun³ piénh¹ hma³ tsa³cuá¹*
two^IN pile excrement^3 horse
'two piles of horse manure'

Count nouns, however, may be quantified by a quantifier phrase (§6.7), either with or without a co-occurring mensural classifier; see (7a) and (7b) respectively:

(7)(a) *hni³² mih² lá³*
 three^IN basket maize^ear
 'three baskets of ears (maize)'

(b) *hni³² lá³*
 three^IN maize^ear
 'three ears (maize)'

Count nouns which refer to entities with a particular shape require either a co-occurring mensural classifier or a sortal classifier to be quantified; see (8a) and (8b) respectively:

(8)(a) *tun³ cuó² fi²jmú³*
 two^IN box lemon
 'two boxes of lemons'

(b) *tun³ má³ fi²jmú³*
 two^IN sphere lemon
 'two lemons'

6.1.1.3 Common and Proper Nouns

A 'proper' noun is the name of a particular person or place; all other nouns are 'common'.

All personal names have been derived from Spanish; for example: *Sé³²* 'Joseph' (from Sp. *José*; see §2.5.3 for the phonological rules of derivation). All can be used both referentially and as vocatives. Most males have Chinantec nicknames; these may be used referentially, but usually not as vocatives--except in whistle speech (§2.6) to more accurately identify the addressee when attempting to initiate a whistle conversation. They bear no resemblance to Spanish names, and are semantically empty; for example, *Jloh³*. In the spirit realm, *hmú³²* 'death' is used both vocatively and referentially as a proper name.

Towns and cities that are frequented by Chinantecs all have Chinantec names, usually meaningful, in addition to their official name; for example, *Cua³uóun²* 'River Vine' (officially *Quetzalapa*) and *Hun³jmái²* 'Within Water' (officially *México* 'Mexico City'). Some place names, however, have lost their semantic content (if they ever had any); for example: *Hngoh³* (officially *Zautla*). In and around the village, all the major paths and intersections of paths, the springs, and unusual natural formations have Chinantec names, usually mean-

ingful; for example: *Jmá¹mih³²* 'Thunder Spring'.^{<3>} Place names are almost always used referentially, not vocatively.

6.1.1.4 Contingent Nouns

There is a small set of nouns that cannot occur as the head of an NP unless some kind of modifier co-occurs. Deictic adjectives (§6.4.1 and §6.4.2) are the most common modifier; descriptive adjectives (§6.3) are also fairly common. Because of the abovementioned restrictions on these words, and because their semantic content is relatively general, I have called them 'contingent' nouns.

There are four contingent nouns: an inanimate concrete noun *hi³* 'thing', an animate concrete noun *tsá²* 'person', a locative noun *ñi¹* 'place', and an abstract noun *la³* 'manner, way, idea, concept'. Although it is reasonable to expect contingent nouns for 'animal' and 'time', the words *jáh³* 'animal' and *jmá¹* 'day, time, occasion' do not have the same syntactic restrictions as the four contingent nouns, functioning instead like common nouns. The contingent noun *tsá²* 'person' has a morphemic variant *tsáu²* 'person', which functions like a common noun.

The structural parallelism between the four contingent nouns and common nouns is illustrated in (9) and (10).

If a descriptive adjective is present, the utterance is grammatical whether a common noun occurs, as in (9a), or a contingent noun, as in (9b-e):

- (9)(a) *Táu² siáh³ bih¹ zain³² jná¹³.*
 banana different^IN AFF like^STI I
 'I like a different (type of) banana.'
- (b) *Hi³ siáh³ bih¹ zain³² jná¹³.*
 thing different^IN AFF like^STI I
 'I like something else/different.'
- (c) *La³ siáh³ bih¹ zain³² jná¹³.*
 manner different^IN AFF like^STI I
 'I like a different manner/way/idea.'
- (d) *ñi¹ siáh³ bih¹ zain³² jná¹³.*
 place different^IN AFF like^STI I
 'I like a different place.'

- (e) *Tsá² siánh³ bíh¹ zain³² jná¹³.*
 person different^AN AFF like^STA I
 'I like a different person.'

Similarly, if a deictic adjective is present, the utterance is grammatical whether a common noun occurs, as in (10a), or a contingent noun, as in (10b-e):

- (10)(a) *Zain³² jná¹³ hñú³ nǐ².*
 like^STI^1SG I house that
 'I like that house.'
- (b) *Zain³² jná¹³ hi³ nǐ².*
 like^STI^1SG I thing that
 'I like that thing.'
- (c) *Zain³² jná¹³ la³ nǐ².*
 like^STI^1SG I idea/way that
 'I like that idea/way.' (the idea/concept just proposed, or the way in which something was done)
- (d) *Zain³² jná¹³ tsá² nǐ².*
 like^STA^1SG I person that
 'I like that person.'
- (e) *Zain³² jná¹³ fí¹ nǐ².*
 like^STI^1SG I thing that
 'I like that place.'

Constructions with common nouns are grammatical without a following modifier, as in (11a); however the same construction with contingent nouns is ungrammatical, as in (11b-e):

- (11) (a) *Zain³² jná¹³ hñú³.*
 like^STI^1SG I house
 'I like the house.'
- (b) **Zain³² jná¹³ hi³.*
 like^STI^1SG I thing
 'I like the things/a thing/something.'
- (c) **Zain³² jná¹³ la³.*
 like^STI^1SG I idea
 'I like the idea/an idea/manner/way.'
- (d) **Zain³² jná¹³ fí¹.*
 like^STI^1SG I place
 'I like the place/a place'
- (e) **Zain³² jná¹³ tsá².*
 like^STA^1SG I person
 'I like the person/a person/people.'

Most likely the complementiser (COMP) *hi³* (see §9.1 and §9.2) has de-

rived from the contingent noun *hi³* 'thing'; however, they are separate morphemes, and can occur contiguously, as in (12):

- (12) *Zian² tsá² cùh² ñí²jmu³, hi³ juáh³ hi³ hi³*
 exist^{SIA}³ person eat^{TI}³PRES³ lemon and say^{STI}³ COMP thing
jám² bñh¹ jmu² hi³ zian² tsú² ré².
 that^{IN} AFF do^{TI}³PRES³ COMP exist^{SIA}³ 3 well
 'There are people who eat lemons and say that such things give them good health.'

A further example using the abstract contingent noun *la³* 'manner, way, idea, concept' is:

- (13) *Ca³- lán¹³ tsú² hi³ jmu³ la³ jám²*
 PAST-think^{TI}³ 3 COMP do^{TI}³FUT³ idea that^{IN}
ta³ tiá² hin² ñí³².
 while not anyone know^{STI}³
 'S/he thought that s/he would do that (idea) without anyone knowing.'

La³ 'idea, concept, manner, way' also occurs in the frozen expression *la³ lá²* 'this idea/way', functioning as a discourse introducer, where the deictic adjective *lá²* is used cataphorically (§6.4.1). This expression can be used to introduce various kinds of discourse, such as reported speech, procedural text, historical narrative and folklore stories. For example:

- (14) *La³ lá² jmí¹ lí³ jmí¹tin².*
 way this TRM occur^{II}³PRES before
 'This is the way things were occurring/happening before.'

6.1.1.5 Concrete and Abstract Nouns

Concrete nouns refer to physical entities; abstract nouns refer to a quality, state, action, or an intangible thing.

Chinantec has relatively few abstract nouns; most concepts, such as life, love, hate, joy, sadness, hope, thirst, authority, punishment, etc., are expressed by verbs, adverbs or adjectives.

Examples of alienable abstract nouns are *hmú³²* 'death', *jmí²chí³* 'spirit', *jú¹tson²* 'truth', *héih³²* 'command', *hniéí²* 'fight', *cáu²* 'fear'.

Even fewer inalienable abstract nouns exist; examples are: *hnie³* 'problem' (1PL/3 POSS), *hó¹jè¹* 'voice, speech' (1PL/3 POSS), *má²tá¹³* 'errand, task' (1PL/3 POSS), *ziú¹³* 'sleep' (1PL/3 POSS).

6.1.1.6 Idioms

There are idioms which have the surface form of a clause but which function as the head of an NP.

Some idioms function as alienable nouns; for example:

- (15) *mí⁴ñí² jmu² tsú² huéh³*
 metal make^{TI}PRES³ 3 symbol
 'typewriter'
- (16) *mí⁴ñí² jñú² tsú² hmá²*
 metal shave^{TI}PRES³ 3 wood
 'plane' (i.e. for dressing wood)

Other idioms function as inalienable nouns; for example:

- (17) *cám² quin² ta³ tsú²*
 one^{IN} remove^{TI}PRES³ foot³ 3
 'one pace' (lit. 'one s/he removes her/his foot')
- (18) *tuh³ tloh³ ta³ tsú²*
 bag putⁱⁿPRES³PL foot³ 3
 'her/his shoes'

A sentential example of (15) is:

- (19) *Má² ca³- tsúnh³ mí⁴ñí² jmu² tsú² huéh³*
 PRF PAST-break^{II} metal make^{TI}PRES³ 3 symbol
jám² quion² jná¹.
 that^{IN} have^{STI}1SG I
 'My typewriter has broken.' (lit. 'The typewriter that I have has broken.')

6.1.1.7 Vocative Nouns

All kinship^{<4>} terms have a vocative form. The vocative forms are presented as part of the paradigm of inalienable nouns in Table 6.9; the vocative constituent of the clause is discussed in §8.2.8.

Generally, vocative nouns do not occur as the head of an NP which functions as a subject, object etc. They usually occur sentence initial, but may also occur sentence final. Examples of each position respectively are:

- (20) *Jón³, jan² tsá² cú²juú² má² cuán².*
 child^{VOC} one^{AN} person stranger PRF arrive^{non}home^{PAST}3SG
 'Son, a stranger has arrived.'
- (21) *Hí² nú² jón³.*
 hi you^{SG} child^{VOC}
 'Hi, son.' (said by priest to a new acquaintance)

Vocatives can also be used referentially with an affectionate connotation;

for example:

- (22) *Tiá² né¹ ha³ lánh³ lán²³ mí¹ ní² bíh^{1?}*
 not know^{STI}1PL just how think^{TI}PRES³ mother^{VOC} that AFF
 'Who knows (lit. 'we don't know') how mom there feels?'

Some other vocatives are: *ma³* 'mother-in-law', *tia²¹* 'dad', *tia³* 'father-in-law', *ñú¹* 'spouse, mate, pal'; further examples are found in §6.2.1.4.

6.1.1.8 Pluralisation

Chinantec has a very limited system of marking plural number on nominals. The noun *tsá²* 'person' (or its variant *tsánh²*, which occurs only following the interrogative adjective *hin²* 'which?' (AN); see §10.3.1.1) is the only nominal root I know of which can be pluralised: *tsáu²* 'people'. Strictly speaking, *tsá²* (or *tsánh²*) is not singular, but implies singularity unless the context marks it as plural; the noun *tsáu²* 'people', on the other hand, implies plurality unless the context marks it as singular.

The implicit singularity of *tsá²* is illustrated in (23):

- (23) *Tsá² hí³ ca³-juáh³ ñí¹con² jná¹³ hí³ ca³-cuh³ cáun²*
 person that^{AN} PAST-say^{TI}3 to I COMP PAST-eat^{TI}3 one^{IN}
hí¹míih²¹ quionh³ tsá² ñí¹ hná¹ hí³.
 bread accompany^{STA}3 person at remainder that^{AN}
 'That person told me that he shared a loaf with the others.' (lit. 'That person said to me that he ate a bread roll accompanied by the rest/remainder of the others.')

The first instance of *tsá²* in (23) would normally be taken to be singular unless extra-linguistic factors indicated it to be plural; in the second instance of *tsá²*, however, the following modifier phrase *ñí¹ hná¹ hí³* 'those others' implies at least two others in the group, so *tsá²* must be understood to be plural.

The implicit plurality of *tsáu²* is illustrated in (24):

- (24) *Qui¹ jun³ ca³-ze³ tsáu² yáh³ jná¹³.*
 because CNEG PAST-send^{TA}3>1 people ASSR I
 'Because it's not as if I was sent by people.'

In (25), the first instance of *tsáu²* is modified by the numeral 'one', and so denotes an individual; the second instance of *tsáu²* is not numerically (or contextually) restricted, and so denotes 'people'.

- (25) *Ní¹juáh³ má¹ ca³-jun³ jan² tsáu², jmu²*
 if PRF PAST-die^{IA}3 one^{AN} people, do^{TI}^{PRES}3

tsáu² la³ lá².

people idea this

'If a person dies, this is what (lit. 'the way') people do.'

Table 6.1 includes the known pluralised noun stems, all of which are based on *tsáu²*, which, as a non-final syllable in a compound, usually has the form *tsá¹-* (but note *tsá²tan²*):

Table 6.1 Formation of Plurals

Singular	Plural
<i>tsá² / tsánh²</i> 'person'	<i>tsáu²</i> 'people'
<i>tsá²mih¹</i> 'child'	(<i>tsá²</i>) <i>tsá¹mih¹</i> 'children'
	(<i>tsá²</i>) <i>tsá¹nú¹</i> 'young men'
	(<i>tsá²</i>) <i>tsá¹mái¹</i> 'young women'
	<i>tsá²tan²</i> 'authorities'

The nominal 'children' (Table 6.1) is more often heard as *tsá¹mih¹* than the full binomial expression *tsá² tsá¹mih¹* (for binomial nouns, see §3.2). The nominals *tsá¹nú¹* 'young men' and *tsá¹mái¹* 'young women' are context dependent (like *tsáu²* 'people'; see (25) above): in an unmarked context they imply plurality, but can be singular in a marked context. The full binomial expressions *tsá² tsá¹nú¹* and *tsá² tsá¹mái¹*, however, can only be plural. *tsá²tan²* is always plural in connotation.

There are also a few irreversible binomials, such as *jméi² mí¹ziú¹* 'parents' (lit. 'father mother'), and polynomials, such as *jméi² dí¹hio³ nú¹deh³* 'ancestors' (lit. 'father grandmother grandfather'), which are inherently plural; see §3.2.2.

6.1.1.9 Pronouns

The personal, reflexive, and interrogative pronouns are presented in this section. Deictic pronouns are discussed in §6.4.3.

6.1.1.9.1 Personal Pronouns

Chinantec personal pronouns inflect for person and number. For each grammatical person, there exists more than one pronominal form whose use is determined by sociolinguistic factors.<5>

Chinantec pronouns do not inflect for syntactic role. A single set of personal pronouns functions as subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique object.

The set of Sochiapan Chinantec pronominal forms are set out in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2 Personal Pronoun Paradigm

1SG	<i>jná¹³</i> , <i>ná¹</i> , <i>ná³</i> , <i>nia²¹</i> , <i>jná³</i> , <i>niá¹</i> , <i>jnia³²</i> , <i>na³</i>
1PL	<i>jnoh¹</i> , <i>dí²</i> , <i>jnioh¹</i> , <i>di³²</i>
2SG	<i>hnú²</i> , <i>nú²</i> , <i>hniu³²</i>
2PL	<i>hnoh²</i> , <i>náh²</i> , <i>hnioh²</i>
3	<i>tsú²</i> , <i>dí²</i> , <i>di³²</i>

In Table 6.2, the forms of each pronoun are listed in order of decreasing frequency of usage, based on the count in a concordance of 38,960 morphemes of text.⁶

The most frequently used pronouns are 'neutral' in social implication. The other pronouns (except for *dí²* of third-person and first-person plural) are used by the speaker to denote such sentiments as superiority, familiarity, compliance, deference, resentment, denigration etc. The nuances of each pronoun are discussed below.

The first and second-person pronouns each have palatalised variants: *nia²¹* (1SG), *niá¹* (1SG), *jnioh¹* (1PL), *hniu³²* (2SG), *hniú²* (2SG), and *hnioh²* (2PL). These pronouns uniformly convey a sense of intimacy or familiarity, though not necessarily with a positive connotation. Such palatalisation is also a feature of a majority of words used in baby-talk (or 'motherese'); for example:

(26)	normal	baby-talk	gloss
	<i>tan³²</i>	<i>tian³²</i>	'bird'
	<i>tsáí²</i>	<i>cháí²</i>	'dog'
	<i>son²</i>	<i>sion²</i>	'get down' (3 PRES)
	<i>zenh²</i>	<i>sienh²</i>	'stand up' (3 PRES)
	<i>cúh¹</i>	<i>chúh¹</i>	'eat!' (2 IMP)

Since Chinantec verbs are inflected for subject, distinguishing between 1SG, 1PL, second-person, and third-person, the use of pronouns to mark the

subject is partially redundant. In Sochiapan Chinantec, however, ellipsis of the subject tends to occur only when that subject has been already established in the discourse (for example, (30) below).

6.1.1.9.1.1 First-Person Singular

Jná¹³ 'I' is generally neutral in attitude and social implications (see, however, the discussion on *na³* 'I' below), and is far more frequent than all the other 1SG forms combined. For example:

- (27) *Ron²¹ jná¹³ hmá² ní².*
 manage^{TI}FUT^{1SG} I wood that
 'I will manage (to carry) that log.'

Of the first-person variants, only the forms *jnë¹³* and *jnë³* can occur in the focus position (§12.2) preceding the predicate. An example with *jnë¹³* is:

- (28) *Jná¹³ bñh¹ caun²¹ lio²¹ ní².*
 I AFF take^{TI}FUT^{1SG} cargo cargo that
 'I will take/carry that cargo.'

Ná¹ 'I', which also occurs quite frequently, conveys a reticence on the part of the speaker to be assertive; for example:

- (29) *Cáun² cui¹-jmu¹ ná¹ ca³lá² la³ cum³ ñí¹ lí¹³.*
 simply HORT-do^{TI}1SG I some about just place be^{possible}II^{FUT}
 'I'll just simply do whatever is possible.'

In a mixed social situation, *ná¹* is heard more frequently in women's speech when addressing men, or younger addressing older, giving a deferential nuance.

In discourse, if *jnë¹³* has already been used in a sentence, then the phonologically reduced form *ná¹* may be used for successive references to 1SG, possibly as a defocusing device; for example:

- (30) *Len³ jná¹³ ha³ lánh³ jmu¹ ná¹,*
 think^{TI}PRES^{1SG} I just how do^{TI}FUT^{1SG} I
tiá² ño¹ he³ jmu¹.
 not know^{SIA}1SG what do^{TI}FUT^{1SG}
 'I thought (lit. 'am thinking'), what will I do, I don't know what to do (lit. 'what I will do').'

In (30), the first reference to 1SG is by *jnë¹³*, the second reference is by *ná¹*, and ellipsis of the 1SG pronoun occurs in the third instance.

Ná³ 'I' generally conveys compliance, often with an undertone of reluc-

tance. In the following extract from a folk-story, a boy (one of the main participants in the story) has climbed a mango tree to pick fruit. A person who intends to kill him comes along and tells him to come down from the tree. The boy's response uses the form *ná³* to mark compliance:

- (31) *Cuí¹-teh¹³ ná³ tin² tsái² joh², cúí¹-juí²¹*
 HORT-call^TA^1SG I first dog have^STA^1SG HORT-whistle^TI^1SG
- ná³ tin² tun³ chi²¹ hi³ teh¹³ ná³ tsái²*
 I first two^IN bursts and call^TA^FUT^1SG I dog
- joh², má¹jáun² son¹³ ná³.*
 have^STA^1SG then^FUT lower^IA^FUT^1SG I
- 'Let me call my dog first; let me first give two whistles to call my dog, then I will get down.'

Ná³ 'I' can also be used to express annoyance. In the context of the following sentence, a hunter is upset by his companion's repeated refusals to accept his offer to kill certain animals for food (e.g. a snake, a buzzard), and so he says:

- (32) *Cu³tí¹³ huen² hnú² jngaih²¹ ná³!*
 Certainly yourself you kill^TA^FUT^1SG>2 I
- 'I will certainly kill you (yourself)!'

Nia²¹ 'I' denotes familiarity or intimacy, as when a parent addresses a child affectionately. It often conveys an ingratiating sense, as if the speaker fears s/he may be doing something the addressee may not approve of. The following example would be spoken to a close friend or family member:

- (33) *Há² ñe¹ ja¹ cúú² bih¹ nia²¹ na²¹.*
 PRF go^non^home^IA^FUT^1SG among maize AFF I ASNT
- 'I'm going to the cornfield, okay?'

Nia²¹ is also used to express self-pity:

- (34) *He³ ma³ juo²³ nia²¹!*
 EXCM EXCL be^pitiable^SIA^1SG I
- 'What an unlucky person am I!'

Jná³ is the emphatic form of 'I', demanding attention from the hearers.

Jná³ always precedes the predicate. For example:

- (35) *Jná³ ñe¹ ní¹juáh³ hi³ tiá² la³*
 I go^non^home^IA^FUT^1SG if COMP not apparently
- ñí¹-tsó²¹ tsá² ní².*
 INT-go^non^home^IA^3 person that
- 'I will go if it's a fact that that person (there) doesn't want to go.'

Jná³ is also used contrastively, as in the following example, which is heavy with irony:

- (36) *Jná³ na³ dá² ñe¹, hí¹ jlánh¹*
 I EXCL VER go^{non^home^IA^FUT^1SG} QUERY really
quien² tsá² ó³²?
 important person yonder
 'What, me go; is that person there so important (that he can't go on the errand instead)?'

Niá¹ 'I' may denote either superiority to the addressee, or familiarity tinged with resentment. Examples of each use respectively are:

- (37) *La³ lí³ ca³- jíé³² niá¹*
 apparently happen^{II^PAST} PAST-see^{TI^1SG} I
cám² hñú³ len³.
 one^{IN} house think^{TI^PRES^1SG}
 'It so happens that I saw such a house, I believe.' (i.e. I have information you lack)

- (38) *Ñe¹ ñí¹niá¹² bíh¹ niá¹.*
 go^{non^home^IA^FUT^1SG} ranch AFF I
 'I will go to the ranch.' (but I'm going unwillingly)

Jnia³² denotes familiarity with the addressee, implying a confident and warm relationship. This variant of 'I' appears to be falling into disuse, occurring principally in the speech of older people. An example is:

- (39) *Ñá² ñe¹ jnia³² la³² quion²¹.*
 PRF go^{non^home^IA^FUT^1SG} I this^{one} have^{STI^1SG}
 'I'll be on my way now.'

The first-person singular pronoun *na³* is not attested in any of my text material.<7> It denotes compliance with a request when the speaker feels pity for the addressee. For example:

- (40) *Jlánh¹ juo²³ nú² tiá² zia³² jñéi² quián¹³,*
 really be^{pitiab^{le}^SIA^2} you^{SG} not exist^{SII} bean have^{STI^2}
lá² chí¹³ na³ cá² cuah²¹ quián¹³ nú².
 here loan^{TI^FUT^1SG} I one^{IN} gourd have^{STI^2} you^{SG}
 'You unlucky fellow, you haven't got any (dried) beans; here, I'll loan one gourd-full (about one litre) to you.'

If *jnëá¹³* 'I' is substituted for *na³* in (40), it sounds as if the speaker is bragging about having beans when the addressee does not.

6.1.1.9.1.2 First-Person Plural

Jnoh¹ 'we' is neutral in social implication. It can be used for either

1PL inclusive or exclusive, but when a distinction is required between inclusive and exclusive, then *jnoh*¹ marks exclusive, while *dí*² marks inclusive; see §6.1.1.9.1.6.2.

Although *jnioh*¹ 'we' can be used for either 1PL inclusive or exclusive the same as *jnoh*¹, and *di*³² 'we' is used to mark 1PL inclusive like *dí*², because of the relative rarity of both *jnioh*¹ and *di*³², I have excluded them from the discussion in §6.1.1.9.1.6.2, and illustrate them here.

Both *jnioh*¹ and *di*³² mark familiarity and/or camaraderie; examples of each respectively are:

- (41) *He*³ *ma*³ *ja*³⁻ *cua*³ *jnioh*¹!
 EXCH EXCL PAST³-PASS-be³-abandoned³-TA³-1PL we
 'How awful that we have been abandoned!'

In (41), note that *jnioh*¹ is used as a 1PL inclusive.

- (42) *Há*² *tsáh*¹³ *bíh*¹ *jnioh*¹ *la*³² *na*²¹.
 PRF go²-home²-IA²-1PL AFF we this²¹-one ASNT
 'Let's go home, okay?', 'Let's be on our way home, okay?'

In (42), *jnioh*¹ can be either inclusive or exclusive, depending on context (much like the English 'we').

*Di*³² 'we', like *dí*² 'we' (§6.1.1.9.1.6.2) marks the 1PL inclusive; for example:

- (43) *Hmóu*³² *bíh*¹ *di*³² *chá*¹³ *ré*² *sí*² *lá*² *tsa*³*háu*².
 ourselves AFF we³²-INCL put³²-TI³²-FUT³²-1PL well book this tomorrow
 'We ourselves will put these books in order tomorrow.'

6.1.1.9.1.3 Second-person Singular

*Hnú*² 'you' (SG) is generally neutral in social implication, and can be used in all contexts in which *nú*², and *hniu*³² may be used.

Of the second-person singular variants, only *hnú*² can be left-dislocated for focus (§12.2), in which case it has an emphatic connotation; for example:

- (44) *Hnú*² *bíh*¹ *ca*³⁻ *juah*²¹ *hi*³ *tsáu*¹³.
 you²-SG AFF PAST³-say³-TI³-2 COMP go³-non³-home³-IA³-FUT³-1PL
 'You (are the one who) said that we should go.'

*Hnú*² is used interchangeably with *nú*² in conversation. Both forms can occur in the same sentence; when they do, *hnú*² always precedes *nú*², for example:

- (45) *Tiá² má² ca³- tǎn¹ hnú² hi³ je¹³*
 not PRF PAST-concern^TI^2 you^SG COMP scold^TA^2>1

ǰná¹³, qui¹ tsá² cáǰn² bíh¹ nú² cun³ ǰná¹³.
 I because person later AFF you^SG than I

‘You have no right to scold me, because you are younger than I.’

Hniú³² ‘you’ (SG) is used between close friends, relatives, or spouses, to mark familiarity or intimacy; for example:

- (46) *Tiá¹ chíh¹ hniú³² ca³lá² quié³ quion²¹ nia²¹ ba²¹?*
 ?^not loan^TI^FUT^2 you^SG some money have^STI^1SG I co-father
 ‘Won’t you loan me some money co-father (Sp. *compadre*)?’ <8>

(The symbol ? preceding the literal gloss of *tiá¹* ‘not’ represents the presence of question intonation; see §10.1.)

If *hnú²* ‘you’ were substituted for *hniú³²* in (46), the implication would be that the addressee is obliged to loan the money.

Hniú³² ‘you’ (SG) can also be used in a deprecatory sense:

- (47) *Tsá² hí³ bíh¹ hniú³²!*
 person that^AN AFF you^SG
 ‘You’re the (guilty) one!’

6.1.1.9.1.4 Second-person Plural

Hnoh² ‘you’ (PL) is used when the social situation is neutral. Of the second-person plural variants, *hnoh²* is the only form which can be left-dislocated in a focus construction (§12.2). For example:

- (48) *Hnoh² bíh¹ tsá² jlánh¹ ré² ná¹- ma³tih²¹.*
 you^PL AFF person really well PROG^PL-obey^TI^2
 ‘You are the ones who really obey (what I say).’

Náh² occurs nearly as frequently as *hnoh²* in my data. It is used hortatively, such as when a town authority addresses a meeting, or when someone is teaching, preaching or giving advice. For example:

- (49) *Tí² ǰinh²¹ náh² ǰónh³²!*
 PREV turn^back^TA^IMP you^PL child^2
 ‘Admonish (lit. ‘turn back’) your children!’

Hnioh², like *hniú³²*, can be used either to mark familiarity or with a deprecatory sense; see (50) and (51) respectively:

- (50) *Juo²³ hnioh² joh¹ Dió³².*
 be^pitiable^SIA^2 you^PL have^STA^2 God
 ‘You pitiable creatures of God.’

- (51) *He³ dá² jlánh¹ ñih¹ hñoh² ñi¹ tionh¹ náh² ní²!*
 what? VER really know^STI^2 you^PL at stand^SIA^2PL you^PL there
 'What do you know so much about, (you who are) just standing
 around there!'

6.1.1.9.1.5 Third-person

The third-person pronouns *tsú²*, *dí²*, and *dí³²* are non-specific as to both number and gender. Although all three could be glossed as 'he, she, they', in the free translation I have generally translated these pronouns as 's/he' unless the context dictates otherwise.

The most common third-person pronoun is *tsú²*. When referring to humans, it is pragmatically neutral in implication. When used to refer to animals it has an affectionate connotation. Examples of each respectively are:

- (52) *Co² tsú² quionh³ mí³ láu².*
 play^IA^PRES^3 3 with spherical hide
 'S/he plays with a ball.'
- (53) *Tiá² ñi¹-hna¹ jná¹³ mí¹tiei²¹ lá² joh²,*
 not INT-sell^TA^1SG I cat this have^STA^1SG
hliá² jlánh¹ co² tsú² quionh³ tsá¹mih¹.
 because really play^IA^3 3 accompany^STA^3 children
 'I don't want to sell this cat of mine, because s/he really plays with
 the children.'

The third-person pronoun *dí²* can be used in contrastive situations and for emphasis. Examples of each respectively are:

- (54) *Gon³ tsá¹ñú¹ juónh²³ hi³ ñi³² dí² hín² la³*
 two^AN young^men discuss^TI^PRES^3 COMP know^STI^3 they which^IN at
nió¹ chá²tánh² quiú³ ja¹ cuí² rón³² coh³ cua³.
 time arrive^IA^PRES^3PL coati among maize lie^SII upper^side^3 river
 'Two young men are discussing that they know the time when the
 coatis come to the cornfield above the river.' (in contrast to others
 who have not determined the best time to lie in wait for them)
- (55) *Jinh¹ dá² quien² juáh³ yeh³ ó³² hi³*
 where? VER be^worth^SII say^STI^3 elder ynder COMP
cuá¹chan¹ ñi¹con² Dió³²; já² jmu² bíh¹ dí² tso³!
 be^consecrated^SIA^3 to God; why! do^TI^PRES^3 AFF he wrong
 'What is the point of that old fellow saying he is consecrated to God;
he does bad things!'

When there is more than one third-person participant in a passage of discourse and no ambiguity might arise, *tsú²* is the preferred pronoun for all participants. If, however, ambiguity might arise, *tsú²* and *dí²* may be used to

6.1.1.9.1.6.2 First-person Inclusive - *di*²

When used as a first-person plural pronoun, *di*² takes on the meaning of 1PL inclusive, relegating *jnoh*¹ to 1PL exclusive. As with the third-person, *di*² as first-person plural is used only in potentially ambiguous situations, or for an emphatic 'we' (inclusive) sense. Elsewhere, *jnoh*¹ is unmarked as to inclusive/exclusive. Examples of *jnoh*¹ and *di*² respectively are:

(57) *Cuí¹-hié¹³ jnoh¹!*
HORT-sing^{TI}^1PL we
'Let's sing!'

(58) *Cuí¹-hié¹³ di²!*
HORT-sing^{TI}^1PL we^INCL
'Let's sing!'

The sentences in both (57) and (58) include everyone present; in fact the use of *jnoh*¹ 'we' in 'inclusive' situations is more common than the use of *di*². *Jnoh*¹ and *di*² can even occur together in the same sentence with the same inclusive meaning:

(59) *Cuí¹-hié¹³ di² cáum² sun¹,*
HORT-sing^{TI}^1PL we^INCL one^IN song

quí¹ jnoh¹ bíh¹ tsá² táí²!
because we AFF people capable^{STI}^1PL
'Let's sing a song, for we are the talented ones!'

The distinction between *jnoh*¹ and *di*² is clear, however, in the following statement that was addressed to a large group:

(60) *Jnoh¹ bíh¹ ca³-jmú¹³ ta²¹ jáum², quí¹*
we AFF PAST-do^{TI}^1PL work that^IN because

tiá² táí² di² la³ jáí³².
not be^capable^{STI}^1PL we^INCL nearly all^1PL
'We (exclusive) did that work, for not all of us (INCL) are capable.'

In other Chinantec languages (Palantla - Merrifield 1968:26, Lealao - Rupp 1989:79, Comaltepec - Anderson 1989:75, and Tepetotutla - Westley 1991:71), the inclusive/exclusive distinction is evidently fixed, all first-person plural participants being routinely identified as inclusive or exclusive by the use of separate pronouns.

6.1.1.9.2 Reflexive Pronouns

There are three reflexive pronouns, as set out in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Reflexive Pronoun Paradigm

<i>huen</i> ²	1SG, 2SG
<i>hngá</i> ²	3SG
<i>hmóu</i> ^{3,2}	1PL, 2PL, 3PL

Reflexive pronouns are used in three ways: (i) to mark an action as reflexive, where the subject acts upon itself as object; (ii) to emphasise the referent's identity; and (iii) to mark the referent as solitary or unique. The 3SG form *hngá*² is also able to be used adverbially in the sense of 'alone'; see (iv) below.

(i) When subject and object are coreferential, the reflexive pronouns may occur as the direct object. Examples of each of the above pronouns are:

- (61) *Ca*³- *liaun*¹ *huen*² *bíh*¹ *jná*^{1,3}.
 PAST-save^TA^1SG myself AFF I
 'I saved myself.'

In (61), the object *huen*² 'myself' is marked for focus by occurring before the subject, and by means of the affirmation particle *bíh*¹ (§12.2).

- (62) *Ma*³*hno*¹ *tsá*²*mí*³*cuóun*² *renh*² *nú*²
 love^TA^IMP human companion^2 you^SG
*la*³*jmí*¹ *hno*³ *nú*² *huen*².
 as love^STA^2 you^SG yourself
 'Love your fellow human beings as you love yourself.'

- (63) *Ca*³- *hlian*³ *tsá*²*mí*³ *hí*³ *hngá*².
 PAST-ruin^TA^3 woman that^AN herself
 'That woman ruined herself.'

- (64) *Ca*³- *ta*¹ *dí*² *má*¹*hno*¹ *tsá*²*mí*³*cuóun*²
 PAST-require^TI^1PL we^INCL love^TA^FUT^1PL human
rainh^{2,1} *la*³*jmí*¹ *hno*³ *dí*² *hmóu*^{3,2}.
 companion^1PL as love^STA^1PL we^INCL ourselves
 'We ought to love our fellow human beings as we love ourselves.'

- (65) *Chan*^{1,3} *náh*² *hmóu*^{3,2} *jo*³*cuo*² *Dió*^{3,2} *bíh*¹!
 leave^TA^IMP you^PL yourselves palm^3 God AFF
 'Leave yourselves in God's care (lit. 'palms').'

- (66) . . . *jmí*¹ *sén*^{2,1} *tsú*² *jua*² *hmóu*^{3,2}.
 . . . TRM sprinkle^DA^PRES^3 they ash themselves
 '. . . they used to sprinkle themselves (with) ashes.'

(ii) The second and most common use of reflexive pronouns is to empha-

side the referent's identity by means of an appositional construction, often providing a component of contrastiveness. Examples of this contrastive and/or emphatic use as subject, object and indirect object are:

- (67) *Jun³juá^h1³ ca³- jmu^h3 hmóu³² hnoh² hi³*
 not[^]as[^]if PAST-do[^]TI[^]3 yourselves you[^]PL COMP
tionh² hnoh² ñi¹ ní² ta³né³².
 inhabit[^]SIA[^]2PL you[^]PL place that now
 'It's not as if you yourselves made it happen that you are living there now.'
- (68) *Cu³ti¹³ huen² hnú² jngai^h2¹ ná³.*
 Certainly yourself you[^]SG kill[^]FUT[^]TA[^]1SG>2 I
 'I will certainly kill you (yourself).' (instead of killing any of the other animals I originally intended to kill)
- (69) *Huen² jná¹³ bíh¹ lí²-cué³² tsú² quie³ má²hmá¹³.*
 myself I AFF HOD-give[^]DI[^]3>1 3 money earlier
 'S/he gave only me money earlier (today).'
- (70) *La³ jáun² bíh¹ quiunh³² tsá² hánh³,*
 manner that[^]IN AFF undergo[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 person wealthy
tsá² hma³² ñi¹con² hngá² hi³ quioh²¹.
 person keep[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 towards self thing have[^]STI[^]3
 'That is what happens to a wealthy person, a person who keeps his possessions to himself.'

(iii) Emphasis of the referent's identity is sometimes better glossed as 'alone', or at least with the connotation of solitariness; for example:

- (71) *Má² ñih¹ bíh¹ hnú² hi³ la³ ján³² tsá²*
 PRF know[^]STI[^]2 AFF you[^]SG COMP about all[^]AN person
hi³ má² ca³- zeh³ jná¹³ huen².
 that[^]AN PRF PAST-stand[^]TA[^]3>1 I myself
 'You now know that all of them had abandoned me (lit. 'stood me alone').'
- (72) *Yeh³ ní² dá² la³ má² ca³- chan³ hmóu³²*
 elder that VER apparently PRF PAST-leave[^]TA[^]3 themselves
bíh¹ tsá¹ni^h1 jon², jáun² hngá² bíh¹ má² ngi³².
 AFF children child[^]3 so himself AFF PRF walk[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3SG
 'Apparently that fellow has abandoned his children (lit. 'left his children alone'), since he is now walking around unaccompanied (lit. 'alone').'
- (73) *Hngá² mí³ jáun² bíh¹ jmu³ ta²¹.*
 itself medicine that[^]IN AFF do[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3 work
 'That medicine alone will do the job.' (i.e. nothing else will be required)

(iv) The 3SG form *hngá²* can also be used adverbially to mark a state as

solitary or an action as self-motivated. Note that the adverb *hngá²* 'alone' is able to occur immediately following the verb or clause final. Examples of each respectively are:

(74) *Nio² hngá² lio²¹ quion²¹ jná¹³.*
 be^present^SII alone cargo have^STI^1SG I
 'My cargo is unattended (lit. 'alone').'

(75) *Nio² lio²¹ quion²¹ jná¹³ hngá².*
 be^present^SII cargo have^STI^1SG I alone
 'My cargo is unattended.'

Hngá² can also emphasise that the action of an intransitive dynamic verb is spontaneous:

(76) *Lí¹ ca³- yéi³² sí² hngá².*
 NON PAST-be^extinguished^II fire alone
 'The fire just went out by itself.'

6.1.1.9.3 The Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun *he³* 'what?' (IN) occurs clause initially (see also §10.3.1.2). For example:

(77) *He³ jlánh¹ jmu³² hnú²?*
 what? really do^TI^PRES^2 you^SG
 'What are you so busy doing?'

He³ 'what?' (IN) also function as an indefinite pronoun:

(78) *Cuí¹-jmu¹ tsú² he³ jmu³ bíh¹.*
 HORT-do^HORT^3 they what do^TI^FUT^3 AFF
 'Let them do whatever they want.'

(79) *Tiá² né¹ he³ quiáh³² tsú².*
 not know^STI^1PL which choose^TI^FUT^3 3
 'Who knows (lit. '(we) don't know') what s/he will choose.'

6.1.2 The Categoriser

The categoriser element modifies the base noun. Some nouns optionally take a categoriser; there is no difference in meaning whether the categoriser is present or not. For example, there is no change of meaning whether *no²* 'rat' is modified by the categoriser *chi³* 'diminutive', or not.

With certain other nouns as base, however, there is a difference in meaning between the presence and the absence of the categoriser. For example, when *mah²* 'viper, intestinal worm' is modified by the categoriser *chi³* 'diminutive' (AN), the meaning is 'ant'.

Some categorisers resemble classifiers (§6.7.1.1.2) in the way they refer to the shape of an entity. However, there are significant differences between the classifiers and the categorisers:

(i) Classifiers are obligatory with certain quantified nouns, while the presence of a semantically similar categoriser is optional. For example:

- (80) *hñá³ máí³ (mí³) jláí²*
 five sphere (spherical) egg
 'five eggs'

The categoriser *mí³* 'spherical' cannot substitute for the classifier *máí³* 'sphere' when a noun is modified by a numeral:

- (81) **hñá³ mí³ jláí²*
 five spherical egg

(ii) When a noun that takes a categoriser is not quantified, the categoriser is optional (see (82a)); however, the classifier is ungrammatical (see (82b)):

- (82)(a) *Ca³- di³chí³ tsú² sí² (mí³) jláí² jáum².*
 PAST-put^on^DI^3 she fire (spherical) egg that^IN
 'She put those eggs on the fire (to cook).'

- (b) **Ca³- di³chí³ tsú² sí² máí³ jláí² jáum².*
 PAST-put^on^DI^3 she fire sphere egg that^IN

(iii) According to Greenberg (1974:19), 'It is indeed universal in languages with numeral classifier constructions that the head noun may be deleted either when it has been either [sic] previously mentioned or can be supplied from the non-linguistic context.' This is true of Chinantec classifiers, but not of categorisers.

Both the classifier *máí³* 'sphere' and the categoriser *mí³* 'spherical' can co-occur; see (83).

If the classifier *máí³* 'sphere' is retained, and either *mí³* 'spherical' or *mí³ jláí²* 'spherical egg(s)' is omitted, the sentence is grammatical:

- (83) *Hñá³ máí³ ((mí³) jláí²) bíh¹ ca³- súh³².*
 five sphere spherical egg AFF PAST-fall^II^3PL
 'Five (eggs) fell.'

In (84), however, retaining the categoriser *mí³* 'spherical' instead of the classifier *máí³* results in an ungrammatical construction:

- (84) **Hñá³ mí³ bíh¹ ca³- sùh³².*
 five spherical AFF PAST-fall^{II}³PL
 'Five (eggs) fell.'

If the combination *mí³ jláí²* 'spherical egg(s)' is enumerated, the construction is ungrammatical:

- (85) **Hñá³ mí³ jláí³ bíh¹ ca³- sùh³².*
 five spherical egg AFF PAST-fall^{II}³PL
 'Five (eggs) fell.'

(iv) All lexemes which function as classifiers when used within a quantifier expression may be used as an NP head; often the meaning is similar, or is obviously connected semantically. For example, *máí³* as a classifier may be glossed as 'sphere', and is used in the Quantifier Phrase when enumerating rocks, fruit, eggs, round vegetables etc.; however, as the NP head, *máí³* means 'fruit' (note that when the NP head is omitted, as in (83), the connotation of the classifier *máí³* is still 'sphere').

Categorisers, however, can never function as the NP head; they are adjectival.

(v) Sortal classifiers (§6.7.1.1.2.1) generally imply that the entity being enumerated is portable; the choice of classifier is governed by the shape of the referent of the NP head. Categorisers, however, frequently define a noun semantically; for example, if the noun *sí²* 'book' is modified by the categoriser *mu²¹* 'flat', the meaning is 'paper', and when *láu²* 'skin, hide' is modified by *mí³* 'spherical', the meaning is 'ball' (see Table 6.4 below). To enumerate the entities *mu²¹ sí²* 'paper' and *mí³ láu²* 'ball', a classifier must be present:

- (86)(a) *tum³ mu²¹ mu²¹ sí²*
 two^{IN} leaf flat book
 'two pages'
- (b) *tum³ máí³ mí³ láu²*
 two^{IN} sphere spherical hide
 'two balls'

The categoriser *mu²¹* 'flat', illustrated in (86a), is generally heard as *mí¹* in fast speech, but the classifier *mu²¹* is never altered to *mí¹*.

Although all categorisers have an attributive function similar to the descriptive adjectives which follow the NP head (§6.3), unlike the descriptive

adjectives, they cannot be used predicatively (§4.5), nor can they follow the head of the NP.

I have analysed categorisers as occurring on the first level in the hierarchical structure of the NP principally because the denotation of the head noun is frequently affected, as illustrated in (v) above.

A question that needs to be addressed is: does the sequence of categoriser plus noun form a compound lexeme? The principal reason for not treating all instances of this sequence as a compound is that generally, neither categoriser nor noun undergo a tone-stress change, nor are there any segmental changes; the presence of either one of these modifications, or both together, are characteristic of compounds; see §3.1.3.1.

There are some instances where a categoriser has formed a compound with the following noun. For example, *mí³* 'spherical' and *ñí¹* 'face' (1PL/3) form the compound *mí³ñí¹* 'eye' (1PL/3) as evidenced by the tone-stress change of *mí³* to *mí¹*.

The categorisers which have been identified are set out in Table 6.4, together with their source (if known):

Table 6.4 Categorisers

Categoriser	Gloss	Source	Gloss
<i>mí³</i>	'spherical' (IN)	<i>máí³</i>	'sphere'
<i>mu²¹/mí¹</i>	'flat' (IN)	<i>mu²¹</i>	'leaf'
<i>jo²¹/jó¹</i>	'long-flat' (IN)	<i>jo²¹</i>	'side'
<i>chí²</i>	'diminutive' (IN)	?	
<i>chí³</i>	'diminutive' (AN)	?	
<i>hná¹/ná¹</i>	'odd, irregular'	<i>hná¹</i>	'section, end'
<i>tsí¹</i>	'disused, old, silly' (IN)	<i>tseh¹</i>	'old' (IN)
<i>ñú²</i>	'masculine' (AN)	<i>ñuh¹³</i>	'male' (AN)
<i>mí¹</i>	'feminine' (AN)	<i>mí³</i>	'female' (AN)

Each of the categorisers in Table 6.4 is discussed in the following sections.

6.1.2.1 The Shape Oriented Categorisers: *mí³*, *mu²¹*, and *jo²¹*

The categoriser *mí³* 'spherical', more than any other, has the potential of affecting the meaning of the NP head. Examples of semantically non-affect-

ed and affected nouns are set out in Table 6.5:

Table 6.5 The Categoriser *mí³* 'spherical'

noun	gloss	categoriser + noun	gloss
<i>jláí²</i>	'egg'	<i>mí³ jláí²</i>	'egg'
<i>ñí²ráu³</i>	'orange'	<i>mí³ ñí²ráu³</i>	'orange'
<i>chí¹</i>	'head' (1P/3)	<i>mí³ chí¹</i>	'head' (1P/3)
<i>quín¹</i>	'rock'	<i>mí³ quín¹</i>	'stone'
<i>jñéí²</i>	'bean plant'	<i>mí³ jñéí²</i>	'bean seed'
<i>cuú²</i>	'maize plant'	<i>mí³ cuú²</i>	'kernel'
<i>uóun²jìeh¹³</i>	'grapevine'	<i>mí³ uóun²jìeh¹³</i>	'grape'
<i>láu²</i>	'skin, hide'	<i>mí³ láu²</i>	'ball'

The categoriser *mí³* 'spherical' is generally used only with small, portable objects. For example, although *mí³* collocates with the noun *quín¹* 'rock', the larger the rock, the less likely *mí³* will co-occur.

The expression *mí³ tsí³* (lit. 'spherical heart') refers only to the organ; if, for example, an animal is butchered, a person would ask to buy the animal's *mí³ tsí³* 'heart'. The noun *tsí³* 'heart' without the categoriser, however, may refer to either the organ or the seat of emotion. Examples of each respectively are:

(87) *Quiéh² tsí³ tsú²*.
hurt^{II} PRES heart³ 3
'S/he has heartburn.'

(88) *Uóu³² tsí³ tsú²*.
hurt^{SII} heart³ 3
'S/he is jealous.'

The verb *quieh²* in (87) refers to a sharp stabbing pain, and the verb *uóu³²* in (88) refers to a constant pain.

The second of the three shape-oriented categorisers is *mu²¹* 'flat', which is frequently heard as *mí¹* in fast speech.

As illustrated in (86a) above, *sí²* 'book' takes on the meaning of 'paper' when it collocates with the categoriser *mu²¹* 'flat'. Similarly, the meaning of the noun *cú¹jen²* 'can, tin, bucket' changes to 'roofing iron' when preceded by *mu²¹*; for example:

(89)(a) *tun³ cú¹jen²* (b) *tun³ jo²¹ mu²¹ cú¹jen²*
two^{IN} tin two^{IN} side flat tin
'two buckets' 'two sheets of roofing iron'

The change of meaning which occurs with *mu*²¹ 'flat' is analogous to the change of meaning observable in English with *sheet*; for example, *He bought an iron.* vs. *He bought a sheet of iron.*

The third shape-oriented categoriser, *jo*²¹ 'long-flat', is frequently heard as *jo*¹ in fast speech. When used with *hmá*² 'wood, tree', it means 'board'. For example:

- (90) (a) *tun*³ *hmá*² (b) *tun*³ *jo*²¹ *jo*²¹ *hmá*²
 two[^]IN wood two[^]IN side long[^]flat wood
 'two trees' 'two boards'.

6.1.2.2 The Categorisers *chi*² and *chi*³

*Chi*² 'diminutive' (IN), has a mildly positive connotation, implying usefulness or desirability; occasionally it can affect the meaning of the noun with which it occurs, as can be seen in Table 6.6:

Table 6.6 The Categoriser *chi*² 'diminutive'

noun	gloss	categoriser + noun	gloss
<i>tuh</i> ³²	'bag'	<i>chi</i> ² <i>tuh</i> ³²	'small bag'
<i>láu</i> ²	'skin, hide'	<i>chi</i> ² <i>láu</i> ²	'hide, sandal'
<i>hlah</i> ³²	'hook'	<i>chi</i> ² <i>hlah</i> ³²	'coathanger'
<i>lɿh</i> ³²	'disc'	<i>chi</i> ² <i>lɿh</i> ³²	'disc, record'
<i>jmu</i> ²	'palm mat'	<i>chi</i> ² <i>jmu</i> ²	'fan' (woven)

*Chi*³ 'diminutive' (AN) is used only with small animals and most, but not all insects (it cannot occur, for example, with *ye*² 'a type of tick'). There does not appear to be any positive or negative connotation to this categoriser; rats and cockroaches are detested, certain species of ants are eaten, cats are both appreciated as mousers and feared as the harbingers of death, and both hummingbirds and butterflies are considered attractive. The only common component seems to be size--'small'.

- (91) *chi*³ *mah*² 'ant' *chi*³ *zi*³ 'butterfly'
*chi*³ *uɿh*¹³ 'cockroach' *chi*³ *no*² 'rat'
*chi*³ *hlah*²¹ 'cricket' *chi*³ *quih*²¹ 'hummingbird'
*chi*³ *ja*³² 'spider' *chi*³ *cah*² 'lizard'

*Chi*³ 'diminutive' is optional with most nouns that refer to small animate

entities. However, of the examples in (91) above, without *chi*³, the noun *mah*² means 'viper, intestinal worm', and *zi*³ means 'bottle'.

6.1.2.3 The Categorisers *hná*¹ and *tsí*¹

Neither *hná*¹ 'odd, irregular, residual' nor *tsí*¹ 'disused, old, silly' affect lexically the nominals with which they occur, as occasionally happens with other categorisers such as *mi*³ 'spherical' (§6.1.2.1) and *chi*³ 'diminutive' (AN) (§6.1.2.2).

*Hná*¹ has a variety of different, but more or less related, meanings according to its syntactic role:

(i) As an alienable noun, *hná*¹ means 'portion, remainder'; for example:

(92) *Cue*¹ *tiá*³ *hná*¹ *hi*³ *ziaun*³ *jám*².
 give^{DI}IMP²>1 SUPL portion COMP remain^{II}PAST that^{IN}
 'Please give me the portion that/which is left over.'

(ii) As a divisor in the Quantifier Phrase (§6.7.1.1.1.3), *hná*¹ means 'section, portion'.

(iii) As an evaluative adjective (§6.6), *hná*¹ means 'crude, unpleasant, despicable'.

(iv) As a categoriser *hná*¹/*ná*¹ means 'odd, irregular (shape), residual'. *Hná*¹ is mildly negative in connotation in the sense that the entity concerned is not aesthetically pleasing; there is not necessarily any implication as to the entity's usefulness. For example:

(93) *Quián*² *tiá*³ *hná*¹ *cuo*¹ *ní*².
 bring^{TI}IMP SUPL odd firewood that
 'Please bring that chunk of firewood.'

Since *hná*¹ has such a variety of meanings depending on its syntactic role, I will demonstrate that one of those roles is that of categoriser. *Hná*¹ 'odd' shares the same syntactic class as the categoriser *mi*³ 'spherical'. *Ní*³ occurs following the evaluative adjective *uí*¹ 'nice, desirable, useful':

(94) *hni*³² *má*³ *uí*¹ *mi*³ *ñí*²*rán*³
 three^{IN} sphere nice spherical orange
 'three nice oranges'

Similarly, *hná*¹ 'odd' follows *uí*¹:

- (95) *ñí¹- cáum²¹ tun³ hná¹ uí¹ hná¹*
 ANDT¹FUT-bring¹TI¹1SG two¹IN section useful odd

cuo¹ bíh¹ nia²¹ quion²¹.
 firewood AFF I have¹STI¹1SG

‘I am going to get two useful/nice chunks of firewood for myself.’

(The implication of (95) being that the speaker is in poor health and can't carry more than a small load, or else s/he simply doesn't have time to get a full load.)

Three of the meanings of *hná¹* are illustrated in (96) below. My language assistants found this elicited example amusing but fully grammatical. The variant *ná¹* ‘odd’ is preferred when preceded by the evaluative adjective *hná¹* ‘despicable’:

- (96) *tun³ hná¹ hná¹ ná¹ hmá² ní²*
 two¹IN section despicable odd wood that

ca³- jmú³² jná¹³ qui¹hliá² jlánh¹ héi³.
 PAST-make¹TI¹1SG I because really be¹heavy¹SII
 ‘I made two sections of that despicable odd piece of wood because it was so heavy.’

Tsí¹ ‘disused, old, silly’ has a mildly negative connotation. It can occur with a variety of inanimate objects; for example: boxes, clothing, machete—nearly anything whose condition has deteriorated, or is held in low regard. For example:

- (97) *tsí¹ hnú¹³ tsú²*
 silly house¹3 3
 ‘her/his shack’

- (98) *tsí¹ hmih²¹*
 disused cloth
 ‘old/disused clothes’ or ‘rags’

The slightly negative connotation of *tsí¹* is readily neutralised by the positive evaluative adjective *uí¹* ‘nice, pleasant, useful’ (§6.6); for example:

- (99) *uí¹ tsí¹ cuo²*
 useful old box
 ‘useful old box’

6.1.2.4 The Categorisers *mí¹* and *ñú²*

The categorisers *mí¹* ‘feminine’ and *ñú²* ‘masculine’ are used to specify the gender of the referents of proper names (for the derivation of Chinantec

proper names from Spanish proper names, see §2.5.3). *ñí¹* is generally obligatory for women's names; the only exception I know of where *ñí¹* is optional, but rarely used, is with the name *ñá¹réí³* 'Mary'. *ñú²* is entirely optional for men's names. Some men's names are heard more frequently with *ñú²*, especially those that are used for both men and women. In Table 6.7, the Spanish name is given from which the Chinantec name is derived:

Table 6.7 Categorisers with Proper Names

women's names		men's names	
<i>ñí¹ Tu²¹</i>	'Antonia'	<i>ñú² Tu²¹</i>	'Antonio'
<i>ñí¹ Tíñh³</i>	'Cristina'	<i>ñú² Tíñh³</i>	'Celestino'
<i>ñí¹ Fé³</i>	'Ofelia'	<i>ñú² Fé³</i>	'Felix'

6.2 The Possessive Construction

There are two possessive constructions in Chinantec, one for alienable nouns and one for inalienable nouns.

If the head of the NP is an alienable noun, it can be followed by a modifier, a deictic, and one or more relative clauses, one of which may function to express possession of the NP head. The form of the possessor relative clause is described in §6.2.2.2.

If the head of the NP is an inalienable noun, the modifier constituent cannot occur, although the deictic and relative clause constituents can. Possession of inalienable nouns is expressed by inflection of the head noun indexing the person-of-possessor, and by an optional possessor NP (§6.2.1.6).

6.2.1 Possession of Inalienable Nouns

Inalienable nouns exhibit a three-way contrast to index the person-of-possessor, inflecting for first-person plural together with third-person (1PL/3 POSS), first-person singular (1SG POSS), and second-person (2 POSS). Inflection generally consists of changes in tone-stress. Second-person is generally marked by glottal closure of the final syllable as in (100a); however, there are a few exceptions, such as in (103c):

(100)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>cuá¹</i>	<i>cua³²</i>	<i>cuáh³</i>	'ear'
(b)	<i>jmáh¹</i>	<i>jmáh³²</i>	<i>jmáh³</i>	'buttocks'

Some nouns additionally exhibit vowel modification in their paradigm, but this does not appear to affect the tone-stress pattern; such nouns may share an identical tone-stress pattern with those nouns that retain the same vowel nucleus throughout:

(101)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>mu¹</i>	<i>mú³²</i>	<i>múh³</i>	'bone'
(b)	<i>to¹</i>	<i>tán³²</i>	<i>táuh³</i>	'gizzard'

(*To¹* 'gizzard' may be used humorously to refer to a person's stomach.)

Suppletion may also occur; for example, 'face' in (102b) is suppletive for 2 POSS, but the tone-stress pattern matches that of 'tooth', which does not exhibit suppletion:

(102)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>ján¹</i>	<i>jan³²</i>	<i>jánh¹</i>	'tooth'
(b)	<i>ñí¹</i>	<i>ñi³²</i>	<i>máh¹</i>	'face'

Some inalienable nouns retain the same tone-stress for all persons; those that do not end in a glottal in the base form 1PL/3 POSS, (which is the dictionary citation form^{<9>}) generally mark the second-person by glottal closure of the final syllable; see (103a) below. In (103b) the base form already has glottal closure, so marking for second-person is neutralised and the form is invariant for all persons. In addition, there are inalienable nouns which do not mark second-person by glottal closure, retaining the identical form for all persons, as in (103c):

(103)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>ló³²</i>	<i>ló³²</i>	<i>lóh³²</i>	'daughter-in-law'
(b)	<i>mah¹</i>	<i>mah¹</i>	<i>mah¹</i>	'liver'
(c)	<i>hnie³</i>	<i>hnie³</i>	<i>hnie³</i>	'problem'

I have identified 17 invariant inalienable nouns like (103b-c). Such nouns are not included in the frequency count in Table 6.8 below.

There are also inalienable nouns which have a form only for third-

person. Such nouns express a part-whole relationship, e.g. *jmu*² 'root' (of a plant), or a product-source relationship, e.g. *joh*¹ 'light' (of sun, lantern etc.). This class of inalienable nouns is phonologically distinguishable from the non-final root of compounds; see §3.1.3.1. I have identified 22 such words in my data, but likely many more exist.

Some inalienable nouns normally associated with humans (or animate entities), such as *zih*² 'tongue' 1PL/3 POSS, may also have an inanimate possessor; for example, the word *si*² 'fire': *zih*² *si*² 'flame' (lit. 'fire's tongue'), and *mu*² 'canoe': *zih*² *mu*² 'paddle' (lit. 'canoe's tongue'). When *ho*³ 'mouth' occurs with inanimate nouns, it signifies an opening; for example: *ho*³ *zi*³ 'jar's mouth', and *ho*³ *ta²hlau*² 'cave's mouth'.

Inalienable nouns which inflect for person are classifiable according to their tone-stress paradigms. With 156 monosyllabic and disyllabic inalienable nouns in my data (not counting nouns as in (107b-c), nor those which have only a third-person form), if every variation of tone-stress is taken into account, then over 70 paradigms would need to be established (and even more if those nouns that exhibit vowel modification and/or suppletion are categorised separately). When the tone-stress of the base form is disregarded, the number of paradigms can be reduced to 18 (the reason for doing this is discussed in §6.2.1.1); this takes into account both monosyllabic nouns and the final syllable of disyllabic nouns. Disyllabic nouns are discussed further in §6.2.1.2.

6.2.1.1 Monosyllabic Inalienable Nouns

If the 1PL/3 POSS form of an inalienable noun is taken as a given factor (the dictionary citation form), several otherwise disparate paradigms can be collapsed into a single paradigm, since the tone-stress of only the 1SG POSS and 2 POSS need to be accounted for. The following inalienable nouns, for example, can be assigned the paradigm [b32-b3]:

(104)		1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
	(a)	<i>hiá</i> ¹³	<i>hiá</i> ³²	<i>hiáh</i> ³	'jar, jug'
	(b)	<i>ma</i> ²¹	<i>ma</i> ³²	<i>mah</i> ³	'food'

The symbol [b] corresponds to 'ballistic' stress (§2.5.1); in citation form, the two words of (104) above would be: *hiá¹³* [b32-b3] 'jar, jug' and *ma²¹* [b32-b3] 'food'.

The symbol [c] is used to indicate 'controlled' stress (§2.5.1); thus the citation form for 'head' would be: *chí¹* [c32-c32], and the citation form for 'ear' would be *cuá¹* [c32-b3] (see (100a)).

6.2.1.2 Disyllabic Inalienable Nouns

The tone-stress of the non-final syllable of most disyllabic nouns remains constant throughout the paradigm. Since the form of the non-final syllable is specified in the citation form, there is no need to take further account of it. For example, all three disyllabic nouns in (105) below can be assigned to the same paradigm [b32-b3]:

(105)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>ca¹hó¹³</i>	<i>ca¹hó³²</i>	<i>ca¹hóh³</i>	'chicken'
(b)	<i>hó²sí¹³</i>	<i>hó²sí³²</i>	<i>hó²síh³</i>	'cooking fire'
(c)	<i>mí³hué¹³</i>	<i>mí³hué³²</i>	<i>mí³huéh³</i>	'rib'

In ten of the 56 disyllabic nouns in my data, there is tonal inflection of the non-final syllable, so even though they can be assigned to one of the 18 inalienable noun paradigms on the basis of the tone-stress pattern of their final syllable, in the dictionary they will need to be given in full, as will the vowel-changing nouns and nouns that have suppletive forms in their paradigm. Examples of disyllabic nouns that inflect the first syllable are:

(106)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
(a)	<i>dí¹hio³</i>	<i>dí²hio³</i>	<i>dí²hioh³</i>	'grandmother'
(b)	<i>dá¹jon²¹</i>	<i>dá²jaun³²</i>	<i>dá²jaunh³²</i>	'younger brother'
(c)	<i>já¹jmá¹²</i>	<i>já²jma²</i>	<i>já²jmáih²</i>	'godchild'
(d)	<i>jón¹raih²¹</i>	<i>jon³renh²</i>	<i>jon³renh²</i>	'sibling'
(e)	<i>jón²cho¹</i>	<i>jon³chau³²</i>	<i>jon³cháuh³</i>	'descendent'

6.2.1.3 Inalienable Noun Paradigms

The eighteen inalienable noun paradigms are set out in Table 6.8, together with a count of the number of different nouns which follow a given

paradigm (inclusive of monosyllabic and disyllabic nouns), and an example.

Table 6.8 Inalienable Noun Paradigms

Paradigm	No.	Example	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
[b2-c1]	8	<i>hma^ə</i>		<i>hmá²</i>	<i>hmah¹</i>	'excrement'
[b2-c2]	1	<i>ha¹</i>		<i>hán²</i>	<i>hanh²</i>	'clothes'
[b3-b3]	1	<i>diá¹jón^ə</i>		<i>diá¹jón^ə</i>	<i>diá¹jónh^ə</i>	'co-mother' <8>
[c1-c1]	3	<i>juú²co¹</i>		<i>juú²co¹</i>	<i>juú²coh¹</i>	'hometown'
[c2-b2]	3	<i>diá¹jmá¹2</i>		<i>diá²jma²</i>	<i>diá²jmá¹h²</i>	'godmother'
[c2-c2]	14	<i>lio¹</i>		<i>lio²</i>	<i>lioh²</i>	'cargo'
[c3-c3]	3	<i>dí¹hio^ə</i>		<i>dí²hio^ə</i>	<i>dí²hioh^ə</i>	'grandmother'
[b32-b1]	1	<i>jiéh¹</i>		<i>jiéh^ə2</i>	<i>jiéh¹</i>	'larynx'
[b32-c2]	2	<i>cuo²</i>		<i>uón^ə2</i>	<i>cuonh²</i>	'hand'
[b32-b3]	79	<i>cuóu¹ə</i>		<i>cuóu^ə2</i>	<i>cuóuh^ə</i>	'firewood'
[b32-c13]	1	<i>tá²mu¹ə</i>		<i>tá²mú^ə2</i>	<i>tá²muh¹ə</i>	'palate'
[b32-b32]	7	<i>jon²</i>		<i>jón^ə2</i>	<i>jónh^ə2</i>	'child'
[c32-b1]	8	<i>ján¹</i>		<i>jan^ə2</i>	<i>jánh¹</i>	'tooth'
[c32-c1]	2	<i>ho^ə</i>		<i>uen^ə2</i>	<i>honh¹</i>	'mouth'
[c32-b2]	2	<i>mi^əziú¹ə</i>		<i>mi^əzia^ə2</i>	<i>mi^əziúh²</i>	'mother-in-law'
[c32-c2]	4	<i>jméi²</i>		<i>ñuh^ə2</i>	<i>ñeh²</i>	'father'
[c32-b3]	4	<i>cuá¹</i>		<i>cua^ə2</i>	<i>cuáh^ə</i>	'ear'
[c32-c32]	13	<i>hñú¹ə</i>		<i>hñu^ə2</i>	<i>hñuh^ə2</i>	'house'
TOTAL		156				

Five of the 18 paradigms in Table 6.8 are found only with the final syllable of disyllabic nouns: [c2-b2], [b3-b3], [c3-c3], [b32-c13], and [c32-b2], representing 10 of the 56 disyllabic nouns (only partially overlapping with the 10 mentioned in §6.2.1.2 above).

6.2.1.4 The Vocative Form of Inalienable Nouns

Most kinship terms (see <4>) have a vocative (VOC) form; some like *jón^ə* 'child' (VOC) function as the vocative for a variety of kinship terms: not only for *jon²* 'child' (1PL/3 POSS), but also for *cho¹* 'grandchild' (1PL/3 POSS), *ló^ə2* 'daughter-in-law' (1PL/3 POSS), and *ngó¹ə* 'son-in-law' (1PL/3 POSS). Similarly, the terms *reh²* 'relative, peer, companion' and *ñú¹* 'spouse, mate, pal' function as the vocatives for several kinship terms.

The tone-stress of the vocative form does not seem readily derivable from any part of the inalienable noun paradigm, and frequently exhibits vowel modification or suppletion, as illustrated in Table 6.9:

Table 6.9 The Vocative Form of Inalienable Nouns

1PL/3	1SG	2	VOCATIVE	GLOSS
<i>jon</i> ²	<i>jón</i> ^{3,2}	<i>jónh</i> ^{3,2}	<i>jón</i> ³	'child'
<i>diá</i> ¹ <i>jón</i> ³	<i>diá</i> ¹ <i>jón</i> ³	<i>diá</i> ¹ <i>jónh</i> ³	<i>diá</i> ¹ <i>jón</i> ^{3,2}	'co-mother'
<i>rainh</i> ^{2,1}	<i>renh</i> ²	<i>renh</i> ²	<i>reh</i> ²	'relative'
<i>tsá</i> ² <i>co</i> ¹	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>co</i> ¹	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>coh</i> ¹	<i>tsá</i> ² <i>cáu</i> ³	'countryman'
<i>jméi</i> ²	<i>ñuh</i> ^{3,2}	<i>ñeh</i> ²	<i>tia</i> ^{2,1}	'father'
<i>dí</i> ¹ <i>hio</i> ³	<i>dí</i> ² <i>hio</i> ³	<i>dí</i> ² <i>hioh</i> ³	<i>mí</i> ¹ <i>hionh</i> ^{1,3}	'grandmother'
<i>diá</i> ¹ <i>jmá</i> ^{1,2}	<i>diá</i> ² <i>jma</i> ²	<i>diá</i> ² <i>jmá</i> ^{1,2}	<i>dion</i> ^{2,1}	'godmother'
<i>mí</i> ¹ <i>ziú</i> ^{1,3}	<i>mí</i> ² <i>zia</i> ^{3,2}	<i>mí</i> ² <i>ziúh</i> ²	<i>mí</i> ¹	'mother'
<i>mí</i> ³ <i>ziú</i> ^{1,3}	<i>mí</i> ³ <i>zia</i> ^{3,2}	<i>mí</i> ³ <i>ziúh</i> ²	<i>ma</i> ³	'mother-in-law'

Of the nine vocatives illustrated in Table 6.9, only the first four bear a reasonably close resemblance to the corresponding non-vocative forms. Undoubtedly, the vocative forms are part of the inalienable noun paradigm; however, because of the frequent unpredictability of the vocative form, and the fact that the vocative is relevant only to the kinship terms among the inalienable nouns, I feel it is more practical to avoid complicating the inalienable noun paradigm further, and to treat the vocative as a distinct (but related) lexeme.

The inalienable noun *tsá*²*co*¹ 'countryman, fellow citizen' (1PL/3) has the vocative form *tsá*²*cáu*³; the related form *juú*²*co*¹ 'home-town' (1PL/3), a term which one would not normally think of having a vocative term, has the form *juú*²*cáu*³ which, based on the parallel structure of *tsá*²*cáu*³, can only be a vocative form. I have never heard *juú*²*cáu*³ used vocatively (§6.1.1.7); however, it is frequently used with an affectionate connotation for the 1PL INCL: *juú*²*cáu*³ 'our (INCL) home-town'.

6.2.1.5 Inalienable Nouns which have Alienable Counterparts

Some nouns, principally kinship terms, are exclusively inalienable. Other nouns have both alienable and inalienable counterparts; 93 such nouns occur in my data. Of these nouns, some are more commonly used in the alienable form, and others more commonly in the inalienable form. When there is a choice available between inalienable and alienable counterparts, the inalienable form denotes a closer association between possessor and possessum than when

the alienable form is used in a possessive construction. For example:

- (107)(a) *hñu*³² *jná*¹³ (b) *hñú*³ *quion*²¹ *jná*¹³
 house^{1SG I} 'my home' house have^{STI}^{1SG I} 'my house'

None of the nouns in this group are kinship terms; all kinship terms have only inalienable forms. Nouns which have both inalienable and alienable forms refer to entities which are (i) associated with human usage (e.g. *hñú*³ 'house', *chá¹háu*² 'chicken'); or (ii) express a source-product relationship, such as *jáí*¹³ 'word, message' and bodily excretions (human or animal); for example, *háí*² 'excrement', *hmu*³ 'mucus'; or (iii) express a part-whole relationship (e.g. *mu*² 'leaf' and *mú*³² 'bone'). Not all nouns of the three aforementioned categories necessarily have both alienable and inalienable counterparts; for example, *tú*² 'turkey' of group (i) has only an alienable form despite being a common domesticated animal like *chá¹háu*² 'chicken' mentioned above. Similarly, *mí²cho*¹ 'sweat' of group (ii) has only an alienable form, whereas *cuo*² 'hand' (1PL/3 POSS) of group (iii) has only an inalienable form.

Although the alienable and inalienable counterparts of a given noun generally bear greater similarities to each other than vocatives do to their non-vocative counterparts (§6.2.1.4), there is no obvious derivational relationship between them, as illustrated in Table 6.10:

Table 6.10 Inalienable and Alienable Noun Counterparts

....INALIENABLE FORMS....			ALIENABLE	GLOSS
1PL/3	1SG	2	FORMS	
<i>hmú</i> ¹³	<i>hmú</i> ³²	<i>hmúh</i> ³	<i>hmu</i> ³	'mucus'
<i>jáí</i> ¹³	<i>jáí</i> ³²	<i>jáíh</i> ³	<i>jáí</i> ³	'tunic'
<i>jñú</i> ¹³	<i>jñú</i> ³²	<i>jñúh</i> ³	<i>jñu</i> ²	'hair'
<i>quéí</i> ¹³	<i>quéí</i> ³²	<i>quéíh</i> ³	<i>queí</i> ²	'cage'
<i>náu</i> ¹³	<i>náu</i> ³²	<i>náuh</i> ³	<i>no</i> ¹	'grease, fat'
<i>hiá</i> ¹³	<i>hiá</i> ³²	<i>hiáh</i> ³	<i>hia</i> ³²	'jug'
<i>hué</i> ¹³	<i>hué</i> ³²	<i>huéh</i> ³	<i>hué</i> ³²	'land'
<i>háu</i> ¹³	<i>háu</i> ³²	<i>háuh</i> ³	<i>háu</i> ¹³	'pants'
<i>jéin</i> ¹³	<i>jéin</i> ³²	<i>jéinh</i> ³	<i>jen</i> ³	'bed'
<i>uón</i> ¹³	<i>uón</i> ³²	<i>uónh</i> ³	<i>uon</i> ²	'dish'
<i>hma</i> ³	<i>hma</i> ²	<i>hmah</i> ¹	<i>háí</i> ²	'excrement'
<i>cho</i> ³	<i>cho</i> ²	<i>choh</i> ²	<i>cháú</i> ²	'cuttings'
<i>jě</i> ¹	<i>jě</i> ²	<i>jěh</i> ²	<i>jáí</i> ¹³	'word'
<i>quéí</i> ¹³	<i>quéí</i> ³²	<i>quéíh</i> ³	<i>qué</i> ³	'money'

In the upper portion of Table 6.10, I have illustrated eight inalienable nouns that share a tone-stress paradigm identical in all three parts, but the alienable counterparts exhibit eight different tone-stresses.

In the lower portion of Table 6.10, vowel differences between inalienable and alienable forms are illustrated. If an alienable noun is regarded as deriving from its inalienable counterpart, the forms for 'bed' and 'dish' illustrate vowel deletion, the form for 'excrement' illustrates vowel insertion, the forms for 'cuttings' and 'word' illustrate vowel modification, and the form for 'money' illustrates metathesis. Nor is the process of derivation any clearer if inalienable nouns are regarded as deriving from their alienable counterpart.

As with the vocatives discussed above, there is no apparent rule for deriving either the tone-stress or the nucleus of an alienable noun from the inalienable counterpart (or vice versa).

6.2.1.6 The Possessor Noun Phrase

When possession is expressed, the Possessor Noun Phrase is optional; however, it usually occurs, especially for first and second-persons. In other Chinantec languages, the reverse appears to be true. In Lealao Chinantec, the occurrence of a noun or pronoun possessor evidently provides a component of contrastiveness; that is, 'mine' in contrast with 'yours'.^{<10>} No such contrastive force is felt in Sochiapan Chinantec, where the Possessor NP is omitted only when the context leaves no doubt as to the possessor. Omission of the possessor NP is marked by \emptyset in the following two examples:

(108)(a) *Cúh*¹ *chính*³² *nú*^{2?}
 ?^hurt^II^PRES head^2 you^SG
 'Does your head hurt?'

(b) *Ján*³, *jlánh*¹ *cuh*² *chin*³² \emptyset .
 Yes really hurt^II^PRES head^1SG (I)
 'Yes, my head really hurts.'

(109) *Híé*¹ *náh*² *jónh*³² \emptyset !
 teach^TI^IMP you^PL child^2 (you^PL)
 'Teach your child(ren)! (imperative)'

In general, contrastiveness and/or focus is accomplished by (i) replacing the personal pronoun with a reflexive pronoun (§6.1.1.9.2), (ii) placing a

personal pronoun in apposition with a reflexive pronoun (§6.1.1.9.2), (iii) moving the NP to a preverbal position (§12.2.1), (iv) the use of illocutionary particles (§12.2.2), or by any combination thereof. The presence or absence of a third-person possessor has special implications, which are discussed below; see (119) and (120).

When the possessor is first or second-person, the head of the possessor NP must be one of the personal pronouns, as in (110), or a reflexive pronoun, as in (111) and (112).

(110) *mí²ziá³ jná¹*
 mother¹SG I
 'my mother'

(111) *cáun² hí³ cháunh² chin³ huén²*
 one¹IN thing find¹TI¹PRES³ head¹SG myself
 'something that I think of myself' (lit. 'something that my own head finds')

(112) *cun³quionh³ mí¹ñí¹ hmóu³ jnoh¹*
 with eye¹LPL ourselves we
 'with our own eyes'

If the possessor is third-person, potentially any NP may occur. A few examples are:

(113) *ho³ tsú²*
 mouth³ 3
 'her/his mouth'

(114) *ho³ tsá² má² jliáh¹ hí³ ján¹*
 mouth³ person PRF be¹broken¹SII that¹AN tooth³
 'the mouth of that person who has a broken tooth'

(115) *jméi² tsá² hí³*
 father³ person that¹AN
 'that person's father'

(116) *rainh² tsá² ngau³ hí³ Cua³tá³*
 sibling person go¹non¹home¹IA¹PAST³ that¹AN Cuicatlán
 'the sibling of that person who went to Cuicatlán'

A possessive NP may itself function as the possessor in a larger possessive NP. Of the two possessive constructions, (117a) and (117b), the latter can function as the possessor of *ho³* 'mouth' of the former; see (118):

(117)(a) *ho³ tsú²*
 mouth³ 3
 'her/his mouth'

(b) *hén¹ tsú²*
 stomach³ 3
 'her/his stomach'

- (118) POSS_NP[POSS_NP[]]
 *ho*³ *héin*¹ *tsú*²
 mouth³ stomach³ 3
 ‘entrance to her/his stomach’ (lit. ‘the mouth of the stomach of
 her/him’); i.e. where the oesophagus joins the stomach)

The presence or absence of a third-person possessor has special implications. If the third-person pronoun *tsú*² ‘s/he’ occurs, then subject and possessor are not co-referential; for example:

- (119) *Ca*³-*quieh*³ *tsú*² *ta*³ *tsú*².
 PAST-cut^{TI}³ 3 leg³ 3
 ‘S/he_i cut her/his_j leg.’

If, however, the third-person subject and possessor are co-referential, there are two possible constructions. The most common construction involves omission of the pronoun *tsú*² ‘s/he’; for example:

- (120) *Ca*³-*quieh*³ *tsú*² *ta*³.
 PAST-cut^{TI}³ 3 leg³
 ‘S/he_i cut (her/his_j) leg.’

The other possibility is to mark the possessor by the appropriate third-person reflexive pronoun *hngá*² ‘himself/herself’ or *hmóu*^{3,2} ‘themselves’ (§6.1.1.9.2); for example:

- (121) *Ca*³-*quieh*³ *tsú*² *ta*³ *hngá*².
 PAST-cut^{TI}³ 3 leg³ herself/himself
 ‘S/he_i cut the leg (of) herself/himself_i.’

6.2.2 Possession of Alienable Nouns

If the head of the NP is an alienable noun then it is optionally followed by the modifier, deictic, and relative clause constituents.

One of the more frequent relative clauses to occur expresses an owner-item, benefactor-award, source-product, or part-whole relationship. Since its predominant use is to express possession of alienable nouns (owner-item), I refer to it as the ‘possessor relative clause’. The structure and function of the possessor relative clause is discussed further in §6.2.2.2 below. First, however, I need to establish the verbal status of the possessive words *quih*^{2,1} and *joh*¹, and then demonstrate that the structure in which they function is a type of relative clause.

6.2.2.1 The Possessive Verbs *quioh*²¹ and *joh*¹

The functional equivalents to the possessive words *quioh*²¹ (IN) and *joh*¹ (AN) in Quiotepec Chinantec are called 'possessive pronouns' by Robbins (1968:68-74), and in Palantla Chinantec they are called 'allocational pronouns' by Merrifield (1968:62-63). Anderson (1989:62-65) describing Comaltepec Chinantec, and Rupp (1989:68-73) describing Lealao Chinantec, call them 'allocational nouns'. In Sochiapan Chinantec, however, these words are syntactically parallel to transitive state verbs. I will present two arguments as to their verbal status.

(i) There are several transitive state verbs which are structurally parallel, each expressing the state or orientation of the possessed item (singular or mass):

- (122)(a) *Rauh*³² *tsá² ní² cáum² tiú³.*
 possess^{^flat}^STI^{^3} person that one^{^IN} gun
 'That person owns a gun.' (the gun is in a horizontal position)
- (b) *Zéih*³² *tsú² cáum² tsú¹liáh².*
 possess^{^upright}^STI^{^3} 3 one^{^IN} water^{^jar}
 'S/he owns a (clay) water jar.' (the jar is standing upright)
- (c) *Cheih*²¹ *tsú² cáum² hmá² ní²jmu³ bíh¹.*
 possess^{^planted}^STI^{^3} 3 one^{^IN} tree lemon AFF
 'S/he owns a lemon tree.' (planted)
- (d) *Jnauh*²¹ *tsá² ní² já¹jáu² piéh¹.*
 possess^{^field}^STI^{^3} person that cabbage globe
 'That person owns a field of head-cabbage.'
- (e) *Háih*³² *Sé³² hliám³ no¹.*
 possess^{^mass}^STI^{^3} Joseph much^{^IN} lard
 'Joseph has a lot of lard (rendered pig fat).'
 ('possess' a container full of liquid (e.g. lard) or small/granular items (e.g. salt), or items within a confined area (e.g. field of maize)).
- (f) *Tiauh*²¹ *tsá² ní² hliám³ cuú².*
 possess^{^mass}^STI^{^3} person that much^{^IN} maize
 'That person has a lot of maize.' (items within a confined area, e.g. a corn-crib full of maize)

And there is one possessive verb which denotes that the object is a plural count noun; the orientation is non-specific:

- (g) *Níoh*³² *tsá² ní² hliám³ mí¹ñí².*
 possess^{^PL}^STI^{^3} person that many^{^IN} metal
 'That person owns many tools.'

The possessive words under consideration, *quioh*²¹ and *joh*¹, are able to function predicatively like the possessive state verbs illustrated above. Both may be glossed as 'have, possess, own, acquire, get, gain, use' depending on context; however, for consistency I supply 'have' as the literal interlinear gloss. Note first the comparison of the inanimate verbs *raunh*³² 'possess' (horizontal orientation) and *quioh*²¹ 'have' in interrogative sentences:

- (123)(a) *Hin*² *raunh*³² *si*² *lá*²?
 which^{AN?} possess^{flat}STI³ book this
 'Who owns this book (lying here)?'
- (b) *Hin*² *quioh*²¹ *si*² *lá*²?
 which^{AN?} have^{STI}3 book this
 'Who owns this book?'

Similarly, in declarative sentences:

- (124)(a) *Raunh*³² *yeh*³ *Hu*²¹ *bih*¹ *si*² *ni*².
 possess^{flat}STI³ elder Raymond AFF book that
 'Old man Raymond owns that book (lying there).'
- (b) *Quioh*²¹ *yeh*³ *Hu*²¹ *bih*¹ *si*² *ni*².
 have^{STI}3 elder Raymond AFF book that
 'Old man Raymond owns that book.'

Both *quioh*²¹ 'have' (IN) and *joh*¹ 'have' (AN) may have as their object a count noun:

- (125) *Quioh*²¹ *tsá*² *ni*² *bih*¹ *si*² *cuíh*³² *lá*².
 have^{STI}3 person that AFF flashlight this
 'That person owns this/these flashlight(s).'
- (126) *Joh*¹ *Pé*¹ *bih*¹ *tsa*³ *cuá*¹ *ó*³².
 have^{STA}3 Peter AFF horse yonder
 'Peter owns the horse(s) over there.'

And *quioh*²¹ may have as its object a mass noun:

- (127) *Quioh*²¹ *Pé*¹ *bih*¹ *zá*¹ *lá*².
 have^{STI}3 Peter AFF sand this
 'Peter owns this sand.'

(ii) The second reason for regarding the possessive words *quioh*²¹ and *joh*¹ as state verbs is the parallelism of their paradigms with those of other state verbs.

The paradigm of the inanimate possessive word *quioh*²¹ exhibits a four-way distinction, parallel to the maximum distinction found in transitive state verbs (§4.4); for example:

(128)	1SG	1PL	2	3	GLOSS
	<i>ño¹</i>	<i>né¹</i>	<i>ñih¹</i>	<i>ñi³²</i>	'know' (STI)
	<i>hnó³²</i>	<i>hnáu²</i>	<i>hnáuh²</i>	<i>hnió³</i>	'want' (STI)
	<i>quion²¹</i>	<i>quiú¹³</i>	<i>quián¹³</i>	<i>quioh²¹</i>	'have' (STI)

The animate possessive word *joh¹* exhibits a two-way distinction, as found in some other transitive state verbs:

(129)	1SG	1PL	2	3	GLOSS
	<i>tín²</i>	<i>tái²</i>	<i>tín²</i>	<i>tín²</i>	'be able' (STI)
	<i>hno³</i>	<i>hno³</i>	<i>hno³</i>	<i>hnio³</i>	'want' (STA)
	<i>joh²</i>	<i>joh²</i>	<i>joh²</i>	<i>joh¹</i>	'possess' (STA)

The paradigm of inalienable nouns, however, exhibit a maximum of a three-way tone-stress distinction; 1PL and third-person are always identical:

(130)	1PL/3	1SG	2	GLOSS
	<i>cuá¹</i>	<i>cua³²</i>	<i>cuáh³</i>	'ear'

Some inalienable nouns exhibit only a two-way tone-stress distinction; however, none of these exhibit a distinction between third-person and 1PL as is exhibited by the possessive words *joh¹* and *quioh²¹*.

This lack of parallelism between the paradigm of the possessive words *quioh²¹* and *joh¹* and the paradigm of inalienable nouns makes it unlikely that they are some kind of inalienable (allocational) noun.

In a similar fashion, personal pronouns distinguish among five persons: 1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 2PL, and 3 (Table 6.2); and reflexive pronouns distinguish among three persons: 1SG/2SG, 3SG, 1PL/2PL/3PL (Table 6.3). The persons distinguished by pronouns do not bear any resemblance to the persons distinguished in the paradigms of the possessive words; consequently I consider it unlikely that the possessive words are some kind of pronoun.

The last possibility to consider is that the possessive words *quioh²¹* and *joh¹* are possessive adjectives. These two words are indexed for the animacy of their referent, but so are most adjectives and verbs, so there is nothing diagnostic in this feature alone. However, the possessive words are marked for the animacy of the entity possessed as well as the person of the possessor in a manner parallel to the ergative pattern of transitive verbs (§8.1.3). There seems then little basis for regarding the possessive words as possessive adjectives.

In conclusion, based on the ability of the possessive words to function predicatively, the similarity of their paradigms to that of transitive state verbs, and their ergative pattern of agreement, I have classified them as state verbs.

As mentioned above, I generally supply the interlinear gloss 'have' for the possessive verbs. I have chosen the gloss 'have' principally because 'have' seems best able to represent the ambiguity between 'ownership' and 'right-of-use' that occasionally arises; for example:

- (131) *Jinh¹ ngau³ sɨ²cuɬh³² quion²¹ jná^{13?}*
 where? go^{non} home^{II} PAST flashlight have^{STI} 1SG I
 'Where has my flashlight gone?'

The meaning of (131) may be (i) the flashlight I own, or (ii) the flashlight I have borrowed from someone else and am currently using.

An example with the animate possessive verb *joh¹* is:

- (132) *Jlánh¹ uɨ³ hí¹-ngɨ³² lo¹ joh² nú² ñú¹.*
 really unwillingly NOT-walk^{IA} PRES^{3SG} mule have^{STA} 2 you^{SG} friend
 'Your mule is walking along most unwillingly, mate.'

In (132), the mule may either belong to the user, or may be borrowed.

Lyons (1968:392) remarks that:

Relatively few languages exhibit what we may call '*have*-sentences':
 i.e. possessive sentences in which the 'possessor' is the surface-
 structure subject of a verb '*to have*' and the 'possessed object'
 the surface-structure object of this verb.

In this respect, then, Sochiapan Chinantec is of typological interest.

The following section shows how the verbs *quion²¹* and *joh²* function within a relative clause construction to indicate the possessor of alienable nouns.

6.2.2.2 The Possessor Relative Clause

Possession of an alienable noun is expressed by means of a relative clause (hereafter 'possessor relative clause'). The structure and characteristics of relative clauses in general is discussed in §9.1. In this section I will briefly summarise those features of relative clauses that are pertinent to

describing the possessor relative clause.

Relative clauses are optionally introduced by the complementiser (COMP) *hi*³ 'that, which'. In (133b) below, for example, the complementiser is not obligatory for the relative clause to be grammatical:

- (133) (a) *Zia*³² *táu*² *jmí*¹ *ñíhiú*².
 exist^{SII} banana time spring
 'There are bananas in spring.'
- (b) *táu*² (*hi*³) *zia*³² *jmí*¹ *ñíhiú*²
 banana (COMP) exist^{SII} time spring
 'the bananas that are available in spring'

The presence of the complementiser *hi*³ is conditioned by various factors; for example: all relative clauses contiguously following *tsá*² 'person' lack *hi*³, whereas relative clauses which are separated from the head (or domain) noun by an adjective are usually introduced by *hi*³. The possessor relative clause usually lacks *hi*³, however, occasionally *hi*³ does occur; for example:

- (134) *Cuá*¹⁻ *quiaum*² *nú*² *jen*³ *hi*³ *quion*²¹ *jnë*¹³.
 ANDT^{FUT}-bring^{TI}² you^{SG} bed COMP have^{STI}^{1SG} I
 'Go and bring my bed (lit. 'the bed that I have/own').'
- (135) *Juo*¹³ *dí*² *lí*¹ *lí*²-*cué*³² *hña*³*láu*³ *héih*³²
 boss^{1PL} we^{INCL} NON HOD-give^{TI}³ one^{hundred} measure
*quie*³ *hi*³ *quiú*¹³.
 money COMP have^{STI}^{1PL}
 'Our boss just gave one hundred pesos to us (lit. 'that we have/acquire').' <11>

If an item has two possessors, the complementiser is optional (and usually absent) from the first possessor relative clause, but the second one is usually introduced by *hi*³, for example:

- (136) *Jné*¹³ *bíh*¹ *quion*¹ *má*³² *quioh*²¹ *Sé*³²
 I AFF bring^{STI}^{1SG} food have^{STI}³ Joseph
*jí*³ *hi*³ *quioh*²¹ *Quiu*²¹ *ní*² *siáh*³.
 and COMP have^{STI}³ Francis too also.
 'I have brought Joseph and Francisco's food.' (lit. 'I am bringing food (that) J. has/acquires and that F. has/acquires too.')

When any of the verb phrase adverbs (§5) precedes the verb of the possessive relative clause, the complementiser *hi*³ optionally occurs:

- (137) *mu*² (*hi*³) *jmí*¹ *quioh*²¹ *jáun*² *Sí*¹*mu*²¹
 boat COMP TRM have^{STI}³ that^{IN} Simon
 'the boat that Simon once had'

The above examples of the occurrence of the complementiser *hi*³ with the possessive verbs, although uncommon, demonstrate the validity of treating the possessive construction as a type of relative clause.

The unmarked order of post-NP head constituents is: (Modifier) (Deictic) (Relative Clause)¹²; see Figure 6.1. The deictic constituent can only occur following the modifier constituent. However, the order of the deictic and relative clause constituents is not fixed. When the head of the NP is modified by a relative clause, the deictic (that is, the determiner of the domain noun) usually occurs within the relative clause, as in (138b); however, the deictic may optionally precede the relative clause, as in (138c), or follow it. See §9.1.1.1 for further details.

- (138)(a) *Rón*³² *tsá*² *hi*³ *ñi*¹ *jám*².
 lie^{^SIA^3} person that^{^AN} place that^{^IN}
 'That person is lying there (the aforementioned place).'
- (b) *tsá*² *rón*³² *hi*³ *ñi*¹ *jám*²
 person lie^{^SIA^3} that^{^AN} place that^{^IN}
 'that person lying there'
- (c) *tsá*² *hi*³ *hi*³ *rón*³² *ñi*¹ *jám*²
 person that^{^AN} COMP lie^{^SIA^3} place that^{^IN}
 'that person who is lying there'

Similarly, the deictic can occur within the possessor relative clause, as in (139b), or the deictic can precede the possessor relative clause, as in (139c):

- (139)(a) *Joh*¹ *Tié*³ *bih*¹ *tša*³*cuá*¹ *hi*³.
 have^{^STA^3} Stephen AFF horse that^{^AN}
 'Stephen owns that horse (mentioned earlier).'
- (b) *tša*³*cuá*¹ *joh*¹ *hi*³ *Tié*³
 horse have^{^STA^3} that^{^AN} Stephen
 'the aforementioned horse (that) Stephen owns'
- (c) *tša*³*cuá*¹ *hi*³ *joh*¹ *Tié*³
 horse that^{^AN} have^{^STA^3} Stephen
 'the aforementioned horse (that) Stephen owns'

There is no appreciable difference in meaning between (138b) and (138c), nor between (139b) and (139c).

The deictic tends to precede the possessor relative clause, as in (139c), whereas it tends to occur within other relative clauses, as in (138b).

A sentential example of the possession of an inanimate alienable noun is:

- (140) *Ca³- lau²* *tsú² mí¹táí³ yeh³ jáun²*
 PAST-buy²second³hand³TI³ 3 machete old that³IN

quion²¹ *jnë¹³.*
 have³STI¹¹SG I
 'He bought that old machete of mine.'

Ellipsis of the subject of the possessive relative clause normally takes place if the subject is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. For example:

- (141) *Quion¹* *jnë¹³ ñí¹jáun² quion²¹.*
 bring³STI¹¹SG I blanket have³STI¹¹SG
 'I brought my blanket.'

 (142) *Ca³- quien³* *tsú² tun³² quioh²¹.*
 PAST-play³TI³ 3 guitar have³STI³ 3
 'He played his guitar.'

Occasionally, ellipsis of the subject occurs if the subjects of the main and relative clause are not coreferential, and at least one subject is non-third-person. For example:

- (143) *Ca³- háin³* *tsú² quie³ quion²¹* (*jnë¹³*).
 PAST-steal³TI³ 3 money have³STI¹¹SG I
 'S/he stole my money.'

When both the main and the relative clause have third-person subjects, and the subjects are not coreferential, the subject of the relative clause is always present. For example:

- (144) *Ca³- quien³* *tsú² tun³² quioh²¹* *tsú².*
 PAST-play³TI³ 3 guitar have³STI³ 3
 'S/he played her/his guitar.' (someone else's)

For emphasis, a third-person reflexive pronoun may be used as subject of the possessor relative clause:

- (145) *Ca³- quien³* *tsú² tun³² quioh²¹* *hngá².*
 PAST-play³TI³ 3 guitar have³STI³ herself/himself
 'S/he played her/his own guitar.'

It is also possible for the third-person proximate pronoun *dí²* (§6.1.1.9.1.6.1) to occur as subject of the possessor relative clause to mark continuation of the same third-person participant.

6.2.2.3 Other Uses of the Possessive Verb *quioh*²¹

Although the predominant use of the possessive verb *quioh*²¹ is to express possession of an inanimate entity, the verb has several other major uses and two minor uses which are described below.

(i) Other major uses of *quioh*²¹:

Within the context of a relative clause (§9.1) *quioh*²¹ can also express source-product and part-whole relationships, and benefaction. Within the context of a complement clause (§9.2), *quioh*²¹ conveys 'partial-affectedness'. These uses are illustrated in turn below:

(a) Source-product relationship:

- (146) *Qui*² *zih*³² *sí*² *quioh*²¹ *mih*³².
 PREV[^]PRES stand[^]II[^]PRES fire have[^]STI[^]3 thunder
 'There is one stroke after another of lightning.' (lit. 'The thunder's fire is striking repeatedly.')(12)

- (147) *Jná*¹³ *hnó*³² *jmaih*²¹ *quioh*²¹ *cá'háu*².
 I want[^]STI[^]1SG broth have[^]STI[^]3 chicken
 'I want (to eat) chicken soup.' (lit. 'I want (to eat) (the) chicken's broth/juice.')

(b) Part-whole relationship:

- (148) *Tiá*¹ *quiánh*¹ *nú*² *llave quioh*²¹ *mí*^{3to} *lá*^{2?}
 ?[^]not bring[^]STI[^]2 you[^]SG key have[^]STI[^]3 padlock this
 'Didn't you bring this padlock's key?'

(c) Benefaction:

- (149) *Tiá*¹ *jmóh*¹ *ca*^{3lá} *mí*³ *quion*²¹ *jnë*^{13?}
 ?[^]not make[^]TI[^]FUT[^]2 some medicine have[^]STI[^]1SG I
 'Won't you treat me with some medicine?' (lit. 'Won't you make (up) some medicine (that) I can have.')

(d) Partial affectedness:

If an animate entity is completely affected, the verb is marked to agree in animacy with its object (§4.1.8.5). In (150) below, for example, the speaker wishes to eat a whole fried chicken:

- (150) *Jlánh*¹ *ñí*^{1-cumh} *jnë*¹³ *jan*² *cá'há*²⁻ *siúnh*¹.
 really INT-eat[^]TA[^]1SG I one[^]AN chicken-fried[^]AN
 'I really want to eat a fried chicken.'

If a person desires only a portion of chicken, however, the verb 'want' is inflected for an inanimate object, and the inanimate possessive verb occurs

in a complement clause:

- (151) *Jlánh¹ hí¹-cuh²¹ jná¹³ quioh²¹ cá¹há²- sính¹.*
 really INT-eat^{TI}1SG I have^{STI}3 chicken-fried
 'I want (to eat) some fried chicken.'

The construction illustrated in (151) is an example of the antipassive; see §8.1.6.

(ii) Other minor uses of *quioh²¹* 'have' are:

(a) The borrowed word *há²mei²¹* 'friend' (Sp. *amigo*) is usually treated as an alienable inanimate noun when possessed:

- (152) *há²mei²¹ quion²¹ jná¹³*
 friend have^{STI}1SG I
 'my friend'

(b) The 1PL form *quiú¹³* can express an indirect reference to the speaker:

- (153) *Cués¹ tiá³ hí³ ní² quiú¹³.*
 give^{DI}IMP2>1 SUPL thing that have^{STI}1PL
 'Please give that thing to me (lit. 'us').'

6.3 The Noun Phrase Modifier

The modifier constituent of the NP immediately follows the NP head, but it may occur only if the NP head is an alienable noun. For example, (154a) is grammatical, but (154b) is not (the modifier is *yeh³* 'old'):

- (154)(a) *hñú³ yeh³ jáum² quion²¹ jná¹³*
 house old^{IN} that^{IN} have^{STI}1SG I
 'that old house of mine'
- (b) **hñú³² jná¹³ yeh³ jáum²*
 house^{1SG} I old^{IN} that^{IN}
 'that old home of mine/my old home'

Moving the modifier *yeh³* 'old' to any other position in (154b) fails to produce a grammatical NP; deleting *yeh³*, however, results in a grammatical NP 'that home of mine'.

Only descriptive adjectives may function within the adjective phrase as the modifier constituent; the evaluative adjectives *uí¹* 'desirable, pleasant, useful' and *hná¹* 'undesirable, despicable' occur before the head (§6.6).

The issue as to whether Sochiapan Chinantec has a syntactic class called 'adjectives' as distinct from state verbs is discussed in §4.5.

The structure of the NP modifier is set out in Figure 6.3, where *n* stands for any number, including 0:

Figure 6.3 The Noun Phrase Modifier
 MODIFIER → (ADJECTIVE)ⁿ ADJECTIVE PHRASE

A non-final adjective must be simple or compound; the final adjective can become the head of an adjective phrase with up to three optional qualifiers; see §6.3.5.

Theoretically there is no limit as to the number of adjectives that may occur following an alienable noun; this is discussed further in §6.3.3.

Examples of adjective strings are:

(155) *tsáí² tiáun² jh¹³ juoh²*
 dog white^{AN} skinny lazy
 'a skinny, lazy, white dog'

(156) *mí¹jlá² pih²¹ tiéi²*
 knife small skinny^{IN}
 'a small skinny knife'

Adjectives agree with their head as to animacy, and in a limited fashion they agree in number. These parameters are discussed here in turn.

6.3.1 Agreement as to Animacy

If the nucleus of the inanimate adjective is oral, the form of most animate adjectives is derived by nasalisation of the nucleus; for example:

(157) *liáh² (IN) → liánh² (AN)* 'black'

cuo² (IN) → cuon² (AN) 'long'

Some adjectives undergo tone-stress modification as well as nasalisation of the vowel to produce the animate form; for example:

(158) *pa²¹ (IN) → pan¹ (AN)* 'large' (SG)

juá¹³ (IN) → juan² (AN) 'grey'

Examples of adjectives modifying animate and inanimate nouns respectively are:

(159) *Tiá² hí¹-hí¹tsín²¹ jná¹³ tsa³cuá¹ jlính¹ n¹².*
 not INT-mount^{TA}1SG I horse wet^{AN} that
 'I don't want to mount that wet horse.'

- (160) *Tiá² rǎ² cau³² cuo¹ jli^{h21}.*
 not well burn^{II}PRES firewood wet^{IN}
 'Wet firewood does not burn well.'

There are several adjectives that have only nasalised forms, which are then identical for both inanimate and animate; for example, *dáin³* 'red' and *hnaⁱ²¹* 'new'.

There are also a few adjectives with an oral nucleus, such as *pih²¹* 'small', that retain the same form regardless of the animacy of the head noun. <13> For example:

- (161)(a) *jan² lo¹ pih²¹*
 one^{AN} mule small
 'a small mule/burro'
- (b) *cám² tse³ pih²¹*
 one^{AN} jar small
 'a small (earthenware) jar'

6.3.2 Agreement as to Number

There is only one adjective, *pa²¹* 'big', that marks plurality as well as animateness, yielding four different forms. The plural forms are suppletive with respect to their singular counterparts:

- (162) *pa²¹* (IN, SG) *pan¹* (AN, SG) 'big'
cáh¹ (IN, PL) *cánh¹* (AN, PL) 'big'

Examples of the four forms for 'big' are:

- (163)(a) *cám² hǎ² pa²¹* (b) *jan² no² pan¹*
 one^{IN} tree big^{IN}SG one^{AN} rat big^{AN}SG
 'a big tree' 'a big rat'
- (c) *tun³ hǎ² cáh¹* (d) *gon³ no² cánh¹*
 two^{IN} tree big^{IN}PL two^{AN} rat big^{AN}PL
 'two big trees' 'two big rats'

6.3.3 Ordering of Adjectives

Theoretically, there is no limit as to the number of adjectives which can occur within the modifier constituent following an alienable noun. Working with a group of three native speakers, long strings of adjectives were uniformly considered grammatical. Similar results were achieved regardless of the animacy of the NP head. In practice, however, it is uncommon to find more than one adjective following the NP head, and rare to find more than

two; apposition (§9.1.1.3) being used to further restrict/modify the referent.

There is relative ordering of the adjectives. By making up strings of several semantically compatible adjectives and testing them with the aforementioned consultants, the preferred order was established. Adjectives were ranked until about thirty positions had been established; the exercise could have been carried on until all known adjectives were exhausted, but I felt that the information gained was sufficient for determining that adjectival ranking exists.

To me, one of the most fascinating parts of the exercise was to get the unsolicited comment as to how the consultants felt about the adjective-ranking exercise. Marcelino¹⁴ observed that, when attempting to rank a new adjective [A] among those already ranked, it was easy to quickly skip by those adjectives where [A] fell more to the right. However, upon finding the approximate rank for [A], it became ambivalent as to whether [A] preceded or followed a particular adjective [P]. It became apparent that adjectives of adjacent ranking can generally interchange positions, so that [O] and [P] can interchange, [P] and [Q] can interchange, etc. However, if [O] and [Q] are interchanged the construction feels awkward, and if [O] and [R] are interchanged, the construction is no longer grammatical. Between them, the three men quickly worked out that if a given adjective [P] could shift one or two places to the left, but the new adjective could not shift that far to the left, then [A] must occupy a lower (more rightward) rank than [P].

In establishing the rank of various adjectives, some occupy the same semantic domain, such as COLOURS and SIZE. Each such cover term is described following the list of adjectives. The higher the number assigned to an adjective, the further to the right it lies.

The ranking that has been established for adjectives which modify inanimate nouns is set out in Table 6.11:

Table 6.11 Ranking of Inanimate Adjectives

1. SIZE	2. <i>tiúnh</i> ¹ 'cut-off'	3. <i>yeh</i> ³ 'antique'
4. COLOURS	5. <i>zah</i> ¹ 'rough'	6. VOLUME
7. <i>teh</i> ² 'sunken'	8. AGE	9. <i>zenh</i> ² 'tattered'
10. <i>tiéi</i> ² 'skinny'	11. <i>uǐh</i> ² 'smooth'	12. <i>chu</i> ²¹ 'good'
13. <i>zúnh</i> ² 'pointed'	14. <i>tsái</i> ² 'narrow'	15. LENGTH
16. <i>jliu</i> ³² 'bent'	17. <i>záih</i> ³ 'thin'	18. <i>huen</i> ³ 'inferior'
19. <i>chú</i> ³² 'good'	20. <i>ǎe</i> ¹ 'tall; deep'	21. <i>jí</i> ² 'clean'
22. <i>taih</i> ²¹ 'useless'	23. <i>pieh</i> ¹ 'fat'	24. <i>pin</i> ³ 'strong'
25. <i>hmih</i> ²¹ 'thick'	26. <i>hmu</i> ³ 'sharp'	27. <i>hú</i> ³ 'wide'
28. <i>quiá</i> ¹ 'dirty'	29. <i>cúnh</i> ¹³ 'short'	30. LEAKY/STAUNCH
31. <i>siáh</i> ³ 'different'		

Of the inanimate adjectives in Table 6.11 that have the same semantic domain, SIZE [1] includes the most general of the adjectives which refer to size, the antonyms *pih*²¹ 'small' and *pa*²¹ 'big'; COLOURS [4] include all the inanimate colour adjectives (see §6.3.4 below); VOLUME [6] includes the (partial) synonyms *jueh*³² 'large' and *jlen*²¹ 'enormous', the first of which has a positive affective connotation, the second being negative; AGE [8] includes the antonyms *hmai*²¹ 'new' and *tseh*¹ 'old, useless'; LENGTH [15] includes the antonyms *cuó*² 'long' and *tí*² 'short' (cf. *cúnh*¹³ 'short' [29], which has a negative connotation); and LEAKY/STAUNCH [30] includes the antonyms *cuo*²³ 'leaky' and *quián*³ 'staunch', both of which refer to the condition of a roof. The semantic difference between *chu*²¹ 'good' [12] and *chú*³² 'good' [19] is discussed following Table 6.12 below, together with their animate counterparts.

The ranking that has been established for adjectives which modify animate nouns is set out in Table 6.12:

Table 6.12 Ranking of Animate Adjectives

1. <i>náí²</i> 'wild'	2. <i>yeh³</i> 'old; aged'	3. <i>bíh³</i> 'brown-eyed'
4. <i>tiéh³</i> 'castrated'	5. <i>hláíh¹</i> 'bad'	6. <i>piéh¹</i> 'chunky'
7. <i>dáín¹</i> 'immature'	8. COLOURS	9. <i>jíh^{1,3}</i> 'skinny'
10. <i>juoh²</i> 'lazy'	11. HEALTH	12. <i>húnh¹</i> 'fat'
13. <i>jlá^{3,2}</i> 'balding'	14. <i>jlién³</i> 'greedy'	15. <i>chun¹</i> 'friendly'
16. <i>pih^{2,1}</i> 'small'	17. <i>cu^{2,1}</i> 'slouched'	18. <i>pin³</i> 'strong'
19. <i>tsá¹</i> 'short'	20. GENDER	21. <i>jlen^{2,1}</i> 'obese'
22. <i>táinh^{2,1}</i> 'slow'	23. <i>pán¹</i> 'big'	24. <i>jlánh¹</i> 'angry'
25. <i>jính¹</i> 'selfish'	26. <i>tan²</i> 'trained'	27. LENGTH
28. <i>huán¹</i> 'subdued'	29. <i>jín²</i> 'moral'	30. <i>quián¹</i> 'dirty'
31. <i>háun¹</i> 'fast'	32. <i>siánh³</i> 'different'	

Of the above animate adjectives that have the same semantic domain, COLOURS [8] include all the animate colour adjectives, (see §6.3.4 below); HEALTH [11] includes the antonyms *tsáun¹* 'sick' and *chun¹* 'well'; GENDER [20] includes the antonyms *huh^{1,3}* 'male' and *mí³* 'female'; and LENGTH [27] includes the antonyms *cuon²* 'long, tall' and *tín²* 'short'.

The adjectives 'moral' [29] and 'dirty' [30] are both able to precede 'angry' [24] so long as none of the intervening adjectives co-occur.

It is interesting to note that *chun¹* 'healthy, well' of [11] and *chun¹* 'friendly' [15] are homonyms; without this classificatory exercise it would have been tempting to lump 'healthy, well' and 'friendly' together as nuances of a single lexeme. Evidently, *chun¹* 'healthy, well' is the animate counterpart of *chu^{2,1}* 'good' (as to condition or function, Table 6.11), and *chun¹* 'friendly' is the animate counterpart of *chú^{3,2}* 'good' (as to quality or nature, Table 6.11). <15>

Comparing the two ranked lists above, it can be seen that although 'SIZE' [1] in Table 6.11 includes the inanimate adjectives *pih^{2,1}* 'small' and *pa^{2,1}* 'big', their animate counterparts *pih^{2,1}* and *pan¹* in Table 6.12 rank as

[16] and [23] respectively.

There appears to be a tendency for 'general' to precede 'specific'; for example, in Table 6.11, SIZE [1] includes the two very general words for 'small' and 'big', which are followed by 'skinny' [10], 'narrow' [14], 'thin' [17], 'fat' [23], 'thick' [25] and 'wide' [27].

There are, as may be expected, semantic restrictions as to which adjectives can co-occur. For example, in Table 6.11, 'rough' [5] and 'smooth' [11] cannot co-occur.

6.3.4 Colour Adjectives

Colour adjectives agree with the NP head as to animateness. Colour adjectives may be simple or compound.

The simple inanimate colour adjectives are as follows:

(164) <i>liáh²</i> 'black'	<i>tiáu²</i> 'white'
<i>dáin³</i> 'red'	<i>mí²niáu³</i> 'yellow'
<i>réh²</i> 'green'	<i>zín¹³</i> 'violet'
<i>sah²</i> 'brown'	<i>saih²</i> 'brownish'
<i>juá¹³</i> 'grey'	<i>hlúnh¹</i> 'pale, pastel'
<i>jua³²</i> 'mottled'	<i>huéh³</i> 'variegated'
<i>juonh²</i> 'faded'	

The basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969, and Comrie 1989:37) appear to be *liáh²* 'black', *tiáu²* 'white', *dáin³* 'red', *mí²niáu³* 'yellow', *réh²* 'green', *zín¹³* 'violet', and *sah²* 'brown'. Historically, the term *zín¹³* 'violet' may have included 'blue', as predicted by the colour hierarchy; however, the Spanish word *azul* has been adopted by Chinantec (see (186) below) for colours that are closer to 'blue'.

Most animate colour adjectives are derived from their inanimate counterparts by nasalisation of the stem, in the same way as other adjectives (§6.3.1); for example:

- (165) IN AN
réh² → *rénh²* 'green'
tiáu² → *tiám²* 'white'
liáh² → *liánh²* 'black'
sah² → *sanh²* 'brown'
huéh³ → *huénh³* 'variegated'

The inanimate colour adjective *juá¹³* 'grey', however, has the animate counterpart *juan²* 'grey'.

Those adjectives which have nasalised forms for the inanimate adjective retain the same form for the animate; for example, *dáin³* 'red', *mi²niáu³* 'yellow' and *zín¹³* 'violet'.

In addition, there are the following colour words borrowed from Spanish, which are neutral as to animacy:

- (166) *há²su²¹* 'blue' (Sp. *azul* 'blue')
chá²fe²¹ 'dark brown' (Sp. *café* 'coffee colour')
ro¹sá¹ 'pink' (Sp. *rosa* 'pink')

The animate forms of the colour adjectives may be used to modify inanimate nouns, in which case the colour denoted is an approximation, such as *liánh²* 'blackish'.

Compounding of two adjectives seems to occur only with the colour adjectives. Whichever colour is the more dominant is placed first in the compound. *Mi²niáu³* 'yellow' has the form *mi²nia³* when it occurs first in a compound, following the constraint on non-final syllables (§2.5.1.2 and §2.5.2.2).

For example:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (167) <i>dáin³ mi²niáu³</i> | <i>mi²nia³-dáin³</i> |
| red yellow | yellow-red |
| 'dark orange' | 'light orange' |

Dáin³ mi²niáu³ 'dark orange' in (167) is not a compound phonologically, but semantically it functions as a compound.

Inanimate compound adjectives are formed by using the inanimate form of the adjective in the first part of the compound and the animate form of the

adjective in the second part. An example of an inanimate compound adjective is:

- (168) *cuo² pih²¹ réh²⁻ tiám²*
 box small green^IN-white^AN
 '(a) small pale-green box'

An animate compound adjective is formed by using the animate forms of the adjectives in both parts of the compound; for example:

- (169) *tsái² huénh³⁻ liánh²*
 dog variegated^AN-black^AN
 'a black-spotted dog' (dog with black spots, e.g. a Dalmatian)

The colour adjectives *jua³²* 'grey', *hlúmh¹* 'pale, pastel', and *juonh²* 'faded' may occur alone or as the second element in a compound; however, *huéh³* 'variegated' occurs on its own or as the first element in a compound, as in (169) above (i.e. the animate counterpart, *huénh³*).

Many of the above colour adjectives can also be modified by the adverb *pin³* 'fast'; for example, *zín¹³ pin³* 'fast violet' (*pin³* as an adjective means 'strong'). The adverb *sín²* 'vivid' may modify only the colours *dáín³* 'red' and *mí²niáu³* 'yellow'.

6.3.5 The Adjective Phrase

If more than one adjective occurs in the modifier constituent of a noun phrase, the adjective that is qualified always moves to the final position, even though this displaces it from its normal rank (see §6.3.3). Only one adjective can be qualified at any one time. For example:

- (170) *jan² mí²ñí³ pán¹ húmh¹ lán²¹ cu³tí³*
 one^AN pig big^AN^SG fat very absolutely
 'an absolutely very fat big pig'

In (170), *húmh¹* 'fat' (rank 12), modified by *lán²¹ cu³tí³* 'very absolutely', occurs after *pán¹* 'big' (rank 23). If *húmh¹* were not qualified, the order would be *húmh¹ pán¹*.

The final adjective can be followed by up to three optional qualifiers QL_x, QL_y, and QL_z, in this order. Any one of the qualifiers or combination thereof may occur. An example exhibiting all three qualifiers is:

- (171) *jan² mi²ŋi³ hún¹ cú⁴pih²¹ lán²¹ cu³tí³*
 one^{AN} pig fat slightly very absolutely
 'a truly very slightly fat pig'
 or: 'a quite minimally fat pig'

There are three adverbs that may function as the first qualifier QL_x: *cú⁴pih²¹* 'slightly, somewhat', *pin³* 'fast', and *sán²* 'vivid'. *Pin³* 'fast' or *sán²* 'vivid' may occur only if the adjective being modified is one of the colour adjectives.

There are three possible adverbs for the QL_y element: *lán³²* or *lán¹³* 'very' (an intensifier), *sín¹* 'very' (diminutive connotation) or *hlah³* 'terribly' (an intensifier connotation, such as in English 'terribly big').

The third and last qualifier element, QL_z, has *cu³tí³* or *cu³tí¹³* 'absolutely, certainly, truly' or *ca³lá²* 'somewhat' (a reserved comment) as its possibilities.

The two adverbs *lán¹³* (QL_y) and *cu³tí¹³* (QL_z) are semantically more emotionally charged than *lán³²* (QL_y) and *cu³tí³* (QL_z) respectively.

There are semantically based co-occurrence restrictions of the qualifiers. The adverbs of QL_y usually cannot occur with *ca³lá²* 'somewhat' of QL_z. *Sín¹* 'very' of QL_y can only occur if *cú⁴pih²¹* 'slightly, somewhat' of QL_x occurs, or if the adjective being modified is *pih²¹* 'small, little', a word that already has a diminutive sense.

Two of the above qualifiers undergo morphophonemic changes in certain environments. When *cú⁴pih²¹* 'slightly, somewhat' of QL_x occurs with any adverb of QL_y, then its form is *cú⁴pi¹*. When *lán³²* 'very' of QL_y immediately follows any word with a high tone, then its form is *lán²¹*. These two processes can co-occur; for example:

- (172) *hnu³ cú⁴pi¹ lán²¹*
 sharp slightly very
 'very slightly sharp' or 'barely sharp'

6.4 The Deictic Constituent

There are five deictic adjectives (or 'demonstratives'); three are used spatially; the other two are anaphoric. The two anaphoric deictics agree with

the head noun as to animacy; see §6.4.2. Two of the deictics have been extended metaphorically to temporal deixis; see §6.4.5 below.

6.4.1 The Spatial Deictics

The three deictics *lá²* 'this, these', *ní²* 'that, those', and *ó³²* 'yonder' (with speaker variation *gó³²*) indicate three degrees of distance from the speaker; all three are neutral as to animateness. The deictic *lá²* 'this, these', defines a referent as relatively close to the speaker, *ní²* 'that, those' defines the referent as closer to the addressee than the speaker, or relatively far from both addressee and speaker, and *ó³²* 'yonder' defines a referent as remote from both speaker and addressee, or even out of sight. The distance which determines the term is relative to both the speaker and the addressee; it is a 'person oriented three-term system' (Anderson and Keenan 1985:284). This is illustrated in (173): the drowning person is slightly closer to the addressee than to the speaker, but *ó³²* 'yonder' is used, marking the distance as far from both speaker and addressee. This is also apparent by the use of the andative prefix *cuá²-* 'go'--if the drowning person was close to the addressee, then the andative prefix would not be used.

- (173) *He³ dá² ca³- quiúnh³² ñú² ó³²; cuá²- cuonh¹*
 what? VER PAST-befall^TI^3 fellow yonder ANDT^IMP-pull^TA^2

dá² tiá³ tsú², qui¹ jún³ dá² tsú² l¹³.
 VER SUPL he because die^IA^FUT^3 VER he be^able^II^FUT
 'What has happened to that/yonder fellow; please go pull him in, otherwise he might die.'

Similarly, the deictic *ní²* marks the referent as relatively far from both speaker and addressee. For example:

- (174) *Chí¹- cue²³ hmá² quiéin² ní², jáun² tiá² quíh³².*
 upright^PROG-prop^II tree dry that so not fall^II^PRES
 'That dry tree is being propped up, that's why it's not falling.'

An example of *lá²*, indicating proximity to speaker and distance from addressee, is:

- (175) *Cónh³ jmí¹ quien² sun¹ lá² quián¹³ nú²?*
 how^much? TRM cost^STI^3 radio this have^STI^2 you^SG
 'How much did this radio of yours cost?'

The deictic *ó³²* 'yonder' has a variant *zio¹*, which occurs only following

the noun *ñi¹* 'place'; for example:

- (176) *Jlánh¹ chú³² jniá³* *li¹³ tsí²¹* *ñi¹ zio¹!*
 really good appear^{II}^{PRES} flower stand^{SII}^{3PL} place yonder
 'The flowers standing over there are lovely.'

In addition to the above spatial uses, the deictic *lá²* 'this' can be used cataphorically, and *ní²* 'that' can be used anaphorically.

Lá² is used at the beginning of a text to refer to the information about to be given; for example:

- (177) *Hi³ lá² cáum² jái¹³ hi³ ná¹- ngí²³* *tsá² juú² lá².*
 thing this one^{IN} story COMP PROG^{PL}-understand^{TI}³ people town this
 'This is an account of the beliefs held by the people of this town.'

The expression *jái¹³ ní²* 'that story/message/account' occurs in the last paragraph of narrative texts to refer to the information that has just been given. For example:

- (178) *Jám² cu³ ní² bíh¹ tí³* *jái¹³ ní².*
 so just that AFF be^{complete}^{SII} story that
 'So that is the end of this (lit. 'that') story.'

Ní² can also be used anaphorically to refer to a person just mentioned in the conversation by the other participant, implying emotional detachment, as if the speaker has little or no knowledge of the referent. For example:

- (179) *Má² jún³* *bíh¹ tsá² ní².*
 PRF die^{IA}^{PAST}³ AFF person that
 'That person has died.' (i.e. the person you just mentioned, whom I don't really know)

Ní² is also used as a means of dissociating oneself from the referent (not necessarily visible). For example:

- (180) *Tiá² tsá²ní³ ní² mí¹ziú¹³ yáh³ jnoh¹.*
 not woman that mother^{1PL} ASSR us
 'That woman is not our mother!'

Finally, the deictic *ní²* occurs in the idiom *tsá¹ ní²* (lit. 'person that')--note the high tone on *tsá¹* 'person' instead of the normal tone *tsá²*. This idiom may be used by the speaker as an oblique reference to self, or to the team or group to which the speaker belongs; for example:

- (181) *Tiá¹ má² cuá²- tanh²¹* *tsá¹ ní²?*
 ?^{not} PRF VEN^{PAST}-arrive^{IA}^{3PL} person that
 'Haven't the rest of them (i.e. our team) arrived yet?'

6.4.2 Anaphoric Deictics

There are two deictics that have only anaphoric reference: *hi*³ 'that, those' (AN) and *jám*² 'that, those' (IN). The referent has either been recently mentioned in discourse and is presumed to be recoverable, or else is of presumed common knowledge to both speaker and listener.

In the following example from a folklore story about the origin of the sun and moon, the deictic *hi*³ is used twice, once to refer to the gods (sun and moon), and once to refer to the buzzard of whom they were asking a favour:

- (182) *La*³ *ní*² *bíh*¹ *ca*³- *juáh*³ *dió*³² *hi*³,
 idea that AFF PAST-say^{TI}³ god that^{AN}
*ca*³- *záih*³ *tú*²*jue*³² *hi*³.
 PAST-tell^{DI}³ buzzard that^{AN}
 'That is what those gods told that buzzard.'

In the following example from a folklore story, a wealthy man offers his two long-time employees the choice of receiving either their wages or good advice. The deictic *jám*² is used anaphorically three times to refer to the advice. There is also a further use of *jám*² (glossed 'then') in this example, which is discussed immediately following:

- (183) *Ní*¹*juáh*³ *tsá*² *he*³ *jú*¹*chú*³² *jám*², *jám*² *tiú*²*uí*²
 if person accept^{TI}^{FUT}³ advice that^{IN} then no^{longer}
*quie*³ *caun*¹³ *yáh*³ *tsú*², *jí*³² *la*³ *jú*¹*chú*³² *jám*² *bíh*¹
 money take^{TI}^{FUT}³ ASSR he only just advice that^{IN} AFF
*caun*¹³ *tsú*², *quí*¹ *hi*³ *jám*² *bíh*¹ *ma*³*hau*³
 take^{TI}^{FUT}³ he because thing that AFF help^{TI}^{FUT}³
*hi*³ *lí*¹³ *zian*² *tsú*² *ré*² *tín*².
 COMP be^{able}^{II}^{FUT} exist^{STA}³ he well capable
 'If a person accepts that advice, then he will no longer take the money, only that advice, because that is the thing which will enable him to have a prosperous life.'

In (183), the second instance of *jám*² has been glossed as 'then'. In effect *jám*² refers back to the entire previous proposition: 'If a person accepts that advice' Perhaps a more representative gloss of *jám*² would be: 'that being so', or 'so then'.

The use of *jám*² as a propositional summary device is frequently cou-

pled with the contingent noun *hi*³ 'thing' (§6.1.1.4); for example:

(184) *Enoh*² *ca*³-*tiéh*², *hi*³ *jám*² *lá*²
 you^{PL} PAST-invite^{TA}2>1PL thing that here

*hi*¹-*jan*³² *jnoh*¹ *ta*³*né*³².
 HOT-come^{to}non^{home}IA¹PL we now
 'You invited (us), so then (lit. 'thing that'), here we are (lit. '... here we are coming now')'

*Jám*² could be given the literal gloss of 'that' consistently; however, as a proposition summary device (introducing the consequence of the prior proposition), it is functionally equivalent to the glosses 'then, so, so then'. Generally, I have chosen to gloss *jám*² by its closest functional equivalent, as in the previous example, (183).

6.4.3 Deictic Pronouns

The deictic pronouns are discussed in this section; the personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns are discussed in §6.1.1.9.

Deictic pronouns are similar in form and meaning to the adjectival deictics already discussed. A comparison of the adjectival and pronominal forms is set out in Table 6.13:

Table 6.13 Deictic Pronouns

	this	that	that/yonder	that(IN)	that(AN)
Pronouns:	<i>la</i> ³²	<i>ni</i> ³²	<i>o</i> ³²	<i>jaun</i> ³²	<i>hi</i> ³
Adjectives:	<i>lá</i> ²	<i>ni</i> ²	<i>o</i> ²	<i>jám</i> ²	<i>hi</i> ³

Note that the pronominal forms *o*³² 'that' (distant) and *hi*³ 'that' (AN) are homophonous with the adjectival forms.

The deictic pronouns may be used in place of a lexical NP, functioning as a complement in a verbless equative construction (§8.1.1).

In the following example, it is clear that *jaun*³² 'that one' (anaphoric) functions as a pronominal complement:

(185) *Cám*² *tse*³ *quioh*²¹ *tsá*²*haun*³² *bíh*¹ *jaun*³².
 one^{IN} jar have^{STI}3 ancestor AFF that^{one}IN
 'That aforementioned one (is) a jar belonging to the ancestors/ancients.' (lit. 'A jar belonging to the ancestors (is) that aforementioned one.')

The next three examples below illustrate the use of *la*³² 'this one'.

In (186), the pronoun *la*³² stands for *hñú*³ *lá*² 'this house':

- (186) *Hñú*³ *mih*¹ *zeh*² *hia*³ *jáun*¹³ *máh*³ *la*³²!
 house small stand^{SII} long^{ago} EXCL this^{one}
 'This (is) a small house (which) has stood for a long time!' (lit. 'A small house standing (from) long ago (is) this one!')

In (187), *la*³² 'this one' functions as the complement to an animate referent *jnëá*¹³ 'I':

- (187) *Ïn*¹³ *la*³², *tsá*² *cuá*¹⁻ *ju*² *ná*¹ *sí*² *lá*²
 I this^{one} person sit^{PROG}-make^{TI}^{1SG} I letter this
 'It is I, the person who is writing this letter' (lit. 'I (am) this one, the person I am making this letter')

In (188), *la*³² stands for *já*¹³ *lá*² 'this word':

- (188) *Su*³ *nú*² *lín*²³ *hnú*² *hi*³ *ju*¹⁻ *hlah*³
 PREVEN think^{TI}^{PRES}² you^{SG} COMP word-bad
*la*³² *l*¹²⁻ *juáh*³² *jnëá*¹³ *ñi*¹ *con*² *nú*².
 this^{one} HOD-say^{TI}^{1SG} I to you^{SG}
 'Don't think that this which I just told you is bad advice.' (lit. 'Don't think that it is bad advice this (word) I just told you.')

Deictic pronouns can sometimes convey a more vague or general sense than that conveyed by the corresponding adjective. Compare (189) and (190):

- (189) *Ju*¹³² *jaun*³² *tsáu*¹³.
 path that^{one}^{IN} go^{non}^{home}^{IA}^{FUT}^{1PL}
 'The path (is) that aforementioned one, let's go.'

In (189), the speaker is indicating a desire to travel in the general direction of the previously mentioned path; however, in (190), a precise path is indicated, and *jaun*³² cannot be substituted for *jáun*³².

- (190) *Ju*¹³² *jáun*² *ti*³ *tun*³ *quí*² *lo*⁴ *mé*⁴ *tró*¹.
 path that^{IN} complete^{STI}³ two^{IN} kilometre
 'That aforementioned path is two kilometres long.'

All the pronominal deictics are used anaphorically; the difference between *la*³² 'this', *ni*³² 'that', and *ó*³² 'that' (distant) being the relative proximity of the antecedent to the speaker: *jaun*³² 'that' refers to an abstract or non-visible inanimate referent, *hi*³ 'that' refers to a non-visible animate referent, and *la*³² 'this', *ni*³² 'that', and *ó*³² 'that' can have either an inanimate or animate antecedent. The uses of *la*³² and *jaun*³² have been illustrated above. Examples of *ni*³², *ó*³², and *hi*³ respectively are:

- (191) *Jám² juáh³ tí³² mǐ³ "ńí¹ uóuh³ bíh¹ nǐ³²".*
 then say^{TI}PAST³ master medicine place distant AFF that^{one}
 'So the doctor said "That (is) a distant place".' (lit. '... "A distant place (is) that (place)".')
- (192) *Tsá² lín¹ zéin² bíh¹ ó³².*
 person appear^{STA}3 goat AFF that^{one}
 'A person like a goat (is) that (person).'
 or: 'That one (is) a person (who) is like a goat.'
 (referring to agility in running in rough terrain)
- (193) *Jan² tsá² jmǐ¹ hánh³ lín³² bíh¹ hí³.*
 one^{AN} person TRM rich very AFF that^{one}AN
 'That one (is) a person (who) was once very wealthy.'

6.4.4 Presentatives

Deictics can also be used adverbially as 'presentatives'; that is, elements 'which are used to indicate an item's location or to signal its appearance in (or relative to) the observational field of the [speaker].' (Anderson and Keenan, 1985:279). For example:

- (194) *Lá² rón³² sí² ca³- tí²¹ hí³ ren² hnú².*
 here lie^{SII} book PAST-regard^{TI}3 COMP owe^{STI}2 you^{SG}
 'Here is the book that records your debts.'
- (195) *Nǐ² má² hí¹-já²- tánh¹ tsá²*
 there PRF NOT-VEN^{PRES}-arrive^{home}IA^{3PL} person
cuf²- ńí¹- hón²¹ ńí²cuh² hnú² cheih³² nǐ².
 VEN^{PAST}-ANDT-bury^{TA}3 spouse² you^{SG} outside there
 'There come the people who have been to bury your husband, (they are) there outside.'
- (196) *Ó³² tionh² cum³ nió³ hliáu³.*
 there stand^{SIA}2PL one^{AN} group soldier
 'There stands a group of soldiers.' (distant)

6.4.5 Temporal Deixis

When the deictic *lá²* 'this' and *jám²* 'that' (IN) occur with temporal nouns, they distinguish respectively 'current, present' from 'previous, previously mentioned'; for example:

- (197)(a) *jmǐ¹ lá²*
 time this
 'this time/day/occasion, presently' (vs. *né³²* 'today')
- (b) *jmǐ¹ jáun²*
 time that^{IN}
 'that time/day/occasion' (i.e. the day previously mentioned)
- (198)(a) *mí² lá²*
 year this
 'this (current) year'

- (b) *mif*² *jám*²
 year that
 'that year' (i.e. the year previously mentioned)

The deictic *lá*² and *jám*² are used with other temporal words such as *sí²ma¹ná¹* 'week' (Sp. *semana*) and *zih*² 'month' as with *mif*² 'year' in (198) above.

The other spatial deictics, *ní*² 'that' and *ó*² 'yonder', are not used for temporal deixis. In this respect Chinantec is an exception to Anderson and Keenan's observation that 'in the great majority of cases, the system of spatial demonstratives is imported directly into the temporal domain without any particular modification' (1985:297). Although a discussion of temporal deixis in Chinantec is a digression from the main point of this section, namely the deictic constituent of the NP, nonetheless it completes the discussion initiated above on the use of deictics with temporal nouns.

Chinantec does not use the deictics to express the concepts of 'next' and 'last'.

To express 'next', the numeral *cám*² 'one' (IN) follows rather than precedes the temporal nouns such as *sí²ma¹ná¹* 'week', *zih*² 'month', and *mif*² 'year'. Traditionally, the animate numeral *jan*² 'one' follows the word *zih*² 'month', but this is changing.^{<16>} Examples of the use of 'one' to mean 'next' are:

- (199)(a) *sí²ma¹ná¹* *cám*²
 week one^IN
 'next week'
- (b) *zih*² *cám*² *zih*² *jan*²
 month one^IN month one^AN
 'next month' 'next month'
- (c) *mif*² *cám*²
 year one^IN
 'next year'

To express 'last week', 'last month' or 'last year', the verb *tsa*² 'be depleted' (IN) is used; or, optionally for 'month', the animate form *tsán*² is used. For example:

- (200) (a) *sí²na¹ná¹ cá²- tsá³²*
 week PAST-be[^]depleted[^]II
 'last week'
- (b) *zih² cá²- tsá³²* *zih² cá²- tsan³*
 month PAST-be[^]depleted[^]II month PAST-be[^]depleted[^]IA³
 'last month' 'last month'
- (c) *mif² cá²- tsá³²*
 year PAST-be[^]depleted[^]II
 'last year'

The deictic temporal terms 'now' and 'then' are expressed by three forms:

- (201) *ta³- né³²* *jmí¹-jáun²* *ná¹-jáun²*
 while-today time-that PRF-that
 'now' 'then' (PAST) 'then' (FUT)

Sochiapán Chinantec lexically expresses temporal deixis two days in either direction from the present:

- (202) *jan³* 'day before yesterday'
cháun³ 'yesterday'
né³² 'today'
tša³háun² 'tomorrow'
yó³² 'day after tomorrow'

There are two compound adverbs based on *cháun³* 'yesterday' and one based on *tša³háun²* 'tomorrow' for distinguishing finer points of reference:

- (203) *cha³háun¹³* 'yesterday morning'
cha³hlo¹ 'yesterday afternoon/evening'
tša³há²niéi² 'tomorrow morning'

There are eight points of temporal deixis during the day:

- (204) *ja³nia²* 'after midnight to near daybreak'
ná¹juan³² 'sky lightens just before dawn'
hú²niéi² 'early morning'
chi³hiú² 'noon'
ca³hláun³ 'late afternoon'
ca³niéi² 'after dark'
hlaun³ 'just before midnight'
hua² 'late at night, midnight'

Temporal adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses are discussed in §8.2.5.

6.5 The Relative Clause Constituent

The relative clause constituent is the final constituent of the NP. As indicated in Figure 6.1, more than one relative clause may co-occur. The

structure and characteristics of relative clauses in general are discussed in §9.1.

When the head of the NP is an alienable noun, it can be followed by a modifier, a relative clause, or both. (205) illustrates the modifier and relative clause constituents co-occurring:

- (205) *Ní² rón³² tsáí² pan¹ hi³ jmí¹*
 there lie^{SIA}3 dog big^{AN}SG COMP TRM
hnió³ quíeh¹³ hí³ Pé¹.
 want^{STI}3 bite^{TA}FUT³ that^{AN} Peter
 'There lies that big dog that was wanting to bite Peter.'

If the head of the NP is an inalienable noun, the modifier constituent cannot occur (§6.3), but the relative clause constituent may. In (206a), for example, the construction is ungrammatical when a modifier follows an inalienable noun; however, in (206b), the construction is grammatical when a relative clause follows an inalienable noun:

- (206) (a) **Zian² jan² renh² jná¹³ juính³.*
 exist^{SIA}3 one^{AN} relative^{1SG} I lazy
 'There is a lazy relative of mine.'
- (b) *Zian² jan² renh² jná¹³ hí³ má²*
 exist^{SIA}3 one^{AN} relative^{1SG} I COMP PRF
zianh³² sí² ní¹ má² jñéi³.
 hold^{STI}3 book at PRF six
 'There is a relative of mine who is now in grade six.' (lit. 'who now holds the sixth book').

More than one relative clause can occur (see Figure 6.1). There are two strategies of multiple relativisation, 'chaining' and 'apposition'; see §9.1.1.3. (207) illustrates the chaining of three relative clauses which have the same head/domain noun:

- (207) *Jmí¹ zenh² jan² tsa³cuá¹ hi³ jmí¹ húnh¹ lán²¹*
 TRM stand^{SIA}3 one^{AN} horse COMP TRM be^{fat}SIA very
 RC[*joh² jná¹³ hí³ má² ca³- hna³ ná¹.*] RC[]
 have^{STA}1SG I COMP PRF PAST-sell^{TA}1SG I
 'I used to have a horse that was very fat, which I have sold.' (lit. 'There once stood a horse that was very fat that I possess that I have now sold.')

6.6 The Evaluative Constituent

The evaluative constituent occurs immediately preceding the NP head (unlike the modifier constituent which follows the NP head). There are two evaluative adjectives, both with strongly emotive connotations: *uɬ¹* 'nice, pleasant, desirable, useful' (with speaker variations *uú¹* and *juɬ¹*) and *hná¹* 'crude, rough, undesirable, despicable'.

Uɬ¹ 'nice, pleasant, desirable, useful' is found with a wide range of entities, both animate and inanimate, such as money, fruit, chewing gum, salt, baby, pig, etc.

(208) is an example of the use of *uɬ¹* with an inanimate noun:

- (208) *Tiá¹ zia³² ca³lá² uɬ¹ jáu²?*
 ?^not exist^SII some nice cotton
 'Isn't there some (nice) cotton?' (i.e. cotton wool/batting)

(209) exemplifies the use of *uɬ¹* with an animate noun:

- (209) *Jan² tán¹ uɬ¹ ñú² Béh³ ní² jón³² jná¹³.*
 one^AN no^more nice male Robert that child^1SG I
 'That dear/nice Robert is my only child.'

(209) also shows co-occurrence of the quantifier and evaluative constituents.

(210) shows the co-occurrence of a quantifier, an evaluative, and a categoriser (§6.1.2):

- (210)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Ca³- lá³</i> | <i>jnë¹³</i> | <i>tun³</i> | <i>uɬ¹</i> | <i>chí²</i> | <i>lɬh³².</i> |
| PAST-buy^TI^1SG I | two^IN | nice | diminutive | disc | |
| 'I bought two nice records.' | | | | | |

The evaluative *hná¹* 'crude, undesirable, unfriendly, unpleasant, despicable' can be used to modify almost any noun.

When used with animate (human or non-human) nouns, the connotation of *hná¹* is always pejorative.

When *hná¹* is used with the noun *má³²* 'food' or any food item such as beans, bananas, candy, food, honey, it is marking that food as unpalatable or disagreeable. However, when *hná¹* is used with food items in a jocular sense, it can have a reverse meaning as produced in English with 'terribly nice', meaning 'delicious, palatable'.

An example of *hná¹* modifying an inanimate noun is:

- (211) *Bniáh³²* *jan² tsá² pá³*
 be[^]necessary[^]SIA[^]3 one[^]AN person hit[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3

cun³quionh³ cámm² hná¹ poh²¹.
 with one[^]IN crude mallet

‘A person will be required to strike (the mould) with a mallet.’

(If after making raw sugar from sugarcane, the solidified raw sugar does not readily fall out of the inverted moulds, a handy chunk of wood is grabbed and used as a mallet. By striking the bottom of the mould the sugar loaves are released.)

(212) exemplifies the use of *hná¹* ‘despicable’ with an animate noun (the noun *lo¹* ‘mule’):

- (212) *Jáun² cámm² ca³- pá³* *quionh³ jah³² bfh¹ tsú²*
 then simply PAST-hit[^]TI[^]3 with fist AFF he

chí¹ hná¹ lo¹ hí³.
 head[^]3 despicable mule that[^]AN

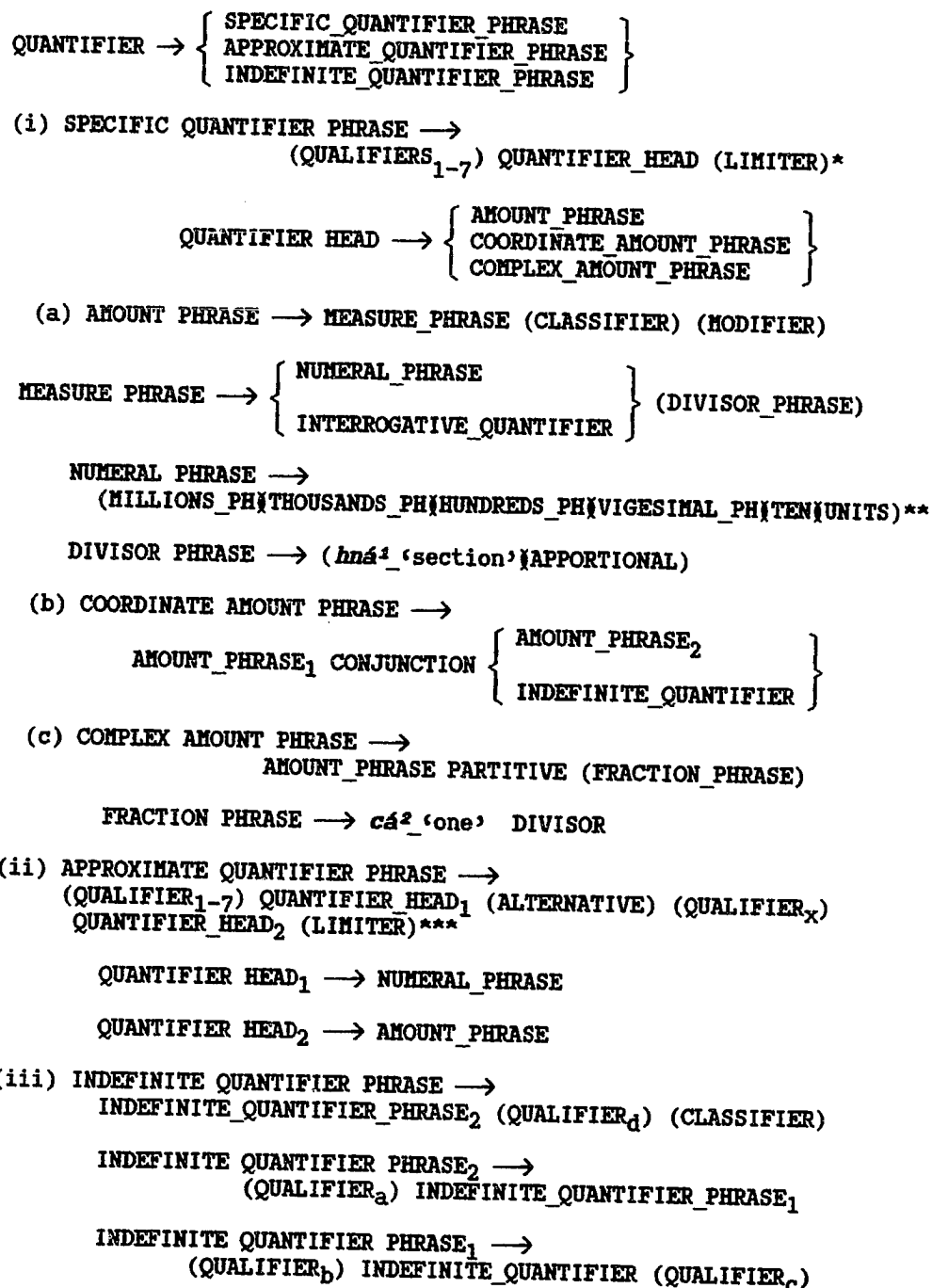
‘Then he simply hit that despicable mule’s head with (his) fist.’

6.7 The Quantifier

The quantifier constituent occupies the leftmost position in the NP. There are three phrases that can function as the quantifier, each having the potential of being internally complex. In an attempt to clarify the overall structure, I present in Figure 6.4 a schematic of each Quantifier Phrase type.

The interlocking parentheses in Figure 6.4 indicate that, although all the constituents of the Numeral Phrase and Divisor Phrase are optional, at least one constituent must occur.

Figure 6.4 The Quantifier



* (QUALIFIERS₁₋₇) stands for 7 separate qualifier constituents in the Specific Quantifier Phrase.

** The constituents of the Numeral Phrase are elaborated in §6.7.1.1.1.1 below.

*** (QUALIFIERS₁₋₇) stands for the same qualifier constituents as occur in the Specific Quantifier Phrase, and (QUALIFIER_x) stands for the optional repetition of the qualifier constituent which immediately precedes the first quantifier head.

Examples of each phrase type are given in their respective sections. The data for each phrase type are presented according to the schematic set out in Figure 6.4 above. Unfortunately this entails the presentation of much data and detail in the first few sub-sections; however, certain phrase types, such as the Amount Phrase, function in several of the other phrases, facilitating later discussion.

6.7.1 The Specific Quantifier Phrase

The structure of the Specific Quantifier Phrase (SQP) is presented in Figure 6.5:

Figure 6.5 The Specific Quantifier Phrase

SPECIFIC QUANTIFIER PHRASE → (QUALIFIER₁) (QUALIFIER₂)
 (QUALIFIER₃) (QUALIFIER₄) (QUALIFIER₅)
 (QUALIFIER₆) (QUALIFIER₇)
 QUANTIFIER_HEAD (LIMITER)

An example of the Specific Quantifier Phrase is:

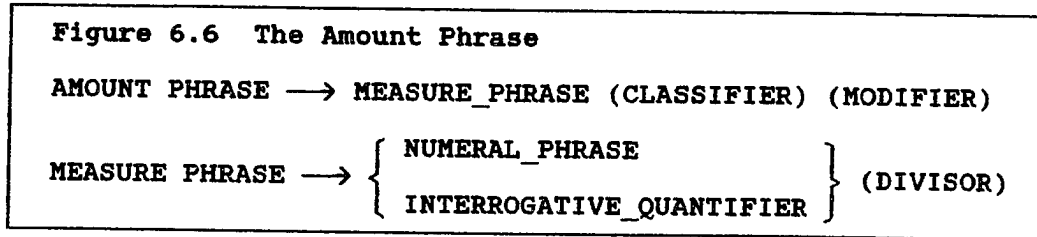
(213) SQP[QL₃ QH[] LIM]
cun³ tum³ cuah²¹ tán¹ cú²
 approximately two^{IN} gourd complete maize
 'approximately two gourds-full of maize'

There are three possible constructions that may function as the head of the Specific Quantifier Phrase: a simple Amount Phrase, a Coordinate Amount Phrase, or a Complex Amount Phrase; see Figure 6.4. Each phrase type is elaborated below.

6.7.1.1 The Amount Phrase

The simple Amount Phrase (AMP) has three constituents: a Measure Phrase (MP), a classifier (CLASS), and a modifier (MOD); only the Measure

Phrase is obligatory. The structure of the Amount Phrase is set out in Figure 6.6:



6.7.1.1.1 The Measure Phrase

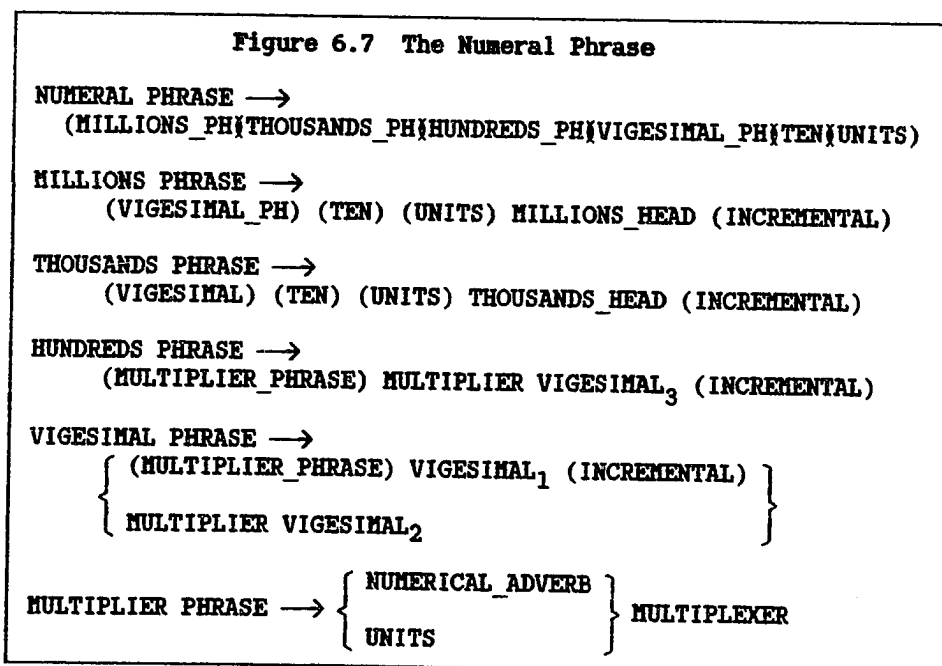
The first constituent of the Measure Phrase can be a Numeral Phrase, or an interrogative quantifier; the second constituent, which is optional, is the divisor (see Table 6.16). Each of these elements are discussed in turn below.

6.7.1.1.1.1 The Numeral Phrase

Chinantec numerals agree in animacy with the head noun; for brevity, I refer to them as animate or inanimate numerals.

The structure of the Chinantec Numeral Phrase is given in Figure 6.7.

The incremental element in Figure 6.7 occurs only if the phrase of which it is a constituent is followed by a numerically smaller phrase, or the ten or units elements; for example, see (215).



An example of a simple numeral is:

- (214) *tun³ (lá³)*
 two^{IN} ear
 'two (ears of maize)'

An example of a complex numeral is:

- (215) *tenh³ nio² hña³-láu³ tsi²¹ quiu³-quia³ (lá³)*
 twice times five-twenties^{IN} plus twenty-ten^{IN} ear
 'two hundred and thirty (ears of maize)'

Animate numerals agree with the NP head as to person; there is one set of animate numerals for first-person plural, and another set for all other persons (see Tables 6.14 and 6.15).

If no classifier or divisor is employed in the Amount Phrase (AMP), the head of the NP is quantified directly, and the numeral must agree with the NP head as to animateness. For example:

- (216) SQP[AMP[NUH]] H
cám² hí³
 one^{IN} tortilla
 'a/one tortilla'

- (217) SQP[AMP[NUH]] H
jan² tsa³cuá¹
 one^{AN} horse
 'a/one horse'

When the Amount Phrase includes a classifier or a divisor, the Numeral Phrase quantifies the classifier rather than the head of the NP, and must be inanimate (even though some mensural classifiers, such as *nió³* 'group', are specific to animate nouns, they are enumerated by inanimate numerals; see §6.7.1.1.2). As Greenberg (1974:31) has noted for other numeral classifier languages, 'the numeral goes directly with the classifier while the numeral+classifiers combination as a whole enters into a more remote construction with the enumerated noun'.

An example of an inanimate noun enumerated by an amount phrase with a sortal classifier is:

- (218) SQP[AMP[NUH CLASS]] H
tun³ mái³ quín¹
 two^{IN} sphere stone
 'two stones/rocks'

An example of an inanimate noun enumerated by an amount phrase with a mensural classifier is:

- (219) SQP[AMP[*NUM* CLASS]] H
tun^ə *cuah*²¹ *jmí*²*jmá*^ə
 two^IN gourd spring^water
 'two gourds of spring water'

An example of an animate noun enumerated by an amount phrase with a mensural classifier is:

- (220) SQP[AMP[*NUM* CLASS]] H
tun^ə *nió*^ə *tsáu*²
 two^IN group people
 'two groups of people'

An example of an inanimate noun enumerated by an amount phrase, which has as its constituents a measure phrase and classifier, is:

- (221) SQP[AMP[*MP*[*NUM* DIV] CLASS]] H[]
*ca*² *tsá*¹ *mu*²¹ *fi*¹ *si*²
 one^IN half leaf flat book
 'half a page'

The types of classifiers which are found in Chinantec and their relationship to the NP head are discussed in §6.7.1.1.2.

6.7.1.1.1.1 The Numerals 'one' to 'nineteen'

The numerals from 'one' to 'ten' are all monosyllabic.

The numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' are phonological compounds (§3.1.3), consisting of the numeral 'ten' plus the numerals from 'one' to 'nine'. The 'units' part of the animate numerals for 'twelve' and 'thirteen' appear to be based on their inanimate counterparts; see Table 6.14 below. Mathematically, the two parts of the compound involve simple addition.

Table 6.14 sets out the cardinal numerals from one to nineteen in the three numbering systems. The 'Animate Non-1PL' column is placed adjacent to the 'Inanimate' column due to their phonological similarities:

Table 6.14 Chinantec Numerals

	Inanimate	Animate Non-1PL	Animate 1PL
one	<i>cáun²</i>	<i>jan²</i>	—
two	<i>tun³</i>	<i>gon³</i>	<i>gau³</i>
three	<i>hni^{3 2}</i>	<i>gáun³</i>	<i>gáu³</i>
four	<i>quiún³</i>	<i>quiun³</i>	<i>quien³</i>
five	<i>hñá³</i>	<i>hñá³</i>	<i>hñáu³</i>
six	<i>jñéi³</i>	<i>jñéi³</i>	<i>jñáu³</i>
seven	<i>quiau³</i>	<i>quiaun³</i>	<i>quiaun³</i>
eight	<i>jña³</i>	<i>jña³</i>	<i>jñau³</i>
nine	<i>ñu³</i>	<i>ñu³</i>	<i>ñe³</i>
ten	<i>quia³</i>	<i>quian³</i>	<i>quian³</i>
eleven	<i>quia³cáun²</i>	<i>quian³jan²</i>	<i>quia³jáun²</i>
twelve	<i>quia³tún³</i>	<i>quian³tun³</i>	<i>quia³ten³</i>
thirteen	<i>quia³hni^{3 2}</i>	<i>quian³hni²</i>	<i>quia³hni²</i>
fourteen	<i>quia³quiún³</i>	<i>quian³quiun³</i>	<i>quia³quien³</i>
fifteen	<i>quia³hñá³</i>	<i>quian³hñá³</i>	<i>quia³hñáu³</i>
sixteen	<i>quia³jñéi³</i>	<i>quian³jñéi³</i>	<i>quia³jñau³</i>
seventeen	<i>quia³quiau³</i>	<i>quian³quiaun³</i>	<i>quia³quiaun³</i>
eighteen	<i>quia³jña³</i>	<i>quian³jña³</i>	<i>quia³jñau³</i>
nineteen	<i>quia³ñu³</i>	<i>quian³ñu³</i>	<i>quia³ñe³</i>

The inanimate and the non-1PL animate numerals for five, six, eight, and nine are identical, so are left unmarked as to animacy in the interlinear glosses.

The numeral *quia³tún³* 'twelve' (IN) curiously has ballistic stress on the morpheme *tun³* 'two'.

There are five allomorphs of 'one' (IN): *cám²*, *cá²*, *cu³*, *cú²*, and *caun^{3 2}*. The allomorph *cá²* occurs with all divisors (§6.7.1.1.1.3) and sortal classifiers (§6.7.1.1.2.1). The allomorphs *cám²* and *cu³* occur with mensural classifiers (§6.7.1.1.2.1). The allomorph *cú²* occurs in the phrase *cú² meí^{2 1}* 'one thousand' (IN), and with non-Spanish-derived time words which function as mensural classifiers; for example, *nie²* 'night', *jmáí¹* 'day', and *mif²* 'year' (Table 6.18). Time words derived from Spanish such as *sí²ma¹ná¹* 'week' (Sp. *semana*), however, use *cám²*. Some speakers prefer *cám²* or *cú²* 'one' to refer to future time, and *cá²* 'one' for time past; others use *cú²* for both. For example:

- (222) *Ná² cá²/cú² mif² máh³ ñéi¹* *jná^{1 3} ñí¹cuánh²!*
 PRF one^{IN} year EXCL go^{non}home^{IA}PAST¹SG I Oaxaca
 'It's a year since I went to Oaxaca!'

When the reflexive pronoun is used to mark the referent as solitary or unique (§6.1.1.9.2), *cú²* 'one' can be utilised to further assert that status; for example:

- (223) *Cua² yeh² cú² hngá² bfh¹.*
 sit[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 elder one[^]IN himself AFF
 'The old man is/lives all alone.'

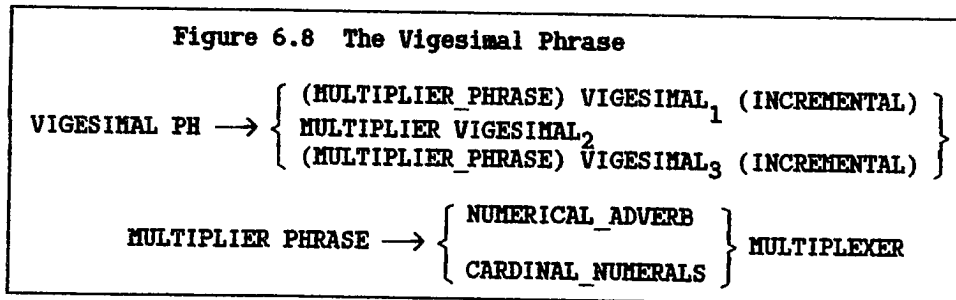
The allomorph *caum²* occurs only in the expression in (224), where the tone of the numeral *cám²* appears to have assimilated to the tone of *quin²* 'separate':

- (224) *ma² quin² ma² caum²*
 by separate by one
 'each different one' (IN)

There are four allomorphs of 'one' (AN): *jan²*, *jan²*, *-jáum²* and *cúm²* (some speakers say *ján²* rather than *jan²*). *Jan²*, like *caum²*, occurs only in the expression *ma² quin² ma² jan²* 'each different one' (AN). The allomorph *-jáum²* occurs only in compound numerals such as 'seventy-one' (AN 1PL); see Table 6.15. *Cúm²* is used in the animate numeral phrases 'one thousand' and 'one million' (the inanimate counterpart being *cú²*); see §6.7.1.1.1.4.

6.7.1.1.1.2 The Vigesimal Phrase

There are three types of Vigesimal Phrases based on allomorphs of the numeral 'twenty'; see Figure 6.8.



Examples of the numerals which are based on the allomorphs of 'twenty' are given in Table 6.15 below.

The first option of the Vigesimal Phrase yields the numerals 'twenty' to 'thirty-nine', and 'sixty' to 'ninety-nine'. The second option yields the numerals 'forty' to 'fifty-nine'. The third option yields the numerals from

'one hundred' to 'nine hundred and ninety-nine'; see §6.7.1.1.1.3.

The numerals for 'sixty' and 'eighty' are based on *quiú³* 'twenty'. The Multiplier Phrase (Figure 6.8) which occurs preceding *quiú³* has two obligatory elements: a numerical adverb or cardinal numeral, and a 'multiplexer' (multiplication operator word). There are four numerical adverbs: *cu³* 'once', *tenh²* 'twice', *hnaih³²* 'thrice', and *quiéinh³* 'four times'. Cardinal numbers are used for 'five times' and up. Only the two adverbs *hnaih³²* 'thrice' and *quiéinh³* 'four times' are used as multipliers of 'twenty', resulting in the numerals 'sixty' and 'eighty' respectively; see Table 6.15 below.

The multiplexer appears to derive from the intransitive state inanimate verb *nio²* 'be present', which may have as its subject either a plural set of inanimate entities that do not have a specific orientation (for example, clouds, money scattered on a table), mass nouns such as sand and mud, sensations such as heat, and abstract nouns such as *tie³* 'peace, tranquillity'. Within the context of the Numeral Phrase *nio²* has been grammaticised as the multiplexer. Within this context I have given *nio²* the gloss 'times'.

Examples of *nio²* 'times' with both inanimate and animate numerals, in which the numerical adverb *hnaih³²* 'thrice' is the multiplier and *quiú³* (IN) or *quiúm³* (AN) 'twenty' is the multiplicand, are:

(225)(a) *hnaih³² nio² quiú³*
 thrice times twenty^IN
 'sixty' (IN)

(b) *hnaih³² nio² quiúm³*
 thrice times twenty^AN
 'sixty' (AN)

The numerals 'seventy' to 'seventy-nine' are based on 'sixty', followed by the incremental word *tsi²¹* 'plus', then the numerals from 'ten' to 'nineteen'. For example:

(226)(a) *hnaih³² nio² quiú³ tsi²¹ quia³-cám²*
 thrice times twenty^IN plus ten^IN-one^IN
 'seventy-one' (IN)

(b) *hnaih³² nio² quiúm³ tsi²¹ quian³-jan²*
 thrice times twenty^AN plus ten^AN-one^AN
 'seventy-one' (AN)

- (c) *hnaih³² nio² quiám³ tsí²¹ quia³- jám²*
 thrice times twenty^{1PL} plus ten^{IN-one^{1PL}}
 '(we) seventy one' (1PL)

In a similar fashion, the numerals 'ninety' to 'ninety-nine' are based on 'eighty', followed by the incremental word *tsí²¹* 'plus', then the numerals from 'ten' to 'nineteen'. For example:

- (227)(a) *quiéinh³ nio² quiú³ tsí²¹ quia³- tum³*
 four^{times} times twenty^{IN} plus ten^{IN-two^{IN}}
 'ninety-two' (IN)
- (b) *quiéinh³ nio² quiúm³ tsí²¹ quian³-ñu³*
 four^{times} times twenty^{AN} plus ten^{AN-nine}
 'ninety-nine' (AN)

As indicated in Figure 6.8 above, the incremental element is optional, occurring only if there is a ten or units element. The incremental word *tsí²¹* 'plus' derives from the intransitive state inanimate plural verb *tsí²¹* 'stand, rest' (in a group). Examples of the types of subjects that may occur with *tsí²¹* are: banana trees (forming a grove), vines growing in a tree, and blisters on the tongue. Note that in (227b) above, even though the numerals are animate, the animate state verb counterpart of *tsí²¹* (*tsín²*) is not used, evidence that *tsí²¹* has become grammaticised as the addition operator.

The construction of the vigesimal numerals (including the 'hundreds') are illustrated in summary form in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15 Vigesimal Numerals

	Inanimate	Animate Non-1PL	Animate 1PL
twenty	<i>quiú³</i>	<i>quiún³</i>	<i>quiaún³</i>
twenty-one	<i>quiú³ cáun²</i>	<i>quiú³ jan²</i>	<i>quiú³ jáun²</i>
forty	<i>tu³ ló³²</i>	<i>tun³ lón³²</i>	<i>tun³ lón³²</i>
forty-one	<i>tu³ la³ cáun²</i>	<i>tu³ la³ jan²</i>	<i>tu³ la³ jáun²</i>
sixty	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiún³</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiaún³</i>
sixty-one	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³ cáun²</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³ jan²</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³ jáun²</i>
seventy	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quian³</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiaún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quian³</i>
seventy-one	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiú³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ cáun²</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ jan²</i>	<i>hnaih³² nio²</i> <i>quiaún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ jáun²</i>
eighty	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiún³</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiaún³</i>
eighty-one	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³ cáun²</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³ jan²</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³ jáun²</i>
ninety	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quian³</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiaún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quian³</i>
ninety-one	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiú³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ cáun²</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ jan²</i>	<i>quiéinh³ nio²</i> <i>quiaún³ tsi²¹</i> <i>quia³ jáun²</i>
hundred	<i>hña³ láu³</i>	<i>hña³ láun³</i>	<i>hña³ láun³</i>
two hundred	<i>tun³ nio²</i> <i>hña³ láu³</i>	<i>tun³ nio²</i> <i>hña³ láun³</i>	<i>tun³ nio²</i> <i>hña³ láun³</i>

The allomorphs of 'twenty' used in 'forty' are *-ló³²* (IN) and *-lón³²* (AN); the allomorph used in 'forty-one' to 'fifty-nine' for both inanimate and animate numerals is *-la³*. These three allomorphs of 'twenty' comprise the multiplicand, the multiplier being *tun³* 'two' (IN); for example, *tun³-ló³²* (lit. 'two-twenties'). The numerals 'fifty' to 'fifty-nine' are compounds of 'forty' plus the numerals 'ten' to 'nineteen'; for example:

- (228) *tu³-la³- quia³- hni³²*
two-twenties-ten^IN-three^IN
'fifty-three' (IN)

The numeral *quiú³* 'twenty' combines phonologically with the numerals 'one' to 'nineteen', yielding the numerals 'twenty-one' to 'thirty-nine'; for example, *quiú³ quia³ hni³²* 'thirty-three' (IN), which mathematically is a case of simple addition: 'twenty + ten + three'.

6.7.1.1.1.3 The Hundreds Phrase

The Hundreds Phrase involves a third type of Vigesimal Phrase (see Figure 6.8 above), yielding the numerals from 'one hundred' to 'nine hundred and ninety-nine'. The allomorphs of 'twenty' used in 'hundred' as the multiplicand are *-láu³* (IN) and *-láun³* (AN), and the multiplier used is *hña³* 'five' (but with stress neutralisation as occurs in non-final syllables; see §3.1.3.1); for example, *hña³-láu³* '(one) hundred' (lit. 'five-twenties'). Numerals from 'one hundred and one' to 'one hundred and ninety-nine' are produced by the numeral 'one hundred' followed by the incremental *tsi²¹* 'plus', followed in turn by any combination of the three optional elements: Vigesimal Phrase, tens and/or units. For example:

- (229)(a) *hña³-láu³* *tsi²¹ cáun²*
 five-twenties^{IN} plus one^{IN}
 'one hundred and one' (IN)
- (b) *hña³-láun³* *tsi²¹ jan²*
 five-twenties^{AN} plus one^{AN}
 'one hundred and one' (AN)

The Multiplier Phrase used to produce multiples of 'one hundred' consists of two obligatory elements, the units and the multiplexer *nio²* 'times'; the units being the cardinal numerals from 'two' to 'nine'; see Figure 6.8. For example:

- (230) *ñu³ nio² hña³-láu³*
 nine times five-twenties^{IN}
 'nine hundred'

Optionally (and less frequently), the numerical adverbs *tenh²* 'twice', *hnaih³²* 'thrice', and *quiéinh³* 'four times' are found in place of the cardinal numerals *tun³* 'two', *hní³²* 'three', and *quiún³* 'four' to produce the numerals 'two hundred', 'three hundred', and 'four hundred'.

6.7.1.1.1.4 The Thousands Phrase and the Millions Phrase

It is possible to count up to 'nine hundred and ninety-nine' in Chinantec without resorting to borrowed words. The word *mei²¹* 'thousand' (the head of the Thousands Phrase) is borrowed from Spanish *mil*, the expression for 'one thousand' being *cú² mei²¹* (IN) or *cún² mei²¹* (AN). The word

mí²yaun²¹ 'million' (the head of the Millions Phrase) is borrowed from Spanish *millón*, the expression for 'one million' being *cáun² mí²yaun²¹* (IN) or *cún² mí²yaun²¹* (AN). The structures of both the Thousands Phrase and the Millions Phrase are given above in Figure 6.7. The other constituents of these two phrase types have already been discussed.

Many of the more complex numerals in the seventies, nineties, hundreds, thousands, and millions are commonly replaced in every-day speech by their less-complex Spanish equivalents.

6.7.1.1.1.2 Interrogative Quantifiers

There are three interrogative quantifiers (IQ) which agree in animate-ness with the NP head: *jáh³* 'how many?' (IN), *jáh³* 'how many?' (AN), and *cónh³* 'how many/much?' (IN). An example of each interrogative quantifier in turn is:

(231) Q[IQ CLASS] H[]
Jáh³ mu²¹ m¹ sí² hnáuh² hnú^{2?}
 how[^]many[^]IN? leaf flat book want[^]STI^{^2} you[^]SG
 'How many pages do you want?'

(232) Q[IQ] H
Jáh³ tsáu² ca³- jien¹ hnú^{2?}
 how[^]many[^]AN? people PAST-see[^]TA^{^2} you[^]SG
 'How many people did you see?'

(233) Q[IQ] H
Cónh³ cú¹-jen² hnáuh² hnú^{2?}
 how[^]many[^]IN? bucket want[^]STI^{^2} you[^]SG
 'How many buckets do you want?'

If a divisor (§6.7.1.1.1.3) or classifier (§6.7.1.1.2) is present in the Amount Phrase, only the inanimate interrogative quantifier *jáh³* 'how many?' (IN) may occur, as in (231) above. An example of an interrogative quantifier with a mensural classifier (§6.7.1.1.2.1) and an animate head noun is:

(234) Q[IQ CLASS] H[]
Jáh³ cuo² cá¹háuh² pih²¹ hnáuh² hnú^{2?}
 how[^]many[^]IN? box chickens little want[^]STA^{^2} you[^]SG
 'How many boxes of baby chickens do you want?'

Jáh³ 'how many?' (IN) cannot collocate with those divisors which take only the numeral *cá²* 'one'; for example, *cá² tsó¹³* 'one half' is grammatical, but **jáh³ tsó¹³* 'how many halves?' is not.

If no divisor or classifier occurs, then the interrogative quantifier directly modifies the NP head and must agree with the NP head as to animateness, as in (232) above.

Most of the qualifier elements of the Quantifier Phrase cannot occur with the interrogative quantifiers, the only permissible qualifier being *cun*³ 'approximately, only, amid' of QL₅ (§6.7.1.4.).

The interrogative quantifiers are discussed further in §10.3.2.

6.7.1.1.1.3 The Divisor Phrase

The Divisor Phrase may be present only if a numeral phrase, or an interrogative quantifier occurs. The Divisor Phrase consists of two elements, as illustrated in Figure 6.9:

Figure 6.9 The Divisor Phrase

DIVISOR PHRASE → (*hná*¹ 'section' } APPORTIONAL)

*hná*¹ 'section, portion' may modify any of the apportional divisors, or either element may occur without the other. (235) illustrates how the two elements can co-occur, where *zainh*²¹ 'wedge' is an apportional divisor:

- (235) *ca*² *hná*¹ *zainh*²¹ *máh*³
 one^IN section wedge squash
 'one section/portion of a wedge of squash'

Chinantec divisors are a kind of classifier in that they must agree with the head of the NP as to shape and animacy; or if a classifier occurs, the NP head governs both the divisor and the classifier. Although divisors are a kind of classifier, they form a separate syntactic class from the classifier constituent: they all share the semantic component of 'dividing a unit', and all but *tsám*¹ 'half' (of an animate entity or group) may precede a classifier.

If a divisor occurs within the Measure Phrase, the Numeral Phrase may be expressed only by inanimate numerals, even if the entity being divided is animate; compare (236) and (237) below. When the numeral is 'one', the allomorph *ca*² is used:

(236) SQP[NUM DIV] H
 *cá*² *hná*¹ *juí*³²
 one^IN section path
 'half the length of the trail'

(237) SQP[NUM DIV] H
 *cá*² *tsám*¹ *tsáu*²
 one^IN half people
 'half of the people'

*Hná*¹ 'section, portion' divides anything into roughly equal parts of two or more; it divides long entities transversally. *Hná*¹ may subdivide the appor- tional divisors *juonh*¹ 'piece', *cuonh*²¹ 'chunk', *zainh*²¹ 'wedge', and *jo*²¹ 'half'; see Table 6.16.

The appor- tional divisors that have been identified are set out in Table 6.16:

Table 6.16 Appor- tional Divisors

<i>cuonh</i> ²¹	'chunk' irregular, of any size, such as of pumpkin, dried meat, or cloth.
<i>cuonh</i> ¹	'corner', approx. 'one quarter', <i>cuonh</i> ¹ refers to flat objects only, such as tortilla, slice of bread or paper
<i>jo</i> ²¹	'half' of sphere or cylinder split along axis, 'half' (longitudinally) of a long flat object.
<i>juonh</i> ¹	'piece' small, irregular (torn off: of bread, meat, tortilla, etc.), 'sliver' (of glass or pottery), 'chip' (of wood); <i>juonh</i> ¹ can divide only the divisible measure <i>sienh</i> ³ 'section'
<i>tsá</i> ¹	'half' of a linear measure, bundle of objects, container of objects, liquid, or a period of time
<i>tsáun</i> ¹	'half' of an animate entity or group
<i>tsó</i> ¹³	'half' of liquid, half or portion (of inanimate entities)
<i>tsoh</i> ³	'equal portion', the result of an equal division of a group of entities or of liquid into two or more parts.
<i>zainh</i> ²¹	'wedge' of anything (e.g. squash, cake)

The appor- tionals *tsá*¹ and *tsáun*¹ of Table 6.16 can collocate only with the numeral *cá*² 'one'; all other appor- tionals and *hná*¹ 'section, portion' can additionally collocate with larger numerals. For example:

(238) SQP[NUM DIV] H[]
 *hní*³² *cuonh*¹ *tsí*¹ *hmih*³²
 three^IN piece disused cloth
 'three pieces of rag'

The appor- tionals *juonh*¹ 'piece' and *cuonh*²¹ 'chunk' cannot collocate with *tón*³² 'half' (§6.7.1.3), occurring only in the Amount Phrase. This re-

striction is probably due to *juonh*¹ and *cuonh*²¹ implying pieces too irregular in size to approximate one-half.

6.7.1.1.2 The Classifiers

Although Chinantec has classifiers, it is not a prototypical 'numeral classifier language' where nearly all nouns require a classifier.^{<17>} Greenberg (1974:18-25) discusses a variety of syntactic criteria in the attempt to arrive at a definition of a 'numeral classifier language'. He remarks that there are probably no languages in which every quantified noun requires a classifier, specifically nouns denoting measures and units of time 'hardly ever occur with classifiers' (ibid:18). In effect, the requirement of a classifier in quantifier constructions forms a cline where some languages require a classifier with most nouns, and others where 'the classifiers are not compulsory even for the restricted set of nouns that have them' (ibid:18). Chinantec lies closer to the latter end of this cline. As is typical of numeral classifier languages, there is a structural parallelism between the measure construction which occurs with mass (and count nouns) and those nouns which require a classifier when quantified. An example of each respectively is:

(239)(a) *tun*⁹ *cuah*²¹ *zái*¹
 two^IN gourd sand
 'two gourds of sand'

(b) *tun*⁹ *máí*⁹ *jláí*²
 two^IN sphere egg
 'two eggs'

Greenberg (1974:31) cites five 'synchronic generalisations that may be made regarding classifier languages proper'. A summary of his generalisations is:

(i) 'Of the six possible word orders among the three elements Q (quantifier), Cl (classifier), N (enumerated noun), only four occur - 1. Q-Cl-N; 2. N-Q-Cl; 3. Cl-Q-N; 4. N-Cl-Q.'

Chinantec conforms to the first order, Q-Cl-N.

(ii) In some languages, 'the relative order of quantifiers and classifier remains unchanged but the combination of the two may vary between place-

ment before or after the head noun.' Rarely, there is variation between the orders Q-Cl and Cl-Q.

Chinantec does not permit any variation in the order Q-Cl-N.

(iii) 'The connection between the numeral and the classifier is so close prosodically that they may have one accent . . . there may be fused forms such that analysis becomes difficult'.

This generalisation is not true of Chinantec; numeral and classifier are always readily identifiable. When compounding occurs, usually there is some kind of phonological modification of one or both elements (§3.1.3.1), but there is no evidence of such occurring in either numerals or classifiers.

(iv) 'The Q-Cl combination may often be separated in certain constructions from the enumerated noun.'

This is true of Chinantec; the evaluative constituent (§6.6) and the categoriser (§6.1.2) can occur between the abovementioned elements.

(v) 'The anaphoric construction of Q-Cl without overt expression of the noun occurs in all of these languages.'

Such constructions are found in Chinantec; for example, see (241) further below.

Lyons (1977:464) states that 'in many instances, the classifier is the head, rather than the modifier, in the constructions in which it occurs'. This raises the question: does a Chinantec classifier function as head or modifier? Nichols (1986:57) defines a head as: 'the word which governs, or is subcategorised for--or otherwise determines the possibility of occurrence of--the other word. It determines the category of its phrase.' Chinantec classifiers lack such head-like qualities, they are modifiers. The presence of a sortal classifier (§6.7.1.1.2.1) is determined by the fact that the referential noun is quantified; and the choice of a particular sortal classifier is determined by the nature of the referential noun--the noun's referent must have a particular shape, be inanimate, and generally be portable. Mensural classifiers (§6.7.1.1.2.1) are less restrictive than sortal classifiers as to shape; otherwise, they behave like

sortal classifiers. The quantified noun, not the classifier, is the head element.

As mentioned above, although Chinantec has classifiers, not all nouns require a classifier when they are enumerated. For example, *hmá²* 'tree' of (240c) does not take a sortal classifier:

- (240)(a) *quia³ mái³ quín¹*
 ten^IN sphere rock
 'ten stones'
- (b) *quia³ máh³² uóun²*
 ten^IN long^fine vine
 'ten vines'
- (c) *quia³ hmá²*
 ten^IN tree
 'ten trees'

In (240a), the classifier *mái³* denotes that the substance *quín¹* 'rock' is approximately spherical and portable.

Ellipsis of an enumerated NP head can occur when it has been previously mentioned or is apparent from the extra-linguistic context.

In (241b), the numeral and sortal classifier form a unit which functions anaphorically, referring to *ñí²rán³* 'orange' of (241a):

- (241)(a) *Tiá¹ zia³² ñí²rán³?*
 ?^not exist^SII orange
 'Aren't there any oranges?'
- (b) *Zia³² quiau³ mái³.*
 exist^SII seven^IN sphere
 'There are seven.'

In (242), however, *mí¹tái³* 'machete' does not take a sortal classifier, so it is the numeral that functions anaphorically:

- (242)(a) *Tiá¹ zia³² mí¹tái³?*
 ?^not exist^SII machete
 'Aren't there any machetes?'
- (b) *Zia³² hñi³².*
 exist^SII three^IN
 'There are three.'

Many classifiers have an identical, or nearly identical, form which can function as the head of an NP. Although the classifier and noun lexemes are historically related, the classifiers have a more generic meaning appropriate to their function within the quantifier phrase. For example, the noun *mái³* as

head of an NP has the specific meaning of 'fruit'; as a classifier, however, *máí³* means 'sphere' and is used with a wide variety of approximately spherical or elliptical entities, such as pill, ball, rock, mango, bean, etc. Examples of *máí³* as head of an NP and as a classifier respectively are:

- (243) *Hmá² ní² tiá² má² háí³² máí³.*
 tree that not PRF bear^TI^PRES^3 fruit
 'That tree is not yet bearing fruit.'
- (244) *Cuá²- quian² tun³ máí³ quín¹.*
 ANDT^IMP-bring^TI^2 two^IN sphere rock
 'Go get two stones.'

Some classifiers have a slightly different form from the related noun lexeme. For example, *quie³* 'money' is a noun, and the idiom *héih³² quie³* (measure money) 'peso' behaves like a lexical unit. The lexeme *héih³² quienh¹* (measure money) 'peso's worth', however, always functions as a mensural classifier in the quantifier phrase. For example:

- (245) *Ca³- cué³ jná¹³ tsú² quia³ héih³² quie³.*
 PAST-give^DI^1SG I 3 ten^IN measure money
 'I gave her/him ten pesos.'
- (246) *Ca³- lá³ jná¹³ quia³ héih³² quienh¹ ñí²ráu³.*
 PAST-buy^TI^1SG I ten^IN measure money orange
 'I bought ten pesos' worth of oranges.'

Héih³² quienh¹ of (246) is parallel in function to the classifier *máí³* 'sphere' of (247):

- (247) *Ca³- lá³ jná¹³ quia³ máí³ ñí²ráu³.*
 PAST-buy^TI^1SG I ten^IN sphere orange
 'I bought ten oranges.'

6.7.1.1.2.1 Sortal and Mensural Classifiers

Lyons (1977:463) defines a sortal classifier as 'one which individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is'; and a mensural classifier as 'one which individuates in terms of quantity'. Chinantec has a small closed set of sortal classifiers that are basically shape oriented. The mensural classifiers (measure oriented) are potentially an open set, as many entities (even non-conventional entities) can be used in quantifying expressions. Either type of classifier may occur in an amount phrase.

Adams and Conklin (1973:2) remark that:

Because the surface syntax of the numeral classifier phrase is identical to that of the measure construction few analyses have recognized that quantification phrases and qualification phrases are based on differing sets of semantic primes. . . . Numeral classifiers *qualify* rather than quantify the head noun, and as such require the presence of some particular intrinsic feature.'

In Chinantec there are five allomorphs for the numeral 'one' (IN) (§6.7.1.1.1.1.1). Many classifiers which are clearly mensural use the allomorphs *cám²*, *cú²*, or *cu²*, and generally *cám²* can be substituted for *cú²* or *cu²*. Examples of mensural classifiers are: *mif²* 'year', *táh¹* 'drop of liquid', and *rá²se¹ná¹* 'dozen'. Many classifiers which are clearly sortal take *cá²*, such classifiers cannot take *cám²*. Examples of sortal classifiers are: *sienh³* 'section, natural division' (of orange, garlic, etc.), *jo²¹* 'a long flat object', and *má¹* 'sphere'.

The division of classifiers in Tables 6.17-6.22 is based on the allomorph of 'one' with which each occurs. On this basis there are mensural classifiers whose referent have an identifiable shape (for example, *cuá¹* '1/5 litre bottle'), and there are sortal classifiers that are obviously used to measure (for example, *tsu²¹* 'clutch' (a handful, an armful, a disorderly stack), *hm¹h²* 'span' (from thumb to fingertip) and *hmá²* 'four litre measure' (always made in the shape of a box)). Although the distinction between mensural and sortal classifiers are somewhat blurred for some classifiers, the orientation of the classifiers towards being mensural or sortal appears to be reflected by the allomorph of 'one' with which it collocates.

Classifiers can be further sub-categorised according to their ability to occur with divisors, and the classifiers that are able to occur with divisors can be further subdivided according to whether they are inflected or not.

6.7.1.1.2.2 The Divisible Classifiers

I have found only two divisible inflected mensural classifiers: *tioh³ cuo²* 'armload' and *tsí²¹ tsí³cuo²* 'shoulder-load', which are idioms based on a

verb plus a body-part. The verb is inflected for third-person inanimate, and the body-part is inflected for the person of the referent. Both classifiers require the allomorph *cám²* for 'one'. (248) and (249) are examples of the two inflected mensural classifiers; (249) further illustrates the co-occurrence of an inflected mensural classifier and a divisor:

- (248) *tum³ tloh³ cuo² cuo¹*
 two^{IN} contain^{TI}^{PRES}³ arm³ firewood
 'her/his two armloads of firewood'
- (249) *ca² tsó¹³ tsí²¹ tsí^{3uón}² cuo¹*
 one^{IN} half be^{present}^{STI}^{3PL} shoulder^{1SG} firewood
 'half my shoulder-load of firewood'

Other constructions that use parts of the body to measure such things as the height of maize or the depth of water are unable to collocate with any numeral so I do not consider them to be a part of the quantifier system. For example:

- (250) *Cum³ hñeh² tsú² hé² jmáí².*
 approximately waist³ 3 hang^{SII} water
 'The water is approximately at the level of her/his waist.'

Uninflected divisible mensural classifiers may occur with the divisors (§6.7.1.1.1.3). Several of these classifiers are borrowed from Spanish. A mixture of the old imperial standard with the new decimal standard is commonly used.

The uninflected divisible classifiers that have been identified which occur with the allomorphs *cám²* or *cu³* 'one' are set out in Table 6.17, except for the time measures, which are set out separately in Table 6.18. The allomorph *cám²* 'one' is preferred with all the classifiers derived from Spanish; native speakers find *cu³* 'one' acceptable with all these classifiers if pressured, but not *ca²* 'one'. Most of the classifiers in Tables 6.17 and 6.18 are obviously mensural in nature, whereas many of the classifiers in Table 6.19 are obviously sortal.

Table 6.17 Divisible Classifiers Which Take *cáun*² or *cu*³ 'one'

<i>li¹brá¹</i>	'pound' (Sp. <i>libra</i>)
<i>tó²né²la¹dá¹</i>	'ton' (Sp. <i>tonelada</i>)
<i>pú²ga¹dá¹</i>	'inch' (Sp. <i>pulgada</i>)
<i>pié¹</i>	'foot' (Sp. <i>pie</i>)
<i>rá²se¹ná¹</i>	'dozen' (Sp. <i>docena</i>)
<i>qui¹ló¹</i>	'kilo' (Sp. <i>kilo</i>)
<i>gra¹mó¹</i>	'gram' (Sp. <i>gramo</i>)
<i>cú²cha¹rá¹</i>	'spoon' (Sp. <i>cuchara</i>)
<i>li¹tró¹</i>	'litre' (Sp. <i>litro</i>)
<i>me¹tró¹</i>	'meter' (Sp. <i>metro</i>)
<i>qui²lo¹mé¹tró¹</i>	'kilometre' (Sp. <i>kilómetro</i>)
<i>sén²ti¹mé¹tró¹</i>	'centimetre' (Sp. <i>centimetro</i>)
<i>cuá¹</i>	'one bottle full' a small beer bottle holding about 1/5 litre, used to measure kerosene; also refers to 1/4 kilo, 1/4 hectare (Sp. <i>cuarto</i>)
<i>zǝ³</i>	'bottle'
<i>cú¹jen²</i>	'drum' (40 litre)
<i>tse³</i>	'jug' (earthenware, usually used for liquor)
<i>tú²cho¹</i>	'sack' (traditionally made of sisal)
<i>há²rau²¹</i>	'12 kilos' (Sp. <i>arroba</i>)
<i>lio²¹</i>	'a ninety-six litre measure' for maize, beans, and other dry produce; 24 <i>hma</i> ² (see Table 6.19)
<i>táh¹</i>	'drop' of liquid
<i>tón³²</i>	'patches, plots' of maize, beans, or other crops

The mensural classifiers based on time nominals (Table 6.18 below) are able to quantify only the word *ta*²¹ 'work'. Some speakers prefer *cú*² 'one', and others prefer *cáun*² 'one'. For example:

- (251) *#i¹-jmú²¹ jná¹³ cáun²/cú² jmái¹ ta²¹.*
 INT-do^TI^1SG I one^IN day work
 'I will do a day's work.'

Table 6.18 Divisible Classifiers - Time, Which Take *cáun*² or *cú*² 'one'

<i>mí²nu¹tó¹</i>	'minute' (Sp. <i>minuto</i>)
<i>o¹rá¹</i>	'hour' (Sp. <i>hora</i>)
<i>sí²ma¹ná¹</i>	'week' (Sp. <i>semana</i>)
<i>jmái¹</i>	'day, time, period'
<i>nie²</i>	'night'
<i>mí²</i>	'year'
<i>zǝh²</i>	'month'

Most Chinantecs still use the animate numerals to quantify *zǝh*² 'month', but there is a growing tendency among younger speakers to employ the inanimate numerals.

All the divisible classifiers that have been identified which use the

allomorph *cá²* 'one' are given in Table 6.19. Some of these, such as *mu²¹* 'leaf', are obviously sortal, but semantically it is not readily apparent why some of the other classifiers should be part of the same set.

Table 6.19 Divisible Classifiers Which Take *cá²* 'one'

<i>cuah²¹</i>	'half a gourd shell', about a litre
<i>cuo²</i>	'box' as of rifle shells, mangoes, matches
<i>hienh²</i>	'bunch' of grapes, mangoes, raspberries, or other clusters of fruit or seeds
<i>hma²</i>	'four litre measure' (in the shape of a box)
<i>hmíh²</i>	'span'; <i>hmíh² juéh³</i> 'large span' (from thumb to little finger or second finger); <i>hmíh² pih²¹</i> 'little span' (from thumb to index finger)
<i>hñe²</i>	'load' of firewood, cane, or other long items that have been tied up with a rope and can be carried with a tumpline or in the arms
<i>jo²¹</i>	'a long flat object' such as a board
<i>jon¹</i>	'piece or section' of sugar cane, ladder
<i>juon²</i>	'lines, rows'
<i>liáu²</i>	'400' ears of maize, (usually neatly stacked)
<i>lio²¹</i>	'load of items' traditionally carried by tumpline e.g. firewood, blocks of crude sugar
<i>mí'zionh²¹</i>	'source' plant with shoots or suckers such as banana palms, sugar cane; or 'groups' of plants growing together, e.g. maize, which is planted with four to eight seeds in each hole
<i>mí²tá²</i>	'large basket', standard measure for measuring bread
<i>míh²</i>	'small basket-full' of firewood, avocados, and other items traditionally carried in small baskets by means of a tumpline.
<i>mu²¹</i>	'leaf' (i.e. flat and thin) e.g. paper, pages
<i>náh¹</i>	'one meter-square carrying-cloth-full' of avocados, oranges, or other produce
<i>pienh¹</i>	'pile' of meat, maize dough, manure
<i>quéí²</i>	'pile of firewood' built up in square form for drying
<i>sienh³</i>	'section or natural division' of garlic, oranges, and other naturally divisible fruit
<i>tsí²</i>	'finger width'
<i>záín²</i>	'roll' of twine, wire, vines, 'hand' of bananas

The classifier *jon¹* 'piece or section' from Table 6.19 can collocate with *jáí¹³* 'word' in the sense of a 'brief' word, 'short' story. If speech is thought of as a string of words, then *jon¹* would refer to a section of a potentially long string; for example:

(252) *cá² jon¹ jáí¹³*
 one[^]IN piece word
 'a short story'

6.7.1.1.2.3 The Indivisible Classifiers

Indivisible classifiers cannot occur with any of the divisors (§6.7.1.1.1.3).

All the known indivisible classifiers which use the allomorphs *cáun*² or *cu*³ 'one' are given in Table 6.20; most of these classifiers are more obviously mensural in nature than those given in Table 6.21.

Table 6.20 Indivisible Classifiers Which Take *cáun*² or *cu*³ 'one'

<i>chi</i> ²¹	'blast' of a whistle
<i>juín</i> ¹	'layers' of such things as blankets and clothes
<i>juín</i> ²	'trip' for sand, firewood, water, or other transportable goods (in the sense of a 'load')
<i>náih</i> ¹	'swallow of liquid'
<i>he</i> ¹	'cup' of liquor, about one <i>náih</i> ¹
<i>nió</i> ³	'group' of houses, 'flock' of birds, 'team' of players 'pile' of coffee, etc.
<i>póh</i> ³	'strike, blow, peal (of bell)' done with an instrument e.g. a mallet
<i>ziánh</i> ¹³	'bundle' of stick-like objects such as sugarcane or firewood

All the indivisible classifiers that have been identified which use the allomorph *cá*² 'one' (except for the monetary classifiers; see Table 6.22), are given in Table 6.21; most of these classifiers are more clearly sortal in nature than those given in Table 6.20.

Table 6.21 Indivisible Classifiers Which Take *cá*² 'one'

<i>hmáih</i> ³²	'tall and flexible' e.g. maize plant, vine
<i>jeinh</i> ³²	'turns of a long flexible thing wrapped around something', e.g. a cord wrapped around a wooden handle
<i>mái</i> ³	'sphere'
<i>máih</i> ³²	'fine and long' e.g. wire, thread, vine
<i>mi¹zionh</i> ²	'source, litter, family'. If a person, then <i>mi¹zionh</i> ² includes all that person's descendants.
<i>fi</i> ¹	'type, class'
<i>tan</i> ³	'bush-like, grass-like' e.g. maize plant, 'bush' type bean plant, coffee-tree
<i>tsu</i> ²¹	'clutch' e.g. a handful, double handful, arm-full, a disorderly stack of firewood; <i>tsu</i> ²¹ <i>pih</i> ²¹ 'pinch' of powder involving all fingers and thumb

There are only two monetary classifiers, used when quantifying things such as work, or anything purchased such as fruit, clothing, soap, kerosene, etc. The first monetary classifier given in Table 6.22 uses the allomorph *cá*²

'one'; the second classifier occurs only with even numbers, 'two, four', etc.; it is included in Table 6.22 since it forms part of the first classifier.

Table 6.22 Indivisible Classifiers - Monetary, Which Take *ca²* 'one'

héih³² qui²enh¹ 'peso's worth' (lit. 'measure money')
qui²enh¹ 'money, bit', is always used in a series of twos, being glossed as 'two bits' (twenty-five centavos), 'four bits' (fifty centavos), up to 'twenty bits' (two pesos and fifty centavos)

An example of the use of the monetary classifier is:

(253) *Ca³-ñí¹-lá¹³ jná¹³ cá² héih³² qui²enh¹ hí¹míih²¹.*
 PAST-ANDT-buy^{TI}^1SG I one^IN measure money bread
 'I went to buy one peso's worth of bread.'

6.7.1.1.3 The Modifier

A modifier element may optionally occur following the classifier; since all classifiers are inanimate, only the inanimate forms of adjectives occur. The set of adjectives that may function as modifiers in this position appears to be restricted to those which denote size: *pih²¹* 'small', *míh¹* 'little', *pa²¹* 'big', and *jueh³²* 'large'. The same adjectives are more frequently found as modifiers of the NP head. Generally, the 'size' denotation is maintained; with certain classifiers, however, *pih²¹* may denote 'only, even, just', instead of its usual meaning 'small'. For example:

(254) Q[NUM CLASS MOD] EVAL H[]
Tiá¹ zia³² tun³ mu²¹ pih²¹ uí¹ mí¹ sí²?
 ?^not exist^SII two^IN leaf just nice flat book
 'Aren't there even/just two pieces of nice paper?'

This same restricted set of adjectives may also occur when there is no classifier. With no classifier (or divisor) present to enumerate, the numeral must agree in animacy with the NP head, the adjective also agreeing in animacy. (255) and (256) illustrate the inanimate and the animate forms of 'big' respectively:

(255) *Hu²¹ cánn² pa²¹ hná¹ hmá² mí¹máh¹ hnú².*
 contain^STI^3 one^IN big^IN despicable wood eye^2 you^SG
 'There is a/one big wood splinter in your eye.'

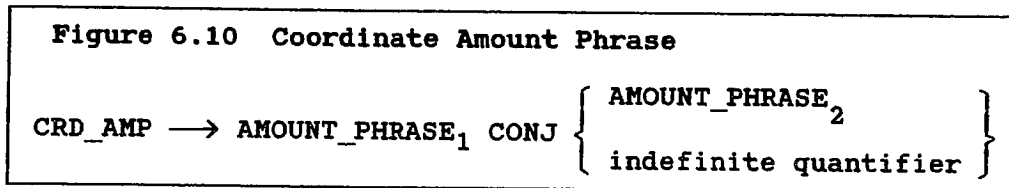
(256) *Sa³ jan² pan¹ hná¹ tú²jue³² jmú³*
 why! one^AN big^AN despicable buzzard (species)

cuanh³ cheih³² qui²oh²¹ tsú².
 arrive^IA^PAST^3SG outside have^STI^3 he
 'Why, a/one big ugly buzzard arrived outside his place.'

The question is: Is the adjective still part of the Measure Phrase, which as a unit modifies the NP head, or do the numeral and adjective independently modify the NP head? At this point in my analysis I have treated this limited set of adjectives as functioning within the Measure Phrase even when no classifier is present.

6.7.1.2 The Coordinate Amount Phrase

The Coordinate Amount Phrase (CRD_AMP) has three obligatory constituents: an Amount Phrase AMP₁, a coordinate conjunction CONJ, and either a second Amount Phrase AMP₂ or an indefinite quantifier, as set out in Figure 6.10:



The absolute amount of AMP₂ must always be less than that of AMP₁. In (257), 'tons' of AMP₁ is greater than 'kilos' of AMP₂:

(257) *Ca³-ziúh¹ jná¹³* Q[SQP[CRD_AMP[[AMP₁[MP
 PAST-harvest^TI^1SG I
 [NUM CLASS]]] CONJ [AMP₂[MP[NuP
qui²óm³ tó²né²la¹dá¹ tsí²¹ tenh³ nio²
 four^IN ton plus twice times
 CLASS]]]]] H
hña³-láu³ tsí²¹ quiu³-quia³ qui¹ló¹ á²ro¹sá¹.
 five-twenty plus twenty-ten^IN kilo rice
 'I harvested four tons and two hundred and thirty kilos of rice.'

Only the indefinite quantifiers (INDQ) *ca³lá²* 'some', and *cú¹pih²¹* 'a little' can occur in the CRD AMP. If AMP₂ occurs, the quantity specified in AMP₂ must be less than the quantity specified in AMP₁; for example:

- (258) $Ca^3- c\acute{u}m^3$ $jn\acute{a}^{13}$ $t\acute{u}m^3$ $t\acute{u}^2cho^1$
 PAST-pick^TI^1SG I two^IN sack
 CLASS]]
 CONJ INDQ]]] H[]
 $ts\acute{i}^{21}$ $c\acute{u}^1pih^{21}$ $m\acute{i}^3$ $c\acute{a}^2fe^{21}$.
 plus a^little spherical coffee
 'I picked two sacks and a bit of coffee beans.'

If no other NP constituent occurs after the NP head, the indefinite quantifier may optionally occur following the NP head; compare (258) above with (259):

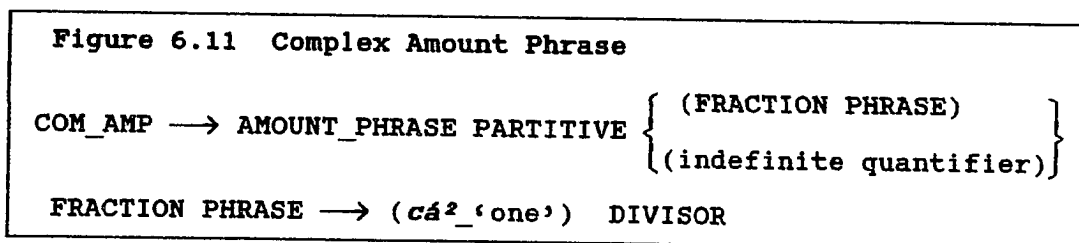
- (259) $Ca^3- c\acute{u}m^3$ $jn\acute{a}^{13}$ $t\acute{u}m^3$ $t\acute{u}^2cho^1$ $m\acute{i}^3$ $c\acute{a}^2fe^{21}$
 PAST-pick^TI^1SG I two^IN sack spherical coffee
 $ts\acute{i}^{21}$ $c\acute{u}^1pih^{21}$.
 plus a^little
 'I picked two sacks and a bit of coffee beans.'

An example employing AMP₂ in a post-head position is:

- (260) $Ca^3- c\acute{u}h^2$ $m\acute{i}^1m\acute{i}h^1$ $c\acute{a}^2$ $m\acute{a}^1^3$ $m\acute{i}^3$ $\acute{n}i^1r\acute{a}u^3$
 PAST-eat^TI^3 girl one^IN sphere spherical orange
 $ts\acute{i}^{21}$ $c\acute{a}^2$ $z\acute{a}i^nh^{21}$.
 plus one^IN wedge
 'The little girl ate one orange and a section of another.'

6.7.1.3 The Complex Amount Phrase

The Complex Amount Phrase (COM_AMP) consists of a simple Amount Phrase (AMP), a partitive element (PRT), and an optional Fraction Phrase (FRP) or indefinite quantifier, as set out in Figure 6.11:



The Amount Phrase (AMP) is as described in §6.7.1.1; however, when it occurs in the Complex Amount Phrase, no divisor may occur inside the AMP. There is only one partitive, the word $t\acute{a}n^{32}$ 'half'. Either the Fraction Phrase (FRP) or the indefinite quantifier can occur; both are optional. The indefinite quantifiers are $ca^3l\acute{a}^2$ 'some' or $c\acute{u}^1pih^{21}$ 'a little'. When 'some' or 'a little'

occur as the indefinite quantifier, the meaning of the partitive and the indefinite quantifier elements together is 'almost but not quite one half'; for example:

- (261) *hní³² cuah²¹ tón³² cú¹pih²¹*
 three^{IN} gourd half a^{little}
 'three and a bit gourds-full'

The Fraction Phrase consists of two elements: *cá²* 'one', followed by one of the divisors (§6.7.1.1.3). Generally, both constituents are obligatory, yielding the sense of 'one-half'. When the divisor *hná¹* 'section, portion' occurs, *cá²* 'one' is optional; for example:

- (262) *hní³² lí¹tró¹ tón³² (cá²) hná¹*
 three^{IN} litre half (one^{IN}) portion
 'three and one-half litres'.

When the Fraction Phrase occurs, the quantity indicated is redundant because it is already indicated by the partitive *tón³²* 'half'. However, the Fraction Phrase supplies information as to the shape of the object that is divided in half. For example:

- (263) *Ca³-la³ tsú² cáum² tú²cho¹*
 PAST-buy^{TI} 3 one^{IN} sack
 Q[SQP[COM_AMP[[AMP[NUM CLASS]
 PRT FRP[one DIV]]]] H[
tón³² cá² tsó¹³ mí³ cá²fe²¹.
 half one^{IN} half spherical coffee
 'S/he bought a sack and a half of coffee.'

6.7.1.4 The Qualifiers of the Specific Quantifier Phrase

The qualifier elements of the Specific Quantifier Phrase (SQP) precede the quantifier head (QH) (see Figure 6.5). There are seven qualifiers, largely independent of one another. The following is a list of the qualifiers in the SQP:

- QL₁: *cónh³* 'additionally'; *lí³* 'more than'
 QL₂: *hí¹* 'another'
 QL₃: *jmáh³* 'just'
 QL₄: *la³* 'about, almost, nearly'
 QL₅: *cun³* 'approximately, only, amid'

QL₆: *tá¹* 'together, entire, every'

QL₇: *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of'; *ma³ quin³² ma³* 'every, each separate (one/group of)'

(264) illustrates the co-occurrence of the QL₁ and QL₅ qualifiers:

(264) *Cué¹* *hf¹* *cun³* *hñá³*
 give^{DI}IMP²>1SG another approximately five
 CLASS]]]] H
máí³ *sí¹hio²¹*.
 sphere potato
 'Give (me) approximately another five potatoes.'

Each qualifier is discussed in turn under points (i)-(vii). The relative ordering of the qualifiers will be demonstrated in the examples to follow.

Co-occurrence restrictions are discussed under point (viii), and permutations of the qualifiers are discussed under point (ix).

(i) There are two qualifiers that can function in the Quantifier Phrase as the leftmost qualifier QL₁: *lí³* 'more than' and *cónh³* 'additionally'.

The qualifier *lí³* 'more than' is illustrated by:

(265) *lí³* *cun³* *tun³ló³²* *míí²* *máh³* *má²* *hún¹* *tsú²*.
 more[^]than only forty[^]IN year EXCL PRF be[^]in[^]STI[^]3 3
 'S/he is now more than only forty years old.'

The qualifier *cónh³* 'additionally' is illustrated by:

(266) *Cónh³* *hf¹* *tun³* *jawh³* *bíh¹* *hniauh³*.
 additionally another two[^]IN panel AFF be[^]lacking[^]SII
 'In addition, another two panels are lacking.'
 (i.e. woven fabric panels to make the native dress)

The qualifier *lí³* 'more than' cannot occur with QL₂, QL₃, nor QL₄; however, it can precede QL₅. Semantically, *lí³* is most like the qualifier *cónh³*, so I have tentatively counted it as a member of the first qualifier constituent set, QL₁.

(ii) The second qualifier QL₂ is *hf¹* 'another'. Its position as QL₂ is apparent by noting in (266) above that it follows *cónh³* 'additionally'.

Hf¹ 'another' generally loses its initial glottal in all but carefully articulated speech when the Verb Phrase is positive, being pronounced as *f¹*. The presence of a negative in the Verb Phrase gives the meaning of 'not even' to

*hi*¹, as can be seen by comparing examples (267) and (268) below. When used in a negative clause, the fully articulated form *hi*¹ is preferred.

- (267) *Cué*¹ *i*¹ *cáun*² *táu*² *quiú*¹³.
 give^{DI}IMP²>1SG another one^{IN} banana have^{STI}1PL
 'Give me (lit. 'us') another banana.'
- (268) *Tiá*² *ca*³⁻ *cué*³ *tsú*² *iná*¹³ *hi*¹ *cáun*² *hi*³.
 not PAST-give^{DI}3>1SG 3 I not^{even} one^{IN} tortilla
 'S/he didn't give me even one tortilla.'

(iii) The third qualifier QL₃ is *jmáh*³ 'just'; for example:

- (269) *Jmáh*³ *cáun*² *tsí*¹ *cuo*² *ní*² *bíh*¹ *tioh*²¹.
 just one^{IN} disused box that AFF be^{adequate}II^{FUT}
 'Just that one disused box will be adequate.'

The position of *jmáh*³ 'only, just' as third qualifier can be seen in (270), where *jmáh*³ follows the second qualifier *hi*¹/*i*¹ 'another':

- (270) *Cué*¹ *i*¹ *jmáh*³ *la*³ *tun*³ *mái*³ *mí*³
 give^{DI}2>1 another just about two sphere spherical

*má*¹ *cúh*¹³.
 mango eat^{TI}FUT^{1SG}
 'Give me about just another two mangoes to eat.'

(iv) The fourth qualifier QL₄ is *la*³ 'about, almost, nearly':

- (271) *Jmáh*³ *la*³ *cáun*² *hmih*³² *tseh*¹ *jáun*² *bíh*¹
 just almost one^{IN} clothes old that^{IN} AFF

qui^{h32} *tsá*² *hi*³.
 wear^{TI}PRES³ person that^{AN}
 'That person wears almost just that one set of old clothes.'

In (271), *la*³ 'about, almost, nearly' follows *jmáh*³ 'only, just' of QL₃.

(v) The fifth qualifier, QL₅, is *cun*³ 'approximately, only, amid':

- (272) *Hniáuh*³² *ján*³² *yáh*³ *tsú*² *la*³
 be^{necessary}SII wait^{TI}FUT³ ASSR 3 about

*cun*³ *cá*² *tsá*¹ *o¹rá*¹.
 approximately one^{IN} half hour
 'S/he definitely must wait for approximately a half hour.' (i.e. at
 least a half hour, perhaps more)

In (272), it can be seen that *cun*³ follows *la*³ 'about, almost, nearly' of QL₄.

The sense of 'amid' for the word *cun*³ can be seen in (273) below; the sense of 'only' is illustrated in (279).

(vi) The sixth qualifier, QL₆, is *tá*¹ 'together, entire, every':

- (273) *Tioh³ cum³ quia³túm³ mei²1 héih³2*
 contain^{SII} approximately twelve^{IN} thousand measure

quie³ cum³ tá¹ tun³ tuh³2 lá².
 money amid entire two^{IN} bag this
 'These two bags together contain approximately twelve thousand pesos.'

In (273), it can be seen that *tá¹* 'together, entire, every' follows *cum³* 'approximately, only, amid' of QL₅.

(vii) The members of the seventh and last qualifier (QL₇) set of the Specific Quantifier Phrase are: *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of' and *ma³ quin³2 ma³* 'every, each separate (one/group of)'.
 'every, each separate (one/group of)'.
 'every, each separate (one/group of)'.

An example of *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of' is:

- (274) *Ca³- la³ tsú² cum³ ma³ hñá³ má³3 ñí²rán³.*
 PAST-buy^{TI} 3 3 approximately by five sphere orange
 'They (each) bought oranges in lots of approximately five.'

When *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of' occurs with *cám²* 'one' (IN) or *jan²* 'one' (AN) the meaning is 'few' (lit. 'by one(s)'); for example:

- (275) *Ti³la³ ma³ jan² tsú² ca³- juáh³*
 but by one^{AN} 3 PAST-say^{TI} 3
 'But a few of them said'

When *ma³ quin³2 ma³* is used with numerals greater than one, the sense is 'each separate group of'; for example:

- (276) *ñúh¹3 nú² cáun² cú²cha¹rá¹ mí³ lá²*
 drink^{TI} IMP² you^{SG} one^{IN} spoon medicine this
tá¹ ma³ quin³2 ma³ quiúm³ o¹rá¹.
 every by separate by four^{IN} hour
 'Take a spoonful of this medicine every four hours.'

In (276), *ma³ quin³2 ma³* can be seen to follow QL₆ *tá¹* 'together, entire, every'.

When *ma³ quin³2 ma³* is used with the numeral 'one', the sense is 'each (one)':

- (277) *ñéi¹ tsú² ma³ quin³2 ma³ caun³2 juú².*
 go^{non} home^{IA} PAST³ he each different each one^{IN} town
 'He went to each town.'

With *ma³ quin³2 ma³*, the preferred allomorphs of 'one' are *caun³2* (IN) and *jan³2* (AN), although *cám²* (IN) and *jan²* (AN) are also grammatical.

(viii) Not all combinations of the seven qualifiers are grammatical. Almost any combination of three qualifiers may co-occur except when there are semantic restrictions. When *jmáh³* 'just' of QL₃ occurs, a maximum of four qualifiers may co-occur. The nonpermissible co-occurrences which have been identified are as follows:

The combination QL₂, QL₄, and QL₆ is ungrammatical.

la³ 'about, almost, nearly' of QL₄ can occur only when the Amount Phrase expresses a quantity greater or lesser than one.

Jmáh³ 'just' of QL₃ can only occur with *tá¹* 'together, entire, every' of QL₆ or either constituent of QL₇ if *la³* 'about, almost, nearly' of QL₄ is present.

(ix) There are several optional permutations of the order of the qualifiers; these are as follows:

The qualifier *cun³* 'approximately, only, amid' (QL₅), frequently permutes with *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of' (QL₇) or *ma³ quin³² ma³* 'every, each separate (one/group of)' (QL₇); for example:

(278) *ma³ quin³² ma³ cun³ jñéi³ zñh²*
by separate by approximately six month
'approximately every six months'

The order of the qualifiers *jmáh³* (QL₃), *la³* (QL₄), and *cun³* (QL₅) can also be: *la³ cun³ jmáh³* or *cun³ jmáh³ la³*, however, these latter two orders are less common. If *la³* of QL₄ does not occur, then the order of QL₃ and QL₅ obligatorily change to *cun³ jmáh³*, the order **jmáh³ cun³* is ungrammatical. An example of the permutation of QL₃ and QL₅ when QL₄ does not occur is:

(279) *Cun³ jmáh³ quia³ héih³² quie³ ca³- ma³hmah¹ tsú² quiú¹³.*
only just ten^{IN} measure money PAST-pay^{TI}^3 3 have^{STI}^1PL
'S/he paid only just ten pesos to me (lit. 'us').'

6.7.1.5 The Limiter

The adverb *tán¹* 'exactly, no more' functions as the limiter element in the Specific Quantifier Phrase. *Tán¹* appears to set the upper limit that is possible for any quantity in the Amount Phrase; that is, if any amount is proposed, the limiter *tán¹* marks that amount as the maximum. For example:

- (280) *Quiau³ p6h³ t6n¹ m¹ñi² quiuh³2 tsú².*
 seven^{IN} peal exactly bell strike^{TI} PRES³ they
 'They strike the (death) bell exactly seven peals.'

When qualifiers implying some imprecision occur with *t6n¹*, the meaning of *t6n¹* is 'no more'; for example:

- (281) *Cun³ quia³ m6i³ t6n¹ m¹ j¹l6i² b¹ih¹ hni6uh³2.*
 only ten^{IN} sphere no^{more} spherical egg AFF be^{necessary} SII
 'Only 10 eggs, no more, are necessary.'

There appear to be some co-occurrence restrictions between the limiter *t6n¹* and the qualifiers that precede the quantifier head. All combinations have not been tested, but it is the case that *la³* (QL₄) cannot occur with the limiter *t6n¹*, possibly due to the vagueness conveyed by the lexeme *la³* 'about, almost, nearly'. However, if *j¹m6h³* 'just' (QL₃) occurs with *la³* 'about, almost, nearly', then together they may occur with *t6n¹*. *J¹m6h³* probably gives sufficient semantic definiteness to *la³* to enable them together to occur with *t6n¹*. *Cun³* (QL₅) 'approximately, only, among', can collocate with the limiter *t6n¹* 'exactly, no more', the implication being that the sense of approximation is not great; see (281) above.

6.7.2 The Approximate Quantifier Phrase

The structure of the Approximate Quantifier Phrase (APP_QP) is set out in Figure 6.12: <18>

Figure 6.12 The Approximate Quantifier Phrase

APP_QP → (QUALIFIER₁) (QUALIFIER₂) (QUALIFIER₃)
 (QUALIFIER₄) (QUALIFIER₅) (QUALIFIER₇)
 QUANTIFIER_HEAD₁ (ALTERNATIVE) (QUALIFIER_x)
 QUANTIFIER_HEAD₂ (LIMITER)

The quantifier head₁ (QH₁) is a numeral phrase (§6.7.1.1.1), whereas the quantifier head₂ (QH₂) is an amount phrase (§6.7.1.1). The quantity referred to by QH₂ must be greater than that of QH₁.

The majority of the qualifiers of the APP_QP are the same as for the Specific Quantifier Phrase (§6.7.1), except that QL₆ of the SQP *t6¹* 'together,

entire, every' does not occur in the APP_QP. The following is a list of the qualifiers which may occur in the APP_QP:

QL₁: *cónh*³ 'additionally'

QL₂: *hi*¹ 'another'

QL₃: *jmáh*³ 'just'

QL₄: *la*³ 'about, almost, nearly'

QL₅: *cun*³ 'approximately, only, amid'

QL₇: *ma*³ 'by, each, in lots of'; *ma*³ *quin*³ *ma*³ 'every, each separate (one/group of)'

If no other qualifier occurs with *hi*¹ 'another' (QL₂), then the variant *hi*³ is used.

If a qualifier precedes QH₁, it must be one of the following: *cónh*³ 'additionally' (QL₁), *hi*¹ (or *hi*³) 'another' (QL₂), *cun*³ 'approximately, only, amid' (QL₅), or *ma*³ 'by, each, in lots of' (QL₇). The status of *jmáh*³ 'just' (QL₃) and *la*³ 'about, almost, nearly' (QL₄) is discussed below in the co-occurrence restrictions.

Qualifier_x (QL_x), which precedes QH₂, is essentially a repetition of the qualifier immediately preceding QH₁, but QL_x can only be of one of the following three qualifiers: *hi*¹ (or *hi*³) 'another' (QL₂), *cun*³ 'approximately, only, amid' (QL₅), or *ma*³ 'by, each, in lots of' (QL₇). If *cónh*³ 'additionally' (QL₁) immediately precedes QH₁, then *cun*³ (QL₅) must precede QH₂. QL_x is optional only if *cun*³ immediately precedes QH₁; compare (282) and (283).

(282) *Ca*³-*tsan*³ Q[APP_QP[QL₅ QH₁[NUM]]]
 PAST-die^{IA}3PL *cun*³ *gáun*³
 approximately three^{AN}
 QH₂[NUM]] LIM] H
*quim*³ *tán*¹ *cá¹háu*².
 four^{AN} no^{more} chicken
 'Approximately three or four chickens died, no more.'

(283) *Ca*³-*cúh*² *tsú*² Q[APP_QP[QL₅ QH₁[NUM]]]
 PAST-eat^{TI}3 3 *cun*³ *quím*³
 approximately four^{IN}
 QL₅ QH₂[AMP[NUM CLASS]]] H[]
*cun*³ *hñá*³ *mái*³ *mí*³ *má*¹.
 approx. five sphere spherical mango
 'S/he ate approximately four or five mangoes.'

The optional alternative (ALT) element is the conjunction *ho³* 'or' (§6.8). (283) is an example of the APP_QP without the ALT element; an example with the ALT element present is:

(284)

	Q[APP_QP[QL ₇ QH ₁ [NUM]]	ALT	QL ₇	
<i>Jhí³²</i>	<i>tsú²</i>	<i>ma³</i>	<i>jñéí³</i>	<i>ho³ ma³</i>
sow ^{TI} ^PRES ³ 3	by	six	or	by

	QH ₂ [AMP[NUH CLASS]]		H[]	
<i>quiau³</i>	<i>máí³</i>	<i>máí³</i>	<i>cuú².</i>	
seven ^{IN} sphere	spherical	maize		

'They sow maize kernels by sixes or sevens.'

The limiter element of the APP_QP is *tán¹* 'no more' (as in the Specific Quantifier Phrase (§6.7.1.5)); however, since the APP_QP implies approximation, the sense of 'exactly' for *tán¹* does not apply. The use of *tán¹* 'no more' is illustrated in (281) above.

Some of the co-occurrence restrictions of the APP_QP have already been mentioned. Other restrictions that have been noted are:

(i) Only whole units are permissible in the APP_QP; the divisors (§6.7.1.1.1.3) cannot co-occur. Expressions such as 'about one or one and a half' are ungrammatical.

(ii) When *jmáh³* 'just' (QL₃) is present in the APP_QP, then *la³* 'about, almost, nearly' (QL₄) must co-occur, although *la³* may occur without *jmáh³*.

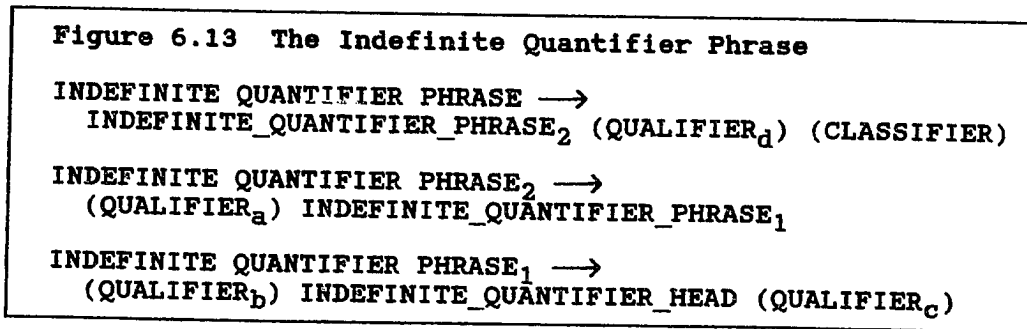
(iii) When QL₃ and/or QL₄ occur(s), it/they must be followed either by *cun³* 'approximately, only, amid' (QL₅) or by *ma³* 'by, each, in lots of' (QL₇), or by both.

There is one automatic permutation of order among the qualifier elements: when *hí¹* 'another' (QL₂) occurs with *jmáh³* 'just' (QL₃) and *la³* 'about, almost, nearly' (QL₄), then the order is QL₃ QL₂ QL₄, not *QL₂ QL₃ QL₄. (The order of the qualifier elements in the Approximate Quantifier Phrase is assumed to be the same as for the Specific Quantifier Phrase (§6.7.1.4), thus necessitating an 'automatic permutation'.)

6.7.3 The Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

The structure of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase (IND_QP) is set out in

Figure 6.13:



The indefinite quantifiers that can function as the head of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase are set out in Table 6.23 below.

The qualifiers QL_a, QL_b, QL_c, and QL_d are different from the qualifiers of the other quantifier phrase types, hence the different subscripts. The two qualifiers QL_b and QL_c are largely independent of each other in modifying the head element IQH of the IND_QP.

The full Indefinite Quantifier Phrase is illustrated by:

(285) $Ca^3- la^3$ $tsú^2$ Q[IND_QP[IND_QP₂[QL_a ca^3la^3]]]
 PAST-buy^TI^3 3 even-to

IND_QP₁[QL_b IQH QL_c]] QL_d CLASS] H[
 $jíánh^1$ $hliám^3$ $lín^32$ cu^3ti^3 ($mái^3$) $mí^3$ $dúh^3$]
 really many^IN very absolutely sphere spherical candy
 'S/he bought an absolutely huge amount of candies.'

In both the Specific Quantifier Phrase (§6.7.1) and the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase, the nature of the NP head determines the presence and choice of the classifier (§6.7.1.1.2). In the Specific Quantifier Phrase, for enumeration of certain nouns to occur, the presence of a classifier is obligatory; however, in the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase, the classifier is optional for the same nouns. Thus, (285) above is grammatical whether $mái^3$ 'sphere' occurs or not.

6.7.3.1 The Head of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

There are four indefinite quantifiers (INDQ) that may function as the head of the IND_QP; see Table 6.23.

Table 6.23 The Indefinite Quantifiers

	Inanimate	Animate Non-1PL	Animate 1PL
few, little	<i>cú¹pih²¹</i>	<i>cú¹pih²¹</i>	<i>cú¹pih²¹</i>
some	<i>ca³lá²</i>	<i>ca³lá²</i>	<i>ca³lá²</i>
many	<i>hliáun³</i>	<i>juóun³²</i>	<i>juóun³²</i>
most, all	<i>jí³²</i>	<i>jín³²</i>	<i>jáí³²</i>

If the indefinite quantifier *ca³lá²* 'some' occurs as the head of an IND_QP, none of the qualifiers may co-occur.

None of the forms of the indefinite quantifier *jí³²*, *jín³²*, *jáí³²* 'most, all' can occur unless one of the qualifiers of QL_A, or *lín³²* of QL_C (or both) also occur; all three forms of 'most, all' have a single variant *jí³*, which occurs only when followed by the QL_C qualifier *lín³²* 'very'; see Table 6.24.

6.7.3.2 The Qualifiers of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

(1) There are two qualifiers that may function as QL_A: *ca³la³* 'even to, up to,' and *la³* 'about, almost, nearly'; *la³* is more vague or imprecise than *ca³la³*.

Either *ca³la³* or *la³* can modify *jí³²*, *jín³²* or *jáí³²* 'most, all' (Table 6.24). When *ca³la³* modifies any of the forms of 'most, all', the meaning more closely approximates totality than when *la³* is used. For example:

(286) *Ca³la³ jín³² tsú² ca³- tsan³.*
 even^to most^AN 3 PAST-die^IA^3PL
 'They all died.'

(287) *La³ jín³² tsú² ca³- la³ cuú².*
 about all^AN 3 PAST-buy^TI^3 maize
 'Most/all people bought maize.'

(286) says that every, or nearly every person died, but the meaning of (287) can range from 'most people' to 'all people' bought maize. The degrees of totality implied by 'all' and its qualifiers are discussed in §6.7.3.4.

If either of the other two indefinite quantifiers which can be qualified occurs as the head of IND_QP, only *ca³la³* can occur.

Quite likely *la³* of *ca³la³* 'even to, up to' is related to the qualifier *la³* 'about, almost, nearly', but the meaning of *ca³* is uncertain; a possible etymology of *ca³* is *cám²* 'one' (IN) (which can also function adverbially, mean-

ing 'simply'), or one of its variants; see §6.7.1.1.1.1.

(ii) There are three qualifiers that may function as QL_b: *ma³* 'in lots of', *tá¹* 'precisely', and *jlánh¹* 'really'.

(iii) There are three qualifiers that may function as QL_c: *lín³²* 'very', *sính¹* 'quite', and *hlaih³/hlah³* 'terribly', the latter used with an intensifying connotation, much like in the English expression 'terribly many'.

The word 'very' has six variants: *lín³²*, *lín²¹*, *lín¹³*, *lǐ²*, *lín²*, and *la²*. *Lín³²* is the most common form. Generally, *lín²¹* is a phonemically conditioned variant; it regularly occurs following a syllable (or monosyllabic word) with a mid, high, or mid-rising tone; however, it occasionally occurs in other contexts, in which case it has an emphatic sense. *Lín¹³* is more emotionally charged than *lín³²*, and is more common in women's speech than in men's speech. When *lín³²* occurs with *jǐ³²* (IN), *jín³²* (AN non-1PL), or *jáǐ³²* (AN 1PL) 'most, all' (Table 6.24), all three forms of 'most, all' are affected, becoming *jǐ³*, and *lín³²* is also affected, becoming *lǐ³²* (IN), *lín²* (AN NON-1PL), and *la²* (AN 1PL); see §6.7.3.4.

(iv) There are three qualifiers that may function as QL_d: *ca³lá²* 'rather, somewhat' (a reserved remark) and *cu³tí³* or *cu³tí¹³* 'absolutely'; the latter form being more emphatic than the former.

6.7.3.3 The Classifier Constituent of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

The classifier constituent of the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase (IND_QP) appears to be essentially the same as for the Specific Quantifier Phrase (SQP). The sortal classifier is optional in the IND_QP (see (285) above), whereas it is obligatory in the SQP when enumerating certain entities (§6.7.1.1.2).

If a classifier is present in the IND_QP, only inanimate indefinite quantifiers may occur, regardless of the animacy of the head noun. This is because the indefinite quantifier modifies the classifier, all of which are inanimate, and the quantifier + classifier combination as a whole quantifies the head noun (see also §6.7.1.1.1).

Examples with inanimate and animate head nouns respectively are:

(288) Q[INDQ CLASS] H[]
Hliám³ mu²¹ mɨ¹ sf² hnó³² jná¹³.
 many^{IN} leaf flat book want^{STI}1SG I
 'I want a lot of (lit. 'many') pages.'

(289) Q[INDQ CLASS] H[]
Hliám³ ní³ tsá² cauh³² mɨ³ láu² zian².
 many^{IN} group person play^{TI} PRES³ spherical hide exist^{SIA}3
 'There are many teams/groups of basketball players.'

If no classifier occurs, then the indefinite quantifier directly modifies the NP head and must agree with the NP head in animateness and, if animate, also agree in person.

An example of an indefinite quantifier agreeing with a first-person plural NP head is:

(290) *Juóu³² (lín³²) jnoh¹ ziam².*
 many^{1PL} very us exist^{SIA}1PL
 'There are (very) many of us.'

6.7.3.4 Morphophonemics within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

As mentioned in §6.7.3.1, the indefinite quantifier *jɨ³²*, *jín³²*, *jáɨ³²* 'most, all' can only occur if at least one of the qualifiers of QL_a, or *lín³²* of QL_c also occur.

There are morphophonemic changes involving loss of nasalisation, vocalic change, and tone-stress change that occur when the indefinite quantifier 'most, all' is modified by *lín³²* 'very' of QL_c. Because of the semantic and phonemic interaction of the variants of 'most, all' with *lín³²* of QL_c, and the semantic interaction of these variants with the qualifiers of QL_a, I have tabulated the phonemic changes and the connotations in Table 6.24.

Table 6.24 The Morphophonemics of *jɨ³²* 'most, all', *lín³²* 'very', and Implied Degrees of Totality

	Inanimate	Animate Non-1PL	Animate 1PL
most, (all)	<i>la³ jɨ³²</i>	<i>la³ jín³²</i>	<i>la³ jáɨ³²</i>
most, (all)	<i>jɨ³ lí³²</i>	<i>jɨ³ lín²</i>	<i>jɨ³ la²</i>
most, (all)	<i>ca³la³ jɨ³²</i>	<i>ca³la³ jín³²</i>	<i>ca³la³ jáɨ³²</i>
all	<i>ca³la³ jɨ³ lí³²</i>	<i>ca³la³ jɨ³ lín²</i>	<i>ca³la³ jɨ³ la²</i>

In Table 6.24, the sense of 'totality' increases from top to bottom. Comparing the constructions with each other, it can be said that the 'heavier' the con-

struction (that is, the more words it has), the more emphatic it is. The first two constructions are of equal weight as to the number of words, but the second construction is less common or 'marked'. The connotation of all but the final expression in Table 6.24 resemble the hyperbole of English expressions such as *Everyone has the flu!*, where all ≠ 'all'. Depending on the context, even the topmost form can mean 'absolutely all'; but the meaning of the bottommost form is emphatically and unreservedly 'all'.

6.7.3.5 Co-occurrence Restrictions within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

The following co-occurrence restrictions have been identified within the IND_QP:

(i) When the head of the IND_QP is *cú¹pih²* 'few, little' or *hliám³* (*juóm³²* or *juóu³²*) 'much, many', then the only qualifiers which may occur are *ca³la³* 'even to' of QL_a, *ma³* 'by, in lots of' or *jlánh⁴* 'really' of QL_b, and/or any of the options of QL_c or QL_d. Either *ca³la³* 'even to' of QL_a or *ca³lá²* 'somewhat' of QL_d may be present, but not both.

(ii) When the head is *jí³²* (*jín³²* or *jái³²*) 'most, all', then either option of QL_a, and/or *lín³²/lín¹³* 'very' of QL_c must occur (see Table 6.24). In addition, *tá¹* 'entire' or *jlánh⁴* 'really' of QL_b, and/or *cu³tí³/cu³tí¹³* 'absolutely' of QL_d may co-occur.

(iii) *Sính¹* 'quite' of QL_c can only be present when *cú¹pih²* is the head of the IND_QP.

(iv) *Hlaih³* 'terribly' of QL_c can only be present when *hliám³* (IN) (or *juóm³²* (AN), or *juóu³²* (1PL)) 'much, many' is the head of the IND_QP.

(v) *Sính¹* 'quite' and *hlaih³* 'terribly' of QL_c are not able to collocate with *ca³lá²* 'somewhat' of QL_d.

(vi) In the IND_QP, *lín³²* 'very' of QL_c seems able to collocate with *ca³lá²* 'rather, somewhat' of QL_d, although in the Adjective Phrase they cannot co-occur (§6.3.5).

6.7.3.6 Permutation of Qualifiers within the Indefinite Quantifier Phrase

There is one automatic permutation within the IND_QP: when the head of

the IND_QP is $jí^{32}$ ($jín^{32}$ or $jái^{32}$) 'most, all', then the order is $QL_b QL_a$, not $*QL_a QL_b$.

6.8 Coordination of Noun Phrases

In this section I discuss the coordination of NP elements, and the construction of lists. The coordination rule is given in Figure 6.14; the symbol n stands for any number greater than zero.

Figure 6.14 Coordination of Noun Phrases

<p>Coordinate NP \rightarrow NP^n $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{conjunctive NP} \\ \text{disjunctive NP} \end{array} \right\}$</p>

There is only one conjunctive, the conjunction $jí^3$ 'and'. For example:

- (291) $\#í^1- l á^3$ $j n á^{13} \#í^1$ $j í^3$ $j u í^1 c u ú^2$ ($n í^2$ $s í á h^3$).
 ANDT-buy^TI^1SG I salt and sugar too also
 'I am going to buy salt and sugar (as well).'

If only two noun phrases are conjoined by $jí^3$, as in (291), then the adverbs $ní^2$ 'too' and $síáh^3$ 'also' are optional--either both occur, or neither. If n is greater than one, then $ní^2$ and $síáh^3$ are both obligatory. For example:

- (292) $\#í^1- l á^3$ $j n á^{13} \#í^1$, $j u í^1 c u ú^2$, $j m í^2 t i u h^{21}$ $j í^3$
 ANDT-buy^TI^1SG I salt sugar milk and

 $h m á^2 \#í^1 s í^2$ $n í^2$ $s í á h^3$.
 match too also
 'I am going to buy salt, sugar, milk, and matches as well.'

There are two disjunctives, $h o^3$ 'or' and $h o^3 l á^2 d á^2$ 'or else'. Examples of each respectively are:

- (293) $\#n í á u h^{32}$ $j a^3$ $t s ú^2$ $t i n^2$ $c a^3 l á^2$ $\#í^1 c u ú^2$
 be^necessary^SII spread^TI^3 3 first some pressed^cane

 $h o^3$ $m u^{21}$ $h m á^2$ $t á u^2$.
 or leaf^3 tree banana
 'One must first spread out some pressed sugarcane or banana palm leaves.'
- (294) $\#n ó^{32}$ $j n á^{13} c á^2 f e^{21}$ $h o^3 l á^2 d á^2$ $j m í^2 r á u^3$.
 want^STI^1SG I coffee or^else cordial
 'I want coffee or else cordial/soda.'

A coordinate construction in which a disjunctive occurs, and n is great-

er than one, is illustrated by:

- (295) *Hnáuh*¹³ *hnú*² *cá*²*fe*²¹, *jmí*²*tau*²¹, *ho*³ *jmí*²*ráu*³?
 ?^want^STI^2 you^SG coffee custard or cordial
 'Do you want coffee, custard, or cordial/soda?' <19>

Coordination of clauses is discussed in §9.10.

6.9 Residue

The lexeme *má*²*tún*² 'alone, only, exclusively' (with speaker variation *má*²*tun*³²) does not appear to fit into the structure of the NP as presently described. Based on its most common usage, it appears to be a quantifier, with a restrictive connotation, possibly a type of indefinite quantifier. *Má*²*tún*² occurs only with 1PL, 2PL or 3PL referents.

An example of *má*²*tún*² with a 2PL referent is:

- (296) *He*³ *láih*³² *ná*¹- *tín*²³ *náh*²
 what? be^gained^SII PROG^PL-fight^IA^PRES^2 you^PL
*má*²*tún*² *renh*^{2?}
 exclusively companion^2
 'Why are you, who are exclusively companions/relatives, fighting?'

An example of *má*²*tún*² with a 3PL animate referent is:

- (297) *Tsan*³² *má*²*tún*² *tsá*²*ñuh*² *hi*³
 dance^IA^PRES^3 exclusively men COMP
*ná*¹- *quih*³² *mí*²*jái*³.
 PROG^PL-wear^TI^3 woman's^tunic
 'The men dance exclusively among themselves wearing women's tunics.'

*Má*²*tún*² can occur with a 3PL inanimate referent, although this use is uncommon; for example:

- (298) *Má*²*tún*² *hmá*² *ca*² *bíh*¹ *tá*¹ *ji*³ *lí*³² *hmá*²
 exclusively tree pine AFF entire all very tree
*tsí*³² *ñí*¹ *ní*².
 stand^SII^3PL place that
 'All the trees standing in that place are exclusively pine trees.'

*Má*²*tún*² is able to occur with the plural reflexive pronoun *hmóu*³² 'ourselves, yourselves, themselves'. For example:

- (299) *Má*²*tún*² *hmóu*³² *tsú*² *ca*³- *caun*² *lio*²¹ *jáun*².
 alone themselves 3 PAST-carry^TI^3 cargo that^IN
 'They themselves alone carried the cargo.'

It is unlikely that *má*²*tún*² is an indefinite quantifier because it can

occur with a numeral. For example:

(300) *Jmí¹ ná¹- lán³ tsú² quiam³ má²tún²*
TRM PROG^{PL}-be^{IA}³ 3 seven^{AN} exclusively

rainh²¹ jan² jméi² m¹ziú¹³.

relative³ one^{AN} father³ mother³

'They were seven, all (lit. 'exclusively') brothers, (having) one father and mother.'

It can also occur with a numeral and a mensural classifier (*nió³* 'group'):

(301) *Ní¹juáh³ zia³² hniéi² ja¹ cu³ nió³ má²tún²*
if exist^{SII} fight within one^{IN} group alone

hmóu³² tsá² ná¹- lán³ ta²¹

themselves person PROG^{PL}-be^{IA}³ authority

'If there is a dispute among those who are in authority'

(lit. 'If there is a dispute within a group among themselves alone people being in authority')

Hopefully, further discussion with native speakers will clarify the syntactic role of *má²tún²*.

6.10 Conclusion

Analysing the structure of the Noun Phrase has been like peeling an onion: layer within layer. However, although the potential for complexity exists on many of the layers, and for several of the constituents of each layer, in spoken Chinantec it is rare to find complexity in more than one NP constituent at a time. Discovering and describing the NP structure has been a challenge, and I would not be surprised to find yet further complexities lurking in some corner.

NOTES

1. Anderson (1985:175) observes that 'Another common category in nouns is gender. . . . Particularly common are systems based on sex (masculine, feminine and neuter) or animacy (with the variant human/non-human)' In Chinantec, agreement between syntactic elements is governed by animacy, not sex.

2. I have noticed a tendency for some of the younger speakers to choose inanimate verbs and adjectives to collocate with 'sun' and 'moon'. Traditionally, thunder is a spirit animal; the rainbow is another spirit animal - a bird-like being with a colourful, fanned tail similar to that of a turkey; the moon is a female deity; the sun a male deity; and the stars are believed to be the spirits of dead babies.
3. *Jmá'wifh*³² 'Thunder Spring', a land-locked lake remote in the mountains, is so named because it is reputed to be the dwelling of the Thunder spirit. If passing nearby, one must walk quietly without talking, otherwise the spirit may be disturbed and the intruder would get caught in a thunderstorm.
4. I use the term 'kinship' loosely to cover all interpersonal relationships; included are terms such as 'friend', 'servant', 'boss/master', and 'countryman'.
5. Other Chinantec languages do not appear to exhibit such a wide range of pronominal forms. Rupp (1989:79), for example, states that in Lealao Chinantec 'The first-person singular pronoun is also unique in having an emphatic form' Anderson (1989:71-77) describes seven pronouns in Comaltepec Chinantec (including first-person plural exclusive and third-person animal) with six phonologically less prominent forms, but their use appears to be governed syntactically rather than sociolinguistically.
6. The concordance was based on a collection of oral and written texts which were processed using a concordance programme of the Linguistics Project of the University of Oklahoma, under grant GS1605 of the National Science Foundation.
7. *Na*³ 'I' is a part of Wilfrido's (19 years old) vocabulary, semantically distinct from *ná*³ 'I', whereas his father Marcelino does not recognise two distinct lexical forms, using *ná*³ for situations where Wilfrido would prefer to use *na*³. On other uses of *ná*³ they agree. I have not had opportunity to check with other speakers to see if *na*³ is idiosyncratic to Wilfrido, or if

indeed a new pronoun is coming into use.

8. The Spanish word *compadre* 'co-father', 'is the godfather seen from the point of view of the child's godmother or parent. Thus, if I am the child's godmother, *mi compadre* is "my fellow godparent" and, if I am the child's parent, *mi compadre* is "my child's godfather"' (Pequeño Larousse 1976:213). The same principle holds for *comadre* 'co-mother', but with a reversal of gender-roles in the above definition.
9. A bilingual Chinantec-Spanish dictionary is in progress. The citation form for inalienable nouns is based on the normal response by speakers of Chinantec when asked in Spanish for the Chinantec equivalent of a noun; for example, if asked for *padre* 'father', the response would be *jméi*?. For inalienable nouns, the response has consistently been the form used for 1PL/3 POSS.
10. For example, Rupp (1989:68) states that in Lealao Chinantec: 'If the possessor is first or second-person, the corresponding personal pronoun may follow, but since this is redundant, it is added only to give emphasis'.
11. The verb 'give' has a transitive inanimate form, a ditransitive inanimate form, and a ditransitive animate form. Both the ditransitive forms have direct and inverse counterparts (see §4.1.8.2, and §8.1.4).
12. Lightning is seen not as the cause of thunder, but as the product of or possession of thunder, which is a mythical spirit being.
13. Adjectives that can collocate with only an animate or inanimate noun, or have only the one form regardless of animacy, are unmarked for animacy in the examples.
14. Marcelino Flores Mariscal was 39 in August 1991 when this study was done.
15. The difference between *chu*²¹ 'good' (as to condition or function) and *chú*³² 'good' (as to quality or nature) can be seen in the following examples: *jú¹chu*²¹ 'good word(s)' refers to a pleasant sounding discourse, *jú¹chú*³² 'good word(s)' refers to good advice or instruction. A poet might use

jú¹chu²¹, but a preacher or parent would use *jú¹chú³²* to instruct in ethics or morals. A *si² chu²¹* is a 'book in good condition', while a *si² chú³²* is a 'book that is instructive'.

16. There is one word for 'month' and 'moon'. The moon is traditionally regarded as a female deity, thus animate numerals are generally used to enumerate months.

17. Lyons (1977:461) defines a 'classifier-language' as one in which 'classifiers are obligatory in phrases containing numerals'. Greenberg (1974:18) remarks that, although this kind of definition may be 'a useful starting point for a discussion . . . on such a view it is not excessive to state that there are no numeral classifier languages'.

18. In Foris 1980:59-60, I set up a separate Approximate Quantifier Phrase type to cover the situation where three consecutive numbers might occur; for example, 'Only three, four or five chickens died'. In later discussions with my language assistants, they insisted that such a structure is ungrammatical; two numbers are the maximum. This enabled the collapsing of the two phrase types into one, which is discussed at this point.

19. The word *ji¹tau²¹* 'custard' refers to a drink made from ground maize and sweetened with crude sugar.

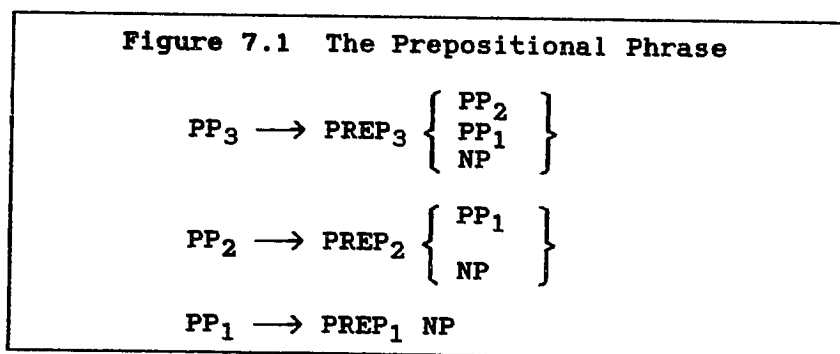
CHAPTER 7

THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

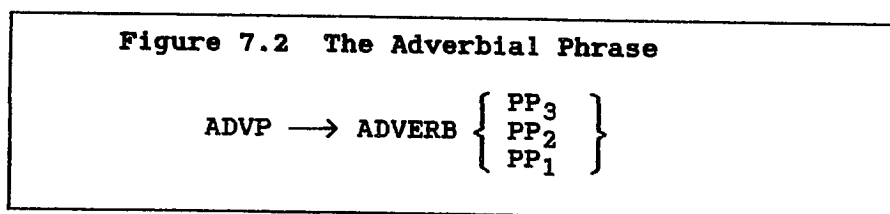
7.0 Introduction

In this chapter the structure of Sochiapan Chinantec locative, temporal, and instrumental prepositional phrases is discussed.

The structure of the Prepositional Phrase (PP) is set out in Figure 7.1:



A prepositional phrase can be modified by an adverb, as set out in Figure 7.2:



There can be no modifier of a prepositional phrase if that prepositional phrase is the complement of a preposition.

There are restrictions as to the adverbs which can occur with each prepositional phrase: PP₁, PP₂, and PP₃, and with each prepositional phrase type: locative, temporal, and instrumental; these restrictions are discussed in

§7.1.5, §7.2.4, and §7.3.2 respectively.

Adverbial phrases are also discussed in §8.2.3 and §8.2.5.

7.1 The Locative Prepositional Phrase

Of the various prepositional phrase types, the Locative Prepositional Phrase (LOC PP) exhibits the widest variety of prepositions. All the prepositional phrases in Figure 7.1 are able to occur as a LOC PP.

7.1.1 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrase₁

Class 1 locative prepositions (PREP₁) form the largest set of prepositions. There are two sub-types of Class 1 locative prepositions: those which function only in prepositional phrases, and those which are also found as inalienable nouns; see Tables 7.1 and 7.2 respectively.

Table 7.1 Class 1 Locative Prepositions

<i>can</i> ³²	'beside, along'
<i>cá</i> ¹ <i>hñu</i> ²¹	'behind' (a building)
<i>cáh</i> ³²	'on the far side of' (a mountain, a building)
<i>chu</i> ³	'in, inside, within' (a liquid or mass)
<i>có</i> ³²	'nearby'
<i>hñu</i> ³	'inside, within'
<i>hú</i> ¹	'along, on' (a trail or road)
<i>ja</i> ¹	'between, among, within'
<i>jo</i> ²¹	'on/at the other side of' (an intervening space)
<i>ñeh</i> ²	'below, inside'
<i>ñi</i> ¹ <i>con</i> ²	'toward, to, from' (animate object)
<i>tsi</i> ³	'up, up in'

The prepositions *chu*³, *ñeh*², and *ñi*¹*con*² from Table 7.1 are illustrated below:

- (1) *Ca*³- *táh*³ *mi*¹*tá*³² *jná*¹³ *chu*³ *jmá*¹¹.
 PAST-fall^{II} machete^{1SG} I in water
 'My machete fell in the water.'
- (2) *Quiéin*² *lín*³² *cuo*¹ *nio*² *ñeh*² *hñu*³*cuí*³.
 be^{dry}^{SII} very firewood be^{present}^{SII}^{PL} below corn^{crib}
 'The firewood lying below the corn crib is very dry.'

The preposition *ñi*¹*con*² can only have a noun phrase with an animate referent as its object; the object of the preposition can be either source ('from') or goal ('to'), depending on the predicate. For example:

- (3) *Cuá²- cán¹ sí² lá² ñí¹con² tsá²tan²¹.*
 ANDT¹INP-take¹TI² letter this to authorities
 'Take this letter to the (town) authorities.'
- (4) *Sí² nǎ² ja³ ñí¹con² tí³² Níh³.*
 letter that come¹II¹PAST¹3SG from teacher Arnold
 'That letter came from the teacher Arnold.'

A few inalienable nouns which reference body parts also function as locative prepositions; see Table 7.2:

Table 7.2 Locative Prepositions Derived From Inalienable Nouns

Inalienable Noun	Prepositional Gloss
<i>ñí¹</i> 'face, surface'	'on, on top of, at'
<i>ta³</i> 'foot'	'at, nearby'
<i>jmáh¹</i> 'buttocks'	'at the base/bottom of'

Examples of the inalienable noun *ñí¹* 'face' and the preposition *ñí¹* 'on, at' (Table 7.2) are:

- (5) *Jlánh¹ quiá¹ ñí¹ dáin² ó³².*
 really be¹dirty¹SII face³ baby yonder
 'That/yonder baby's face is really dirty.'
- (6) *Rón³² hmá²hin³² jám² ñí¹ sí² ó³².*
 lie¹SII¹SG pencil that¹IN on book yonder
 'The pencil is lying on that/yonder book.'

One way of analysing the structure in (6) would be to say that inanimate nouns such as *sí²* 'book' function as the possessor of the inalienable noun *ñí¹* 'face'; that is: 'The pencil is lying on that book's face'. Although there is a conceptual relation between the inalienable noun 'face' and the preposition 'surface', there are, however, semantic and syntactic differences.<1>

When a noun phrase with an inalienable noun as its head is left dislocated to focus position (§12.2), the illocutionary particle *bíh¹* (affirmation) is grammatical immediately following the inalienable noun; however, when a prepositional phrase is left dislocated for focus, *bíh¹* is ungrammatical immediately following the preposition.

An example of the grammaticality of *bíh¹* following left dislocated inalien-

able nouns is:

- (7) *Chí¹quié¹³ bíh¹ tsú² jlánh¹ chéi³.*
 forehead³ AFF 3 really be^{hot}^SII
 'Her/his forehead is really hot.' (in contrast to the rest of the person)

Examples of the ungrammaticality of *bíh¹* following prepositions found in Table 7.1 are:

- (8) *Hñu³ (*bíh¹) tsí¹ cuo² hun¹ cá¹míh¹.*
 inside AFF old box be^{contained}^SIA³SG baby^{chicken}
 'The baby chicken is inside the old box.'
- (9) *Ja¹ (*bíh¹) hmá² ó³² tsí²¹ ná²na².*
 among AFF tree yonder be^{present}^SII³PL mushroom
 'There are mushrooms among those/yonder trees.'

Although *bíh¹* is ungrammatical following a preposition, it may follow a prepositional phrase, in which case the whole prepositional phrase is in its scope; for example:

- (10) *Cá¹hñu²¹ cuáh³² bíh¹ cuá¹- ho² Sé³² míh¹.*
 behind church AFF indefinite^{PROG-cry}^IA³ Joseph little
 '(It's) behind the church little Joseph is crying.'

As illustrated in (8) and (9), *bíh¹* is ungrammatical following the prepositions of Table 7.1; this is equally true of the prepositions in Table 7.2, even though *bíh¹* is grammatical following the corresponding inalienable nouns. Examples of *bíh¹* with each preposition in Table 7.2 and the corresponding inalienable noun are:

- (11)(a) *ñí¹ (*bíh¹) me¹sá¹ rón³² mí¹jlá².*
 on AFF table lie^{SII}^SG knife
 'The knife is on the table.'
- (b) *ñí¹ bíh¹ me¹sá¹ jlánh¹ tah².*
 face³ AFF table really be^{rough}^SII
 'The table's face/surface is really rough.' (in contrast to some other part)
- (12)(a) *Ta³ (*bíh¹) chin³² jná¹³ ca³- náu² tsú².*
 by AFF head¹SG I PAST-stand^{IA}^3SG 3
 'S/he stood by my head.' (while speaker was lying down)
- (b) *Ta³ bíh¹ tsú² ca³- cuíh³.*
 foot³ AFF 3 PAST-be^{cut}^II
 'Her/his foot was cut.' (in contrast to some other part of her/his anatomy)

(13)(a) *Jmih¹³ (*bih¹) hmá² rón³² tsái².*
 at^base^of AFF tree lie^SIA^3 dog
 'The dog is lying at the base of the tree.'

(b) *Jmih¹³ bih¹ hmá² jlánh¹ pa²⁴.*
 base^3 AFF tree really be^large^SII
 'The base of the tree is really large.' (in contrast to further up
 the trunk)

The syntactic difference between the prepositional and inalienable noun forms in Table 7.2 is underscored by the fact that the preposition *ta³* 'at, nearby' can occur with the inalienable noun *ta³* 'foot'; and the preposition *ñi¹* 'on, at' can occur with the inalienable noun *ñi¹* 'face' (and, as would be expected, either preposition can occur with many other inalienable and alienable nouns).

An example of the preposition *ta³* 'at, nearby' followed by the inalienable noun *ta³* 'foot' (3/1PL) is:

(14) *Ca³- di³ñi³² tsú² ta³ ta³ mi³jmú³.*
 PAST-kneel^IA^3 3 at foot^3 bishop
 'S/he knelt at the feet of the bishop.'

An example of the preposition *ñi¹* 'on, at' followed by the inalienable noun *ñi¹* 'face' (3/1PL) is:

(15) *Rón³² tsí¹ hmih³² ñi¹ ñi¹ dáin².*
 lie^SII^SG old cloth on face^3 baby
 'There is a rag (lit. 'old cloth') lying on the baby's face.'

The sentence in (15), with two occurrences of *ñi¹*, is grammatical, but it is considered somewhat humorous (the construction in (14), however, is regarded as unexceptional). Nonetheless, without the two occurrences of *ñi¹* in (15), the sentence is ungrammatical:

(16) **Rón³² tsí¹ hmih³² ñi¹ dáin².*
 lie^SII^SG old cloth face^3 baby
 'There is a rag (on) the baby's face.'

The more common way to express the meaning in (15) is:

(17) *Rá¹- jlái³ tsí¹ hmih³² ñi¹ dáin².*
 lie^PROG-cover^TI old cloth face^3 baby
 'A rag is covering the baby's face.'

The word *ñi¹* can function not only as an inalienable noun or a preposition, as indicated in Table 7.2, but also as an alienable noun meaning 'place,

upper surface' (however, *ta³* 'foot' and *jmih¹* 'buttocks' do not have alienable noun counterparts).

Examples of *fi¹* 'place' modified by a quantifier and a relative clause respectively are:

- (18) *Tun³ fi¹ ca³-suh³² tsí³.*
 two^{IN} place PAST-fall^{II}PL hail
 'Hail fell in two places.'
- (19) *Ná² ngau³ tsú² fi¹ zia³² lí¹.*
 PRF go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} 3 place exist^{SII} tepejilote
 'S/he has gone to the place where there is tepejilote.' (a type of palm with edible flowers)

The inalienable noun *fi¹* 'face' inflects for the person of the possessor, as in (20):

- (20)(a) *Ca³-jié³ Juan² fi¹ tsú².*
 PAST-see^{TI}3 John face³ 3
 'John saw her/his face.'
- (b) *Ca³-jié³ Juan² fi³² jná¹³.*
 PAST-see^{TI}3 John face^{1SG} I
 'John saw my face.'

In contrast, the alienable noun *fi¹* 'place, upper surface' does not inflect. Possession of the alienable noun is expressed as for any inanimate alienable noun (§6.2.2), as in (21):

- (21)(a) *Ca³-suh³² má¹qui³² fi¹ quíoh²¹ tsú².*
 PAST-fall^{II}PL rubbish upper^{surface} have^{SII}3 3
 'The rubbish fell on top of her/him.'
- (b) *Ca³-suh³² má¹qui³² fi¹ quíon²¹ jná¹³.*
 PAST-fall^{II}PL rubbish upper^{surface} have^{SII}1SG I
 'The rubbish fell on top of me.'

In (21), if the person is upright, the 'upper surface' includes the top of the head and the shoulders; if the person is lying down, the 'upper surface' is that part of the body facing upwards.

7.1.2 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrase₂

There are two Class 2 locative prepositions, which are set out in Table 7.3:

Table 7.3 Class 2 Locative Prepositions

cu³ jéin³ 'around'
tí³ 'at, in, to, from'

The most common preposition in a LOC PP₂ is *tí³* 'at, in, to, from', its meaning being determined by the predicate of the clause in which LOC PP₂ occurs.

Examples of *tí³* with a noun phrase object are:

- (22) *Ma³-tsáu¹³ tí³ síau³².*
 EXH-go^{non}home^{IA}1PL to other^{borough}
 'Let's go to the other borough.'²
- (23) *Jan² tsá² ja³² tí³ Jín³² bíh¹ ní³².*
 one^{AN} person come^{to}non^{home}IA^{PRES}3SG from Usila AFF that^{one}
 'That person comes from Usila.'
- (24) *Rén³² tíú³ jáun² tí³ máh³.*
 lie^{SII}SG rifle that^{IN} at mountain
 'That rifle is lying at the mountain.'

Examples of LOC PP₂, with LOC PP₁ as the complement of PREP₂ *tí³* 'at, in, to, from', are:

- (25) *He³ tíoh³ PP₂[PREP₂ PP₁[PREP₁ O]]*
 what? be^{contained}SII³PL at *tí³ íeh² jah¹ ní²?*
 'What is (contained) in that basket?'
- (26) *Tsa³háu² jau³ tsú² hnú² PP₂[PREP₂ PP₁[PREP₁ O]]*
 tomorrow take^{TA}FUT³>2 3 you^{SG} to *tí³ íí¹con² jue²¹.*
 'Tomorrow he will take you before the judge.'
- (27) *Ngau³ tsú² tí³ ja¹ juú² Jmí²hiá³².*
 go^{non}home^{IA}PAST³SG 3 to within town Valle^{Nacional}
 'S/he has gone to the town of Valle Nacional.'

In (25), *tí³* 'at, in, to, from' is essential for the prepositional phrase to be grammatical. However, in (26) and (27), there appears to be little difference in meaning whether *tí³* is present or absent.

Since *cu³ jéin³* 'around' is the only binomial preposition that has been identified, it is discussed here rather than in §3.2. Only the first element of this binomial preposition is itself a preposition (binomial adverbs are similar in

this respect; see §3.2.1.3); most likely it is derived from the preposition *có³²* 'nearby'. The second element is the noun *jéin³* 'turns, circles'.

The only modifier which can collocate with the preposition *cu³ jéin³* 'around' is the adverb *la³* 'right, even' (see §7.1.5). The modifier, when present, occurs with both parts of the preposition (as occurs with binomial adverbs; see §3.2.1.3). For example:

- (28) *Tionh² hliáu³ la³ cu³ la³ jéin³ ñí¹ta²¹.*
 be[^]present[^]SIA[^]3PL soldier right nearby right circles town[^]hall
 'Soldiers are present right around the town hall.'

Cu³ jéin³ 'around' cannot have a PP₁ as its complement. It has been classified as a Class 2 locative preposition because the adverb *la³* 'right, even', which collocates with *cu³ jéin³*, can collocate with the Class 2 locative preposition *tí³*, as in (40) further below, but it cannot collocate with a Class 1 or Class 3 locative preposition.

7.1.3 The Prepositional Constituent of Locative Prepositional Phrases₃

The only Class 3 locative preposition is *la³cáum²* 'throughout, in the vicinity of'. For example:

- (29) *Ca³- nga² tsú² la³cáum² juú² Quiuh²¹*
 PAST-pass[^]by[^]IA[^]3 3 in[^]the[^]vicinity[^]of town Puebla
 'S/he passed by in the vicinity of the town of Puebla.'
- (30) *La³cáum² máh³ ó³² ca³- jñí³ tsú² náí² jáum².*
 in[^]the[^]vicinity[^]of mountain yonder PAST-sow[^]TI[^]3 3 weed that[^]IN
 'S/he sowed that weed (i.e. marijuana) in the vicinity of that/yonder mountain.'

An example of LOC PP₃, in which LOC PP₂ is the complement of *la³cáum²* 'throughout, in the vicinity of', is:

- (31) *Há² cuá²-ñí¹- hñiah² tsú² tsa³cuá¹ joh¹*
 PRF VEN- ANDT-search[^]TA[^]3 3 horse have[^]STA[^]3
- PP₃[PREP₃ PP₂[PREP₂ O]]
la³cáum² tí³ Cua³uóum².
 in[^]the[^]vicinity[^]of at Quetzalapa
 'S/he has returned from searching for her/his horse in the vicinity of Quetzalapa.'

An example of LOC PP₃, in which LOC PP₁ is the complement of *la³cáum²*, is:

- (32) *Ca³- hnah² tsú² jon² la³cáun² ja¹ hñú³.*
 PAST-search[^]for[^]TA[^]3 3 child[^]3 throughout among house
 'S/he searched for her/his child throughout the streets.' (lit. '... among the houses')

An example of LOC PP₃, in which PP₂ is the complement of PREP₃, and PP₁ is the complement of PREP₂, is:

- (33) *Cuá²-ñí¹- quiaun² tsá²ju² zá¹ hi³ tloh¹3*
 VEN- ANDT[^]PAST-bring[^]TI[^]3 townspeople sand COMP be[^]present[^]SII[^]PL
 PP₃[PREP₃ *la³cáun²* PP₂[PREP₂ PP₁[PREP₁ O]]]
in[^]the[^]vicinity[^]of at along river
 'The townspeople went and brought back sand from along the river.'

7.1.4 Deictic Complements of Locative Prepositional Phrases

When the object of a locative preposition is a noun phrase which has a deictic adjective as one of its constituents (§6.4), the noun phrase elements, apart from the deictic, can be omitted. For example:

- (34) *Ca³- cuon³ ná¹2 hlah³ ja¹ (lí¹3) jáun².*
 PAST-grow[^]II weed bad among flower that[^]IN
 'The bad/harmful weeds grew among those (flowers).'
- (35) *Ca³- ju²3 jná¹3 ta²1 t¹3 (máh³) ó³2.*
 PAST-do[^]TI[^]1SG I work at mountain yonder
 'I worked at that/yonder (mountain).'

Similarly, when the complement of a preposition is a prepositional phrase, the preposition of the second prepositional phrase, and all but the deictic element of its noun phrase object, can be omitted. For example:

- (36) *Ca³- hnáh³2 jná¹3 tsa³cuá¹ hí³ la³cáun²*
 PAST-search[^]for[^]TA[^]1SG I horse that[^]AN throughout
(ja¹ hngá¹) lá².
 within forest this
 'I searched for that horse throughout this (forest).'

7.1.5 The Locative Adverbial Phrase

There are three adverbs that can occur as modifiers of a LOC PP: *jmáh³la³* 'only', *ca³la³* 'right, even', and *la³* 'right, even'.

The adverb *jmáh³la³* can modify LOC PP₁, LOC PP₂, or LOC PP₃. Examples of each respectively are:

- (37) *Jmáh³la³ ja¹ juú² bíh¹ jñi³² tsú² já¹jáu² piéh¹.*
 only within town AFF sow^{TI}³ PRES³ 3 cabbage globe^{IN}
 'They/one sow(s) head cabbage only within the town.'
- (38) *Jmáh³la³ tí³ ñí¹ chéi³ bíh¹ zia³² mí³*
 only in place hot^{IN} AFF exist^{SII} spherical
juh²¹ cáh¹.
 pineapple large^{IN}^{PL}
 'There are large pineapples only in hot/tropical places.'
- (39) *Ca³- hnauh² tsú² ta²¹ jmáh³la³ la³cáum² juú² Quiuh²¹.*
 PAST-search^{for}^{TI}³ 3 work only throughout city Puebla
 'S/he searched for work only throughout the city of Puebla.'

The adverb *jmáh³la³* is a compound of the adverb *jmáh³²* 'only' (which cannot modify a prepositional phrase) plus the adverb *la³* 'right, even', which is discussed below. Although partial phonological adjustment has occurred in the first (non-final) syllable of this compound, namely the replacement of tone 32 with tone 3, ballistic stress and glottal closure are still present; see §2.0.

The adverbs *ca³la³* 'right, even' and *la³* 'right, even' are generally interchangeable; when functioning as modifiers of a LOC PP, there is no discernible semantic difference between them.^{<3>} Either can modify a LOC PP₂, but not a LOC PP₃ nor a LOC PP₁. Examples of each adverb respectively are:

- (40) *Tsó³² tsú² la³ tí³ Hum³jmái² tsa³háu².*
 go^{non}^{home}^{IA}^{FUT}^{3SG} 3 right to Mexico^{City} tomorrow
 'S/he will be going right to Mexico City tomorrow.'
- (41) *Ca³la³ tí³ Hum³jmái² ca³- ñí¹- ma³ré² tsú² tso³!*
 right to Mexico^{City} PAST-ANDT-rectify^{TI}³ 3 offence
 'S/he went right to Mexico City to get justice!' (lit. 'S/he went right to Mexico City to rectify the offence.')

An example of an adverbial phrase in which PP₁ is the complement of PREP₂ *tí³* 'at, to, from', is:

- (42)
- | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Ca³- chó³²</i> | <i>tsú²</i> | ADVP{MOD | PP ₂ {PREP ₂ |
| PAST-arrive ^{non} ^{home} ^{IA} ^{3SG} 3 | | <i>la³</i> | <i>tí³</i> |
| | | right | to |
- PP₁{PREP₁ 0]]
ta³ ñí¹ jue²¹.
 nearby face³ judge
 'S/he stood right before the judge.' (lit. 'S/he arrived right to nearby the judge's face.')

7.2 The Temporal Prepositional Phrase

The temporal prepositional phrase (TEMP PP) also can be of the type PP₁, PP₂, and PP₃ (Figure 7.1).

7.2.1 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase₁

The prepositions found in the TEMP PP₁ are a greatly reduced set of the Class 1 locative prepositions listed in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. These are set out in Table 7.4:

Table 7.4 Class 1 Temporal Prepositions

<i>ja</i> ¹	'within, during'
<i>ñeh</i> ²	'before'
<i>ñí</i> ¹	'in, on'

Each of the prepositions in Table 7.4 is illustrated in turn below.

- (43) *Jlánh*¹ *lɛ*²-*hó*³ *dáin*² *ja*¹ *niéi*² *hmái*³.
 really HOD-cry^{IA}3 baby during darkness earlier^{today}
 'The baby really cried during the early hours of the morning.'

(In (43), the word *niéi*² means 'darkness, obscurity'; the word for 'night' is *nie*².)

- (44) *Ca*³- *hen*³ *míñí*² *ñeh*² *chu*³*hiú*².
 PAST-ring^{II} bell before midday
 'The (church) bell rang before midday.'

The temporal preposition *ñí*¹ 'in, on' must have as its object a noun phrase whose head is a quantified temporal noun, such as *o*⁴*rá*¹ 'hour', *jmái*¹ 'day', *zih*² 'month', *mí*² 'year', etc. For example:

- (45) *Tsánh*³² *tsú*² *ñí*¹ *jña*³ *jmái*¹.
 go^{home}IA^{FUT}3SG 3 in eight day
 'S/he will be going home in eight days.'⁴
- (46) *Ca*³- *cháu*³² *jnoh*¹ *ñí*¹ *má*² *hni*³² *jmái*¹ *juú*² *Tucson*.
 PAST-arrive^{IA}1PL we on PRF three day town Tucson
 'We arrived in Tucson on the third day.'

7.2.2 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase₂

The only Class 2 temporal preposition is *tí*³ 'at, until' (also a Class 2 locative preposition). The most common complement of *tí*³ 'at, until' is a temporal phrase with future reference, such as *cu*³*lé*³ 'later', *tša*³*háu*²

'tomorrow', *yó³²* 'day after tomorrow', *mif² cáum²* 'next year' etc. For example:

- (47) *Ti³ cu³lé³ mih¹ ñe¹ jná¹³.*
 at later little go^{non}home^{IA}FUT¹SG I
 'I will go a little later.'

It is only when the TEMP PP₂ is modified by *ca³la³* 'right, even', or *la³* 'right, even' (§7.2.4), that TEMP PP₁ can occur as the complement of PREP₂. For example:

- (48) ADVP[MOD PP₂[PREP₂ PP₁[PREP₁ O]]]
Ca³la³ ti³ ñi¹ quiúm³ jná¹ máh³
 even at in four^{IN} day EXCL
jáunh³ ti³² chin¹!
 return^{home}IA^{FUT}3SG teacher main
 'Not until four days time will the principal return!'^{<5>}

7.2.3 The Prepositional Constituent of Temporal Prepositional Phrase₃

The only Class 3 temporal preposition is *la³cáum²* 'about' (also a Class 3 locative preposition). *La³cáum²* can take only a noun phrase as its object; however, because of the general parallelism between locative and temporal prepositional phrases, *la³cáum²* has been analysed as a Class 3 temporal preposition; see §7.1.3.

La³cáum² 'about' can collocate only with the temporal nouns *z⁴h²* 'month' and *mif²* 'year', which offer a more indefinite frame of reference. For example:

- (49) *Ca³- li³ zian² tsú² la³cáum² mif² jáun².*
 PAST-occur^{II} exist^{SIA}3 3 about year that^{IN}
 'S/he was born about that year.'

7.2.4 The Temporal Adverbial Phrase

There are four modifiers of the TEMP PP. One modifier, *cun³* 'about', is not used with other types of PPs. The other three modifiers: *jmáh³la³* 'only', *ca³la³* 'right, even', and *la³* 'right, even' are also used with LOC PPs; there is no discernible semantic difference between the latter two adverbs (see note <3>). Each adverb is illustrated in turn below.

The adverb *cun³* 'about' can modify a TEMP PP₁ only when the PREP₁ is *ñi¹* 'in, on'. It cannot modify a TEMP PP₂ nor a TEMP PP₃. For example:

- (50) *Cun³ ñi¹ cú² mif² má² lí¹³ jmu³*
 about in one^{IN} year PRF be^{able}II^{FUT} do^{TI}FUT³

ta²¹ tsa³cuá¹ mih¹ ní².
 work horse little that

'That young horse will finally be able to work in about one year.'

Jmáh³la³ 'only' can modify a TEMP PP₁ when *ja¹* 'during, within', *ñeh²* 'before', or *ñi¹* 'in, on' occur as PREP₁; however, *jmáh³la³* cannot modify TEMP PP₂ nor TEMP PP₃. Examples with each preposition in turn are:

- (51) *Jmáh³la³ ja¹ níeí² bíh¹ ho² ñú²mih¹.*
 only during darkness AFF cry^{IA}PRES³ little^{boy}
 'The little boy only cries during the night.'

- (52) *Jmáh³la³ ñeh² chu³hiú² bíh¹ jién³ jná¹³*
 only before midday AFF be^{free}IA^{FUT}1SG I
 'I will be free only before midday.'

- (53) *Jmáh³la³ ñi¹ jña³ jmái¹ cué³² tsú² vacuna*
 only in eight day give^{TI}FUT³ 3 vaccine

quich²¹ tsá⁴mih¹.
 have^{STI}3 children

'They will give the vaccine to the children only in eight days (from now).'

The adverbs *ca³la³* 'right, even' and *la³* 'right, even' can modify a TEMP PP₂, but not a TEMP PP₁ nor a TEMP PP₃. The combination of either adverb with *tí³* 'at, until' results in the meaning 'not until'. Examples of the use of both adverbs respectively are:

- (54) *La³ tí³ yó³² máh³ jáunh³ tí³²!*
 even at day^{after}tomorrow EXCL return^{IA}FUT³SG teacher
 'Not until the day after tomorrow will the teacher return!'

- (55) *Ca³la³ tí³ mif² cáun² lí¹³ hmá²hon².*
 even at year next be^{finished}II^{FUT}3 bridge
 'Not until next year will the bridge be finished.'

There does not appear to be any modifier of a TEMP PP₃.

7.3 The Instrumental Prepositional Phrase

The structure of the Instrumental Prepositional Phrase (INST PP) is that of PP₁ in Figure 7.1.

7.3.1 The Prepositional Constituent of the Instrumental Prepositional Phrase

The prepositions which can occur in an INST PP are given in Table 7.5:

Table 7.5 Instrumental Prepositions

<i>quionh</i> ³	'with, by means of'
<i>cun</i> ³ <i>quionh</i> ³	'with, by means of'
<i>ju</i> ³ ²	'by, by means of, through'

The semantic difference between *quionh*³ 'with, by means of' and *cun*³*quionh*³ 'with, by means of' is not clear. Either preposition can always be substituted for the other, although in some sentences one preposition may be preferred over the other; see (59).

The classification of *quionh*³ as a preposition is discussed in §8.2.4.2. Its use is illustrated in (56) and (57):

(56) *há*² *lí*²-*jmóuh*³² *tsú*² *há*²*sí*¹ *ní*² *quionh*³ *jmí*²*tiau*³.
 PRF HOD-fix^TI^3 3 chair that with glue.
 'S/he has just fixed that chair with glue.'

(57) *Quionh*³ *mí*¹*tá*³ *bíh*¹ *jah*² *tsú*² *hio*²¹.
 with machete AFF weed^TI^PRES^3 3 weed
 'They/one weed(s) with a machete.'

Examples of the use of *cun*³*quionh*³ are:

(58) *Ca*³- *tá*³ *tsú*² *ta*³² *ní*² *cun*³*quionh*³ *mí*¹*chí*¹.
 PAST-carve^TI^3 3 ladder that with axe
 'S/he carved that ladder with an axe.' <6>

(59) *Cun*³*quionh*³ *quie*³ *bíh*¹ *ca*³- *liaun*³ *tsú*².
 by^means^of money AFF PAST-escape^IA^3 3
 'S/he escaped by means of money.' (i.e. s/he paid a bribe)

In (59), although *quionh*³ can be substituted for *cun*³*quionh*³, the latter is preferred.

The instrumental preposition *ju*³² 'by, by means of, through' undoubtedly has as its source the noun *ju*³² 'path, trail, road'. The preposition *ju*³² is used only with means of transportation or conveyance, whether real or metaphorical.

When means of conveyance are involved, *quionh*³ or *cun*³*quionh*³ 'with, by means of' can be readily replaced by *ju*³² 'by, by means of, through'.

For example:

(60) *hé*¹ *jná*¹³ *í*¹*cuánh*² *quionh*³/*ju*³² *avión*.
 go^non^home^IA^FUT^1SG I Oaxaca by^means^of aeroplane
 'I will go to Oaxaca (City) by means of an aeroplane.'

However, *quionh³* and *cun³quionh³* cannot always substitute for *juí³²*, in (61) and (62), only *juí³²* is grammatical:

- (61) *Tsánh³²* *tsú² juí³² ta³.*
 return[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]3SG 3 by foot[^]3
 'S/he will return home by foot.' (lit. '... by her/his feet')

An example of the metaphorical use of *juí³²* 'by, by means of, through' is:

- (62) *Zia³² hi³ ca³- jnia³ jéin³² jná¹³ juí³² qui³ziú³.*
 exist[^]SII thing PAST-appear[^]II experience[^]TI[^]1SG I by dream
 'There are things that I saw in my dreams.' (lit. 'Things appeared to me (that) I experienced through dreams.')

7.3.2 The Instrumental Adverbial Phrase

The sole modifier of an INST PP is *jmáh³la³* 'only'; for example:

- (63) *Jmáh³la³ quionh³ cuo¹ zó³² tsú² má³² juú² lá².*
 only with firewood cook[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 food town this
 'They cook food only with firewood in this town.'
- (64) *Ne² jná¹³ Jú²máh¹ jmáh³la³*
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PRES[^]1SG I Concepción[^]Pápalo only
juí³² tan².
 by foot[^]1SG
 'I go to Concepción Pápalo only by foot.' (lit. '... by my feet')

NOTES

1. Anderson (1989:103-108) refers to such prepositions in Comaltepec Chinantec as 'prepositional nouns': inalienable nouns that, when used locatively, have an inanimate possessor instead of the usual animate possessor. In Sochiapan Chinantec there appears to be sufficient grounds for treating such forms as true prepositions rather than as inalienable nouns.
2. In the town of San Pedro there are two boroughs. Whichever borough one is in, it is possible to refer to the other one simply by the expression *tí³ siau³²* 'to/at the other borough'.
3. As modifiers of adjectives, *ca³la³* means 'even to, up to', and *la³* means

'about, almost, nearly'; that is, the latter word is more vague or imprecise (see, for example, §6.7.3.2).

4. The Chinantecs count days in the same manner as the Spanish; that is, the first day counted is today. A more precise translation cross-culturally into English of 'eight days' would be to say 'in one week'.

5. The verb *jáunh*²³ 'return home' refers to the town where the principal is working, not her/his hometown, since the town where s/he is working has become the place of residence; see §4.1.8.12.3.1.

6. The traditional ladder is a notched pole; the notches are cut/carved with either an axe or a machete.

- (2) P S O
Hí³² *tsú² quíe³*.
 count^{TI}^FUT^3 3 money
 'S/he will count the money.'

State verbs are predicators in all their occurrences; for example:

- (3) P S O
Hauh²¹ *yeh³ jmí²cau³²*.
 possess^{liquid}^STI^3 elder kerosene
 'The old man has (some) kerosene.'

Descriptive adjectives can function predicatively like state verbs (§4.5.1); for example:

- (4) P S
Jueh³² *táu² ní²*.
 be^{large}^SII hole that
 'That is a large hole.'

Nominal predicates are usually set off by one of the illocutionary particles such as *bíh¹* (affirmation) (§11). They cross-reference a single nominal constituent. For example:

- (5) P S
Jla³ chí³ quiuh²¹ bíh¹ jláí² ní².
 egg³ diminutive hummingbird AFF egg that
 'That egg (is) a hummingbird's egg.'
- (6) P S
Tí³² bíh¹ tsá² hí³.
 teacher AFF person that^AN
 'That person (is) a teacher.'
- (7) P S
Jná¹³ bíh¹ lá³².
 I AFF this^one
 'It is I.' (lit. 'I (am) this one.')

Constructions such as (5)-(7) are functionally equivalent to equative clauses, but are mainly comparative or contrastive in connotation. Equative clauses formed with a copular verb are mainly identificational, generally lacking a comparative or contrastive connotation. For example:

- (8) P S COMP
Lí³ cuá¹¹lá² hñú¹³ tsú².
 be^{II}^PRES brick house^3 3
 'Her/his house is brick.'
- (9) P S COMP
Lín³ tsú² tí³².
 be^{IA}^PRES^3 3 teacher
 'S/he is a teacher.'

Whether a copular verb is indexed for an inanimate or an animate complement, the situation described must be one that has an identifiable starting point; permanent states cannot be referenced by such verbs; instead, a nominal predicate is used, as in (5)-(7). Paired examples of the copular verb and the nominal predicate construction are:

(10)(a) **Lí³ hmá² ca² (bíh¹) hmá² ní².*
 be^II tree pine AFF tree that
 'That tree is a pine tree.'

(b) *Hmá² ca² bíh¹ hmá² ní².*
 tree pine AFF tree that
 'That tree is a pine tree.'

(11)(a) **Lín³ tsá²ní³ (bíh¹) tsá² ní².*
 be^IA^3 woman AFF person that
 'That person is a woman.'

(b) *Tsá²ní³ bíh¹ tsá² ní².*
 woman AFF person that
 'That person is a woman.'

The presence or absence of an illocutionary particle such as *bíh¹* (affirmation) cannot make (10a) or (11a) grammatical.

8.1.2 Valence

The valence of a Chinantec verb is defined syntactically as the number of nominal constituents for which it may be indexed. A verb which is indexed for a single nominal is termed 'intransitive inanimate' (II) or 'intransitive animate' (IA), according to the animacy of its subject. A verb which is indexed for two nominals is termed 'transitive inanimate' (TI) or 'transitive animate' (TA), according to the animacy of the object nominal. Chinantec ditransitives cross-reference up to three nominal constituents directly, without prepositions; such verbs are termed 'ditransitive inanimate' (DI) or 'ditransitive animate' (DA), according to the animacy of the direct object (DO). A few verbs inflectionally differentiate between transitive and ditransitive counterparts; see Table 8.1.

Transitive animate verbs and ditransitive verbs (both animate and inanimate) are also indexed for direct and inverse cross-referencing; see §8.1.4.

For a complete list of all the abbreviations used with verbs, see Table 4.1 in §4.0.

In simple declarative clauses where the subject has not already been established in the discourse, the subject is obligatory even though it may be unambiguously identified by internal inflection (change in tone, stress, or nucleus of the verb, or a combination of these). For example:

- | | | | |
|--------|---|------------------------|---|
| (12) P | | S | L |
| | <i>ŋe¹</i> | <i>ɲá¹³</i> | <i>(tɛ³) ŋgoɦ³.</i> |
| | go [^] non [^] home [^] IA [^] FUT [^] 1SG I | | to Zautla |
| | 'I will go to Zautla.' | | |

In (12), the form of the irregular verb *tsau³²* 'go (non-home)' as inflected for the first-person future cannot be confused with any other person or inflectional parameter (§4.1.1.1), or with any other verb; nonetheless, if the first-person pronoun is not present, the construction is ungrammatical. Ellipsis on the basis of the preceding discourse content, however, is possible; see, for example, (27b).

Internal inflection of the verb for transitivity (or valence) is discussed in §4.1.8.1 and §4.1.8.2.

8.1.2.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs may be dynamic or state. Examples of intransitive inanimate and intransitive animate dynamic verbs respectively are:

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (13) P | | S |
| | <i>Ca³- cáu³</i> | <i>hũu³² ɲá¹³.</i> |
| | PAST-burn [^] II house [^] 1SG I | |
| | 'My house burned.' | |

- | | | |
|--------|--|-------------------------|
| (14) P | | S |
| | <i>Ca³- cáu³</i> | <i>ɲá¹³.</i> |
| | PAST-burn [^] IA [^] 1SG I | |
| | 'I was burned.' | |

Examples of intransitive inanimate and intransitive animate state verbs respectively are:

- | | | |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (15) L | P | S |
| | <i>ŋi¹ zio¹ zeh²</i> | <i>hmá²sɛ¹.</i> |
| | place yonder stand [^] SII chair | |
| | 'The chair is standing over there.' | |

- (16) L P S
#í¹ zio¹ zenh² tsa³cuá¹.
 place yonder stand^{SIA} horse
 'The horse is standing over there.'

8.1.2.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs may be dynamic or state. The subject of a transitive verb is normally animate, although inanimate subjects do occur; see §8.1.4.3. The unmarked (most common) order of the clause constituents is P-S-O.

Examples of transitive inanimate and transitive animate dynamic verbs respectively are:

- (17) P S O
Ca³- cuonh³ tsú² hná¹ hná².
 PAST-pull^{TI} 3 section wood
 'S/he pulled the log.'

- (18) P S O
Ca³- cuónh³² tsú² lo¹.
 PAST-pull^{TA} 3 mule
 'S/he pulled the mule.'

Examples of transitive inanimate and transitive animate state verbs respectively are:

- (19) P S O
Zéi³² jná¹³ cáun² tsú¹liáh².
 possess^{upright}STI^{SG}1SG I one^{IN} clay^{water}pot
 'I have a clay water pot.' (which is standing upright)

- (20) P S O
Zéin³² jná¹³ jan² tsa³cuá¹.
 possess^{upright}STA^{SG}1SG I one^{AN} horse
 'I have a horse.' (which is standing upright)

When transitive verbs are inflected for inverse cross-referencing (§8.1.4.1), the order P-S-O is optionally permuted to P-O-S, a permutation not usually available to the direct system (but note (25)).

Examples of P-S-O and P-O-S orders respectively are:

- (21) T P S O
Hní³² jéin³² ca³- po³ tsú² jná¹³.
 three times PAST-hit^{TA}3>1 3 I
 'S/he hit me three times.'

- (22) T P O S
Hní³² jéin³² ca³- po³ jná¹³ tsá² hí³.
 three times PAST-hit^{TA}3>1 I person that
 'That person hit me three times.'

In (22), the DO is brought into focus by preceding the subject (§12.2). The semantic effect approximates an English passive 'I was hit by that person three times'.

Transitive verbs inflected for the direct system generally permit only a P-S-O order. Examples with both animate and inanimate DO respectively are:

(23)(a) *Há² ca³- pán³² jná¹³ tsú².*
 PRF PAST-hit^{TA}1SG I 3
 'I have hit her/him.'

(b) **Há² ca³- pán³² tsú² jná¹³.*
 PRF PAST-hit^{TA}1SG 3 I
 'I have hit her/him.'

(24)(a) *Há² ca³- pá³ jná¹³ láu².*
 PRF PAST-hit^{TI}1SG I skin
 'I have played the drums (lit. 'hit skin').'

(b) **Há² ca³- pá³ láu² jná¹³.*
 PRF PAST-hit^{TI}1SG skin I
 'I have played the drums.'

If the DO is inanimate, as in (24b), the utterance can be made grammatical by the addition of the focus particle *bíh¹* (AFF); see §12.2. For example:

(25) P O S
Há² ca³- pá³ láu² bíh¹ jná¹³.
 PRF PAST-hit^{TI}1SG skin AFF I
 'I have played the drums.'

If the verb is inflected for the direct system, however, and the DO is animate, as in (23b), there is no way to make a P-O-S order grammatical.

8.1.2.3 Ditransitive Verbs

Only dynamic ditransitive verbs have been found. As with transitive verbs, the subject is normally animate. Examples of DI, DA, and DA^I (ditransitive animate inverse) verbs respectively are:

(26)(a) *péih²³* 'spray, splash, splatter' (DI)

P	S	IO	DO
<i>Péih²³</i>	<i>tsú²</i>	<i>jmá¹²</i>	<i>lí¹³</i>
spray ^{DI} PRES ³	3	water	flower
'S/he sprays the flowers with water.'			

(b) *péinh³²* 'spray, splash, splatter' (DA)

P	S	IO	DO
<i>Péinh³²</i>	<i>tsú²</i>	<i>jmá¹²</i>	<i>tsá⁴míh¹</i>
spray ^{DA} PRES ³	3	water	children.

'S/he sprays the children with water.'

(c) *péih*³² 'spray, splash, splatter' (DA¹)

P		S	DO	IO
<i>Péih</i> ³²		<i>tsú</i> ²	<i>jná</i> ¹³	<i>jmá</i> ¹² .
spray ^{DA¹}	PRES ³	1	3	I water.

'S/he sprays me with water.'

In the appropriate discourse context where the speaker assumes that s/he and the addressee have access to the same information, either the IO or the DO may be omitted. Ellipsis of the IO and the DO (together with the subject and predicate) are illustrated in (27b) and (28b) respectively:

(27)(a) DO P S IO
*Hin*² *tsánh*² *lɛ*²-*péinh*³² *tsú*² *jen*²??
 which^{AN?} person HOD-splatter^{DA³} 3 mud
 'Which person did s/he splatter with mud?'

(b) DO P S
*ñú*²*mih*¹ *bih*¹ (*lɛ*²-*péinh*³² *tsú*²).
 boy AFF HOD-splatter^{DA³} 3
 '(S/he splattered) the boy.'

(28)(a) IO P S DO
*He*³ *lɛ*²-*péinh*³² *tsú*² *ñú*²*mih*¹?
 what? HOD-splatter^{DA³} 3 boy
 'With what did s/he splatter the boy?'

(b) IO P S
*Jen*² *bih*¹ (*lɛ*²-*péinh*³² *tsú*²).
 mud AFF HOD-splatter^{DA³} 3
 '(S/he splattered) with mud.'

However, a ditransitive verb in the passive voice (§8.1.5) permits ellipsis only of the surface IO, not the subject. Examples of each respectively are:

(29)(a) P S IO
*Jlánh*¹ *ca*³-*ja*³-*péinh*¹ *ñú*²*mih*¹ (*jen*²).
 really PAST-PASS-splatter^{TI³} boy mud
 'The boy was really splattered (with mud).'

(b) P IO
 **Jlánh*¹ *ca*³-*ja*³-*péinh*¹ *jen*².
 really PAST-PASS-splatter^{TI³} mud
 'The mud was really splattered.'

Sochiapan Chinantec ditransitives have as their direct object (DO) a semantic patient which may be inanimate or animate, and as their indirect object (IO) a semantic source or goal which may be inanimate or animate, including instrumental, locative, and recipient.

Examples of an inanimate DO and an animate DO respectively are:

(30)(a) P S IO DO
Ca³- jláí³ tsú² mí¹ sí² zín³ lío²¹.
 PAST-cover^{DI}³ 3 flat book shiny cargo
 'S/he covered the cargo with a sheet of plastic.'

(b) P S IO DO
Ca³- jláín³² tsú² mí¹ sí² zín³ jon².
 PAST-cover^{DA}³ 3 flat book shiny child³
 'S/he covered her/his child with a sheet of plastic.'

In (30), note that the identification of the DO and IO is apparent from the form of the verb, which is indexed for the animacy of the DO. The order of the DO and IO is discussed later in this section.

As mentioned in §8.1.2, ditransitive verbs cross-reference up to three nominal constituents directly without prepositions. There are two types of ditransitive verbs, those which are not indexed for the indirect object (IO), and those which are. The former encode instrumental and locative nominals as the IO, the latter encode recipient nominals as the IO. These are discussed in turn below.

The most common case-role encoded in Chinantec IOs is the instrumental.

For example:

(31)(a) P S IO DO T
Jiéih³ tsú² mí³ lí¹³ cu³lé³.
 spray^{DI}^{FUT}³ 3 medicine flower later
 'S/he will spray the flowers with medication later.'

(b) P S IO DO T
Jiéinh³² tsú² mí³ tsa³cuá¹ cu³lé³.
 spray^{DA}^{FUT}³ 3 medicine horse later
 'S/he will spray the horse with medication later.' (e.g. to kill ticks)

An example of inanimate and animate locative IO as source is:

(32)(a) P S DO IO
Ca³- chí² tsú² ton² cuo²
 PAST-remove^{DI}³ 3 thorn hand³
 'S/he removed a thorn from her/his hand.'

(b) P S DO IO
Ca³- chí² tsú² ha¹ nú²míh¹.
 PAST-remove^{DI}³ 3 shirt boy
 'S/he removed the shirt from the boy.'

An example of an inanimate locative IO as goal is:

- (33) P S DO IO
Ca³- tanh² tsá²tan²¹ zié³ láí¹ tsú².
 PAST-put^{DI}³ authorities noose neck³ 3
 'The authorities put the noose around her/his neck.'

In Chinantec, ditransitive verbs which can encode a locative IO are uncommon; the more common construction is a transitive verb with a prepositional phrase. For example:

- (34) *Ué³ lín³² ca³- tan³ tsú² quiú³ can³² cua³ cháu³.*
 long^{time} very PAST-await^{TA}³ 3 coati beside river yesterday
 'S/he awaited the coati(s) by the river yesterday for a long time.'

For further examples of locative prepositional phrases, see §8.2.3.

The force of the recipient resembles that of the locative, in that the DO may be seen as changing location to or from the IO; however, there is the sense that the IO benefits in some way from the transaction. According to Givón (1984:114), the prototypical benefactive/recipient IO is human, although I see no problem with extending this at least to animate for Chinantec.

The animacy of the DO and the person of a benefactive/recipient IO affects the ditransitive verb's paradigm, yielding four subtypes: ditransitive inanimate direct (DI), ditransitive inanimate inverse (DI^I), ditransitive animate direct (DA) and ditransitive animate inverse (DA^I); for the discussion on direct and inverse cross-referencing, see §8.1.4.

Two examples of human and of non-human animate recipients respectively are:

- (35)(a) P S IO DO
Ca³- hiéh³ tsú² Pé¹ sí² jáun².
 PAST-show^{DI}³ 3 Peter book that^{IN}
 'S/he showed Peter that book.'
- (b) P S IO DO
Ca³- hien³ tsú² Pé¹ tsá²mi³ hí³.
 PAST-show^{DA}³ 3 Peter woman that^{AN}
 'S/he showed/indicated/presented that woman to Peter.'
- (c) P S IO DO T
Cuéh³² tsú² tsa³cuá¹ mí³ cu³lé³.
 give^{DI}³^{FUT}³ 3 horse medicine later
 'S/he will give medicine to the horse later.'

- (d) P S IO DO
Há² lí²-cuen³ tsú² mí¹tiei²¹ chí³ zín^{h1}.
 PRF HOD-give^{DA}3 3 cat diminutive grasshopper
 'S/he just gave a grasshopper to the cat.'

From (35b), it can be seen that where either of the two object nominals could be the recipient, the order IO-DO establishes the first nominal as being the recipient. If the order of the nominals in (35b) is reversed, the meaning is that Peter is presented to 'that woman'. In (35d) there is only one meaning possible regardless of the order of the object nominals; however, the first object nominal is the more prominent or topical.

The verb 'give' exhibits a separate inflectional paradigm for DI¹I, which also functions as TI. The verbs for 'give' are set out in Table 8.1:

Table 8.1 Inflectional Paradigms for 'give'

<i>cue³²</i>	'give' (TI)/(DI ¹ I)-A.59.32.3.1
<i>cueh³²</i>	'give' (DI)-A.58.37.1.2
<i>cuen²</i>	'give' (DA)-A.12.24.7.2
<i>cue²</i>	'give' (DA ¹ I)-A.12.24.7.2

Examples of *cue³²* 'give' (TI) and (DI¹I), followed by the other three verbs for 'give' in Table 8.1 respectively are:

- (36) P S DO BEN T
Cué³² tsú² quie³ ñí¹con² jon² tsa³háu².
 give^{TI}FUT³ 3 money to child³ tomorrow
 'S/he will give money to her/his child tomorrow.'
- (37) P S IO DO T
Cué³² tsú² jná¹³ quie³ tsa³háu².
 give^{DI¹I}FUT³>1 3 I money tomorrow
 'S/he will give me money tomorrow.'
- (38) P S IO DO T
Cuéh³² tsú² jon² quie³ tsa³háu².
 give^{DI}FUT³ 3 child³ money tomorrow
 'S/he will give her/his child money tomorrow.'
- (39) P S IO DO
Cuen³ tsú² jon² jan² mí¹tiei²¹.
 give^{DA}FUT³ 3 child³ one^{AN} cat
 'S/he will give her/his child a cat.'
- (40) P S DO IO
Cue³ tsú² jná¹³ Pé¹.
 give^{DA¹I}FUT³>1 3 I Peter
 'S/he will give me (to) Peter.' (in marriage)

- (c) P S DO IO
 **Hie*¹ *jná*¹³ *si*² *tsú*².
 show^{DI}^FUT^{1SG} I book 3
 'I will show him the book.'

When the verb is inflected for an animate-direct DO, and there is an animate-inverse IO, three options are possible: P-S-IO-DO, P-IO-S-DO, and P-S-DO-IO, the third option being the least common. For example:

- (47)(a) P S IO DO
*Hien*³ *tsú*² *jná*¹³ *tsí*²*mih*¹.
 show^{TA}^FUT³ 3 I puppy
 'S/he will show me the puppy.'
- (b) P IO S DO
*Hien*³ *jná*¹³ *tsú*² *tsí*²*mih*¹.
 show^{TA}^FUT³ I 3 puppy
 'S/he will show me the puppy.'
- (c) P S DO IO
*Hien*³ *tsú*² *tsí*²*mih*¹ *jná*¹³.
 show^{TA}^FUT³ 3 puppy I
 'S/he will show me the puppy.'

When the verb is inflected for an animate-inverse DO and there is an animate-direct IO, three options are again possible: P-S-DO-IO, P-DO-S-IO, and P-S-IO-DO, with the third option being the least common. For example:

- (48)(a) P S DO IO
*Hie*³ *tsú*² *jná*¹³ *tí*³².
 show^{TA}^FUT^{3>1} 3 I teacher
 'S/he will show/introduce me (to) the teacher.'
- (b) P DO S IO
*Hie*³ *jná*¹³ *tsú*² *tí*³².
 show^{TA}^FUT^{3>1} I 3 teacher
 'S/he will show/introduce me (to) the teacher.'
- (c) P S IO DO
*Hie*³ *tsú*² *tí*³² *jná*¹³.
 show^{TA}^FUT^{3>1} 3 teacher I
 'S/he will show/introduce me (to) the teacher.'

In contrast, when the DO is animate-direct and the IO is a pronoun which is animate-direct, only the order P-S-IO-DO is possible:

- (49)(a) P S IO DO
*Hien*²¹ *jná*¹³ *tsú*² *tí*³².
 show^{TA}^FUT^{1SG} I 3 teacher
 'I will show/introduce the teacher (to) her/him.'

- (b) P S IO DO
Hien²¹ *jná¹³ tsú² tsí²mih¹.*
 show^TA^FUT^1SG I 3 puppy
 'I will show her/him the puppy.'
- (c) P IO S DO
**Hien²¹* *tsú² jná¹³ tsí²mih¹.*
 show^TA^FUT^1SG I 3 puppy
 'I will show her/him the puppy.'
- (d) P S DO IO
**Hien²¹* *jná¹³ tsí²mih¹ tsú².*
 show^TA^FUT^1SG I puppy 3
 'I will show her/him the puppy.'

In (49a-b), it can be seen that the third-person pronoun *tsú²* is identified as the IO regardless of the degree of animacy of the DO (human vs. animal); however, if two noun phrases are used for the DO and IO, the sentence is slightly ambiguous when out of context. For example:

- (50) *Hien²¹ jná¹³ tsá² hí³ tǐ³².*
 show^TA^FUT^1SG I person that^AN teacher
 'I will show/introduce the teacher (to) that person.'
 or: 'I will show/introduce that person (to) the teacher.'

In (50), the first option is the more likely interpretation. Reversing the order of *tsá² hí³* 'that person' and *tǐ³²* 'teacher' is also slightly ambiguous.

One final factor which influences the order of the object elements is their relative complexity; generally, the less complex one will be positioned closer to the verb. For example:

- (51)(a) P S IO DO
Ca³- ma³cónh³² tsú² mǐ³ cá²fe²¹ tú²cho¹ hmaí²¹ jáun².
 PAST-fill^DI^3 3 spherical coffee sack new that^IN
 'S/he filled that new sack (with) coffee beans.'
- (b) P S DO IO
Ca³- ma³cónh³² tsú² tú²cho¹ mǐ³ cá²fe²¹ hí³
 PAST-fill^DI^3 3 sack sphere coffee COMP
- ca³- lǐ³ jǐh²¹ chǎu³.*
 PAST-happen^II wet^IN yesterday
 'S/he filled the sack (with) coffee beans that had gotten wet yesterday.' (i.e. s/he filled the sack on the same day)

However, so long as the complexity of the DO or IO is not too great, the factors of prominence or contrastiveness take precedence; see (30) above.

Some verbs may be used either transitively or ditransitively with no change in the inflectional paradigm or the meaning. An example of a verb

cross-referencing system'; Mayan and certain northwest Caucasian languages are also representative of this type (1981:55, 71).

Dixon (1987:3-5) discusses morphological ergativity, syntactic ergativity and discourse ergativity. In this section I present the information relevant to morphological accusativity (§8.1.3.1) and ergativity (§8.1.3.2) in Chinantec,^{<3>} and briefly explore the possibility of syntactic ergativity (§8.1.3.4), but I have not done any research on the topic of discourse ergativity. Portions of §8.1.3 and §8.1.4 have already been discussed or alluded to at various points in §4. §8.1.3 and §8.1.4 are written specifically to bring together the details concerning the accusative, ergative, and cross-referencing systems and to describe them in greater detail.

8.1.3.1 Morphological Accusativity in Chinantec

Chinantec is morphologically accusative in (i) the way verbs are indexed for person of subject regardless of transitivity and (ii) the way IA, TI, and DI verbs are additionally indexed for second-person subject (however, TA and DA verbs are not). These two points are discussed below.

8.1.3.1.1 Indexing of Verbs for Person Of Subject

In Chinantec, the accusative system is seen primarily in the way intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs mark agreement with the person of their subject by a combination of tone and stress. This complex of suprasegmental features is a portmanteau morpheme, marking not only the person of the subject, but also several other inflectional parameters including motion, tense, and mood; see Table 4.2 in §4.1.1.1. Thus, for example, the verb *chi*² 'remove' (TI[^]SG)^{<4>} has the following forms for the four grammatical persons of a Class A verb in the present tense:

(57)	3	2	1SG	1PL
	<i>chi</i> ²	<i>chih</i> ³²	<i>chi</i> ²³	<i>chi</i> ³²

There are some tone-stress paradigms which are unique to intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs respectively (see, for example, Table 4.16 in §4.1.2.4). Although there is some co-relation between various tone-stress

paradigms and a verb's transitivity valence, there are also numerous examples of verbs of differing valence which share the same tone-stress paradigm. For example, the verbs *hin²³* 'erase' (TI), *pan²³* 'hit' (TA), and *hinh²³* 'penetrate' (DA) share the inflectional paradigm A.38.26.7.2.^{<5>} The tone-stress paradigm for these three verbs is given in (58). In (58), and others like it, the symbol **xxx** indicates that no form exists; and the symbol **---** indicates that the form of the verb is not governed by the prohibitive (PROH), but by an obligatorily co-occurring prefix; for further details see §4.1.1.1.

(58) Tone-stress paradigm A.38.26.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	c23	c23	c32	c23
FUT	c3	c13	c21	c13
PAST	c3	c32	b32	FUT
AMB	c1	c13	FUT	FUT
HORT	c1	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	c1	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	c3	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	c3	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	c3	---	---

Similarly, the verbs *juh²³* 'cough' (IA), *hiá²³* 'touch' (TI), and *hó²³* 'sow' (DI) share the inflectional paradigm A.29.12.3.1. The tone-stress inflectional paradigm for these three verbs is:

(59) Tone-stress paradigm A.29.12.3.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	b23	b23	b23	b23
FUT	b3	b13	b13	b13
PAST	b3	b3	b3	FUT
AMB	b13	b13	FUT	FUT
HORT	b13	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	b13	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	b3	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	c32	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	b3	---	---

Since there are TI, TA, and DA verbs which share the paradigm in (58), and IA, TI, and DI verbs which share the paradigm in (59), it is apparent that a verb's valence is not the only factor which governs a verb's paradigm. From (57), however, it is apparent that the tone-stress feature is at least marking the subject of the verb--transitive or intransitive--(together with

other inflectional parameters), thus following an accusative system.

8.1.3.1.2 Glottal Closure of Verb Nucleus Marks Second-person Subject

In addition to indexing of the verb for the person of its subject by tone-stress inflection, certain types of Class A and B verbs are indexed for second-person subject by closure of the final syllable with a glottal stop; see (57) above and (60)-(61) below. Class C verbs, apart from a few irregular verbs, use the third-person inflectional form for all grammatical persons (see §4.1.1.3); consequently, a Class C verb is generally not indexed for second-person. The discussion in this section excludes Class C verbs (which are predominantly II and IA).

Generally, morphemic glottal is found only on IA, TI, and DI verbs; see Table 8.2 below.

The presence of inherent glottal closure^{<6>} of the syllable masks this indexing; for example, *lauh*³² 'bathe' (IA) in (60), and *cúh*² 'eat' (TI) in (61). The classification of glottal closure as inherent or morphemic is determined simply by comparing the 2-PRES form with the citation form, the 3-PRES; if glottal closure of the final syllable is absent in the 3-PRES, then glottal closure for second-person is morphemic.

(60) Examples of IA verbs in the present tense:

	'sneeze'	'escape'	'boast'	'bathe'
3	<i>cué</i> ²³	<i>cuon</i> ²	<i>má</i> ² <i>ráu</i> ³	<i>lauh</i> ³²
2	<i>cuéh</i> ²³	<i>cuounh</i> ³²	<i>má</i> ² <i>ráuh</i> ¹³	<i>láuh</i> ²³
1SG	<i>cué</i> ²³	<i>cuon</i> ²	<i>má</i> ² <i>ráu</i> ¹³	<i>lauh</i> ³²
1PL	<i>cué</i> ²³	<i>cuoun</i> ³²	<i>má</i> ² <i>ráu</i> ¹³	<i>láuh</i> ²³

(61) Examples of TI verbs in the present tense:

	'dispose'	'throw'	'clean'	'eat'
3	<i>cuí</i> ²³	<i>tón</i> ³²	<i>zi</i> ³²	<i>cúh</i> ²
2	<i>cuíh</i> ²³	<i>taunh</i> ³²	<i>zih</i> ²³	<i>cuh</i> ³²
1SG	<i>cuí</i> ²³	<i>ton</i> ²	<i>zi</i> ³²	<i>cuh</i> ³²
1PL	<i>cuí</i> ²³	<i>taun</i> ³²	<i>zi</i> ²³	<i>cúh</i> ²³

TA and DA verbs, whether inflected for direct or inverse cross-referencing (§8.1.4), generally lack morphemic glottal closure (see Table 8.2), second-person being indexed only by tone-stress, as in (62); the only known exception is the inverse cross-referencing verb *té*²³ 'call away' (TA[^]I). There are,

however, TA and DA verbs with inherent glottal, such as *zanh²³* 'grab'.

Examples of TA verbs in the present tense are:

(62)	'appoint'	'buy'	'toast'	'grab'
3	<i>hion³²</i>	<i>lan²³</i>	<i>ton³²</i>	<i>zanh²³</i>
2	<i>hion²³</i>	<i>lan²³</i>	<i>ton²³</i>	<i>zanh²³</i>
1SG	<i>hion³²</i>	<i>lan³²</i>	<i>ton²</i>	<i>zanh³²</i>
1PL	<i>hion²³</i>	<i>lan²³</i>	<i>ton²³</i>	<i>zanh²³</i>

The syllable types found in IA, TI, DI, TA, and DA verbs inflected for second-person, and the quantity of verbs found for each type is set out in Table 8.2 (note that Class C verbs are excluded, as mentioned above).^{<7>} The row 'Percentage Open' refers to the percentage of syllables which could exhibit morphemic glottal but don't; its converse, the row 'Percentage Closed' refers to the percentage of syllables which do exhibit morphemic glottal. The row 'Inherent Glottal' does not enter into the calculations; but it shows the quantity of verbs in which morphemic glottal is potentially masked by inherent glottal.

Table 8.2 Second-person Syllable Types

	IA	TI	DI	TA	DA
Open Syllable	6	30	2	103	22
Morphemic Glottal	21	90	15	1	0
Inherent Glottal	8	82	19	65	19
Percentage Open	17	25	12	99	100
Percentage Closed	83	75	88	1	0

From Table 8.2 it can be seen that there is a strong tendency to use morphemic glottal to index IA, TI, and DI verbs for second-person subject, whereas in TA and DA verbs the lack of morphemic glottal is almost absolute. Thus the accusative system of indexing verbs for second-person subject shows a split pattern: verbs with an animate object have a neutral system of indexing for second-person (that is, neither accusative nor ergative), whereas IA, TI, and DI verbs exhibit accusative indexing for second-person. The open syllable IA, TI, and DI verbs are discussed further in §8.1.3.3.

There is a second split in the accusative pattern of verb indexing. All verbs which exhibit indexing for second-person subject lack the morphemic

glottal when the verb is inflected for the imperative (§4.1.8.11) and the prohibitive (§5.1.7.2); that is, there is a split according to mood and the grammatical person of subject, resulting once again in a neutral system of marking.

The morphological marking of second-person subject is discussed further in §8.1.3.3 with respect to the interaction of the accusative and ergative systems.

8.1.3.2 Morphological Ergativity in Chinantec

Chinantec is morphologically ergative in (i) the way verbs are indexed for animacy of the subject and DO, and in (ii) the way a few verbs inflect for number (singular vs. plural) of the subject and the DO by the use of suppletive forms.

It is necessary to distinguish two subtypes of third-person in Chinantec: the third-person proximate (3) and third-person obviative (3¹), where the former is higher on the animacy hierarchy; see §8.1.4. For Chinantec, the term 'proximate' generally refers to the third-person participant first established as subject in a series of clauses, and 'obviative' refers to the next third-person participant introduced, usually as object, the only exception being when the obviative is inanimate; see §8.1.4.3.

In the first of a series of clauses involving two third-person animate participants, only the direct system can occur. If the grammatical relations of the two noun phrases remain the same in successive clauses, then the direct system is used; but if the grammatical relations are switched, then the inverse system is used. The direct and inverse systems are discussed in detail in §8.1.4.

The inverse system is indicated in examples by the use of an arrow, where the agent is shown to the left of the arrow and the patient is shown to the right; for example, 1SG>2 means the subject is first-person singular and the DO is second-person; 3¹>3 means the subject is third-person obviative and the DO is third-person proximate.

The direct system participants are not indicated in examples since DO is

invariably third-person. Examples (repeated from §4.1.8.7) of two third-person participants with the verb *pan*²³ 'hit' inflected for the direct and inverse systems respectively are given in (63) and (64). In both examples 'Mary' is the subject and 'Peter' the object in the first clause; however, the coreferentiality of the third-person pronoun *tsú*² in the second clause depends on whether the direct or inverse system is being used:

(63) *Ca*³- *jin*³ *Má*²*r**éi*³ *Pé*¹, *tí*³*l**a*³ *tiá*² *ca*³- *pan*³ *yáh*³ *tsú*².
 PAST-scold^{TA}^3 Mary Peter but not PAST-hit^{TA}^3 ASSR 3
 'Mary scolded Peter, but she didn't hit him.'

(64) *Ca*³- *jin*³ *Má*²*r**éi*³ *Pé*¹, *tí*³*l**a*³ *tiá*² *ca*³- *po*³ *yáh*³ *tsú*².
 PAST-scold^{TA}^3 Mary Peter but not PAST-hit^{TA}^3<3>3 ASSR 3
 'Mary scolded Peter, but he didn't hit her.'

8.1.3.2.1 Agreement as to Animacy

Chinantec verbs exhibit agreement for animacy, which operates on an ergative pattern. Intransitive verbs are indexed for animacy of the subject, and transitive/ditransitive verbs are indexed for animacy of third-person DO; in both instances the indexing for animate S/O consists of nasalisation of the nucleus (see note <6>). In the case of third-person subject and third-person DO, the verb is indexed by nasalisation only for an animate third-person obviative.

When DO is first or second-person, or third-person proximate (that is, the verb is inflected for inverse cross-referencing), the verb is not indexed for animate DO by nasalisation, although the person of the DO is marked by the inverse inflection; see §8.1.4.

With respect to the indexing of verbs for animacy then, although the direct cross-referencing system is ergative, the inverse cross-referencing system is morphologically neutral (neither ergative nor accusative); that is, there is no specific marker on the verb for an animate subject or DO. Thus the cross-referencing system exhibits split-ergativity.

In the following quote from Dixon (1987:2), the following abbreviations are used:

S - intransitive subject

A - transitive subject

O - transitive object

(In this description of Chinantec ergativity, the term 'subject' includes S and A).

A point of typological interest arises from Dixon's statement (1987:3):

Originally 'absolute' and 'ergative' were the names for case inflections Recently these case-labels have undergone a further extension to cross-referencing elements on a verb. Thus in Mayan languages, 'set B' clitics, which cross-reference S and O functions, are now sometimes called 'absolute', while 'set A' clitics, cross-referencing A function, are termed 'ergative' . . . absolute is the unmarked case from an absolute-ergative system. (I know of no exceptions to this.)

In Chinantec, however, the absolute {S,O} is marked by nasalisation, while A has no overt marking. Chinantec, then, offers a counter-example to Dixon's generalisation.

Chinantec verbs are indexed for animate subject and DO primarily by nasalisation of the verb nucleus; additional indexing for animateness is also possible, which is discussed below. As will be seen in the following examples, inanimate verbs generally do not share the same tone-stress paradigm with their animate counterparts. However, the tone-stress paradigm alone is not reliably diagnostic of a verb's animacy; non-related verbs of the same transitivity valence may share the same tone-stress paradigm, but one will reference an animate object and another an inanimate object; see §4.1.2.4, Table 4.16. For example, the verbs *han*² 'steal' (TA) and *don*² 'twist' (TI) share the inflectional paradigm A.12.23.1.2.

Examples of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs with their inanimate and animate counterparts respectively are:

(65)(a) *Súh*²² *mu*²¹ *hmá*².
 fall[^]down[^]II[^]FUT[^]3PL leaf[^]3 tree

'The tree's leaves will fall (down).'

- (b) *Sunh*³ *chi*³*mah*².
fall[^]down[^]IA[^]FUT[^]3PL ant
'The ants will fall down.'

- (66)(a) *Súh*³ *tsú*² *hiúh*² *hën*².
cause[^]fall[^]TI[^]PL[^]FUT[^]3 3 seed chili
'S/he will shake out (the) chili seeds.'

- (b) *Sunh*³ *tsú*² *chi*³*mah*².
cause[^]fall[^]TA[^]PL[^]FUT[^]3 3 ant
'S/he will shake off (the) ants.'

- (67)(a) *Zích*²³ *tsú*² *ta*³ *mí*³ *láu*².
kick[^]DI[^]PRES[^]3 3 foot[^]3 spherical skin
'S/he kicks the ball (with) her/his foot.'

- (b) *Zíónh*³² *tsú*² *tsái*² *ta*³.
kick[^]DA[^]PRES[^]3 3 dog foot[^]3
'S/he kicks the dog (with) her/his foot.'

There are inflectionally related TI and TA verbs in which the animate DO is marked on the TA verb by both nasalisation and vocalic change (see note <1>); however, no examples of inflectionally related II and IA verbs have been found where an animate subject is marked by both features. An example of a transitive verb indexed for animate DO by both nasalisation and vocalic change is:

- (68)(a) *Lau*¹³ *tsú*² *tiú*³.
buy[^]used[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3 3 rifle
'S/he will buy a used (formerly purchased) rifle.'

- (b) *Lón*³² *tsú*² *tσα*³*cuá*¹.
buy[^]used[^]TA[^]FUT[^]3 3 horse
'S/he will buy a formerly purchased horse.' (i.e. a horse that was purchased by the previous owner, not born to the previous owner's mare)

Verbs that are inherently nasalised generally mark agreement for animate S/O by vocalic change (and a change in the tone-stress paradigm, which, as mentioned above, is not reliably indicative of a verb's valence or the specific animacy of its referent, but is one mechanism for differentiating inflectionally related verbs). Examples of indexing with inherent nasal for animacy of subject and DO on intransitive and transitive verbs respectively are:

- (69)(a) *Záín*²³ *cuáh*¹³.
slip[^]II[^]PRES soil
'(The) soil slips.' (a landslide)

(b) *Zun*² *tsú*².
 slip[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 3
 'S/he slips.'

(70)(a) *Huín*² *tsú*² *cuí*² *neh*¹³.
 peel[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 maize shucks
 'S/he peels off the maize shucks.'

(b) *Huón*² *tsú*² *mí*²*ñí*³.
 peel[^]TA[^]PRES[^]3 3 pig
 'S/he skins (the) pig(s).'

Despite the variety of ways in which agreement for animacy is marked, indexing of the verb nucleus for animate S/O by nasalisation is the norm; among TA verbs there are only two exceptions: *teh*²³ 'call home' (TA) and *téh*²³ 'call away' (TA).

The syllable types found in II, IA, TI, DI, TA, and DA verbs indexed for animacy of S/O, and the quantity of verbs found for each type is set out in Table 8.3 below. The row 'Percentage Oral' refers to the percentage of verbs which could exhibit morphemic nasalisation but do not do so; its converse, the row 'Percentage Nasalised', refers to the percentage of verbs which do exhibit morphemic nasalisation. The row 'Inherent Nasalisation' refers to those verbs which have a nasal onset (m, n, ñ, ng) which masks the presence of morphemic nasalisation.

Table 8.3 Syllable Types Indexed for Animacy of S/O

	II	TI	DI	IA	TA	DA
Oral Syllable	53	107	21	18	2	0
Nasalised Syllable	34	62	5	46	93	30
Inherent Nasalisation	12	40	4	11	17	1
Percentage Oral	54	63	81	24	2	0
Percentage Nasalised	46	37	19	76	98	100

Not included in the Table 8.3 are transitive and ditransitive verbs inflected for the inverse cross-referencing system; such verbs consistently lack morphemic nasalisation.<8>

From the data in Table 8.3, several tendencies can be observed:

(i) Inherent nasalisation tends not to occur in TA and DA verbs; that is, those verbs in which inherent nasalisation would mask morphemic nasalisation.

(ii) There is a strong tendency to index IA verbs for the subject by nasalisation. In fact, all II verbs with an oral nucleus index their IA counterpart for an animate subject by nasalisation of the nucleus; for example, *tah*³² 'fall' (II) and *tanh*³² 'fall' (IA). The indexing of TA and DA verbs for animate DO is almost absolute.

(iii) Although there is a strong tendency for morphemic nasalisation to mark an animate subject in IA verbs and animate object in TA and DA verbs, the presence of a nasalised nucleus does not entail an animate S/O.

Split-ergativity occurs on the basis of the animacy hierarchy: verbs inflected for direct cross-referencing are indexed for animate DO, verbs inflected for inverse cross-referencing are not, in which case the indexing is neutral, not accusative.

8.1.3.2.2 Agreement as to Number

In Chinantec, there is a limited system of agreement on verbs as to number of S/O.

A few II verbs have suppletive stems^{<9>} for singular and plural. For example, the verb *tah*³² 'fall' inflected for the present tense has the forms:

(71) 3SG 3PL
 *tah*³² *suh*³² 'fall' (II)

As mentioned in §8.1.3.1.1, the most common type of verb with an animate subject exhibits a four-way contrast of person: third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL. However, there are IA verbs that have suppletive stems for singular and plural persons, resulting in a six-way contrast; see §4.1.4.

The majority of IA verbs that have suppletive stems for singular and plural are Class C. The singular stem may also be used for the plural, but the plural stem can never be used for the singular. If the speaker uses the singular stem, the individuals are seen as acting independently; if the plural stem is used, the individuals are seen as acting corporately; see §4.1.4. Generally, the nucleus of the 1PL stem differs from that of the 2PL/3PL. A

single tone-stress paradigm pertains to all singular forms (as is characteristic of Class C verbs; see §4.1.1.3), and a different tone-stress paradigm to all plural forms. For example, the verbs *tanh³²/sunh²³* 'fall' and *jun²³/tsan²* 'die' respectively (inflected for the present tense):

(72) Singular(or Plural)	1PL	2PL/3PL	
<i>tanh³²</i>	<i>sanh²³</i>	<i>sunh²³</i>	'fall'
<i>jún²³</i>	<i>tsau²</i>	<i>tsan²</i>	'die'

Sentential examples based on the singular and plural stems of the verb 'die' in (72) are:

(73) *Ca³- jun³ tsú² jmí¹ ca³- lí³ tsáun¹.*
 PAST-die^{IA}3SG 3 when^{PAST} PAST-become^{II} sick
 'S/he died when s/he became sick.'

(74) *Ca³- tsan³ tsú² jmí¹ ca³- lí³ tsáun¹.*
 PAST-die^{IA}3PL 3 when^{PAST} PAST-become^{II} sick
 'They died when they became sick.'

Transitive and ditransitive verbs that are indexed for the number of their object exhibit suppletive stems for singular and plural, and a maximum of a four-way contrast of subject persons. The following examples are inflected for the present tense:

(75) *tón³²* (TI^{SG}) A.43.33.2.1 'discard'
cuí²³ (TI^{PL}) A.29.12.3.1 'discard'

	3	2	1SG	1PL
Singular Object	<i>tón³²</i>	<i>tauh³²</i>	<i>ton²</i>	<i>taun³²</i>
Plural Object	<i>cuí²³</i>	<i>cuíh²³</i>	<i>cuí²³</i>	<i>cuí²³</i>

(76) *tón³²* (TA^{SG}) A.47.23.1.2 'discard, abandon'
cuín²³ (TA^{PL}) A.38.26.7.2 'discard, abandon'

	3	2	1SG	1PL
Singular Object	<i>tón³²</i>	<i>ton²³</i>	<i>ton²</i>	<i>ton²³</i>
Plural Object	<i>cuín²³</i>	<i>cuín²³</i>	<i>cuín³²</i>	<i>cuín²³</i>

(77) *tauh³²* (DI^{SG}) A.67.9.7.1 'put in'
toh² (DI^{PL}) A.20.31.6.3 'put in'

	3	2	1SG	1PL
Singular Object	<i>tauh³²</i>	<i>táuh²³</i>	<i>tauh³²</i>	<i>táuh²³</i>
Plural Object	<i>toh²</i>	<i>tóh³²</i>	<i>tóh³²</i>	<i>tóh³²</i>

(78) *chin²* (DA^{SG}) A.15.26.7.2 'remove'
huen² (DA^{PL}) A.12.23.1.2 'remove'

	3	2	1SG	1PL
Singular Object	<i>chin²</i>	<i>chin²³</i>	<i>chin³²</i>	<i>chin²³</i>
Plural Object	<i>huen²</i>	<i>huen²³</i>	<i>huen²</i>	<i>huen²³</i>

Sentential examples based on the singular and plural stems respectively of the verb 'remove' in (78) are:

- (79) *há² lí²-chin²* *tsú² tsá² tson³* *hñu³mi⁴ñi².*
 PRF HOD-remove^{DA}SG³ 3 person prisoner jail
 'S/he has just removed the prisoner (from) jail.'
- (80) *há² lí²-huen³* *tsú² tsá² tson³* *hñu³mi⁴ñi².*
 PRF HOD-remove^{DA}PL³ 3 person prisoner jail
 'S/he has just removed the prisoners (from) jail.'

8.1.3.3 When Ergative and Accusative Systems Co-occur

In this section I discuss the effect that accusative and ergative verb indexing have on each other, specifically the accusative indexing for a second-person subject and the ergative indexing for an animate S/O. First, a brief recapitulation of both systems respectively:

(i) The Accusative System

Glottal stop is the only syllable closure in Chinantec (§2.0). If an IA, TI or DI verb does not have inherent glottal closure on its final syllable, then glottal closure of the final syllable functions morphemically, indexing the verb for a second-person subject. TA and DA verbs are generally not indexed by glottal closure for second-person subject.

(ii) The Ergative System

The verb nucleus is generally nasalised to index an animate subject in IA verbs, and animate object in TA and DA verbs inflected for direct cross-referencing. Inverse cross-referencing TA and DA verbs are not indexed by nasalisation for an animate DO.

In second-person then, direct cross-referencing 'A' verbs (TA and DA) are distinguished from inverse cross-referencing 'A' verbs; and both are distinguished from 'I' verbs (TI and DI) in the following manner:

(i) Direct cross-referencing 'A' verbs generally are not indexed for a second-person subject by morphemic glottal, but are indexed for an animate DO by nasalisation of the nucleus.

(ii) Inverse cross-referencing 'A' verbs are neither indexed for a second-person subject by morphemic glottal, nor an animate DO by nasalisation

of the nucleus.

(iii) 'I' verbs, whether direct or inverse, are generally indexed for a second-person subject by morphemic glottal.

Only a few inverse cross-referencing 'I' verbs (DI'I) have been identified, for example: *cue*³² 'give', *hie*³² 'show' and *jienh*³² 'give back, return'. As is characteristic of 'I' verbs, the first two verbs lack morphemic nasalisation, and both exhibit morphemic glottal when inflected for second-person. The third verb has both inherent nasalisation and inherent glottal closure, masking both kinds of indexing. The presence of inherent nasalisation is seen in its direct cross-referencing counterpart *jienh*²³ 'give back, return' (DI). These three verbs are discussed further in §8.1.4.1.

Of particular interest is what happens in IA verbs, since they can exhibit both accusative and ergative features. Table 8.4 charts six types of IA verb stems. Class C verbs, apart from a few irregular verbs, use the third-person inflectional form for all grammatical persons; see §4.1.1.3. Since second-person is generally not indexed on Class C verbs, they are excluded from Table 8.4.

There are 36 Class A and B intransitive animate verbs in my corpus of dynamic verbs (see note <8>). The symbols + and - mean 'with' and 'without' respectively'.

Table 8.4 IA Verb Stem Types

	Quantity of Verbs
a. Nasal Stem + Inherent Glottal	5
b. Oral Stem + Inherent Glottal	3
c. Nasal Stem + Morphemic Glottal	9
d. Oral Stem + Morphemic Glottal	12
e. Nasal Stem - Morphemic Glottal	7
f. Oral Stem - Morphemic Glottal	0
TOTAL	36 IA verbs

In Class A and B IA verbs, 'nasal stem - inherent glottal' entails 'nasal stem + morphemic glottal', and 'oral stem - inherent glottal' entails 'oral stem + morphemic glottal'.

From Table 8.4 the following facts emerge:

(i) Verbs with inherent glottal are a little more likely to be indexed for an animate subject (ratio of a to b is 5:3).

(ii) Among Class A and B IA verbs, indexing for an animate subject is somewhat more frequent than the lack of such indexing (ratio of a+c+e to b+d+f is 7:5). Lest the identification of nasalisation as an ergative feature be called into question by this data, I mention by way of reminder that among the II/IA counterparts, an oral II stem invariably has a nasalised IA stem; see §8.1.3.2.1. Furthermore, without exception, Class C IA verbs are nasalised (30 verbs). (The ratio of oral to nasal stems for the II verbs in my data is 53:46.)

(iii) A nasal stem is about as likely as not to be indexed for second-person by glottal closure (ratio of c to e is 9:7), but all oral stems are indexed for second-person (ratio of d to f is 12:0).

(iv) As a corollary of (iii), it appears that if an IA verb is nasalised, there is a tendency to not mark it for second-person by glottal closure of the final syllable; that is, the accusative system tends not to be followed, resulting in neutral marking.

Applying the tendency in (iv) to the 32 TI and DI verbs which lack the expected indexing for second-person (see Table 8.2), 30 are inherently nasalised stems. There are, however, many inherently nasalised stems which do permit indexing for second-person. It would appear then that inherent nasalisation of TI and DI verbs tends to interfere with the accusative system of indexing verbs for second-person. However, morphemic nasalisation of TA and DA verbs (ergative indexing) appears to be an almost total barrier to accusative indexing. (The six IA verbs in Table 8.2 that lack indexing for second-person are also all inherently nasalised.)

In conclusion, ergative indexing of the verb for animacy appears to take precedence over accusative second-person indexing, and even inherent nasalisation tends to interfere with accusative indexing.

8.1.3.4 Syntactic Accusativity and Ergativity

With respect to syntactic ergativity, Klaiman (1987:61) remarks that:

Relatively few languages behave ergatively at the level of syntax; those which do also exhibit ergative behaviour at the level of morphology. In the majority of languages, ergativity exists exclusively at the level of morphology.

Dixon (1987:3-4) states that: 'In many . . . languages there are syntactic rules for coordination, relativisation, etc. that are sensitive to syntactic functions.' The recoverability of omitted nominals in such constructions determines whether a language is syntactically accusative (operating with an S/A pivot) or syntactically ergative, (operating with an S/O pivot). For example, in the sentence (taken from Dixon 1987:3) 'John saw Mary and sat down', the omitted nominal in a syntactically accusative language such as English would be 'John', but in a syntactically ergative language such as Dyirbal, the omitted nominal would be 'Mary'.

Because of Chinantec's head-marking system, when a nominal is omitted, its grammatical person is still marked on the verb. The only constructions in which ambiguity is possible is when there are two third-person participants. For example:

- (81) *Ca³-jién³² tsái² mí¹tiei²¹, jáun² ca³-cuóun³.*
 PAST-see^{TA}³ dog cat then PAST-run^{IA}³
 'The dog saw the cat, then ran away.' (the dog ran)
- (82) *Ca³-cunh² tsái² mí¹tiei²¹, jáun² ca³-cuóun³.*
 PAST-bite^{TA}³ dog cat then PAST-run^{IA}³
 'The dog bit the cat, then ran away.' (the cat/(dog) ran)
- (83) *Ca³-cunh² mí¹tiei²¹ tsái², jáun² ca³-cuóun³.*
 PAST-bite^{TA}³ cat dog then PAST-run^{IA}³
 'The cat bit the dog, then ran away.' (the dog/(cat) ran)

(81) is interpreted according to an accusative syntactic pattern, but in (82) and (83) the interpretation tends towards an ergative syntax. The native speaker reaction is that the animal which is bitten would be more likely to run away; however, my personal reaction to the English equivalent would follow accusative syntax; that is, I would equate the subject in both (82) and

(83) with the subject of the second clause.

If the subject and DO participants occur in a subordinate clause, such as in (84), the identification of the subject in the main clause is ambiguous:

(84) *Jmɛ́¹ ca³- jin³ Pé¹ Má²réi³, ngah³ hñú¹³.*
 when^PAST PAST-scold^TA^3 Peter Mary go^home^PAST^IA^3SG house^3
 'When Peter had scolded Mary, (Peter/Mary) went home.'

In (84), there is a slight preference to identify the subject of the subordinate clause (Peter) with the omitted subject of the main clause, however, the alternative interpretation is quite acceptable.

From (81)-(83) it appears that Chinantec syntax is accusative unless the choice of verb and arguments, and/or the speaker's world-view results in what superficially appears to be ergative syntax. This area of Chinantec syntax merits further research.

8.1.4 Direct and Inverse Cross-referencing

Direct and inverse cross-referencing applies only to transitive and ditransitive verbs.

The direct and inverse systems can be expressed by the following hierarchies:

Figure 8.1 The Person/Animacy Hierarchy

1, 2 > 3 > 3¹

animate > inanimate

In other words, if the subject is higher on the animacy hierarchy than the DO, the direct system is used; the inverse system is used elsewhere.

In the direct system, first-person (1), second-person (2), or third-person proximate (3) function as the subject argument of the verb, and the third-person obviative (3¹) is the DO argument (see §8.1.3.2 for a description of the terms 'proximate' and 'obviative'). A 3 can only be inanimate if 3¹ is inanimate; if 3 is animate, 3¹ can be either animate or inanimate. In other words, for a verb to be inflected for the direct system, the DO must be third-

person, either inanimate or animate.

In the inverse system, on the other hand, the subject is equal to or lower than the DO in the hierarchy. When 1 and 2 co-occur, regardless of which is subject or object, the verb is inflected for the inverse system. Generally, both participants in the inverse system are animate, although the subject can be inanimate; see §8.1.4.3. If 3¹ is the subject, then 1, 2 or 3 may be the DO.

A verb inflected for the direct system is usually indexed for second-person subject by glottal closure of the verb nucleus, and for animate DO by nasalisation of the nucleus (see §8.1.3.1.2 and §8.1.3.2.1). In comparison, a verb inflected for the inverse system generally exhibits the following features:

(i) Lack of indexing of the verb for a second-person subject by means of glottal closure of the final syllable. (Inherent glottal closure is, of course, not affected.)

(ii) Lack of indexing of the verb for animate DO; that is, if the direct form of the verb has morphemic nasalisation, the inverse form will not. (However, inherent nasalisation is not affected.)

(iii) The nucleus of the inverse form frequently differs from that of the direct form of the verb. I have not researched the vocalic difference between the direct and inverse forms, but it appears that when the nuclei of the direct and inverse forms differ, the same unstable nuclei are involved as are found in Tables 4.31-4.33 in §4.1.6.2. A few examples of the vocalic differences that are found in the direct and inverse counterparts are set out in Table 8.5 (inflected for the 3-PRES); see also (86) further below:

Table 8.5 Examples of Vocalic Differences
in Direct and Inverse Forms

DIRECT	INVERSE	GLOSS
<i>chin</i> ²	<i>che</i> ²	'remove' (TA SG)
<i>cuin</i> ²³	<i>cua</i> ²³	'abandon' (TA PL)
<i>hian</i> ²³	<i>hiau</i> ²³	'touch' (TA)
<i>hma</i> ²	<i>hmou</i> ²	'hide' (TA)
<i>jón</i> ³²	<i>jáu</i> ³²	'take (home)' (TA)
<i>jan</i> ²	<i>jaun</i> ²	'wait for' (TA)
<i>lon</i> ²	<i>lau</i> ²	'wrap up' (TA)
<i>pan</i> ²³	<i>po</i> ²³	'hit' (TA)

8.1.4.1 Inflection for Person-of-subject and Person-of-object in the Inverse Cross-referencing System

The direct and inverse cross-referencing systems are alike in the way they differentiate grammatical persons for Class A, B, and C verbs. Prototypical Class A verbs exhibit a four-way contrast for person-of-subject: 3, 2, 1SG, and 1PL, with separate tone-stress paradigms for each person; prototypical Class B verbs exhibit only a two-way contrast for person-of-subject: third-person and non-third-person, with separate tone-stress paradigms for each person-set; prototypical Class C verbs have only a single tone-stress paradigm for all grammatical persons, that of the third-person (see Figure 4.1 in §4.1).

Class A, B, and C verbs inflected for the direct system invariably have third-person as DO. The inverse system, however, references the person of the subject and the object for Class A, B, and C verbs in the following manner:

Table 8.6 Inverse Cross-referencing, Class A Verbs

third-person obviative	
subject (3 ¹)	with third-person proximate (3), second-person, or first-person DO
second-person subject	with first-person DO
first-person singular subject	with second-person DO
first-person plural subject	with second-person DO

Table 8.7 Inverse Cross-referencing, Class B Verbs

third-person obviative subject (3 ¹)	with	third-person proximate (3), or non-third-person DO
non-third-person subject	with	non-third-person DO

Table 8.8 Inverse Cross-referencing, Class C Verbs

third-person obviative subject (3 ¹)	> with <	third-person proximate (3) or non-third-person DO
or non-third-person subject		

In Tables 8.7 and 8.8, the non-third-person subject and non-third-person DO must not be the same person; nor can 1SG and 1PL ever co-occur as subject and DO. If subject and DO are the same person, the construction is either reflexive (§4.1.8.3) or reciprocal (§4.1.8.4); and the form of the verb more closely resembles that of the direct system, but with a different tone-stress paradigm.

Of the 83 verbs inflected for the inverse system in my corpus, 34% exhibit the same tone-stress paradigm as occurs on their direct counterpart. The only paradigmatic difference between the direct and inverse tone-stress paradigms is found in the 2-PAST in 36% of the verbs. In 18% of the verbs, the differences between the direct and inverse tone-stress paradigms range from slight (for example, second-person paradigms dissimilar) to total dissimilarity in all persons. In 12% of the verbs, the inverse form is indistinguishable from the direct form in all respects. Each of these four patterns is illustrated respectively in (85)-(88). Note that tone-stress difference and vocalic difference are independent features, so even though inflectionally related verbs may share identical (or nearly-identical) tone-stress paradigms, they may have different nuclei.

In (85), the verb 'receive, accept' is illustrative of those verbs which exhibit no tone-stress difference between the direct and inverse forms. The TI paradigm is included to illustrate how different the TI tone-stress paradigm

generally is from the TA and TA^I paradigms (the TI nucleus also happens to be different from the TA nucleus, as frequently occurs):

(85)(a) *hei*³² 'receive, accept' (TI)-A.67.7.7.1

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	hei ³²	héih ²³	hei ³²	héi ²³
FUT	héi ³²	héih ¹³	hei ²¹	héi ¹³
PAST	he ³	heh ¹	héi ³²	FUT
AMB	hei ²¹	héih ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	hei ²¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	hei ²¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	héi ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	héi ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	héi ³	---	---

(b) *hen*² 'receive, accept' (TA)-A.12.23.1.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	hen ²	hen ²³	hen ²	hen ²³
FUT	hen ³	hen ¹³	hen ¹	hen ¹³
PAST	hen ³	hen ³	hen ³	FUT
AMB	hen ¹	hen ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	hen ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	hen ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	hen ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	hen ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	hen ³	---	---

(c) *he*² 'receive, accept' (TA^I)-A.12.23.1.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	he ²	he ²³	he ²	he ²³
FUT	he ³	he ¹³	he ¹	he ¹³
PAST	he ³	he ³	he ³	FUT
AMB	he ¹	he ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	he ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	he ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	he ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	he ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	he ³	---	---

Note that in (85a) the second-person form has glottal closure to index a second-person subject on a TI verb (§8.1.3.1.2). In (85b) the nucleus is nasalsed to index an animate DO (§8.1.3.2.1), but indexing for a second-person subject by glottal closure of the syllable does not occur (§8.1.3.1.2). In (85c) the verb lacks indexing for both second-person subject and animate DO.

In (86), the verb 'bathe' is illustrative of those verbs which exhibit a tone-stress difference between the direct and inverse forms only in the 2-

PAST. It is also representative of those verbs which have a different nucleus for the direct and inverse forms (see also (87)):

(86)(a) *sin*² 'bathe' (TA)-A.15.26.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>sin</i> ²	<i>sin</i> ²³	<i>sin</i> ³²	<i>sin</i> ²³
FUT	<i>sin</i> ¹³	<i>sin</i> ¹³	<i>sin</i> ²¹	<i>sin</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>sin</i> ²	<i>sin</i> ³²	<i>sin</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>sin</i> ¹³	<i>sin</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>sin</i> ²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>sin</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>sin</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>sin</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>sin</i> ³	---	---

(b) *sa*² 'bathe' (TA¹)-A.15.22.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>sa</i> ²	<i>sa</i> ²³	<i>sa</i> ¹³²	<i>sa</i> ²³
FUT	<i>sa</i> ¹³	<i>sa</i> ¹³	<i>sa</i> ¹²¹	<i>sa</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>sa</i> ²	<i>sie</i> ²	<i>sa</i> ¹³²	FUT
AMB	<i>sie</i> ¹³	<i>sie</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>sa</i> ²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>sie</i> ¹³	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>sie</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>sie</i> ²	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>sa</i> ³	---	---

In (87), the verb 'roll' is illustrative of those verbs which exhibit extensive tone-stress difference between the direct and inverse forms; only the 1SG and 1PL tone-stress paradigms are identical:

(87)(a) *linh*²³ 'roll' (TA)-36.26.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>linh</i> ²³	<i>linh</i> ²³	<i>linh</i> ³²	<i>linh</i> ²³
FUT	<i>linh</i> ³	<i>linh</i> ¹³	<i>linh</i> ²¹	<i>linh</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>linh</i> ³	<i>linh</i> ³²	<i>linh</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>linh</i> ¹	<i>linh</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>linh</i> ¹	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>linh</i> ¹	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>linh</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>linh</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>linh</i> ³	---	---

(b) *láih*³² 'roll' (TA[^]I)-44.20.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>láih</i> ³²	<i>lah</i> ²³	<i>lah</i> ³²	<i>lah</i> ²³
FUT	<i>láih</i> ³²	<i>lah</i> ¹³	<i>lah</i> ²¹	<i>lah</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>láih</i> ³²	<i>lah</i> ²	<i>láih</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>láih</i> ³²	<i>lah</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>láih</i> ³²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>láih</i> ³²	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>láih</i> ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>lah</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>lah</i> ²	---	---

In (88), the verb 'offer' (TA/TA[^]I) is illustrative of those few verbs in which the inverse and direct paradigms are indistinguishable in both tone-stress inflection and nucleus.

(88) *jéin*³² 'offer' (TA/TA[^]I)-A.47.19.7.2

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jéin</i> ³²	<i>jen</i> ²³	<i>jein</i> ³²	<i>jen</i> ²³
FUT	<i>jéin</i> ³²	<i>jen</i> ¹³	<i>jein</i> ²¹	<i>jen</i> ¹³
PAST	<i>jéin</i> ³²	<i>jen</i> ¹	<i>jéin</i> ³²	FUT
AMB	<i>jéin</i> ³²	<i>jen</i> ¹³	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jéin</i> ³²	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jéin</i> ³²	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jéin</i> ³²	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>jen</i> ³	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>jen</i> ³	---	---

All known verbs which do not differentiate between the direct and inverse system are inherently nasalised; which means the indexing of the TA or DA verb for animate DO is masked by the inherent nasalisation, and this nasalisation persists with the inverse paradigm. However, inherent nasalisation of a verb does not entail identical direct and inverse forms; verbs that are inherently nasalised may distinguish between the direct and inverse forms by vocalic change and/or tone-stress paradigm differences. For example: *hmih*²³ (TA)/*hmah*²³ (TA[^]I) 'scratch', *hnah*² (TA)/*hnauh*² (TA[^]I) 'search for', and *jan*² (TA)/*jaun*² (TA[^]I) 'wait for'.

Comparative examples of the direct and inverse systems respectively are:

- (89)(a) *Hin*³ *tsú*² *tsá*²*hñú*¹³.
 count[^]TA[^]FUT[^]3 inhabitant
 'They will count the inhabitants.' (i.e. conduct a census)

- (b) *Ha³ tsú² tin² jnoh¹.*
 count^{TA}FUT³>1 3 first us
 'They will count us first.'
- (90)(a) *Ca³- hinh³² hnú² tsú².*
 PAST-penetrate^{TA}2 you^{SG} 3
 'You stabbed her/him.'
- (b) *Ca³- hah³ hnú² tsú².*
 PAST-penetrate^{TA}3>2 you^{SG} 3
 'S/he stabbed you.'
- (91)(a) *Lí² pan³ tsú².*
 PROH hit^{TA}FUT² 3
 'Don't hit her/him.'
- (b) *Lí² po³ jná¹³.*
 PROH hit^{TA}FUT²>1 I
 'Don't hit me.'
- (92)(a) *Há² jng^h21 jná¹³ tsú².*
 PRF kill^{TA}FUT^{1SG} I 3
 'I am about to kill her/him.'
- (b) *Há² jng^ah21 jná¹³ hnú².*
 PRF kill^{TA}FUT^{1SG}>2 I you^{SG}
 'I am about to kill you.'
- (93)(a) *Ca³- hen¹³ jnoh¹ tsú² ré².*
 PAST-receive^{TA}1PL we 3 well
 'We received her/him well.' (i.e. we were hospitable)
- (b) *Ca³- he¹³ jnoh¹ hnoh² ré².*
 PAST-receive^{TA}1PL>2 we you^{PL} well
 'We received you well.'

Examples involving the third-person proximate and third-person obviative are more complex. A discourse cannot begin with an animate third-person obviative. If the first of two third-person participants to be identified is coreferential with the subject in any successive transitive clause, the direct system is used. If, however, the second third-person participant to be identified is the subject in a subsequent clause where the first third-person participant to be identified is the DO, the inverse system is used. In the gloss of (94) below, the following notations are used: *d* stands for 'direct inflection', *i* stands for 'inverse inflection', *p* stands for 'proximate', and *o* stands for 'obviative':

(94) *Jau³ ca³-cuen³ Pé¹ Tu²¹ tsa³cuá¹ joh¹; jáun²*
 two[^]days[^]ago PAST-give[^]DA[^]3 Peter Tony horse have[^]STA[^]3 then

cháu³ ca³-zái³ Tu²¹ hi³ tiá² ré² jmu²
 yesterday PAST-tell[^]DI[^]3¹>3 Tony COMP not well do[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3

jáh³ ta²¹. Jáun² ca³-záih³ tsú² Tu²¹ hi³ hliá² jmi¹ tsám¹
 animal work then PAST-tell[^]DI[^]3 3 Tony COMP because TRM sick

bíh¹ jáh³. Jáun² cu³tsa³² ca³-je³ bíh¹ tsú² Tu²¹.
 AFF animal then promptly PAST-scold[^]TA[^]3¹>3 AFF 3 Tony
 'Two days ago Peter_p loaned_d (lit. 'gave') Tony_o his horse; then
 yesterday Tony_o told_i (him_p) that the horse (lit. 'animal') wasn't
 working well. So he_p told_d Tony_o that it's because the animal had
 been sick. Then Tony_o promptly scolded_i him_p.'

To further illustrate the tracking of participants by means of the direct and inverse systems, if the verb 'scold' (inflected for inverse cross-referencing in the last sentence of (94)) is substituted with its direct cross-referencing counterpart:

Jáun² cu³tsa³² ca³-jin³ bíh¹ tsú² Tu²¹.
 then promptly PAST-scold[^]TA[^]3 AFF 3 Tony

the meaning is: 'Then he_p promptly scolded_d Tony_o.'

In (95) the third-person proximate is introduced in an intransitive clause. The verb of the second clause is inflected for the inverse system, indicating that the subject of the first clause is the DO of the second clause. If the DO is omitted (as it normally would be), it is recoverable by means of the verbal inflection:

(95) *Ca³la³ ní¹ ca³-jun³ máh³ tsú² ca³-po³ (tsú²) tsán².*
 even[^]to place PAST-die[^]IA[^]3 EXCL 3 PAST-hit[^]3¹>3 3 people
 '(Some) people beat her/him to death.' (lit. 'Right to the place/point
 s/he died they beat (her/him).')

See also (63) and (64) for further examples of the direct and inverse system involving two animate third-person participants.

In addition to direct and inverse cross-referencing, Chinantec also makes use of the third-person pronouns *tsú²* and *df²* for tracking two third-person participants; see §8.1.4.2 below.

Merrifield (1968:48) makes a brief reference to inverse inflection in Palantla Chinantec. In Palantla, evidently inverse cross-referencing is limited to a first-person DO versus a non-first-person DO. Westley (1991:25,26) de-

scribes a similar feature in Tepetotutla Chinantec. (Neither author uses the term 'inverse cross-referencing'.)

Generally, ditransitive verbs are indexed for the animacy of the DO, but not for the animacy (and/or person) of the IO (§4.1.8.2). However, a few verbs have been identified such as *jienh*²³ 'return, give back' (DI), *cueh*³² 'give' (DI), and *hieh*³² 'show' (DI) which, when indexed for an inanimate direct object, are also indexed for the person of the indirect object. All such verbs encode a recipient IO.

In theory, six combinations are possible, see Table 8.9.

Table 8.9 Combinations of DO and IO Based on Animacy and Person

	Direct Object	Indirect Object
(a)	inanimate	third-person
(b)	inanimate	non-third-person
(c)	animate third-person	third-person
(d)	animate third-person	non-third-person
(e)	non-third-person	third-person
(f)	non-third-person	non-third-person

Chinantec inflectionally combines (c) with (d), and (e) with (f), resulting in four inflectional patterns: (a), (b), (c-d), and (e-f). In other words, it is only when the DO is inanimate that the person of the IO is indexed on the verb. As examples of patterns (a) and (b) respectively, compare (96) and (97); note the difference in the verb inflection:

(96) P S IO DO
Ca³- hieh³ tsú² rainh²¹ mí¹jlá² quioh²¹.
 PAST-show^{DI}^3 3 peer³ knife have^{STI}^3
 'He showed his companions his knife.'

(97) P S IO DO
Ca³- hie³ tsú² jná¹³ mí¹jlá² quioh²¹.
 PAST-show^{DI}^3>1 3 I knife have^{STI}^3
 'He showed me his knife.'

Patterns (c) and (d) are illustrated respectively by (98) and (99). Note in (98)-(99) that, although the person of the IO differs in the manner of (96)-(97) above, there is no change in the verb inflection, as occurs in (96)-(97):

(98) P S IO DO
Ca³- hien³ tsú² Pé¹ tsa³cuá¹ joh¹.
 PAST-show^{DI}^3 3 Peter horse have^{STA}^3

'He showed Peter his horse.'

- (99) P S IO DO
Ca³- hien³ tsú² jná¹³ tsa³cuá¹ joh¹.
 PAST-show^{DI}^3 3 me horse have^{STA}^3
 'He showed me his horse.'

Patterns (e) and (f) are illustrated respectively by (100) and (101). Note that although the person of the IO differs in the manner of (96)-(97) above, there is no change in the verb inflection, as occurs in (96)-(97); nonetheless, the inflection differs from that of (98)-(99):

- (100) P S DO IO
Ca³- hie³ tsú² jná¹³ tɿ³².
 PAST-show^{DI}^3>1 3 I teacher
 'He introduced me to the teacher.'

- (101) P S DO IO
Ca³- hie³ tsú² jná¹³ hnú².
 PAST-show^{DI}^3>1 3 I you
 'He introduced me to you.'

The IO of most ditransitive verbs encodes instrumental case, a few encode locative case; see §4.1.8.2. All such verbs have a maximum of three inflectional forms, one for inanimate DO, one for animate DO inflected for the direct system, and one for animate DO inflected for the inverse system. Examples of each respectively are:

- (102) P S IO DO
Ca³- sé³ tsú² jmáí² lí¹³.
 PAST-sprinkle^{DI}^3 3 water flower
 'S/he sprinkled the flowers with water.'
- (103)(a) P S IO DO
Ca³- sén³² tsú² jmáí² rainh²¹.
 PAST-sprinkle^{DA}^3 3 water companion³
 'S/he sprinkled her/his companion with water.'
- (b) P S IO DO
Ca³- sén³² tsú² chí^{3mah} rainh²¹.
 PAST-sprinkle^{DA}^3 3 ant companion³
 'S/he sprinkled her/his companion with ants.'
- (104)(a) P S DO IO
Ca³- sé³² tsú² jná¹³ jmáí².
 PAST-sprinkle^{DA}^3>1 3 I water
 'S/he sprinkled me with water.'
- (b) P S DO IO
Ca³- sé³² tsú² jná¹³ chí^{3mah}.
 PAST-sprinkle^{DA}^3>1 3 I ant
 'S/he sprinkled me with ants.'

From (102)-(104), it can be seen that these ditransitive verbs are indexed for animacy of the DO and, if animate, for the person of the DO. The animacy of the IO is irrelevant.

8.1.4.2 Tracking Third-person Proximate and Third-person Obviative

Participants with the Pronouns *tsú²* and *dí²*

Chinantec has three third-person pronouns, *tsú²*, *dí²*, and *di³²*. Syntactically, *di³²* functions identically to *dí²*, and is not discussed further in this section; its pragmatic function is discussed in §6.1.1.9.1.5.

Tsú² is by far the most common third-person pronoun. When there are two or more third-person participants in a passage of discourse, *dí²* is optionally used to mark the foregrounded (or more prominent) participant, while all other third-person participants are referred to by *tsú²* (or by other nominals such as proper nouns; or there may be ellipsis of the nominal if the context allows). When the verb is inflected for the direct system, *dí²* is used to track the third-person proximate (see (105c)); but when the verb is inflected for the inverse system, *dí²* is used to track the third-person obviative (see (106)).

When the speaker assumes (correctly or not) that there is no ambiguity in tracking the third-person participants, *dí²* is dispensed with, and *tsú²* can be used for any third-person participant; for example, see (111) further below.

When the verb of the second clause is inflected for direct cross-referencing, *dí²* is coreferential with the agent of the prior clause; see (105c):

- (105)(a) *Pé¹ ca³-tín¹ quionh³ Po¹,*
 Peter₁ PAST-fight^{IA}3 accompany^{STA}3 Paul₂,
- jmí¹jáum² ca³-hlian³ Pé¹ Po¹.*
 then^{PAST} PAST-push^{TA}3 Peter₁ Paul₂.
 'Peter₁ fought with Paul₂, then Peter₁ pushed Paul₂.'

The two proper nouns in the final clause of (105a) may be replaced by the third-person pronoun *tsú²*:

- (b) . . . *jmí¹jáum² ca³-hlian³ tsú² tsú².*
 then^{PAST} PAST-push^{TA}3 he₁ he₂.
 'Peter₁ fought with Paul₂, then he₁ pushed him₂.'

Or, more commonly, *di*² is used to track the third-person proximate, in which case *tsú*² functions as the third-person obviative:

- (c) . . . *jmí¹jáun² ca³- hlian³ di² tsú².*
 then^{PAST} PAST-push^{TA} he₁ he₂.
 'Peter₁ fought with Paul₂, then he₁ pushed him₂.'

When the verb of the second clause is inflected for inverse cross-referencing, *di*² is coreferential with the patient of the prior clause:

- (106) *Pé¹ ca³- tñn¹ quionh³ Po¹, jmí¹jáun²*
 Peter₁ PAST-fight^{IA} accompany^{STA} Paul₂, then^{PAST}
ca³- hliau³ di² tsú².
 PAST-push^{TA} he₂ he₁.
 'Peter₁ fought with Paul₂, then he₂ (Paul) pushed him₁.'

When the agent/subject of a subordinate clause is coreferential with the agent/subject of the matrix clause, *di*² is used:

- (107) *Ca³- záih³ tsú² tsá² hí³ la³ lá² jmí¹*
 PAST-tell^{DI} he₁ person₂ that^{AN} idea this when^{PAST}
má² lí²-chá³ di² ré² quie³ quioh² tsú²:
 PRF HOD-place^{TI} he₁ well money have^{STI} he₂
 'He₁ gave (lit. 'told') that person₂ this advice when he₁ had prepared his₂ money/wages.'

If *di*² is substituted for *tsú*² in the clause *quie³ quioh² tsú²* in (107) above, then (107) would be understood to mean:

'He₁ gave that person₂ this advice when he₁ had prepared his₁ (own) money.'

When *di*² occurs in an embedded subordinate clause, it is coreferential with the agent/subject of the highest clause, which may or may not be the same as the agent/subject of the next higher subordinate clause in which it is embedded. For example:

- (108) *Qui¹ tsá² jmu² hí³ la³ jáun² dá² hnió³*
 because person₁ do^{TI} PRES³ that^{AN} idea that^{IN} VER want^{STI}
 COMP[*jié³ tsáu² hi³ hi³ di² ná¹- má²hien².*]]
 see^{TI} FUT people₂ COMP that^{AN} he₁ PROG^{PL}-fast^{IA}
 'People₁ who act that way want people₂ to see that they₁ are fast-ing.'

An example of an oblique object marked by *di*² that is coreferential with a prior subject is:

- (109) *Jám² tsá² hi³ ngah³ hi³ ca³-ñí¹-chá²*
 then person₁ that go^{home} IA^{PAST} 3SG and PAST-ANDT-recount^{TI} 3(1)
tí³ ja¹ juú² la³ cun³ hi³ má² lí²-jmu³ jám²
 at within town about only COMP PRF HOD-do^{TI} 3 that^{IN}
Jesús ñí¹con² dí².
 Jesus₂ towards he₁
 'Then that person₁ went back home and recounted in town all about
 that which Jesus₂ had done to him₁.'

In (109), if *dí²* is replaced by *tsú²*, it becomes ambiguous as to whether Jesus had done something to the man who went back into town, or to some other third-person:

'Then that person₁ went back home and recounted in town what Jesus₂ had done to him_{1/3}.'

An example of a possessor marked by *dí²* that is coreferential with a prior subject is:

- (110) *Jan² tsá² fariseo ca³-teh³ Jesús hi³*
 one^{AN} person pharisee₁ PAST-summon^{DA} 3 Jesus₂ COMP
tša³- jmú³ má³2 hñú¹3 dí².
 ANDT^{FUT}-do^{TI} 3(2) food house³ he₁
 'A Pharisee₁ summoned Jesus₂ to come (lit. 'go') eat at his₁ house.'

The third-person pronoun *dí²* tends to be used only while the speaker feels ambiguity may arise, or if the speaker desires to give special prominence to one third-person participant over the other, with *tsú²* being used for the less prominent participant. However, the speaker may choose to use *tsú²* rather than *dí²* when the factors of ambiguity or prominence are considered to be no longer relevant:

- (111) *Tí³la³ jmí¹ ca³-chá³ tsá² hi³ tsáú¹ tsá²*
 but when^{PAST} PAST-recount^{TI} 3 person₁ that^{AN} crime³ person₂
tson³ né³, tí² ca³-chá³ yáh³ dí² tsáú¹ tsú² la³
 suspect TOPIC not PAST-recount^{TI} 3 ASSR he₁ crime³ he₂ about
cun³ hi³ jmí¹ len³ jná¹3 jmu³ tsú².
 only COMP TRM think^{TI} PRES¹SG I do^{TI} FUT³ he₁
 'But when that person₁ recounted the suspect's₂ crime, he₁ did not
 recount as his₂ crime that which I had been thinking he₁ would.'

In (111), note how the final instance of the pronoun *tsú²* 'he' is coreferential with the prior *dí²* 'he', not the prior *tsú²*. Although the use of *dí²* would be grammatical in this (final) position, the speaker evidently feels that there is

no longer any possible ambiguity, so discontinues the use of *dí*².

A further example of the way a speaker slides between the use of *dí*² and *tsú*² for the same third-person referent is:

- (112) *Jmí¹jáun² ca³- lán¹³ tsú² hi³ ma³tson¹³ Jesús, qui¹hliá²*
 then PAST-think^{TI}³ they₁ COMP arrest^{TA}^{FUT}³ Jesus₂ because
- má² ca³- lí³ tsín² dí² hi³ jái¹³ ca³- tín¹*
 PRF PAST-occur^{II}³ be^{aware}^{STI}³ they₁ COMP word PAST-concern^{TA}³
- hmóu³² bíh¹ dí² hi³ má² lí²-jmú³ tsú² jáun². Tí³la³,*
 themselves AFF they₁ COMP PRF HOD-make^{TI}³ he₂ that^{IN} but
- jmí¹ juénh² bíh¹ tsú² hí¹con² tsá²*
 TRM be^{afraid}^{TI}^{PRES}³ AFF they₁ before people₃
- ná¹- ngíh³² hí³, hí³ jáun² cáun² lí¹ ca³- líón³²*
 PROG^{PL}-gather^{IA}³ that^{AN}(₃) and then simply NON PAST-release^{TA}³
- bíh¹ dí² tsú² cú²jueh³², hí³ jáun² ja³tanh²¹.*
 AFF they₁ him₂ in^{preference} and then go^{home}^{IA}^{3PL}(₁)
 'Then they₁ thought of arresting Jesus₂, because they₁ were aware that the illustration he₂ made was referring to them₁. But they₁ were afraid of those₃ gathered there, so instead they₁ just left him₂ alone and went(₁) home.'

In (112), note how the first third-person identified is referred to by the pronouns *tsú*², *dí*², *dí*², *tsú*², and *dí*² in turn.

8.1.4.3 Cross-referencing when the Subject is Inanimate

One question that arises from the hierarchy proposed in Figure 8.1 above is: which cross-referencing system is used, direct or inverse, when the subject is inanimate and the DO is animate? The hierarchy predicts that the inverse system would be used.

Attempts to produce utterances with an inanimate subject and animate DO have revealed that there is more than one method for encoding such situations, the preferred method being by means of agented passives; see §8.1.5.3.

In the active voice, both the inverse system and the direct system are used in sentences with an inanimate subject and animate DO.

The inverse system can be used fairly productively to encode an inanimate subject and animate DO (as predicted by the hierarchy); however, the subject is regarded as having acquired animate status, and the utterance is considered to be slightly humorous, inappropriate to formal situations such as

a court case or a town meeting. Examples are:

- (113) *Ca³- juéh³ jná¹³ qui³ziú³ quion²¹.*
 PAST-frighten^{TA³¹>1} I dream have^{STI¹SG}
 'My dream frightened me.'
- (114) *Ca³- hah³ tsú² mi³quie³.*
 PAST-penetrate^{TA³¹>3} 3 needle
 'The needle pricked him.'
- (115) *Ca³- jngah³ tsú² tiú³ quioh²¹.*
 PAST-kill^{TA³¹>3} 3 gun have^{STI³}
 'His gun killed him.'
- (116) *Ca³- zaunh³ tsú² tiá³ tso³.*
 PAST-capture^{TA³¹>3} 3 firmly sin
 'Sin has gained a firm grip on her/him.'

As stated above, in situations where both the subject and DO participants are animate third-person, the inverse system cannot be used until the two participants have been established as third-person proximate and third-person obviative by means of the direct system (see (63)-(64)). However, as seen in (113)-(116), when the subject is inanimate and the object is third-person animate, the inverse system can be employed without first establishing which participants are proximate and obviative.

The direct system is not productive in encoding an inanimate subject and animate DO, but is restricted to a small set of verbs. All such verbs are transitive and generally have ditransitive counterparts. They are obligatorily P-S-O if the DO is inanimate, and obligatorily P-O-S if the DO is animate. For example, the verb 'illuminate' (lit. 'aim at/strike (with) light') has the five inflectional forms: *tiéi²³* (DI), *tiéin³²* (DA), *tiéi³²* (DA^I), *tai³²* (TI), and *tain³²* (TA). Examples of the DI and DA verbs inflected for the active and passive voice (§8.1.5), and the TI and TA verbs respectively are:

- (117)(a) P S IO DO
Ca³- tiéi³ tsú² sí² ñí¹ háin².
 PAST-aim^{at}DI^³ 3 light face^³ thief
 'S/he illuminated the thief's face.' (lit. 'S/he aimed at the thief's face (with) light.')
- (b) P S IO DO
Ca³- tiéin³² tsú² sí² tsá² háin².
 PAST-aim^{at}DA^³ 3 light person thief
 'S/he aimed at the thief (with) light.'

- (c) P IO S
Ca³- ja³- táí¹ sí² ní¹ háin².
 PAST-PASS-be[^]aimed[^]at[^]TI light face[^]3 thief
 'The thief's face was struck (with/by) light.'
- (d) P S IO
Ca³- ja³- tiéin¹/táin¹ tsá² háin² sí².
 PAST-PASS-be[^]aimed[^]at[^]TI person thief light
 'The thief was struck (with/by) light.'
- (e) P S O
Ca³- táí³ sí² ní¹ háin².
 PAST-aim[^]at[^]TI[^]3 light face[^]3 thief
 'The light illuminated/struck the thief's face.'
- (f) P O S
Ca³- táin³ tsá² háin² sí².
 PAST-aim[^]at[^]TA[^]3 person thief light
 'The light illuminated/struck the thief.'

In (117c-f), the common factor is that the situation occurred suddenly/unexpectedly from the thief's point of view. The passive construction (117c-d) and the inanimate agent construction (117e-f) differ in the following way: In the passive construction, the implication is that there was intent on the part of the (unexpressed) agent (for example, the person heard a noise and shone a flashlight in that direction). In the inanimate agent construction, the implication is that the situation occurred unexpectedly from the (non-encoded) human agent's point of view; in effect, s/he was not an agent, or was an agent only in an incidental sense (for example, the person opens a door or turns on a light unaware of the thief's presence, and the thief is illuminated--the light is the agent). Some of the verbs which have an inanimate agent are set out in Table 8.10, together with their ditransitive or transitive counterparts.

Table 8.10 Transitive Verbs with Inanimate Agents

Gloss	Transitive Verb with Inanimate Agent	Transitive or Ditransitive Counterpart with Animate Agent
'sprinkle'	<i>hein</i> ³² (TA)	<i>h^hein</i> ³² (DA)
'suffocate, drown'	<i>hnuh</i> ³² (TA)	<i>hnuh</i> ²³ (DA)
'squash'	<i>jlain</i> ³² (TA)	<i>jláin</i> ³² (DA)
'squash'	<i>jlái</i> ²³ (TI)	<i>jlái</i> ²³ (DI)
'hit, strike'	<i>ponh</i> ³² (TA)	<i>pan</i> ²³ (TA)
'hit, strike'	<i>póh</i> ²³ (TI)	<i>pá</i> ²³ (TI)
'splash'	<i>sen</i> ³² (TA)	<i>sén</i> ³² (DA)
'aim at (with light)'	<i>taí</i> ³² (TI)	<i>tiéi</i> ²³ (DI)
'aim at (with light)'	<i>tain</i> ³² (TA)	<i>tiéin</i> ³² (DA)
'entangle, bind'	<i>tsáinh</i> ³² (TA)	<i>tsáinh</i> ³² (DA)
'entangle, bind'	<i>tsáih</i> ²³ (TI)	<i>tsáih</i> ²³ (DI)
'smear'	<i>yanh</i> ³² (TA)	<i>yanh</i> ²³ (DA)

Sentential examples of 'hit, strike' (TA) and 'entangle, bind' (TA) are:

(118)(a) *Pan*²³ *tsú*² *tsái*² *joh*¹.
hit^{TA}PRES³ 3 dog have^{STA}3
'S/he hits her/his dog.'

(b) *Ponh*³² *tsú*² *chí*³.
hit^{TA}PRES³ 3 wind
'The wind strikes her/him.'

(119)(a) *Ca*³- *tsáinh*³² *tsú*² *rainh*²¹ *hñe*¹³.
PAST-bind^{DA}3 3 companion³ rope
'S/he bound her/his companion (with) rope.'

(b) *Ca*³- *tsáinh*³² *tsú*² *hñe*¹³.
PAST-bind^{TA}3 3 rope
'The rope entangled her/him.'

8.1.5 Chinantec Passive Constructions

In this section I first discuss some points that relate to Sochiapan Chinantec passives in general, followed by a more detailed analysis of the structure of the two Chinantec passive constructions, the conventional passive (§8.1.5.1) and the posture passive (§8.1.5.2). Chinantec has mainly agentless passives; agented passives are restricted to inanimate agents (§8.1.5.3). Chinantec also has impersonal passives; these are discussed in §8.1.5.4. In §8.1.5.5 the function of the conventional passive and posture passive constructions are compared; and in §8.1.5.6 the types of verbs which permit passivisation are discussed.

Both of the Chinantec passive constructions are morphological, not periphrastic.^{<10>} The passives are marked by prefixes, generally in combination with internal inflection (tone, stress, or vocalic change, or a combination thereof).

The more common of the two Sochiapan Chinantec passive constructions uses the directional prefixes (§4.1.8.12.3), but since there is no longer any sense of direction or motion I have called it the conventional passive (PASS). The second passive construction uses the progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1); since the sense of posture implicit in the progressive prefixes is retained in this construction, I have called it the posture passive (PPAS).

With both passive constructions there is internal inflection of the verb which generally results in a form whose tone-stress and/or nucleus is unrelated to any other form in the verb paradigm. The passive forms do not undergo any internal inflection; person is specified by overt nominals without being indexed on the verb, and tense is indicated on the conventional passive by inflection of the passive prefix; the posture passive is found only in the past tense.

For example, the verb *jlɛn²³* 'cover, wrap up' (DA) exhibits vocalic change only in the passive inflection. The full paradigm is:

(120) *jlɛn²³* 'cover, wrap up' (DA)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
PRES	<i>jlɛn²³</i>	<i>jlɛn²³</i>	<i>jlɛn³²</i>	<i>jlɛn²³</i>
FUT	<i>jlɛn³</i>	<i>jlɛn⁴³</i>	<i>jlɛn²¹</i>	<i>jlɛn¹³</i>
PAST	<i>jlɛn³</i>	<i>jlɛn³²</i>	<i>jlɛn³²</i>	FUT
AMB	<i>jlɛn¹</i>	<i>jlɛn¹³</i>	FUT	FUT
HORT	<i>jlɛn¹</i>	xxx	FUT	FUT
EVID	<i>jlɛn¹</i>	AMB	FUT	FUT
HOD	<i>jlɛn³</i>	PAST	PAST	FUT
DIR	<i>jlɛn³</i>	PAST	PAST	FUT
PROH	---	<i>jlɛn³</i>	---	---
PASS	<i>jláɛn¹</i>			
PPAS	<i>jláɛn³²</i>			

The passive form of the verb usually resembles that of the direct system more than that of the inverse system; see Table 8.11 below, and the

examples in (121).

A few examples are set out in Table 8.11 of transitive and ditransitive verbs inflected for the present tense of the direct system, the directional form for the third-person direct and the third-person inverse, the conventional passive and the posture passive. The directional forms are supplied to illustrate how the internal inflection of the verb generally disambiguates between direction and passive even though the prefixes are homophonous. Absence of a form is indicated by xxx; all TI verbs lack the inverse form.

Table 8.11 Comparison of Direct and Inverse Forms with the Passive Forms

Gloss	Direct Present	Direct Direction	Inverse Direction	Conven. Passive	Posture Passive
'push' (TI)	<i>hliá²</i>	<i>hliá²</i>	xxx	<i>hliá¹</i>	<i>hliá¹</i>
'push' (TA)	<i>hlian²</i>	<i>hlian³</i>	<i>hliau³</i>	<i>hlián¹</i>	<i>hlián¹</i>
'join' (TI)	<i>hlión²</i>	<i>hlión³</i>	xxx	<i>hlión¹</i>	<i>hliáun²</i>
'sew' (TI)	<i>hmi²</i>	<i>hmi²</i>	xxx	<i>hmi¹</i>	<i>hmi²</i>
'roll' (TI)	<i>láh²</i>	<i>láh²</i>	xxx	<i>láh²</i>	<i>láh²</i>
'roll' (TA)	<i>lính²</i>	<i>lính³</i>	<i>lah³</i>	<i>lính³</i>	xxx
'hit' (TI)	<i>pá²</i>	<i>pa²</i>	xxx	<i>pá¹</i>	<i>pá¹</i>
'hit' (TA)	<i>pan²</i>	<i>pan³</i>	<i>po³</i>	<i>pán¹</i>	<i>pán¹</i>
'call away' (TA)	<i>téh²</i>	<i>tieh¹</i>	<i>tié²</i>	<i>tén¹</i>	<i>tén¹</i>
'put in' (TI^PL)	<i>toh²</i>	<i>tióh²</i>	xxx	<i>toh³</i>	<i>tióh¹</i>
'put in' (TA^PL)	<i>tónh²</i>	<i>tionh³</i>	<i>tiaunh²</i>	xxx	<i>tiaunh¹</i>
'splash' (DI)	<i>sé²</i>	<i>sé³</i>	xxx	<i>sé¹</i>	<i>sé²</i>
'splash' (DA)	<i>sén²</i>	<i>sen³</i>	<i>se³</i>	<i>sén¹</i>	<i>sen²</i>

As illustrated in Table 8.11, the two passive forms usually exhibit the same stem (see note <9>), although there are exceptions, such as the passives for 'join' (TI) and 'put in' (TI^PL); frequently the forms are identical in all respects. The passive form of TA and DA verbs are always indexed for an animate subject by nasalisation (even the irregular verb *téh²* 'call away'; see §8.1.3.2.1). Most verbs which can be inflected for the passive are able to be used in either passive construction; however, some verbs such as 'roll' (TA) and 'put in' (TA^PL) exhibit only one of the passive constructions. In Table 8.11, the verbs 'roll' illustrate those few verbs which do not differentiate inflectionally between the directional forms and the passive forms of the verb.

As illustrated in Table 8.11, the contrast between the direct and inverse

systems is neutralised when a verb is inflected for the passive. Sentential examples of 'slash' (TI) and (TA), with the latter inflected respectively for the direct and inverse systems (121b-c), and for the passive voice (121d-e), are:

- (121)(a) *Ca³- quiéh³ tsú² náí² can³² juí³².*
 PAST-slash^TI^3 3 vegetation along trail
 'S/he cut down the weeds along the trail.'
- (b) *Ca³- quiéinh³² tsú² Po¹ hú¹ juí³².*
 PAST-slash^TA^3 3 Paul on trail
 'S/he slashed Paul on the trail.'
- (c) *Ca³- quiéih³² tsú² jná¹³ hú¹ juí³².*
 PAST-slash^TA^3>1 3 I on trail
 'S/he slashed me on the trail.'
- (d) *Ca³- ja³- quiéinh¹ tsú² hú¹ juí³².*
 PAST-PASS-be^slashed^IA 3 on trail
 'S/he was slashed on the trail.'
- (e) *Ca³- ja³- quiéinh¹ jná¹³ hú¹ juí³².*
 PAST-PASS-be^slashed^IA I on trail
 'I was slashed on the trail.'

The TA verb 'slash' in (121b) is indexed for an animate subject by vocalic change and changes in the tone-stress with respect to the TI verb in (121a), and by nasalisation (§8.1.3.2.1). The nasalisation also marks the TA verb as inflected for the direct system, whereas the TA verb 'slash' in (121c), which is inflected for the inverse system, lacks such nasalisation. Comparing (121d-e) it can be seen that the passive forms of the verb 'slash' for both the direct and inverse system are identical. In addition, without exception, verbs inflected for the passive are indexed for an animate subject by nasalisation of their nucleus (§8.1.3.2.1); that is, passive verbs are intransitive.

Since less than 60% of the transitive and ditransitive verbs in my corpus can be inflected for the passive, I have not incorporated the tone-stress of the passive into the inflectional sets I-a etc. (§4.1.2), but will supply the passive form where relevant as part of each verb's entry in the forthcoming Chinantec dictionary.

The two passive constructions are discussed in turn below.

8.1.5.1 The Conventional Passive

According to Keenan (1985:260), the use of a motion verb as an auxiliary to form the passive is rare. Chinantec does not use the motion verbs per se as auxiliaries; but, like the directional prefixes (§4.1.8.12.3), the prefixes which mark the conventional passive have developed from the verbs of motion (Tables 8.13 and 8.14). The passive prefixes are:

Table 8.12 The Passive Prefixes

PRESENT	<i>tsá²-</i>
FUTURE	<i>tsa³-</i>
HODIERNAL PAST	<i>já²-</i>
PAST	<i>ja³-</i>

As can be seen in Table 8.12, the passive prefixes inflectionally distinguish between the hodiernal past and past. The nature of this distinction is unlike the hodiernal past/remote past distinction discussed in §4.1.8.12.7. The hodiernal past passive is, as its name indicates, the 'past of today'. The past passive, however, can be used for any past event, whether that of a moment ago, or any point further back in time; it is non-specific past. It is unclear how such a distinction for the past has arisen: the directional prefixes do not make any distinction in the past (Tables 8.15 and 8.16); nor do the verbs of motion inflectionally distinguish between the hodiernal past and the remote past (§4.1.8.12.7); see Tables 8.13 and 8.14 below. The motion verbs cannot take the hodiernal past (HOD) prefix *lɛ²-*, and the remote past (PAST) prefix *ca³-* is optional (although the more remote the event is in time, the more likely *ca³-* (PAST) will occur). The hodiernal passive appears to be used only when the speaker desires to specify that the situation occurred earlier today, or else to indicate that the action/event precedes another past event, but on the same day (that is, past in the past). For example:

(122) *Má² já²- cuɪnh¹³ tsú² jmɛ¹*
 PRF PASS^{HOD}-be^{hurt} IA 3 when^{PAST}

cá¹- chó²¹ jná¹³.
 PAST-arrive^{non}home^{IA} 1SG I
 'S/he was already hurt/lacerated when I arrived.'

Partial paradigms for the two verbs 'go (home)' and 'go (non-home)' are set out in Table 8.13, incorporating only those inflectional parameters which correspond to the tenses marked by the passive prefixes (copied in part from Table 4.41):

Table 8.13 The Verbs 'go (home)' and 'go (non-home)'

'go (home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>tsanh</i> ³²	<i>cuánh</i> ²³	<i>ñih</i> ³²	<i>tsáuh</i> ²³	<i>cuá²tánh</i> ¹	<i>tsá²tánh</i> ¹
FUT	<i>tsánh</i> ³²	<i>cuánh</i> ¹³	<i>ñih</i> ²¹	<i>tsáuh</i> ¹³	<i>cuá¹tánh</i> ¹	<i>tsa³tánh</i> ¹
PAST	<i>ngah</i> ³	<i>chánh</i> ³	<i>ngah</i> ³	<i>ngauh</i> ³	<i>cha³tánh</i> ¹	<i>ja³tanh</i> ²¹
'go (non-home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>tsau</i> ³²	<i>cuóh</i> ²³	<i>ñe</i> ²	<i>tsáu</i> ²³	<i>cuá²taunh</i> ¹	<i>tsá²taunh</i> ¹
FUT	<i>tsó</i> ³²	<i>cuóh</i> ¹³	<i>ñe</i> ¹	<i>tsáu</i> ¹³	<i>cuá¹taunh</i> ¹	<i>tsa³taunh</i> ¹
PAST <	<i>ngau</i> ³	<i>cháuh</i> ³	<i>ngau</i> ³	<i>ngau</i> ³	<i>cha³taunh</i> ¹	<i>ja³taunh</i> ²¹
	<i>ñéi</i> ¹	<i>ñéi</i> ¹	<i>ñéi</i> ¹	<i>ñéi</i> ¹		

In the 'go (non-home)' paradigm, the upper set of PAST forms imply that the person has gone but not yet returned, the lower set imply that the person has gone and returned.

Partial paradigms for the two verbs 'come (home)' and 'come (non-home)' are set out in Table 8.14, incorporating only those inflectional parameters which correspond to the tenses marked by the passive prefixes (copied in part from Table 4.43).

Table 8.14 The Verbs 'come (home)' and 'come (non-home)'

'come (home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>jáunh</i> ²³	<i>ñeih</i> ³²	<i>jáunh</i> ²³	<i>jáuh</i> ²³	<i>ñá²tánh</i> ¹	<i>já²tánh</i> ¹
FUT	<i>jáunh</i> ³	<i>ñeih</i> ²¹	<i>jáunh</i> ¹³	<i>jáuh</i> ¹³	<i>ñá¹tánh</i> ¹	<i>ja³tánh</i> ¹
PAST	<i>jaunh</i> ³	<i>ñeh</i> ³	<i>jaunh</i> ³	<i>jauh</i> ³	<i>ña³tanh</i> ²¹	<i>ja³tanh</i> ²¹
'come (non-home)'						
	3SG	2SG	1SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRES	<i>ja</i> ³²	<i>ñeih</i> ³²	<i>já</i> ²³	<i>jáu</i> ²³	<i>ña³taunh</i> ¹	<i>já²taunh</i> ¹
FUT	<i>já</i> ³²	<i>ñeih</i> ²¹	<i>já</i> ¹³	<i>jáu</i> ¹³	<i>ña²taunh</i> ¹	<i>ja³taunh</i> ¹
PAST	<i>ja</i> ³	<i>ñeh</i> ³	<i>ja</i> ³	<i>jau</i> ³	<i>ña³taunh</i> ²¹	<i>ja³taunh</i> ²¹

By comparing Table 8.12 with Tables 8.13 and 8.14, the correlation between the present and future passive prefixes and the third-person present

and future for 'go' can be seen. Similarly, the past passive forms can be correlated to the third-person past for 'come'; however, in neither case is it clear if the etymological sources are the forms for motion with respect to 'home' or 'non-home'.

To facilitate the comparison of the passive prefixes with the directional prefixes, the latter are copied here in part from Tables 4.40 and 4.42, minus the imperative inflection which has no relevance to the passive prefixes.

Table 8.15 The Andative Prefixes (Partial)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
HABITUAL	<i>tsá²⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>ñí²⁻</i>	<i>tsá²⁻</i>
PRESENT	<i>já²⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>ñí²⁻</i>	<i>tsá²⁻</i>
FUTURE	<i>tsa³⁻</i>	<i>cuá¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>tsá¹⁻</i>
PAST	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>	<i>ñí¹⁻</i>

Table 8.16 The Venitive Prefixes (Partial)

	3	2	1SG	1PL
HABITUAL	<i>já²⁻</i>	<i>ña³⁻</i>	<i>já²⁻</i>	<i>já²⁻</i>
PRESENT	<i>ja³⁻</i>	<i>ña³⁻</i>	<i>ja³⁻</i>	<i>ja³⁻</i>
FUTURE	<i>ja³⁻</i>	<i>ñá¹⁻</i>	<i>já¹⁻</i>	<i>já¹⁻</i>
PAST	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>	<i>cua³⁻</i>

Note the identity of the third-person habitual and future andative to the forms for the present and future passive respectively (Table 8.12). Similarly, the third-person habitual and present/future venitive are identical to the forms for the hodiernal and remote past passive respectively.

The andative and venitive prefixes can be used to indicate a change of state in a purely progressive sense, no longer conveying any real sense of motion. Anderson (1989:17) notes the same phenomenon in Comaltepec Chinantec, labelling this function 'pseudodirectional'. In the following Sochiapan Chinantec examples, the andative and venitive glosses are underlined to mark them as progressive, non-directional:

- (123) *Má² tsá²⁻ lî³ pan¹ tsú².*
 PRF ANDT PRES-become^{II} big 3
 'S/he is (progressively) getting bigger.'

- (124) *Tsa³- ja³² mí¹uí³ hi³ zian² tsú².*
 ANDT³FUT-come^{II} sickness COMP have^{STI}³ 3
 'Her/his sickness will (progressively) come/increase.'
- (125) *Jmí¹ ca³- ja³-jnia² jáun² (joh¹ hiú²) né³,*
 when^{PAST} PAST^{VEN}-be^{visible}^{II} then light sun TOPIC
 'When the sun had risen,' (lit. 'When (the light of the sun) had (progressed to) become visible,'; the subject *joh¹ hiú²* 'sunlight' is normally omitted)

The non-directionality of the prefixes in the above examples is particularly striking in (124), where the andative prefix *tša³-* collocates with the verb *ja³²* 'come'. The semantic bleaching of the directional prefixes may be an intermediate step diachronically in the derivation of the passive prefixes such that: motion verbs → directional prefixes → progressive (non-directional) prefixes → passive prefixes.

The passive prefixes no longer convey any sense of motion despite their ultimate origin from verbs of motion, and their phonological identity to the directional and progressive prefixes. Examples of the verb *hón³²* 'bury' (TA) prefixed for future motion and the future passive respectively are:

- (126)(a) *Tša³-hón³² tsú² hla¹ (*ní¹ lá²) tša³háu².*
 ANDT³FUT-bury^{TA}³ 3 corpse place this tomorrow
 'They will go bury the corpse (*here) tomorrow.'
- (b) *Tša³- haun³ hla¹ (ní¹ lá²) tša³háu².*
 PASS³FUT-be^{buried}^{IA} corpse place this tomorrow
 'The corpse will be buried (here) tomorrow.'

In (126a), the locative 'here' is ungrammatical, whereas in (126b), where no motion is implied, 'here' is grammatical.

If the verb itself denotes motion, then it will continue to do so when inflected for the passive voice (as would be expected). For example:

- (127) *Hi³ jáun² la³ jáun² bíh¹ tša³- dé³² pí³*
 and then way that AFF PASS³FUT-be^{washed}^{down}^{II} strength
quioh²¹ hué³².
 have^{STI}³ earth
 'And so then in this way the earth's strength will be washed away.'

(126b) and (127) illustrate the future passive. Examples of the present passive, hodiernal passive and past passive respectively are:

- (128) *Tsá²- hín³ lán³² bñh¹ quáe³ ñí¹ uóunh³.*
 PRES[^]PASS-be[^]expended[^]II very AFF money place far
 'It's expensive to live far away from home.' (lit. 'Much money is
 expended far away.')
- (129) *Má² já²- hliá¹ hmá² can³² juí³².*
 PRF PASS[^]HOD-be[^]pushed[^]II tree beside path
 'The tree beside the path has (just) been pushed aside.'
- (130) *Hen³ máh³ ja³- uonh¹ tsáí²!*
 EXCM EXCL PASS[^]PAST-be[^]cut[^]IA dog
 'The dog was cut terribly!'

As mentioned above, neither the motion verbs, nor the past directional prefixes can occur with the hodiernal prefix *lɛ²-*. When the motion verbs or directional prefixes are inflected for the past tense, they can be optionally prefixed with *ca³-* (PAST). Similarly, the past passive prefix cannot occur with the hodiernal prefix *lɛ²-*, but can be optionally prefixed with *ca³-* (PAST). When *ca³-* (PAST) occurs with the past passive *ja³-*, a past more remote than 'yesterday' is implied, although there is no specific time-frame. For example:

- (131) *Jlánh¹ ca³- ja³- hñh¹ ton² tan³² jná¹³.*
 really PAST-PASS-be[^]penetrated[^]II thorn foot[^]1SG I
 'My foot was badly pricked with (a) thorn(s).'

The past passive prefix *ja³-* and the hodiernal passive prefix *já²-* both have a variant form *já¹-*. A mid or high tone on the contiguously preceding prefix or verb phrase element perturbs the tone of either passive prefix to a high tone, neutralising the difference between them. For example:

- (132) *Ca³- ngáu² mí³ ha²¹chi³ jmí¹*
 PAST-explode[^]II spherical balloon when[^]PAST
- já¹- hñh¹ quionh³ ton² (má²hmáí³/cháu³).*
 PAST[^]PASS-be[^]penetrated[^]II by thorn earlier[^]today/yesterday
 'When the balloon was pricked by a thorn (earlier today/yesterday),
 it exploded.'

In (132), either temporal adverb (or none at all) is grammatical. If there is no temporal adverb, the degree of time-past is indeterminate.

8.1.5.2 The Posture Passive

The posture passive (PPAS) is used only in the past tense. It is formed by the obligatory co-occurrence of three prefixes on the verb root: (i) the

remote past (PAST) *ca*³⁻ (§4.1.8.12.7), (ii) the continuous (CONT) prefix inflected for the past tense *ta*³⁻ (§4.1.8.12.6), and (iii) either any of the set of progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1) or the progressive motion prefix *hí*¹⁻ (§4.1.8.12.4); see Table 8.17 below. Generally, the internal inflection of the verb differs from that of the present tense (the inflection required by the progressive prefixes; see §4.1.8.12.1); consequently, when these prefixes function in the passive construction, I have labelled them 'posture prefixes' rather than 'progressive prefixes'. Sometimes the internal inflection of the verb also differs from that of the conventional passive; see Table 8.11.

Examples of the verb *toh*² 'put' (TI[^]PL) inflected for the active voice, conventional passive and the posture passive respectively are:

- (133)(a) *Ca*³⁻ *tóh*³ *tsú*² *cu*² *ńéih*³ *hńu*³*cuí*³.
 PAST-put[^]TI[^]PL[^]3 3 maize within corncrib
 'S/he put the maize inside the corncrib.'
- (b) *Ca*³⁻ *ja*³⁻ *toh*³ *cu*² *ńéih*³ *hńu*³*cuí*³.
 PAST-PASS-be[^]put[^]II[^]PL maize within corncrib
 'The maize was put inside the corncrib.'
- (c) *Ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *ná*¹⁻ *tioh*³ *cu*² *ńéih*³ *hńu*³*cuí*³.
 PAST-CONT-indefinite[^]PL-be[^]put[^]II[^]PL maize within corncrib
 'The maize was put inside the corncrib.'

In (133b), the conventional passive indicates only that maize has been put inside the corncrib; there is no indication of whether more maize must yet be put in. In (133c), however, the posture passive construction implies that the task has been completed. The implied difference of degree of affectedness of the subject is typical of the two passive constructions; see §8.1.5.5 for further details.

The set of posture prefixes which are found as the innermost constituent in the posture passive construction are set out in Table 8.17:

Table 8.17 The Posture Prefixes

PREFIX	MEANING
<i>rá¹-</i> / <i>rá²-</i>	'flat (horizontal)' (SG)
<i>dí¹-</i>	'upright' (SG)
<i>cuá¹-</i>	'sitting, indefinite' (AN SG)
<i>chí¹-</i>	'upright, sustained, indefinite' (SG)
<i>hú¹-</i>	'contained' (SG)
<i>há¹-</i>	'open' (IN SG)
<i>hí¹-</i>	'moving' (SG)
<i>ná¹-</i>	'indefinite' (PL)

The prefix *rá¹-* is used if the subject immediately assumed a horizontal position after the event, while the prefix *rá²-* indicates that the event occurred while the subject was horizontal; see (149) in §8.1.5.3.

When a progressive prefix occurs with a verb in the active voice, the posture indicated is that of the subject/agent (§4.1.8.12.1). When a transitive or ditransitive verb is inflected for the posture passive, the posture indicated is that of the patient/surface subject, not that of the unexpressed agent. Examples of a transitive and a ditransitive verb inflected for the active and passive voice respectively are:

- (134)(a) *Ná¹- pá²³ tsú² jñéi².*
 indefinite^{PL}-hit^{TI} 3 bean
 'They are (standing) threshing (lit. 'hitting') the beans.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- ná¹- pá¹ jñéi² ñí¹ náí².*
 PAST-CONT-indefinite^{PL}-be^{hit}^{II} bean place ranch
 'The beans were threshed at the ranch.'
- (135)(a) *Cuá¹- hính²³ tsú² mí³ tsá² tsám¹.*
 sit^{PROG}-penetrate^{TA}³ 3 medicine person sick
 'S/he is (sitting) injecting the sick person (with) medicine.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- cuá¹-hính¹ tsú² mí³.*
 PAST-CONT-sit- be^{penetrated}^{IA} 3 medicine
 'S/he was injected (with) medicine (while sitting).'

In (135b), the person would either have received the medication over a prolonged period (for example, intravenous drip), or else the person remained seated for a while after receiving an injection.

Paired examples with the verb inflected for the active voice and the posture passive incorporating each of the prefixes in Table 8.17 in turn are:

- (136)(a) *Ca³- hmá³ tsú² mí'tái¹³ Juan².*
 PAST-hide^TI^3 3 machete^3 John
 'S/he hid John's machete.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- rá¹- hmá¹ mí'tái¹³ Juan².*
 PAST-CONT-flat-be^hidden^II machete^3 John
 'John's machete was hidden.' (horizontally)
- (137)(a) *Dí¹- hlian² tsú² rainh²¹ ja¹ ton².*
 upright^PROG-push^TA^3 3 companion^3 among thorn
 'S/he is (standing) pushing her/his companion(s) into the thorns.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- dí¹- hlián¹ tsú² ja¹ ton².*
 PAST-CONT-upright-be^pushed^IA 3 among thorn
 'S/he was pushed into the thorns.' (standing/upright)
- (138)(a) *Ca³- hmou³ tsú² jná¹³ ja¹ náí².*
 PAST-hide^TA^3>1 3 I among weed
 'S/he hid me among the weeds.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- cuá¹-hmá¹ jná¹³ ja¹ náí².*
 PAST-CONT-sit- be^hidden^IA I among weed
 'I was hidden among the weeds.' (sitting/indefinite)
- (139)(a) *Ca³- háí³² tsú² tuh³² cu³hna²¹ hmá²s¹¹.*
 PAST-hang^TI^3 3 bag back^of chair
 'S/he hung the bag on the back of the chair.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- chí¹- he² tuh³² cu³hna²¹ hmá²s¹¹.*
 PAST-CONT-suspended-be^hung^II bag back^of chair
 'The bag was hung on the back of the chair.'
- (140)(a) *Ca³- hón³² tsú² hla¹ hué³² quioh²¹.*
 PAST-bury^TA^3 3 corpse land have^STI^3
 'They buried the corpse in its (own) land.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- hú¹- hón²¹ hla¹ hué³² quioh²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-contained-be^buried^IA corpse land have^STI^3
 'The corpse was buried in its own land.'
 (can imply that the corpse is no longer there)
- (141)(a) *Ca³- nia³ tsú² ho³hñú¹³.*
 PAST-open^TI^3 3 doorway
 'S/he opened the door (lit. 'doorway').'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- há¹- na²¹ ho³hñú¹³.*
 PAST-CONT-open-be^opened^II doorway
 'The door (lit. 'doorway') was left open.'
- (142)(a) *Dí¹- quian²³ tsú² lo¹ lio²¹.*
 stand^PROG-load^DA^3 3 mule cargo
 'S/he is standing loading the mule (with) cargo.'
- (b) *Ca³- ta³- hí¹- quían¹ lo¹ lio²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-motion-be^loaded^TI mule cargo
 'The mule was loaded with cargo for the duration of its trip.'

(143)(a) *Ué³* *bíh¹ ca³- ta³- ná¹-* *hín²³* *tsú²*
lengthily AFF PAST-CONT-indefinite^PL-count^TA^3 3

ca¹mih¹ *joh¹.*
baby^chicken have^STA^3
'They were counting their baby chicks for a long time.'

(b) *Ca³- ta³- ná¹-* *hín¹* *ca¹mih¹.*
PAST-CONT-indefinite^PL-be^counted^IA baby^chicken
'The baby chicks were counted.'

In (143b), *ná¹-* 'indefinite PL' does not indicate the plurality of the unexpressed agent (the person/people who did the counting), but rather the plurality of the patient/subject.

Although the patient/subject of the posture passive can be an inanimate entity, generally animate entities are found as the subject. Inanimate entities are probably uncommon subjects due to the perceived constancy of their 'posture'.

8.1.5.3 Agented Passives

As mentioned in §8.1.5, Chinantec has mainly agentless passives; agented passives are restricted to inanimate agents. The passive construction appears to be the main strategy for encoding inanimate agents (see §8.1.4.3 for the alternative strategies). For example:

(144) *Ca³- ja³- tú¹* *cuo²* *tsú² quionh³ mí¹jla².*
PAST-PASS-be^cut^II hand^3 3 by knife
'Her/his hand was cut by a knife.'

In a passive construction such as (144), the preposition *quionh³* 'by' marks the agent; in an active construction, the preposition *quionh³* encodes the instrumental ('with'). (The status of *quionh³* 'by, with' as a preposition is discussed in §8.2.4.2.) An example of instrumental *quionh³* is:

(145) *Ca³- tíú³* *tsú² cuo² quionh³ mí¹jla².*
PAST-cut^TI^3 3 hand^3 with knife
'S/he cut her/his (own) hand with a knife.'

In some passive constructions the prepositional phrase introduced by *quionh³* may be either agented or instrumental; it appears that the possibility of ambiguity is greater with an animate patient. For example:

- (146) *Ja³- hính¹ jná¹³ quionh³ mi³quie³.*
 PASS^PAST-be^penetrated^IA I by/with needle
 'I was jabbed by a needle.'
 or: 'I was jabbed with a needle.'

In (146), if the situation described is accidental, then *quionh³* expresses agency (the needle); however, if there was a human agent (which cannot be expressed in the passive construction), then *quionh³* expresses instrumentality. Utterances such as (146) are rarely ambiguous when in context.

Both the conventional passive and the posture passive constructions can be agented. The conventional passive with overt inanimate agent is illustrated in (144) above; an illustration of the posture passive is:

- (147) *Ca³- ta³- df¹- tú¹ cuo² tsú² quionh³ mí¹jla² quioh²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-upright-be^cut-II hand^3 3 with knife have^STI^3
 'Her/his hand was cut (while s/he was upright) with her/his (own) knife.'

In (147), the posture prefix *df¹-* indicates the posture of the person, not the affected part of the body. This is further exemplified by:

- (148) *Ca³- ta³- rá¹- quiúh¹³ chí¹ tsú² quionh³ tá²joh²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-flat-be^struck-II head^3 3 with mammee^fruit
 'Her/his head was struck with a mammee fruit (while s/he was lying down).'

An example of an animate patient is:

- (149) *Ca³- ta³- rá²- hính¹ tsú² quionh³ mí¹jla² quioh²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-flat-be^penetrated^IA 3 by knife have^STI^3
 'S/he was stabbed by her/his (own) knife.' (while lying down)

In (149), if the posture prefix *rá²-* is replaced with the prefix *rá¹-* (Table 8.17), the implication is that the situation occurred while the person was in a posture other than horizontal, but immediately fell into a horizontal position.

Although an animate agent cannot be expressed by a prepositional phrase in a passive clause, the agent can be expressed in an adjoining clause (as might be expected). Examples of the passive clause following and preceding the clause in which the agent is expressed are:

- (150) *Há² jmuh³² nú² hí³ tsa³- hín³ renh² nú².*
 PRF make^TI^2 you^SG COMP PASS^FUT-be^ruined^IA companion^2 you^SG
 'Your companion(s) will be ruined by you.' (lit. 'You are making (that) your companion(s) be ruined.')

- (151) *Ja³- h^hh¹ héin¹ Cá¹ hi³ lí²-j^mú³ tsáu².*
 PASS³PAST-be¹pierced¹II stomach³ Charles COMP HOD-do¹TI³ people
 'Charles' stomach was stabbed by someone (earlier today).'
 'Charles' stomach was stabbed which people did (earlier today).' (lit.)

8.1.5.4 Impersonal Passives

Chinantec has an impersonal passive, but only a few verbs allow such a construction. All the impersonal passive constructions imply a non-specific animate agent, generally human; and, as noted by Davison (1980:63), they appear to focus on the event rather than the agent. Such verbs are identified in the glosses as IMPRS (impersonal) in place of the standard transitivity coding such as IA (intransitive animate), etc. (see §8.1.2).

The verb 'scold, yell (at)' has TA and IA forms, both of which have passive counterparts. Examples of each active form respectively with its passive counterpart are:

- (152)(a) *Jlánh¹ jin²³ tsú² nú²míh¹ ní².*
 really yell¹at¹TA³PRES³ 3 boy that
 'S/he really yells at that boy.'
- (b) *Jlánh¹ tsá²- jín¹ nú²míh¹ ní².*
 really PASS³PRES-be¹yelled¹at¹IA boy that
 'That boy is really yelled at.'
- (153)(a) *Jlánh¹ jí²³ tsú² ní¹ má¹ ca³- hính³ má²chéi³.*
 really yell¹IA³PRES 3 when¹FUT PRF PAST-drink¹TI³ liquor
 'S/he really yells whenever s/he has drunk liquor.'
- (b) *Jlánh¹ tsá²- jí¹ hñú³ ó³².*
 really PASS³PRES-be¹yelled¹IMPRS house yonder
 'There is a lot of yelling in that house over there.' (lit. 'Is really yelled in that house over there.')

All the impersonal passives which have been identified have IA counterparts; for example: *jí²³* 'scold, yell at', *juí³²* 'whistle', *juo²* 'whistle', *cué²³* 'sneeze', *ngáí²³* 'laugh', *co²* 'play', and *háín²³* 'jump'. However, not all IA verbs have an impersonal passive counterpart; for example, the verbs *tsan³²* 'dance', *cuon²* 'run', *júh²³* 'cough', and *hóh³²* 'shout'.

Impersonal passives generally function evidentially, being used when there is no direct visual evidence for the activity (which would enable specific identification of the agent), but there is auditory evidence; for example (see also (153b)):

(154)(a) *Juɿ³²* *tsú² hi³ téh²³* *raɿnh²¹*.
whistle^{IA}^{PRES}^{3 3} COMP call^{away}^{TA}^{PRES}³ companion³
'He whistles to call his companion.'

(b) *#i¹- já¹- juɿ¹* *ja¹ juú²*.
EVID-PASS^{PAST}-be^{whistled}^{IMPRS} among town
'Evidently, there was whistling in the town.' (lit. 'Evidently,
(it) was whistled in the town.')

In (154b), the speaker could hear whistled communication, but was unable to (fully) understand it, nor could s/he determine who the participants were.<11>

Impersonal passives in the present tense, however, are not restricted to auditory evidentiality, but may refer to any activity which the speaker has heard and/or seen with regularity.

(155)(a) *Co²* *tsú² quionh³ mi³* *láu²*.
play^{IA}^{PRES}^{3 3} with spherical hide
'He plays with a ball.'

(b) *Tsá²-* *cáu¹* *chí²cuáh³²*.
PASS^{PRES}-be^{played}^{IMPRS} church^{courtyard}
'(Games) are played in the church courtyard.'

The impersonal passive is only possible with the conventional passive construction, not the posture passive. It appears that the non-specificity of the agent disallows specification of posture.

8.1.5.5 The Function of the Chinantec Passive

In the general linguistic literature, debate is continuing as to whether the passive voice is used primarily to:

(i) promote the DO to subject, with a consequent demotion of subject, either to an oblique object or total absence;

(ii) primarily demote the subject, with a concomitant promotion of the DO to subject.<12>

Shibatani (1985:831) states that the passive's

. . . fundamental function has to do with the defocusing of agents. This is also observed from the fact that passivization does not generally apply to non-agented intransitives, even in those languages where it applies to agented intransitives. Even in transitive sentences, passives often fail to apply if the subject is not an

agent. . . passives are used when the singling out of an agent is either impossible or unimportant - because of it being unknown, obvious or irrelevant.

Chinantec has ways to emphasise or foreground a noun phrase besides the use of the passive; such as the use of illocutionary particles and/or moving the noun phrase to a preverbal position (§12.2). When the inverse cross-reference system is used, the order can be altered from P-S-O to P-O-S for emphasis of the object. So the passive is not primarily a procedure for promotion of the DO. The main function of Chinantec passives appears to be to background the subject because it is unimportant, or unknown; sometimes it is used to purposely avoid specifying an agent. The passive is also the most productive strategy for encoding inanimate agents; see §8.1.5.3.

Some of the distinctive features of the conventional passive and the posture passive are fairly obvious from the discussion above. These are summarised in Table 8.18; the semantic points of difference are discussed and illustrated following the Table.

Table 8.18 Comparison of the Two Passive Constructions

Conventional Passive	Posture Passive
inflected for tense	past tense only
dynamic	state-like
neutral as to posture	posture specific for singular
neutral as to number	<i>ná¹</i> - is PL, all others SG
impersonal passive possible	impersonal passive impossible
IA, TA, TI, DA, DI verbs	mainly TA and DA verbs
may imply partial affectedness	may imply comprehensive
or ease of affectedness	affectedness or difficulty of affectedness

Depending on the verb, both the conventional passive and the posture passive can be neutral in implication (that is, neither adversative nor positive); the connotation being dependent on the situation. For example:

- (156) *Ca³- ja³- hliá¹ hmá² can³² ju³².*
 PAST-PASS-be[^]pushed[^]II tree beside path
 'The tree was pushed to the side of the path.'

- (157) *Ca³- ta³- rá¹- hliá¹ hmá² can³² ju¹³².*
 PAST-CONT-flat-be[^]pushed[^]II tree beside path
 'The tree was pushed to the side of the path.'

In both (156) and (157), the speaker may be expressing pleasure that something desirable occurred, or else disappointment that something undesirable occurred; that is, Chinantec passives are not primarily adversative. However, as indicated in Table 8.18 above, the posture passive in (157) implies a greater degree of difficulty in accomplishing the activity than does the conventional passive construction in (156).

Examples of different degrees of affectedness are:

- (158) *Ca³- ja³- háinh¹ tsú² quionh³ tiú³ quioh²¹.*
 PAST-PASS-be[^]shot[^]IA 3 with rifle have[^]STI[^]3
 'S/he was shot by her/his own rifle.'
- (159) *Ca³- ta³- rá¹- háinh¹ tsú² quionh³ tiú³ quioh²¹.*
 PAST-CONT-flat-be[^]shot[^]IA 3 with rifle have[^]STI[^]3
 'S/he was shot by her/his own rifle (and became horizontal).'

(158) would be used if the person managed to get home on her/his own; however, in (159), it is implied that the person's injury was so severe that s/he required assistance to get home (the combination of the continuous prefix *ta³-* with the posture prefix *rá¹-* in (159) indicates that the person was in a horizontal position for a prolonged period); see also (149). This difference in the function of the two passive constructions conforms to Keenan's (1985:269) observation that 'distinct passives in a language may vary according to degree of affectedness of the subject. . .'.

8.1.5.6 Constraints on the Passive

It appears that mainly prototypical transitive verbs that express impingement exhibit inflection for the passive; that is, verbs that convey a strong sense of an agent actually affecting a patient in some physical way. Verbs such as 'love', which have a passive counterpart in English ('*Sally is loved by everyone she meets.*') lack a passive counterpart in Chinantec. Even many verbs which entail physical impingement on the patient do not inflect for the passive; for example: *jmu²* 'do, make' (TI), *cán²³* 'take' (TI), *cúh²³* 'eat' (TI), and *zanh²³* 'grab' (TA). Nonetheless, it is the case that a few non-

prototypical transitive verbs inflect for the passive; for example: *téh²³* 'call away' (TA), *teh²³* 'call home' (TA), *cuen²* 'give' (DA), *jan²* 'wait for' (TA), and *hión³²* 'appoint' (TA). A few verbs which have animate and inanimate counterparts inflect the animate verb for the passive, but not the inanimate counterpart; for example, *chin²* (TA)/*chi²* (TI) 'remove', *háin³²* (TA)/*háí³²* (TI) 'hang, suspend', and *jién³²* (TA)/*jié²³* (TI) 'watch'.

8.1.6 The Antipassive

A feature of many ergative languages is what has become known as the antipassive construction. Like the passive, there is a loss of transitivity; however, in the antipassive construction, it is the patient rather than the agent that is downgraded to an oblique object (OO), or omitted. As stated by Dixon (1987:8):

[the] ANTI-PASSIVE places the deep A NP in surface S function, and marks the deep O NP with an oblique case/preposition/etc. (this NP can then be deleted).

Although in Sochiapan Chinantec the antipassive patient is downgraded, it cannot be omitted.

The Chinantec antipassive is restricted to constructions in which the DO of the corresponding ergative clause is animate. (160a-b) illustrate a TA verb inflected for direct and inverse cross-referencing respectively (§8.1.4), followed by the corresponding antipassive with an IA verb in (160c):

- (160)(a) *Jin²³* *tsú² rainh²¹*.
 yell[^]at[^]TA[^]PRES[^]3 3 companion[^]3
 'S/he (regularly) yells at her/his companion.'
- (b) *Je²³* *tsú² jnoh¹*.
 yell[^]at[^]TA[^]PRES[^]3>1 3 us
 'S/he (regularly) yells at us.'
- (c) *Ji²³* *tsú² fi¹con² rainh²¹/jnoh¹*.
 yell[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 3 toward companion[^]3/us
 'S/he (occasionally) yells at/toward her/his companion./'/. . .
 at/toward us.'

In (160), note that the distinction between the direct (160a) and inverse (160b) systems is neutralised in the antipassive construction (160c).

The Chinantec antipassive construction does not entirely agree with Givón's (1984:108, footnote 27) assertion that:

In Ergative languages, one consistent side-effect of the antipassive treatment of the patient is that marking of the agent is also *scaled down*, so that the entire clause loses syntactically both the typical marking of a patient-object and of an agent-subject. Syntactically it is just marked as an *intransitive* clause.

There are Chinantec antipassive constructions, such as (160c) above, which conform to Givón's generalisation; that is, the verb is IA, and the patient-object is encoded as an oblique object. However, in Chinantec, when both TI and IA counterparts of a verb exist, it is the TI counterpart that is utilised in the antipassive; that is, the clause is not 'marked as an intransitive'. For example, the TA verb *táinh*³² 'defecate on' in (161a) has both a TI counterpart *táih*³², illustrated in (161b), and a IA counterpart *tái*³², illustrated in (161c), but it is the TI verb that is used in the antipassive construction in (161d). An attempt to produce an antipassive construction with the IA verb, such as in (161e), is ungrammatical:

- (161)(a) *Ca*³- *táinh*³² *dáin*² *mí'ziú*¹³.
 PAST-defecate^TA^3 baby mother^3
 'The baby dirtied/defecated on its mother.'
- (b) *Ca*³- *teh*³ *dáin*² *tsí*¹ *há*² *quioh*²¹.
 PAST-defecate^TI^3 baby old cloth have^STI^3
 'The baby dirtied/defecated on its rag (i.e. the old piece of cloth it was sitting on).'
- (c) *Ca*³- *tái*³² *dáin*² *chí'ñí*¹ *lín*³² *cháu*³.
 PAST-defecate^IA^3 baby frequently very yesterday
 'The baby defecated very frequently yesterday.'
- (d) *Ca*³- *teh*³ *dáin*² *ñí'con*² *mí'ziú*¹³.
 PAST-defecate^TI^3 baby towards mother^3
 'The baby defecated (towards/at) its mother.'
- (e) **Ca*³- *tái*³² *dáin*² *ñí'con*² *mí'ziú*¹³.
 PAST-defecate^IA^3 baby towards mother^3
 'The baby defecated (towards/at) its mother.'

In (161d), the patient is less affected than in (161a); that is, in (161d) the implication is that the mother got only a slight amount of excrement on her. <13>

According to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) Transitivity Hypothesis, objects are more highly individuated if they are proper, human/animate, concrete, etc., and less individuated if they are common, inanimate, abstract, etc.: 'An action can be more effectively transferred to a patient which is individuated than to one which is not' (ibid 1980:253). In Chinantec, the animacy of the patient is downgraded by indexing the verb as for an inanimate entity; that is, a loss of transitivity is signalled by replacing a TA verb with its TI counterpart; the IA counterpart of a verb is used only if a TI counterpart does not exist. And, as is discussed further below, the animate patient of a TI verb (or IA verb) is in one sense or another less affected than the patient of a TA verb.

The Chinantec antipassive construction requires an oblique object for the animate patient of some verbs, such as in (160c) above. For a few verbs which use the TI counterpart in the antipassive construction, the animate patient can be in either an OO or a complement clause. Examples of a transitive verb inflected for an animate and inanimate object in (162a) and (162b) respectively, followed by an antipassive construction with an OO in (162c), and an antipassive construction with a complement clause in (162d), are:

- (162)(a) *Ca³- jién³² tsú² tsá² tsáun¹.*
 PAST-see^{TA}^3 3 person sick
 'S/he saw/examined/watched/cared for the sick person.'
- (b) *Ca³- jíé³ tsú² lío²¹ quíoh²¹.*
 PAST-see^{TI}^3 3 cargo have^{STI}^3
 'S/he saw/examined/guarded her/his cargo.'
- (c) *Ca³- jíé³ tsú² ní¹con² tsá² tsáun¹.*
 PAST-see^{TI}^3 3 toward sick person
 'S/he saw/looked_at/glanced_at the sick person.'
- (d) *Ca³- jíé³ tsú² quíoh²¹ tsá² tsáun¹.*
 PAST-see^{TI}^3 3 have^{STI}^3 sick person
 'S/he saw/examined the sick person.'

If a medical examination was performed, (162a) would indicate a thorough examination, whereas (162d) would indicate checking the person for a specific ailment; however, (162c) would not be used to indicate a medical examination. Neither (162c) nor (162d) imply the intensive or long-term scrutiny of (162a).

The majority of antipassive constructions with a TI verb take only a complement clause; a construction with an OO, as in (163c), is considered ungrammatical. For example:

- (163)(a) *Cuá¹- cunh² tsú² juo¹³.*
 sit[^]PROG-eat[^]TA[^]3 3 fish
 'S/he is sitting eating (a) fish.'
- (b) *Cuá¹- cúh² tsú² quioh²¹ juo¹³.*
 sit[^]PROG-eat[^]TI[^]3 3 have[^]STI[^]3 fish
 'S/he is eating some fish.' (lit. 'S/he is eating (that) has fish.')
- (c) **Cuá¹- cúh² tsú² ñi¹con² juo¹³.*
 sit[^]PROG-eat[^]TI[^]3 3 toward fish
 'S/he is eating some fish.'

An ergative clause is illustrated in (164a), followed by examples of the antipassive construction with a complement clause in (164b-c); however, the presence of the complementiser *hi³* (§9.1) is ungrammatical in this construction.

- (164)(a) *Ca³- pan³ tsú² jon².*
 PAST-hit[^]TA[^]3 3 child[^]3
 'S/he hit her/his child.'
- (b) *Ca³- pá³ tsú² quioh²¹ jon².*
 PAST-hit[^]TI[^]3 3 have[^]STI[^]3 child[^]3
 'S/he hit her/his child.' (lit. 'S/he hit (that) have her/his child.')
- (c) *Ca³- pá³ tsú² quion²¹ jná¹³.*
 PAST-hit[^]TI[^]3 3 have[^]STI[^]1SG I
 'S/he hit me.' (lit. 'S/he hit (that) have I.')

In the ergative construction in (164a), the connotation is that the person was hit in several places on her/his body, and/or multiple times on a given occasion, and/or on several occasions. However, in (164b-c), in which the antipassive construction is used, the implication is that the person was hit on a single part of her/his body, and/or was hit only a few times, and/or was hit on a single occasion; that is, the antipassive construction implies a lesser degree of affectedness than its ergative counterpart.

With ditransitive verbs, it is the DI counterpart of DA verbs which is used for the antipassive. (165b) illustrates an antipassive with a DI verb and an OO, and (166b) illustrates an antipassive with a DI verb and a complement clause:

- (165)(a) *ŋi³-tien¹ jná¹³ tsáu² sɿ².*
 AMB-aim^{at}DA¹SG I people light
 'I walk around aiming light at (groups of/whole) people.' (i.e. the light is powerful enough to illuminate the entire body of the individual(s) at once)
- (b) *ŋi³-tiéi²¹ jná¹³ sɿ² ŋi¹con² tsáu².*
 AMB-aim^{at}DI¹SG I light towards people
 'I walk around aiming light at (individual) people.' (i.e. the light is a narrow beam that illuminates only part of each individual or part of the group)
- (166)(a) *ŋi¹-cuen²¹ jná¹³ Pé¹ jan² cá¹háu².*
 INT-give^{at}DA¹SG I Peter one^{AN} chicken
 'I intend to give Peter a (whole) chicken.'
- (b) *ŋi¹-cue¹ jná¹³ Pé¹ qui^{oh}²¹ cá¹háu².*
 INT-give^{at}DI¹SG I Peter have^{STI}³ chicken
 'I intend to give Peter some chicken.' (lit. 'I intend to give Peter (that) has chicken.')

As mentioned above, all antipassives appear to have a partitive connotation; that is, the patient of the antipassive construction is in one respect or another less affected than the patient of the corresponding ergative clause. Hopper and Thompson (1980:263) remark that:

. . . partitive O's are universally associated with intransitive verbs, or at least with some signal of REDUCED transitivity . . . it is quite common, in ergative languages, for the antipassive construction to carry a partitive meaning.

This partitive meaning can be seen in (160)-(166) above. Further examples of the partitive function of the antipassive are given in the following pairs of ergative and antipassive clauses respectively:

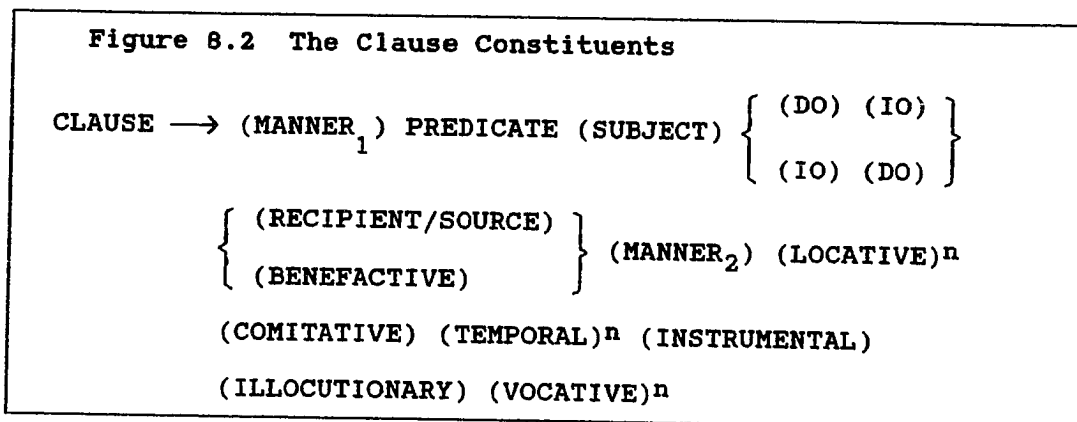
- (167)(a) *ŋá²hon³ tsú² ra^{inh}²¹.*
 assist^{TA}PRES³ 3 companion
 'S/he (regularly) assists her/his companion.'
- (b) *ŋá²ho³ tsú² ŋi¹con² ra^{inh}²¹.*
 assist^{with}TI^{PRES}³ 3 toward companion³
 'S/he (occasionally) assists her/his companion.'
- (168)(a) *Zin³ tsú² tsá² tsáun¹.*
 clean^{TA}FUT³ 3 person sick
 'S/he will clean/bathe the sick person (entirely).'
- (b) *Zi³² tsú² qui^{oh}²¹ tsá² tsáun¹.*
 clean^{TI}FUT³ 3 have^{STI}³ person sick
 'S/he will clean/wash the sick person (partially).' (lit. 'S/he will clean (that) has the sick person.')

- (169)(a) *Ca³- cu³nh³ ñú²mih¹ mi¹tiei²¹.*
 PAST-squeeze^{TA}^3 boy cat
 'The boy squeezed the cat (the whole animal).'
- (b) *Ca³- cu³h³ ñú²mih¹ quioh²¹ mi¹tiei²¹.*
 PAST-squeeze^{TI}^3 boy have^{STI}^3 cat
 'The boy squeezed the cat (some part of it).'

8.2 The Secondary Constituents

The secondary constituents of the Chinantec clause include the benefactive, recipient/source, manner, locative, comitative, temporal, instrumental, illocutionary, and vocative constituents. Several of these constituents are expressed by prepositional phrases (§7).

When two or more secondary constituents occur following the primary constituents, the unmarked order is as set out in Figure 8.2. The superscript ⁿ accompanying the locative, temporal, and vocative constituents indicates that there may be multiple occurrences in an appositive structure.



The notation in Figure 8.2 with the alternative orders for the DO and the IO represents the fact that certain verbs permit only an IO-DO order, and others permit only a DO-IO order; however, many ditransitive verbs, permit either order; see §8.1.2.3. The subject, DO and IO constituents are marked as optional since ellipsis may occur under co-referentiality in discourse.

The order of some of the secondary constituents is flexible. Most secondary constituents can precede the predicate, and there is some flexibility of order when they follow the predicate.

If two or more secondary constituents occur in a clause, frequently one

will be left-dislocated to precede the predicate, and the other(s) will follow the primary constituents. Generally, only one secondary constituent can precede the predicate; however, the vocative constituent may occur as the leftmost element together with one other preceding secondary constituent. The vocative constituent occurs more frequently clause initial than clause final; Figure 8.2 illustrates its position when clause final.

The scope of the illocutionary constituent (§8.2.7) in Figure 8.2 is the whole clause (apart from a following vocative constituent). Illocutionary adverbs and particles are discussed more fully in §11 and §12.2.

Each secondary constituent is discussed below, together with its permutability.

8.2.1 The Benefactive and Recipient/Source Constituents

Some verbs encode the recipient as the indirect object (IO) without a preposition (§4.1.8.2); for example, the ditransitive verb *cueh*³² 'give' (DI). Transitive verbs, however, encode the recipient as an oblique object (OO). The recipient constituent is always introduced by the preposition *ñi*¹*con*² 'to, towards, from'; the same preposition is used for both recipient and source (for further details on *ñi*¹*con*², see §7.1.1). For example:

(170) *Ca*³⁻ *jen*³ *tsú*² *cáun*² *si*² *ñi*¹*con*² *jná*¹³.
 PAST-offer^{TI}^3 3 one^{IN} book to I
 'S/he offered a book to me.'

(171) *Ca*³⁻ *héi*³² *jná*¹³ *cáun*² *si*² *ñi*¹*con*² *tsú*².
 PAST-receive^{TI}^1SG I one^{IN} book from 3
 'I received a book from her/him.'

No other secondary constituent can precede the recipient/source when it occurs following the predicate. However, the recipient/source can be brought into focus by left-dislocation, in which case it is usually followed by one of the illocutionary particles, such as *bih*¹ (affirmation); see §12.2. For example:

(172) *ñi*¹*con*² *jná*¹³ *bih*¹ *ca*³⁻ *jen*³ *tsú*² *si*².
 to I AFF PAST-offer^{TI}^3 3 book
 '(It was) to me s/he offered a book.'

The benefactive is expressed by means of a complement clause. Either the verb *quioh*²¹ 'have' (STI) or *joh*¹ 'have' (STA) can be used in the com-

plement, or the verb *ca³tin¹* 'concern, regard'. Each method is discussed in turn below.

The more common way of expressing the benefactive is with one of the verbs 'have'. Since the same construction is used to express possession of alienable nouns (§6.2.2), there is the possibility of ambiguity. The speaker would add the part in parentheses in (173) and (174) only if the context is such that ambiguity is likely:

- (173) *Ca³- zéinh³² tsú² hmá² cá²fe²¹ (hi³ lí³)*
 PAST-plant^{TI}^3 3 tree coffee COMP become^{II}^FUT

quih²¹ jon².
 have^{STI}^3 child^3
 'S/he planted the coffee trees for her/his child.'

In (173), if the part in parentheses is omitted, the sentence could mean 'S/he planted her/his child's coffee trees.'

- (174) *Lí²-lian³ tsú² tsí²mih¹ lá² (hi³ lí³)*
 HOD-buy^{TA}^3 3 puppy this COMP become^{II}^FUT

joh² jná¹³.
 have^{STA}^1SG I
 'S/he (just) bought this puppy for me.'

In (174), if the part in parentheses is omitted, the sentence could mean 'S/he (just) bought this puppy of mine.'

The alternative way to express the benefactive is with the verb *ca³tin¹* 'concern, regard'. This verb is always inflected for the past tense, even when the matrix clause is in the future, as in (175); however, it does inflect for person, compare (175) with (176). The complementiser *hi³* 'that, which' (§9.1) is optional, and is usually omitted. For example:

- (175) *Jmú³ tsú² jmáí¹ (hi³) ca³- tin¹ mí¹ziú¹³.*
 make^{TI}^FUT^3 3 fiesta COMP PAST-regard^{IA}^3 mother^3
 'They will make a fiesta/party for their mother.'

- (176) *Ca³- jun³ tsú² (hi³) ca³- ta¹ jnoh¹.*
 PAST-die^{IA}^3 3 COMP PAST-regard^{IA}^1PL we^PL
 'He died for us.'

8.2.2 The Manner Constituents

The manner₁ constituent is an adverb; the manner₂ constituent may be either an adverb, an adverb phrase, or an adverbial clause; see Figure 8.2.

A few manner adverbs must precede the predicate, such as *jlánh*¹ 'really'; such adverbs are identified as MA₁. Others must follow, such as *siáh*³ 'again'; such adverbs are identified as MA₂. However, the majority of manner adverbs are able to either precede or follow the predicate; such adverbs are identified as MA_{1/2}. The unmarked (most common) position for MA_{1/2} adverbs is following the predicate.

There are numerous manner adverbs, both simple and binomial (§3.2.1.3); for example: *ca*³*lá*² 'moderately, somewhat' (MA₂), *cáu*² 'terrifyingly' (MA₁), *cú*¹*pih*² 'slightly' (MA_{1/2}), *cu*³*ti*³ 'absolutely' (MA₁), *hi*²*tái*³² 'slowly' (MA_{1/2}), *siáh*³ 'differently' (MA₁), *tiá*³ 'forcefully, firmly, rapidly' (MA_{1/2}), *ten*² 'sluggishly, dimly' (MA₁), *tia*³*juí*³² 'promptly' (MA_{1/2}), *tia*³*siaun*³² 'energetically' (MA_{1/2}), *chi*¹*cá*² *chi*¹*tón*²¹ 'closely' (MA_{1/2}), and *la*³*jính*¹³ 'back and forth' (MA_{1/2}).

Examples of MA₁ and MA₂ adverbs respectively are:

(177) *Ten*² *bíh*¹ *hle*³² *yeh*³.
sluggishly AFF speak^{TI}³ PRES³ elder
'The old man speaks sluggishly.'

(178) *Ca*³- *cáun*³ *jná*¹³ *ca*³*lá*².
PAST-burn^{IA}¹SG I moderately
'I was moderately burned.'

When the manner₁ constituent is a MA_{1/2} adverb, an illocutionary particle such as *bíh*¹ (affirmation) usually co-occurs. For example:

(179)(a) *Cúh*² *tsú*² *má*³² *hi*²*tái*³².
eat^{TI}³ PRES³ 3 food slowly
'S/he eats food slowly.'

(b) *Hi*²*tái*³² (*bíh*¹) *cúh*² *tsú*² *má*³².
slowly AFF eat^{TI}³ PRES³ 3 food
'S/he eats food slowly.'

In (179b), where the manner₁ constituent is a MA_{1/2} adverb, the focus is more on the manner of the activity than in (179a).

The manner₂ constituent obligatorily follows the recipient/source constituent, and generally follows the benefactive constituent. Examples of each respectively are:

- (184)(a) P S DO HANNER₂
Ca³- j^{moh}³ Juan²/tsú² sun¹ jáun² ca³lá².
 PAST-fix^{TI} John/3 radio that^{IN} somewhat
 'John/she/he fixed that radio somewhat.'
- (b) P S HANNER₂ DO
Ca³- j^{moh}³ Juan²/tsú² ca³lá² sun¹ jáun².
 PAST-fix^{TI} John/3 somewhat radio that^{IN}
 'John/she/he fixed that radio somewhat.'
- (c) P HANNER₂ S DO
Ca³- j^{moh}³ ca³lá² Juan²/^{}tsú² sun¹ jáun².*
 PAST-fix^{TI} somewhat John/3 radio that^{IN}
 'John/^{*}she/^{*}he fixed that radio somewhat.'

The MA₂ and MA_{1/2} adverbs appear to be quite idiosyncratic with respect to both the permissible permutations and also the normal position in which they occur. The adverb *tia³ju³* in (183) above is equally acceptable in either position. However, the adverb *ca³lá²* 'moderately, somewhat' in (184) occurs more commonly after the subject (as in (184b)). Of the three possible permutations, (184a) is the least common, regardless of whether the subject is a pronoun or not. Other MA₂ and MA_{1/2} adverbs reveal similar permutational idiosyncrasies, the details of which await future research.

Adverbs are able to modify adverbs, forming a semantic unit, which then modifies the predicate. The structure of the Manner Adverb Phrase has not yet been analysed, but it appears to be potentially very complex. Examples of manner adverbs individually modifying a predicate are:

- (185) *Jlánh¹ ngí³² yeh³ Juan².*
 really walk^{IA}^{PRES}^{3SG} elder John
 'Old man John walks a lot.'
- (186) *Ngí³² yeh³ Juan² tiá³ lán³².*
 walk^{IA}^{PRES}^{3SG} elder John rapidly very
 'Old man John walks very rapidly.'
- (187) *Ngí³² ca³lá² yeh³ Juan².*
 walk^{IA}^{PRES}^{3SG} somewhat elder John
 'Old man John walks around some.'

The three manner adverbs in (185)-(187) can be combined into a single adverb phrase; for example:

- (188) *Jlánh¹ tiá³ ca³lá² ngí³² yeh³ Juan².*
 really rapidly somewhat walk^{IA}^{PRES}^{3SG} elder John
 'Old man John walks really rapidly to a degree.'

In (188), the adverb *tiá³* 'rapidly' is modified by *jlánh¹* 'really' forming a semantic unit which is then modified by *ca³lá²* 'somewhat'; the resulting adverb phrase then modifies the verb.

Manner adverbial clauses which encode comparison are quite common. Comparisons are introduced by a variety of subordinators, such as *la³jmí¹* 'like, as' (comparison of equality), *la³ cónh³* 'more than' (comparison of inequality), and *la³juah²¹ (dúh¹)* 'like, as if' (counterfactual); see §9.9. Examples of each of the above in turn are:

(189) *Cuh³² hnú² la³jmí¹ cúh² jan² mí¹tiei²¹.*
eat^{TI}-PRES² you^{SG} like eat^{TI}-PRES³ one^{AN} cat
'You eat like a cat (eats).' (i.e. the person licks her/his fingers like a cat washes its paws.)

(190) *Tán² tsú² hí³² sí² la³ cónh³ bíh¹*
be^{able}-STI³ 3 read^{TI}-FUT³ book more^{than} AFF
(*hi³ tán²*) *raih²¹.*
COMP be^{able}-STI³ companion³
'S/he is able to read (books) more than her/his companion (is able).'

(191) *Zian² tsú² la³juah²¹ dúh¹ hí³ tiá² hí³ zioh².*
live^{SIA}-3 3 as^{if} INDB COMP not thing possess^{STI}-3
'S/he lives as if s/he doesn't possess anything.' (but s/he does)

The manner adverbial clause normally follows the predicate, as illustrated in (189)-(191), but it can precede the predicate (with the exception of the clause introduced by *la³ cónh³* 'more than'). For example:

(192) *La³jmí¹ cua³² tsáu² máh³ cuá¹- tón²¹*
like sit^{IA}-PRES^{3SG} people EXCL sit^{PROG}-set^{down}-IA³
tsái² ní¹ hmá²s¹¹.
dog on chair
'Like a person sits, that dog is sitting on the chair.'

For further details on the structure of comparison, see §9.9.

8.2.3 The Locative Constituent

The locative constituent (LOC) may be either an adverb, an adverbial clause, or an adverbial phrase consisting of a noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase.

Examples of locative adverbs are:

- (193) *Dí¹- te² jná¹³ tsá² zenh² cá¹hñu²¹.*
 upright[^]PROG-call[^]TA[^]PRES[^]1SG I person stand[^]SIA[^]3 behind[^]house
 'I am (standing) calling the person standing behind the house.'
- (194) *Há² ná¹- co² tsá¹míh¹ chu³ñéih³.*
 PRF PROG[^]PL-play[^]IA[^]3 children inside
 'The children are playing inside (the house).'

Locative adverbial clauses are introduced by the locative noun *ñí¹* 'place, where':

- (195) *Ngau³ Pé¹ ñí¹ hna² tsú² hí¹míih²¹.*
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG Peter place sell[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 bread
 'Peter went (to) where they sell bread.'
- (196) *Ja³ tsú² ñí¹ ca³- jái³² cá² mí².*
 slash[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3 3 place PAST-slash[^]TI[^]3 one[^]IN year
 'S/he will slash (the jungle) where (s/he) slashed last year.'
 (Swidden agriculture)

Noun phrases and prepositional phrases can function adverbially as locatives. These are discussed respectively below.

All motion verbs are able to take a noun phrase as the locative constituent; for example:

- (197) *Há² cá²- jính³² tsú² hñu³máh³.*
 PRF PAST-return[^]IA[^]3 3 school
 'S/he has just gone back (to) school.'
- (198) *Na³-tsáu¹³ dí² jná¹.*
 EXH-go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]1PL we[^]INCL fiesta
 'Let's go (to) the fiesta.'

A few non-motion verbs are also able to take noun phrases as the locative constituent; for example:

- (199) *Há² cuá³ tsú² Hngoh³.*
 PRF live[^]SIA[^]3 3 Zautla
 'S/he now lives (in) Zautla.'

Locative prepositional phrases may collocate with both motion and non-motion verbs. For example:

- (200) *Ngau³ tsú² tí³ Chiapas.*
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG 3 to Chiapas
 'S/he went to (the State of) Chiapas.'
- (201) *Jlánh¹ hí¹-hóh²¹ tsá¹míh¹ ja¹ hñú³.*
 really MOT-shout[^]IA[^]3 children among house
 '(Some) children are walking along shouting in the streets.'
- (202) *Jmí¹ zenh² jan² cuá³ can³² cua³.*
 TRH stand[^]STI[^]3 one[^]AN heron beside river

'A heron was standing by the river.'

Prepositional phrases are discussed further in §7.

More than one locative constituent may co-occur; when they do, they function appositionally. For example:

- (203) P S LOC LOC
ŋe¹ jná¹³ tá²hláu² ñí¹ jngíh²
 go[^]non[^]home[^]FUT[^]IA[^]1SG I cave place kill[^]TA[^]PRES[^]3

tsú² cá¹háu².

3 chicken

'I will go (to) the cave where chickens are sacrificed.'

- (204) P S LOC LOC
Ca³- tánh³ chí³ tan³² tí³ ó³², can³² jmíh¹ hmá².
 PAST-fall[^]IA[^]3 diminutive bird at yonder beside base[^]3 tree
 'The little bird fell over there beside the tree (roots/base).'

The locative constituent can be brought into focus by occurring either contiguously before or after the predicate.

When the locative constituent occurs prior to the predicate, it is usually followed by one of the illocutionary particles such as *bíh¹* (affirmation). For example:

- (205) *Can³² juí³² bíh¹ ca³- tánh³ chí³ tan³².*
 by trail AFF PAST-fall[^]IA[^]3 diminutive bird
 '(It was) beside/by the trail the little bird fell.'

The locative constituent is able to occur between the predicate and the subject only if the verb is IA (compare (207) and (208)); the illocutionary particles are optional (compare (206) and (207)).

- (206) *ŋe¹ jmáí¹ Cua³uóun² jná¹³.*
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]1SG fiesta Quetzalapa I
 'I will go (to) the Quetzalapa fiesta.'
- (207) *Ca³- quính³ ñí¹ zío¹ bíh¹ jná¹³.*
 PAST-fall[^]over[^]IA[^]1SG place yonder AFF I
 'I fell over over there.'
- (208) **Ca³- quíeh³ ñí¹ zío¹ bíh¹ jná¹³ tsáí².*
 PAST-bite[^]TA[^]I place yonder AFF I dog
 'The dog bit me over there.'

An example of the locative constituent following the manner constituent is:

ca³- jáih³ hio²¹.
 PAST-eradicate^TI^3 weed
 'S/he was with her/his spouse when s/he eradicated the weeds.'
 (but they are no longer working together)

The verbal status of *quionh³* 'accompany' can be seen in (213) where *quionh³* is modified by the terminative adverb *jmí¹* (§5.1.4); see the discussion in §8.2.4.2.

Examples where one or both participants are non-third-person are:

- (214) *Ngau³ jná¹³ quiúnh¹ jón³².*
 go^non^home^IA^PAST^1SG I accompany^STA^1SG child^1SG
 'I went with my child(ren).'
- (215) *Tsó³² tsá²ñuh² ní² quiúnh¹ jnoh¹.*
 go^non^home^IA^FUT^3SG man that accompany^STA^3 us
 'That man will go with us.'
- (216) *Hié¹³ jná¹³ quiúnh¹ hnoh² cu³lé³.*
 sing^TI^FUT^1SG I accompany^STA^1SG you^PL later
 'I will sing with you later.'

In (216), the object *sun¹* 'song' is normally omitted since it is considered redundant.

Although an inanimate item cannot be encoded as comitative when one of the arguments of the verb *quionh³* is animate, nonetheless, the comitative can be used if both arguments are inanimate. For example:

- (217) *Ca³- cué³ tsú² jná¹³ tun³ máí³ Mejoral*
 PAST-give^DI^3>1 3 I two^IN sphere Mejoral
quionh³ ca³lá² jmí²rán³.
 accompany^STI^3 some refreshment
 'S/he gave me two pills of Mejoral (a brand of aspirin) with a soft drink.'
- (218) *Ca³- cúh³² jná¹³ jñéi² quionh³ ngí³.*
 PAST-eat^TI^1SG I beans accompany^STI^3 choko
 'I ate beans and/with choko(s).'

But not:

- (219) **Ca³- cué³ tsú² jná¹³ tun³ liá³ quionh³*
 PAST-give^DI^3>1 3 I two^IN trap accompany^STA^3
mí¹tiei²¹ lá².
 cat this
 'S/he gave me two traps (together) with this cat.'

An alternative way of expressing accompaniment is with the frozen expression *la³ má² quionh³* '(mixed) together with, along with'. In (218), the

beans and choko(s) are eaten as separate items; however, if two substances are mixed together, then the expression *la³ má² quionh³* is used:

- (220) *Ca³- áh³² jná¹³ jnáí¹ la³ má² quionh³ má¹quí³².*
 PAST-drink^TI^1SG I water even^to PRF accompany^STI^3 rubbish
 'I drank the water along with some debris/rubbish.'

Depending on the semantics of the verb in the main clause, if two animate participants are referenced by *quionh³* 'accompany', then either accompaniment for the duration of the activity described by the main clause is implied, or accompaniment since the completion of that activity. However, *la³ má² quionh³* 'along with', can only imply accompaniment for the duration of the activity described by the main clause. Examples of each respectively are:

- (221) *Ngau³ tsú² cú²juú² quionh³ jon².*
 go^non^home^IA^PAST^3SG 3 another^town accompany^STA^3 child^3
 'S/he has gone to (live in) another town with her/his child(ren).'
 or: 'S/he has gone with her/his child(ren) to (live in) another town.'

- (222) *Ngau³ tsú² cú²juú² la³ má²*
 go^non^home^IA^PAST^3SG 3 another^town even^to PRF
quionh³ jon².
 accompany^STA^3 child^3
 'S/he has gone along with her/his child(ren) to (live in) another town.'

In (221), the implication can be either that the person physically accompanied her/his children on the journey, or that s/he went alone first to get things ready, but now they are together in the new location. In (222), the only meaning possible is physical accompaniment on the journey.

There are some interesting interactions between the manner adverb *cu³l³²¹* 'together' and the comitative constituent.

When *cu³l³²¹* 'together' occurs without the comitative constituent, the third-person pronoun must be interpreted as plural; for example:

- (223) *Jnu² tsú² ta²¹ cu³l³²¹.*
 do^TI^PRES^3 3 work together
 'They work together.'

However, if *cu³l³²¹* 'together' occurs with the comitative constituent, the third-person pronoun subject of the verb reverts to being indefinite as to gender and number (§6.1.1.9.1.5). The implication in (224) is that one or more

both the instrumental constituent (§8.2.6) and the inanimate agent of passives (§8.1.5.3); if *quionh*³ 'with, by' is a verb and not a preposition, then Chinantec cannot be said to have agented passives since agented passives are oblique objects.

Syntactically, the state verb *quionh*³ 'accompany' is distinguishable from the preposition *quionh*³ 'with, by' in the following ways:

(i) *Quionh*³ 'accompany', illustrated in (229) below, can be prefixed with the progressive prefixes (§4.1.8.12.1) and the progressive motion (MOT) prefix *hi*¹ (§4.1.8.12.4), but *quionh*³ 'with, by' cannot; see (230).

(229)(a) *Quionh*³ *Tu*²¹ *bih*¹ *tsú*² *quinh*³² *hmá*².
 accompany[^]STI[^]3 Anthony AFF 3 strike[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 tree
 'He chops trees with Anthony.'

(b) *Ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *dí*¹⁻ *quionh*³ *tsú*² *Tu*²¹ *cháu*³.
 PAST-CONT-upright[^]PROG-accompany[^]STI[^]3 3 Anthony yesterday
 'S/he was with Anthony (all day) yesterday.'

(c) *Ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *hi*¹⁻ *quionh*³ *tsú*² *Tu*²¹ *jmí*¹
 PAST-CONT-MOT-accompany[^]STI[^]3 3 Anthony when[^]PAST

*ngau*²¹ *Jính*³².
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG Usila
 'S/he joined up with Anthony when he was on his way to Usila.'

(230)(a) *Quionh*³ *mí*¹ *chí*¹ *bih*¹ *quinh*³² *tsú*² *hmá*².
 with axe AFF strike[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 tree
 'He chops trees with an axe.'

(b) **Ca*³⁻ *ta*³⁻ *dí*¹⁻ *quionh*³ *mí*¹ *chí*¹ *ca*³⁻ *quíh*³
 PAST-CONT-upright[^]PROG-with axe PAST-strike[^]TI[^]3

*tsú*² *hmá*² *cháu*³.
 3 tree yesterday
 'He was chopping down a tree with an axe (all day) yesterday.'

No substitution of progressive prefixes for *dí*¹⁻ 'upright', nor change of word order, is able to make (230b) grammatical.

(ii) *Quionh*³ 'accompany' can be made active with the causative *má*²⁻ (§4.2.1), implying accompaniment part-way through a journey, but instrumental *quionh*³ cannot collocate with the causative. For example:

(231)(a) *Quionh*³ *tsú*² *Pé*¹ *hú*¹ *juí*³².
 accompany[^]TA[^]3 3 Peter along trail
 'S/he is accompanying Peter along the trail.'

(b) *Ca*³⁻ *ma*³⁻ *quionh*³ *tsú*² *Pé*¹ *hú*¹ *juí*³².
 PAST-CAUS-accompany[^]TA[^]3 3 Peter along trail

'S/he joined up with Peter along the trail.'

(232)(a) *Quionh³ mi¹chi¹ ca³- quiúh³ tsú² hmá².*
with axe PAST-strike^{TI} 3 3 tree
'He cut down the tree with an axe.'

(b) **Ca³- ma³- quionh³ mi¹chi¹ ca³- quiúh³ tsú² hmá².*
PAST-CAUS-with axe PAST-strike^{TI} 3 3 tree
'He cut down the tree with an axe.'

(iii) Some of the verb phrase adverbs (§5) are able to collocate with *quionh³* 'accompany', but none are able to collocate with *quionh³* 'with, by'.

For example:

(233) *Jmí¹ quionh³ tsú² Pé¹ jmí¹ ca³- quiúh³ hmá².*
TRM accompany^{STA} 3 3 Peter when^{PAST} PAST-strike^{TI} 3 tree
'S/he was with Peter when they cut down the tree.'

(234) **Jmí¹ quionh³ tsú² mi¹chi¹ (jmí¹) ca³- quiúh³ (tsú²) hmá².*
TRM with 3 axe when^{PAST} PAST-strike^{TI} 3 3 tree
'S/he had/was with an axe (when) s/he cut down the tree'.

No matter how (234) is adjusted, the combination of the terminative adverb *jmí¹* with the instrumental *quionh³* is ungrammatical.

The other reasons for distinguishing between *quionh³* 'accompany' and *quionh³* 'with, by' are a blend of syntactic and semantic arguments.

In English the comitative can be extended to inanimate entities such as:

(i) *He has gone to the field with his friend.*

(ii) *He has gone to the field with his machete.*

In Chinantec, however, an inanimate item must be 'taken'. Compare the following examples with animate and inanimate noun phrases corresponding to the English sentences above:

(235) *Quionh³ tsú² jon² jmí¹ ngau²¹.*
accompany^{STI} 3 3 child³ when^{PAST} go^{non} home^{IA} PAST^{3SG}
'S/he was with her/his child when s/he went.'

(236) *Quian³ tsú² mi¹tá¹¹ jmí¹ ngau²¹.*
take^{STI} 3 3 machete³ when^{PAST} go^{non} home^{IA} PAST^{3SG}
'S/he took her/his machete when s/he went.'

An animate entity can also be 'taken' (as might be expected). A comparable sentence to (236) with an animate patient is:

(237) *Ca³- jan³ tsú² jon² jmí¹ ngau²¹.*
PAST-take^{TA} 3 3 child³ when^{PAST} go^{non} home^{IA} PAST^{3SG}
'S/he took her/his child when s/he left.'

If the subject and object of *quionh*³ 'accompany' are animate, accompaniment is always indicated, never instrumentality or agency. For example:

- (238) *Ca*³- *hinh*³ *tsú*² *Pé*¹ *quionh*³ *Juan*².
 PAST-penetrate^TA^3 3 Peter accompany^STI^3 John.
 'S/he stabbed Peter and John.'
 or: 'S/he and John together stabbed Peter.'

(238) cannot be interpreted instrumentally: *'S/he employed John to stab Peter.'

In the passive voice, if the nominal following *quionh*³ is animate, the only interpretation is accompaniment:

- (239) *Ca*³- *ja*³- *hinh*¹ *Pé*¹ *quionh*³ *Juan*².
 PAST-PASS-be^penetrated^IA Peter accompany^STI^3 John.
 'Peter and John were stabbed.'

However, if the nominal following *quionh*³ is inanimate in a passive construction, the interpretation may be either instrumental or agent, depending on the context; see also §8.1.5.3.

- (240) *Ca*³- *ja*³- *hinh*¹ *Pé*¹ *quionh*³ *míjla*².
 PAST-PASS-be^penetrated^IA Peter with/by knife
 'Peter was stabbed with a knife.' (unexpressed human agency;
 agentless passive)
 or: 'Peter was stabbed by a knife.' (accidental; agented passive)

The verb *quionh*³ 'accompany' inflects to index the presence of a non-third-person participant; for example:

- (241) *Cuan*³ *jnë*¹³ *quionh*¹ *Pé*¹.
 arrive^here^IA^PAST^1SG I accompany^STA^1SG Peter
 'I arrived here with Peter.'

However, the third-person participant cannot be inanimate:

- (242) **Cuan*³ *jnë*¹³ *quionh*¹ *cáun*² *sí*².
 arrive^here^IA^PAST^1SG I accompany^STI^1SG one^IN letter
 'I arrived here with a letter.'

If *quionh*¹ of (242) is replaced by *quionh*³, the construction is grammatical; however, the meaning is instrumental:

- (243) *Cuan*³ *jnë*¹³ *quionh*³ *cáun*² *sí*².
 arrive^here^IA^PAST^1SG I by^means^of one^IN letter
 'I arrived here by means of a letter (of authorisation).'

In conclusion, there appears to be ample syntactic and semantic grounds for distinguishing the verb *quionh*³ 'accompany' from the homophonous prepo-

sition *quionh*³ 'with, by'.

8.2.5 The Temporal Constituent

The temporal constituent (T) may be either an adverb phrase, an adverbial phrase, or an adverbial clause. The adverbial phrase can be either a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase.

The structure of the Temporal Adverb Phrase is set out in Figure 8.3:

Figure 8.3 The Temporal Adverb Phrase
 TEMPORAL ADVERB PHRASE → (INTENSIFIER₁) HEAD (INTENSIFIER₂)

If only the head element of the Temporal Adverb Phrase occurs, or the head plus one of the intensifier elements, then the temporal constituent may either precede or follow the predicate. If all the elements of the Temporal Adverb Phrase occur, the temporal constituent must precede the predicate; for example:

- (244) T [INTENSIFIER₁ H INTENSIFIER₂] P
Jlánh¹ hú²niéi² pih²¹ ngau³
 really early quite go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG
 S LOC
tsú² Cua³tá³.
 3 Cuicatlán
 'Really very early s/he went (to) Cuicatlán.'

Examples of temporal adverbs are: *jau*³ 'day before yesterday', *cháu*³ 'yesterday', *chi³hiú²* 'midday', *hua*² 'midnight', *tsa³háu²* 'tomorrow', *yó³²* 'day after tomorrow', *jmí¹tin²* 'previously', *má²hmái³* 'earlier today', *cu³lé³* 'later today', *hú²niéi²* 'early', and *hia³jáun¹³* 'before'. Several of these cannot collocate with one or both of the intensifiers. Temporal deixis is discussed in §6.4.5

Sentential examples of temporal adverbs are:

- (245) *Ca³-quih³² hñú¹³ tsú² jau³.*
 PAST-fall[^]over house[^]3 3 day[^]before[^]yesterday.
 'Her/his house fell over the day before yesterday.'
- (246) *Tí² ta³² hio³ ní² hmih³² jái³ jmí¹tin².*
 DISC weave[^]TI[^]3 matron that cloth tunic previously
 'That elderly lady used to weave tunics (i.e. the native dress) previously.'

The intensifier₁ adverbs are *jlánh¹* 'really', *ca³la³* 'exceedingly', *hú¹tá¹* 'definitely'; all of which also function as MA₁ adverbs (§8.2.2). The intensifier₂ adverbs are *lín³²* 'very', *cu³tí¹³* 'very', *ca³lá²* 'moderately, somewhat', *cú¹pih²¹* 'slightly', and *pih²¹* 'quite'. Some of these are MA₂ or MA_{1/2} adverbs; *pih²¹*, however, cannot function as a manner adverb (see (244) above).

Adverbial clauses which are introduced by the subordinators *jmí¹* 'when (past)', *ní¹ má¹* 'when (future)', and *ta³* 'while' can also function as the temporal constituent.

The likely etymology of the subordinator *jmí¹* is *jmáí¹* 'day, time'. *Jmí¹* 'when (past)' is homophonous with, but syntactically distinct from, the terminative adverb *jmí¹*; see §5.1.4. An example of *jmí¹* 'when (past)' is:

- (247) *Ca³-hón³ tsú² cuú² jmí¹ ca³-lí³ quiéin².*
 PAST-harvest^{TI}3 3 maize when^{PAST} PAST-become^{II} dry
 'S/he harvested the maize when it became dry.'

The second morpheme of the subordinator *ní¹ má¹* 'when (future)' in (248) is the perfect aspect adverb *má²* (§5.1.2), which has had the mid tone perturbed to a high tone by the tone of the subordinator *ní¹* (etymology unknown). Both elements must occur together to express future 'when':

- (248) *Ren³ ní¹míh¹ ha¹ ní¹ má¹ ca³-lí³ quiá¹.*
 wash^{TI}3 girl clothes³ when^{FUT} PRF PAST-become^{II} dirty^{IN}
 'The little girl will wash her clothes when they have become dirty.'

Examples of adverbial clauses with the subordinator *ta³* 'while' are:

- (249) *Cua³han³ tsú² hñú¹³ ta³ tíá² hin² ñi³².*
 leave^{IA}3SG 3 house³ while not anyone know^{STI}3
 'S/he left her/his house while no-one knew.'
- (250) *Jun³ tsí²míh¹ ta³ hun¹ hñu³ tsí¹ cuo².*
 die^{IA}3 puppy while be^{contained}3 within old box
 'The puppy died while it was in the old box.'

In addition, the subordinators *ñeh²* (*bíh¹*) 'before' and *tá¹la³* 'while' are obligatorily followed by a complement clause. *ñeh²* 'before' forms a frozen expression with the illocutionary particle *bíh¹* (affirmation); for example:

- (251) *Ca³-jmí³ hio³ má³² ñeh² bíh¹ hí³*
 PAST-made^{TI}3 matron food before AFF COMP

jáh³ *yeh³*.
 return[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG elder
 'The old lady ate dinner (lit. 'made food') before the old man got home.'

The complement clause following *tá¹la³* 'while' generally lacks the complementiser *hi³* 'that, which', although its presence is grammatical. For example:

- (252) *Co²* *tsá¹mih¹* *cheih³²* *tá¹la³* (*hi³*) *tiáunh¹*
 play[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 children outside while COMP be[^]present[^]SIA[^]3PL

tsáu² *cuáh³²*.
 people church
 'The children play outside while (that) people are (present) in church.'

One type of temporal adverbial phrase expresses time frequency. It is a quantified noun phrase with the noun *jéin³²* 'time(s)' as head. For example:

- (253) *Há²* *ca³⁻* *jmoh³* *tsú²* *sun¹* *lá²* *tun³* *jéin³²*.
 PRF PAST-repair[^]TI[^]3 3 radio this two[^]IN times
 'S/he has repaired this radio twice.'

Another type of temporal adverbial phrase consists of noun phrases which have as their head temporal nouns such as *o¹rá¹* 'hour' (Sp. *hora*), *jmáí¹* 'day, time', *sí²ma¹ná¹* 'week' (Sp. *semana*), *zih²* 'month', and *mif²* 'year'; they are obligatorily modified either by the adjective *cáun²* 'next' (except for *jmáí¹* 'day', which cannot collocate with *cáun²*), or by a relative clause. An expression such as 'last month/year' is formed with a relative clause; see (255).^{<14>} Temporal deixis is discussed in §6.4.5.

An example of the use of *cáun²* 'next' is:

- (254) *Jmu¹* *jná¹³* *hñú³* *hmaí²¹* *mif²* *cáun²*.
 make[^]TI[^]FUT[^]1SG I house new year next
 'I will make a new house next year.'

The adjective *cáun²* 'next' in (254) functions as the numeral 'one' (IN) when it precedes the noun which it modifies (§6.7.1.1.1.1.1).

Examples of the use of relative clauses are:

- (255) *Jlánh¹* *tsau³* *jmí³* *zih²* (*hi³*) *ca³⁻* *tsá³²*.
 really fall[^]II[^]PAST rain month COMP PAST-be[^]finished[^]II
 'The rain really came (down) last month.'

In (255), although the complementiser *hi³* 'that, which' is grammatical, it is

never heard in normal speech.

- (256) *Nau³² mif²zia³² jná¹³ o¹rá¹ hi³ hóh³² cá¹háu².*
 get[^]up[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 mother[^]1SG I hour COMP shout[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3 chicken
 'My mother gets up the hour that the rooster crows.'
- (257) *Jnu² tsú² jmái¹ jmái¹ hi³ jenh² cuo² tsáu².*
 make[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 fiesta day COMP meet[^]II[^]PRES hand[^]3 people
 They make fiestas the day that people get married (lit. '... the day people join/meet their hands.')
- (258) *Ca³⁻ l¹ zian² jná¹³ mif² hi³ ca³⁻ jnú³*
 PAST-occur[^]II exist[^]SIA[^]1SG I year COMP PAST-make[^]TI[^]3
tsú² hñu³máh³.
 3 school
 'I was born the year that they made the school.' (lit. 'It happened that I exist . . .')

Examples of prepositional phrases functioning as the temporal constituent are:

- (259) *Jlánh¹ ca³⁻ hóh³² lia² chu³ nie².*
 really PAST-shout[^]IA[^]3 owl middle night
 'The owl screeched in the middle of the night.'
- (260) *La³ cuá²⁻ ñe¹ jmí³ ja¹ niéi².*
 EVID VEN[^]PAST-go[^]II rain among darkness
 'Apparently it rained during the night.' (lit. 'Apparently rain came and went during the dark.')

Two temporal constituents can co-occur; when they do, the second constituent is in apposition to the first, supplying further information. For example:

- (261) P S LOC
Lí²-hí³ tsá² háin² hñú¹³ jnoh¹
 HOD-enter[^]IA[^]3SG person thief house[^]1PL us
 T T
má²hmái³, tá¹la³ (hí³) zian³² jnoh¹.
 earlier[^]today while COMP be[^]absent[^]SIA[^]3 us
 'A thief entered our house earlier today while we were absent.'

There can also be two temporal constituents in a given clause, one preceding the predicate, and one following. For example:

- (262) *Ta³ hua² ca³⁻ cuón² jná¹³ cha³hlo¹.*
 while midnight PAST-sleep[^]IA[^]1SG I yesterday[^]evening
 'Yesterday evening I went to sleep at midnight.'

The temporal constituent can be brought into focus by being left-dislocated, occurring prior to the predicate. Illocutionary particles, such as *bíh¹*

(affirmation), are optional, but frequently occur. Examples of left-dislocated temporals are:

- (263) T P S
Tsa³háu² ñih²¹ jná¹³.
 tomorrow go[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]1SG I
 'Tomorrow I will go home.'
- (264) T P
Ta³ rá²⁻ cuom¹ bñh¹ tsú² jun³.
 while flat[^]PROG-sleep[^]IA[^]3 AFF 3 die[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3
 'While s/he was (lying) sleeping (s/he) died.'
- (265) T P S O
Ja¹ niéi² bñh¹ ñí¹-tan²¹ jná¹³ quiú³ hí³.
 among darkness AFF INT-await[^]TA[^]1SG I coati that[^]AN
 'I intend to await that coati during the night.'

An example of the temporal, comitative, and locative constituents together (illustrating that the temporal follows the comitative) is:

- (266) P S LOC COM
Ñe¹ jná¹³ ñí¹cuánh² quiúnh¹
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]1SG I Oaxaca accompany[^]STA[^]1SG
- T
Béh³ tsa³háu².
 Robert tomorrow
 'I will go to Oaxaca with Robert tomorrow.'

The comitative constituent must precede the temporal constituent, whether or not the locative is present.

8.2.6 The Instrumental Constituent

The instrumental constituent (INST) is a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *quionh³* 'with'; the syntactic and semantic grounds for distinguishing the instrumental preposition *quionh³* 'with' from the comitative verb *quionh³* 'accompany' are discussed in §8.2.4.2.

The complement of *quionh³* 'with' must be a noun phrase, the head of which must be an inanimate noun; for example:

- (267) *Ca³⁻ jám³ jná¹³ no² quionh³ cáun² liá³.*
 PAST-catch[^]TA[^]1SG I rat(s) with one[^]IN trap
 'I caught the rat(s) with a trap.'
- (268) *Cuá²⁻ quian² cuú² quionh³ jah¹ he² ó³².*
 ANDT[^]IMP-bring[^]TI[^]2 maize with basket hang[^]SII yonder
 'Go get the maize with the basket hanging over there.'

An animate noun phrase cannot occur as the complement of *quionh³*

'with'. Compare (267) with (269):

- (269) *Ca³- jám³ jná¹³ no² quionh³ jan² mí'tiei²¹.*
 PAST-catch^{TA}1SG I rat accompany^{STA}3/*with one^{AN} cat
 'I caught the rat(s) and a cat.'
 but not: *'I caught the rat(s) with a cat.'

The instrumental constituent can be brought into focus by left-dislocation; when the instrumental constituent precedes the predicate, it is usually modified by an illocutionary particle such as *bíh¹* (affirmation) (§12.2). For example:

- (270) INST P S O
Quionh³ mí'chi¹ bíh¹ ca³- hná³ tsú² hmá².
 with axe AFF PAST-cut^{transversally}TI^{PRES}3 3 tree
 'He chopped the log in half with an axe.'

An example of the instrumental constituent following the temporal constituent is:

- (271) P S O T INST
Jlí¹³ jná¹³ cuo¹ cu³lé³ quionh³ mí¹ sí² zín³.
 cover^{TI}FUT^{1SG} I firewood later with flat book shiny
 'I will cover the firewood later with a sheet of plastic.'

The instrumental constituent can precede the temporal constituent, but rarely does.

If the comitative and instrumental constituents co-occur, and both of the comitative arguments are third-person (§8.2.4), the order of the constituents is fixed: comitative before instrumental. For example:

- (272) P S O COM
Ca³- hná³ Pé¹ hmá² quionh³ Béh³
 PAST-cut^{transversally} Peter tree accompany^{STA}3 Robert

INST
quionh³ mí'ñí²ján¹.
 with saw
 'Peter and Robert cut the log in half with a (pit) saw.' (lit. 'Peter accompanied (by) Robert cut the log with a saw.')

If the comitative and instrumental constituents co-occur, the order of these constituents may be reversed if one of the comitative arguments is non-third-person (§8.2.4); for example:

- (273) P S O INST
Ca³- hná³ jná¹³ hmá² quionh³ mí'ñí²ján¹
 PAST-cut^{transversally}TI^{1SG} I tree with saw

discussed in §6.1.1.7, and their forms as part of the paradigm of inalienable nouns are discussed in §6.2.1.4. The structure of the Vocative Phrase is given in Figure 8.4:

Figure 8.4 The Vocative Phrase
 VOCATIVE PHRASE → (SECOND-PERSON PRONOUN) HEAD

The head element of the Vocative Phrase can be a proper noun (§6.1.1.3), an inalienable noun inflected for the vocative (§6.2.1.4), or an alienable noun such as *ñú²ñih¹* 'boy'.

Examples of the vocative constituent preceding the predicate are:

- (276) *Tu²¹, ña³² tiá³ ñí¹ lá².*
 Anthony, come^{IA}IMP^{2SG} SUPL place this
 'Tony, please come here.'
- (277) *Ñí¹, lá² quion²¹ jná¹³ tun³ mái³ mi³ jlái².*
 mother^{VOC} here bring^{STI}1SG I two^{IN} sphere spherical egg
 'Mom, here (are) two eggs I brought.'

The optional element of the Vocative Phrase is one of the second-person pronouns: *hnú²* 'you' (SG) or *hnoh²* 'you' (PL). The optional element can occur only when the vocative occurs clause initial. For example:

- (278) *Hnú² Pé¹, he³ ñi³⁻ jñuh³² nú^{2?}*
 you^{SG} Peter, what? indefinite^{PROG}-do^{TI}2 you^{SG}
 'Hey Peter, what are you doing?'
- (279) *Hnoh² reh², hniáuh³² cué¹³*
 you^{PL} companion^{VOC} be^{necessary}SII give^{DI}FUT^{1PL}
dí² cuo² tsá² jan² tsá² jan².
 we^{INCL} hand^{1PL} person one^{AN} person one^{AN}
 'Brothers, (it) is essential (that) we give one another a hand.'

As mentioned in §8.2, the vocative constituent may occur as the leftmost element together with one other preceding secondary constituent. For example:

- (280) *Ñí¹, tsa³háu² ñe¹ jná¹³ ñí¹cuáñh².*
 mom^{VOC} tomorrow go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{1SG} I Oaxaca
 'Mom, tomorrow I will go (to) Oaxaca City.'

When the vocative constituent occurs clause initial, a second noun phrase can occur in apposition. For example:

- (281) *Hnú² tia²¹, tsá² ñih³ hñu³mi³cuú²*
 you[^]SG dad[^]VOC person live[^]SIA^{^2} heaven
 'Heavenly Father' (lit. You father, person living (in)
 heaven')

Examples of the vocative as the final constituent are:

- (282) P LOC VOC
ña³² tí³ lá² Tu²¹!
 come[^]IA[^]IMP^{^2}SG at here Anthony
 'Come here Tony!'
- (283) P O INST VOC
Quiúh¹³ hmá² nî² quionh³ mí¹chí¹ ñú¹!
 strike[^]TI[^]IMP wood that with axe friend[^]VOC
 'Chop down that tree with an axe, friend!'
- (284) O P S ILLOC VOC
La³ nî² len³ jná¹³ néh¹ tia²¹.
 idea that think[^]TI[^]PRES^{^1}SG I COMM dad[^]VOC
 'That's what I think, dad.'

In (284), it can be seen that the vocative constituent follows the illocutionary constituent.

NOTES

1. The term 'inflectionally related' refers to a verb's syntactic/semantic counterparts; that is, forms which are not just synonyms, but are syntactically in complementary distribution. This may involve differences in transitivity valence (e.g. *cue³²* 'give' (TI) and *cueh³²* 'give' (DI)), animacy (e.g. *chi²* 'remove' (DI[^]SG) and *chin²* 'remove' (DA[^]SG)), number (e.g. *chin²* 'remove' (DA[^]SG) and *huen²* 'remove' (DA[^]PL)), and cross-referencing (e.g. *chin²* 'remove' (DA[^]SG) and *che²* 'remove' (DA[^]I[^]SG)). Some TA verbs have inflectionally related forms for subject ≠ object, subject = object (reflexive) and subject § object (reciprocal), e.g. *jngih²* 'kill' (TA), *jngih³²* 'kill oneself' (TA), and *jngih²⁵* 'kill one another' (TA). The term 'inflectionally related' does not imply that the verbs share the same tone-stress inflectional paradigm, although they may; if verbs share the same tone-stress paradigm, they generally differ vocally.

2. The terminology 'dependent-marked' and 'head-marked' is from Nichols (1986:57).
3. In describing Comaltepec Chinantec, Judi Lynn Anderson states: 'as regards the inflection of verbs, an ergative system of agreement exists' (1989:18). The description given by Robbins (1968) for Quiotepec Chinantec, Merrifield (1968) for Palantla Chinantec, and Rupp (1989) for Lealao Chinantec all mention the same system of agreement noted by Anderson and discussed here, but without identifying it as ergative.
4. The citation form for verbs is the third-person present tense, unless otherwise indicated.
5. When an inflectional paradigm such as A.38.26.7.2 is cited for a verb, the letter refers to the verb class; the first number to the right of the letter refers to the tone-stress inflection set I-a; the second number refers to the inflection set I-b; the third number refers to the inflection set I-c; and the fourth number refers to inflection set I-d. For class A verbs, these inflection sets correspond to third-person, second-person, 1SG, and 1PL respectively. For more detail see §4.1.2.
6. Both glottal closure of the syllable and nasalisation of the syllable nucleus can be either inherent or morphemic. Lexemes contrast by the presence or absence of the glottal phoneme syllable final, and/or nasalisation of the nucleus. Examples of minimal pairs are: *ja*³² 'spider', *jah*³² 'fist', *jan*³² 'ice', and *janh*³² 'move over' (IA).
7. This analysis is based on 20 Class A and B intransitive animate verbs which occur in the primary corpus of 607 dynamic verbs, plus another 16 Class A and B IA verbs which occur in the secondary corpus of 322 dynamic verbs; this secondary corpus is in the process of being revised. I have included the IA verbs from the secondary corpus to give a broader base for the analysis; the IA verbs from the secondary corpus have been carefully checked with respect to the point being discussed.
8. Table 8.3 includes the 16 intransitive animate verbs from the secondary

verb corpus which were included in Table 8.2; see note 7. above.

9. The term 'stem' refers only to the segmental elements, not the tone-stress.

10. Rupp (1992:63), describes passives in Lealao Chinantec as derived by adding the prefix *lɨʔ-* to the stem of the verb; unlike the situation found in Sochiapan Chinantec, the passive prefix in Lealao Chinantec appears to be completely fixed in form. Rupp states that:

Since the process for deriving passive verbs from transitive verbs inflected for animate object is so uniform, they are not included in the body of the dictionary unless there is a shift in meaning. The rules for deriving inanimate passive verbs are complex

Therefore these verbs are included in the dictionary.

Lealao Chinantec is geographically and linguistically the most distant from Sochiapan Chinantec.

According to Anderson (1989:17), Comaltepec Chinantec, which is geographically about half-way between Lealao and Sochiapan Chinantec, has only two passive markers, one for future and one for past, whereas the Sochiapan Chinantec conventional passive can be marked for the future, present, indefinite past and recent past.

11. The verb *juɨʔ* 'whistle' denotes communicating in whistle speech; see §2.6.

12. Siewierska 1984:76-77 supplies a representative list of various linguists who treat the passive primarily as a process of demotion or primarily as a promotional rule, together with a brief discussion of the relative merits of each viewpoint.

13. Traditionally, Chinantecs have not used diapers for their babies. Typically, a baby is carried around in a sling, usually against the mother's (or older sister's) chest, or tied to the person's back by means of a shawl. Not infrequently, a mother is defecated on by her baby.

14. Evidently, 'when' clauses which consist of a head noun modified by a

relative clause are cross-linguistically common (Thompson and Longacre 1985:177f).

'banana palm').

Comrie (1989:147) distinguishes four major types of relative clause formation: 'non-reduction, pronoun-retention, relative pronoun and gap'. Furthermore, he remarks that 'a given language may have more than one type of relative clause construction in its over-all battery of relative clause formation possibilities.' Restrictive relative clauses in Sochiapan Chinantec exhibit only the gap strategy. Non-restrictive relative clauses exhibit the gap and pronoun retention strategies. When the gap strategy is used, the position of the omitted nominal in the relative clause is marked by \emptyset in the following examples.

9.1.1 The Restrictive Relative Clause

The restrictive relative clause, as its name suggests, defines or identifies a subset of the domain noun. As mentioned above, the restricting clause is optionally introduced by the complementiser *hi^ə* 'that, which'. Often, a determiner of the domain noun is also present.

9.1.1.1 The Determiner of the Domain Noun

If a determiner (DET) of the domain noun is present, it may occur in any of three positions:

- (i) immediately following the domain noun,
- (ii) following the restrictive relative clause, or
- (iii) within the restrictive relative clause.

Examples of all three positions are given in (2) below. With restrictive relative clauses, the determiner can occur in any of the three abovementioned positions; however, the preference is for the determiner to occur within a restrictive relative clause, as in (2c). (With non-restrictive relative clauses, the determiner can occur only immediately following the domain noun; see §9.1.2).

In (2), the possible positions of the determiner are illustrated by the anaphoric deictic adjective *hi^ə* 'that' (AN). Note that the complementiser *hi^ə* 'that, which' is distinct from the anaphoric deictic *hi^ə* 'that' (AN):

(2)(a) P S O[H DET RC[COMP P
*Zaɪn*³² *ɟnɔ́*¹³ *tɕa*³*cuá*¹ *hi*³ *hi*³ *ɟmɪ*¹
 like^{STA}1SG I horse that^{AN} COMP TRM

LOC]]
*zenh*² *ɲi*¹ *zio*¹.
 stand^{SIA}3SG place yonder
 'I like that horse that was standing over there.'

(b) P S O[H RC[COMP P
*Zaɪn*³² *ɟnɔ́*¹³ *tɕa*³*cuá*¹ *hi*³ *ɟmɪ*¹
 like^{STA}1SG I horse COMP TRM

LOC]DET]
*zenh*² *ɲi*¹ *zio*¹ *hi*³.
 stand^{SIA}3SG place yonder that^{AN}
 'I like that horse that was standing over there.'

(c) P S O[H RC[COMP P
*Zaɪn*³² *ɟnɔ́*¹³ *tɕa*³*cuá*¹ *hi*³ *ɟmɪ*¹
 like^{STA}1SG I horse COMP TRM

DET LOC]]
*zenh*² *hi*³ *ɲi*¹ *zio*¹.
 stand^{SIA}3SG that^{AN} place yonder
 'I like that horse that was standing over there.'

In (2a) and (2b), the order of head, determiner, and relative clause elements is in accordance with Keenan's typology (1985:145) of the possible orders of the head, determiner and restrictive clause elements. Although the determiner occurs within the relative clause in (2c), the meaning of (2c) does not differ appreciably from that of (2a) and (2b).

The possibility of a determiner of the domain noun occurring within the restrictive clause is not mentioned in Keenan's typology, which makes Chinantec unusual in this respect. Consequently, a fairly lengthy discussion of the determiner follows.

Determiners which occur within the relative clause are not resumptive markers for the following reasons:

- (i) the determiners are deictic adjectives, not pronouns;
- (ii) the determiner does not mark the position of the omitted nominal;
- (iii) the determiner never occurs as a constituent of a noun phrase whose head has been omitted due to shared information of speaker and addressee, or because of coreferentiality (§6.0).

strictive relative clause.

With respect to point (ii) above, when a determiner occurs within a relative clause, it does not mark the location of the omitted nominal (except coincidentally as in (5a)). Instead, regardless of the position relativised (subject, direct object, etc.), the location of the determiner within the relative clause conforms to the following rule:

If the subject of the relative clause is a pronoun, the determiner occurs immediately following that pronoun; otherwise the determiner occurs immediately following the predicate of the relative clause.

In the examples of relative clauses which follow, the position of the symbol \emptyset represents the normal position of the omitted nominal.

When the subject is omitted and a determiner occurs within the relative clause, \emptyset is placed either before or following the determiner according to whether the omitted subject is pronominal or not.

Compare (5a), in which the subject of the relative clause is a pronoun, with (5b), in which the subject of the relative clause is a lexical noun phrase:

(5)(a) P S[RC[COMP P
Ca³- jáu² to² hi³ ca³- la³
 PAST-break^{II} mortar COMP PAST-buy^{TI}³

 S O DET T]]
tsú² \emptyset jám² cháu³.
 3 that^{IN} yesterday
 'That mortar that s/he bought yesterday broke.' (i.e. the large
 flat stone on which maize is ground into dough)

(b) P S[RC[COMP P
Ca³- jáu² to² hi³ ca³- la³
 PAST-break^{II} mortar COMP PAST-buy^{TI}³

 DET S O T]]
jám² mí¹ Róh³ \emptyset cháu³.
 that^{IN} feminine Rose yesterday
 'That mortar that Rose bought yesterday broke.'

In (5a), the determiner *jám²* 'that' (IN) coincidentally occurs in the normal position for the object, but in (5b) the determiner occurs immediately following the predicate instead of in the normal predicate-subject-object order. In other words, the location of the determiner in the relative clause is dictated

by the subject of the relative clause--pronoun or noun phrase, not by the position relativised. This is further illustrated in (13)-(27), where the positions relativised include the indirect object, object of preposition and possessor.

With respect to point (iii) above, it is unlikely that the determiner is a constituent of an NP whose head noun has been omitted since such a construction is ungrammatical elsewhere in Chinantec syntax. Three examples of ellipsis are given to illustrate this point.

Although the quantifier element of an NP may occur without the head noun when information is shared by speaker and addressee, the deictic element (determiner) of an NP cannot. For example, the response in (6b) to the question in (6a) is grammatical, but the response in (7b) to the question in (7a) is not:

(6)(a) *Cóh³ táu² hnáuh² hnú²?*
 how^{many}? banana want^{STI}2 you^{SG}
 'How many bananas do you want?'

(b) *Cáun² bîh¹.*
 one^{IN AFF}
 'One.'

(7)(a) *Hín² táu² hnáuh² hnú²?*
 which? banana want^{STI}2 you^{SG}
 'Which banana(s) do you want?'

(b) **Ní² (bîh¹).*
 that AFF
 'That/those.'

The utterance in (7b) is ungrammatical whether or not the affirmation particle *bîh¹* occurs. For the response in (7b) to be grammatical, either the noun *táu²* 'banana' must precede the demonstrative; or, alternatively, an appropriate superordinate noun such as *hî³* 'thing' must occur. (The response to a question such as 'Which dog do you want?' could be either *Tsáí² ní² bîh¹* 'That dog'; or else the superordinate noun *jáh³* 'animal' can be used: *Jáh³ ní² bîh¹* 'That animal'.)

Similarly, when there is ellipsis of an NP under coreferentiality, although a reflexive pronoun (used emphatically; see §6.1.1.9.2) can occur in

place of the omitted NP, a determiner cannot. In (8), for example, the third-person subject is coreferential with the possessor; (8a) is grammatical whether or not the reflexive pronoun occurs; but (8b), in which the anaphoric determiner *hi³* 'that' (AN) occurs, is not:

- (8)(a) *Ca³- quieh³ ñú²mih¹ ta³ (hngá²).*
 PAST-cut^TI^3 boy leg^3 himself
 'The boy_i cut his_i (own) leg.'
- (b) **Ca³- quieh³ ñú²mih¹ ta³ hi³.*
 PAST-cut^TI^3 boy leg^3 that^AN
 'The boy_i cut that_(boy's)_i leg.'

In (9), the third-person subject is coreferential with the subject of the complement clause; (9a) is grammatical whether or not the reflexive pronoun occurs; but (9b), in which the anaphoric determiner *hi³* 'that' (AN) occurs, is not:

- (9)(a) *Ca³- záí³ jná¹³ mí¹mih¹ hi³ quiúh³² (hngá²) cán¹.*
 PAST-tell^DI^3>1SG I girl COMP grind^TI^FUT^3 herself dough
 'The girl_i told me that (s/he_i) (herself) will grind the (maize) dough.'
- (b) **Ca³- záí³ jná¹³ mí¹mih¹ hi³ quiúh³² hi³ cán¹.*
 PAST-tell^DI^3>1SG I girl COMP grind^TI^FUT^3 that^AN dough
 'The girl_i told me that that_{one_i} will grind the (maize) dough.'

For (9b) to be grammatical, the determiner must occur in the matrix clause; for example:

- (10) *Ca³- záí³ jná¹³ mí¹mih¹ hi³ hi³ quiúh³² cán¹.*
 PAST-tell^DI^3>1SG I girl that^AN COMP grind^TI^FUT^3 dough
 'That girl_i told me that (s/he_i) will grind the (maize) dough.'

In conclusion, there do not appear to be any grounds for analysing the determiner within the relative clause as a constituent of an NP whose head noun has been omitted.

If there is no determiner of the domain noun, the relative clause can have a generic meaning. For example:

- (11) *Jlánh¹ jmá³ táu² (hi³) lau³² ñí¹ chéi³.*
 really be^tasty^SII banana COMP ripen^II^PRES place hot
 'Bananas (that) ripen in tropical areas are really tasty.'
- (12) *Zian² jáh³ hláinh¹ (hi³) cunh² hñú³.*
 exist^SIA^3 animal bad^AN COMP eat^TA^PRES^3 scorpion
 'There are snakes (that) eat scorpions.'

9.1.1.2 Positions which Can Be Relativised

The accessibility of a noun phrase to relativisation is summarised in what Keenan and Comrie (1977:66) have termed the Accessibility Hierarchy. The Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) given by Keenan (1985:147) differs slightly from the 1977 version; the 1985 version is as follows:

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Object of adposition > Possessor.

The claim is that 'if a language can relativize any position low on the AH, then it can relativize all higher positions' (Keenan and Comrie, 1977:68). For example, a language which relativises the indirect object would be expected to relativise the direct object and the subject.

In principal, Chinantec does not have any constraints on the positions which can be relativised; however, the object of temporal prepositions, and the object of some locative prepositions cannot be relativised. These are discussed further below.

Starting from (13a), it can be seen in (13b-d) that it is possible to relativise the subject (S), the direct object (DO), and the indirect object (IO) respectively.

(13)(a) *Ca³-cuéh³ yeh³ mi²ñi³ cáum² hi⁴miih²¹.*
 PAST-give^{DI}3 elder pig one^{IN} bread
 'The old man gave the pig a bread roll.'

(b) H RC[COMP P DET S IO DO]
yeh³ (hi³) ca³-cuéh³ (hi³) ø mi²ñi³ hi⁴miih²¹
 elder COMP PAST-give^{DI}3 that^{AN} pig bread
 '(that) old man (that/who) gave the pig a bread roll'

(c) H RC[COMP P DET S IO DO]
hi⁴miih²¹ (hi³) ca³-cuéh³ (jáum²) yeh³ mi²ñi³ ø
 bread COMP PAST-give^{DI}3 that^{IN} elder pig
 '(that) bread roll (that/which) the old man gave the pig'

(d) H RC[COMP P DET S IO DO]
mi²ñi³ hi³ ca³-cuéh³ (hi³) yeh³ ø hi⁴miih²¹
 pig COMP PAST-give^{DI}3 that^{AN} elder bread
 '(that) pig that the old man gave a bread roll'

In (13b), both the complementiser *hi³* 'that, which' and the determiner are marked as optional. In fact, one or the other must occur, or both may co-occur; the preferred form is without the complementiser, but with the deter-

miner, as in (14):

- (14) *yeh³ ca³⁻ cuéh³ hi³ mi²ñi³ hi⁴miih²¹*
 elder PAST-give^{DI}^3 that^AN pig bread
 'that old man (that/who) gave the pig a bread roll'

In (13c), the preferred construction is with the complementiser, the determiner being optional. In (13d), the complementiser is obligatory and the determiner is optional.

As mentioned above, when the subject of the relative clause is a noun phrase, as in (13c) and (13d), the determiner (if one is present) is always found immediately following the predicate; however, the determiner follows the subject when it is a pronoun. Compare (15a) with (13c), and (15b) with (13d).

- (15)(a) H RC[COMP P S DET IO DO]
hi⁴miih²¹ (hi³) ca³⁻ cuéh³ tsú² (jáun²) mi²ñi³ ∅
 bread COMP PAST-give^{DI}^3 3 that^IN pig
 '(that) bread roll that s/he gave the pig'
- (b) H RC[COMP P S DET IO DO]
mi²ñi³ hi³ ca³⁻ cuéh³ tsú² (hi³) ∅ hi⁴miih²¹
 pig COMP PAST-give^{DI}^3 3 that^AN bread
 '(that) pig that s/he gave a bread roll'

In (15a), as in (13c), the preferred construction is with the complementiser; the determiner is optional. In (15b), the complementiser is obligatory and the determiner is once again optional.

When the object of a preposition is relativised, the recipient/source and locative prepositions are stranded in their normal position, and the instrumental preposition is entirely omitted. The object of temporal prepositions cannot be relativised. Each of these oblique objects are illustrated in turn below.

When the position relativised is a recipient/source noun phrase, the determiner of the domain noun is obligatory; and, as mentioned above, the recipient/source preposition is stranded in its normal position as in (16b):

- (16)(a) *Ca³⁻ jen³ tsú² hmá²hin³² ñi⁴con² ñú²mih¹.*
 PAST-offer^{TI}^3 3 pencil to boy
 'S/he offered a pencil to the boy.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P S DET O RECIPIENT]
ñú²mih¹ hi³ ca³⁻ jen³ tsú² hi³ hmá²hin³² ñi⁴con² ∅
 boy COMP PAST-offer^{TI}^3 3 that^AN pencil to
 'that boy that/who s/he offered a pencil to'

When the position relativised is a locative (LOC) noun phrase, the determiner of the domain noun is optional but usually occurs. Generally, the locative preposition is stranded in its normal position as in (17b), (18b), and (19b):

- (17)(a) *Cuá¹- hum¹ cá¹háu² ñeh² jen³ (ó³²).*
 sit^{PROG}-be^{within}^SIA^3 chicken beneath bed yonder
 'The chicken is sitting beneath yonder bed.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P DET S LOC]
jen³ hi³ cuá¹- hum¹ (ó³²) cá¹háu² ñeh² ø
 bed COMP sit^{PROG}-be^{within}^SIA^3 yonder chicken beneath
 'yonder bed that the chicken is sitting beneath'
- (18)(a) *Ca³- táh³ mí¹táí³ ja¹ quín¹.*
 PAST-fall^{II} machete among rock
 'The machete fell among rocks.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P DET S LOC]
quín¹ hi³ ca³- táh³ jáum² mí¹táí³ ja¹ ø
 rock COMP PAST-fall^{II} that^{IN} machete among
 'the rocks that the machete fell among'

When the locative noun phrase object of the preposition *ñí¹* 'on' is relativised, the preposition *ñí¹* is stranded as in (19b):

- (19)(a) *Ca³- na³tsí³ tsú² sí² ñí¹ jen³.*
 PAST-put^{TI}^PL^3 3 book on bed
 'S/he put the books on the bed.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P S DET O L]
jen³ hi³ ca³- na³tsí³ tsú² (jáum²) sí² ñí¹ ø
 bed that PAST-put^{TI}^PL^3 3 that^{IN} book on
 'that bed that s/he put the books on'

However, relativisation of locative noun phrases is not possible when they are the object of certain prepositions such as *tí³* 'at' and *chu³* 'in, inside, within' (a mass or liquid). For example:

- (20)(a) *Ca³- táh³ mí¹táí³ chu³ jmáí².*
 PAST-fall^{II} machete within water
 'The machete fell in/within the water.'
- (b) **jmáí² hi³ ca³- táh³ jáum² mí¹táí³ chu³.*
 water COMP PAST-fall^{II} that^{IN} machete within
 'the water that the machete fell in/within'

Any reordering of the elements in (20b) while retaining the preposition *chu³* does not result in a grammatical construction.

Relativisation of the object in temporal prepositional phrases (§7.2) is

not possible, regardless of the preposition. Even when a temporal noun phrase is the object of the preposition *ja*¹ 'among' or *ñi*¹ 'on', as in (18) and (19) above (where *ja*¹ and *ñi*¹ function in locative prepositional phrases), the temporal noun phrase cannot be relativised. For example:

- (21)(a) *Ca*³- *hóh*³² *hiah*³² *ja*¹ *niéi*².
 PAST-shout^{IA}3 puma among darkness
 'The puma yowled in the night.'^{<1>}
- (b) **niéi*² *hi*³ *ca*³- *hóh*³² *jáun*² *hiah*³² *ja*¹
 darkness COMP PAST-shout^{IA}3 that^{IN} puma among
 'the night that the puma yowled in'
- (22)(a) *ñih*²¹ *jnëá*¹³ *ñi*¹ *jnëá*³ *jnëá*¹.
 go^{home}IA^{FUT}1SG I on eight day
 'I will go home on the eighth day.'
- (b) **jnëá*³ *jnëá*¹ *hi*³ *ñih*²¹ *jnëá*¹³ *ñi*¹
 eight day COMP go^{home}IA^{FUT}1SG I on
 'the eighth day on which I will go home'

When the position relativised is an instrumental (INST) noun phrase, the instrumental preposition is omitted; a determiner of the domain noun is optional but generally occurs. For example:

- (23)(a) *Ca*³- *pan*³ *tsú*² *tsái*² *quionh*³ *cáun*² *há*².
 PAST-hit^{TA}3 3 dog with one^{IN} wood
 'S/he hit the dog with a stick.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P S DET O INST]
*há*² *hi*³ *ca*³- *pan*³ *tsú*² (*jáun*²) *tsái*² \emptyset
 wood COMP PAST-hit^{TA}3 3 that^{IN} dog
 'that stick that s/he hit the dog (with)'

When the possessor (PSR) of an inalienable noun is relativised, a determiner of the domain noun is obligatory. For example:

- (24)(a) *Ca*³- *háin*³ *Juan*² *mi*¹*tái*¹³ *ñú*²*ñih*¹.
 PAST-steal^{TI}3 John machete³ boy
 'John stole the boy's machete.'
- (b) H RC[COMP P DET S O PSR]
*ñú*²*ñih*¹ *hi*³ *ca*³- *háin*³ *hi*³ *Juan*² *mi*¹*tái*¹³ \emptyset
 boy COMP PAST-steal^{TI}3 that^{AN} John machete³
 'that boy whose machete John stole'

In (24b), the person of the possessor is indicated inflectionally on the inalienable noun *mi*¹*tái*¹³ 'machete (3)'. The inflection could be regarded as a kind of resumptive; however, the actual possessor nominal is omitted.

Possession of inanimate and animate alienable nouns is expressed by

are both used to modify a single entity.

In an appositional construction, there are two or more domain nouns which are coreferential. The second domain noun is either a repetition of the first, or, more commonly, it is an appropriate superordinate noun, such as *tsá²* 'person', *jáh³* 'animal', *ñí¹* 'place', or *juí²* 'town'.

In a chaining construction, more than one relative clause occurs, but there is only one domain noun.

Pause is ungrammatical preceding relative clauses in a chaining construction, whether or not the complementiser *hi³* is present; however, pause preceding the second (and successive) domain nouns, is characteristic of appositional relativisation, although such pause may be quite abbreviated in fast speech.

When the domain noun is human, and a determiner of the domain noun is present, an appositional construction is required; for example:

- (28) P S[APP1[H RC[COMP P
Má² laín³² *ñú²míh¹* *hi³ ca³- tánh³*
 PRF be^recovered^IA^PAST^3 boy COMP PAST-fall^IA^3
 S DET]] APP2[H RC[P S IO O]]]
∅ hí³, tsá² ca³- cuéh³ yeh³ ∅ mí³.
 that^AN person PAST-give^DI^3 elder medicine
 'That boy who fell has recovered, (the) person (that) the old man gave medicine (to).'

When the domain noun is animate non-human, and a determiner of the domain noun is present, an appositional construction is preferred; for example:

- (29) P S O[APP1[H RC[COMP P
Má² lí²-hna³ tsú² mí²ñí³ hi³ jmí¹
 PRF HOD-sell^TA^3 3 pig COMP TRM
 DET S LOC]] APP2[H
zenh² hí³ ∅ cheih³² hñú¹³, jáh³
 stand^SIA^3 that^AN outside house^3 animal
 RC[COMP P DET S]]]
(hi³) ca³- quieh² hí³ tsí² ngo².
 COMP PAST-bite^TA^3>3 that^AN dog rabid
 'S/he has sold the pig that previously stood outside her/his house, the animal (that) the rabid dog bit.'

In (29), if the superordinate noun *jáh³* 'animal' is omitted, (resulting in a chaining construction), the complementiser *hi³* becomes obligatory.

RC[COMP P S]]
 # (hi³) ca³- tɿ²¹ hué³² Hngo³ jmáí² lá².
 COMP PAST-regard^{TI}^3 land Mexico this
 'I like the song(s) that s/he sings about (lit. 'that regard/concern')
 this land of Mexico.'

In (32), if the word *sun*¹ 'song' were to be used in the position marked by # thus forming an appositional construction, pause would be obligatory prior to the word *sun*¹.

9.1.2 Non-restrictive Relative Clauses

A non-restrictive relative clause 'serves merely to give the hearer an added piece of information about an already identified entity, but not to identify that entity' (Comrie 1989:138).

With non-restrictive relative clauses, if a determiner of the domain noun is present, it occurs immediately following the domain noun (see §9.1.1.1). Pause occurs immediately prior to a non-restrictive relative clause. Examples of non-restrictive relative clauses are:

(33) Ca³- cáí² nú¹ha³ lá², hi³ ca³- lá³ jná¹³ chán³.
 PAST-tear^{II} tumpline this COMP PAST-buy^{TI}^1SG I yesterday
 'This tumpline, which I bought yesterday, tore.'

(34) Má² tan² bíh¹ lo¹ pih²¹ hí³, hi³ ca³- lán³²
 PRF be^{tame}^SIA^3 AFF mule small that^{AN} COMP PAST-buy^{TA}^1SG
 jná¹³ cá² mí².
 I one^{IN} year
 'That burro (lit. 'small mule'), which I bought last year, is tame now.'

When a non-third-person pronoun is modified by a non-restrictive relative clause, an appositional construction is required. The relative clause is introduced by the noun *tsá*² 'person', and the pronoun is obligatorily repeated in the relative clause; that is, in this case the pronoun retention strategy is used. For example:

(35) Ca³- quánh¹ hnú² jmáí¹, tsá² ca³- cáuh³²
 PAST-win^{TI}^2 you^{SG} day person PAST-treat^{as}^TA^3>2
 tsú² hnú² cú²nga¹.
 3 you^{SG} humorously
 'You won the day/event, you whom s/he treated as a joke.'

- (36) *Lá² ní² láí²³ jnoh¹, tsá² má² né¹*
 idea that think^{TI}^{PRES}³ we person PRF know^{STI}^{1PL}

jnoh¹ jú¹tson².

we truth

'That is what we think, we who now know the truth.'

9.2 Complementation

Noonan (1985:42) defines sentential complementation as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate . . . it functions as the subject or object of that predicate.'

Noonan describes six strategies by which languages effect complementation. A point of typological interest arises from Noonan's (1985:133) claim that:

All languages have an S-like indicative complement type, and all languages have some sort of reduced complement type in opposition to the indicative.

In Sochiapan Chinantec, however, only one of the six complement strategies described by Noonan is found, the sentence-like indicative complement: if the complementiser *hi³* 'that' is removed, the construction usually resembles an independent sentence, except when there is ellipsis under coreferentiality (§9.2.2). Another sentence-like feature of the complement is the possibility of having embedded within it other complements.

When a verb has animate and inanimate inflectional counterparts, such as *jié²³* (TI) and *jién³²* (TA) 'see', it is always the inanimate form of the verb which takes the complement. For example, (37a) is grammatical, but (37b) is not:

- (37)(a) *Ca³- jié²² jná¹³ hi³ ngah³ yeh³.*
 PAST-see^{TI}^{1SG} I COMP go^{home}^{IA}^{PAST}^{3SG} elder
 'I saw that the old man went home.'

- (b) **Ca³- jién¹ jná¹³ hi³ ngah³ yeh³.*
 PAST-see^{TA}^{1SG} I COMP go^{home}^{IA}^{PAST}^{3SG} elder
 'I saw that the old man went home.'

9.2.1 The Complementiser

Depending on the complement taking predicate, the complementiser *hi³* is optional to varying degrees.

The complementiser *hi*³ generally occurs in complements of verbs such as *juáh*²³ 'say', *zaih*³² 'tell', and *cha*³² 'relate' when the information is given as an indirect quote. Examples of direct and indirect quotes respectively are:

- (38) (a) *Ca*³- *juáh*³ *tsú*² *la*³ *lá*²: *Ján*¹³ *jnë*¹³ *cuú*² *tša*³*háu*².
 PAST-say^{TI}^3 3 idea this sow^{TI}^FUT^1SG I maize tomorrow
 'S/he said this: I will sow maize tomorrow.'
- (b) *Ca*³- *juáh*³ *tsú*² *hi*³ *jnë*³² *cuú*² *tša*³*háu*².
 PAST-say^{TI}^3 3 COMP sow^{TI}^FUT^3 maize tomorrow
 'S/he said that (s/he) will sow maize tomorrow.'

The complementiser is optional for most complement taking predicates.

For example:

- (39) *Len*³ *jnë*¹³ (*hi*³) *ñe*¹ *jnë*¹³.
 think^{TI}^PRES^1SG I COMP go^{non}^home^{IA}^FUT^1SG fiesta
 'I think (that) I will go to the fiesta.'
- (40) *Tiá*² *hnió*³ *yáh*³ *tsú*² (*hi*³) *ngi*¹³ *já*¹³.
 not want^{SII}^3 ASSR 3 COMP understand^{TI}^FUT^3 word
 'S/he doesn't want to learn/obey.' (lit. 'S/he doesn't want to understand the words.')
- (41) *Jlánh*¹ *zain*³² *jnë*¹³ (*hi*³) *quih*³² *hmih*³² *reh*².
 really like^{SII}^1SG I COMP wear^{TI}^PRES^1SG clothes green^{IN}
 'I really like to wear green clothes.'
- (42) *Ca*³- *ma*³*liáu*³² *tsú*² (*hi*³) *ca*¹³³² *ha*¹.
 PAST-begin^{TI}^3 3 COMP tear^{TI}^PRES^3 shirt^3
 'S/he began to tear her/his (own) shirt.'
- (43) *Tiá*² *juenh*² *tsú*² (*hi*³) *ngi*³² *ja*¹ *nié*².
 not be^{afraid}^TI^PRES^3 3 COMP walk^{IA}^PRES^3SG among darkness
 'S/he is not afraid to walk in the dark.'
- (44) *Tiá*² *ca*³- *li*³ (*hi*³) *ñi*¹- *jie*¹ *jnë*¹³ *hnoh*².
 not PAST-be^{possible}^II COMP ANDT^{FUT}-see^{TA}^1SG>2 I you^{PL}
 '(It) was not possible that I go see you.'

The complementiser is optional, but usually absent from the complement of a few verbs such as *tán*² 'be able' (STI) and *hniáuh*³² 'be necessary' (SII). Examples of each respectively are:

- (45) *Tiá*² *tán*² *yáh*³ *jnë*¹³ (*hi*³) *hí*¹³ *hi*³ *ní*².
 not be^{able}^STI^1SG ASSR I COMP read^{TI}^FUT^1SG thing that
 'I am not able to read that thing.'
- (46) *Hniáuh*³² (*hi*³) *jmu*¹ *jnë*¹³ *ca*² *né*³².
 be^{necessary}^SII COMP make^{TI}^FUT^1SG I candle today
 '(It) is necessary that I make candles today.'

9.2.2 Equi-deletion?

When the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the subject or indirect object of the matrix clause, ellipsis of the nominal occurs in the complement clause. Nonetheless, the identity of the subject is recoverable by the inflection of the verb; that is, verb inflection in complement clauses is the same as that in independent clauses. Ellipsis under coreferentiality 'follows the usual discourse conditions on anaphoric ellipsis and is not the product of a sentence-internal process like equi' (Noonan 1985:68); see, for example, §6.1.1.9.1.1, §6.2.1.6, §6.2.2.2, and §8.1.2.3. By these criteria, Chinantec cannot be said to have equi-NP deletion.

Ellipsis of the complement subject when coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause is illustrated in (47c-d):

- (47)(a) *Hnió³ tsú² hi³ quiúh¹³ jná¹³ cán¹.*
 want^{STI}³ 3 COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}^{1SG} I dough
 'S/he wants me to grind (maize) dough.'
- (b) *Hnió³ tsú² hi³ quiúh³² tsú² cán¹.*
 want^{STI}³ 3_i COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3_j dough
 'S/he_i wants her_j/him_j to grind (maize) dough.'
- (c) *Hnió³ tsú² hi³ quiúh³² (*tsú²) cán¹.*
 want^{STI}³ 3_i COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3_i dough
 'S/he_i wants to grind (maize) dough.'
- (d) *Hnó³² jná¹³ hi³ quiúh¹³ (*jné¹³) cán¹.*
 want^{STI}^{1SG} I_i COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}^{1SG} I_i dough
 'I want to grind (maize) dough.'

If the complement subject is coreferential with either the subject of a ditransitive verb as in (48a), or with the IO as in (48b), ellipsis occurs:

- (48)(a) *Ca³- zái³ tsú² jné¹³ hi³ quiúh³² (*tsú²) cán¹.*
 PAST-tell^{DI}³>1SG 3_i I COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3_i dough
 'S/he_i told me that (s/he_i) will grind the (maize) dough.'
- (b) *Ca³- zái³ tsú² jné¹³ hi³ quiúh¹³ (*jné¹³) cán¹.*
 PAST-tell^{DI}³>1SG 3 I_i COMP grind^{TI}^{FUT}^{1SG} I_i dough
 'S/he told me_i to grind the (maize) dough.' (lit. 'S/he told me_i that (I_i) will grind the (maize) dough.')

9.2.3 Subject and Object Complements

Subject complements are not uncommon with intransitive verbs, such as in (44) and (46) above, but the only transitive verb that I have found which

permits a subject complement is the verb *jmu²* 'do, make'. If the subject of *jmu²* 'do, make' is a complement clause, the object must be also. The construction is causative. For example:

- (49) *Hi³ ca³-súh³² jám² tsí³ ca³- jmu³ hi³*
 COMP PAST-fall^{II}^PL then hail PAST-make^{TI}^3 COMP
ca³- tsính² ho³tá²quié².
 PAST-break^{II} window
 'The falling hail broke the window.' (lit. 'That hail fell then made (caused) that the window broke.')

Object complements are common. For example:

- (50) *Lín²³ Pé¹ hi³ tiá² ca³- láh¹³.*
 think^{TI}^PRES^3 Peter COMP not PAST-win^{TI}^3
 'Peter thinks that (he) didn't win.' (but he did)
- (51) *Ca³- qui³ jná¹³ hi³ ñeih²¹ hnú².*
 PAST-dream^{TI}^1SG I COMP come^{to}^non^{home}^IA^{FUT}^2SG you^{SG}
 'I dreamed that you would (lit. 'will') come.'
- (52) *Jmí¹ juenh² jná¹³ hi³ hu²¹ tá²hláu².*
 TRM be^{afraid}^TI^{PRES}^1SG I COMP enter^{IA}^FUT^{1SG} cave
 'I was afraid to enter caves.'
- (53) *Ca³- ma³liáu³² tsú² hi³ yeinh³² yéinh³².*
 PAST-begin^{TI}^3 3 COMP suck^{TI}^PRES^3 cigarette
 'S/he began to smoke cigarettes.'

9.3 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses are usually introduced by the complementiser *hi³* 'that', in which case the structure of the purpose clause parallels that of the complement clause; a purpose clause, however, answers the question 'why?' instead of 'what?'. The antecedent action to purpose is called the 'ground'; for example:

- (54) GROUND PURPOSE
Tsanh³² tsú² hnú¹³ hi³ tsá²- jmu³ má³².
 return^{home}^IA^{PRES}^3SG 3 house³ COMP ANDT^{PRES}-make^{TI}^3 food
 'S/he is returning home to make/prepare the food.'
 or: 'S/he is returning to make/eat a meal.'
- (55) GROUND PURPOSE
Zein²¹ ná¹ tsú² hi³ tsa³- jie³ tsú² hnoh².
 send^{TA}^FUT^{1SG} I 3 COMP ANDT^{FUT}-see^{TA}^3>2 3 you^{PL}
 'I will send her/him to see you.'

Sometimes the introducer *hi³* 'that' may be omitted from the purpose clause; for example:

(56) GROUND

#éi¹ *jnë¹³ ja¹ juú² Cayuca*
 go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]1SG I among town Cayuca

PURPOSE

(hi³) ñí¹- nga¹³ jné¹³ mí²tsáu²
 COMP ANDT[^]PAST[^]ask[^]TI[^]1SG I priest
 'I went to the town of Cayuca to ask the priest'

Although the ground clause generally precedes the purpose clause, it is possible to have the purpose clause precede the ground clause; when this occurs, the purpose must be introduced by the complementiser *hi³*. For example:

(57) PURPOSE

Hi³ cá² lau²³ bíh¹ Juan²
 COMP PREV[^]PRES evaluate[^]TA[^]PRES[^]3>1 AFF John

GROUND

ja³² ñí¹ lá².
 come[^]to[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PRES[^]3SG place this
 'To thoroughly evaluate (us), John comes to this place.'

In (57), *Juan²* 'John' is subject of the purpose clause, with ellipsis of the subject occurring in the ground clause.

Negative purpose is introduced by *quí¹ ní² lí¹* 'lest'; the verb of the negative purpose clause is obligatorily inflected for the remote past tense (§4.1.8.12.7). For example:

(58) *Tí³ coh³ juí³² cuí¹-chá¹³ dí² hmá² lá²,*
 at upper[^]side[^]3 trail HORT-put[^]TI[^]1PL we[^]INCL wood this

quí¹ ní² lí¹ cá³- dánh³² tsáu².
 lest PAST-trip[^]IA[^]3 people
 'Let's put this log on the trail's upper side lest people trip.'

The negative purpose introducer *quí¹ ní² lí¹* 'lest' appears to be a composite of *quí¹* 'because', the deictic adjective *ní²* 'that', and the nonen-tailment adverb *lí¹* (§5.1.5).

9.4 Result Clauses

The clause that describes the result of an action is introduced by *jáun²*, 'then, so'. *Jáun²* can be optionally preceded by *quí¹* or *hi³*, or both: *hi³ jáun²* 'then, so', *quí¹ jáun²* 'consequently', and *quí¹ hi³ jáun²* 'consequently'. The antecedent action to result is called the 'ground'. Examples of each

introducer respectively are:

- (59) GROUND RESULT
Ca³- táh³ tsú² mǐ³ quion²¹ jná¹³, jáun²
 PAST-drip^TI^3 3 medicine have^STI^1SG I so
tiá² ca³- lǐ³ lieih²¹ lo² jná¹³.
 not PAST-occur^II be^aware^STI skin^3 I
 'They gave me medicine by intravenous drip, so my skin was not aware.' (i.e. when they operated on me)
- (60) GROUND RESULT
Lǐ³ zian² jon² tsá²mǐ³ hí³,
 occur^II^FUT exist^SIA^3 child^3 woman that^AN
 RESULT
hǐ³^jáun² ngau³ tǐ³² mǐ³.
 so go^non^home^IA^PAST^SSG master medicine
 'That woman is (lit. 'will be') having a baby, and so the doctor has gone (there).'
- (61) GROUND RESULT
Cáh¹ chǎu² jmu² tsú² qui¹^jáun²
 be^large^IN^PL cutting make^TI^PRES^3 3 consequently
tiá² caun¹³ tsáu².
 not take^TI^FUT^3 people
 'They make the cuttings large; consequently people will not take/claim them.' (i.e. the area slashed and later burned for making a garden)
- (62) GROUND RESULT
Lo² tsú² sí², qui¹^hǐ³^jáun² tiá² lǐ³ quiá¹.
 wrap^TI^PRES^3 3 book consequently not become^II^FUT dirty^IN
 'S/he wraps (the cover of) books; consequently they don't get dirty.'

The introducer *hǐ³ jáun²* 'then, so' is most likely a combination of the contingent noun *hǐ³* 'thing' with the inanimate anaphoric deictic *jáun²* 'that', functioning as a kind of summation of the previous proposition in the sense of 'that being the case' (lit. 'thing that'). The introducer *jáun²* 'then, so' is most likely a (later?) reduction of *hǐ³ jáun²*. *Qui¹ hǐ³ jáun²* and *qui¹ jáun²* 'consequently' are combinations of *qui¹* 'because' with the other two introducers *hǐ³ jáun²* and *jáun²* respectively.

9.5 Cause Clauses

Cause clauses are introduced by any one of a variety of clause markers, the nuances of which are not clear; for the present, all cause introducers are glossed as 'because'. *Qui¹* is the most frequently used introducer; also used are: *hliá², hǐ³hliá², qui¹hliá², qui¹ hǐ³hliá², cum³hǐ³ hǐ³, qui¹ cum³hǐ³,*

cun³ñí¹ hi³hliá², qui¹ cun³ñí¹ hi³hliá², and qui¹hliá² cun³ñí¹ hi³hliá².
 Regardless of whether the cause clause precedes or follows the effect clause, any of the above introducers may be used.

In the following examples, which illustrate the cause clause following the effect clause, any of the ten introducers could be substituted for the one that occurs in the example. Examples of each introducer respectively are:

(63) EFFECT

Hi³^jáun² ca³- ja³- hín³ juú² jáun²,
 then PAST-PASS-be^{erased}^II town that^{IN}

CAUSE

qui¹ ca³- hi³ mí¹uí³ cuéh³2 bíh¹.
 because PAST-enter^{II}^SG sickness contagious AFF
 'That's why the town was wiped out, because a contagious disease came in.'

(64) EFFECT

Ca³- ñí³2 jná¹3 ñí¹ jáun² hliá² ca³- lí³
 PAST-stay^{IA}^1SG I place that^{IN} because PAST-become^{II}

tsáun¹ bíh¹.
 be^{sick}^SIA^1SG AFF
 'I stayed at that place because I became sick.'

(65) EFFECT

Sa³jun³ ca³- hléh¹3 jnoh¹ hi³hliá² hnáu²
 neither PAST-speak^{TI}^1PL we because want^{STI}^1PL

jnoh¹ ná¹cau¹3.
 we deceive^{TA}^FUT^1>2
 'Neither did we speak because we want to deceive/trick you.'

(66) EFFECT

Ca³- con³ jná¹3 Tu²1 ñí¹cuánh²
 PAST-leave^{TA}^1SG I Anthony Oaxaca

CAUSE

qui¹^hi³hliá² tsáun¹ tsú².
 because be^{sick}^SIA^3 3
 'I left Tony in Oaxaca because he is sick.'

(67) EFFECT

Te²3 tsú² hnú² cun³ñí¹^hi³ tiú²nú²
 divorce^{TA}^PRES^3>2 3 you^{SG} because INTRP

tí³2 tsí³.
 reach^{TA}^PRES^3 heart³
 'S/he is divorcing you because s/he no longer cares for you.' (lit.
 '... her/his heart no longer reaches (you).')

(68) EFFECT

Tiú²nio² bíh¹ zian² háin² jui³2 jueh³2
 certainly AFF exist^{SIA}^3 thief trail wide

CAUSE

qui¹^cun³ñi¹^hi³ jui³² jaun³² ñi³táunh¹ juóun³² tsáu².
 because trail that^{one}IN walk^{IA}PRES^{3PL} many^{AN} people
 'There are certainly thieves on the wide trail because many people travel on such a trail.'

(69) EFFECT

CAUSE

Má² chánh¹ mí¹ñi² cun³ñi¹^hi³hliá² má² juá¹.
 PRF be^{dull}SII bell because PRF be^{split}SII
 'The bell is now dull sounding because it has split.'

(70) EFFECT

La³ má² ná¹- cuóun¹ jáun² bíh¹ tsá² hí³
 as PRF PROG^{PL}-sleep^{SIA}³ that^{IN} AFF person that^{AN}

CAUSE

qui¹^cun³ñi¹^hi³hliá² jlánh¹ ca³- huóh³².
 because really PAST-be^{tired}IA³
 'They are still sleeping because they got so tired.'

(71) EFFECT

Ca³-tánh³ tsú² tsi³ hmá² má¹
 PAST-fall^{IA}^{3SG} 3 top tree mango

CAUSE

qui¹hliá²^cun³ñi¹^hi³hliá² jlánh¹ jmí¹ hen².
 because really TRM be^{drunk}SIA³
 'S/he fell (from) the top of the mango tree because s/he was so drunk.'

When the cause clause precedes the effect clause, pause occurs between the two clauses, and the effect clause is obligatorily introduced by either *jáun²* 'then, so' or *hi³ jáun²* 'then, so'. Examples of the cause clause preceding the effect clause are:

(72) CAUSE

Qui¹ tiá² má²ti³² tsú² héih³² quion²¹,
 because not fulfill^{TI}PRES³ 3 order have^{STI}1SG

EFFECT

jáun² tiá² lan¹³ yáh³ tsú².
 then not recover^{IA}FUT³ ASSR 3
 'Because s/he is not obeying/fulfilling my orders, s/he is not recovering.'

(73) CAUSE

Hliá² ca³- ñi¹- jín² cháu² bíh¹ ñú²míh¹ ní²,
 because PAST-ANDT-burn^{TI}³ cuttings AFF boy that

EFFECT

jáun² ca³- cáun³.
 so PAST-be^{burned}IA³
 'Because that boy went (and) burned the cuttings, he got burned.'
 (Swidden agriculture)

(74) CAUSE

Cun³ñi¹hi³ lí¹ ja³² mif³ tsí³ bñh¹ Dió³²,
 because NON come[^]II[^]PRES[^]SG compassion heart[^]3 AFF God

EFFECT

hi³^jáum² má² ca³- liám³ jnoh¹.
 so PRF PAST-be[^]saved[^]IA[^]1PL we
 'Because compassion freely comes (from) God's heart, we have been saved.'

(75) CAUSE

Qui¹^cun³ñi¹hi³ aih³² ma³chéi³ bñh¹ jná¹³,
 because drink[^]TI[^]PRES[^]1SG rum AFF I

EFFECT

jáum² tiá² zia³² hán².
 so not exist[^]SII[^]3 shirt[^]1SG
 'Because I drink rum, I don't have a shirt/any clothes.'

(76) CAUSE

Cun³ñi¹hi³hliá² hliám³ sí² má² ca³- ma³- tin¹³
 because many[^]IN book PRF PAST-CAUS-be[^]able[^]TI[^]2

EFFECT

bñh¹ hñiu³², hi³^jáum² má² ca³- ngáu² nú²
 AFF you[^]SG so PRF PAST-be[^]crazy[^]IA[^]2 you[^]SG.
 'It is because you have learned/studied many books that you have now become crazy.'

9.6 Conditional Constructions

Reality conditionals, unreality conditionals and concessive conditionals are discussed in this section.

Thompson and Longacre (1985:190ff) distinguish between 'reality conditionals' and 'unreality conditionals'. Reality conditionals include present, habitual/generic, and past conditionals. Unreality conditionals include imaginative (with two sub-divisions: hypothetical and counterfactual) and predictive. The protasis of all reality conditionals and the unreality predictive conditional are introduced by the subordinator *ní¹juáh³* 'if';^{<2>} the protasis of imaginative conditionals, on the other hand, are introduced by the subordinators *sá¹* or *sá¹jmí¹* 'if, if only'. Concessive conditionals are introduced by the subordinator *uá¹cun³* 'even if'.

9.6.1 Reality Conditionals and Predictive Conditionals

Examples of reality conditionals (present, habitual/generic, and past), and of predictive conditionals in turn are:

- (77) *Ní¹juáh³ lán²³ nú² la³ ní², jáun²*
 if think^{TI}^{PRES}² you^{SG} idea that then
lán³ nú² jan² tsá² cáun¹ bíh¹.
 be^{IA}^{PRES}² you^{SG} one^{AN} person stupid AFF
 'If you think that, then you are a stupid person.'
- (78) *Ní¹juáh³ má²ton³ tsú² mí²ní³ cuú²,*
 if feed^{DA}^{PRES}³ 3 pig maize
lǐ² húnh¹ jáh³ tia³juí³².
 be^{able}^{II}^{PRES} be^{fat}^{SIA}³ animal rapidly
 'If one feeds a pig maize, the animal is able to fatten rapidly.'
- (79) *Ní¹juáh³ má² lǐ²-quiúh³² tsú² hmá² táu², jáun²*
 if PRF HOD-chop^{down}^{TI}³ 3 tree banana then
lán³ tsú² jan² tsá² tiá² neh³ bíh¹.
 be^{IA}^{PRES}³ 3 one^{AN} person not be^{obedient}^{SIA}³ AFF
 'If s/he just chopped down that banana palm, then s/he is a disobedient person.'
- (80) *Ní¹juáh³ ca³- jáun³ cuá¹náí²,*
 if PAST-be^{caught}^{IA}³ deer
jáun² cùh¹³ dí² ngú³.
 then eat^{TI}^{FUT}^{1PL} we^{INCL} meat
 'If a deer gets caught (in our trap), we'll eat meat.'

The subordinator *ní¹juáh³* 'if' is most likely a compound of the adverb *ní¹* 'when (future)' and the verb 'say' inflected for the third-person future: *juáh³* 'he/she/they will say'.

Ní¹juáh³ is followed by a complement clause; however, the complementiser *hi³* is usually omitted, as in (80). An example with the complementiser present is:

- (81) *Lǐ²³ hua¹ mí³ cuú² ní¹juáh³ hi³*
 become^{II}^{PRES} be^{soft}^{II} spherical maize if COMP
chó²³ tsú² jmáí².
 soak^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 water
 'Maize becomes soft if one soaks (it) in water.'

The apodosis may precede or follow the protasis. When the apodosis follows the protasis, it is generally marked by *jáun²* 'then', or rarely by *hi³* *jáun²* 'then' (see (85)); however, when the apodosis precedes the protasis, the apodosis is always unmarked. Examples of both orders respectively are:

For example:

(87) *Uí³ lán³² máh³ la³ cuóm² mí²ñí³*
difficult very EXCL EVID grow^IA^PRES^3 pig

ní¹juáh³ tiá² cueh³² tsú² hliám³ cuú².
if not give^DI^PRES^3 3 much^IN maize
'Evidently a pig grows/fattens with great difficulty if it is not given much maize.'

9.6.2 Imaginative Conditionals

Imaginative conditionals include both hypothetical (what might be) and counterfactual (what might have been) conditionals. Generally, the protasis of both hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals is introduced by the subordinator *sá¹jmí¹* 'if, if only'. A complement clause, usually introduced by the complementiser *hi³*, follows the subordinator. Examples of hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals respectively are:

(88) PROTASIS
Sá¹jmí¹ hi³ lí³ hmuh²¹ cá²fe²¹ dúh¹,
if^only COMP become^II^FUT be^expensive^SII coffee INDB

APODOSIS
jáun² jmí¹ lan²¹ jná¹³ jan² lo¹.
then TRM buy^TA^FUT^1SG I one^AN mule
'If only coffee would become valuable/expensive, I would buy a mule.'
(the speaker is a coffee grower)

(89) PROTASIS
Sá¹jmí¹ hi³ ca³- zfh¹³ dí² hñú¹³ ñí¹ ní²,
if COMP PAST-stand^TI^3 we^INCL house^1PL place that

APODOSIS
jáun² jmí¹ má² ja³- záin³ bíh¹.
then TRM PRF PASS^PAST-slip^II AFF
'If we had stood our house there, it would have slipped (down the hill).'

The subordinator *sá¹jmí¹* 'if, if only' is most likely a compound of *sa³* 'perhaps' and the terminative adverb *jmí¹*, which is used (among other things) to mark unfulfilled potential (§5.1.4).

The protasis is optionally closed by the indubitative (INDB) illocutionary particle *dúh¹*; compare (88) and (89) above. In the protasis of an imaginative conditional, the meaning of *dúh¹* is 'it's obvious that the opposite is true' (see §11.2.3).

When the apodosis of imaginative conditionals follows the protasis, it is

usually introduced by *jáun²* 'then' as in (89) (in contrast to reality and predictive conditional clauses discussed in §9.6.1), or, less commonly, by *hi³* *jáun²* 'then' as in (90):

- (90) PROTASIS
Sá¹jmí¹ hi³ lín³ jná¹³ tí³², hi³jáun²
 if COMP be^{IA}¹PRES¹1SG I teacher, then

tiá² ño¹ ha³ jinh¹ jmí¹ cuo¹.
 not know^{SIA}¹1SG just where TRM live^{SIA}¹1SG
 'If I were a teacher, I don't know where I would be living.'

Occasionally, when the apodosis follows the protasis, the apodosis lacks any introducer. For example:

- (91) PROTASIS
Sá¹jmí¹ hi³ tí²¹ juí³² dúh¹, jmí¹
 if COMP reach^{TI}^{FUT}1SG I road INDB, TRM

lá¹³ jná¹³ cáun² carro.
 buy^{TI}^{FUT}¹1SG I one^{IN} truck
 'If the road were complete (lit. 'reach'), I would buy a truck.'

Although the protasis of imaginative conditionals is generally introduced by *sá¹jmí¹* 'if, if only', there are a few examples in my corpus of *sá¹*. *Sá¹jmí¹* can be readily substituted for *sá¹* in any of its occurrences, but not necessarily the other way around. I have not been able to establish any difference in meaning between the two forms when either is grammatical, or why the grammaticality of *sá¹* is sometimes equivocal. An example of the protasis introduced by *sá¹* is:

- (92) PROTASIS
Sá¹ hi³ ca³-ma³tí³² tsú² héih³² quíoh²¹ jméi²,
 if COMP PAST-fulfil^{TI}³3 order have^{STI}³ father

APODOSIS
jáun² tiá² jmí¹ hun¹ yáh³ tsú² hñu³mí¹ñí².
 then not TRM be^{contained}^{IA}³ ASSR 3 jail
 'If s/he had obeyed her/his father, s/he wouldn't be in jail.'

The apodosis rarely precedes the protasis; when it does, it lacks an introducer. Examples with *sá¹jmí¹* and *sá¹* respectively in the protasis are:

- (93) APODOSIS
Tiá² jmu² yáh³ tsú² la³ cun³ hi³ jmí¹
 not do^{TI}^{PRES}³ ASSR 3 about only COMP TRM

PROTASIS
hniáuh²¹ jmu³ sá¹jmí¹ hi³ tín² tsú².
 be^{necessary}^{SII} do^{TI}^{FUT}³ if COMP be^{capable}^{STI}³ 3

'S/he does not do what s/he ought to do if (it were true that) s/he is capable.'

(94) APODOSIS

Tsá² jmi¹ má² hiú¹ má² tsau¹³ bñh¹ jñioh¹
 people TRM PRF PREV^{FUT} PRF die^{IA} FUT^{1PL} AFF we

PROTASIS

sá¹ hi³ tiá² cuan³ hnú².
 if COMP not arrive^{non} home^{IA} PAST^{2SG} you^{SG}
 'We would all now be dying if you had not arrived.'

Although the complementiser *hi³* is optional following *sá¹jmi¹* and *sá¹* 'if', it is rarely omitted. An example without *hi³* is:

(95) Sá¹jmi¹ ca³la³ ján³² tsú² ca³-tsan³ dúh¹,
 if even^{to} all^{AN} 3 PAST-die^{IA} 3PL INDB

tiá² jmi¹ né¹ di² jú¹tson².
 not TRM know^{STI} 1PL we^{INCL} truth
 'If everyone had died, which they didn't, we wouldn't know the truth.'

9.6.3 Concessive Conditionals

Thompson and Longacre (1985:197) define a concessive conditional declarative sentence as 'like an ordinary conditional sentence in that it may be talking about some "unreal" event, either predictive or hypothetical, but it is like a concessive sentence . . . in that its main clause is asserted *in spite of* assumptions to the contrary.' A Chinantec concessive conditional clause is introduced by the subordinator *uá¹cun³* 'even if'. Usually the concessive conditional clause follows the main clause. For example:

(96) ñí¹- jái³² jná¹³ tsa³háu², uá¹cun³ chau² jmi³.
 ANDT^{FUT}-slash^{TI} 1SG I tomorrow, even^{if} fall^{II} PRES rain
 'I will go slash (a field) tomorrow, even if it rains.' (Swidden agriculture)

(97) Hniáuh³² ren³ tsú² hmih³² uá¹cun³ tiá² ñí¹-ren³.
 be^{necessary} SII wash^{TI} FUT³ 3 clothes even^{if} not INT-wash^{TI} 3
 'S/he must wash the clothes even if s/he doesn't want to.'

However, the concessive clause can occur first; for example:

(98) Uá¹cun³ jmi¹ ca³-lau² tsú² tiú³ quion²¹
 even^{if} TRM PAST-buy^{used} TI³ 3 rifle have^{STI} 1SG

jná¹³, tiá² jmi¹ ca³-jáun³ yáh³ tsú² hiah³² hí³.
 I not TRM PAST-catch^{TA} 3 ASSR 3 puma that^{AN}
 'Even if he had bought my rifle, he wouldn't have caught that puma.'

9.7 Concessive Clauses

According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:198), a concessive clause is one 'which makes a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted.' They identify two types of concessive clauses, definite and indefinite. Chinantec has distinct subordinators to introduce each type of concessive.

9.7.1 Definite Concessive Clauses

In a definite concessive sentence, there is an expectation that, if the proposition in the concessive clause is true, then the assertion in the main clause would not be true (see Thompson and Longacre 1985:198).

Chinantec has three subordinators to introduce definite concessive clauses: *uá¹* 'although', *uá¹jinh¹* 'even though', and *uá¹ jáun² la³ jáun²* 'in spite of the fact that'. All three subordinators are followed by a complement clause. The complementiser *hi³* is obligatory following *uá¹* 'although', but is usually omitted following the other two concessive subordinators.

The main clause is usually introduced by *cun³jáun²* 'nonetheless'.

The most common of the three concessive subordinators is *uá¹jinh¹* 'even though'. *Uá¹jinh¹* is most likely a combination of the concessive *uá¹* 'although' and the interrogative *jinh¹* 'where?' (§10.3.3.1). For example:

(99) *Cun³jáun² ca³- jmú¹³ bñh¹ jnoh¹ hi³ráu³*
 nonetheless PAST-make^TI^1PL AFF we crude^sugar

uá¹jinh¹ ta³ chau² jmí³.
 even^though while fall^II^PRES rain
 'Nonetheless we made crude sugar, even though it was raining.'

The order of the main and subordinate clauses appears to be free. In (99) above, the main clause precedes the concessive clause; an example where the concessive clause precedes the main clause is:

(100) *Uá¹jinh¹ lóh³² tsú², cun³jáun² tiá²*
 even^though bathe^IA^PRES^3 3 nonetheless not

lí³ cuóunh³ yáh³ tsú².
 become^II^FUT be^cold^SIA^3 ASSR 3
 'Although one bathes, nonetheless one doesn't become cool/cold.' (i.e. during the hot, humid season, March to June)

As mentioned above, the main clause of a concessive sentence is usually introduced by *cum³jáun²* 'nonetheless'. An example where *cum³jáun²* does not occur is:

- (101) *la³ cum³² hio³ cá²fe²¹ uá¹jinh¹ tiá²*
 EVID pick^{TI}^{PRES}³ old^{lady} coffee even^{though} not
ré² má² juu².
 well PRF be^{ripe}^{II}^{PRES}
 'Apparently the old lady picks coffee even though it's not fully ripe.'

An example in which the complementiser *hi³* occurs is:

- (102) *Cum³jáun² tiá² neh³ yáh³ tsú² uá¹jinh¹*
 nonetheless not be^{obedient}^{SIA}³ ASSR 3 even^{though}
hi³ hlí² liéih³² tsáu².
 COMP PREV^{PRES} speak^{to}^{TA}³¹³ people
 'He is not obedient even though people admonish him.'

An example of a concessive clause introduced by the subordinator *uá¹* 'although' is:

- (103) *Uá¹ hi³ jmáá¹ nio² tie³,*
 although COMP day be^{present}^{SII}^{PL} tranquillity
cum³jáun² juu² bñh¹ tsú² ta²¹.
 nonetheless do^{TI}^{PRES}³ AFF 3 work
 'Although it is a day of rest, s/he still works.'

The complex introducer *uá¹ jáun² la³ jáun²* 'in spite of the fact that' is infrequent in my data. Most likely it is composed of the concessive *uá¹* 'although', the anaphoric deictic *jáun²* 'that' (IN), the contingent noun *la³* 'idea' (§6.1.1.4) and once again the anaphoric deictic *jáun²*. Its use is illustrated by:

- (104) *Cum³jáun² zia³² hi³ cùh²³ dí²*
 nonetheless exist^{SII} thing eat^{TI}^{PRES}^{1PL} we^{INCL}
uá¹ jáun² la³ jáun² zian³² jméi² dí².
 whether that^{IN} idea that^{IN} be^{absent}^{SIA}³ father^{1PL} we^{INCL}
 'In spite of the fact that our father is absent, nonetheless we have food to eat.'

9.7.2 Indefinite Concessive Clauses

Indefinite concessive clauses 'contain some unspecified element, typically an indefinite pronoun or question word' (Thompson and Longacre 1985:198).

Chinantec indefinite concessive clauses are introduced by *uá¹ hin² mi³*

'whoever', *uá¹ hín² mí³* 'whichever', *uá¹ hín² mí³ he³* 'whatever', *uá¹ hín² mí³ jinh¹* 'wherever', and *uá¹ lánh³ mí³* 'however'. In these subordinators, the question words *hín²* 'which?' (AN), *hín²* 'which?' (IN), *he³* 'what?', *jinh¹* 'where?', and *lánh³* 'how?' occur respectively; see §10.3.3. The verb in the subordinate clause is usually inflected for the past tense, although it may be inflected for the present as in (109); generally, the implication is that the event described in the subordinate clause has occurred before, and is likely to occur again, although there need not be a previous occurrence. The main clause is optionally introduced by *cun³jám²* 'nonetheless'. Examples of each subordinator in turn are:

- (105) *Uá¹ hín² mí³ tsánh² ca³- ma³,*
 although which^AN? ever person PAST-ask^for^TA^3>1SG

cun³jám² tiá² hei²¹ yáh³ jná¹³.
 nevertheless not accept^TI^FUT^1SG ASSR I
 'Whoever asks for me (proposes), nevertheless I will not accept.'

The form *tsánh²* 'person', found in (105), can occur only following the question word *hín²* 'which?' (AN); see §10.3.1.1.

- (106) *Uo¹ jná¹³ uá¹ hín² mí³ jná¹¹*
 cry^IA^FUT^1SG I although which^IN? ever day

ca³- po³ tsú².
 PAST-hit^TA^3>1SG 3
 'I will cry whenever s/he hits me.'

- (107) *Tiá² juénh¹³ yáh³ jná¹³ uá¹ hín²*
 not be^afraid^IA^FUT^1SG ASSR I although which^IN?

mí³ he³ ca³- lí³.
 ever what? PAST-happen^II
 'I will not be afraid whatever happens.'

- (108) *ŋi³-hein²¹ tsú² hú¹chí¹ uá¹ hín² mí³ jinh¹*
 AMB-wear^TI^3 3 hat although which^IN? ever where?

ca³- chó³².
 PAST-arrive^non^home^IA^3SG
 'He walks around wearing a hat wherever he goes.'

- (109) *Tsá² ó³² cu³ti³ tiá² neh³ uá¹*
 person yonder truly not be^obedient^SIA^3 although

lánh³ mí³ líéh³² tsáu².
 how? ever talk^to^TA^PRES^3¹>3 people
 'That person over there is not obedient/attentive regardless of how people talk to him.'

In addition to the above indefinite concessive subordinators, the subordinator *uá¹* 'although', illustrated in §9.7.1, can be used in an indefinite concessive expression involving two subordinate clauses in alternation: *uá¹ . . . uá¹* 'whether . . . or' (lit. 'although . . . although'). The subordinate clauses in alternation must both be inflected for the same tense. For example:

- (110) *Uá¹ hi³ tsó³² uá¹ hi³ tiá²*
 whether COMP go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{3SG} whether COMP not

tsó³² tsú², cun³jáun²
 go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{3SG} 3 nonetheless

ñe¹ bíh¹ jná¹³ cuáh³².
 go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{1SG} AFF I church
 'Whether s/he goes or whether s/he doesn't go, nonetheless I'm going to church.'

- (111) *Uá¹ hi³ ca³- jmo³ tsú² sun¹ uá¹ hi³ tiá²*
 although COMP PAST-repair^{TI}³ 3 radio although COMP not

ca³- jmo³, cun³jáun² lá¹³ jná¹³
 PAST-repair^{TI}³ nevertheless buy^{TI}FUT^{1SG} I

cáun² hi³ hmaí²¹.
 one^{IN} thing new
 'Whether s/he repaired the radio or not (repaired it), nevertheless I will buy a new one.'

9.8 Substitutive Clauses

When an unexpected event replaces an expected one, the clause expressing the expected event is introduced by the subordinator *cha³* 'rather than'. The verb in the subordinate clause must be inflected for the future and obligatorily occurs with the terminative (TRM) *jmí¹* (§5.1.4). Examples in which the matrix clause is inflected for the future and past tenses respectively are:

- (112) *lan²¹ jná¹³ jan² lo¹ cha³ jmí¹*
 buy^{TA}FUT^{1SG} I one^{AN} mule rather^{than} TRM

lan²¹ jan² tsa³cuá¹.
 buy^{TA}FUT^{1SG} one^{AN} horse
 'I will buy a mule rather than buying a horse.'

- (113) *Ca³- ján³ jná¹³ já¹jáun² piéh¹ cha³*
 PAST-sow^{TI}¹SG I cabbage globe rather^{than}

jmí¹ ján¹³ sie¹.
 TRM sow^{TI}FUT^{1SG} manioc
 'I sowed/planted head cabbage rather than planting manioc.'

The main clause may come first as in (113), or the subordinate clause:

- (114) *Cha³ jmí¹ chan²¹ jná¹³ tú²,*
 rather[^]than TRM raise[^]TA[^]FUT[^]PL[^]1SG I turkey
chan²¹ jná¹³ cá¹háu².
 raise[^]TA[^]FUT[^]PL[^]1SG I chicken
 'Rather than raising turkeys, I will raise chickens.'

9.9 Comparative Constructions

9.9.1 Comparison of Equality

When two factual propositions are compared, the standard of comparison is introduced by *la³jmí¹* 'like'. *La³jmí¹* 'like', is most likely composed of the evidential adverb *la³* 'apparently' (§5.1.3) plus the terminative adverb *jmí¹* (§5.1.4). The comparative clause usually precedes the clause of the standard. For example:

- (115) COMPARATIVE
Hí¹míih²¹ hí³ jmu² yeh³ ó³²
 bread COMP make[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 elder yonder
 STANDARD
lí³ la³jmí¹ lí³ quín¹ bíh¹.
 be[^]II[^]PRES like be[^]II[^]PRES rock AFF
 'The bread that the old man over there makes is like rock.'
- (116) COMPARATIVE
há³- hno¹ tsá²mí³cuóum² renh²
 CAUS[^]FUT-want[^]TA[^]2 human relative[^]3
 STANDARD
la³jmí¹ hno³ nú² huén².
 like want[^]STA[^]2 you[^]SG self[^]2
 'Want/love your fellow human as you want/love yourself.'

The comparative construction frequently repeats the verb of the main clause in the subordinate clause, as can be seen in example (115) with the verb *lí³* 'be' and in (116) with the verb *hno³* 'want/love'. However, comparisons can be constructed without such repetition; for example:

- (117) COMPARATIVE
Jáum² tiá² lí¹ hiá¹han¹ hnoh² ní¹ ná¹
 then not NON be[^]surprised[^]IA[^]FUT[^]2 you[^]PL when[^]FUT PRF
 STANDARD
cá²- chó³² jmá¹ jáum² la³jmí¹ tah³² cáum² liá³.
 PAST-arrive[^]II time that[^]IN like fall[^]II[^]PRES[^]SG one[^]IN trap
 'Then you will not be unduly surprised when that day arrives like the falling of a trap.'

Comparisons that involve a stative clause appear to always repeat the state verb or predicating adjective in both clauses, as illustrated respectively in the following examples:

- (118) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
Zian² tsú² la³jmí¹ zian² jan² mǐ²ñí³ bíh¹.
 exist^{SIA} 3 like exist^{SIA} 3 one^{AN} pig AFF
 'S/he lives like a pig.' (i.e. her/his house is a mess)

- (119) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
Pin³ tsú² la³jmí¹ pin³ jan² hiah³² bíh¹.
 be^{strong}^{SIA} 3 like be^{strong}^{SIA} 3 one^{AN} puma AFF
 'S/he is as strong as a puma.'

In a negated comparison, the negative *tiá²* precedes the verb in the comparative clause; the clause of the standard is the same as in a positive comparison. For example:

- (120) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
Tí³² ní² tiá² jmu² la³jmí¹ tí² jmu²
 teacher that not do^{TI}^{PRES} 3 like DISC do^{TI}^{PRES} 3
tí³² Nóh³.
 teacher Arnold
 'That teacher doesn't do/act like the teacher Arnold used to (do/act).'

The standard can optionally precede the comparative clause, although it rarely does; for example:

- (121) STANDARD COMPARATIVE
Tí³la³ la³jmí¹ jniá³ hmá² bíh¹
 but like appear^{II}^{PRES} tree AFF
 COMPARATIVE
jniá³ tsáu² ñí³táunh¹.
 appear^{IA}^{PRES} 3 people walk^{IA}^{PRES} 3PL
 'But the people walking around appear like trees.'

- (122) STANDARD COMPARATIVE
La³jmí¹ jmu² tsáí² bíh¹ jmu² tsú².
 like do^{TI}^{PRES} 3 dog AFF do^{TI}^{PRES} 3 3
 'S/he does/behaves like a dog.' (i.e. is immoral)

When the standard precedes the comparative, the comparative clause may be unmarked as in (121) and (122) above, or it may be introduced by *la³ jáun²* 'in the same manner' (lit. 'about that'). For example:

- (123) STANDARD
La³jmí¹ ca³- hiáu³² tsú² jná¹³ ta²¹,
 like PAST-appoint^{DA} 3 I work

COMPARATIVE

la³ jáun² bñh¹ hiáu³² tsú² siáh³ hnoh².
 about that AFF appoint^{DA^FUT^3>2} 3 also you^{PL}
 'Like he appointed me to hold office, in the same manner he will also appoint you.'

9.9.2 Comparisons of Inequality

In comparisons of inequality, the comparative clause obligatorily precedes the standard clause. The comparative clause is optionally introduced by *tí³* 'at', and the standard clause is introduced by *la³ cónh³* 'more than', *cun³* 'than' or *la³ cun³* 'than'. The affirmation (AFF) illocutionary particle *bñh¹* is obligatory following *la³ cónh³*, but is optional following *cun³* and *la³ cun³*. I have not been able to establish any differences in meaning between the three subordinators, any one of which can be substituted for the other. Ellipsis of the verb occurs in the standard clause. Examples of the three subordinators respectively are:

- (124) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
(Tí³) hliám³ má² lí²-cué³² tsú² la³ cónh³
 at more^{IN} PRF HOD-give^{TI^3} 3 more^{than}
bñh¹ jí³ lín² tsá² hánh³.
 AFF all^{AN} very person rich
 'She has just given more than all the wealthy (have given).'
- (125) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
(Tí³) háun¹ bñh¹ tsú² cun³ jná¹³.
 at be^{quick} SIA³ AFF 3 than I
 'S/he is quicker than I.'
- (126) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
(Tí³) cú¹pih²¹ bñh¹ cuh³² jná¹³ la³ cun³ bñh¹ hnú².
 at small AFF eat^{TI^PRES^1SG} I than AFF you^{SG}
 'I eat less than you.'

La³ of the subordinators *la³ cónh³* and *la³ cun³* is most likely the evidential *la³* 'apparently' (§5.1.3). *Cónh³* is the interrogative quantifier 'how much' (§10.3.2.1). Depending on the context, *cun³* has a variety of meanings such as 'approximately', 'only', 'among' and 'each'; in a comparison construction it is glossed as 'than'.

9.9.3 Comparison of Situations Across Time

When the present situation of the referent of a subject is compared to a past situation of the same entity (the standard), if there has been no change,

the standard is marked in four ways simultaneously: it is introduced by *la*³ 'as', the perfect (PRF) *má*² must occur with the verb (§5.1.2), the anaphoric deictic *jáun*² 'that' (IN) must occur immediately after the verb, and there is ellipsis of the subject in the standard clause. In addition, the verbs of both the comparative and standard clauses are identical and are inflected for the present tense. For example:

- (127) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
*Cáun*² *hle*³² *tsú*² *jú*¹*tí*¹*já*² *la*³ *má*²
 simply speak^{TI}³ PRES³ 3 lie as PRF
*hle*³² *jáun*².
 speak^{TI}³ PRES³ that^{IN}
 'S/he still tells lies as s/he has done before.'
- (128) COMPARATIVE STANDARD
*Júh*²³ *jná*¹³ *la*³ *má*² *júh*²³ *jáun*² *bíh*¹.
 cough^{IA}¹ PRES¹ SG I as PRF cough^{IA}¹ PRES¹ SG that^{IN} AFF
 'I am still coughing as I was (coughing) before.'

This construction also has an abbreviated form which consists of the standard clause alone, but with an overt subject. Compare the following example with (128) above:

- (129) *La*³ *má*² *júh*²³ *jáun*² *bíh*¹ *jná*¹³.
 as PRF cough^{IA}¹ PRES¹ SG that^{IN} AFF I
 'I am coughing as before.'

There does not appear to be any appreciable semantic difference between the longer and shorter constructions.

If the present situation of the referent of a subject differs from a past situation of the same entity (the standard), both the comparative clause and the standard clause are obligatorily marked in separate ways. The verb of the comparative clause is negated by the interruptive (INTRP) adverb *tiú*²*uí*² 'no longer' (§5.1.7.4). The standard clause is introduced by *la*³*jmí*¹ 'like' (§9.9.1), and either the terminative (TRM) adverb *jmí*¹ (§5.1.4) or the discontinuative (DISC) adverb *tí*² (§5.1.1) must precede the verb of the standard clause. The verb that occurs in the main clause of the comparative is repeated in the standard; in both instances the verb is in the present tense (or else both are state verbs). The order of the comparative and standard

clauses cannot be reversed.

Examples with the terminative *jmí¹* and the discontinuative *tí²* respectively are:

(130) COMPARATIVE

Tiú²uú² tín² *jná¹³ quien¹* *tun³²*
INTRP be^able^STI^1SG I play^TI^FUT^1SG guitar

STANDARD

la³jmí¹ jmí¹ tín² *jmí¹tin².*
like TRM be^able^STI^1SG previously
'I am not able to play the guitar like I used to be able to previously.'

(131) COMPARATIVE

Tiú²uú² tsan³² *tsú² la³jmí¹*
INTRP dance^IA^PRES^3 3 like

STANDARD

tí² tsan³² *tsú² hia³jám¹³.*
DISC dance^IA^PRES^3 3 before
'They no longer dance like they danced before.'

9.9.4 Counterfactual Comparison

In a counterfactual comparison, the comparative clause is not marked in any way; the standard clause, however, is introduced by *la³juah²¹ dúh¹* 'as if, like'. *La³juah²¹ dúh¹* is a frozen formulaic expression composed of the evidential adverb *la³* (§5.1.3), the verb *juáh²³* 'say' (but with a tone-stress that is not part of the verb's inflectional paradigm), and the indubitative (INDB) illocutionary particle *dúh¹*.^{<3>} Unlike the comparisons discussed in §9.9.1 where the same verb is frequently utilised in both the comparative and the standard clauses, counterfactual comparisons usually do not repeat the verb.

The verb in the standard clause is usually inflected for the third-person; there are no person restrictions in the comparative clause. The standard clause usually follows the comparative clause.

An example in which the standard is inflected for the third-person and follows the comparative is:

(132) COMPARATIVE

Hñuh³² hnú² lî³ *cú²diú²^cú²ñi²*
house^1SG you^SG be^II^PRES mess

STANDARD

la³juah²¹ dúh¹ hi³ tiá² hin² zian².
as^if INDB COMP not anyone be^present^SIA^3
'Your home is a mess, as if no-one is living there.'

Although it is uncommon, the standard may be inflected for the same person as in the comparative; for example:

(133) COMPARATIVE

Cuá¹- hñei²¹ jná¹³ quionh³ cá²den¹ná¹
 sit^{PROG}-be^{bound}^IA^{1SG} I with chain

STANDARD

la³juah²¹ dúh¹ hi³ ca³- jmú³² jná¹³ tso³.
 like INDB COMP PAST-do^{TI}^1SG I crime
 'I am bound with chains as if I committed a crime (but I am definitely innocent).'

The standard clause can optionally precede the comparative clause; for example:

(134) STANDARD

La³juah²¹ dúh¹ jan² tsá² ñi³² lán³² bíh¹
 as^{if} INDB one^{AN} person know^{STI}^3 very AFF

COMPARATIVE

ca³- hléh³ tsú².
 PAST-talk^{TI}^3 3
 'S/he talked as if s/he is a person who knows everything.' (but s/he doesn't know much at all)

(135) STANDARD

La³juah²¹ dúh¹ jan² tsá² má² ñi¹-jún³ bíh¹
 as^{if} INDB one^{AN} person PRF INT-die^{IA}^3 AFF

COMPARISON

hón²³ tsú².
 groan^{IA}^PRES^3 3
 'S/he is groaning as if s/he is about to die.' (but s/he is hardly sick)

9.10 Coordination of Clauses

In this section, the following coordinators are discussed: the conjunctives *jí³* 'and' and *hi³* 'and', the adversative *tí³la³* 'but', and the disjunctives *ho³* 'or' and *ho³lá²dá²* 'or else'.

9.10.1 The Conjunctives *jí³* and *hi³*

If two situations are described where the second is to some degree independent of the first, then either *jí³* 'and' or *hi³* 'and' is grammatical; however, the conjunctive *hi³* is more common. For example:

(136) *Jíh²³ jná¹³, hi³/jí³ jní³² siáh³ lén².*
 cough^{IA}^PRES^1SG I and be^{closed}^II^PRES also throat^{1SG}
 'I cough, and also my throat is tight/closed.'

In constructions where either coordinator is grammatical, frequently

both are found together, but only in the order *ji³ hi³* 'and'. For example:

- (137) *Niéi² náh² la³ ján³², ji³hi³ cuí¹*
listen^{TI}IMP you^{PL} about all^{AN} and HORT

ngí¹³ náh² siáh³.
understand^{TI}FUT² you^{PL} also
'Listen, all of you, and may you also understand.'

When two clauses are in coordination, the adverb *siáh³* 'also' usually appears in the final clause as in (136) and (137); however, it is not obligatory.

For example:

- (138) *ñí¹-cuóunh²¹ ñú²mih¹ ji³hi³ ñí¹-cuóun²¹.*
INT-be^{hungry}IA³ boy and INT-be^{sleepy}IA³
'The boy is hungry and sleepy.' (lit. 'The boy wants to eat and wants to sleep.')

Although *ji³* 'and' and *hi³* 'and' are generally interchangeable, as illustrated above, there are some constructions in which only one or the other is grammatical.

If two situations are concurrent, only the coordinator *ji³* can be used.

For example:

- (139) *Cáun² ta²¹ hí¹-liúmh¹ ji³*
one^{IN} work MOT-be^{annoying}IA³ and

tí³ hóh³² tsá¹mih¹ ní².
PREV^{PRES} shout^{IA}PRES³ children that
'Those children only walk around being annoying and constantly shouting.'

When two situations are in temporal sequence, only the coordinator *hi³* is grammatical. For example:

- (140) *Ca³- uú³ jná¹³ hmá² hi³ ca³- cún³*
PAST-climb^{TI}1SG I tree and PAST-pick^{TI}1SG

tun³ máí³ mí³ má¹.
two sphere spherical mango
'I climbed the tree and picked two mangoes.'

- (141) *Ñéi¹ jná¹³ ñí¹ta²¹, hi³*
go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{1SG} I town^{hall} and

ca³- ñí¹- lenh¹ jná¹³ pí²déin¹.
PAST-ANDT-speak^{to}TA^{1SG} I president
'I went to the town hall and spoke to the president.'

Both *hi³* and *ji³* can also be used to express coordination between other parts of speech, such as noun phrases (§6.8).

9.10.2 The Adversative *ti³la³*

The adversative coordinator *ti³la³* 'but' marks a following clause as being semantically opposite to the preceding clause in some respect. For example:

- (142) *Zia³² hñú³, ti³la³ quie³ bih¹ tiá² zia³².*
 exist^{^SII} house but money AFF not exist^{^SII}
 'There is a house (available), but there is no money.'
- (143) *Quia³ héih³² can²³ tsú² hñú³ lá², ti³la³*
 ten measure take^{^TI^PRES^3} 3 house this, but
quián¹³ hñú² cán¹³ jná¹³ hñá³ bih¹.
 have^{^STI^2} you^{^SG} take^{^TI^FUT^1SG} I five AFF
 'They charge ten pesos here, but for you I will charge five.'

When *ti³la³* 'but' occurs sentence initial, the material to which it relates as an adversative may be a larger section of discourse than just the preceding sentence, or it may relate to some implicit information such as in the following example:

- (144) *Ti³la³ diá² hi³ jáun² len³ jná¹³ hi³*
 but not thing that^{^IN} think^{^TI^PRES^1SG} I COMP
ngau³ tsá²mi³ hi³ quionh³
 go^{^non^home^IA^PAST^3SG} woman that^{^AN} accompany^{^SIA^3}
tsá² siánh³.
 person other^{^AN}
 'But I was not concerned that she went with another man.' (i.e. she married the other man)

In the above example, the speaker assumes that his audience will expect him to be concerned about his situation, so uses the adversative to express his feelings as being the opposite to the expected.

9.10.3 The Disjunctives *ho³* and *ho³lá²dá²*

Propositions encoded in two clauses are expressed as alternatives by either the disjunctive *ho³* 'or' or *ho³lá²dá²* 'or else'. Examples of the use of each respectively are:

- (145) *Há¹³hmah²¹ dí² ho³ tiá² má¹hmah²¹?*
 ?^{^pay^TI^FUT^1PL} we^{^INCL} or not pay^{^TI^FUT^1PL}
 'Shall we pay or not?' <4>
- (146) *Li²-juáh³ ti³³² mī³ hi³ cué³² ca³lá²*
 HOD-say^{^TI^3} master medicine COMP give^{^DI^FUT^3>1} some

mí³, ho³lá²dá² ze³ tsú² tí³ hí¹cuáñh².
 medicine or^else send^TA^FUT^3>1 3 to Oaxaca
 'The doctor just said that he will give me some medicine, or else he will send me to Oaxaca.'

The disjunctive *ho³lá²dá²* is most likely a compound of *ho³* 'or', the deictic *lá²* 'this' (§6.4.1) and the illocutionary particle *dá²* (verification) (§11.2.2). *Ho³lá²dá²* functions as a unit phonologically, and its deictic and illocutionary particle components cannot be interchanged with other members of their respective classes.

Besides connecting two clauses, *ho³* 'or' (but not *ho³lá²dá²*) can also be used in conjunction with *sa³* 'perhaps' to introduce hypothetical situations. For example:

(147) *Tiá² né¹ jnoh¹ ho³ sa³ tun³ hní³²*
 not know^STI^1PL we or perhaps two^IN three^IN

mí² bíh¹ ziaun².
 year AFF exist^SIA^1PL
 'We don't know if perhaps we will live two, three years.' (i.e. have another two or three more years to live)

(148) *Tiá² né¹ jnoh¹ ho³ sa³ má² tíáunh¹*
 not know^STI^1PL we or perhaps PRF live^SIA^3PL

jáh³ cá¹³ tí³ ñeh² jó¹ hmá² lá².
 animal borer at inside long^flat wood this
 'We don't know if perhaps borers are living inside these boards.'

Both *ho³* and *ho³lá²dá²* can also be used with other parts of speech, such as noun phrases (§6.8), to express alternatives.

NOTES

1. The word *hiah³²* refers to any large member of the family *felidae*; the Chinantecs generally translate *hiah³²* into Spanish by the word *tigre*, which, in Latin America, usually refers to the jaguar. The puma and ocelot, however, are the most common large cats in the area around Sochiapan.
2. Thompson and Longacre (1985:193) note that there are languages which, like Chinantec, group predictive conditionals together with reality conditionals.

3. There are a few examples in oral texts in which *dúh*¹ does not occur; however, my language assistants regard these utterances as deficient or awkward. Consequently, I have not treated *dúh*¹ as optional in my discussion of *la²juah²1 dúh¹* 'as if, like'.

4. The symbol ⁺ on *má*¹ in (145) represents a higher than normal high tone (§10.1); and the symbol ? preceding the literal gloss of *má¹h²ah²1* represents the presence of question intonation.

CHAPTER 10

QUESTIONS

10.0 Introduction

The types of question formation discussed in this chapter include: yes/no questions, confirmation questions, information questions, indirect questions, and rhetorical questions.

10.1 Yes/No Questions

Yes/no questions are formed either by prefacing a declarative sentence with the query word *hí*, or by imposing interrogative intonation on the first syllable of the declarative sentence; the first syllable may be non-final (that is, it may be a prefix or the first syllable of a polysyllabic word) or it may be final (that is, a monosyllabic word); see §2.5.

Interrogative intonation affects the normal pitch (but not the stress; see §2.5.1) of the first syllable in the following manner:

(i) The mid-falling tone /²³/ becomes high-falling tone /¹³/, and the high-falling tone /¹³/ becomes a very high-falling tone /¹³⁺/ (for /⁺/, see below).

(ii) The low-rising tone /³²/ becomes mid-rising tone /²¹/. The mid-rising tone /²¹/ with controlled stress becomes a high-rising tone /²¹⁺/; however, /²¹/ with ballistic stress never occurs on the first syllable of a non-interrogative utterance; see §2.5.2.1 and §2.5.2.2.

(iii) In a monosyllabic word with a closed syllable (that is, with glottal stop in the coda), both the low level tone /³/ and the mid level tone /²/ associated with controlled stress become high-falling tone /¹³/.

(iv) In a monosyllabic word with an open syllable, both the low level tone /³/ associated with controlled stress and the low-falling tone /³/ associ-

ated with ballistic stress become a high-falling tone /¹³/.

(v) All other level tones /³/ and /²/ become high level /¹/, and high level /¹/ becomes a very high level tone.

The effects of interrogative intonation on the first syllable are tabulated in Table 10.1. The symbol + following a tone indicates that the high tone /¹/ (or high tone component of a tone glide) is actually higher than /¹/ . An h following a tone indicates a closed syllable (that is, glottal stop occurs in the syllable coda); the letters b and c preceding the tone indicate ballistic and controlled stress respectively.

Table 10.1 Tone Perturbation as a Result of Interrogative Intonation

Non-final syllables	Final Syllables (monosyllabic words)					
1 → 1 ⁺	c1 → c1 ⁺	c1h → c1 ⁺ h	b1 → b1 ⁺	b1h → b1 ⁺ h		
2 → 1	c2 → c1	c2h → c13h	b2 → b1	b2h → b1h		
3 → 1	c3 → c13	c3h → c13h	b3 → b13	b3h → b1h		
	c13 → c13 ⁺	c13h → c13 ⁺ h	b13 → b13 ⁺	b13h → b13 ⁺ h		
	c23 → c13	c23h → c13h	b23 → b13	b23h → b13h		
	c32 → c21	c32h → c21h	b32 → b21	b32h → b21h		
	c21 → c21 ⁺	c21h → c21 ⁺ h	b21 → *	b21h → *		

* See point (ii) above.

In the following examples, the tone of the first syllable of an interrogative sentence is written according to the rules given above. Since there is no symbol for the very high tone of question intonation, the tones /¹/, /¹³/, and /²¹/ are followed by the symbol + to indicate that the high tone, high-falling tone, or mid-rising tone is higher than normal; for example, *quiu*¹³ 's/he will put' (TI) becomes *quiu*¹³⁺ 'will s/he put?'.^{<1>} Question intonation is indicated in the literal gloss by a '?' immediately preceding the gloss of the first morpheme (which may consist of one or more syllables). For example:

(1) *Tsá¹háu² máh³ tsánh³² tsú²?*
 ?^tomorrow EXCL go^home^IA^FUT^3SG 3
 'Is it really tomorrow that s/he goes home?'

(2) *Cá¹⁻ ju¹³ Tu²¹?*
 ?^PAST-whistle^IA^3 Anthony
 'Did Tony whistle?'^{<2>}

In (1), only the first syllable of *tsa³háu²* 'tomorrow' receives question intonation; in (2) only the remote past prefix *ca³-* receives question intonation.

Any declarative sentence can be made into a yes/no question by prefacing that sentence with *hi¹* (QUERY), or by imposing question intonation on the first syllable.

Sets of declarative and interrogative sentences are given below. Interrogative sentences with the interrogative query word *hi¹* and interrogative intonation are illustrated respectively following the declarative sentence.

If the declarative sentence begins with a verb phrase (this being the unmarked order; see §8.1.1), no change in the order of sentence constituents is required for the interrogative. For example:

- (3) (a) *Jáuh³ tsú² tsa³háu².*
 come^{home} IA^{FUT} 3SG 3 tomorrow
 'S/he will come home tomorrow.'
- (b) *Hi¹ jáuh³ tsú² tsa³háu²?*
 QUERY come^{home} IA^{FUT} 3SG 3 tomorrow
 'Will s/he come home tomorrow?'
- (c) *Jáuh¹ tsú² tsa³háu²?*
 ?^{come} home IA^{FUT} 3SG 3 tomorrow
 'Will s/he come home tomorrow?'
- (4) (a) *Má² dí¹- quiáh² tsú² cuo¹.*
 PRF upright^{PROG-split} TI³ 3 firewood
 'S/he is splitting firewood now.'
- (b) *Hi¹ má² dí¹- quiáh² tsú² cuo¹?*
 QUERY PRF upright^{PROG-split} TI³ 3 firewood
 'Is s/he splitting firewood yet?'
- (c) *Má¹ dí¹- quiáh² tsú² cuo¹?*
 ?^{PRF} upright^{PROG-split} TI³ 3 firewood
 'Is s/he splitting firewood yet?'

There does not appear to be any difference in meaning between (3b) and (3c), nor between (4b) and (4c).

If the constituent being questioned is other than the verb phrase, it must occur prior to the verb in the focus position (§12.2), and either of the two yes/no question strategies discussed above can be used.

An example of a yes/no question formed on the subject is:

- (5)(a) *Hnoh² bɪh¹ jaɪh²¹ juɪ³² né³².*
 you^{PL} AFF cut^{TI} FUT² trail today
 'You will be cutting/cleaning the trail today.'
- (b) *Hí¹ hnoh² jaɪh²¹ juɪ³² né³²?*
 QUERY you^{PL} cut^{TI} FUT² trail today
 'Will you be cutting/cleaning the trail today?'
- (c) *Hnoh¹³ jaɪh²¹ juɪ³² né³²?*
 ?you^{PL} cut^{TI} FUT² trail today
 'Will you be cutting/cleaning the trail today?'

An example of a yes/no question formed on the object is:

- (6)(a) *Juan² bɪh¹ ca³⁻ liéinh³² tsú² hú¹ juɪ³².*
 John AFF PAST-speak^{to} TA³ 3 on trail
 'It was John s/he spoke to on the trail.'
- (b) *Hí¹ Juan² ca³⁻ liéinh³² tsú² hú¹ juɪ³²?*
 QUERY John PAST-speak^{to} TA³ 3 on trail
 'Was it John s/he spoke to on the trail?'
- (c) *Juan¹ ca³⁻ liéinh³² tsú² hú¹ juɪ³²?*
 ?John PAST-speak^{to} TA³ 3 on trail
 'Was it John s/he spoke to on the trail?'

An example of a yes/no question formed on an oblique object is:

- (7)(a) *Tsɪ³ hmá² bɪh¹ ca³⁻ tánh³ nũ² mɪh¹.*
 in tree AFF PAST-fall^{IA} 3SG boy
 'The boy fell out of the tree.' (lit. 'In the tree the boy fell.')
- (b) *Hí¹ tsɪ³ hmá² ca³⁻ tánh³ nũ² mɪh¹?*
 QUERY in tree PAST-fall^{IA} 3SG boy
 'Was it out of the tree that the boy fell?'
- (c) *Tsɪ¹ hmá² ca³⁻ tánh³ nũ² mɪh¹?*
 ?in tree PAST-fall^{IA} 3SG boy
 'Was it out of the tree that the boy fell?'

Of 60 yes/no questions which occur in text material (including folklore stories, biography, autobiography, and procedural text), there are nine instances of the query word *hí¹* and 51 instances of interrogative intonation. Of the nine interrogative sentences which use *hí¹*, five begin with a verb phrase element such as an adverb (§5), or the verb (both prefixed and unprefixed), and four begin with a non-verb phrase element. Fifty of the yes/no questions which use interrogative intonation are sentences that begin with a verb phrase element; there is only one instance of interrogative intonation in a sentence that begins with a non-verb phrase element. Nonetheless, elicited yes/no questions that begin with a non-verb phrase element and use interro-

ative intonation are grammatical.

10.2 Tag Questions

A tag question is a confirmation question which occurs at the end of an otherwise declarative sentence. The tag question is comprised of the negative adverb *tiá²* with its mid tone perturbed by interrogative intonation to a high tone, and followed by the adjective *tson²* 'true'. Whether the declarative sentence with the tag question is positive or negative, the speaker is expecting confirmation of her/his proposition.

When the expression *tiá¹ tson²?* 'didn't s/he?, isn't that true?' (lit. 'not true?') occurs following a positive declarative sentence, the expected response from the addressee is *ján³* 'yes'. In the following examples, the part in parentheses is optional:

- (8)(a) *Cháu³ cuan³ mí²tsáu², tiá¹ tson²?*
 yesterday arrive^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} priest ?^{not} true
 'The priest arrived yesterday, didn't he?'
- (b) *Ján³, (cháu³ bíh¹ cuan³ tsú²).*
 yes yesterday AFF arrive^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} 3
 'Yes, (he arrived yesterday).'

When the expression *tiá¹ tson²?* 'didn't s/he?, isn't that true?' occurs following a negative declarative sentence, the response from the addressee can be either *ján³* 'yes', as in (9b), or *ján¹han²¹* 'no', as in (9c). With either response, the addressee is expressing agreement with the speaker. For example:

- (9)(a) *Tiá² cuan³ yáh³ mí²tsáu² chái³, tiá¹ tson²?*
 not arrive^{IA}PAST^{3SG} ASSR priest yesterday ?^{not} true
 'The priest didn't arrive yesterday, did he?'
- (b) *Ján³, (tiá² cuan³ yáh³ tsú²).*
 yes not arrive^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} ASSR 3
 'Yes, (he didn't arrive).'
- (c) *Ján¹han²¹, tiá² cuan³ yáh³ tsú².*
 no not arrive^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} ASSR 3
 'No, he didn't arrive.'

If the response is *ján³* 'yes', as in (9b), any further comment by the addressee is optional; however, if the response is *ján¹han²¹* 'no', as in (9c), something further must be said to explicitly express confirmation.

If the addressee disagreed with the speaker, a typical response to (9a) would be:

- (10) *Ján¹han²¹, cuan³* *bíh¹ tsú².*
 no arrive^{non^home^IA^PAST^3SG AFF 3}
 'No, he did arrive.'

In (10), something further must be said following *ján¹han²¹* 'no' to explicitly express disagreement.

10.3 Information Questions

Information questions are formed by placing an interrogative word at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the constituent which is being questioned. The intonation is the same as for a declarative sentence.

Interrogative words include adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs of place, time, manner, and purpose, a pronoun, and a locative verb.

10.3.1 The Interrogative Adjectives and Pronoun

The interrogative word *he³* 'what?' (IN) has both adjectival and pronominal functions; the interrogative words *hin²* 'which?' (AN) and *hín²* 'which?' (IN), however, function only adjectivally. The three interrogative adjectives are discussed first.<3>

10.3.1.1 The Interrogative Adjectives

By using *hin²* 'which?' (AN) or *hín²* 'which?' (IN), the speaker requests that a selection be made from a definite set: which one(s) of a stated or implied set of animate or inanimate entities, or alternatives. The noun that is modified by either of these interrogative adjectives generally undergoes phonological change. The most common change is glottal closure of the final syllable (if the word does not already end in glottal). In some words there is also change in the nucleus, tone, or stress, or a combination of these; for example, the word *tsáí²* 'dog' becomes *tsíh²* (or *tsáíh²*) following *hin²* 'which?' (AN). Compare (11a) and (11b):

- (11)(a) *Hín² tsíh² ca³-quíeh² hnú²?*
 which^AN? dog PAST-bite^TA^3>2 you^SG
 'Which dog bit you?'

- (b) *Tsái² joh¹ hū² Ri¹ bīh¹.*
 dog have^STA^3 masculine Richard AFF
 'Richard's dog (bit me).'

A sample of both animate and inanimate nouns which are phonologically altered in some way when following *hin²* 'which?' (AN) or *hín²* 'which?' (IN) is set out in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 Phonological Changes when Nouns Occur with *hin²* (AN) or *hín²* (IN) 'which?'

Unmodified form	Modified form	Gloss
Animate Nouns		
<i>ca¹háu²</i>	<i>ca¹háh²</i>	chicken
<i>tan³²</i>	<i>tanh³²</i>	bird
<i>tsá²</i>	<i>tsánh²</i>	person
<i>tsái²</i>	<i>tsih²/tsáih²</i>	dog
<i>yeh³</i>	<i>yuh²¹</i>	elder (male)
Inanimate Nouns		
<i>cuo²</i>	<i>cuóh²/cuáh²</i>	hand (third-person)
<i>táu²</i>	<i>táh²</i>	banana
<i>háu²</i>	<i>háh²</i>	medicinal herb
<i>hū³</i>	<i>hūh³</i>	house
<i>jái¹³</i>	<i>jáih¹³</i>	word, message
<i>jmái²</i>	<i>jmáh²</i>	water
<i>jmái¹</i>	<i>jmáih¹</i>	day, time
<i>jñéi²</i>	<i>jñúh²/jñéih²</i>	bean
<i>jui³²</i>	<i>juih³²</i>	road, path, way
<i>quie³</i>	<i>quieh³</i>	money
<i>sí²</i>	<i>síh²</i>	book
<i>ta²¹</i>	<i>tah²¹</i>	work

Note in Table 10.2 that a final glottal is added to *jmái²* 'water' and there is modification of the nucleus, becoming *jmáh²*, but the word *jmái¹* 'day' has only a final glottal added, becoming *jmáih¹*. There are also nouns such as *jáih³* 'animal' which do not undergo any phonological change. The processes involved in these phonological changes await further research.

A few nouns, such as *tsá²* 'person', obligatorily undergo phonological change following *hin²* or *hín²* 'which?'; however, change is optional for the majority of nouns.

A noun which is modified by an interrogative adjective must occur immediately following that adjective; that is, the whole of the WH constituent occurs sentence initially.

Examples of *hin*² 'which?' (AN) are:

- (12) O[MOD H] P S
*Hin*² *tsánh*² *lí²-pan*³ *nú*²?
 which^AN? person HOD-hit^TA^2 you^SG
 'Which person did you (just) hit?'
- (13) S[MOD H] P O
*Hin*² *tsáh*² *lí²-jngih*³ *cá⁴háu*²?
 which^AN? dog HOD-kill^TA^3 chicken
 'Which dog (just) killed the chicken?'

The difference in word order of interrogative and declarative sentences can be seen by comparing (13) and (14). In (14), note also the normal form of the word 'dog' (see Table 10.2):

- (14) P S O
*Lí²-jngih*³ *tsái²* *cá⁴háu*².
 HOD-kill^TA^3 dog chicken
 'The dog (just) killed the chicken.'

Examples of *hín*² 'which?' (IN) are:

- (15) T[MOD H] P S
*Hín*² *jmah*¹ *ngah*³ *tsú*²?
 which^IN? day go^home^IA^PAST^3SG 3
 'Which day did s/he go home?'
- (16) LOC[MOD H] P S T
*Hín*² *juh*³ *cán*¹ *dí²* *tsa³háu*²?
 which^IN? path take^TI^FUT^1PL we tomorrow
 'Which path shall we take tomorrow?'

As mentioned above, by using *hin*² 'which?' (AN) or *hín*² 'which?' (IN), the speaker requests that a selection be made from a definite set of options. For example, (17a) is grammatical, but (17b) is not:

- (17)(a) *Hín*² *jmah*² *hnáuh*² *hnú*²?
 which^IN? tomato want^STI^2 you^SG
 'Which tomato do you want?'
- (b) **He*³ *jmah*² *hnáuh*² *hnú*²?
 what? tomato want^STI^2 you^SG
 'What tomato do you want?'

The inanimate interrogative adjective *he*³ 'what?', which occurs in (17b), is generally used in reference to quality or character. Examples of the use of *he*³ 'what?' (IN) are:

- (18) *He*³ *ní¹* *táu*² *hnáuh*² *hnú*²?
 what? type banana want^STI^2 you^SG
 'What type of banana(s) do you want? '<4>

- (19) *He³ jái¹³ zia³²?*
 what? word exist^SII
 'What word/message is there?'

In (19), the speaker is implying 'what is the nature/character of the word/message you bring?'

A noun modified by the inanimate interrogative adjective *he³* 'what?' does not undergo phonological change as occurs when modified by *hin²* 'which?' (AN) or *hín²* 'which?' (IN) (see Table 10.2); for example:

- (20) *He³ ta²¹ zia³² tsa³háu²?*
 what? work exist^SII tomorrow
 'What work is there tomorrow?'

In (20), the form *tah²¹* 'work' would be ungrammatical (see Table 10.2).

10.3.1.2 The Interrogative Pronoun

The form *he³* (§10.3.1) functions not only adjectivally as 'what?' (IN), but also nominally as 'what?' (IN). For example:

- (21) O P S
He³ jm¹¹ hnáuh² hnú²?
 what? TRM want^STI^2 you^SG
 'What were you wanting?'

In the case of prepositional phrases, a double dislocation occurs relative to the corresponding declarative clause: the prepositional complement which is being questioned occurs to the left of the preposition, and the entire construction occurs at the beginning of the clause. For example:

- (22) OO[COMP PP[PREP]] P S O
He² dá² quionh³ ca³- quiáh² tsú² hué³²?
 what? VER with PAST-dig^TI^3 3 land
 'With what did s/he dig the land?'

A declarative sentence corresponding to (22) would be something like:

- (23) P S O OO[PP[PREP COMP]]
Ca³- quiáh² tsú² hué³² quionh³ cáum² mí¹jma².
 PAST-dig^TI^3 3 land with one^IN shovel
 'S/he dug the land with a shovel.'

There are examples in which *hin²* 'which?' (AN) appears to function as a pronoun, as in the following:

- (24) S P O
Hin² ca³- jm¹³ héih³² jáum²?
 who? PAST-make^TI^3 order that^IN
 'Who gave/made that order?'

In (24), however, and in all other instances in which *hin*² occurs, a nominal such as *tsánh*² 'person' can be readily supplied following *hin*². *Hin*² is adjectival, meaning 'which?' (AN), with ellipsis of the understood nominal occurring.

10.3.2 Interrogative Quantifiers

In this section are included the interrogative quantifiers *cónh*³ 'how much?, how many?' (IN), *jáh*³ 'how many?' (IN), and *jánh*³ 'how many?' (AN). Only *cónh*³ can modify mass nouns (§10.3.2.1); however, both *cónh*³ and *jáh*³ can modify count nouns, and are generally interchangeable. For example:

- (25) *Cónh*³/*jáh*³ *táu*² *hnáuh*² *nú*²?
 how^many? banana want^STI^2 you^SG
 'How many bananas do you want?'

The interrogative quantifiers are discussed further in §6.7.1.1.2.

10.3.2.1 The Interrogative Quantifier *cónh*³

The interrogative quantifier *cónh*³ 'how much?, how many?' can function both adjectivally and nominally. *Cónh*³ is limited to quantifying inanimate entities.

In its adjectival function, *cónh*³ can modify both mass and count nouns.

Examples of each respectively are:

- (26) *Cónh*³ *quie*³ *quiánh*¹ *nú*²?
 how^much? money bring^STI^2 you^SG
 'How much money did you bring?'

- (27) *Cónh*³ *hñú*³ *zia*³²?
 how^many? house exist^SII
 'How many houses are there?'

An example of the nominal use of *cónh*³ is:

- (28) *Cónh*³ *rén*² *nú*² *quioh*²¹ *juóu*³² *jnë*¹³?
 how^much? owe^STI^2 you^SG have^STI^3 boss^1SG I
 'How much do you owe my boss?'

In (28), the referent of *cónh*³ 'how much?' may be money, days of work, baskets of maize, etc.

10.3.2.2 The Interrogative Quantifiers *jáh*³ and *jánh*³

Examples of the interrogative quantifiers *jáh*³ (IN) and *jánh*³ (AN) 'how many?' respectively are:

- (29) *Jáh³ jmaí¹ máh³ hniáuh³?*
 how[^]many[^]IN? day EXCL be[^]lacking[^]SII
 'How many more days will it be?'
- (30) *Jánh³ tsa³jaí¹ ca³- jáum³?*
 how[^]many[^]AN? opossum PAST-be[^]caught[^]IA³
 'How many opossums were caught?'

Neither *jáh³* 'how many?' (IN), nor *jánh³* 'how many' (AN) can occur with mass nouns; compare (31) with (26) above:

- (31) **Jáh³ quie³ quiánh¹ nú²?*
 how[^]many? money bring[^]STI² you[^]SG
 'How much money did you bring?'

10.3.3 The Interrogative Adverbs

There are four interrogative adverbs: adverbs of location, time, manner, and purpose/cause. These are discussed respectively in the following sections.

10.3.3.1 The Interrogative Locative Adverb

The interrogative locative adverb *jinh¹* 'where?' is usually modified by the adverb *ha³* 'exactly, just', which is discussed in §10.3.4. Examples of *jinh¹* both unmodified and modified by *ha³* are:

- (32) *Jinh¹ cuá³ nú²renh² hnú²?*
 where? live[^]SIA³ brother[^]2 you[^]SG
 'Where does your brother live?'
- (33) *Ha³ jinh¹ ca³- ní¹- hón² náh² tsú²?*
 exactly where? PAST-ANDT-bury[^]TA² you[^]PL 3
 'Where exactly did you bury her/him?'

10.3.3.2 The Interrogative Temporal Adverb

The interrogative temporal adverb is *láh³* 'when?'. For example:

- (34) *Láh³ ze¹ nú² jná¹ Cua³tá³?*
 when? send[^]TA^{FUT}²>1 you[^]SG I Cuicatlán
 'When will you send me (to) Cuicatlán?'

The adverb *ha³* 'exactly, just' cannot occur with *láh³* in direct questions; however, *ha³* is found with *láh³* in indirect questions (§10.4).

10.3.3.3 The Interrogative Adverb of Manner

The interrogative adverb of manner, *lánh³* 'how?' commonly occurs with the state posture verb *rón³* 'lie', but the expression *lánh³ rón³* 'how is it (that)?' has become grammaticised, and there is no implication of horizontal

posture. For example:

- (35) *Lánh³ rón³² ca³-chámh¹³ chính³² hnoh² la³ ní^{2?}*
 how? lie^{SII} PAST-devise^{TI}³ head² you^{PL} idea that
 'How is it that you came up with that idea?' (lit. 'How is it that your
 heads devised that idea?')

Lánh³ 'how?' is usually preceded by the adverb *há³* 'exactly, just', similar to the interrogative adverb *jinh¹* 'where?' discussed in §10.3.3.1; for example:

- (36) *Há³ lánh³ rón³² lǎ²-húh³² hnú² ní¹ lá^{2?}*
 just how? lie^{SII} HOD-enter^{TI}^{2SG} you^{SG} place this
 'Just how is it that you entered this place?'

The state verb *rón³²* 'lie' appears to be some kind of grammatical device for highlighting the interrogative. It is restricted to the construction with the interrogative *lánh³* 'how?'.

Although the frozen expression *lánh³ rón³²* 'how is it (that)?' is common, *lánh³* 'how?' can occur directly with content verbs. For example:

- (37) *Lánh³ jmú¹³ dí^{2?}*
 how? do^{TI}^{FUT}^{1PL} we^{INCL}
 'What can we do?' (lit. 'How will we be able to do (it)?')
- (38) *Há³ lánh³ ngáih¹ nánh² ní¹con² tsú^{2?}*
 just how? respond^{IA}^{FUT}² you^{PL} towards 3
 'Just/exactly how will you respond to her/him?'

In both (37) and (38), the expression *lánh³ rón³²* 'how is it (that)?' could be substituted for *lánh³* 'how?'. Although there is generally little difference in meaning between *lánh³* and *lánh³ rón³²*, sometimes *lánh³ rón³²* indicates a desire for more detailed information.

10.3.3.4 The Interrogative Adverb of Purpose and Cause

The interrogative of purpose and cause is expressed by *he³ láih³²* 'why?'. Examples of purpose and cause respectively are:

- (39) *He³ láih³² hnauh²³ hnoh² jná^{13?}*
 what? be^{gained}^{SII} search^{for}^{TA}^{PRES}^{2>1} you^{PL} I
 'Why are you looking for me?'
- (40) *He³ láih³² jun³ tsa³cuá^{1?}*
 what? be^{gained}^{SII} die^{IA}^{PAST}³ horse
 'Why did the horse die?'

The first part of this expression is the interrogative pronoun *he³*

'what?' (§10.3.1), the second part *láih*³² is most likely derived from the verb *láih*²³ 'win, gain' (TI); however, the tone-stress inflection of *láih*³² is unlike any part of the TI verb's paradigm. The form *láih*³² occurs only in the interrogative expression *he*³ *láih*³². Since *láih*³² does not inflect, it is glossed as 'be gained', and is categorised as an SII verb. Since the illocutionary particle *yáh*³ (ASSR) can occur between the component parts of this expression, *he*³ *láih*³² is not regarded as a compound. For example:

- (41) *He*³ *yáh*³ *láih*³² *hi*³ *ni*² *mih*³² *hnú*^{2?}
 what? ASSR be^gained^SII thing that request^TI^PRES^2 you^SG
 'Why ever are you requesting that?'
 or: 'For what purpose are you requesting that?'

In Chinantec, when a person doesn't want to respond to a 'why?' question, a commonly heard remark is:

- (42) *Tiá*² *he*³ *láih*³².
 not what? be^gained^SII
 'For no real reason.'

10.3.4 The Adverb *ha*³

The adverb *ha*³ 'exactly, just' occurs only with interrogative adverbs and the interrogative quantifier *cónh*³. *Ha*³ is not obligatory in the formation of any of the interrogatives; nevertheless it more often than not occurs with *jinh*¹ 'where?' and *lánh*³ 'how?'. Examples of *jinh*¹ and *lánh*³, both with and without *ha*³, are given in §10.3.3.1 and §10.3.3.3 respectively. The same holds true for indirect questions that are formed with 'where?' and 'how?', see §10.4. *Ha*³ is used with *cónh*³ 'how much?' and *lih*³ 'when?' only in indirect questions; see §10.4.

In an interrogative clause, the adverb *ha*³ may be followed by any one of four illocutionary particles: affirmation (AFF) *bih*¹, assertion (ASSR) *yáh*³, exclamation (EXCL) *máh*³, or verification (VER) *dá*²; see §11.2. Illocutionary particles have within their scope only the immediately preceding constituent(s), which in this case is the adverb *ha*³. Examples of *ha*³ with *bih*¹ (AFF) and *dá*² (VER) respectively are:

- (43) *Ha³ bɨh¹ lánh³ rón³² ca³- niá³ máh¹ nú²?*
 just AFF how? lie^{SII} PAST-be^{opened}II face² you^{SG}
 'Just/exactly how did you gain your sight?' (lit. 'Just/exactly how was your face opened?')
- (44) *Ha³ dá² jinh¹ ca³- ñi¹- ma³tin³² tsá²ñuh² ní²?*
 just VER where? PAST-ANDT-learn^{TI}3 man that
 'Just where did that man go to learn?'

10.3.5 The Interrogative Locative Verb

The interrogative word *né²* 'be where?' is tentatively identified as a (defective) interrogative locative verb. *Né²* does not inflect, nor can it be affixed; however, distributionally it is like a verb. The same form is used whether the referent of the subject is inanimate, as in (45), or animate, as in (46) and (47). In the following examples, (b) is given to illustrate how the construction is parallel to that of (a); (b) is not meant to be a typical response to (a).

- (45)(a) *Né² hú¹chí¹³ ñú²mih¹?*
 be^{where}? hat³ boy
 'Where is the boy's hat?'
- (b) *He² hú¹chí¹³ ñú²mih¹ ñi¹ ní².*
 hang^{SII} hat³ boy place that
 'The boy's hat is hanging there.'
- (46)(a) *Né² tsá¹² joh² hnú²?*
 be^{where}? dog have^{STA}2 you^{SG}
 'Where is your dog?'
- (b) *Zenh² tsá¹² joh² jná¹³ ñi¹ zio¹.*
 stand^{SII} dog have^{STA}1SG I place yonder
 'My dog is standing over there/yonder.'
- (47)(a) *Né² Pé¹?*
 be^{where}? Peter
 'Where is Peter?'
- (b) *Ngau³ Pé¹ Hí²hih³².*
 go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} Peter Zapotitlán
 'Peter went to Zapotitlán.'

10.4 Indirect Questions

Any interrogative sentence can function as the complement of a complement taking predicate (§9.2); most do not require any change in form.

Examples of indirect questions with *hin²* 'which?' (AN) and *he³* 'what?' are:

- (48) *Tiá² né¹ jnoh¹ hin² ca³- jmú³ huéh³ ó³².*
 not know^{STI}1PL we which^{AN?} PAST-make^{TI}3 letter yonder
 'We don't know who wrote those/yonder letters (i.e. graffiti).'
- (49) *Má² ño¹ jná¹³ he³ nga¹.*
 PRF know^{STI}1SG I what? reply^{IA}FUT^{1SG}
 'I now know what to reply.'

The interrogative words *cónh³* 'how much?', *jinh¹* 'where?', *láh³* 'when?' and *lánh³* 'how?' rarely occur in indirect questions without the adverb *ha³* 'exactly, just'. Nonetheless, *ha³* is optional in each of the following examples:

- (50) *Jmu³ tsú² héih³² (ha³) cónh³ má³²*
 make^{TI}FUT³ 3 order just how^{much?} food
lí¹³ cuh³ tsán².
 be^{possible}II^{FUT} eat^{TI}FUT³ people
 'S/he will give the order as to how much food the people are permitted to eat.'
- (51) *Tiá² ñi³² tsú² (ha³) jinh¹ ngau³ jon².*
 not know^{STI}3 3 just where? go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} child³
 'S/he doesn't know (just/exactly) where her/his child has gone.'
- (52) *Ñi³² tsú² (ha³) láh³ jáunh³ jméi².*
 know^{STI}3 3 just when? return^{home}IA^{FUT}3SG father³
 'S/he knows (just/exactly) when her/his father will return.'
- (53) *Ca³- juu³ ca³- hlénh³ dí² (ha³) lánh³ rón³²*
 PAST-PREV PAST-discuss^{TA}3 3 exactly how? lie^{SII}
lí¹³ jngih³ dí² Jesús.
 be^{able}II^{FUT} kill^{TA}FUT³ 3 Jesus
 'They discussed (exactly) how they could kill Jesus.'

A yes/no question (§10.1) can also occur as the complement of a cognitive verb to form an indirect question. Generally, the query word *hí¹* occurs in indirect questions, but interrogative intonation can also be used. Examples of each method respectively are:

- (54) *Tsá¹- neh²¹ dí² hí¹*
 ANDT^{FUT}-see^{TI}1PL we^{INCL} QUERY
cuá¹- hun¹ tsú² hñu³ mí¹ ñí².
 indefinite^{PROG}-be^{contained}SIA^{3SG} 3 jail
 'Let's go and see whether s/he is in jail.'
- (55) *Cuá²- nga³ ñí¹ con² Rí¹ tiá¹ má²*
 ANDT^{IMP}-ask^{TI}2 to Richard ?^{not} PRF
cuanh³² tí³².
 arrive^{home}IA^{PAST}3SG teacher

'Go ask Richard whether the teacher has returned.'

Sometimes the yes/no question overtly expresses both alternatives; for example:

- (56) *Tiá² ré² ñi³² tsú² hí¹ já³²*
 not well know^{STI}3 3 QUERY come^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{3SG}
hí¹ tiá² já³² tí²mí³.
 QUERY not come^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{3SG} doctor
 'S/he doesn't know whether the doctor will come or not.'

10.5 Rhetorical Questions

The prototypical rhetorical question does not expect an answer, although a response would be possible.

There are three ways in which rhetorical questions can be formed using interrogative words. In addition, rhetorical questions can be signalled by certain illocutionary particles; see §11.2.6, and §11.2.7.

(i) The interrogative adverb *há¹* 'really?' can occur with the negative *tiá²* 'not' or the contraexpectation negative *jun³* 'not as if' to form a rhetorical yes/no question. In rhetorical questions, *tiá²* appears to be restricted to collocating with the verb phrase, and *jun³* to collocating with the noun phrase. For example:

- (57) *Há¹ tiá² juéh² hnú² Dió³²?*
 really? not fear^{TA}PRES² you^{SG} God
 'Do you really not fear God?' (implies: of course you do!)
- (58) *Há¹ jun³ tsá² ó³² hnah² tsú²?*
 really? not^{as}if person yonder seek^{TA}PRES³ 3
 'Isn't it really that/yonder person they're seeking?' (implies: of course it is!)

Há¹ 'really?' is most likely the adverb *ha³* 'just, exactly' (§10.3.4), with interrogative intonation overlaid (§10.1). However, *ha³* must be followed by an interrogative word; whereas *há¹* occurs only in rhetorical questions, such as (57) and (58), and no interrogative word can follow. Because of the distributional differences of *há¹* and *ha³*, I have treated them as separate (albeit related) morphemes.

(ii) There is also a complex interrogative expression *há¹ jun³ juáh¹³* 'is it not (true) to say (that)?'. This expression derives from *há¹* 'really?', the

contraexpectation negative *jun*³ 'not as if', and *juáh*¹³ 'say', which is inflected as for the third-person hortative (§4.1.8.12.9.1). The words *há*¹ and *jun*³ usually combine phonologically to form the word *haun*¹³, although the component parts are distinguishable in slow speech or when the speaker is being emphatic. Examples of the full and reduced forms respectively are:

- (59) *Há*¹ *jun*³ *juáh*¹³ *hnú*² *lɛ*² *-jie*¹ *jná*¹³ *ja*¹ *hmá*² *jáun*²?
 is^it^not^true^that you^SG HOD-see^TA^1SG>2 I among tree that^IN
 'Aren't you the one I saw among the trees?' (implies: of course you are!)
- (60) *Haun*¹³ *juáh*¹³ *la*³ *jái*³² *bíh*¹ *dí*²
 is^it^not^true^that about all^1PL AFF we^INCL
*jmú*³² *hi*³ *hlah*^{3?}
 do^TI^PRES^1PL thing bad^IN
 'Don't we all do bad things?' (implies: of course we do!)

(iii) Rhetorical questions can also be formed by using the interjection *sa*³ 'goodness!' immediately following the interrogative expressions *he*³ *láih*³² 'why?' (lit. 'what be gained?'; see §10.3.3.4), or *he*³ *lɛ*³ 'what happened?'. The former expression is the more common.

Rhetorical questions formed with either of these expressions have a definite scolding implication.

Examples of the expression *he*³ *láih*³² *sa*³ are:

- (61) *He*³ *láih*³² *sa*³ *la*³ *nɛ*² *ná*¹ *-lɛn*²³ *hnoh*^{2?}
 what? be^gained^SII goodness! idea that PROG^PL-think^TI^2 you^PL
 'How could you be thinking/planning such a thing?'
- (62) *He*³ *láih*³² *sa*³ *tonh*² *lɛn*³² *yáh*³
 what? be^gained^SII goodness! brag^SIA^3 very ASSR
*hnú*² *jmuh*^{32?}
 you^SG do^TI^PRES^2
 'Why ever do you do so much bragging?'
- (63) *He*³ *láih*³² *sa*³ *tiá*² *láuh*²³ *hnú*².
 what? be^gained^SII goodness! not bathe^IA^PRES^2 you^SG
 'Why don't you bathe (regularly)?'

Examples of the expression *he*³ *lɛ*³ *sa*³ are:

- (64) *He³ li³ sa³ li¹ ca³- cuín³²*
 what? happen^{II} PAST goodness! NON PAST-discard^{TA} PL²
- hnú² tsí²mih¹ joh²?*
 you^{SG} puppy have^{STA} 2
 'Why ever did you discard/abandon your puppies?'
- (65) *He³ li³ sa³ tiá² ñí¹-héh¹³ hnú² cuí²?*
 what? happen^{II} PAST goodness! not INT-shell^{TI} 2 you^{SG} maize
 'Why do you not intend to shell the maize?'

NOTES

1. The orthographic convention for Chinantec supplies the perturbed tone on the first syllable for all but tones /¹/, /¹³/, and /²¹/--there being no means of indicating a tone which is higher than the high tone /¹/. Nonetheless, introducing questions with *¿* in the practical orthography (as for Spanish) alerts the reader to use question intonation on the first syllable.
2. The verb *juí³²* 'whistle' denotes communicating in whistle speech; see §2.6.
3. For some speakers, *hin²* and *hín²* 'which?' are not differentiated, all being pronounced as either *hin²* or *hín²*.
4. There are about nine types of eating bananas, and three types of cooking bananas grown in the area around San Pedro Sochiapan.

CHAPTER 11
ILLOCUTIONARY ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

11.0 Introduction

All languages use a variety of linguistic features to indicate attitude or mood; for example, modal adverbs such as 'really', 'hopefully', modal clitics or particles, modal (auxiliary) verbs such as 'may', 'can', 'must', and intonation (Palmer 1986).

In Sochiapan Chinantec, intonation is not a highly developed feature. Possibly, this is because tone has a high functional load elsewhere in the language: it is used both lexically (§2.5), and to mark the inflection of inalienable nouns (§6.2.1) and verbs (§4.1.1). As Cruttenden (1986:10) notes:

Tone and intonation are not completely mutually exclusive in languages. Languages with tonal contrasts may nevertheless make use of a limited amount of superimposed intonation.

Although Chinantec does make limited use of intonation (§2.7), it makes extensive use of illocutionary adverbs and particles, effectively replacing much of what is accomplished in other languages by intonation.

Palmer points out that some languages use modal particles primarily to express deontic modality (1986:96ff), and other languages use them primarily to express epistemic modality (1986:51ff). Chinantec falls into the latter category; for example, in the folklore story 'The Opossum and the Puma', there are 41 sentences, 27 of which have one or more epistemic modals. There are 45 occurrences of epistemic modals in the story (*bih*¹ (AFF) and *yáh*³ (ASSR)), but there is not a single occurrence of a deontic modal.

Strictly speaking, the evidential modal *la*³ 'apparently' (§5.1.3), and deontic modals such as the prohibitive *lɛ*² (§5.1.7.2), the cessative *lɛ*²*u*²

(§5.1.7.5), and the preventative *su³mi²* (§5.1.7.6) all have illocutionary force. However, modals which precede the constituent within their scope, such as the abovementioned evidential and deontic modals, are not discussed in this chapter, and consequently are not subsumed under the term 'illocutionary adverbs and particles'.

The focus of this chapter is on postpositive illocutionary markers; that is, those illocutionary markers which follow the constituent that lies in their scope. Most of these have modal characteristics as well.

There are two types of illocutionary markers: adverbs and particles. They are distinguished on the following basis: illocutionary adverbs can have in their scope a verb phrase, a clause, or an entire sentence; illocutionary particles, however, can additionally have in their scope a noun phrase, quantifier phrase, prepositional phrase, adverb phrase, or even certain lexical items such as the adverb *ha³* 'exactly, just', which modifies interrogative adverbs (§10.3.4). Neither illocutionary adverbs nor particles can have in their scope prepositions, conjunctions, vocatives, interjections, the query word *hi¹* (§10.1), or adverbs that form part of the verb phrase (§5).

One advantage in having a large set of illocutionary markers is that the Chinantec speaker's attitude is more fully preserved in the written text than is possible in a strongly intonational language. Representing the nuances by English glosses, however, is sometimes problematic; I often have to resort to lengthy explanations to convey the implication of a given illocutionary marker. Further complications are: (i) two or more illocutionary markers may co-occur, each contributing its own nuance, and (ii) several of the illocutionary markers shift in their implication when used in a declarative, interrogative, (positive) imperative, or prohibition (negative imperative) sentence.

Certain illocutionary markers are more likely to be used by women than men; see, for example, §11.1.3, §11.2.2, §11.2.3, and §11.2.6.<1>

Lyons (1977:745) distinguishes three basic sentence types: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Chinantec, however, distinguishes between

the positive imperative (hereafter simply called 'imperative'; see §4.1.8.11) and prohibition (see §5.1.7.2) both morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically, the imperative and prohibition are distinguished by different tone-stress inflection of the verb; the prohibition inflection on the verb, together with adverbs within the verb phrase, indicate 'Don't start!' (§5.1.7.2), 'Stop now!' (§5.1.7.5), and 'Don't do that again!' (§5.1.7.6). Syntactically, there are distributional restrictions of the illocutionary markers according to whether the sentence type is imperative or prohibition; see Table 11.1.

In Table 11.1, the illocutionary adverbs and particles are separated and arranged alphabetically. The symbol + signifies a definite occurrence of the illocutionary marker with that sentence type, and the symbol - signifies a definite non-occurrence.

Table 11.1 Illocutionary Adverbs and Particles, and the Sentence Type with which Each May Occur

Illocutionary Adverbs		Decl	Intr	Imp	Proh
<i>láh</i> ¹	assumption	+	-	+	+
<i>má¹na²¹</i>	contraexpectation	+	-	+	+
<i>na²¹</i>	assentive	+	-	+	+
<i>né³</i>	explication	+	+	+	-
<i>néh¹</i>	commentative	+	-	-	-
<i>neh²¹</i>	evaluative	+	+	+	-
<i>tiá³</i>	supplication	+	+	+	+
Illocutionary Particles					
<i>bíh¹</i>	affirmation	+	+	+	+
<i>dá²</i>	verification	+	+	+	+
<i>dúh¹</i>	indubitative	+	+	+	-
<i>máh³</i>	exclamative	+	+	-	-
<i>néh¹</i>	quotative	+	+	-	-
<i>uá¹</i>	anticipative	+	+	+	+
<i>yáh³</i>	assertion	+	+	+	+

From Table 11.1 it can be seen that all 14 illocutionary markers are able to occur in declarative sentences, 10 can occur in interrogative sentences, 11 can occur in imperative sentences, and eight can occur in prohibition sentences.

In Table 11.2, the same illocutionary markers are arranged according to

the sentence types with which they may be found. Those found with all sentence types are grouped at the top of Table 11.2; then come those illocutionary markers which are excluded from one sentence type, two sentence types, and three sentence types, respectively.

Table 11.2 Distribution of Illocutionary Adverbs and Particles According to Sentence Type

		Decl	Intr	Imp	Proh
<i>bíh</i> ¹	affirmation	+	+	+	+
<i>dá</i> ²	verification	+	+	+	+
<i>tiá</i> ³	supplication	+	+	+	+
<i>uá</i> ¹	anticipative	+	+	+	+
<i>yáh</i> ³	assertion	+	+	+	+
<i>dúh</i> ¹	indubitative	+	+	+	-
<i>né</i> ³	explication	+	+	+	-
<i>neh</i> ²¹	evaluative	+	+	+	-
<i>láh</i> ¹	assumption	+	-	+	+
<i>má¹na²¹</i>	contraexpectation	+	-	+	+
<i>na</i> ²¹	assentive	+	-	+	+
<i>máh</i> ³	exclamative	+	+	-	-
<i>neh</i> ¹	quotative	+	+	-	-
<i>neh</i> ¹	commentative	+	-	-	-

Yet another way to divide the illocutionary markers is according to the extent of their scope. The four particles *bíh*¹ (AFF), *neh*¹ (QUOT), *uá*¹ (ANTP), and *máh*³ (EXCL) generally have only the immediately preceding constituent in their scope; these are called 'limited scope illocutionary markers'. The other ten illocutionary markers always have within their scope all preceding constituents within the clause; these are called 'broad scope illocutionary markers'. Five of the broad scope markers, the adverbs *láh*¹ (ASUM), *né*³ (EXPL), *má¹na²¹* (CEXP), *neh*¹ (COMM), and *na*²¹ (ASNT) occur only sentence final (I use the term 'sentence final' loosely, as the vocative constituent can occur following the illocutionary constituent; see §8.2.7 and §8.2.8). The adverb *neh*²¹ (EVAL) can occur following the predicate or sentence final; and the adverb *tiá*³ (SUPL) generally occurs following the predicate, although it may occur following subjects in their normal post-predicate position. *Yáh*³ (ASSR) is the

only broad scope particle able to occur with a wider variety of constituents than the adverbs (for example, following a left-dislocated object); but when occurring sentence final, it has the entire clause or sentence in its scope, not just the preceding constituent.

In the following examples, the scope of an illocutionary adverb or particle is indicated by square brackets.

The particle *bíh*¹ (AFF) exemplifies the limited scope illocutionary markers; for example:

- (1) *Tsá*¹- *jaíh*²¹ *dí*² *hiá*¹ *cuí*² [*juí*³² *Cua*^{3uóun}²] *bíh*¹.
 ANDT¹FUT-weed²TI¹1PL we¹INCL weed³ maize trail Quetzalapa AFF
 'We'll go weed the cornfield (lit. 'the maize's weeds) along the trail to Quetzalapa.'

In (1), *bíh*¹ (AFF) has only the locative constituent in its scope. The speaker is affirming that, of the two or more locations where s/he has cornfields, it is the one on the trail to Quetzalapa that is to be weeded.

The particle *yáh*³ (ASSR) exemplifies the broad scope illocutionary markers. Thus, if *yáh*³ occurs sentence final, it has the entire sentence in its scope. For example:

- (2) [*Tsá*¹- *jaíh*²¹ *dí*² *hiá*¹ *cuí*² *juí*³² *Cua*^{3uóun}²] *yáh*³.
 ANDT¹FUT-weed²TI¹1PL we¹INCL weed³ maize trail Quetzalapa ASSR
 'Be assured, we'll go weed the cornfield (lit. 'the maize's weeds) along the trail to Quetzalapa.'

In (2), the entire sentence is in the scope of the assertion particle *yáh*³. By assuring the addressee of her/his intent, the speaker is hoping the addressee will agree to accompany her/him in the task.

Further examples of the variety of sentence constituents and sentence types with which each illocutionary marker may occur are given in the following sections.

11.1 Illocutionary Adverbs

Sochiapan Chinantec illocutionary adverbs are listed in Table 11.3 with a gloss that reflects their prototypical usage; other nuances which the adverb may have are discussed in their respective sections following Table 11.3:

Table 11.3 Illocutionary Adverbs

<i>né³</i>	explication	'(please) clarify'
<i>má¹na²¹</i>	contraexpectation	'to the contrary'
<i>na²¹</i>	assentive	'okay?, eh?'
<i>néh¹</i>	commentative	'you should know that'
<i>neh²¹</i>	evaluative	'let's see if'
<i>láh¹</i>	assumption	'really?, right?, okay?'
<i>tiá³</i>	supplication	'please'

11.1.1 The Explication Adverb *né³*

The explication (EXPL) adverb *né³* can occur only sentence final; it has in its scope the entire preceding clause. The implication of *né³* varies according to the sentence type in which it occurs: interrogative, declarative or imperative. *Né³* appears most commonly in interrogative sentences, so they will be considered first.

In an interrogative sentence, *né³* (EXPL) indicates that the speaker is requesting further information: 'answer me!' or '(please) clarify!'. For example:

- (3) [*He³ hi³ hlah³ má² ca³- jnú³ tsú²*] *né³?*
 what thing bad^{IN} PRF PAST-do^{TI}^3 3 EXPL
 'What crime has s/he committed? Answer me!'

In (3), there is no pause preceding *né³*.

In a declarative sentence, *né³* (EXPL) denotes 'really' or 'assuredly'. Generally, either *bíh¹* (AFF) or *dá²* (VER) occur following the verb when *né³* occurs in a declarative sentence. The effect of the explication and affirmation (or verification) illocutionary markers together is an exclamatory attempt to convince the addressee that the situation is different to the addressee's assumption. For example:

- (4) [*Má² ca³- ma³hmah²¹ bíh¹ jná¹³*] *né³!*
 PRF PAST-pay^{TI}^1SG AFF I EXPL
 'I have most assuredly paid!'

In (4), the implication is 'Don't doubt me!'.
 Occasionally *bíh¹* (AFF) and *dá²* (VER) are optional in a declarative sentence with *né³* (EXPL). An example with *bíh¹* is:

- (5) [*Má² zia³² (bíh¹) má³²*] *né³ tia²¹.*
 PRF exist^{SII} AFF food EXPL dad^{VOC}

‘The food is really ready, dad.’

When *né³* occurs in an imperative sentence, the implication is one of scolding or rebuke; for example:

- (6) [*Úí³ siáh³ né³!*
 climb^{TI} IMP again EXPL
 ‘Go ahead and climb (it) again!’

The situation in (6) involves a disobedient child who has fallen out of a tree which s/he had been told not to climb, and is crying. The parent is in effect saying ‘Now you have learned your lesson the hard way, let’s see if you are brave enough to climb it again. Go ahead and climb it again!’

It is probably this same word *né³* which functions as the topic marker, marking that which is to be explicated in the following comment; see §12.1.3.

11.1.2 The Contraexpectation Adverb *má¹na²¹*

The contraexpectation (CEXP) adverb *má¹na²¹*<2> occurs only sentence final, and has all of the sentence in its scope. It is found in all but interrogative sentences.

In a declarative or prohibition sentence, *má¹na²¹* has the force of ‘in contradiction to’ or ‘to the contrary’.

Examples of *má¹na²¹* in declarative sentences are:

- (7) [*Tiá² tán² jná¹³ cauh²¹ mí³ lán² má¹na²¹.*
 not be^{able} STI¹ 1SG I play^{TI} PRES¹ 1SG spherical hide CEXP
 ‘To the contrary, I cannot play basketball.’

In (7), depending on context, the implication is either ‘You are able to play basketball, but, contrary to your expectation, I can’t’, or ‘There are several other games that I am able to play, but, contrary to your expectation, I cannot play basketball’.

- (8) [*Jlánh¹ ca³-son² hmah²¹ quioh²¹ cá²fe²¹ mí² lá² má¹na²¹.*
 much PAST-lower^{II} value have^{STI} 3 coffee year this CEXP
 ‘The value of coffee has really gone down this year, contrary to expectation.’

In (8), the implication is that no-one had anticipated such a drastic change in the value of coffee.<3>

Má¹na²¹ has another, quite uncommon, sense distinction in declarative

sentences, which only indirectly fits the notion of contraexpectation. If, for example, the speaker has listed several types of music that a person doesn't like, the addressee can respond with a statement such as the following:

- (9) [Záin³² tsú² tun³²] má¹na²¹.
 like^{STI}^3 3 guitar CEXP
 'Presumably, s/he likes the guitar.'

In (9), the implication is: 'Since you didn't mention that s/he doesn't like guitar music, I presume s/he does.' The speaker of (9) is indicating that it would be contrary to her/his expectation if the referent didn't like guitar music.

In prohibitions, the implication of má¹na²¹ is that the addressee is being required, contrary to their expectation, to stop doing something that they were doing or not initiate something they had intended to do. For example:

- (10) [Lí²uú² lí¹ cáuh³ sun¹ ní²] má¹na²¹.
 CES NON handle^{TI}^PROH^2 radio that CEXP
 'Don't touch that radio any more!'

In (10), the addressee has used the radio before, but is told that, contrary to her/his expectations, it is now disallowed.

- (11) [Ha³ lí² juenh³ náh²] má¹na²¹, qui¹
 MODR PROH be^afraid^{IA}^PROH^2 you^{PL} CEXP because
 'Don't be afraid, because'

In (11), the people are being exhorted to not be afraid, contrary to what might be expected, because the speaker is about to do something that would prove their fears groundless.

In imperatives, má¹na²¹ can signal contraexpectation on the part of either the speaker or the addressee, depending on the context.

- (12) [Ráin² hanh²] má¹na²¹.
 wash^{TI}^IMP shirt² CEXP
 'Wash your shirt!'

In (12), if the addressee is being reminded to do something that s/he has been told to do on previous occasions, má¹na²¹ signals that the constant need for reminder is contrary to the expectation of the speaker, who had hoped for better things of the addressee. However, if the addressee is being told to do something that s/he had not planned on doing, then the use of má¹na²¹ is an

acknowledgment by the speaker that the command is contrary to the addressee's plans or expectations.

Má¹na²¹, like *né³* (§11.1.1), is also used to mark the topic in a topic-comment construction. When *má¹na²¹* marks the topic, it signals that the comment will have information that is contraexpectation or contrastive; see §12.1.4.

11.1.3 The Assentive Adverb *na²¹*

The assentive (ASNT) illocutionary adverb *na²¹* indicates to the addressee that the speaker requires acknowledgement that s/he has been heard and, depending on the context, the speaker may also be expecting agreement, although not necessarily a simple 'yes'.

Na²¹ is found in declarative, imperative, and prohibition sentences.

Examples (13) and (15) illustrate the use of *na²¹* (ASNT) in declarative sentences (note the lack of interrogative marking sentence initial; see §10.1).

- (13) [*Tiá² tsó³² tsú² tsa³háu²*] *na²¹*.
 not go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]3SG 3 tomorrow ASNT
 'S/he is not going tomorrow, okay?'

In (13), the speaker is making a simple declaration, and uses *na²¹* to indicate the desire for acknowledgement from the addressee. The use of *na²¹* in sentences like (13) is characteristic of women's speech. Although the English equivalent requires pause preceding 'okay?', and interrogative intonation, neither occurs with *na²¹*. The anticipated response to (13) could be something like:

- (14) *Ré² bíh¹ la³ ní²*.
 well AFF idea that
 'That's fine.'

However, when not only acknowledgement, but agreement, is sought, then pause occurs prior to *na²¹*; such use is found in both men's and women's speech. For example:

- (15) [*Tsá¹- quiúh¹³ dí² hmá² jáun² tsa³háu²*,] *na²¹*.
 ANDT[^]FUT[^]cut[^]down[^]TI[^]1PL we[^]INCL tree that[^]IN tomorrow ASNT
 'Let's cut that tree down tomorrow, eh?'

An example of *na²¹* in an imperative sentence is:

- (16) [Cué¹ cu²tiá³ tiú³ quián¹³,] na²¹.
 give^{DI}IMP^{2>1} briefly rifle have^{STI}² ASNT
 'Loan me your rifle for a while, okay?'

An example of *na*²¹ in a prohibition sentence is:

- (17) [Su²wú² lǐ¹ cha² hi³ lǐ²-juoh²¹ ní²,] na²¹ nǐ¹.
 PREVEN NON relate^{TI}PROH² COMP HOD-discuss^{TI}^{1PL} that ASNT friend
 'Don't talk about that which we were just discussing, okay
 friend/mate?' (i.e. 'Keep it a secret!')

When *na*²¹ follows an imperative, such as in (16), or a prohibition, such as (17), the effect is more like that of an appeal than a command.

11.1.4 The Commentative Adverb *néh*¹

The commentative (COMM) adverb *néh*¹ indicates that the speaker wants to share some unelicited information that they would like the addressee to pay attention to. *Néh*¹ occurs only sentence final in declarative sentences; for example:

- (18) [Ná² cuá²- nǐ¹ jná¹³ nǐ¹ cuo¹] néh¹.
 PRF VEN^{PAST}-go^{non}home^{IA}^{1SG} I place firewood COMM
 'You should know that I have been to get firewood.'

In the following example, the commentative is followed by a noun functioning as a vocative (§8.2.8).

- (19) [Tiá² chú³² jmu² tsú² la³ ní²] néh¹ nǐ²mǐh¹!
 not good^{IN} do^{TI}PRES³ 3 idea that COMM little^{boy}
 'Little boy, you should know that it's not good to do that sort of thing!'

*Néh*¹ also functions as a quotative (QUOT) in declarative and interrogative sentences, collocating with a much wider range of clausal elements; see §11.2.5. Both the commentative *néh*¹ and quotative *néh*¹ have most likely derived from *nǐ*² 'listen!', the imperative form of the verb *ná*³² 'hear'.

11.1.5 The Evaluative Adverb *neh*²¹

The evaluative (EVAL) illocutionary adverb *neh*²¹ can occur in declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences; it most frequently occurs in imperatives. Generally, *neh*²¹ means 'let's see (if)'.

An example of *neh*²¹ (EVAL) in an imperative sentence is:

- (20) [Cuá²- cán¹] neh²¹ sí² lá² nǐ¹con² nǐh².
 ANDT^{IMP}-take^{TI}² EVAL letter this to father²
 'Take this letter to your father; let's see if you can do it.'

In (20), the command is addressed to a small child.

*Neh*²¹ (EVAL) can occur following the verb phrase, as in (20), at the end of a clause, or sentence final. An example of the latter is:

- (21) [*Jñah*²¹ *chi*³ *tan*³² *ó*³² *quionh*³ *quín*¹] *neh*²¹.
 strike^{TI}IMP diminutive bird yonder with stone EVAL
 'Strike that/yonder bird with a stone; let's see if you can do it.'

An example of *neh*²¹ (EVAL) in a declarative sentence is:

- (22) *Hnó*³² *jnëá*¹³ *hi*³ [*hnáh*¹]
 want^{STI}1SG I COMP cut^{transversally}TI^{FUT}2

*neh*²¹ *hnú*² *hmá*² *lá*².
 EVAL you^{SG} tree this
 'I want you to cut this log/tree transversally (into sections); let's see if you can do it.'

In (22), only the immediately preceding verb phrase constituent is in the scope of *neh*²¹ (EVAL).

When *neh*²¹ (EVAL) occurs in an interrogative sentence, the indubitative particle *dúh*¹ (§11.2.3) must co-occur, although not necessarily contiguously; for example:

- (23) [*Hí*¹ *lɛ*¹³] *neh*²¹ *cuh*³ *tsú*² *quín*¹ *dúh*¹?
 QUERY be^{possible}TI^{FUT} EVAL eat^{TI}FUT³ 3 stone INDB
 'Is it possible for someone to eat stone/rock? Obviously not (let's see what you think).'

*Neh*²¹ (EVAL) has most likely derived from the 1PL-FUT *neh*²¹ 'we will see/watch' of the irregular verb *jié*³ 'see, watch'. It is possible for both the verb *jié*³ and the illocutionary adverb *neh*²¹ to co-occur; for example:

- (24) [*Cuí*¹-*neh*²¹] *neh*²¹ *nɛ*¹*juáh*³ *cah*¹ *dí*² *jmá*¹.
 HORT-see^{TI}1PL EVAL if win^{TI}FUT^{1PL} we^{INCL} day
 'Let's see if we can manage to do it.' (lit. '... win the day/occasion')

11.1.6 The Assumption Adverb *láh*¹

The assumption (ASUM) adverb *láh*¹ functions in a manner similar to the assentive adverb *na*²¹ (§11.1.3), expecting a positive response, but unlike *na*²¹, the anticipated response is a simple 'Yes'. By using *láh*¹, the speaker indicates either that s/he is unsure of what s/he has heard, or is seeking confirmation of her/his own assumption.

*Láh*¹ (ASUM) occurs in declarative, imperative, and prohibition sentences

without any substantial change in meaning; it can occur only sentence final. Generally, *láh*¹ expresses the idea of 'really?', 'right?' or 'okay?.'

Examples of *láh*¹ with positive and negative declarative sentences respectively are:

- (25) [*la*³ *ni*² *juáh*³ *tsú*²] *láh*¹.
 idea that say^{STI}^3 3 ASUM
 'That's what s/he is saying, right?'
- (26) [*Tiá*² *la*³ *tín*² *nú*² *háh*¹ *si*²] *láh*¹.
 not EVID be^{able}^STI^2 you^{SG} read^{TI}^FUT^3 book ASUM
 'You aren't able to read, right?'

In (25) and (26), although the English equivalent of *láh*¹ requires pause, there is no pause in the Chinantec.

An example of *láh*¹ in an imperative sentence is:

- (27) [*Cue*¹ *cám*² *hi*³ *ti*³ *lá*²] *láh*¹.
 give^{DI}^IMP^2>1SG one^{IN} tortilla at here ASUM
 'Pass a tortilla over here, okay?'

An example of *láh*¹ in a prohibition sentence is:

- (28) [*Ha*³ *li*² *nú*² *húh*¹ *jmá*²] *láh*¹.
 INT CES drink^{TI}^PROH^2 water ASUM
 'Stop drinking liquor, okay?'^<4>

In (27) and (28), the effect of *láh*¹ is to soften the imperative and prohibition respectively.

11.1.7 The Supplication Adverb *tiá*³

The supplication (SUPL) illocutionary adverb *tiá*³ can occur in all four sentence types; it most frequently occurs in imperatives. The verb is always inflected for the second-person. Generally, *tiá*³ occurs immediately following the verb phrase.

A second-person singular subject is usually omitted in the imperative construction (§4.1.8.11). For example:

- (29) [*ña*³²] *tiá*³ *hñu*³² *jná*¹³.
 come^{non}^home^{IA}^IMP^2SG SUPL house^{1SG} i
 'Please come to my house.'

When there is an overt subject, *tiá*³ generally occurs between the verb phrase and the subject; however, sometimes *tiá*³ occurs following the subject. The following two examples illustrate both options respectively:

- (30) [Hléh¹] tiá³ hnú² hi³ ca³-ta¹ jnoh¹.
 speak^{TI}IMP SUPL you^{SG} COMP PAST-regard^{IA}1PL we
 'Please speak on our behalf.'

- (31) [Hléh¹ hnú²] tiá³ jái¹³ lá²
 speak^{TI}IMP you^{SG} SUPL word this
 'Please speak this message (lit. 'these words')'

An example of tiá³ (SUPL) in a prohibition sentence is:

- (32) [Lí² hléh²] tiá³ la³ nǐ².
 PROH speak^{TI}PROH² SUPL idea that
 'Please don't speak/say those things.'

An example of tiá³ (SUPL) in a declarative sentence is:

- (33) Hnó³² jná¹³ hi³ [jñúh¹³ nú²] tiá³
 want^{STI}1SG I COMP plane^{TI}FUT² you^{SG} SUPL
 jó¹ hmá² lá² tsa³háu².
 long/flat wood this tomorrow
 'I want you to please plane this board tomorrow.'

The only type of interrogative sentence in which tiá³ can occur is a yes-no question (§10.1) in which the verb is negated and inflected for the future tense. For example:

- (34) [Tiá¹ jñúh¹³] tiá³ hi³ chú³²
 ?^{not} do^{TI}FUT² SUPL thing good
 'Won't you please do me a favour'

When other illocutionary markers such as the anticipative (ANTP) uá¹ (§11.2.6) or the indubitative (INDB) dúh¹/dú¹ (§11.2.3) occur with tiá³, they must precede tiá³. An example of dú¹ and tiá³ together is:

- (35) [ñéih¹ dú¹] tiá³ hmá³ tí³ jo²¹ cuá²-chu²¹
 extend^{TI}IMP INDB SUPL net at side hand-good
 'Please extend the net on the right side'

When dú¹ (INDB) occurs with tiá³ (SUPL), as in (35), although the speaker is expecting compliance, the effect is that of a courteous request.

Tiá³ (SUPL) may be modified by the adverb mí¹ 'kindly', but this use is found only in the speech of the elderly. Mí¹ has probably derived from the adjective míh¹ 'little'; it collocates only with tiá³. As with dúh¹ (INDB) above, the effect is that of a courteous request. For example:

- (36) [Jnu³] mí¹ tiá³ cáum² hi³ chú³² quiú¹³.
 do^{TI}IMP kindly SUPL one^{IN} thing good^{IN} have^{STI}1PL
 'Please do me a little favour.' (lit. 'Kindly please do something good (that) we have.')

11.2 Illocutionary Particles

As mentioned in §11.0, illocutionary particles are distinguished from illocutionary adverbs on a distributional basis. Parts of speech that cannot occur in the scope of illocutionary adverbs can occur in the scope of illocutionary particles, principally: noun phrases, quantifier phrases, prepositional phrases, and adverb phrases.

Several of the particles have different connotations depending on whether the sentence in which they occur is declarative, interrogative, imperative or prohibition. These nuances are described, when relevant, in the section where each particle is discussed.

The illocutionary particles are listed in Table 11.4 together with a gloss representing their prototypical use, usually in declarative sentences.

Table 11.4 Illocutionary Particles

<i>bíh¹/bí¹</i>	affirmation
<i>dá²</i>	verification
<i>dúh¹/dú¹/dí¹</i>	indubitative
<i>máh³/ma³</i>	exclamative
<i>néh¹</i>	quotative
<i>uá¹</i>	anticipative
<i>yáh³/ya³</i>	assertion

The particles *bíh¹* (AFF), *dúh¹* (INDB), and *yáh³* (ASSR) are addressee oriented; that is, possible or probable doubt on the part of the addressee is assumed, and the speaker is attempting to allay those doubts. (Ultimately, of course, they are still expressing the speaker's own opinion that doubt exists, or potentially exists, in the addressee's mind.)

The particles *dá²* (VER), *máh³* (EXCL), *néh¹* (QUOT), and *uá¹* (ANTP) are speaker oriented; personal attitudes are being expressed without regard as to the addressee's attitude.

11.2.1 The Affirmation Particle *bíh¹*

The affirmation (AFF) particle *bíh¹* is by far the most frequent of all the illocutionary markers. *Bíh¹* can occur in declarative, interrogative, imperative, and prohibition sentences.

When glossing examples in which *bíh*¹ occurs, sometimes the equivalent of 'indeed' or 'certainly' seems appropriate, and sometimes a cleft sentence best expresses the force of *bíh*¹; however, other times I have not attempted to represent *bíh*¹ in the translation of the example, but simply discuss its implication following the example.

A quantifier phrase (§6.7) may be in the scope of *bíh*¹, as in (37a); or the entire noun phrase, as in (37b):

(37)(a) [Gau³] *bíh*¹ *jnoh*¹ *ñéi*¹ *Cua*³*tá*³.
 two¹PL AFF we go¹non¹home¹IA¹PAST¹1PL Cuicatlán
 'Two of us went to Cuicatlán.' (and have returned)

(b) [Gau³ *jnoh*¹] *bíh*¹ *ñéi*¹ *Cua*³*tá*³.
 two¹PL we AFF go¹non¹home¹IA¹PAST¹1PL Cuicatlán
 'Two of us went to Cuicatlán.' (and have returned)

In (37a), with just the quantifier phrase in the scope of *bíh*¹, the implication is that there was no-one else available to go with us; however, in (37b), with the noun phrase in the scope of *bíh*¹, the implication is that there were others that could have gone with us but didn't.

An example of a manner adverb in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

(38) *Ján*³, [*tia*³*juí*³] *bíh*¹ *ca*³- *ho*³ *tsú*² *táu*² *ní*².
 yes rapidly AFF PAST-dig¹TI³ 3 hole that
 'Yes, s/he dug that hole quickly indeed.'

The following example of a verb phrase in the scope of *bíh*¹ (AFF) shows how a clause constituent that is being questioned in the first sentence has that constituent affirmed with *bíh*¹ in the second sentence. This use of *bíh*¹ for focus is discussed further in §12.2.

(39) *Cuóh*¹⁺ *nú*² *tsa*³*háu*²?
 ?¹go¹non¹home¹IA¹FUT²2SG you¹SG tomorrow?
 Are you going tomorrow?

[*ñe*¹] *bíh*¹ *jnë*¹.
 go¹non¹home¹IA¹FUT¹1SG AFF I
 'I will certainly go.'

(The symbol + on *cuóh*¹ represents higher than normal high-falling tone (§10.1); and the symbol ? preceding the literal gloss of *cuóh*¹ represents the presence of question intonation.)

Generally, when the subject, direct object, indirect object, or oblique

object are affirmed, they occur clause initially.

An example of the subject in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (40) *Jná*¹³ *bíh*¹ *cué*¹³ *má*³² *hi*³ *cúh*¹ *nú*².
 I AFF give^{TI}^{FUT}^{1SG} food COMP eat^{TI}^{FUT}² you^{SG}
 'I certainly will give you food to eat.'

In (40), the speaker is trying to persuade an employee not to leave, and affirms his intention to take care of all his employee's needs. There is no sense of contrast.

An example of the direct object in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (41) [*Jná*¹³] *bíh*¹ *ca*³-*po*³ *tsú*² *uá*²*ja*³².
 I AFF PAST-hit^{TA}³>1 3 also
 'S/he certainly hit me too/also.'

An example of an oblique object in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (42) [*Cun*³*quionh*³ *hi*³ *jáun*²] *bíh*¹ *tí*² *jmu*² *tsú*² *ha*¹.
 by^{means}^{of} thing that^{IN} AFF DISC make^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 clothes³
 'It was with that that they used to make their clothes.'

An example of a temporal clause in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (43) [*Tá*¹*la*³ *ná*¹-*jua*²³ *hmih*³² *jáun*²] *bíh*¹
 while PROG^{PL}-shake^{TI}³ cloth that^{IN} AFF

*tsú*² *ca*³-*cuóm*³ *nú*²*mih*¹.
 3 PAST-run^{IA}³ boy
 'It was while they were shaking that cloth (that) the boy ran away.'

Although the constituent which comes within the scope of *bíh*¹ (AFF) generally occurs sentence initially, as illustrated above, nonetheless, most constituents can occur in their normal position when they come within the scope of *bíh*¹ (AFF).

An example of the temporal alone in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (44) *Lí*²-*jiénh*³² *tsú*² *uon*² *jáun*² [*má*²*hmái*³] *bíh*¹.
 HOD-return^{TI}³ 3 dish that^{IN} earlier^{today} AFF
 'It was earlier today that s/he returned that dish.'

An example of the direct object in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (45) *Hnó*³² *jnë*¹³ [*jmáih*²¹] *bíh*¹.
 want^{STI}^{1SG} I broth AFF
 'It is broth that I want.'

An example of the subject in the scope of *bíh*¹ is:

- (46) *La*³ *ní*² *lí*³ *hliá*² *tiá*² *jái*¹³
 idea that occur^{II}^{PAST} because not word

ngɿ²³ [*hnoh²*] *bíh¹*.
 understand^{TI} PRES² you^{PL} AFF
 'That occurred because you refuse to (lit. 'don't') understand.'

The preceding examples in this section illustrate *bíh¹* in declarative sentences.

An example of *bíh¹* in an interrogative sentence is:

(47) [*Hí¹* *cuóh¹³*] *bíh¹* *nú²* *tʂa³háu²?*
 QUERY go^{non} home^{IA} FUT^{2SG} AFF you^{SG} tomorrow
 'Will you indeed go tomorrow?'

In (47), without *bíh¹* the sentence is a simple request for yes/no confirmation; with *bíh¹*, however, (47) implies that the speaker has some idea that the addressee may not go, and is seeking clarification.

An example of *bíh¹* in an imperative sentence is:

(48) [*Jéih¹*] *bíh¹* *hnú²* *zɿ³* *nɿ²* *quián¹³*.
 shake^{TI} IHP AFF you^{SG} bottle that have^{STI}²
 'Shake that bottle of yours.'

In (48), if *bíh¹* is present, the imperative functions as a reminder/warning to the addressee who has either opened or is about to open the bottle; however, if *bíh¹* is absent, the imperative is purely instructional.

An example of *bíh¹* in a prohibition sentence is:

(49) [*Su³uú²* *jmú²*] *bíh¹* *hniú³²* *la³* *nɿ²*.
 PREVEN do^{TI} PROH² AFF you^{SG} idea that
 'Indeed, don't you ever do anything like that!' (i.e. 'Don't follow that person's example.')

11.2.2 The Verification Particle *dá²*

The verification (VER) particle *dá²* is able to occur in all four sentence types. Although verb phrases and adverbs can occur in the scope of *dá²*, nominals are found much more frequently. The constituent within the scope of *dá²* generally occurs clause initial. *Dá²* can occur clause final, but not sentence final.

(50) [*Tsá²* *ca³- ze³* *jná¹³*] *dá²* *lín³* *jan²*
 person PAST-send^{TA} >1 I VER be^{IA} PRES³ one^{AN}
tʂá² *quien²* *bíh¹*.
 person important AFF
 'The person who (in truth) sent me is an important person.'

In (50), *dá²* verifies that the speaker has been sent by someone.

In a declarative sentence, *dá²* (VER) is used to affirm something to be true without making any assumptions as to the possibility of doubt on the part of the addressee, as is the case with *bíh¹* (AFF) and *yáh³* (ASSR). In effect, the speaker is saying 'these are the facts' or 'there is no doubt on my part that'. In some declarative sentences, *dá²* conveys some surprise on the part of the speaker that the stated fact is true. Usually *dá²* expresses the idea of 'in truth, really, definitely'.

An example of a subject within the scope of *dá²* is:

- (51) [Tsá² hí³] dá² ca³- ní¹- hí³2 níéh³ hñu³2 jná¹3.
 person that^{AN} VER PAST-ANDT-enter^{IA}3SG inside³ house¹SG I
 'It was (definitely) that person who entered (the inside of) my house.'

An example of a locative within the scope of *dá²* is:

- (52) [ní¹ hliám³] dá² ja³- hí³ jnú² jmá¹ jáun².
 place many^{IN} VER PASS^{PAST}-be^{erased}II town time that^{IN}
 '(In truth,) in many places towns were erased/wiped out at that time.'

An example of a manner adverb within the scope of *dá²* is:

- (53) [Tiá³] dá² má² tiáunh¹ hnoh² ta³né³2, qui¹
 securely VER PRF be^{present}IA^{PRES}2PL you^{PL} now because
 'You are living (really) securely now because'

An example in which *dá²* has both predicate and object constituents within its scope is:

- (54) [Hí¹ cáun² ta²1 diá² tén²] dá² hnoh².
 even one^{IN} work not be^{able}STI² VER you^{PL}
 'You (really) can't do a single job.'

When *dá²* (VER) occurs in an interrogative clause, in effect, the speaker is saying 'I really want to know the truth!'. The use of *dá²* in interrogatives is characteristic of women's speech, although men occasionally use *dá²* for humour.

Dá² (VER) can have in its scope the constituent being questioned in a yes-no question (§10.1), any of the interrogative words (§10.3.1-§10.3.3), or the adverb *há³* 'exactly, just' (§10.3.4).

An example where *dá²* has in its scope the constituent being questioned in a yes-no question is:

- (55) [Tiá¹ má² ca³- lǐ³ ñi³²] dá² tsú² jú¹tson²?
 ?^not PRF PAST-occur^II know^STI^3 VER 3 truth
 'Has s/he really not come to know the truth?'

An example of dá² following an interrogative word is:

- (56) [He³] dá² ñi³- jmu^{h32} nú²?
 what? VER indefinite^PROG-do^TI^2 you^SG
 'What (in truth) are you doing?'

If dá² (VER) occurs with an interrogative adverb (§10.3.3) which is modified by the adverb ha³ 'exactly, just' (§10.3.4), dá² usually follows immediately after ha³. For example:

- (57) [Ha³] dá² jinh¹ ngau³ tǐ³² mí³?
 just VER where? go^non^home^IA^PAST^3SG master medicine
 'Really, just where has the doctor gone?'

However, it is possible for dá² to follow a modified interrogative adverb. For example:

- (58) [Ha³ jinh¹] dá² ca³- ñi¹- quián¹³ tsá² ó³² quie³?
 just where VER PAST-ANDT-bring^TI^3 person yonder money
 'Really, just where did that/yonder person get his money from?'

When dá² occurs in an imperative or prohibition sentence, the meaning is more that of an exhortation or plea. This use of dá² in imperatives and prohibitions is more common in women's speech than in men's.

Examples of dá² in imperative sentences are:

- (59) [Tǐ³ ó³²] dá² cuá²- náu² ñú²mí^{h1}!
 at yonder VER ANDT^IMP-stand^IA^2SG boy
 'Please stand over there, boy!'
- (60) [Ñi³] dá² quiúnh¹ jnoh¹!
 sit^IA^IMP^2SG VER accompany^STA^1PL we
 'Please sit/stay with us!'

An example of dá² in a prohibition is:

- (61) [Ea³ lǐ² cua³támh¹] dá² hnoh²!
 MODR PROH go^non^home^IA^PROH^2PL VER you^PL
 'Please don't go!'

In (61), the implication is that the speaker (most likely a woman) is afraid that something might happen to the people who are preparing to leave on a potentially dangerous task.

11.2.3 The Indubitative Particle dúh¹

The indubitative (INDB) particle dúh¹ usually means 'obviously', 'un-

doubtedly' or '(but) of course'. *Dúh*¹ occurs in declarative and imperative sentence types, but is most common in interrogative sentences. Regardless of the sentence type, *dúh*¹ is more common in women's speech than in men's.

In a declarative sentence, *dúh*¹ indicates that the speaker is aware of the addressee's expectation, and is responding with what seems to the speaker as obvious. *Dúh*¹ is addressee oriented, like *bíh*¹ and *yáh*³, by its use the speaker seeks to allay any doubts. For example:

- (62) [Tiá² ño¹ nia²¹] *dúh*¹ ñú¹.
 not know^{STI}1SG I INDB friend
 'Obviously I don't know, friend/mate.'

In (62), the implication is 'what else would you expect?'

When *dúh*¹ occurs in an interrogative or imperative sentence, it indicates that the speaker is expecting a response from the addressee; that is, s/he expects that the information will be forthcoming or the command obeyed.

An example of *dúh*¹ in an interrogative sentence is:

- (63) [He³ ñí¹-juah²¹ tsú²] *dúh*¹?
 what? INT-say^{TI}3 3 INDB
 'What is s/he trying to say?'

In (63), the implication is 'undoubtedly you know, so give me the answer.'

In a positive yes-no question (§10.1) with *dúh*¹ (INDB), the anticipated answer is 'yes'; for example:

- (64) [Hí¹ cuá²- ñéi¹ hnú² ñí¹ jáun²] *dúh*¹?
 QUERY VEN^{PAST}-go^{non}^home^{IA}2SG you^{SG} place that^{IN} INDB
 'Did you go there then?' (obviously/undoubtedly you did)

In (64), the implication is 'I didn't realise that you went there (and returned), but based on what you are saying, it appears that you did'.

However, the anticipated response to a negative question with *dúh*¹ (INDB) is 'no'; for example:

- (65) [Hí¹ tiá² cuá²- ñéi¹ hnú² ñí¹ jáun²] *dúh*¹?
 QUERY not VEN^{PAST}-go^{non}^home^{IA}2SG you^{SG} place that^{IN} INDB
 'Didn't you go there then?' (obviously you didn't)

When *dúh*¹ (INDB) is used in an imperative sentence, the implication is confidence that the request will not be turned down. For example:

- (66) [Quián²] *dúh*¹ cu³tiá³ lío²¹ lá² quiú¹³.
 take^{TI}IMP INDB briefly load this have^{STI}1PL

'Carry this load for me (lit. 'us') for a while.' (undoubtedly you will)

*Dúh*¹ has a variant form *dú*¹; there does not appear to be any difference in meaning between the two forms. *Dú*¹ is found most frequently in imperative clauses. For example:

- (67) [Cué¹] *dú*¹ *ñí*¹.
 Give^{DI}IMP²>1 INDB salt
 '(Please) give/pass (me) the salt.'

In (67), the supplication adverb *tiá*³ (§11.1.7) could be substituted for or occur with *dú*¹ (INDB). An imperative with *tiá*³ is an entreaty; an imperative with *dú*¹, however, implies that the speaker is expecting compliance. The effect of the sequence *dú*¹ *tiá*³ is a courteous request.

*Dúh*¹ also has a further variant *dí*¹, which is used only in interrogative sentences, and only among close friends of either gender. Generally, a positive response is expected (but see (80) below). For example:

- (68) [Hí¹ *láuh*¹³ *nú*² *né*³²] *dí*¹?
 QUERY bathe^{IA}FUT² you^{SG} today INDB
 'Are you going to bathe today?' (it certainly looks like you are)

In (68), the implication is that the speaker is somewhat surprised that her/his friend is intending to bathe, possibly because of inclement weather; nonetheless, the intentions of the addressee are obvious.<5>

11.2.4 The Exclamative Particle *máh*³

The exclamative (EXCL) illocutionary particle *máh*³ is a limited scope illocutionary like *bíh*¹ (AFF), and appears able to collocate with the same range of clause constituents as *bíh*¹ (§11.2.1). As with *bíh*¹, constituents in the scope of *máh*³ tend to occur clause initially. *Máh*³ can occur only in declarative and interrogative sentences.

*Máh*³ (EXCL) expresses a range of attitudes depending on the sentence type and the discourse context: distress, disappointment, frustration, apprehension, consternation, resignation, irritation, surprise, skepticism, and interdiction; the meaning of *máh*³ can often be expressed by 'alas!' The speaker is expressing a personal attitude, not making assumptions as to the addressee's

attitude, as is the case with *bih*¹ (AFF) and *yáh*³ (ASSR).

In a declarative clause, *máh*³ (EXCL) can imply distress, disappointment, resignation, apprehension, frustration, irritation, and/or surprise. For example:

- (69) [*Jmí*¹ *míh*²] *máh*³ *jnih*¹, *ngau*³
 when[^]PAST small EXCL we go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]PAST[^]3SG

*jméi*² *jnoh*¹
 father[^]1PL we

‘Alas, when we were just children, our father went away’

The attitude in (69) is one of distress and disappointment that their father had left so long ago while they were still little, and had never returned.

- (70) [*Ní*¹ *má*¹ *ca*³- *jniá*³ *jáun*²] *máh*³ *má*²
 when[^]FUT PRF PAST-be[^]visible[^]II then EXCL PRF

*juu*³ *tsú*² *hi*³*ráu*³.
 make[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3 3 crude[^]sugar

‘Only at daybreak does one begin to make the crude sugar.’

The attitude in (70) is resignation; the speaker wishes the job didn't have to be started so early, but realises that starting later would be impractical.

- (71) [*Ní*¹ *jña*³ *jmá*¹] *máh*³ *ñe*¹ *jnë*¹.
 in eight day EXCL go[^]non[^]home[^]IA[^]FUT[^]1SG I
 ‘Alas, in eight days I'll be going.’

In (71), the speaker is expressing disappointment either that the time of departure is so far away or that it is so close, depending on the context.

- (72) [*Jmí*¹ *hlam*³] *máh*³ *tsau*³ *jmí*³.
 when[^]PAST before[^]midnight EXCL arrive[^]II[^]PAST rain
 ‘It began raining before midnight.’

In (72), the attitude is one of surprise or disappointment, either because it has continued to rain from before midnight up to the moment of the speech act, or because it rained only briefly just prior to midnight. Again, the meaning is dependent on the context.

Generally, the constituent in the scope of *máh*³ (EXCL) must occur sentence initial; however, since *máh*³ is a limited scope illocutionary particle, it is possible for *máh*³ to occur sentence final, and have only the immediately preceding constituent in its scope. For example:

- (73) *Jáunh³ renh² nú² [la³ ti³ mi² cáun²] máh³.*
 return^{home} IA^{FUT} 3SG relative² you^{SG} even at year next EXCL
 'Not until next year will your brother/sister return.'

In (73), only the temporal is in the scope of *máh³* (EXCL), not the whole sentence. Evidently, the reason for the limited scope of *máh³* is that there is no reason for surprise that the person's sibling will return.

An example of a sentence in the scope of *máh³* is:

- (74) [*Taunh¹³ tsú² hnú² hñu³ mi¹ ñí² ca³ la³ ti³*
 putⁱⁿ TA^{FUT} 3>2 3 you^{SG} jail even^{to} at
ñí¹ má¹ ca³- ma³ hñah²¹ hnú² jí³ lí³²] máh³.
 when^{FUT} PRF PAST-pay^{TI} 2 you^{SG} all^{IN} very EXCL
 'They will put you in jail until you have paid everything.'

In (74), since both going to jail and paying the debt are cause for concern, the entire sentence is in the scope of *máh³* (EXCL).

If *máh³* (EXCL) has a negated declarative verb phrase in its scope, the effect is strong interdiction; for example:

- (75) [*Tiá² lí¹³] máh³ tsó³² tsú² né³²!*
 not be^{possible} II^{FUT} EXCL go^{non} home^{IA} FUT^{3SG} 3 today
 'It is not possible that s/he go today!'

In (75), the speaker is stating categorically that the person cannot go.

The particle *máh³* can combine with the exclamation (EXCM) word *hénh³*. I have come across six possible combinations with varying degrees of phonological reduction: *hénh³ máh³*, *hénh³ ma³*, *hen³ máh³*, *hen³ ma³*, *he³ máh³*, and *he³ ma³*. The full form is the most emphatic; the final, most reduced form is the most common and least emphatic. All six variants of this construction are used only in declarative sentences, and can be expressed by 'wow!'. For example:

- (76) [*He³] ma³ ca³- son² hñah²¹ cá² fe²¹!*
 EXCM EXCL PAST-lower^{II} value³ coffee
 'Wow, the value of coffee has (sure) fallen!'

In (76), *he³ ma³* 'wow!' is conveying an attitude of surprise and dismay (see note <3>).

The particle *máh³* also occurs in interrogative sentences. With the interrogative, *máh³* consistently connotes surprise, astonishment or incredulity; for example:

- (77) [Hí¹ má² tán²] máh³ nú² Jú¹mih²¹?
 QUERY PRF be^{able}STI² EXCL you^{SG} Spanish
 'Are you really able to speak Spanish?'

In (77), the implication is that the speaker was certain the addressee was unable to speak Spanish and is astonished to find the opposite to be true.

11.2.5 The Quotative Particle *néh¹*

The quotative (QUOT) particle *néh¹* occurs only in declarative and interrogative sentences.

The quotative particle *néh¹* has derived from the same source as the commentative adverb *néh¹* discussed in §11.1.4 above. Like the commentative adverb, the quotative particle is used by the speaker to gain the addressee's attention, but when *néh¹* is used as a quotative, the speaker is passing on second-hand information. The following two examples illustrate the contrast between the commentative adverb and the quotative particle respectively:

- (78) [La³ ní² tí² juáh²³ tsá²daun³²] *néh¹*.
 idea that DISC say^{TI}PRES³ old^{person} COMM
 'That is what the old people used to say, listen/pay attention!'
- (79) [La³ ní²] *néh¹* tí² juáh²³ tsá²daun³².
 idea that QUOT DISC say^{TI}PRES³ old^{person}
 'That, it is said, is what the old people used to say.'

In (78), the implication is: 'Listen to what I have to say.' However, in (79), the implication is: 'This is what I have heard, but who knows if it is true.'

In an interrogative sentence, *néh¹* (QUOT) implies that the speaker is puzzled by something that s/he has heard. S/he is not expecting information from the addressee, but simply raising a point for discussion. For example:

- (80) [Hí¹ ca³-jíéh³²] *néh¹* hué³² Hngo³jmái² dí¹?
 QUERY PAST-shake^{II} QUOT land Mexico^{City} INDB
 'Did Mexico City have an earthquake (as I/we have heard)?'

In (80), although *dí¹* (§11.2.3) normally implies that a positive response is expected, in this context it implies that the speaker wishes to discuss the matter further.

The quotative *néh¹* frequently occurs in sentences near the beginning of fables or legends, and at points of climax in the storyline. In such instances it may follow the sequential/result marker (*hi³*) *jáun²* 'then, that being the

case' (lit. 'thing that'; see §9.4) as in (81), which is the second sentence in the fable:

- (81) [Jáum²] néh¹ ngau³ tsú² hú²niéi² lán³
 then QUOT go^{non}home^{IA}PAST^{3SG} 3 early very
 'Then, so it is said, he went very early'

In (82), the story is reaching one of its episodic climaxes; the sun god is about to reward the bat for its help by giving it blood to drink (that is why the bat drinks blood to this day!):

- (82) [Hi³^jáum²] néh¹ jlánh¹ ca³- ma³hnio³ dió³2 ní¹3 hí³
 then QUOT really PAST-love^{TA}3 god bat that^{AN}
 'Then, it is said, the (sun) god really loved that bat'

11.2.6 The Anticipative Particle uá¹

The anticipative (ANTP) particle uá¹ is found principally in interrogative sentences, occasionally in imperative and prohibition sentences, and only rarely in declarative sentences. Its function in these sentence types is described and illustrated below. Uá¹ is generally found only in the speech of elderly people.

In an interrogative sentence, uá¹ (ANTP) expresses surprise, but indicates that a 'yes' response is expected. For example:

- (83) [Hí¹ hnú²] uá¹ cuóh¹3 tsa³háu²?
 QUERY you^{SG} ANTP go^{non}home^{IA}FUT^{2SG} tomorrow
 'Are you (the one who is) going tomorrow?'

When an interrogative sentence is in the scope of uá¹ (ANTP), it is generally rhetorical. A choice between two options is presented either as a teaching device or to scold the addressee. There is no strict rule as to which option the speaker endorses, but the anticipation is that the astute addressee will discern the correct option. For example:

- (84) [Hín² ngú³ cúh¹3 nú², hí¹ ngú³ juíh³, ho³
 which^{IN}? meat eat^{TI}FUT² you^{SG} QUERY meat raw or
 ngú³ má² cuo²] uá¹?
 meat PRF cooked ANTP
 'Which meat are you going to eat, raw or cooked?'

The context of (84) is a complaining child who wants to eat immediately.

An example of a non-rhetorical question is:

- (85) [Hin² tsánh² hnú², hí¹ tsá² Jó¹cua³, ho³ tsá²
 which^{AN?} person you QUERY person Retumbadero or person

Há²lí¹] uá¹?

San[^]Pedro ANTP

'Are you an inhabitant of Retumbadero or San Pedro?'

Imperatives and prohibitions incorporating uá¹ (ANTP) are relatively more common in women's speech than men's.

An imperative sentence with uá¹ (ANTP) results in a plea rather than a true command; in imperatives, uá¹ usually denotes 'wish'. For example:

- (86) [Ráin²] uá¹ uon² ní².
 wash^{TI[^]IMP} ANTP dish that
 'I wish you would wash those dishes.'

An example of a prohibition with uá¹ (ANTP) is:

- (87) [Lú²uú² lí¹ uú³] uá¹ ní¹ ní².
 CES NON climb^{TI[^]PROH[^]2} ANTP place that
 'I wish you would stop climbing there needlessly.'

(87) is more a plea than a stern rebuke or command.

Declarative sentences with uá¹ (ANTP) are uncommon. By using uá¹, the speaker is indicating to the addressee that something unanticipated by the addressee has occurred. An example is:

- (88) [Ca³-jmú³] uá¹ tsú² ta²1 jáun².
 PAST-do^{TI[^]3} ANTP 3 work that^{IN}
 'S/he did that task/work.' (Even though you thought s/he didn't/wouldn't!)

11.2.7 The Assertion Particle yáh³

The assertion (ASSR) particle yáh³ can occur with a similar range of constituents as the affirmation particle bíh¹ (§11.2.1). However, unlike bíh¹, yáh³ is a broad scope illocutionary marker, having all preceding constituents in its scope; consequently, for yáh³ to have any single constituent in its scope, that constituent must occur sentence initially and be followed immediately by yáh³.

In its prototypical use in declarative clauses, yáh³ (ASSR) is used by the speaker to give assurance or strong affirmation in the face of perceived doubt. Yáh³ usually means 'assuredly' or 'be assured (that)'.

The particle *yáh³* (ASSR) can have an entire sentence in its scope; for example:

- (89) [La³ jáun² ca³- juáh³ tsú² cháu³] yáh³.
 idea that^IN PAST-say^TI^3 3 yesterday ASSR
 'Assuredly, that's what s/he said yesterday.'

An example of a verb phrase in the scope of *yáh³* is:

- (90) [Má² ná¹- jah²] yáh³ tsú² hiá¹ cuú².
 PRF PROG^PL-weed^TI^3 ASSR 3 weed^3 maize
 'Be assured, they are now weeding the cornfield.' (lit. '... the maize's weeds')

A noun phrase within the scope of *yáh³* is illustrated by:

- (91) [Mí³ jáun²] yáh³ jmí¹ hnó²¹ jná¹³.
 medicine that^IN ASSR TRM want^STI^1SG I
 'Be assured, that medicine (and that alone!) is what I was wanting.'

When a quantifier phrase is in the scope of *yáh³*, the noun phrase of which it is a constituent must occur clause initially; for example:

- (92) [Hí¹ jan²] yáh³ tsáu² tiá² tsa³taunh¹ jmá¹¹.
 even one^AN ASSR person not go^non^home^IA^FUT^3PL fiesta
 'Be assured, not even one person will go to the fiesta.'

An example of a temporal adverb within the scope of *yáh³* is:

- (93) [Tsa³háu²] yáh³ jaunh³ ñeh² nú².
 tomorrow AFF return^home^IA^FUT^3SG father^2 you^SG
 'Be assured, tomorrow your father will return home.'

The above examples in this section illustrate the use of *yáh³* in declarative sentences. An example of *yáh³* in an interrogative sentence is:

- (94) [He³ lí³ sa³ tiá² má²] yáh³ tsá² jnu²
 what? happen^II^PAST goodness! not PRF
 cuá²taunh²¹] yáh³ tsá² jnu²
 come^non^home^IA^PAST^3PL ASSR person make^TI^PRES^3
 sun¹?
 music
 'Goodness, what ever has happened that the musicians have not yet arrived?'

In (94), if *yáh³* occurs, the sentence is a rhetorical question: the speaker is expressing frustration or concern; without *yáh³*, the sentence would be an information question (§10.3).

The assertion particle *yáh³* rarely occurs in an imperative; when it does, the verification (VER) particle *dá²* often co-occurs. For example:

- (95) [Cuá²- quian² dá² jmáí²] yáh³.
 ANDT¹IMP-bring¹TI² VER water ASSR
 'Go bring water!'

In (95), dá² softens the imperative to a plea for obedience, whereas yáh³ is an assertion that the request is serious. The use of dá² with yáh³ in the imperative is characteristic of women's speech.

An example of yáh³ in a prohibition is:

- (96) [Ha³ lí² cuí¹-lín¹ nú² la³ ní²] yáh³!
 MODR PROH HORT-think¹TI¹PROH² you¹SG idea that ASSR
 'Don't think such a thing!'

As with the imperative, yáh³ (ASSR) softens the prohibition to a plea for compliance, and is characteristic of women's speech.

Yáh³ (ASSR) has a variant form ya³; there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms. Although ya³ can occur following constituents such as the noun phrase and the verb phrase, unlike yáh³, it never occurs clause final. Ya³ mainly occurs following the interrogative nominals, adjectives, and adverbs.

An example of a verb phrase in the scope of ya³ is:

- (97) [Tiá² cuoh²] ya³ jáh³ ho³ tsá² siánh³.
 not know¹SIA³ ASSR animal mouth³ person other¹AN
 'The animals don't know/recognise another person's voice/mouth.'

An example of an interrogative adjective in the scope of ya³ is:

- (98) [Hin²] ya³ tsánh² tiá² zain³ mi³ má¹?
 which¹AN? ASSR person not like¹STI³ spherical mango
 'Who doesn't like mangoes?'

In (98), the implication is that everyone likes mangoes.

11.3 Co-occurrence of Illocutionary Markers

Some of the examples given above have had more than one illocutionary marker in a sentence.

Usually there is just one illocutionary marker per constituent; two occasionally occur, and rarely three. When illocutionary markers occur contiguously, the unmarked/normal order is set out in Table 11.5. Those illocutionary markers which form a substitution set are in the same column. Co-occurrence restrictions and possible permutations are discussed following

Table 11.5.

Table 11.5 Substitution Sets of the Illocutionary Particles and Adverbs								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>bíh</i> ¹	<i>máh</i> ³	<i>neh</i> ¹	<i>dá</i> ²	<i>yáh</i> ³	<i>dúh</i> ¹	<i>neh</i> ^{2,1}	<i>tiá</i> ³	<i>né</i> ³
AFF	EXCL	QUOT	VER	ASSR	INDB	EVAL	SUPL	EXPL
	<i>uá</i> ¹	<i>neh</i> ¹					<i>láh</i> ¹	<i>na</i> ^{2,1}
	ANTP	COMM					ASUM	ASNT
								<i>má¹na^{2,1}</i>
								CEXP

The co-occurrence restrictions that have been established are as follows (there may be others):

(i) Although *uá*¹ (ANTP) can precede either *neh*¹ (QUOT) or *neh*¹ (COMM), it cannot occur with either *bíh*¹ (AFF) or *máh*³ (EXCL). *Uá*¹ has been tentatively assigned to distribution Set 2 because it is semantically more like *máh*³ (EXCL), expressing some degree of surprise.

(ii) *Néh*¹ (QUOT) can occur immediately before *dá*² (VER) or *dúh*¹ (INDB), but *neh*¹ (COMM) cannot.

(iii) *Má¹na^{2,1}* (CEXP), like *yáh*³ (ASSR), can occur immediately following *dá*² (VER), but it cannot occur following any of the other illocutionary markers to the right of *dá*²; nor can any other illocutionary marker occur immediately following *má¹na^{2,1}*. It is tentatively grouped with the Set 9 markers for two reasons: because no other illocutionary marker can occur to its right, and because both *né*³ (EXPL) and *má¹na^{2,1}* (CEXP) also function as topic markers; see §12.1.3 and §12.1.4 respectively.

(iv) *Láh*¹ (ASUM) can be followed only by *na*^{2,1} (ASNT). No other illocutionary marker can occur immediately preceding *láh*¹. Because *láh*¹ functions as an appeal, not unlike *tiá*³ (SUPL), they have been grouped together. (*Tiá*³ (SUPL) can be immediately followed by *né*³ (EXPL) or *na*^{2,1} (ASNT), and can be preceded by *neh*^{2,1} (EVAL).)

Permutation in the order of certain illocutionary markers is possible;

there is no apparent change in meaning.

(i) The normal order of *néh*¹ (QUOT) + *dá*² (VER) can be reversed; similarly the order of *néh*¹ (QUOT) + *yáh*³ (ASSR) can be reversed.

(ii) The normal order of *neh*²¹ (EVAL) + *tiá*³ (SUPL) can be reversed.

Examples of illocutionary markers occurring contiguously are:

- (99) [[*Hí*¹ *juáh*²³] *bíh*¹] *máh*³ *tsú*² *la*³ *ní*^{2?}
 QUERY say^{TI} PRES³ AFF EXCL 3 idea that
 'Is he still saying that?'

The question in (99) is rhetorical; the implication is: 'I'm surprised that s/he is still saying those things; s/he shouldn't be speaking that way any longer.' By using *bíh*¹ (AFF) the speaker affirms that s/he knows such things are being said, and *máh*³ (EXCL) indicates surprise that such activity is still going on.

- (100) [[[*Cua*³²] *dá*²] *yáh*³] *na*²¹.
 go^{non} home^{IA} IMP^{2SG} VER ASSR ASNT
 'Go, okay?'

(100) is an imperative sentence which would usually be addressed to a child, asking her/him to do an errand. By the use of *dá*², the imperative has been softened to an appeal. *Yáh*³ is assuring the addressee that the request is serious, and *na*²¹ indicates that the speaker is expecting a positive verbal response.

- (101) [[*Há*² *jún*¹] *bíh*¹] *néh*¹ *tsú*².
 PRF die^{IA} HOD³ AFF QUOT 3
 'S/he has just died, it is said.'

In (101), the combination of *bíh*¹ (AFF) with *néh*¹ (QUOT) has the force of 'according to X it is true that'

The order of illocutionary markers as set out in Table 11.5 is relevant only when they occur contiguously. If, however, two or more illocutionary markers are not contiguous, they have different scopes, and there does not appear to be the same constraints on their order. They can still occur according to the order in Table 11.5, as in (102):

- (102) [[[*Hen*³] *na*³] *dá*² *uóu*³² *ca*³⁻ *quiúh*³² *tsú*²] *dúh*¹.
 EXCM EXCL VER pain PAST-experience^{TI} 3 3 INDB
 'Wow, what pain s/he had, as is obvious.'

In (102), *ma*³ (EXCL) is expressing the speaker's amazement, while *dá*² (VER) is used to verify her/his emotion expressed by the exclamatory *hen*³ (EXCM) as genuine. *Dúh*¹ (INDB), which functions separately from these two illocutionary markers, indicates that the speaker feels s/he is stating the obvious.

There are, however, sentences in which illocutionary markers with different constituents in their scope may occur in an order unlike that set out in Table 11.5.

For example, when *bíh*¹ (AFF) and *dá*² (VER) occur contiguously, as in (103a), *bíh*¹ must precede *dá*²; however, if they have different constituents in their scope, as in (103b), the order may be reversed:

(103)(a) [[*Hmá*²*sí*¹ *jáun*²] *bíh*¹] *dá*² *jau*³ *tsú*² *tša*³*háu*².
 chair that^{IN} AFF VER make^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3 tomorrow
 'It is the aforementioned chair which s/he will make tomorrow.'

(b) [[*Hmá*²*sí*¹ *jáun*²] *dá*² *jau*³ *tsú*² [*tša*³*háu*²] *bíh*¹.
 chair that^{IN} VER make^{TI}^{FUT}³ 3 tomorrow AFF
 'It is tomorrow that s/he will make the aforementioned chair.'

11.4 Summary: A Comparison of Implications

In this section the fourteen illocutionary adverbs and particles (see Table 11.1) are put in a frame to facilitate a comparison of their implications. Not all illocutionary markers are able to occur immediately following the verb, nor are they all able to occur sentence final. Although all illocutionary markers can occur in declarative sentences, the brevity of the frame that has been chosen, and the lack of context, requires the interrogative for (105j)-(105l), and the imperative for (105m) and (105n). The frame is:

(104) *Cúh*² *tsú*² *lí*¹.
 eat^{TI}^{PRES}³ 3 tepejilote
 'S/he eats tepejilote.'

The buds and young flowers of the tepejilote palm are edible. Tepejilote has a very bitter taste, somewhat reminiscent of overripe eggplant, but is considered a delicacy by some people.

Without *bíh*¹ (AFF) in (105e), the example is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural sounding. In (105g), if *bíh*¹ (AFF) does not occur with the contraexpectation adverb *má*¹*na*², the out-of-context sentence sounds like a

response from the addressee; see (106). The supplication adverb *tiá³* in (105n) does not fit the substitution frame, so a different verb is required.

The implication of each illocutionary marker in turn is:

- (105)
- (a) *Cúh² dá² tsú² lí¹.* 'S/he really eats tepejilote.'
(the speaker states a fact of which s/he is certain)
- (b) *Cúh² bít¹ tsú² lí¹.* 'S/he does eat T.'
(the speaker gives affirmation in the face of doubt)
- (c) *Cúh² yáh³ tsú² lí¹.* 'Be assured, s/he eats T.'
(implies: 'Since s/he eats it, why won't you?')
- (d) *Cúh² néh¹ tsú² lí¹.* 'It is said that s/he eats T.'
(the speaker is passing on second-hand information)
- (e) *Cúh² bít¹ tsú² lí¹ néh¹.* 'You should know that people eat T.'
(the speaker is passing on information that may be of interest to the addressee; there is no implication as to how this information has been acquired)
- (f) *Cúh² máh³ tsú² lí¹.* 'Surprisingly, she eats T.'
(the speaker is surprised, since not everyone likes T)
- (g) *Cúh² bít¹ tsú² lí¹ má¹na²¹.* 'Nonetheless, s/he does eat T.'
(the speaker has listed several food items that the referent doesn't eat, but contrary to what might be expected, the referent eats bitter tasting T that not everyone likes.)
- (h) *Cúh² tsú² lí¹ na²¹.* 'She eats T, okay?'
(after supplying the information, the speaker seeks acknowledgment that the addressee has heard)
- (i) *Cúh² tsú² lí¹ láh¹.* 'S/he eats T, right?'
(the speaker thinks this is true, but seeks confirmation from the addressee)
- (j) *Cúh¹³ tsú² lí¹ dúh¹?* 'Is it true that people eat T;
undoubtedly you know?'
(the speaker didn't know that T was edible; s/he is expecting accurate information from the addressee)
- (k) *Cúh¹³ uá¹ tsú² lí¹?* 'Is it true that s/he eats T?'
(the speaker is surprised to hear that the referent eats T, nonetheless, a 'yes' response is anticipated)
- (l) *Cúh¹³ tsú² lí¹ né³?* 'Does s/he eat T then?'
(the speaker has heard that s/he doesn't eat certain foods, and is seeking clarification with respect to T)
- (m) *Quáh³ neh²¹ lí¹ lá².* 'Eat this T, let's see if you can.'
(the addressee has bragged about liking all kinds of food, so the speaker is challenging her/him to try T.)
- (n) *Quiaum² tiá³ lí¹ lá².* 'Please take/carry this T.'

As mentioned above, without *bíh¹*, (105g) sounds like a response from the addressee. The meaning of *má¹na²¹* then shifts to the rather uncommon sense of 'presumably'; see §11.1.2. For example:

(106) *Cúh² tsú² lí¹ má¹na²¹*. 'Presumably, s/he eats T.'

In (106), speaker B has heard from speaker A that the referent doesn't eat certain foods, but since T was not mentioned, speaker B assumes that the referent probably eats T, and expects the answer 'yes' from speaker A.

11.5 Conclusion

The above discussion is by no means exhaustive as to all the parts of speech each illocutionary marker can have in its scope; nor have all the nuances that can occur with positive and negative declaratives, and positive and negative interrogatives been explored. Nonetheless, it is sufficient to demonstrate how the illocutionary markers, both individually and in combination, are a powerful and flexible linguistic resource for communicating the Chinantec speaker's attitude to the proposition, and/or towards the addressee.

NOTES

1. Women and men differ not only in their use of illocutionary adverbs and particles, but also in their use of pronouns; see §6.1.1.9.
2. The variant *má¹ná¹* is heard with almost equal frequency as *má¹na²¹*, but I have chosen *má¹na²¹* as the citation form for the dictionary, and use it consistently in the examples.
3. Coffee is the Sochiapan Chinantec's only cash crop.
4. The word *jmáí²* 'water' is a common euphemism for liquor.
5. No-one bathes inside their house. There are several springs around the village where people go to wash their clothes and bathe.

CHAPTER 12

TOPIC-COMMENT AND FOCUS

12.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the topic-comment and focus constructions of Sochiapan Chinantec are discussed.

The function of the Chinantec topic construction corresponds to Chafe's (1976:50) suggestion that:

What the topics appear to do is to limit the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain. . . . Typically, it would seem, the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.

The Chinantec focus construction, on the other hand, is a means of introducing and emphasising new information.

12.1 The Topic-comment Construction

Chinantec topics are marked by either *néʒ* (TOPIC) or *máʔnaʔ* 'contraexpectation topic' (CTOPIC). The topic marker follows the topicalised element; there is a pause between the topic and the rest of the sentence. Of the two types of topicalisation, contraexpectation topic is the less common. The function of the topic markers is discussed in more detail in §12.1.3 and §12.1.4 respectively.

12.1.1 Topic versus Subject

Li and Thompson (1976:461-466) give seven criteria for distinguishing topic from subject. These criteria are discussed briefly below with reference to Chinantec. Although points (b), (c), and (e) are closely related, for completeness, I have followed Li and Thompson's order of presentation.

(a) A topic must be definite or generic, whereas a subject need not be.

A deictic adjective is found in many Chinantec topic constructions. Those that lack a deictic adjective are still identifiable as definite, having either a proper noun, a generic noun phrase, or a pronoun. Some temporal topics lack a deictic, but they form part of a sequence of events: *Jmí¹ má² ca³hláu³ né³,* 'In the afternoon (topic),'

In the following examples, the topic is enclosed in square brackets.

An example of a topic with a definite noun phrase is:

- (1) [*Tsáí² lá²*] *né³, lán³ jan² tsáí²*
 dog this TOPIC be^{IA}PRES³ one^{AN} dog
jngíh² cá¹háu² bít¹.
 kill^{TA}PRES³ chicken AFF
 'This dog (topic), (it) is a dog that kills chickens.'

An example of a topic with a generic noun phrase is:

- (2) [*Tí³la³ tsa³cuá¹*] *né³, tí³ jlánh¹ ré²*
 but horse TOPIC more^{so} really well
lí² tán² bít¹.
 be^{possible}II^{PRES} be^{tamed}STI³ AFF
 'But horses (topic), (they) are able to be tamed much easier.'

An indefinite specific topic is not grammatical; for example:

- (3) * [*Jan² tsáu²*] *né³, jmí¹ mí³² tun³² quián¹³.*
 one^{AN} person TOPIC TRM ask^{TI}PRES³ guitar² have^{STI}²
 'A person (topic), (s/he) was asking for (to borrow) your guitar.'

(b) A topic 'need not have a selectional relation with any verb in the sentence; that is, it need not be an argument of a predicative constituent' (ibid:461). A Chinantec example is:

- (4) [*Tí³la³ hnoh²*] *má¹na²¹, zian² bít¹ ñeh² hnoh².*
 but you^{PL} CTOPIC exist^{SIA}³ AFF father² you^{PL}
 'But as for you (topic), your father is living/existing.'

In (4), the topic 'you' is not an argument of the intransitive existential predicate 'live, exist', whereas the subject 'your father' is.

(c) 'Verb determines "Subject" but not "Topic"' (ibid:462); that is, the case role of the subject is determined by the verb, but a topic may be chosen independently of the verb.

This is already illustrated in (4) above. A further example is:

- (5) [Já¹jáu² piéh¹ lá²] né³, cónh³ cánh¹ hnú²?
 cabbage globe this TOPIC how^{much}? charge^{TI}^{FUT}² you^{SG}
 'This head of cabbage (topic), how much will you charge?'

(d) The topic serves as the centre of attention of the sentence. Subjects, on the other hand, need not play any semantic role in the sentence at all: 'in many subject-prominent languages, sentences may occur with "empty" or "dummy" subjects' (ibid:464).

If dummy subjects occur in a language, they generally occur with existential and/or meteorological predicates. Dummy subjects do not occur in Chinantec. For example:

- (6) Zia³² táu².
 exist^{SII} banana
 '(There) are bananas.'
- (7) Jlánh¹ hmih²¹ jmí³.
 really be^{thick}^{SII} rain
 '(It) is raining heavily.'

(e) In many languages, verbs show obligatory agreement with their subject, 'topic-predicate agreement, however, is rare' (ibid:464).

Chinantec verbs exhibit obligatory agreement with their subject, but not with the topic; for example (also see (4) above):

- (8) [Tsa³háu²] né³, ñih²¹ jná¹³.
 tomorrow TOPIC go^{home}^{IA}^{FUT}^{1SG} I
 'Tomorrow (topic), I will go home.'

(f) The 'surface coding of the topic in all the languages we have examined always involve the sentence-initial position' (ibid:465), and may involve morphological markers.

Chinantec topics always occur in the sentence-initial position, and are marked by either *né³* (TOPIC) or *má¹na²¹* (CTOPIC); generally, the topic is set off from the rest of the sentence by a pause. On the other hand, subjects normally occur post-verbally.

(g) 'The subject but not the topic plays a prominent role in such processes as reflexivization, passivization, Equi-NP deletion, verb serialization and imperativization' (ibid:465).

Chinantec topics are not involved in any of these processes.

As the preceding discussion has shown, Chinantec topics exhibit the characteristics of topics identified by Li and Thompson; however, a point of theoretical interest arises from their claim that "double subject" constructions are always of the form:

- (9)

NP ₁	NP ₂	V
topic	comment	

which is precisely the form of a verb final language' (1976:484, emphasis mine).

Some Chinantec 'double subject' sentences are of the form in (9); for example:

- (10) [*Li²¹ quion²¹ jn^{á13} né³, háin² bíh¹ ca³- can³.*
 cargo have[^]STI[^]1SG I TOPIC thief AFF PAST-take[^]TI[^]3
 'My cargo (topic), a thief took/stole (it).']

However, the structure of most comments follows the normal unmarked VSO order, which does not support Li and Thompson's claim. For example:

- (11) [*Mi^tieí²¹ hí³] né³, ti^á² jéi²³ yáh³ tsái².*
 cat that[^]AN TOPIC not like[^]TA[^]3[^]3 ASSR dog
 'That cat (topic), the dog doesn't like (it).']

There is one feature of topic-prominent languages that is not found in Chinantec: Li and Thompson (1976:470) observe that topic-prominent languages 'tend to be verb-final languages'; Chinantec, however, is a VSO language.

12.1.2 Characteristics of Chinantec Topic-comment Constructions

The characteristics of Chinantec topic-comment constructions are as follows:

- (i) A Chinantec topic often incorporates a word from the prior clause, or at least information that can be inferred from the prior clause, resulting in a kind of 'tail-head' linkage.<1>

The first example below, from a procedural discourse on how to make crude sugar, illustrates two topic-comment clauses following one after the other:

- (12) *La³ñí¹ tin² cha³² tsú² ca³lá² cuo¹.*
 first prior place[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 some firewood.

[*ná¹ ta³⁻ no¹ jáun² ca³lá² cuo¹] né³,
PRF CONT[^]PAST-be[^]present[^]3 then some firewood TOPIC*

má² quieih³² tsú² hná¹cuú². [Ní¹ má¹ ca³⁻ uóunh³
PRF slash[^]TI[^]PRES[^]3 3 sugarcane when[^]FUT PRF PAST-be[^]cut[^]II

jáun²] né³, hniáuh³² jná¹³² yáh³ tsú² siáh³.
that[^]IN TOPIC be[^]necessary[^]SII transport[^]TI[^]FUT[^]3 ASSR 3 too
'First of all s/he collects some firewood. Once some firewood has been gathered (topic), s/he will cut down the sugarcane. After (it) has been cut down (topic), s/he will need to transport (it).'

In (12), both topics give the temporal setting for their respective comments. This function of the topic corresponds to Chafe's (1976:50) definition of topic as setting 'a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds.' The first topic repeats the NP 'some firewood' of the preceding clause. The first comment makes no further reference to the firewood, but goes on to supply new information--the sugarcane needs to be harvested. The second topic treats the sugarcane as harvested; the noun 'sugarcane' is omitted in both the second topic and comment.

In the sentence preceding (13), the speaker mentions that the sugarcane juice is being boiled on a fire. The topic of (13) sets the time for the next stage:

(13) [*Jáun² cun³ he² cá² tsó¹³ hiú² t¹³ ca³hláu³]*
so about hang[^]SII one[^]IN half sun at afternoon

né³, má² hñéi² lán³² bíh¹ jmí²cuú¹³
TOPIC PRF be[^]thick[^]SII very AFF sugarcane[^]juice
'So about mid-afternoon (topic), the sugarcane juice is very thick/syrupy'

(ii) The frequency with which topic constructions occur varies according to the different genres. Procedural accounts seem to have the most, such as the account of 'The Growing of Sugar Cane for the Production of Crude Sugar'. Reasoned argument (monologue) and debate also make extensive use of topicalisation. In biographical, autobiographical, and folklore material, topicalisation may vary from extensive to minimal, with certain speakers/authors utilising it more than others. Accounts of customs and beliefs appear to make minimal use of topicalisation.

(iii) One of the most frequent uses of the topic construction is to move

the story line on to the next piece of new information by simply saying (*hi³*) *jáun² né³* 'then' or 'that being so' (lit. 'thing that TOPIC'); for example:

- (14) [*Hi³^jáun²*] *né³*, *ní¹juáh³ la³ má² ca³- héi² bíh¹*
 then TOPIC if EVID PRF PAST-cool^II AFF

hi³ráu³, *jáun² cáun² tah³² hmá² bíh¹ tsú².*
 crude^sugar then simply pour^DI^PRES^3 wood AFF 3
 'Then (topic), if the crude sugar appears to have cooled, then s/he simply pours (it into) the wooden mould.'

(iv) According to Li and Thompson (1976:469), coreferential constituent deletion is typically controlled by the topic and not the subject. This is true of Chinantec. In (15), for example, the empty position is coreferential with the topic 'my dog', and not with the subject 'someone/people':

- (15) [*Tsáí² hí³ joh² jná¹³*] *né³*, *ca³- han³*
 dog that^AN have^STA^1SG I TOPIC PAST-steal^TA^3

tsáú² bíh¹, *jáun² má² ní³-hnah²¹ jná¹³* _____
 people AFF so PRF AMB-search^for^TA^1SG I
 'That dog of mine (topic), someone has stolen (it), so I am now walking around searching for (it).'

12.1.3 The Topic Marker *né³*

When the speaker marks a topic with *né³*, s/he is alerting the addressee that there is additional information coming up specific to the topic; such information may be either contrastive or non-contrastive/informative, depending on the context.

The topic marker *né³* is most likely related to the explication illocutionary adverb *né³* discussed in §11.1.1.

Although there does not appear to be any constraints as to what may serve as the topic constituent marked by *né³*, the temporal constituent is most commonly topicalised, and the subject constituent is second-most. Topicalised temporals are rarely contrastive.

An example of a topicalised temporal is:

- (16) [*Jmá¹jáun²*] *né³*, *ca³- chí² tsá²juú² juí³².*
 then^PAST TOPIC PAST-take^TI^SG^3 townsfolk path
 '(At) that time (topic), the townsfolk had their procession.'
 (lit. '... the townsfolk took/extracted a path')

An example of a topicalised subject is:

- (17) [Tsá²mi³ hí³] né³, ca³- yá²han¹ lán³² bíh¹.
 woman that^{AN} TOPIC PAST-be^{frightened} IA³ very AFF
 'Those women (topic), (they) were very frightened.'

In (17), if the women were being compared to some other individual(s), the topic-comment construction would be contrastive; however, in the context in which (17) occurs, there are no other people with which the women are being compared, thus the topic-comment construction is purely informative in function.

The direct object can be topicalised; for example:

- (18) [Hú¹chí³² jná¹³] né³, ca³- háin³ bíh¹ tsú².
 hat^{1SG} I TOPIC PAST-steal^{TI} 3 AFF 3
 'My hat (topic), s/he stole (it).'

In (18), the more likely meaning is contrastive--my hat was stolen rather than someone else's, or, my hat was stolen instead of something else I own.

An example of a topicalised indirect object is:

- (19) [Hi³ jnoh¹] né³, ca³- cué³ tsú² cá² hñe² hi³ráu³.
 and we TOPIC PAST-give^{DI} 3>1 3 one^{IN} parcel crude^{sugar}
 'And us (topic), he gave a parcel of crude sugar.'

In (19), the more likely meaning is contrastive--we were given a parcel of crude sugar, whereas someone else was not (or else they were given something different).

Locatives can also be topicalised; for example:

- (20) [Hná¹³ lán¹ jáum²] né³, zih³² tsú² siáh³
 end³ trough that^{IN} TOPIC stand^{TI} PRES³ 3 3 too
 cáum² hia³² hí¹ tsa³- há²¹ jmi²cuú¹³.
 one^{IN} vat place ANDT^{FUT}-be^{contained} II sugarcane^{juice}
 'At the end of that trough (topic), s/he also stands a vat into which the sugarcane juice goes.'

In (20), the meaning is purely informative; there is no sense of contrastiveness.

An example of a topicalised instrumental constituent is:

- (21) [Tí³la³ cun³quionh³ hí³ jngáh² tsú² jáum²
 but by^{means} of COMP kill^{TI} PRES³ 3 3 that^{IN}
 jáh³ hí³] né³, tí³ má² chau² bíh¹
 animal that^{AN} TOPIC more^{so} PRF put^{back} II PRES AFF
 tsí³ tsú² hí³ la³ ná¹- ren² bíh¹ tsú² tso³.
 heart³ 3 3 COMP EVID PROG^{PL}-owe^{TI} 3 AFF 3 sin

'But by means of them killing those animals that way (topic), they remember all the more that they are clearly guilty.' (lit. '. . . their hearts put back all the more that they have a debt of (owe) sin.')

Usually, if the topic is coreferential with any of the primary noun phrase constituents (the subject, direct object, or indirect object; see §8.1) in the comment, ellipsis of that noun phrase occurs in the comment; see (17)-(19). However, a coreferential primary constituent may occur in the comment; for example:

(22) [Tsá² ca³- ziam³ hi³] né³, ma³ quin³²
 person PAST-remain^{IA}^3 that^{AN} TOPIC by separately

bih¹ ca³- háin³² tsú².
 AFF PAST-disperse^{IA}^3 3

'Those people who remained (topic), they went their own separate ways.' (i.e. those not killed in the epidemic)

In (22), the topic is coreferential with the pronoun *tsú²* 'they' in the comment.

(23) [Hi³ jnoh¹] né³, he³ hniáuh³² jnú¹³ jnoh¹?
 and we TOPIC what? be^{necessary}^SII do^{TI}^FUT^{1PL} we
 'And we (topic), what must we do?'

In (23), *jnoh¹* 'we' in the topic is coreferential with *jnoh¹* in the comment.

12.1.4 The Contraexpectation Topic Marker *má¹na²¹*

When the speaker marks a topic with *má¹na²¹*, s/he is alerting the addressee that the comment will contain information that is in some way counter to the known or assumed expectation of the addressee.

The contraexpectation topic (CTOPIC) marker *má¹na²¹* is most likely related to the contraexpectation illocutionary adverb *má¹na²¹* discussed in §11.1.2.

An example of the use of *má¹na²¹* (CTOPIC) is:

(24) [Tí³la³ mí³ lá²] má¹na²¹, tí³ son² bih¹ hnah²¹.
 but medicine this CTOPIC more^{so} be^{less}^SII AFF price³
 'But this medicine (topic), its price is cheaper.'

In (24), the speaker assumes that the information contained in the comment is probably contrary to the expectation of the addressee, and so *má¹na²¹* is used (for example, if a larger bottle of medicine was cheaper than a smaller). The other topic marker, *né³*, could be used in (24) if, for example, the speaker wished to compare/contrast two (or more) medications which are similar in size

and function, presuming that the addressee had not made any assumption as to the relative expense of each medication.

Another example of the contraexpectation topic marker *má¹na²¹* is:

- (25) [Tí³la³ jméi² tsú²] *má¹na²¹*, la³juí³² ca³- záih³
 but father³ 3 CTOPIC promptly PAST-tell^{DI}³
 tsá² quian²¹ la³ lá²
 person servant³ idea this
 'But his father (topic), promptly told his servant this'

In (25), by using *má¹na²¹* in the topic, the speaker is warning the addressee that the comment will contain information contrary to the addressee's (probable) expectation, based on the preceding discourse.

The range of elements that can be topicalised by means of *má¹na²¹* (CTOPIC) is the same as that of *né³* (TOPIC). However, *má¹na²¹* occurs most frequently following topicalised subjects; topicalised temporals being a distant second, which is the opposite of the proportions for *né³*.

An example of a topicalised subject with *má¹na²¹* is:

- (26) [Tí³la³ no² hí³] *má¹na²¹*, ca³- liáun³ bíh¹
 but rat that^{AN} CTOPIC PAST-escape^{IA}³ AFF
 ñí¹con² tsáí² hí³.
 from dog that^{AN}
 'But that rat (topic), (it) escaped from that dog.'

An example of a topicalised direct object is:

- (27) [Tí³la³ jáh³ ca³- tsan³ hí³] *má¹na²¹*,
 but animal PAST-die^{IA}³PL that^{AN} CTOPIC
 ca³- jín³ bíh¹ tsú² cheih³² juí².
 PAST-burn^{TA}³ AFF 3 outside³ town
 'But those animals that died (topic), they burned them outside of town.'

In (27), by using *má¹na²¹*, the speaker notifies the addressee that something unexpected happened to the dead animals; the precise information being supplied in the comment.

An example of a topicalised temporal is:

- (28) [Tí³la³ ta³né³²] *má¹na²¹*, má² cuanh³² bíh¹ jná¹³.
 but now CTOPIC PRF arrive^{home}^{IA}^{PAST}¹SG AFF I
 'But now (topic), I have arrived.'

In (28), the presence of *má¹na²¹* indicates that, contrary to the addressee's

(known or assumed) expectation, the speaker has arrived.

An example of a topicalised locative is:

- (29) [tɪ˩˩la˩ juú˩co˩ jná˩˩] má˩na˩˩, tiá˩˩ sɪ˩˩ má˩˩ zia˩˩ yáh˩˩.
 but hometown¹SG I CTOPIC not fire PRF exist²SII ASSR
 'But in my hometown (topic), electricity (lit. 'fire') has not yet become (available).'

In (29), by using *má˩na˩˩*, the speaker forewarns the addressee that the situation in her/his hometown is contrary to the addressee's expectation.

In contraexpectation topic-comment constructions, the topic is usually introduced by *tɪ˩˩la˩˩* 'but', as in (24)-(29) above. However, *tɪ˩˩la˩˩* is not necessary; for example:

- (30) [sɪ˩˩ jáun˩˩] má˩na˩˩, tiá˩˩ rá˩˩- lɪ˩˩ yáh˩˩ cun˩˩quionh˩˩ jñí˩˩.
 book that¹IN CTOPIC not flat²PROG-be²SII ASSR by²means²of ink
 'That book, however (topic), is not (made) by means of ink.'

In (30), by using *má˩na˩˩* in the topic, the speaker is advising the addressee that the book referred to is in some way different from normal books; the comment specifies the difference.

If the topic noun phrase refers to a different entity than the subject noun phrase, *má˩na˩˩* is sometimes simply contrastive rather than contraexpectation; for example:

- (31) [hnoh˩˩] má˩na˩˩, ní˩˩juáh˩˩ tsá˩˩ ná˩˩˩˩
 you²PL CTOPIC if person listen²to²TI²PRES²
 'You, however (CTOPIC), if a person listens to
 já˩˩˩˩ quián˩˩˩˩ hnoh˩˩
 word have²STI² you²PL
 your message'

In (31), *né˩˩* (TOPIC) can be substituted for *má˩na˩˩* with no apparent change in meaning.

12.1.5 Language Typology Based on Subject versus Topic Prominence

Li and Thompson postulate four basic types of languages (1976:459):

1. subject-prominent
2. topic-prominent
3. both subject-prominent and topic-prominent
4. neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent

Several of the characteristics of topic-prominent languages discussed by Li and Thompson (1976:466ff) apply to Sochiapan Chinantec, one applies marginally, and one does not (see §12.1.1). Although topic is a clearly marked construction in Chinantec, it does not have as high a functional load as the subject-predicate construction. Chinantec appears to be somewhere on the cline between a type 1 and type 3 language group.

12.2 Focus

Comrie (1989:63) uses the term 'focus' to refer to 'the essential piece of new information that is carried by a sentence', and shows how word order can function as a 'grammaticalized indication of focus'.

Focus is accomplished in Chinantec by two methods:

(i) by word order: a left-dislocation of the clause constituent that is in focus, and/or

(ii) by the use of an illocutionary particle immediately following the constituent that is in focus. If an illocutionary particle is used, there need not be a change from the unmarked word order; but more often than not, the illocutionary particle follows a left-dislocated constituent, resulting in a double marking of focus.

Focus differs from topicalisation in the following ways:

(i) The constituent which is brought into focus may be indefinite; however, a topicalised constituent must be definite or generic (§12.1.1).

(ii) Pause occurs following a topicalised constituent, but not a focused constituent.

(iii) The topic always occurs sentence initial and is obligatorily marked by *néʒ* (TOPIC) or *ná¹na²¹* (CTOPIC). Focus is optionally marked if the constituent is left-dislocated, and obligatorily marked if it is in its unmarked/normal position. Some constituents, such as the locative, do not need to be left-dislocated to a sentence initial position, but can occur between the predicate and the subject; see (32) below. Since Chinantec is a VSO language, left-dislocation of the predicate is not possible, so a predicate in

focus can only be marked by an illocutionary particle.

The most common illocutionary particle used for focus is the affirmation (AFF) particle *bíh*¹ (§11.2.1); consequently the discussion of focus and the majority of examples are based on *bíh*¹. Other illocutionary particles which can be used for focus are: *dá*² (VER), *máh*³ (EXCL), *uá*¹ (ANTP), and *γáh*³ (ASSR); see §11.2.

Without knowing the discourse context of a given utterance, a left-dislocated clause constituent within the scope of *bíh*¹ (AFF) could be either affirmed (see §11.2.1), or else new information in focus.

To illustrate the new information that is placed in focus, the following examples are arranged in question and answer sequences. Square brackets are used to enclose the constituent which is in focus.

12.2.1 Focus Marked by Word Order

An example of a locative occurring between the predicate and the subject to mark focus is:

- (32) *Jinh*¹ *cháuh*³ *nú*^{2?}
 where? go^{non}^home^IA^PRES^2SG you^SG
 'Where are you going?'
- ŋe*¹ [*Cua*³*uóun*²] *ná*¹.
 go^{non}^home^IA^FUT^1SG Quetzalapa I
 'I am going (lit. 'will go') to Quetzalapa.'

In (32), the locative constituent follows the predicate but precedes the subject.

An example of left-dislocation of a temporal to a clause initial position to mark focus is:

- (33) *Líh*³ *cuanh*³ *tsú*^{2?}
 when? return^home^IA^PAST^3SG 3
 'When did s/he get back?'
- [*Há*² *hñá*³ *jmá*¹] *cuanh*³ *tsú*².
 PRF five day return^home^IA^PAST^3SG 3
 'It was five days ago s/he got back.'

12.2.2 Focus Marked by Illocutionary Particles

A verb phrase that is new information cannot be marked for focus by word order; thus the only way it can be marked for focus is by means of an

illocutionary particle. For example:

- (34) *He³ lɿ²-jmú³ Pé¹ ñi¹con² tsa³cuá¹?*
 what? HOD-do^TI^3 Peter to horse
 'What did Peter do to the horse?'

[lɿ²-pan³] bih¹ tsú² jáh³.
 HOD-hit^TA^3 AFF 3 animal
 'He hit it.' (lit. 'He hit the animal.')

In (34), the illocutionary particles *dá²* (VER) or *uá¹* (ANTP) can be substituted for *bih¹* (AFF). With *bih¹*, the speaker is simply stating a fact; with *uá¹*, the implication is that the speaker had not anticipated such an action by Peter. With *dá²* the speaker (most likely a woman; see §11.2.2) is expressing some surprise as well as verifying the nature of the action.

A non-verb phrase constituent which is new information may be marked for focus with *bih¹* without being left-dislocated; for example:

- (35) *He³ ñi³- jmuh³² nú²?*
 what? sit^PROG-make^TI^2 you^SG
 'What are you making?'

Cuá¹- jmu² jná¹³ [cáun² hmá²sá¹] bih¹.
 sit^PROG-make^TI^1SG I one^IN chair AFF
 'It's a chair that I am making.'

In (35), the illocutionary particle *yáh³* (ASSR) can be substituted for *bih¹* (AFF). With *bih¹*, the speaker is simply affirming the truth that it is a chair s/he is making. With *yáh³*, the implication is that the speaker thinks it should be obvious what is being made; the speaker may even be indicating slight annoyance at such a silly/unnecessary question.

12.2.3 Focus Marked by Word Order and Illocutionary Particles

The next two examples illustrate the combined use of left-dislocation of clause constituents together with an illocutionary particle to mark focus. In (36), the subject is in focus:

- (36) *Hin² tsánh² lɿ²-han³ tsa³cuá¹?*
 which^AN? person HOD-steal^TA^3 horse
 'Who stole the horse?'

[Pé¹] bih¹ lɿ²-han³ jáh³.
 Peter AFF HOD-steal^TA^3 animal
 'Peter stole it.' (lit. 'Peter stole the animal.')

In (36), by using *bih¹* (AFF) the speaker affirms that Peter was the thief; if

*uá*¹ is used in place of *bíh*¹, the implication is that the speaker had not anticipated such an action by Peter. None of the other illocutionary particles can be substituted.

In the next example a locative is in focus:

- (37) *Jinh*¹ *ca*³- *han*³ *tsú*² *tša*³*cuá*¹?
 where? PAST-steal^TA^3 3 horse
 'Where did s/he steal the horse?'

[*Jó*¹*cua*³] *bíh*¹ *ca*³- *han*³ *tsú*² *jáh*³.
 Retumbadero AFF PAST-steal^TA^3 3 animal
 'It was at (the town of) Retumbadero s/he stole it.'

In response to questions such as 'Where have you been?', or 'Where did you go?', the addressee could supply more new information than just the specific answer to 'where?', as in (38) and (39); however, only the information which is germane to the question is marked for focus. The locative can be left-dislocated to a position either pre-subject or pre-predicate. An example of each respectively is:

- (38) *ñéi*¹ [Jalapa] *bíh*¹ *jná*¹³ *quim*³ *zih*².
 go^non^home^IA^PAST^1SG Jalapa AFF I four^AN month
 'It was to Jalapa I went for four months.'

- (39) [Jalapa] *bíh*¹ *ñéi*¹ *jná*¹³ *quim*³ *zih*².
 Jalapa AFF go^non^home^IA^PAST^1SG I four^AN month
 'It was to Jalapa I went for four months.'

In (38) and (39), the locative *Jalapa* is the new information in focus, and is marked as such by *bíh*¹. The other, voluntarily supplied, new information 'four months' has no special marking. The word order of (39) places more emphasis on the locative constituent than does the word order of (38).

Normally, *bíh*¹ (AFF) can have only the immediately preceding constituent in its scope--it is a limited scope illocutionary particle; see §11.0 and §11.2.1. However, when new information is brought into focus, sometimes the scope of *bíh*¹ extends beyond the immediately preceding constituent. In (40), for example, the scope of *bíh*¹ includes both the object and the predicate:

- (40) *He*³ *ta*²¹ *ñi*³- *jmu*^{h32} *nú*² *ta*³*né*³²?
 what? work indefinite^PROG-do^TI^PRES^2 you^SG now
 'What work are you doing now?'

[Cuá¹⁻ jnau³² hí³] bîh¹ jná¹³.
 indefinite^PROG-form^TI^1SG tortilla AFF I
 'I am forming/making tortillas.'

An alternative way to answer the question in (40) has only the object in the scope of *bîh¹*:

(41) [Hí³] bîh¹ cuá¹⁻ jnau³² jná¹³.
 tortilla AFF indefinite^PROG-form^TI^1SG I
 'It's tortillas (that) I am forming/making.'

An entire sentence can also be in the scope of *bîh¹* if the whole of the sentence is new information. For example, if a noise was heard and person A goes to investigate, person B could then ask *He³ lî³?* 'What happened?' The entire answer by A would be new information, in which case *bîh¹* occurs sentence final and has the complete sentence in its scope:

(42) [Ca³⁻ quâh³² hñú¹³ yeh³ Juan²] bîh¹.
 PAST-fall^II house^3 elder John AFF
 'Old man John's house fell down.'

12.2.4 Interrogative Words and Focus

Comrie (1989:63) points out that English *wh*-interrogatives are 'one instance where focus is the determining factor in word order . . . the *wh*-word expressing the focus must be sentence-initial . . .' Chinantec similarly requires that interrogative words be sentence initial (§10.3). In addition, one of the illocutionary particles *bîh¹/bí¹* (AFF), *yáh³/ya³* (ASSR), *máh³/ma³* (EXCL), or *dá²* (VER) often occurs immediately following the interrogative word; *uá¹* (ANTP), however, cannot occur following any of the interrogative words.

In each of the following examples, the focus function of the illocutionary particle is represented in the free translation by 'just':

(43) [He³] bí¹ hniáuh³² jmu¹ jná¹³ ta³né³²?
 what? AFF be^necessary^SII do^TI^FUT^1SG I now
 '(Just) what must I do now?'

In (43), the speaker uses *bîh¹* (AFF) to affirm that s/he really wants to know the truth.

(44) [Lîh³] máh³ cúnh¹³ nú² cá²fe²¹ quián¹³?
 when? EXCL pick^TI^FUT^2 you^SG coffee have^STI^2
 '(Just) when will you pick your coffee (beans)?'

In (44), by using *máh³* (EXCL), the speaker is expressing surprise that the

addressee has still not done (or begun) what should have been finished by now.

- (45) [Hin²] *dá² tsánh² ca³- háin³ lio²¹ quián¹³ nú²?*
 which^{AN?} VER person PAST-steal^{TI³} cargo have^{STI²} you^{SG}
 '(Just) who stole your cargo?'

In (45), by using *dá²* (VER), the speaker is verifying her/his desire to know the truth; the use of *dá²* in questions is characteristic of women's speech (§11.2.2).

- (46) [Hin²] *yáh³ tsánh² há¹ ngi¹³ jě¹ tsú²?*
 which^{AN?} ASSR person PREV^{FUT} understand^{TI³} word³ 3
 '(Just) who will completely understand her/his word/message?'

In (46), by using *yáh³*, the speaker is expressing frustration and/or concern.

12.2.5 Degrees of Focus

Since there are three ways to mark focus--by word order, by illocutionary particles, and by a combination of the two--it is probable that Chinantec can indicate degrees of focus (more or less strong or emphatic). Different permutations in word order (see (38) and (39) above), and a choice of illocutionary particles to mark focus, each conveying a different nuance, further complicate the picture. The analysis of degrees of focus awaits future research.

NOTES

1. Longacre (1968:8-9, vol 1) discusses 'tail-head' linkage as a discourse feature in various Philippine languages.

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INDEX

- Absolute**, 10, 382
Accessibility hierarchy, 466
Accompaniment, 152, 441, 442, 444, 446
Accusative, 376, 378-81, 385, 387-91;
 see also ergative
Active; see voice
Adams, 317
Adjective, 9, 10, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46-8,
 50, 54, 55, 60, 61, 63, 64, 68, 70, 79-
 81, 124, 160, 185, 197-202, 231, 233,
 236-8, 255, 259, 260, 273, 275, 279-
 88, 292, 293, 298, 323, 324, 338, 342,
 343, 353, 359, 361, 362, 449, 460-2,
 478, 493, 507-9, 511, 512, 533, 548,
 556
Adjective, ranking of, 281-5
Adverb, 10, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50, 58-
 61, 63, 64, 66-8, 71-5, 79, 80, 84, 89,
 90, 124, 154, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185,
 189-91, 198, 202, 207-9, 211-30, 238,
 253, 275, 287, 288, 296, 302, 306,
 307, 310, 330, 339, 345, 352-4, 356,
 357, 416, 432-7, 441, 442, 445, 447,
 448, 453, 478, 483, 485, 492, 495,
 496, 498, 506, 507, 513-5, 517, 518,
 521-7, 529-33, 535, 537-9, 541, 544,
 547-9, 551-3, 560, 562
Assentive; see illocutionary
Assumption; see illocutionary
Attenuative; see negative adverb
Cessative; see negative adverb
Commentative; see illocutionary
Contraexpectation; see illocutionary
Discontinuative, 208, 209, 213, 495,
 496
Evaluative; see illocutionary
Evidential, 208, 212, 492, 494, 496,
 521, 522; see also prefix
Explication; see illocutionary
Improbability; see negative adverb
Intensifier, 61, 208, 216, 227, 288,
 447, 448
Interruptive; see negative adverb
Locative, 72, 73, 208, 415, 431, 435,
 437, 438, 513, 568
Manner, 58, 61, 71, 72, 208, 361, 431,
 433-7, 439, 440, 442, 448, 508, 513,
 535, 538
Moderative; see negative adverb
Negative; see negative adverb
Neoteric, 208, 216, 217, 219
Adverb (continued)
Nonentailment, 202, 208, 215-7, 229,
 478
Perfect, 80, 154, 202, 208-12, 215,
 228, 229, 448, 495
Preventative; see negative adverb
Prohibitive; see negative adverb
Supplication; see illocutionary
Temporal, 72, 208, 214, 215, 416, 431,
 447, 513, 547
Terminative, 90, 154, 202, 208, 213-5,
 228, 229, 441, 445, 448, 485, 491,
 492, 495, 496
Adverb phrase, 433, 436, 447, 522, 534
Adverbial phrase, 345, 346, 353, 354,
 356, 359
Affirmation; see illocutionary
Agreement, 48, 81, 85, 146, 151, 231,
 233, 234, 274, 278, 280, 281, 285,
 288, 302, 303, 311, 312, 323, 337,
 341, 376, 381, 383-5, 456, 557
Alienable noun, 49, 52, 62, 66, 68, 69,
 231, 233, 238, 239, 259, 261, 266-8,
 270, 274, 277, 279-81, 297, 349, 350,
 433, 454, 469, 470
Ambulative; see prefix
Anaphora, 9, 233, 288, 290-3, 315, 316,
 460, 462, 479, 489, 495
Andative; see prefix
Anderson, L.B., 178, 179
Anderson, J.L., 152, 188, 202, 229, 250,
 271, 342, 359, 414, 456, 457
Anderson, S., 44, 62, 65, 289, 294, 295,
 341
Animacy, 9, 48, 80, 81, 83-6, 120, 143,
 148, 204, 231, 233, 234, 273, 278,
 280, 281, 286, 289, 302, 305, 312,
 323, 336, 341, 343, 363, 368, 369,
 374, 380-5, 389, 391, 400, 402, 428,
 455, 470
Animate, 39, 46, 47, 52, 80, 81, 83-6,
 114, 119, 142, 143, 147-51, 153, 158,
 159, 171, 192, 193, 195, 200, 201,
 233, 234, 236, 258, 263, 273, 274,
 278, 280, 281, 283-7, 289, 293, 295,
 298, 299, 302-9, 311-3, 320, 323,
 335-7, 340, 343, 344, 346, 359, 363-9,
 372, 379-85, 387-9, 391, 392, 395,
 397-402, 405, 406, 408, 410, 411,
 420-2, 426, 428, 440-2, 445, 446, 451,
 456, 457, 469-72, 474, 508, 509, 516

- Anticipative; see illocutionary
 Antipassive, 9, 279, 361, 426-30
 Apportional, 300, 312, 313
 Apposition, 252, 269, 282, 297, 431, 439, 450, 454, 470-3
 Assentive; see illocutionary
 Assertion; see illocutionary
 Assumption; see illocutionary
 Attainment; see prefix
 Attenuative; see negative adverb
- Baby-talk, 242
 Benefactive, 278, 361, 369, 431-5
 Berlin, 285
 Bevan, 1, 7
 Binomial words; see also polynomial
 Adjective, 68, 70, 71
 Adverb, 68, 71-3, 351, 352, 434
 Irreversible, 66, 68, 70, 80, 241
 Noun, 66, 68, 69, 241
 Preposition, 351
 Preverb, 75-8, 189-91, 228
 Verb, 66, 68, 73-5, 78, 86, 99, 189-91, 204, 207, 208, 228, 229
 Blake, 375
 Borrowings, 28, 279, 286, 310, 311, 319
- Cataphora, 238, 290
 Categoriser, 68, 232, 253-60, 298, 315
 Causative 477; see also prefix
 Cause clause, 479
 Cessative; see negative adverb
 Chafe, 555, 559
 Chinantec
 Comaltepec, 152, 188, 202, 229, 250, 271, 342, 359, 414, 456, 457
 Lealao, 152, 198, 202, 229, 250, 268, 271, 342, 343, 456, 457
 Palantla, 37, 151, 230, 250, 271, 399, 456
 Quiotepec, 271, 456
 Sochiapan, 1-11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 29, 34, 37, 39, 50, 84, 151, 152, 188, 198, 204, 208, 211, 230, 231, 242, 243, 268, 271, 274, 279, 296, 345, 359, 361, 367, 375, 408, 409, 414, 426, 457, 460, 474, 500, 520, 521, 525, 553, 555, 565
 Tepetotutla, 188, 204, 250, 400
 Classifier, 9, 234, 254, 255, 300-4, 311, 312, 314-24, 334, 336, 337, 344
 Mensural classifier, 234, 235, 303-5, 311, 315, 317, 318, 341
 Sortal classifier, 235, 255, 303, 305, 315-7, 336
- Class
 Adjective, 80
 Adverb, 71
 Base roots, 44
 Derived stems, 44
 Distribution, 166, 172, 217
 Lexical, 65, 66
 Noun, 233, 234, 263
 Preposition, 346, 350, 352, 355, 356
 Semantic, 102, 196
 Syntactic, 198, 199, 259, 274, 279, 312
 Verb, 83, 86, 87, 99, 107, 118, 121, 134, 152, 175, 192, 204, 376, 378, 379, 385, 388, 393, 394, 456
 Word, 50
 Clause, 10, 38, 149, 150, 189, 204, 207, 209, 215, 220, 222-4, 228, 231, 239, 249, 253, 261, 270, 274-9, 296, 297, 328, 351, 361, 362, 364, 365, 380, 381, 391, 398, 399, 402, 403, 421, 426-33, 435, 437, 438, 440, 442, 447-50, 453, 454, 457, 459-61, 463, 465, 473, 476-81, 483, 485, 487-500, 511, 515, 522, 524-6, 531, 535-8, 541, 542, 546-8, 558, 559, 565-7; see also equative, stative
 Cleft sentence, 535
 Colour, 282-8
 Comitative, 361, 431, 440-3, 445, 451-3
 Commentative; see illocutionary
 Comparative, 362, 397, 459, 492-7
 Complement, 10, 43, 188, 189, 278, 279, 292, 293, 345, 351-6, 363, 428, 429, 432, 448, 449, 451, 459, 465, 474-7, 483, 485, 488, 511, 516, 517
 Complementiser, 57, 188, 189, 200, 201, 237, 275, 276, 429, 433, 449, 459, 460, 466, 467, 470-2, 474, 475, 477, 478, 483, 485, 487-9
 Complete-affectedness, 68, 73, 75-7, 189
 Compounds, 39, 50-66, 69, 71, 78-81, 189, 218, 221, 233, 241, 256, 263, 280, 285-7, 296, 304, 306, 309, 315, 354
 Comrie, 285, 460, 466, 473, 565, 569
 Concessive, 459, 482, 487-9, 491
 Conditional, 459, 482, 484-7, 500
 Conklin, 317
 Contingent noun, 234, 236-8, 292
 Continuous; see prefix
 Contraexpectation; see illocutionary
 Coordination, 67, 301, 324, 339, 340, 390, 459, 497-9
 Alternation, 459, 491
 Conjunction, 50, 64, 65, 85, 90, 164, 204, 300, 324, 333, 339, 500, 522
 Conjunctive, 339, 497
 Disjunctive, 339, 497, 499, 500
 Copular, 362, 363
 'Cranberry' morpheme, 57

- Cross-referencing, 204, 376, 382, 388, 393, 400, 455
 Direct, 9, 83, 85, 143-6, 148-50, 155, 249, 343, 361, 363, 365, 366, 369, 371-3, 378, 380, 385, 387, 391, 392, 394, 395, 397-9, 401, 402, 405, 406, 409-11, 426
 Inverse, 9, 10, 17, 83-5, 110, 114, 143-6, 148-50, 232, 343, 361, 363, 365, 366, 369, 372, 373, 378, 380, 381, 384, 387, 391, 392, 394, 395, 397-9, 401-3, 405, 406, 409-11, 424, 426
 Crothers, 16
 Cruttenden, 521
- Davison, 422
 Declarative, 272, 361, 364, 487, 503, 505, 507, 508, 510, 511, 522, 523, 526, 527, 529-34, 537, 538, 540-7, 551, 553
 Defocusing, 243, 423
 Deictic, 162, 164, 166-8, 170, 231, 232, 234, 236-8, 241, 261, 270, 276, 288-96, 353, 460-2, 464, 478, 479, 489, 495, 500, 556
 Deixis, 289, 294, 295
 Demonstrative, 10, 288, 295, 464
 Derivation, 3, 39, 41-51, 54, 57, 68, 69, 86, 120, 125, 155, 157, 164, 165, 167, 169, 173, 175, 179-85, 188, 190, 191, 194, 198, 203, 214, 233, 235, 237, 260, 261, 265, 267, 268, 280, 285, 305, 307, 308, 319, 352, 415, 457, 515, 518, 530, 531, 533, 544; see also prefix
 Determiner; see relative clause
 Direct object, 83, 84, 143, 242, 251, 363, 367, 400, 463, 466, 535, 536, 561-3
 Directional; see prefix
 Discontinuative; see adverb
 Disyllabic noun, 263-5
 Disyllabic verb, 88, 90, 91, 106, 115, 118, 120, 121, 123-6, 160, 183, 185, 191
 Ditransitive, 83, 84, 110, 116, 142-4, 148, 149, 155, 184, 204, 343, 363, 366-9, 371, 372, 374-6, 381, 382, 384, 386, 391, 400-2, 406-8, 410, 411, 418, 429, 431, 432, 476
 Divisor, 259, 299, 300, 302, 303, 305, 311-3, 318, 319, 322, 323, 325, 326, 333
 Dixon, 10, 376, 381, 382, 390, 426
 Dummy subject, 557
 Durativity, 68, 73, 75, 77
- Dynamic verb, 83-6, 92, 97, 100, 120, 128, 141, 153, 157, 158, 160, 173, 174, 183-5, 187-9, 191, 192, 194, 197, 198, 202, 209, 253, 361, 364-6, 388, 456
 'Echo', 151
 Eglan, 1
 Ellipsis, 143, 155, 231, 243, 254, 255, 268, 270, 277, 316, 353, 364, 367, 390, 391, 399, 402, 431, 460, 463, 464, 467, 469, 474, 476, 478, 494, 495, 512, 532, 559, 562
 Enumeration, 255, 303, 314-6, 323, 334, 336, 344
 Equative clause, 209, 292, 362
 Equi-deletion, 476
 Ergative, 9, 149, 234, 273, 274, 361, 375, 376, 379-82, 385, 387-91, 426, 427, 429, 430, 456; ; see also accusative
 Etymology, 3, 120, 125, 161-3, 179, 190, 335, 414, 448
 Evaluative adjective, 10, 199, 231, 232, 259, 260, 279, 298, 315, 523, 524, 526, 530
 Evidential; see adverb, prefix
 Exclamative; see illocutionary
 Exhortative; see prefix
 Explication; see illocutionary
- Falsetto speech, 29
 Focus, 199, 210, 220, 243, 246, 247, 251, 268, 347, 366, 422, 432, 434, 435, 439, 443, 450, 452, 505, 535, 555, 565-70
 Foley, 78
 Foris C., 8, 163
 Foris D., 8, 13, 19, 26, 43, 231, 344
 Formulaic expression, 182, 496
 Fraction, 300, 325, 326
 Future, 29, 41, 85-91, 93, 97, 100, 121, 123, 142, 152, 154, 163, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 179-81, 183, 185-7, 208, 210, 212, 214, 219, 222-5, 305, 355, 364, 412-5, 433, 448, 457, 483, 484, 491, 533
 Future perfect, 211
- Givón, 83, 369
 Grammaticisation, 157, 163, 166, 168, 178, 183, 189, 307, 308, 440, 459, 472, 565
 Greenberg, 10, 254, 303, 314, 344

- Habitual, 96, 152, 153, 161, 163, 164, 166, 170, 171, 185, 210, 414, 482
Hearsay, 179
Hierarchy, 256, 285, 380, 385, 391, 392, 405, 466
Hodiernal past; see prefix
Hopper, 428, 430
Hortative; see prefix
- Ideophone, 58-61
Idiom, 66, 233, 239, 290, 317, 318
Illocutionary, 361, 431, 432, 453, 455, 548-53
Adverb, 10, 208, 228, 432, 453, 521-6, 529-33, 548-53, 560, 562
Assentive, 523, 524, 526, 529-31
Assumption, 523, 524, 526, 531, 532, 563
Commentative, 523, 524, 526, 530, 544
Contraexpectation, 518, 519, 523, 524, 526-9, 551
Evaluative, 523, 524, 526, 530, 531
Explication, 523, 524, 526, 527, 560
Supplication, 523, 524, 526, 532, 533, 541, 552
Particle, 10, 43, 188, 189, 208, 222, 227, 228, 251, 269, 347, 362, 363, 366, 424, 432, 434, 439, 443, 448, 450, 452, 453, 464, 485, 494, 496, 500, 515, 518, 521-5, 531, 534, 537, 539, 541-53, 565-70
Affirmation, 228, 251, 347, 362, 363, 432, 434, 439, 443, 448, 451, 452, 464, 494, 515, 523, 524, 526, 534-7, 546, 552, 566
Anticipative, 523, 524, 533, 534, 545, 546
Assertion, 427, 453, 488, 515, 523-5, 534, 546-8
Exclamative, 523, 524, 534, 541-4
Indubitative, 485, 496, 523, 524, 531, 533, 534, 539-41
Quotative, 179, 523, 524, 530, 534, 544, 545
Verification, 523, 524, 526, 534, 537-9
- Imperative, 85, 86, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 155, 163, 165-7, 169, 179-81, 203, 220, 221, 225, 230, 268, 380, 414, 522, 523, 526-32, 534, 537, 539-41, 545-8, 550, 551
Improbability; see negative adverb
Inalienable noun, 39, 43, 44, 49, 52, 62, 66-9, 201, 209, 212, 233, 238, 239, 249, 261-8, 273, 297, 343, 346-50, 359, 454, 469, 521
Inanimate, 9, 39, 48, 52, 80, 83, 84, 94, 98, 102, 114, 116, 117, 119, 127, 143, 148, 149, 151, 158, 159, 161, 165, 170, 172, 188, 195, 196, 200, 201, 233, 234, 236, 260, 263, 272, 277-87, 293, 298, 299, 302-9, 311-3, 315, 319, 320, 323, 335-7, 340, 342, 343, 347, 350, 359, 363-9, 371, 372, 380, 382, 391, 392, 400, 401, 405-8, 420, 421, 424, 426, 428, 440, 441, 444-6, 451, 457, 469, 470, 472, 474, 479, 508-12, 516
Inchoative, 210
Indefinite concessive clause, 489
Indefinite quantifier, 300, 324, 325, 333, 335, 336, 338, 340
Indicative, 383, 474
Indirect object, 84, 143, 242, 252, 367, 368, 400, 432, 464, 466, 476, 535, 561, 562
Indubitative; see illocutionary
Inflection
Classifier, 318
Noun, 233, 261, 263, 264, 319, 350, 454, 469, 521
Pronoun, 241
Verb, 9, 10, 41, 83-95, 97-103, 106-10, 113, 114, 116-8, 120-6, 128, 133, 134, 136, 141-3, 147-50, 152-5, 159, 161, 163-6, 168, 171-3, 175, 180-3, 185-9, 191, 194, 202-4, 207, 210-2, 216, 219-22, 224-6, 230, 242, 249, 278, 319, 363-6, 370-4, 376-8, 380-4, 386-8, 391-4, 397-400, 402, 403, 406, 409-11, 413-5, 417, 418, 424-6, 428, 433, 440, 446, 455, 457, 474, 476, 496, 515, 516, 521, 523
Inherent glottal, 155, 378, 379, 387, 388, 392, 456
Inherent nasalisation, 383, 384, 388, 389, 392, 397, 456
Injunction, 156, 179-81
Instrumental, 345, 357-9, 361, 367, 368, 401, 420, 431, 440, 443-6, 451-3, 467, 469, 561
Intensifier; see adverb
Intensive; see prefix
Interdiction, 541, 543
Interrogative, 253, 272, 300, 302, 311, 312, 488, 494, 503-6, 508, 510-9, 522, 523, 526, 527, 529-31, 533, 534, 537-41, 543-5, 547, 548, 551, 553, 569; see also question
Adjective, 240, 508-10, 548
Intonation, 503-7, 517, 518, 529
Locative verb, 516
Pronoun, 241, 253, 292, 511, 514
Quantifier, 302, 311, 312
Intensifier; see adverb
Intensive; see prefix

- Interruptive; see negative adverb
 Intonation, 26, 34, 37, 38, 247, 501, 503-5, 508, 520-2, 535
 Intransitive, 9, 39, 77, 83-6, 102, 114, 116, 117, 126, 142, 148, 151, 172, 184, 186, 188, 192, 193, 195, 234, 253, 307, 308, 363, 364, 376, 377, 381-3, 388, 399, 411, 422, 423, 427, 430, 456, 476, 556
 Irony, 245
 Irrealis, 154
 Iterativity, 59, 60, 73-5, 77, 86, 171, 188-90
- Kay, 285
 Keenan, 10, 289, 294, 295, 412, 425, 459, 461, 466
 Kikuchi, 65, 67, 68
 Klaiman, 390
- Ladefoged, 15, 37
 Larousse, 343
 Lass, 37
 Li, 10, 29, 555, 558, 560, 564, 565
 Limiter, 300, 301, 330, 331, 333
 Locative, 72, 73, 201, 208, 236, 345-7, 350-3, 355, 356, 359, 361, 367-9, 401, 415, 431, 435, 437-40, 443, 451, 466-9, 508, 513, 516, 525, 538, 561, 564-6, 568
 Longacre, 458, 482, 487-9, 500, 570
 Lyons, 274, 315, 317, 344, 522
- Mallinson, 375
 Manner; see adverb
 Markedness, 65, 212, 224, 230, 276, 338, 365, 431, 434, 435, 505, 548, 558, 565
 Men's speech, 336, 529, 539, 540, 546
 Merrifield, 37, 151, 230, 250, 271, 399, 456
 Metaphor, 76, 80, 289, 358, 359, 371
 Modality, 9, 73, 78, 83, 85, 86, 92, 120, 126, 128, 154, 155, 162, 166, 172, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 218, 376, 380, 521, 522
 Moderate; see negative adverb
 Morphemic glottal, 148, 155, 203, 378, 379, 387, 388, 456
 Morphemic nasalisation, 148, 149, 384, 388, 389, 392, 456
 Motherese, 242
 Motion; see prefix
 Multiplexer, 302, 306, 307, 310
 Multiplicand, 307, 309, 310
- Multiplier, 302, 306, 307, 309, 310
- Nasalisation, 14, 19-21, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44, 47, 48, 56, 120, 142, 148, 150, 280, 281, 285, 286, 337, 381-5, 387-9, 392, 395, 397, 410, 411, 456
 Negation, 74, 182, 219, 220, 493, 495, 507, 518, 519, 532, 533, 543, 553
 Negative adverb; see also prohibition
 Attenuative, 218, 227, 229
 Cessative, 218, 224-6, 229, 521
 Improbability, 213, 218, 221-7, 229
 Interruptive, 218, 223, 224, 226, 495
 Moderative, 218, 226, 227, 229
 Negative, 74, 182, 212, 218-20
 Preventative, 218, 225, 226, 522
 Prohibitive, 85, 87-9, 92, 93, 97, 98, 100, 101, 121, 123, 202, 218, 220-22, 224-6, 228, 230, 377, 380, 521
 Negative phrase, 218
 Negative verb, 195
 Neoteric; see adverb
 Neutralisation, 10, 20-3, 27, 51, 52, 61, 66, 69, 149, 155, 157, 200, 202, 221, 262, 310, 411, 416, 426
 Nichols, 315, 456
 Nonentailment; see adverb
 Noonan, 10, 474, 476
 Noun phrase, 9, 62, 67, 70, 231-4, 236, 239, 255, 256, 261, 269, 270, 276, 279-81, 285, 287, 292, 295, 296, 298, 299, 303, 311, 312, 316, 323-5, 334, 337, 339-41, 346, 347, 351, 353, 355, 356, 374, 380, 424, 426, 437, 438, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 454, 463-9, 498, 500, 518, 522, 534, 535, 547, 548, 556, 562, 564
 Number, 85, 117, 125, 126, 146, 150, 151, 192, 203, 204, 233, 240, 241, 248, 280, 281, 380, 385, 386, 424, 442, 455
 Numeral, 71, 216, 234, 240, 254, 295, 299, 300, 302-7, 309-16, 318-20, 323, 324, 329, 331, 341, 344, 449
 Cardinal numeral, 304, 307, 310
- Oblique object, 195, 242, 403, 423, 426-8, 432, 444, 467, 506, 535, 536
 Obviative, 149, 249, 380, 381, 391, 393, 394, 398, 402, 403, 406
 Olsen, 78
 Onomatopoeia, 21, 58
 Optative, 214
- Palatalisation, 16, 17, 22, 35, 142, 242

- Palmer, 521
- Paradigm
 Noun, 239, 249, 262-5, 268, 273, 454
 Pronoun, 242
 Reflexive pronoun, 251
 Verb, 86-8, 90, 92, 94-103, 105-10, 112-23, 127, 128, 130, 133-9, 141-3, 147, 149, 163, 166, 167, 169, 175, 180, 189, 203, 204, 272, 369, 370, 374, 376, 377, 382, 386, 393, 394, 396, 397, 409, 413, 455, 496, 515
- Partial-affectedness, 278
- Partitive, 300, 325, 326, 430
- Part-whole, 233, 263, 267, 270, 278
- Passive; see voice
- Patient, 149, 196, 232, 367, 380, 403, 418, 420, 421, 425-8, 430, 445
- Perfect; see adverb
- Perfective, 210
- Permutation, 143, 176, 182, 207, 212, 219, 228, 327, 330, 333, 338, 365, 371, 432, 435, 549
- Pluperfect, 215
- Plural, 39, 45, 49, 70, 79, 85, 110, 117-20, 125, 126, 147, 153, 155, 157, 159, 160, 165, 170, 179-81, 187, 192, 193, 195, 200, 240-2, 245, 247, 249, 250, 261, 271, 281, 303, 307, 308, 337, 340, 342, 375, 380, 385-7, 393, 420, 442
- Polynomial noun, 39, 65, 66, 79; see also binomial
- Portmanteau, 376
- Possession, 193, 231, 233, 261, 263, 266, 268-79, 343, 347, 350, 359, 433, 469
- Practical orthography, 11, 13, 28, 29, 34, 36, 51, 203, 520
- Predicate, 67, 198, 200, 215, 243, 244, 346, 351, 361-3, 367, 431, 432, 434-7, 439, 440, 443, 447, 450, 452-4, 463, 467, 474, 475, 493, 516, 524, 538, 556, 557, 565, 566, 568
- Prefix
- Activising, 188
- Ambulative, 87, 88, 91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 116, 121, 123, 156, 160-2, 170, 172, 177, 209, 214
- Andative, 85, 87, 88, 91, 93, 97, 100, 121, 123, 156, 160, 162-6, 168, 169, 171-3, 177, 179, 181, 204, 221, 289, 414, 415
- Attainment, 163-5
- Causative, 41, 43, 80, 84, 124, 183, 185, 188, 191-6, 204, 211, 444
- Continuous, 84, 92-4, 97, 98, 100, 101, 156, 157, 173, 183, 185-8, 191-7, 211, 417, 425
- Derivational, 9, 44-50, 183-8, 191, 210, 211
- Prefix (*continued*)
- Directional, 91, 102, 116, 161, 162, 168, 169, 172, 174, 190, 204, 209, 214, 221, 223, 225, 409, 410, 412, 414-6
- Evidential, 85, 156, 177-9, 210; see also adverb
- Exhortative, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 156, 179, 180, 203
- Hodiernal past, 41, 73, 85, 87, 88, 90, 93, 97, 100, 102, 116, 121, 123, 175, 183, 186, 187, 210, 412, 414-6
- Hortative, 85, 87, 88, 93, 97, 98, 100, 101, 121, 123, 133, 142, 155, 156, 164, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 222, 225, 519
- Inflectional, 9, 156-83, 184, 210
- Intentive, 85, 86, 90, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 152, 156, 165, 166, 171-3, 184, 187, 214
- Intransitiver, 43
- Motion, 9, 44, 49, 78, 83, 85, 86, 92-4, 97, 98, 100, 101, 126, 128, 156, 160-73, 183, 191, 210, 214, 230, 376, 414-7, 444
- Posture, 44-7, 49, 152, 157, 159
- Progressive, 41, 44, 46-9, 86, 92-4, 97, 98, 100, 101, 125, 126, 152, 156, 157, 159-61, 166, 170-4, 187, 188, 190, 192-7, 202, 209, 210, 230, 409, 414, 415, 417, 418, 444
- Remote past, 85, 90, 142, 175, 183, 186, 187, 412, 414, 417, 478, 505
- Venitive, 85, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 101, 156, 160, 162, 164, 166-8, 170-2, 177, 414
- Preposition, 50, 73, 125, 143, 195, 345-53, 355-9, 363, 368, 420, 426, 432, 440, 443, 444, 446, 451, 464, 466-9, 511, 522
- Prepositional phrase, 345-8, 351, 353-7, 369, 420, 421, 431, 437-9, 447, 450, 451, 468, 469, 511, 522, 534
- Present, 19, 29, 41, 85-90, 93, 95, 97, 98, 100, 110, 121, 123, 125, 133, 136, 142, 152, 153, 159-61, 163, 164, 166, 168-71, 173, 177, 183, 185, 202-4, 209, 210, 212, 213, 221, 225, 294, 296, 376, 378, 379, 385, 386, 410, 412-5, 417, 423, 456, 457, 482, 484, 495
- Presentative, 294
- Preventative; see negative adverb
- Preverb; see binomial words
- Product-source, 263
- Progressive; see prefix
- Prohibition, 218-21, 224-6, 228, 230, 522, 523, 527-34, 537, 539, 545, 546, 548; see also negative adverb

- Pronoun, 233, 241-53, 268, 273, 373, 435, 436, 461, 463, 464, 467, 473, 553, 556
 Deictic, 241, 292-4, 462
 First-person plural, 245, 246, 250, 364
 First-person singular, 243-5, 342, 343
 Fourth-person, 10
 Indefinite, 253, 489
 Interrogative, 241, 253, 292, 508, 511, 512, 514
 Personal, 241, 242, 268, 269, 273, 292, 343
 Reflexive, 146, 250-3, 268-70, 273, 277, 292, 306, 340, 465
 Second-person plural, 155, 156, 165, 247, 248, 454
 Second-person singular, 155, 156, 165, 246, 247, 454
 Third-person, 203, 248, 249, 270, 277, 374, 381, 399, 402-5, 442
 Proximate, 149, 249, 277, 380, 381, 391, 393, 394, 398, 399, 402, 403, 406
 Pseudodirectional, 414
 Pseudo-activiser, 183, 188
 Punctiliar, 59
 Purpose clause, 477
- Qualifier, 288, 300, 301, 312, 326-35
 Quantifier, 9, 63, 231, 232, 234, 255, 259, 298-302, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 319, 324-7, 329-31, 333-7, 340, 344, 350, 453, 464, 494, 508, 512, 515, 522, 534, 535, 547; see also indefinite quantifier
 Query word, 245, 503, 505, 506, 517, 518, 522, 531, 537, 540, 541, 544-6, 550
 Question, 34, 464, 477, 489, 490, 503-20, 540, 545, 550, 566-70; see also interrogative
 Confirmation, 503, 507
 Indirect, 516-8
 Information, 503, 508-16, 547
 Intonation, 26, 34, 247, 501, 535
 Rhetorical, 222, 503, 518-20, 545, 547, 550
 Tag, 507, 508
 Wh, 509, 569
 Yes/no, 34, 503-7, 517, 518, 533, 538, 540
 Quotative; see illocutionary
- Recipient, 143, 149, 361, 367-72, 400, 431, 432, 434, 435, 467
 Reciprocal, 85, 147, 204, 216, 394, 455
- Relative clause, 10, 57, 231-3, 261, 270, 274-8, 296, 297, 350, 449, 458-63, 466-8, 470-3
 Determiner, 10, 276, 460-73
 Domain noun, 10, 232, 275, 276, 297, 459-62, 465, 467, 469-73
 Gap strategy, 460
 Non-restrictive, 459, 460, 462, 473, 474
 Pronoun retention strategy, 460, 473
 Restrictive, 10, 459-73
 Remote past; see prefix
 Rensch, 1, 2
 Result clause, 478
 Robbins, 271, 456
 Rupp, 152, 197, 202, 229, 250, 271, 342, 343, 456, 457
- Schachter, 58
 Semantic bleaching, 45, 415
 Shibatani, 423
 Siewierska, 457
 Sociolinguistic factor, 241, 342
 Source-product, 267, 270, 278
 Spanish, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 21, 23, 28, 29, 34-6, 55, 57, 153, 184, 203, 235, 261, 285, 286, 305, 310, 311, 319, 343, 360, 500, 520, 544
 Split-ergativity, 375, 381, 385; see also accusative, ergative
 State verb, 83, 84, 86, 124, 157, 158, 160, 173, 183-8, 191-202, 207, 209, 210, 219, 271-4, 279, 308, 361, 362, 364, 365, 440, 444, 493, 495, 513, 514
 Stative construction, 198-200, 493
 Stativiser, 185
 Stem, 17, 39, 41, 43, 45-8, 51, 56, 59, 69, 93, 117, 118, 120, 133, 134, 156, 157, 160, 183, 188, 192, 194, 204, 210, 233, 285, 385, 388, 389, 410, 457
 Subjunctive, 101, 180
 Subordinate clause, 215, 391, 403, 488, 490-2
 Subordinator, 437, 448, 482-5, 487-91, 494
 Substitutive clause, 491
 Superordinate noun, 464, 471, 472
 Suppletion, 85, 117-20, 151, 262-5, 281, 380, 385
 Supplication; see illocutionary
 Syllable
 Final, 10, 13, 14, 23, 25, 27, 31, 88, 90, 91, 106, 115, 120-3, 125, 148, 155, 204, 220, 229, 261-5, 378, 387, 389, 392, 504, 508
 Non-final syllable, 13, 14, 16, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 36, 51, 52, 61, 202, 203, 241, 264, 286, 310, 354, 503, 504

- Temporal deixis, 296, 447, 449
 Tense, 9, 41, 72, 73, 78, 83, 85, 86, 89, 90, 92, 110, 120, 126, 128, 152, 154, 159, 162, 166, 169, 173, 175, 176, 178, 183, 185, 187, 191, 202, 204, 209-11, 213-6, 221, 225, 376, 378, 379, 385, 386, 409, 410, 413, 416, 417, 423, 424, 433, 456, 478, 484, 490, 491, 495, 533
 Terminative; *see* adverb
 Thompson, 430, 458, 482, 487-9, 500, 555, 558, 560, 564, 565
 Tonal assimilation, 162, 176, 205, 211, 416, 448
 Tonal dissimilation, 205
 Tone perturbation, 26, 90, 91, 95, 162, 204, 416, 448, 504, 507, 520
 Tone-stress change, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46-9, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60, 69, 256, 280, 337
 Tone-stress variation, 28
 Topic, 10, 77, 176, 190, 211, 404, 415, 527, 529, 549, 555-65
 Transitivity, 9, 39, 41-3, 81, 83-6, 94, 98, 110, 112, 114-6, 124, 125, 142-4, 148-51, 155, 184, 186, 192-6, 204, 234, 271-4, 343, 363-6, 369, 374-6, 377, 381-4, 386, 391, 398, 406-8, 410, 411, 418, 422, 425, 426, 428, 430, 432, 440, 455, 457, 476
 Typology, 10, 274, 382, 461, 474, 564
- Unmarked; *see* markedness
 Unstable nucleus, 127-9, 138, 139, 392
- Valence, 83, 110, 142, 184, 185, 204, 361, 363, 364, 377, 382, 383, 455
 Variant, 71, 95, 97, 106, 122, 158, 224, 225, 236, 240, 242, 243, 245-7, 260, 263, 289, 298, 315, 332, 335-7, 340, 341, 416, 541, 543, 548, 553
 Venitive; *see* prefix
 Verb class diagnostic, 94, 98, 99
 Verb phrase, 84, 85, 90, 182, 189, 207-9, 212, 213, 215-9, 221-3, 227, 228, 275, 327, 416, 445, 505, 506, 518, 522, 523, 531, 532, 535, 537, 543, 547, 548, 566
 Verb serialisation, 78, 189, 557
 Vigesimal, 9, 300, 302, 306, 308-10
 Vocalic change, 39, 40, 44, 46, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 69, 88, 103, 113, 119, 127, 128, 130, 133-5, 137-9, 141, 175, 186, 191, 203, 262, 263, 265, 268, 337, 383, 397, 409, 411
- Vocative, 234-6, 239, 265, 266, 268, 361, 431, 432, 453-5, 522, 524, 530
 Voice
 Active, 405, 406, 417, 418, 420, 422, 444
 Passive, 83, 174, 361, 366, 367, 406-18, 420-6, 440, 446, 457
 Agented passive, 405, 408, 420, 444, 446
 Agentless passive, 408, 420, 446
 Conventional passive, 408, 410, 412, 417, 421, 423-5, 457
 Impersonal passive, 408, 422-4
 Posture passive, 174, 408, 410, 416-8, 420, 421, 423, 424
- Weitlaner, 1
 Weimers, 58, 61
 Westley, 188, 204, 250, 399
 Whistle speech, 10, 29-34, 204, 235, 457, 520
 Women's speech, 243, 336, 529, 538-40, 546, 548, 570
 Word order, 361, 365, 372, 373, 406, 424, 558, 565, 569