COMALTEPEC CHINANTEC SYNTAX

Studies in Chinantec Languages 3

By Judi Lynn Anderson

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Judi Lynn Anderson

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Map 1
Chinantec Region of Mexico

Preface

Comaltepec Chinantec is the language spoken in the town of Santiago Comaltepec, which is located approximately 65 miles north of the city of Oaxaca, in the ex-District of Ixtlán, in the Sierra Juárez mountains of Southern Mexico. Approximately 1500 Chinantec people speak this language, living either in Santiago Comaltepec itself or in one of the ranch areas pertaining to it. Comaltepec Chinantec is one of the dozen or so mutually unintelligible Chinantec languages which make up the Chinantec language family.

These data were collected from 1970 to the present from several different speakers of Comaltepec Chinantec, both by oral and written texts and personal interaction.

This study is a basic sketch of Comaltepec Chinantec syntax. The phonology is sketched only very briefly, but see Anderson, Martínez, & Pace (forthcoming) for a detailed presentation of Comaltepec tone. More study needs to be done to complete a more comprehensive study of syntax. This study was drafted during the months of February through April, 1988, at a workshop designed for that purpose in Catalina, Arizona, near Tucson, under the direction of Dr. William R. Merrifield. The information upon which the study is based was gathered both in Comaltepec as well as with Chinantec speakers outside of the immediate area. I am indebted to my two colleagues, Wanda Jane Pace and Diane Poole, who have spent considerable time with me in the language area and have also involved themselves in the study of this language. I am also greatly indebted to a number of speakers of this language who have given me the privilege of being their friend. Rudy Troike read a draft of the manuscript and made numerous helpful comments which have improved it greatly.

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1
Comaltepec Chinantec Phonology

Comaltepec Chinantec phonology has been described more completely elsewhere (Anderson, Martínez, & Pace forthcoming), with special reference to tone. The phonological inventory, therefore, is presented here in brief outline only, focusing upon the elements found in a stressed syllable.

1.1. Vowels. There are eight oral vowels /i e u o ï ë ä a/. *ti:*^{L} 'thin', *te:*^{L} 'white', *tu?*^{L} 'crooked', *to:*^{L} 'banana', *tï*^{LM} *'expert'*, *tẽ:*^{Lr} 's/he carries', *tã:*^{LH} *'father'*, *ta*^{L} 'cane'.

Of these eight, two are marginal to the system. /ä/ is in near complementary distribution with the sequence /ia/, only contrasting after laryngeals /h ʔ/. *hä*^{LM} *'spider'*, *hiá*^{LM} *'cliff'*, *ʔãn*^{LM} *'very'*, *ʔia*^{LM} *'comal'*, *ʔiá:n*^{L} 'it sprouts'. /ë/ is least common of the vowels and is the only one which never occurs with nasalization.

If we, thus, consider the primary system to consist of just six vowels, it falls into Crothers' (1978) very common Type 6.1—six vowels, five of them peripheral vowels /i e u o a/, one of them interior /ï/.

Any vowel may be short. *lí*^{H} 'flower', *heʔ*^{LM} 'frog', *hú*^{H} 'mosquito', *toʔ*^{L} 'carbon', *sïʔ*^{L} 'moon', *tél*^{Lr} 's/he calls', *kuä*^{LH} 'horse', *ta*^{LH} 'work'.

Any vowel may be long. *ni:*^{M} 'my face', *ʔle:*^{L} 'dust', *hú:*^{H} 'word', *to:*^{L} 'banana', *sï:*^{L} 'nest', *bë:*^{LH} 'roundish', *kuä:n*^{Lr} 'is tall', *gá:n*^{L} 'three (a)'.

Any vowel, whether long or short, may be nasalized, with the possible exception of long /ë: ä:/, which have not been found nasalized except following a nasal consonantal onset or followed by postnuclear /n/. *hį̃ʔ*^{L} 'orange', *hį̃:*^{L} 'year', *hę́ʔ*^{Lr} 'leave something', *ʔę̃:*^{L} 'tomb', *tų̃*^{LM} 'guitar', *tų̃:*^{LH} 'left (hand)', *tǫ́ʔ*^{LMr} 'mend', *kǫ̃:*^{L} 'one', *hį̃ï*^{LMr} 'burn', *hį̃́:*^{H} 'weasel', *hë̃ʔ*^{Lr} 'give', *ʔą̃*^{LM} *'bridge'*, *tą̃*^{LM} 'bird', *ʔą̃:*^{M} 'stay'.

The vowel nucleus of any Comaltepec syllable having a nasal onset is invariably nasalized. Since such nasalization is noncontrastive, it is unmarked in this study apart from the specific nasal consonant. *ʔmo:*^{L} [ʔmọ:^{L}] 'ice', *ʔŋa*^{LH} [ʔŋą^{LH}] 'forest'.

1.2. Consonants. Sixteen consonants may occur syllable-initially in Comaltepec Chinantec: voiceless stops /p t k/; voiced stops /b d g/; nasals /m n ŋ/; fricative /s/; affricates /c z/; voiced oral continuant /l/; vibrant /r/, and the laryngeals /ʔ h/. *píʔ*^{H} 'little', *ta*^{L} 'carrizo', *kaʔ*^{LM} 'beside', *báʔ*^{H} 'huge', *dó*^{M} 'there', *ga*^{L} 'ugly', *mï*^{LH} 'thick', *na*^{L} 'there', *ŋó:*^{LH} 'son-in-law', *sä*^{L} 'exist', *cí*^{M} (term of endearment), *zä*^{L} 'people', *la*^{L} 'here', *ro:*^{L} 'tobacco', *ʔa*^{LH} 'contains', *ha*$^{L-}$ (negative).

Consonant clusters. The laryngeals /ʔ h/ may precede /g/ or any of the voiced continuants /m n ŋ l/ to form complex syllable onsets. *ʔgo:*^{L} 'elegant', *hgoʔ*^{L} 'rotten', *ʔmo:*^{L} 'ice', *hmo:*^{L} 'woven mat', *ʔnó:*^{L}*r* 's/he gets', *hnó*^{LM}*r* 's/he slaps', *ʔŋa*^{LH} 'forest', *hŋë:*^{M} 'I plant', *ʔlo:*^{L} 'river rocks', *hloʔ*^{H} 'gorgeous'.

Three consonants /b n r/ may occur syllable-finally. Of these, /b r/ always constitute a separate morpheme in this position; only /-n/ occurs as a final consonant in morphemically simple forms, as in *bẽ:n*^{L} 'bud, shoot'. For this reason, syllable-final /b r/ are written in this study as posttonic material, following the stressed syllable. *ti:*^{M}*b* 'silently (AFF)', *nú*^{M}*r* 's/he will listen'.

A syllable may be open or checked by glottal /ʔ/. *ta*^{LH} 'work, *taʔ*^{LM} 'honey', *nó:*^{M} 'Yolox', *mó:ʔ*^{M} 'you see'.

1.3. Palatalization and labialization. Palatalization or labialization may occur between the consonantal onset of a syllable and the vocalic peak which follows it.

Palatalization (written as /i/) may occur following any consonantal onset other than a bilabial or /r/. *tiú*^{LM} 'rifle', *kiáʔ*^{M} 'of (him/her)', *giaʔ*^{LM} 'tapir', *ʔniu*^{L} 'you (sg)', *ŋiú*^{M} 'nine', *siq́:*^{LH} 'deer', *ziu:*^{M} 'jug', *liúʔ*^{L} 'you lick', *ʔia*^{L} 'boils', *hiá*^{LM} 'cliff'.

When a velar consonant /k g ŋ/ is followed by a front vowel /i e/, there is invariably a palatal glide intervening between them. Such palatalization is treated as automatic and not written in this study. *ke:*^{L} [kye:^{L}] 'crow', *geʔ*^{M} [gyeʔ^{M}] 'it arrives', *ŋí*^{H} [ñyí^{H}] 'metal'.

Labialization (written as /u/) occurs only following velar stops /k g/ and laryngeals /ʔ h/. *kuoʔ*^{L} 'bald', *guoʔ*^{L} 'knothole', *ʔua*^{LH} 'soft', *huiʔ*^{L} 'fishscale'.

The sequence /iu/ is attested with all consonantal onsets with which prenuclear /i/ is known to occur. In this sequence, unless followed by the postnuclear nasal, /u/ is rounded to [ü]. *giúᴹ* [giúᴹ] 'good (i)', *giúnᴹ* [giúŋᴹ] 'good (a)'.

1.4. Stress. There are two kinds of syllable stress, ballistic and controlled (Merrifield 1963). Ballistic stress is a combination of pitch and stress. It tends to raise high tones and lower low tones. The ballistic syllable is marked by an acute accent /ˊ/ over its nuclear vowel. A controlled syllable is unmarked. *loːᴸ* 'skin', *lóːᴸᴴ* 'lime'.

1.5. Tone. Comaltepec Chinantec has three level tones—low tone /ᴸ/, mid tone /ᴹ/, and high tone /ᴴ/. There are also four glides /ᴸᴹ ᴸᴴ ᴴᴹ ᴴᴸ/ as demonstrated in the following examples: *taᴸ* 'cane', *téᴹ* 'sticky', *iáᴴ* 'weed-chopper', *häᴸᴹ* 'spider', *taᴸᴴ* 'work', *teᴸguaᴴᴹ* 'earring', and *cuᴸteːᴴᴸ* 'silver'.

The two downglides /ᴴᴹ/ and /ᴴᴸ/ only occur in two-syllable words, or following a tone which causes tone sandhi, e.g. *loᴸguiᴴᴹ* 'hat', *moᴸtuᴴᴸ* 'egg'.

Tone sandhi in Comaltepec Chinantec is typically perseverative. A more detailed development of this tone sandhi occurs in the tone study by Anderson, Martínez, & Pace (forthcoming). Basically, in predictable environments, a low tone /ᴸ/ becomes high-low /ᴴᴸ/, low-high /ᴸᴴ/ becomes high-mid /ᴴᴹ/, and mid /ᴹ/ tone becomes high /ᴴ/ in a ballistic syllable or high-mid /ᴴᴹ/ in a long controlled syllable. *soːᴹ* 'ascent' + *rëːᴸ* 'smooth' → *soːᴹ rëːᴴᴸ* 'smooth ascent', *miᴹ* 'ask for (inanimate object)' + *hnäᴸᴴ* 'I' → *miᴹ hnäᴴᴹ* 'I ask for (inanimate object)', *miᴹïᴹ* 'I ask for (inanimate object)' + *kiáʔᴹr* 'his/hers' → *miᴹïᴹ kiáʔᴴr* 'I ask for his/her (inanimate object)', *miᴹïᴹ* 'I ask for (inanimate object)' + *ziuːᴹ* 'jar' → *miᴹïᴹ ziuːᴴᴹ* 'I ask for a/the jar'.

[blank]

2
The Comaltepec Chinantec Verb

2.1. Active vs. stative verb stems. In its minimal form, a verb consists of a verb stem which is either active or stative. An active verb stem is internally inflected for tense-aspect and may occur with any of several tense-aspect prefixes, as in (1); a stative verb stem is not so inflected and may occur with only a restricted set of tense-aspect prefixes, as in (2), specifically excluding past-tense prefixes. Both active and stative verb stems are inflected for person-of-subject.

(1)	*ka^{L}-hmé^{M}e,*	PST-do^C1s,	I did it.
	ni^{L}-hmé:^{LH}e,	IMPF-do^I1s,	I will do it.
(2)	*ze?^{LH}e,*	sick^S1s,	I am sick.
	ni^{L}-ze?^{LH}e,	IMPF-sick^S1s,	I was sick.

Stative verbs are discussed in more detail below, but the discussion which follows immediately focuses upon the inflectional patterns of active verb forms.

2.2. Active verb stem inflection. The internal inflection of Comaltepec active verb stems is complex to the point of frustrating any attempt to isolate individual morphemes which mark categories of aspect or person-of-subject. A combination of tone, ballistic stress, and segmental changes define these categories in a three-by-four, twelve-place matrix with three aspectual parameters—Progressive (P), Intentive (I), and Completive (C)—and four parameters of person—First-Person Singular (1s), First-Person Plural (1p), Second Person (2), and Third Person (3).

The paradigm of the verb 'read' illustrates such a matrix in (3). Tense prefixes and enclitic pronouns are not included in the matrix, although they are normally present in speech and help distinguish homophonous forms like the progressive first-singular, first-plural, and second-person forms of (3).

(3)

read	1s	1p	2	3
P	*ʔi̱L*	*ʔi̱L*	*ʔi̱L*	*ʔi̱LM*
I	*ʔi̱M*	*ʔí̱H*	*ʔí̱H*	*ʔí̱M*
C	*ʔí̱L*	*ʔi̱H*	*ʔi̱L*	*ʔí̱L*

Comaltepec verb stems participate in a large number of such paradigms which, like (3), may differ phonologically from one another by tone, length, palatalization, vowel, nasalization, stress, or glottal closure, in a bewildering variety of patterns. A particular verb root may participate in several such paradigms to mark differences in gender or transitivity. Compare, for example, the transitive inanimate (TI) forms of the verb meaning 'hit' in (4) with the corresponding transitive animate (TA) forms in (5).[1]

(4)

hit (TI)	1s	1p	2	3
P	*bá*^{L}	*ba*^{L}	*bá*^{L}	*bá*^{L}
I	*bá*^{H}	*bá*^{H}	*bá*^{H}	*bá*^{L}
C	*bá*^{L}	*bá*^{H}	*bá*^{LM}	*bá*^{L}

(5)

hit (TA)	1s	1p	2	3
P	*bə́:n*^{M}	*bə́:n*^{M}	*bə́n*^{M}	*bə́:n*^{M}
I	*bə́:n*^{H}	*bə́:n*^{H}	*bə́n*^{H}	*bə́:n*^{M}
C	*bə́:n*^{M}	*bə́:n*^{H}	*bə́n*^{LM}	*bə́:n*^{M}

A more thorough description of these inflectional patterns is found in Pace (forthcoming). An exhaustive analysis of verb stems is not, therefore, attempted here, but a number of typical paradigms are listed in (6) as illustrative of the kinds of phonological patterns which are found.

[1]The TI forms occur with an inanimate direct object as in 'he hits a rock', while the TA forms occur with an animate direct object as in 'he hits a horse'. Transitivity is discussed further in §2.16.

(6)	bury (TA)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*ʔánLM*	*ʔánLM*	*ʔánLM*	*ʔá:nM*
	I	*ʔánLH*	*ʔánLH*	*ʔánLH*	*ʔá:nM*
	C	*ʔánM*	*ʔánLH*	*ʔánLM*	*ʔá:nM*

(7)	raise (TA)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔá:nL*
	I	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔánM*
	C	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔa:nM*	*ʔá:nL*

(8)	transplant (TI)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔánʔL*
	I	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔánʔL*
	C	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔanʔLH*	*ʔánʔL*

(9)	wade (AI)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*ʔáL*	*ʔaL*	*ʔáL*	*ʔáL*
	I	*ʔáH*	*ʔáH*	*ʔáH*	*ʔáL*
	C	*ʔáL*	*ʔáH*	*ʔáLM*	*ʔáL*

(10)	bake (TI)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*tó:L*	*to:M*	*to:L*	*tó:L*
	I	*tó:LH*	*téH*	*tó:H*	*tóM*
	C	*tóM*	*téH*	*té:M*	*tó:M*

(11)	talk (AI)	1s	1p	2	3
	P	*huáʔL*	*huéʔL*	*huóʔL*	*huéʔL*
	I	*huáʔH*	*huéʔH*	*huoʔH*	*huéʔL*
	C	*huáʔM*	*huéʔH*	*hueʔLH*	*huéʔL*

2.3. Prefixes. All Chinantec languages tend heavily toward being isolating languages, having only a few affixes, these occurring almost exclusively in verbs. Comaltepec Chinantec is no exception. Person-of-possessor on nouns or person-of-subject on verbs often occurs in phonologically reduced, enclitic form; but otherwise only verbs occur with a small number of inflectional prefixes to mark, in conjunction with the verb root inflection described above, a small number of tense-aspect categories. The few prefixes in question are listed in (12). The interplay of these prefixes and inflectional forms of verb roots is discussed in the

sections which immediately follow. (Derivational affixes are discussed in §2.12.)

(12) *ni*^{L}- (imperfect)
ka^{L}- (past)
la^{L}- (hodiernal past)
ni^{H}- (perfect)
la^{L}*mi*^{LH}- (past imperfect)
ha^{L}- (negative)
ho^{L}- (terminative)
la^{L}- (nonentailment)

2.4. Progressive aspect. Progressive aspect is marked by the progressive form of the verb stem, without a prefix. In this form, a verb denotes, usually ambiguously, either a habitual or progressive activity.

(13) *la*^{L}*kǫ:*^{L} *hmĺ:*^{LH} *kuɻ:*^{L}*i* *tï*^{LM} *ʔe*^{L}*skué:l*^{LH}
each day run^P1s to school
Every day I run to school.

(14) *hmó:*^{L}*o* *ta*^{LH} *sí:n*^{L} *ma*^{L}*hí*^{L}
do^P1s work tear^P1s paper
I am working tearing paper.

2.5. Intentive aspect. To indicate an action not yet begun at the time of the speech act, the verb root is internally inflected for intentive aspect. The root does not require a prefix in this form, but usually occurs with the imperfect prefix *ni*^{L}-. The semantic force may be simple future or future progressive.

(15) *ni*^{L}*-hme?*^{LH}*e* *lú*^{LM} *kí:*^{M}*ʔ*
IMPF-repair^I1s instrument of^2s
I will repair your instrument, *or* I will be repairing your instrument.

(16) *hǫ*^{L} *mi*^{LH}- *ni*^{L}*-ʔiá*^{L}, *hǫ*^{L} *ni*^{L}*-zi*^{L}*to?*^{LH} *ma*^{L}*hǫ́*^{LM}
then when IMPF-boil^I3, then IMPF-put^in^I2 oregano
Then when it is boiling, add oregano.

In a subordinate clause, the imperfect prefix and intentive stem may occur preceded by the past-tense prefix *ka*^{L}- to give future perfect force.

(17) *ni^{L}-hme?^{LH}na? ?e^{L} ?niú^{LM} dó^{M} kar^{L} ka^{L}-ni^{L}-té?^{LM}*
IMPF-do^I2p REL house that until PST-IMPF-finish^I3
You will build the house until it is finished.

2.6. Completive aspect. To denote an activity completed prior to the time of the speech act, the verb stem is inflected for completive aspect. One of the two past-tense prefixes, *ka^{L}-* (past) or *la^{L}-* (hodiernal past), almost always occurs with such a stem, as in (18) and (19).

(18) *ka^{L}-hmé^{M}e ta^{LH} gé:^{M}*
PST-do^C1s work yesterday
I worked yesterday.

(19) *la^{L}-kï?^{M} ?ị^{L} hiú:n^{LH} na^{L} sï?^{H}r*
HOD-clothe^C3 REL child that clothes^3
That child just now got dressed.

In (17), the past-tense prefix was shown to precede the imperfect prefix with an intentive stem to indicate future perfect. The imperfect can also precede the past-tense prefix with a completive stem, but in this case the imperfect functions as an evidential, to reduce the degree of responsibility the speaker accepts regarding the truth of the assertion. In (20), the speaker was not an eyewitness of the animal being shot.

(20) *zắn?^{L} mo^{L}lú:^{LH} -re? ni^{L}-ka^{L}-ti^{LM} mï^{L}tiú^{LM}*
truly neck^3 animal IMPF-PST-reach^C3 bullet
The bullet evidently struck the animal right in the neck.

2.7. Perfect aspect. The perfect prefix *ni^{H}-* may occur with either the progressive or completive form of a verb root. With a progressive form, it indicates that the action of the verb has begun and continues at the time of the speech act.

(21) *ni^{H}-na:n^{L} hgó:^{L} hmï^{L}ná^{M}*
PRF-begin^P3 descend^P3 rapidly
It has begun to descend rapidly.

With a completive form, it indicates that the action of the verb had begun and continued at the time of another action which occurred prior to the time of the speech act. The evidential use of the imperfect is not incompatible with the occurrence of the perfect prefix, as (22) shows.

(22) *zân?^{L} hi^{L} hue?^{L} bá?^{H} ni^{H}-ni^{L}-ka^{L}-hmé:^{L}r*
very fire big AFF PRF-IMPF-PST-make^C3
They had evidently already made a big fire.

The perfect prefix is normally *ni^{H}-*; but with the negative prefix, it has the form *mi^{LM}-*. In this context, a progressive or stative verb denotes an action or state which is yet to be realized at the time of the speech act.

(23) *ha^{L}-mi^{LM}-ŋin?^{LM} iu:^{L} ké^{M}e*
NEG-PRF-see^P2s baby of^1s
You have not yet seen my baby.

(24) *ha^{L}-mi^{LM}-ŋi^{LM}r ?e^{L} rún?^{L}ne -in?*
NEG-PRF-know^S3 REL relatives^-3 3
They didn't yet know that they were relatives.

The negative perfect also occurs with a completive verb root to indicate an action which has not been initiated at the time of the speech act. The past-tense prefix *ka^{L}-* may or may not be present in this context; apparently the presence of the perfect prefix and the completive inflection of the stem combine to preclude ambiguity.

(25) *ha^{L}-mi^{LM}-ka^{L}-mán^{M}n -re?*
neg-PRF-PST-see^C1s animal
I have not yet seen the animal.

(26) *ha^{L}-mi^{LM}-ŋó^{M}o hui^{LM} cuá^{M}*
NEG-PRF-go^C1s road Chuparrosa
I have not yet gone to Chuparrosa Ranch.

This same form of the perfect prefix, *mi^{LM}-*, also occurs with stative stems, irrespective of the occurrence of negation in the context.

(27) *gán^{M}-b zä^{L} mi^{LM}-se:n^{L}r*
two AFF person PRF-exist^S3
Two people have been created (so far).

2.8. Imperfect aspect. The imperfect prefix *ni^{L}-* was shown above to occur optionally with intentive stems to indicate a future action and to occur with completive stems as an evidential. It also occurs with a stative or progressive stem to indicate that a state or an action continues which

was initiated prior to the time of the speech act. With an action such as the third example of (30), the interpretation may be progressive or iterative.

(28) *niL-zeʔLH -b kaLbóLH kéMe miïLH- kaL-géMe*
IMPF-sick^S3 AFF coparent of^1s when PST-arrive^C1s
My coparent was sick when I arrived.

(29) *haːnL miïʔL niL-ráːnL naL*
one snake IMPF-lie^P3 there
A snake was lying there.

(30) *niL-ŋïLMr taLH kúnʔLM guïLtáH*
IMPF-walk^P3 work eat^P3 cattle
He was walking around eating cattle.

To indicate a former state or progressive action which no longer continues at a subsequent time or at the time of the speech act, the sequence *laLmiïLH-* occurs with a completive stem. This usage can be labelled past imperfect.[2]

(31) *laLmiïLH-ŋóM híH huïLM heLnuːHL kiáʔMr*
PST^IMPF-go^C3 Virginia road ranch of^3
Virginia used to [habitually] go to her ranch.

2.9. The negative prefix. The negative prefix *haL-* may precede a verb, like any other verb prefix, or it may negate another element which, when negated, must be topicalized by fronting to the first position within the clause.[3]

(32) *haL-kuéːnL niL-kúʔH ʔoLhuïːL*
NEG-permissible^3i IMPF-pick^I2 fruit
It is not permissible for you to pick fruit.

(33) *haL-gíH zäLŋiuʔL kéMe miïLM-seːnL*
NEG-AUG man of^1s PRF-exist^S3
I do not yet have a husband.

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[2]Comrie (1976:80) illustrates a similar relationship between past and imperfect for Arabic.

[3]Topicalization is discussed in more detail in §3.14.

With verbs, the negative prefix occurs with any of the other aspectual prefixes discussed above.

(34) *haL-kaL-hméMe tarea kéMe*
NEG-PST-do^C1s task of^1s
I did not do my homework.

(35) *haL-niL-kó:LHo laLnáM*
NEG-IMPF-play^I1s now
I will not play ball just now.

2.10. Terminative aspect. The prefix *hoL-* (terminative) indicates the cessation of an action which was either in progress or habitual prior to the time of the speech act. It occurs with progressive or stative stems. In related Chinantec languages, the corresponding terminative prefix usually accompanies the negative prefix. In Comaltepec, the terminative prefix itself carries negative force and does not occur with the negative prefix.

(36) *hoL-kuëLMr huïLM*
TRM-give^P3 road
S/he[4] no longer permits it.

(37) *hoL-ʔí:nLH gïHr núMr haLléʔL húːH dóM*
TRM-want^S3 more^3 hear^I3 PL word that
S/he no longer wants to listen to those words.

2.11. Nonentailment. The pretonic form *laL-* is ubiquitous in Comaltepec, making it difficult to interpret, but it seems appropriate to consider some of its occurrences as the prefix *laL-* (nonentailment), paralleling the corresponding prefix of other Chinantec languages. With this sense, it occurs with progressive roots to indicate that an action is independent and not the inexorable result of another action or situation. The action 'just happened'. It may focus attention upon an action as being curious or unexpected in some way.

(38) *laL-siʔLM -b ʔeL ʔmaL naL kaL-liL-kiɥ́L*
NON-stand^S3s AFF REL wood that PST-ACT^C-dry^S3
That tree that dried up is just standing there.

[4]Most third-person forms in Chinantec are ambiguous as to gender and number. Not all translation possibilities are explicitly indicated in illustrations where this fact is not in focus.

(39) *laL-tụ:L -b hmï:L*
NON-spill^P3 AFF water
The water is just pouring out.

2.12. Derivational prefixes. Most of the discussion to this point relates to prefixation and inflection of active verb stems. I now turn to a brief discussion of the derivational prefixes which change stative verb roots to active verb stems or active verb roots to stative verb stems. First, the activizing prefix.

The activizing prefix has two forms—one for intentive and one for progressive or completive. The intentive form *liL-* (ACT^I) indicates that a change of state will take place after the time of the speech act. The second form, *lïL-*, is ambiguously progressive (ACT^P) or completive (ACT^C), although accompanying inflectional prefixes usually eliminate the ambiguity.[5]

The progressive form indicates that a change of state is habitual or is in progress at the time of the speech act. The completive form indicates that a change of state took place prior to the time of the speech act. The form of the stative root itself does not change with the addition of these prefixes. Inflectional prefixes which normally occur with active roots, but not with stative roots, may occur with these derived active stems.

(40)	*ʔméM*,	sharp^S3i,	It is sharp.
	lïL-ʔméM,	ACT^C-sharp^S3i,	It becomes sharp.
	niL-liL-ʔméM,	IMPF-ACT^I-sharp^S3i,	It will become sharp.
	kaL-lïL-ʔméM,	PST-ACT^C-sharp^S3i,	It became sharp.
(41)	*guí:nMr*,	angry^S3,	He is angry.
	lïL-guí:nMr,	ACT^P-angry^S3,	He becomes angry.
	niL-liL-guí:nMr,	IMPF-ACT^I-angry^S3,	He will become angry.
	kaL-lïL-guí:nMr,	PST-ACT^C-angry^S3,	He became angry.

A stative stem may also be derived from an active root by the stativizing prefix *sïL-*. Such a derived stem may not occur with the inflectional prefixes of active verb forms. Transitivity is normally reduced by the use of this prefix, as can be seen by the following examples. The active root meaning 'plow' is transitive, whereas its stative counterpart is intransitive.

[5]The probable source of this prefix is the inanimate intransitive verb meaning 'happen', as in *lïLM* 'happens', *niLlïL* 'will happen', and *kaLlïM* 'happened'.

(42) P S O
hí̈:^{L} -r ʔe^{L} ʔuḗ^{M} kiáʔ^{M}r
plow^TIP 3 3 REL ground of^3
He is plowing his field.

(43) P S
sï^{L}-hí̈:^{HL} ʔuḗ^{M} kiáʔ^{M}r
STA-plow^P3 ground of^3
His ground is plowed.

In a few cases, what would appear to be this same stativizing prefix is added to a stative root to derive an active stem which then is inflected like an active root.

(44) P S O L
ni^{L}-sï^{L}-gui^{M} -i ka^{L}hué^{LH} ni^{LH} hï^{L}
IMPF-STA-hot^I1s 1s coffee face^3 fire
I will heat the coffee on the fire.

A second stativizing prefix, *rï^{L}-*, has a much more limited distribution, but otherwise has the same characteristics as *sï^{L}-*.

(45) P S
rï^{L}-kį̈nʔ^{LM} sį̈ʔ^{H}r
STA-reverse suit^3
Their clothes are on backwards.

(46) P MODAL S
rï^{L}-ŋún^{LM} -b -re
STA-flesh^S3 AFF 3
They are naked.

2.13. Directional verbs. Directional verbs result when a verb occurs with any of a series of prefixes derived from verbs of motion, to indicate movement by the agent of the action named by the verb. The four prefixes in (47) are paired with the progressive forms of the verb 'go' which may be considered their source. These prefixes occur with active verb stems, other than motion verbs, to indicate that the agent of the action named by the verb stem will move away from the place of the speech act in conjunction with his or her performance of the action.

(47)	go^P	prefix	full form	
	1s	*ni^{L}-*	*ní:^{L}-i*	I am going.
	1p	*zi^{L}-*	*zé^{LM}-e?*	We are going.
	2	*güi^{L}-*	*guo^{LM}?*	You are going.
	3	*zi^{L}-*	*zé^{LM}-r*	S/he is going.

(48)		
	ni^{L}-lǎ?^{H}-a	I go and bathe.
	zi^{L}-lé?^{H}-e?	We go and bathe.
	güi^{L}-lé?^{L}	You go and bathe.
	zi^{L}-lé?^{L}-r	S/he goes and bathes.

As can be seen from (47), the verb 'go' is highly suppletive in its progressive forms. It is further suppletive in its completive forms, as can be seen in (49), which are the source of directional prefixes for completive verbs, illustrated in (50).

(49)	go^C	prefix	full form	
	1s	*ŋo^{L}-*	*ŋó^{M}-o*	I went.
	1p	*ŋo^{L}-*	*ŋó^{M}-o?*	We went.
	2	*gi^{L}-*	*gé:^{M}-?*	You went.
	3	*ŋo^{L}-*	*ŋó^{M}-r*	S/he went.

(50)		
	ka^{L}-ŋo^{L}-lǎ?^{L}-a	I went and bathed.
	ka^{L}-ŋo^{L}-lé?^{H}-e?	We went and bathed.
	ka^{L}-gi^{L}-le?-^{L}	You went and bathed.
	ka^{L}-ŋo^{L}-le?^{HL}-r	S/he went and bathed.

In natural speech, it is not uncommon to hear the motion verb in its full form, followed by a directional verb having the particular directional prefix based on that motion verb.

(51) *ní:^{L}i* *ni^{L}-lǎ?^{H}a.*
go^P1s go^P1s-bathe^P1s.
I am going; I am on my way to bathe.

There is a second group of directional prefixes based on the motion verb 'come', to indicate motion on the part of the agent toward the place of the speech act. This verb is also extremely suppletive as far as categories of person are concerned, but the same directional forms occur with completive stems as with progressive and intentive stems.

(52)

come	prefix	full form	
1s	*ga*^{L}-	*gá*^{LM}-*a*	I come.
1p	*ha*^{L}-	*há*^{LM}-*a?*	We come.
2	*ŋi*^{L}-	*ŋí*^{L}*?*	You come.
3	*ha*^{L}-	*há*^{LM}-*r*	S/he comes.

(53)

ga^{L}-*sï?*^{LH}-*ï*	I come and untie it.
ni^{L}-*ga*^{L}-*sï?*^{LH}-*ï*	I will come and untie it.
ka^{L}-*ga*^{L}-*sï?*^{LH}-*ï*	I came and untied it.

(54)

ha^{L}-*si?*^{HM}-*i?*	We come and untie it.
ni^{L}-*ha*^{L}-*si?*^{HM}-*i?*	We will come and untie it.
ka^{L}-*ha*^{L}-*si?*^{HM}-*i?*	We came and untied it.

(55)

ŋi^{L}-*si?*^{LH}	You (sg) come and untie it.
ni^{L}-*ŋi*^{H}-*si?*^{LH}	You (sg) will come and untie it.
ka^{L}-*ŋi*^{L}-*si?*^{LH}	You (sg) came and untied it.

(56)

ha^{L}-*si?*^{LH}-*r*	S/he comes and unties it.
ni^{L}-*ha*^{L}-*si?*^{LH}-*r*	S/he will come and untie it.
ka^{L}-*ha*^{L}-*si?*^{LH}-*r*	S/he came and untied it.

There are two more partial paradigms of directional prefixes to indicate 'arrival' of an agent either away from or at the place of the speech act. They are partial in that they only occur with third-person agents, excluding the interlocutors.[6]

(57)

prefix	full form	
gi^{L}-	*gé*^{LM}-*r*	S/he arrived there.
gui^{L}-	*gué:n*^{M}-*r*	S/he arrived here.

(58) *kǫ:*^{L} *hmḯ:*^{LH} *ka*^{L}-*gi*^{L}-*guä*^{L} *tiú*^{H} *hui*^{LM} *dó*^{M}
one day PST-ARR-sit Peter road there
One day Peter arrived to sit there.

(59) *ka*^{L}-*gui*^{L}-*hé:n*^{L} *?i*^{L} *zä*^{L} *dó*^{M} *la*^{L}*ŋí:n*^{M} *?in?*^{LH} *hó?*^{L}
PST-ARR-bring REL person that various kind animal
That man arrived here bringing all kinds of animals.

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[6]A more complete discussion of verbs of motion in a related Chinantec language is found in Westley and Merrifield (to appear).

2.14. Pseudodirectional verbs. The large majority of directional verbs indicate motion of an agent, as indicated in the preceding section. There are a small number of verbs, however, in which directional prefixes have a variety of derivational functions without implying any real motion of the sort indicated above.

Two of the directional prefixes may occur with certain stative roots to derive active stems—*ziᴸ-* to indicate change of state after the time of the speech act, *ŋoᴸ-* to indicate change of state prior to the time of the speech act.

(60) *ziᴸ-ʔaᴸᴴ* *hmïːᴸ* *zíᴸᴹ*
go^1-contain water inside
It will fill with water.

(61) *ziᴸ-gáᴸ* *zíᴸᴹ* *zäᴸ*
go^1-lose^3 heart^3 3
S/he/they get(s) upset.

(62) *kaᴸ-ŋoᴸ-kanʔᴸᴹ-b-re*
PST^go^C3-confuse-AFF-3
He got confused.

(63) *ŋoᴸ-huïːnᴹ* *zäᴸ*
go^C-many person
The number of people increased.

A second derivational function of these prefixes is to reduce transitivity. The root meaning 'rob' is normally transitive inanimate. With the pseudodirectional prefix, the agent is suppressed and the inanimate object is promoted to subject, resulting in an inanimate intransitive verb. No motion is implied, and it would be inappropriate for a full motion verb to precede this verb in the manner illustrated for true directional verbs.

(64) *niᴴ-niᴸ-ŋoᴸ-ʔíⁿᴸ* *-b* *kuíᴸᴹï*
PRF-IMPF-go^C-rob^S3 AFF firewood^1S
My firewood has evidently been robbed.

2.15. Verbs and noun gender. All Comaltepec nouns are either animate or inanimate in gender. Nouns which name members of the animal kingdom, including homo sapiens, are animate; all other nouns are inanimate, with the exception of a small number of nouns which name

celestial bodies or atmospheric phenomena, such as sun, moon, stars, lightning, and rainbow. These also are animate, presumably because of their personification in Chinantec oral traditions and because of persisting metaphysical views related to them.

The gender of nouns is not overtly expressed in the noun itself, but rather in the inflection of other word classes related to them syntactically—quantifiers, deictics, modifiers, and verbs. Some of these matters will be discussed elsewhere, but as regards the inflection of verbs, an ergative system of agreement exists. An intransitive verb agrees in gender with its subject, while a transitive verb agrees in gender with its object.

(65) P S
ka^{L}-tó?^{L} *hi^{L}*
PST-fall^IIC3 book
The book fell.

(66) P S
ka^{L}-tẽ́n?^{L} *zi:^{L}*
PST-fall^AIC3 dog
The dog fell.

(67) P S O
ka^{L}-kuë^{LM} *-r* *ku:^{M}*
PST-give^TIC3 3 money
He gave money.

(68) P S O
ka^{L}-kuën^{LM} *-r* *kú^{H}*
PST-give^TAC3 3 pigs
He gave pigs.

Normal inanimate gender is sometimes rhetorically upgraded to animate to indicate a closer association or greater involvement between the speaker and the named object. In (69), the verbform 'lie' would normally be inanimate intransitive (II), rather than animate intransitive (AI), to agree with the *normally* inanimate noun 'rocks'.

(69) L P S
dóM -b nā́nLM haLlénʔL kṷ́:LH kiáʔM ʔniúLM ʔmī́:M
that AFF lie^AIP3 PL rock of^3 house new
There lie the rocks [which have been gathered for the construction] of the new house.

The following two examples show interesting uses of the animal pronoun *-reʔ* to both rhetorically upgrade an inanimate referent and, conversely, to downgrade a human one. In (70), the pronoun appears to be in cross-reference with the topicalized inanimate noun *ze:M* 'crime', upgrading it to the lowest degree of animate status. In (71), an unforgiving person is rhetorically downgraded by use of the animal pronoun as subject.

(70) NEG S[Q H] P S L
haL- ʔeL ze:M säL -reʔ kéMe
NEG REL crime exist^S3 animal of^1s
I am guilty of no crime.

(71) P S O O
haL-kaL-ʔí:nM -reʔ -r ze:M kiáʔM ʔįL zäL dóM
NEG-PST-destroy^C3 animal 3 crime of^3 REL person that
S/he did not forgive him/her his/her crime.

2.16. Transitivity. A Comaltepec verb is intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive as defined by the number of nominals which may occur with it within the clause. An intransitive verb may occur with one nominal, a transitive verb with two, and a small set of ditransitive verbs with three. These three degrees of transitivity are illustrated in (72)–(74). The first of these is inanimate intransitive (II)—the verb may occur with one inanimate nominal. The second is transitive inanimate (TI)—the subject nominal is always animate (at least conceptually), the object nominal always inanimate. The third is ditransitive inanimate (DI)—the subject nominal is always animate, the first object following is always animate, and the second object is always inanimate.

(72) P S
ŋïLM kǫ:L bëʔLH
walk^IIP3 one round^object
The car is moving.

(73) P S O T
ka^{L}-kuë^{LM} -r ku:^{M} kiá?^{M}r gé:^{M}
PST-give^TIC3 3 money of^3 yesterday
He gave his money yesterday.

(74) P S O O
ka^{L}-kuë?^{LM} -r ?ị^{L} zä^{L} ha^{L}lé?^{L} ku:^{M}
PST-give^DIC3 3 REL person PL money
S/he gave the person the money.

The corresponding animate verbs are illustrated below. The first is animate intransitive (AI)—the subject nominal is always animate and no other nominal may occur in the clause. The second is transitive animate (TA)—the subject is normally animate and the object is always animate. The third is ditransitive animate (DA)—the subject is always animate, the first object is always animate, and the second object is always animate.

(75) P S
ka^{L}-tẽn?^{L} ?ị^{L} hiú:n^{LH} dó^{M}
PST-fall^AIC3 REL child that
That child fell.

(76) P S O T
ka^{L}-kuẽ:n^{L} -r ?ị^{L} kú^{H} na^{L} gé:^{M}
PST-give^TAC3 3 REL pig that yesterday
S/he gave that pig yesterday.

(77) P S O O
ka^{L}-kuën?^{LM} -r ?ị^{L} hiú:n^{LH} la^{L} ha^{L}lén?^{L} zä^{L}lĩ:^{LH}
PST-give^DAC3 3 REL child this PL doll
He gave this child the dolls.

There are two types of ditransitive roots in Comaltepec, both of which cross reference three nominal constituents, a subject and two objects. In the first type, the first object is a semantic source or goal which is always animate, and the second object is a semantic patient which may be inanimate (DI) or animate (DA).

(78)

P	S	O		O	
ka^{L}-mïʔ^{LM}	*-r*	*ha:n^{L}*	*sï^{L}mí^{H}*	*kǫ:^{L}*	*hi^{L}*
PST-ask^DIC3	3	one	girl	one	book

S/he asked a young lady for a book.

(79)

P	S	O		O		
ka^{L}-mïnʔ^{LM}	*-r*	*ha:n^{L}*	*sï^{L}mí^{H}*	*ʔį^{L}*	*kuä^{LH}*	*dó^{M}*
PST-ask^DAC3	3	one	girl	REL	horse	that

S/he asked a young lady for that horse.

(80)

P	S	O		O	
ka^{L}-ʔé:^{M}	*-e*	*mí^{H}*	*ké^{M}e*	*kǫ:^{L}*	*hi^{L}*
PST-indicate^DIC1s	1s	child	of^1s	one	book

I pointed out a book to my little girl.

(81)

P	S	O			O	
ka^{L}-ʔé:n^{M}	*-n*	*mí^{H}*	*ké^{M}e*	*ʔį^{L}*	*kuä^{LH}*	*dó^{M}*
PST-indicate^DAC1s	1s	child	of^1s	REL	horse	that

I pointed out that horse to my little girl.

With this type of ditransitive clause, no nominal can be deleted without changing the inflectional paradigm of the verb, and any of the three nominals may be topicalized by moving it to the left of the verb.

(82)

S	P	S	O		O	
ʔí^{L}b	*ka^{L}-mïʔ^{LM}*	*-r*	*ha:n^{L}*	*sï^{L}mí^{H}*	*kǫ:^{L}*	*hi^{L}*
3^AFF	PST-ask^DIC3	3	one	girl	one	book

It was s/he who asked a young lady for a book.

(83)

O		P	S	O	
ha:n^{L}	*sï^{L}mí^{H}b*	*ka^{L}-mïʔ^{LM}*	*-r*	*kǫ:^{L}*	*hi^{L}*
one	girl^(AFF)	PST-ask^DIC3	3	one	book

It was a young lady whom s/he asked for a book.

(84)

O		P	S	O	
kǫ:^{L}	*hi^{L}b*	*ka^{L}-mïʔ^{LM}*	*-r*	*ha:n^{L}*	*sï^{L}mí^{H}*
one	book^(AFF)	PST-ask^DIC3	3	one	girl

It was a book for which s/he asked a young lady.

In the second type, the first object is a semantic patient which may be inanimate (DI) or animate (DA), and the second object is a semantic instrument which is always inanimate.

(85) P S O O
ʔéːᴹ -e ʔeᴸ ŋiᴴhlɨ́ːᴸᴴ dóᴹ hmïːᴸ
splash^DIP1s 1s REL knife that water
I splash the knife with water.

(86) P S O O
ʔéːnᴸᴴ -n ʔɨ̨ᴸ sïᴸminʔᴸ dóᴹ hmïːᴸ
splash^DAP1s 1s REL young^man that water
I splash that young man with water.

(87) P S O O
niᴸ-ʔiáᴴ -a tuʔᴸᴹ -reʔ ŋiᴴhlɨ́ːᴸᴴ
IMPF-stab^DII1s 1s stomach^3 animal knife
I will stab the animal's stomach with a knife.

(88) P S O O
niᴸ-ʔiéːnᴸᴴ -n ʔɨ̨ᴸ sïᴸminʔᴸ dóᴹ ŋiᴴhlɨ́ːᴸᴴ
IMPF-stab^DAI1s 1s REL young^man that knife
I will stab that young man with a knife.

With this type of ditransitive clause, the instrument constituent can be omitted without changing the inflectional paradigm of the verb and, although the instrument is not subordinated by the associative verb *kǫʔᴸᴴ* 'with' (§3.5) when following the verb in neutral word order, it must so occur when topicalized by movement left to the preverb position.

(89) P S O
niᴸ-ʔiéːnᴸᴴ -n ʔɨ̨ᴸ sïᴸminʔᴸ dóᴹ
IMPF-stab^DAI1s 1s REL young^man that
I will stab that young man.

(90) O P S O
kǫʔᴸᴴ ŋiᴴhlɨ́ːᴸᴴb niᴸ-ʔiéːnᴸᴴ -n ʔɨ̨ᴸ sïᴸminʔᴸ dóᴹ
with knife IMPF-stab^DAI1s 1s REL young^man that
It is with a knife that I will stab that young man.

(91) S P S O O
hnä^{LHb} ni^{L}-ʔié:n^{LH} -n ʔį^{L} si^{L}minʔ^{L} dó^{M} ŋi^{H}hlí:^{LH}
1s^AFF IMPF-stab^DAI1s 1s REL young^man that knife
It is I who will stab that young man with a knife.

(92) O P S O
ʔį^{L} si^{L}minʔ^{L} dó^{M}b ni^{L}-ʔié:n^{LH} -n ŋi^{H}hlí:^{LH}
REL young^man that^AFF IMPF-stab^DAI1s 1s knife
It is that young man whom I will stab with a knife.

Although ditransitive verbs cross reference three nouns which may occur directly with them without prepositions, it is not common for a verb to occur with all three nouns overtly present. It is more common to reduce nominal reference to pronouns, and if it is necessary to introduce several nouns into one part of a narrative, to do so by the use of paired verbs, with each verb having one, or at the most two, nouns as its adjuncts. This may be illustrated by the sequence of two sentences in (93) and (94).

(93) *ʔe^{LM} ʔį^{L} tu^{L}hua ʔ^{LM} la^{L} hu^{L}ŋí ʔ^{H};*
teach^TIP3 REL teacher this Spanish
This teacher teaches Spanish;

(94) *ʔe ʔ^{LM} -r ha^{L}lén ʔ^{L} zä^{L}mí^{L}*
teach^DIP3 3 PL woman
s/he teaches it to the women.

For Palantla Chinantec, Merrifield (1968:30f) described an inflectional category, which he called ECHO, in which pairs of verbs differ as between a first-time action and a related one which is in some sense not a first occurrence. Comaltepec also exhibits this same inflectional category, as in the paired verbs of (95).

(95) *hmó:^{L}-r* 's/he makes' *hmoʔ^{LM}-r* 's/he repairs'
ʔní:^{L}-r 's/he sells' *ʔniʔ^{LM}-r* 's/he resells'
ʔné:n^{L}-r 's/he seeks' *ʔnénʔ^{LM}-r* 's/he hunts'

This inflectional category is seen to be marked in part by glottal closure of the root syllable, and in part by other changes such as length and tone. This same change in form occurs between pairs of verbs differing in degree of transitivity, the second member of the pair being ditransitive of the first type (with source or goal as first object).

(96)	*kuëᴸᴹ-r*	's/he gives^TI'	*kuë?ᴸᴹ-r*	's/he gives^DI'
	kuẽ:nᴸ-r	's/he gives^TA'	*kuën?ᴸᴹ-r*	's/he gives^DA'
	miᴸᴹ-r	's/he requests^TI'	*mï?ᴸᴹ-r*	's/he requests^DI'
	?eᴸᴹ-r	's/he teaches^TI'	*?e?ᴸᴹ-r*	's/he teaches^DI'
	huí:ᴸ-r	's/he whistles^TI'	*huí?ᴸ-r*	's/he whistles^DI'

2.17. Changing transitivity. Verb roots often participate in more than one inflectional paradigm which differ from each other in gender and in transitivity, as indicated in the preceding discussion. Apart from such inflectional means of changing transitivity, there are also certain prefixes which change the degree of transitivity of roots. One such prefix is the prefix *hmiᴸ- ~ hmïᴸ-* (CAUSATIVE). This prefix changes the role structure of a clause, usually adding an agent which almost always adds a nominal to the clause, thereby increasing the syntactic transitivity of the verb. This may also entail the demotion of an existing subject to object. The phonological form of the root is, in some cases, changed in the presence of the prefix.

(97)

P	S		
kiu:ᴸ	*?eᴸ*	*?uẽᴹ*	*dóᴹ*
dry^IIS3	REL	ground	that

That ground is dry.

(98)

P		S	O	
hmiᴸ-kiuᴹ		*-u*	*mí?ᴴ*	*kaᴸhuéᴸᴴ*
CAUSE-dry^TIP1S		1S	seed	coffee

I am toasting coffee beans.

(99)

MA	P	S		
hmïᴸnáᴹ	*kua:nᴸ*	*?iᴸ*	*kúᴴ*	*laᴸ*
fast	grow^AIP3	REL	pig	this

This pig is really growing fast.

(100)

P	S	O
hmïᴸ-kuá:nᴸ	*-n*	*kúᴴ*
CAUSE-grow^TAP1S	1S	pig

I raise pigs.

The addition of an agent by the causative prefix does not always entail an increase in syntactic transitivity. Three pairs of verbs follow. The first

two verbs are both intransitive, but entail different role structures. The first verb is stative with a patient as subject; the second is active and semantically middle with subject as both agent and patient.

(101) P S
le:n^{M} *-n*
wet^AIS1s 1s
I am wet.

(102) P S
hmi^{L}*-lé:n*^{L} *-n*
CAUSE-wet^AIP1s 1s
I make myself wet.

The next two verbs are both transitive, and entail the same role structures for each of their corresponding nominals.

(103) P S O MA
ŋí:^{L} *-r* *hú:*^{H} *ʔníʔ*^{L}
answer^TIP3 3 word ungrateful
S/he answers ungratefully.

(104) P S O
hmi^{L}*-ŋí:*^{L} *-r* *hial*^{L} *ni*^{L}*-tí*^{M} *hmí:*^{LH}
CAUSE-answer^TIP3 3 how IMPF-reach^P3 holiday
S/he asks how the celebration went.

The third pair are the ditransitive counterparts of the second pair, the first verb adding an object as goal, the second and object as source.

(105) P S O O MA
ŋiʔ^{LM} *-r* *tiú*^{H} *hú:*^{H} *ʔníʔ*^{L}
answer^DIP3 3 Peter word ungrateful
S/he answers Peter ungratefully.

(106) P S O O
hmi^{L}*-ŋiʔ*^{HM} *-r* *tiú*^{H} *hial*^{L} *ni*^{L}*-tí*^{M} *hmí:*^{LH}
CAUSE-answer^TIP3 3 Peter how IMPF-reach^P3 holiday
S/he asks Peter how the celebration went.

The causative prefix may be added to a noun, such as *hmï:*^{L} 'water', to derive either an intransitive or transitive verb.

(107) P S
hmï^{L}*-hmï:n*^{M} *-n*
CAUSE-water^AIP1s 1s
I am thirsty.

(108) P S O
hmï^{L}*-hmí:*^{M} *-r* *no*^{L}*kí:*^{L}
CAUSE-water^TIP3 3 suet
He is rendering suet.

While the causative prefix regularly increases the transitivity of a root, there are also several prefixes which may reduce transitivity. The stativizing prefixes *sï*^{L}- and *rï*^{L}-, for example, as mentioned above in §2.12, reduce the transitivity of some roots, though not all.

(109) P S O
ni^{L}*-tǫ?*^{LH} *-o* *?mï*^{L}*kí?*^{L}*i*
IMPF-mend^TI1s 1s shirt^1s
I will mend my shirt.

(110) P S
sï^{L}*-tǫ?*^{HM} *?mï*^{L}*kí?*^{L}*i*
STA-mend^II3 shirt^1s
My shirt is mended.

Pseudodirectional verbs are also, in some but not all cases, reduced in transitivity from their nondirectional counterparts, as was mentioned in §2.14.

(111) P S O COND
ni^{L}*-li*^{L}*-ʔï:n*^{L} *-r* *kuí:*^{LH} *son*^{L} *né*^{LM} *lï*^{LH} *hné:n*^{M}
IMPF-ACT^I-steal^3 3 firewood if lie^S3p where appear^S3
S/he will steal firewood if placed where it can be seen.

(112) P S COND
ni^{L}-zi^{L}-ʔín^{L} *kuí:^{LH}* *son^{L}* *né^{LM}* *lí^{LH}* *hné:n^{M}*
IMPF-go^I-steal^3 firewood if lie^S3p where appear^S3
Firewood will be stolen if placed where it can be seen.

2.18. Plural number. Verbs are not, generally, marked for plural number. There is a small set of verbs, however, which is suppletive, having separate singular and plural forms. Most of these are positional verbs. Within this set of verbs, intransitive roots distinguish the number of their subjects; transitive roots distinguish the number of their objects.

(113) P L S
ʔiu:n^{M} *ʔe^{L}skué:l^{LH}* *ʔi^{L}* *hiú:n^{LH}* *la^{L}*
BE^IN^AIS3s school REL child this
This child is in school.

(114) P L S
tän ʔ^{LH} *ʔe^{L}skué:l^{LH}* *ʔi^{L}* *hiú:n^{LH}* *la^{L}*
BE^IN^AIS3p school REL child this
These children are in school.

(115) P S
si ʔ^{LM} *ʔma^{L}*
stand^S3s tree
There is a tree.

(116) P S
tę́:^{M} *ʔma^{L}*
stand^S3p tree
There are trees.

(117) P S L
guí:n^{LH} *-n* *hui^{LM}* *hé:^{LH}* *mó ʔ^{L}*
sit^P1s 1s road among mountain
I live on the mountain.

(118) P S L
né^{LM} *-na:ʔ* *hui^{LM}* *hé:^{LH}* *mó ʔ^{L}*
sit^P1p 1p road among mountain
We live on the mountain.

(119) P S O L
ké:^{L} *-e* *hi*^{L} *hui*^{LM} *ni*^{LH} *mes*^{LH}
lay^P1s 1s book road face table
I place the book on the table.

(120) P S O L
gia^{M} *-a* *hi*^{L} *hui*^{LM} *ni*^{LH} *mes*^{LH}
lay^P1s 1s book road face table
I place the books on the table.

2.19. Doubled verbs. There are some verbs in Comaltepec Chinantec which are formed from two verb roots, resulting in a two-syllable verb stem. These often emphasize the totality of an act. The first stem is marked with the tense prefix, the second stem is inflected for aspect and person.

(121) *kiú:*^{L} *-r* *mo*^{L}*ni*^{LH}*r*
punch^P3 3 face^3
He punches his face.

(122) *ʔë́:*^{L} *-r* *kiáʔ*^{M} *ʔi*^{L} *zä*^{L} *dó*^{M}
kick^P3 3 of^3 REL person that
He kicks that person.

(123) *kiu*^{L}*-ʔë́:*^{L} *-r* *kiáʔ*^{M} *ʔi*^{L} *zä*^{L} *dó*^{M}
punch^P3-kick^P3 3 of^3 REL person that
He kicks and punches that person.

(124) *ka*^{L}*-íʔ*^{M} *-r* *hmï:*^{L} *gé:*^{M}
PST-drink^C3 3 water yesterday
He drank water yesterday.

(125) *la*^{L}*kǫ:*^{L} *hmḯ:*^{LH} *gëʔ*^{LM} *-r* *ʔi*^{LH}*r*
each day eat^P3 3 tortilla^3
Every day he eats.

(126) *hloʔ*^{H}*b* *ka*^{L}*-íʔ*^{M}*-gé́ʔ*^{L} *ʔi*^{L} *zä*^{L} *na*^{L} *gé:*^{M}
lovely^AFF PST-drink^C3-eat^C3 REL person that yesterday
That person really ate well yesterday.

2.20. The negative word *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L}. The negative prefix (§2.9) and the terminative prefix (§2.10) have already been introduced. In this section the negative word *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L} is discussed. More study of negation as a general phenomenon in Chinantec is needed, and the final interpretation of this negative word must be postponed; but, for the moment, I am treating *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L} (negative) as a special sort of stative verb which functions as a predicate, since it seems to give more attention to the negation than does the negative prefix.

If treated this way—as a predicate—its subject is commonly an entire clause, as in (127).

(127) MA P S[P S]
zǎnʔ^{L} *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L} *soː*^{L} *zíL*^{M} *ʔį*^{L} *zä*^{L} *na*^{L}
truly NEG rise heart^3 REL person that
That man is definitely not mean.

(128) P S[Q H M[COMP P S[P S]]]
ŋó^{M} *haːn*^{L} *zäLŋiuʔ*^{L} *ʔį*^{L} *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L} *kiáʔ*^{M}*r* *Ø*
go^C3 one man REL NEG of^3
A man who is not her husband went.

In (129), it negates a noun phrase with almost the same meaning as can be accomplished by use of the negative prefix. Perhaps the negative word *ʔǫ́ʔ*^{L} here implies that the speaker understands a language other than Spanish. This needs to be checked more carefully.

(129) P S[H M[P MODAL O]]
ʔǫ́ʔ^{L} *huLŋíʔ*^{M} *ŋ̌ʔ*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *Ø*
NEG Spanish understand^P1p AFF^1p
It is not the SPANISH language that we understand (but another one).

(130) P[NEG-H M[P MODAL O]]
haL-huLŋíʔ^{M} *ŋ̌ʔ*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *Ø*
NEG-Spanish understand^P1p AFF^1p
We do not understand the SPANISH language.

The negative word may interact with the negative prefix in a dialogue. In sentences (131) and (132), the first speaker uses the prefix; the second the negative word.

(131) P S O
haᴸ-ŋiᴹ *-i* *ʔįːᴸ* *ʔįᴸ* *naᴸ*
NEG-know^P1s 1s who REL that
I do not know who that is.

(132) P S[P S O]
ʔǫ́ʔᴸ *tóːᴸ* *ʔoʔᴸᴹ* *hialᴸ* *siːᴸ* *ʔįᴸ* *zäᴸ* *naᴸ*
NEG stick^P3 heart^2 how name^S3 REL person that
You do not even know what his name is.

A clause with the negative verb as predicate, when marked as interrogative by the yes-no interrogative word *súᴴ*, implies a positive answer to the question.

(133) ? P S[H M[COMP P S O O]]
súᴴ *ʔǫ́ʔᴸ* *ʔniuᴸ* *zäᴸ* *kiuʔᴸᴹ* *Ø* *taᴸᴴ* *haᴸlénʔᴸr*
? NEG 2s person cut^P2 work PL^3
Are not you the person who rules all of them?

The negative word may also be phonologically reduced to *ʔǫᴸ-* and combined with the augmentation modal adverb to form the noninitial member of a series of negative words or clauses.

(134) P S L NOR L
haᴸ-sinʔᴸᴹ *-r* *kiᴸniᴴᴹ* *ʔįᴸ* *hiénʔᴸ* *ʔǫᴸ-gíᴴ* *kiᴸniᴴᴹ* *diéᴸᴴ*
NEG-stand^P3 3 before REL other NEG-AUG before god
They do not stand before another nor before a god.

(135) P S NOR S
haᴸ-niᴸ-tiúᴸ *hmíᴸᴹ* *ʔǫᴸ-gíᴴ* *ʔmoʔᴸᴴ* *niúᴸᴹ*
NEG-IMPF-pour^I3 rain NEG-AUG dew star
It will neither rain nor will it dew.

(136) NOR S P O O
ʔǫᴸ-gíᴴ *hnäᴸᴴ* *niᴸ-hmeʔᴸᴴe* *ʔniúʔᴸ* *húːᴴ*
NEG-AUG 1s IMPF-make^I1s 2p word
Neither will I tell you.

Combined with conditional *sí*^{H} 'if', the negative word expresses a positive alternative; combined with conditional *huá?*^{H} 'if', it expresses a negative alternative. The second alternative is closed by *?é*^{L} in both cases.

(137) [P L T] OR [P L]
?ˆguó?^{H} *ni*^{L}*kuį?*^{H} *za*^{L}*?ó*^{L} *?ǫ*^{L}*-sí*^{H} *ni*^{L}*-há?*^{H} *hui*^{LM} *la*^{L} *?é*^{L}
?ˆgoˆI2s Oaxaca tomorrow NEG-if IMPF-stayˆI2s road here
Are you going to Oaxaca tomorrow or staying here?

(138) [? P S] NOR [P]
sú^{H} *?né*^{H} *ni*^{L}*-kí*^{M} *-na?* *ku:*^{M} *?ǫ*^{L}*-huá?*^{H} *ha*^{L}*-?né*^{M} *?é*^{L}
? need IMPF-payˆI1p 1p money NEG-if NEG-need
Do we need to pay money or not?

The negative adverb *?ų*^{LH} 'no', used as an interjection, would appear to be derivationally related to *?ǫ́?*^{L}.

(139) P; P S
?ų^{LH} *?ǫ́?*^{L} *kuä*^{LH} *na*^{L}
no NEG horse that
No, that is not a horse.

[blank]

3
The Comaltepec Chinantec Clause

The minimal form of a declarative clause in Comaltepec Chinantec is the predicate constituent. It may also include nominal and adverbial constituents. This chapter describes the predicate and nominal constituents of a clause first, under the heading PRIMARY CONSTITUENTS. It then presents various adverbial constituents under the title SECONDARY CONSTITUENTS. A third major section describes a number of INTERSENTENTIAL RELATIONS which may be found between two successive clauses, specifically, purpose, result, cause, condition, temporal sequence, and comparison. A final section of the chapter briefly discusses TOPICALIZATION.

3.1–3.2 Primary constituents

Because the predicate constituent in a Comaltepec Chinantec clause inflectionally cross-references one or more nominal constituents, these are considered the primary constituents of a clause. The predicate is discussed first, followed by nominals.

3.1. The Predicate. The predicate in Comaltepec Chinantec is normally the first major constituent in a clause. The prototypical predicate for actions and processes is a verb, the characteristics of which were discussed extensively in the preceding chapter. The reader will thus recall that, in addition to inflection for person-of-subject and for aspect within any given inflectional paradigm, each verb root participates in one or more separate paradigms which cross-reference from one to three nominal constituents within the clause and also the gender of one of those constituents.

(140) P S O
hmó:L zäL taLH
do^P3 people work
People work.

(141) P S L
kaL-ŋóM ʔįL ziːL dóM huïLM móʔL
PST-go^C3 REL dog that road mountain
That dog went to the mountain.

In Comaltepec, a stative verb normally predicates description or attribution.

(142) P S
hueʔL -b ʔeL móʔL dóM
big^S3 AFF REL mountain that
That mountain is big.

(143) P S
giúnM -b ʔįL zäL laL
good^S3 AFF REL person this
This man is good.

To predicate identification a nominal form is made an intransitive predicate by the postposition of a modal adverb.[1] In the case of an inalienable noun naming the referent, the modal adverb intervenes between the noun and its possessor.

(144) P[H MODAL PO] S[Q H D]
rúnʔL bi̋H -ï ʔįL sïLmi̋H naL
kinsman CONT 1S REL woman that
That young woman is my kinsman.

The BE verb *lí̋nLM* may alternatively be used to predicate identity, as in the first example below, and other miscellaneous conditions for which other constructions will not serve, as in the second example below.

[1]Modal adverbs are discussed in §10.

(145) P S O
lín^{LM} *ʔį*^{L} *dó*^{M} *tu*^{L}*hua*^{LM}ʔ
BE^P3 REL that teacher
That person is a teacher.

(146) P S O
ka^{L}*-lín*^{M} *iụ:*^{L} *ké*^{M}*e* *hlë*^{LH}ʔ
PST-BE^C3 baby of^1s measles
My baby had measles.

A number of verbs of position are available to predicate location, each verb indicating some aspect of physical orientation, such as lying, sitting, standing, and so forth. Most verbs of position are stative and suppletive, having separate roots to mark singular and plural subject.

(147) P S L
si^{LM}ʔ *kọ:*^{L} *ʔma*^{L}*ki*^{HL} *ʔe*^{L} *dó*^{M}
stand^S3s one pine REL that
There is a pine tree over there.

(148) P S L
tän^{LH}ʔ *ha*^{L}*lén*^{L}ʔ *hiú:n*^{LH} *hui*^{LM} *ʔes*^{L}*kué:l*^{LH}
BE^IN^S3p PL child road school
The children are in school.

There is also a BE verb which predicates existence which has both an animate and inanimate form. This verb is also used to predicate possession or allocation.

(149) P S L
se:n^{L} *hó*^{L}ʔ *hui*^{LM} *mó*^{L}ʔ
exist^S3 animal road mountain
There are animals in the mountains.

(150) P S
sä^{L} *ʔni*^{LM} *mán*^{LM}ʔ *to:*^{L} *ké*^{M}*e*
exist^S3 three hand banana of^1s
I have three hands of bananas.

3.2. Nominal constituents. A verb permits either one, two, or three nominals—a subject and up to two objects. A nominal constituent may be a noun phrase, a name, a pronoun, or a sentential complement. Comaltepec Chinantec is a vso language, a second object sometimes following the first. In terms of the semantics of ditransitive clauses, if the first object is source or goal, the second is a patient; if the first object is a patient, the second is an instrument.

(151) P S
ka^{L}-tó?^{L} *kǫ:^{L}* *kǫ́:^{LH}*
PST-fall^C3 one rock
A rock fell.

(152) P S O
ka^{L}-kuë́:n^{L} *huan* *ha:n^{L}* *kuä^{LH}*
PST-give^C3 John one horse
John gave a horse.

(153) P S O O
ka-kuë?^{LM} *-r* *?i^{L}* *hiú:n^{LH}* *dó^{M}* *ku:^{M}*
PST-give^C3 3 REL child that money
He gave that child money.

A cognitive or impersonal verb may take a complete clause as a nominal complement. Such a complement is introduced by a relative word as complementizer.

(154) P S[COMP P L]
?né^{M} *?e^{L}* *só:^{L}r* *hui^{LM}* *iú?^{H}*
must^S3 REL ascend^I3 road up
It is necessary that s/he go up above.

(155) P S O[COMP P O L]
?í:n^{LH} *-n* *?e^{L}* *sǫ́:^{H}?* *hmi^{L}?ǫ́:^{L}* *?i^{M}i*
want^S1s 1s REL rub^P2s chili tortilla^1s
I want you to put chili sauce on my tortilla.

3.3–3.6 Secondary constituents

Secondary constituents are adverbial. They are all optional, and do not affect the choice of verb nor its inflection in the way that primary constituents do. These include manner, locative, associative, and vocative constituents. Only two, or at most three, secondary constituents normally occur in any one clause. They are most often expressed by a word or a prepositional phrase.

Secondary constituents normally follow the primary constituents unless topicalized. Only the manner constituent seems to carry the same prominence whether preceding or following the predicate. If a clause includes both a spatial and temporal locative, the spatial locative usually occurs closer to the predicate constituent than the temporal locative.

3.3. The manner constituent. The manner constituent is the only constituent which normally may precede the predicate without implying prominence. It expresses manner or intensity of action.

It may be a word, phrase, or clause. Words which occur in this position are usually adverbs of manner or intensity. Adverbs of intensity may in themselves form phrases with one adverb modifying another. Some of the adverbs of intensity occur only preceding the word they modify, others only follow, and if either of these occur elsewhere, it indicates prominence. A few adverbs may take either position. The adverb *ʔǎn*^{LM} 'really' may occur either before or after the word it modifies.

(156)

MA	O	P	MODAL
zǎnʔ^{L}	*ha*^{L}-*hu*^{L}*ŋíʔ*^{M}	*tï:n*^{M}	*ba*^{M}*a*
sure	NEG-Spanish	able^S1s	AFF^1s

I surely did not know Spanish.

(157)

MA	P	S		
ʔǎn^{LM}	*se:n*^{L}	*ʔį*^{L}	*lá*^{LM}	
really	exist^P3	REL	buy^P3	

There were many who were buying things.

(158)

P	MA	S			
hmï^{L}*ʔa:n*^{M}	*ʔǎn*^{LM}	*ʔį*^{L}	*zä*^{L}	*dó*^{M}	
hungry^P3	really	REL	person	that	

That person was really really hungry.

(159) MA P S[P O]
ʔǎn^{LMb} *uǐn^{LM}* *ka^{L}-hmé:^{L}* *kéMe*
really^AFF difficult^S3 PST-make^C3 of^1s
It was really very difficult for me.

(160) MA P S
zǎnʔ^{L} *ʔǎn^{LMb}* *hueʔ^{L}* *ʔe^{L}* *ʔniú^{LM}* *dóM*
sure really^AFF big^S3 REL house that
That house surely was really very big.

Some adverbs of manner indicate the way an action was experienced or carried out.

(161) MA P O L
gi^{L}zä:n^{M} *ka^{L}-lǐʔ^{L}ï* *ta^{LH}* *huï^{LM}* *ni^{L}kuíʔ^{H}*
with^effort PST-get^C1s work road Oaxaca
With much effort I obtained work in Oaxaca.

(162) MA P O
ʔlé?^{L} *ka^{L}-ŋǎnʔ^{L}n* *hu^{L}ŋíʔ^{M}*
haltingly PST-understand^C1s Spanish
Haltingly I understood Spanish.

Stative verbs may also occur as the manner constituents, and may themselves include a manner adverbial.

(163) P MA O
ni^{L}-hǎ:n^{Mr} *rë:^{L}* *ʔe^{L}* *mapa* *dóM*
IMPF-look^at^I3 exact^S3 REL map that
They will carefully look at that map.

(164) P MA S
ka^{L}-ʔuí:n^{M} *giúM* *ʔe^{L}* *ta^{LH}* *dóM*
PST-become^C3 good REL work that
That work came out well.

(165) MA [MA P] P
zínʔ^{M} *ʔïʔ^{L}* *lǐn^{M}n*
very embarrassed^s BE^P1s
I am greatly embarrassed.

Manner adverbs may be preceded by the deictic proclitic adverb of manner *la^{L}-* (intensely) to indicate a greater intensity of the manner adverb. Those modal adverbs which may be postposed to verbs may also be postposed to adverbs to express different qualities of intensity.

(166) MA P L
la^{L}-gi^{L}zä:n^{H}b *ka^{L}-gén?^{M}n* *hui^{LM}* *kéMe*
thus-with^effort^AFF PST-arrive^C1S road of^1S
With very very much effort I arrived at home.

(167) P MA T
ka^{L}-są^{L} *ba^{M}a* *la^{L}-zi^{L}hui^{LM}* *la^{L}-dó^{M}*
PST-lie^down^C1S AFF^1S thus-immediately thus-that
I went straight to bed then.

This adverbial deictic may also indicate intensity on words which might best be treated as lexicalized due to their idiomatic interpretations.

ná^{M}	'now'	*la^{L}ná^{M}*	'right now'
?e:^{L}	'early'	*la^{L}?e:^{L}*	'morning'
ní:n^{M}	'important'	*la^{L}ní:n^{M}*	'most important'
hé:^{LH}	'among'	*la^{L}hé:^{HM}*	'right among'
kǫ?^{L}	'because'	*la^{L}kǫ?^{L}*	'thus'

The manner constituent may be an independent clause, as in (165) and (169).

(169) P MA[MA P S O]
gui^{L}lí:n^{M}na? *li^{H}kǫ?^{L}* *?í:^{LH}* *hnä?^{H}* *mï^{L}kui^{H}?ie:^{L}*
arrive^C1P only want^S1P 1P wheat
We have only come wanting (to obtain) wheat.

3.4. Locative constituents. The locative constituent locates an event in time, space, or in the abstract. It normally follows the primary constituents. If both a spatial locative and temporal locative occur in a single clause, the spatial locative usually occurs closer to the predicate. Some of the prepositions which introduce locative phrases serve for both temporal and spatial locatives, others are more specifically one or the other. Prepositions are discussed in further detail in §9.

The temporal locative constituent may be an adverb, a noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase. The most common preposition used to introduce temporal locatives is the proclitic *mi*^{LH}-.

(170) T P S L
mi^{LH}- *la*^{L}*ʔe:*^{L} *ŋi*^{M} *-ï* *hui*^{LM} *ʔniu*^{L}*hui*^{L}
when morning walk^P1 1s road town^hall
In the morning I walk to the town hall.

(171) P S T
ka^{L}*-tá:n*^{LH} *-naʔ* *tu̱*^{M} *hmí:*^{LH}
PST-be^C1p 1p two day
We were there for two days.

(172) P S O T
ha^{L}*-ka*^{L}*-tå̱ʔ*^{M} *-a* *gui:*^{M} *la*^{L}*hé:*^{HM} *ʔué:*^{L}
NEG-PST-cope^C1 1s cold during night
I could not cope with the cold during the night.

In (173) the temporal adverb *mi*^{L}*huí:n*^{L} 'right then' is in apposition with a prepositional phrase as temporal constituents of a clause, and in (174) *gi*^{L}*ʔnën ʔ*^{HM} 'same time' is the temporal constituent of a clause embedded as object of a preposition.

(173) T T P S
mi^{LH}- *ka*^{L}*-gé*^{M}*e* *mi*^{L}*huí:n*^{L} *ka*^{L}*-tu̱:*^{L}*b* *hmí*^{LM}
when PST-arrive^C1s precise^time PST-pour^C3^AFF rain
Immediately when I arrived it began to rain.

(174) T P S
la^{L}*hé:*^{HM} *gi*^{L}*ʔnën ʔ*^{HM} *tí*^{LM} *ʔié*^{L} *ka*^{L}*-tu̱:*^{L} *hmí*^{LM}
during same^time reach^P3 sun PST-pour^C3 rain
Right while the sun shone, it rained.

A spatial locative may have realizations similar to that of a temporal locative. This constituent may be expressed as a word, noun phrase, or prepositional phrase. With a verb of motion as predicate of the matrix clause, it often has a spatial constituent embedded as possessor of the locative noun *hui*^{LM} 'road'.

(175) T P S L[H PO]
kǫ:L ne?LH kaL-ŋóM -o huïLM mó?L
one time PST-go^C1 1s road mountain
Once I went to the mountain.

(176) P S L[H PO[H PO]
ŋóLM -na? huïLM ze?L mó?L dóM
go^P1 1p road side mountain that
We were going up that mountain.

3.5. The associative constituent. The associative constituent identifies a person who accompanies the agent of an action or an object used by the agent in performance of an action. It is a clause based on the stative transitive verb 'accompany'. Its direct object may be animate or inanimate. As a predicate, it may be marked for tense-aspect (like any other stative verb) although this usually implies an illicit sexual liaison.

(177) P S O
kǫ?LH -o -re
with^P1 1s 3
I accompany her/him.

(178) P S O
kaL-lïL-kǫ?LH -r zäLmíL hién?L-b
PST-ACT-with^C3 3 woman other-AFF
He 'accompanied' another woman.

(179) P S O
niL-lïL-kǫ?LH -r ha:nL zäLmíL hiú:nLH
IMPF-ACT-with^I3 3 one woman child
He will 'accompany' a very young woman.

When a clause with this verb functions as the associative constituent of a matrix clause, the associative verb may be interpreted as having an unmarked equi subject with the matrix verb. Intransitive matrix verbs are illustrated in (180).

(180) P ASSOC[P O] T
ŋóᴹo kǫ?ᴸᴴ dią́:ᴴ gé:ᴹ
go^C1s with Diane yesterday
I went with Diane yesterday.

(181) P S ASSOC[P O] L
ŋoᴸlí:nᴹ no:ᴸ hmiᴸtą̈ᴸᴹ kǫ?ᴸᴴ zäᴸ moᴸʔiaᴸᴹ giaᴴhmíᴸ
go^C3p ladino Macuiltianguis with person Comaltepec Mexico
Ladinos from Macuiltianguis went to Mexico with people from Comaltepec.

(182) P S ASSOC[P S]
kaᴸ-hę́ᴸᴹr kǫ?ᴸᴴ -inʔ
PST-remain^C3 with 3
He remained with him.

When the matrix clause is transitive, the object of the associative verb may be animate, expressing accompaniment, or inanimate, expressing instrument.

(183) P S ASSOC[P O] O
kaᴸ-lą́ᴴnaʔ kǫ?ᴸᴴ dią́:ᴴ ʔniᴸᴹ hiᴸ
PST-buy^C1p with Diane three book
We (Diane and I) bought three books.

(184) P S O ASSOC[P O]
niᴸ-hmé:ᴴʔ taᴸᴴ kǫ?ᴸᴴ huí:ᴸʔ
IMPF-do^I2s work with boss^2s
You will work with your boss.

(185) P S O INSTR[P O]
kaᴸ-bę́:nᴹn ʔįᴸ zi:ᴸ laᴸ kǫ?ᴸᴴ guó:ᴸo
PST-hit^CLs REL dog this with hand^1s
I hit this dog with my hand.

(186) P S O INSTR[P O]
kaᴸ-tą́ʔᴹa ʔįᴸᴹ kǫ?ᴸᴴ iá:nᴸᴴ gis
PST-insert^C1s dye with pure chalk
I colored it with just chalk.

There is also a set of clauses having to do with properties of color or composition of objects which has an intransitive BE verb as predicate and associative constituent as instrument.

(187) P INSTR[P O] S
lí̋LM kǫʔLH kuïLtá̋ʔL kuí̋:Lb ʔeL ʔniúLM laL
happen^P3 with brick baked^AFF REL house this
It is with baked bricks that this house is made.

(188) S P INSTR[P O]
ʔeL tuʔL laL lí̋LM kǫʔLH guoʔLH to:M
REL pot this happen^P3 with earth clay
This pot is made from clay earth.

(189) INSTR[P O] P S
kǫʔLH laLiá:nLH ŋiLM-b lí̋nLM ʔi̧L zäLlí̋:LH laL
with only thread-AFF happen^P3 REL doll this
This doll is made just of thread.

3.6. The vocative constituent. The vocative constituent may be a personal name, a kinship term, or a personal pronoun, sometimes with a descriptive element as modifier. Comaltepec Chinantec personal names are based on the stressed syllable of Spanish personal names. They are used to attract someone's attention, to express courtesy, or to remind someone of a relationship and its responsibilities. They are usually only used with questions, commands, or when addressing a group. They either open or close a conversation and are not used throughout a discourse.

(190) O P S L VOC
ʔeLH hmó:L -ʔ naL hiú:nLH
what? do^P2 2s there kid
What are you doing there, kid(s)?

(191) VOC P L
béʔH, guaL hé:LH kuí̋:LH
Bob go^! among firewood
Bob, go get some firewood!

(192) VOC P S O

zäᴸ rúʔᴸnaʔ, niúːᴹ náʔᴸ húːᴴ kéᴹe

person kinsman^1p listen^! 2p word of^1s

My brother(s), listen to me!

3.7–3.12 Intersentential relations

Two clauses in sequence may have any of several logical relations between them. The following sections of this chapter present some of the constructions commonly found in Comaltepec to mark such relationships as purpose, result, cause, condition, temporal sequence, and comparison.

3.7. Purpose. The primary means for indicating purpose is an independent clause with the inanimate relative word as complementizer, following a GROUND[2] clause. The verb of the purpose clause may be inflected for completive aspect if the ground clause is so inflected; otherwise, it is inflected for intentive aspect.

(193) GROUND

kaᴸ-sóᴴ baᴸaʔ huïᴸᴹ móʔᴸ

PST-ascend^C1p AFF^1p road mountain

PURPOSE

ʔeᴸ kaᴸ-ŋoᴸ-tinʔᴸᴴnaʔ huïᴸᴹ hueʔᴸ

REL PST-go^C1p-reach^1p road big

We went up the mountain to get to the highway.

(194) GROUND

kaᴸ-sa̱ʔr bëʔᴸᴴ

PST-grab^C3 vehicle

PURPOSE

ʔeᴸ ŋóᴹr huïᴸᴹ líᴸᴴ ŋoᴸ-hméːᴸr taᴸᴴ

REL go^C3 road where go^C-do^C3 work

He caught the bus in order to go to work.

---

[2]The term GROUND is here used for a syntactically unmarked clause with relationships to an adjacent marked clause—whether the latter is purpose, result, or cause.

(195) GROUND PURPOSE
ʔiu:^{M}n -bre huï^{LM} ʔe^{L} ni^{L}-zé^{M}r ni^{L}kuį́ʔ^{H}
BE^IN^S3s AFF^3 road REL IMPF-go^I3 Oaxaca
He is on the trail in order to go to Oaxaca.

3.8. Cause. Cause and result relations between adjacent clauses in Comaltepec may be marked in a variety of ways. Perhaps the simplest way is for an unmarked (GROUND) clause, stating a RESULT, to precede a CAUSE clause marked as cause by *kǫ́ʔ^{L}* 'for', either with or without the adversative conjunction *ziu^{H}-* preposed to it, as in (196). Alternatively, the RESULT clause can be marked like a PURPOSE clause by the inanimate relative word as complementizer, as in (197).

(196) GROUND (RESULT) CAUSE
zínʔ^{M} nï^{H}-guí:^{M} kǫ́ʔ^{L} huï^{LM} móʔ^{L} bí^{L}
very PRF-cold for road mountain CONT
It was really freezing, it being in the mountains.

(197) GROUND (RESULT)
ʔắn^{LM}b so:^{L} zí^{LM} ʔį^{L} hiú:n^{LH} na^{L}
really^AFF ascend^P3 heart^3 REL child that

CAUSE
ziu^{H}-kǫ́ʔ^{L} la^{L}-hǫ^{L}-b lín^{LM} ti^{L} kiáʔ^{H}r
but-for thus-that-AFF BE^P3 father of^3
That child is very mean because his father is the same way.

(198) RESULT
ʔe^{L} ʔníʔ^{L} ní:n^{M}r tu^{L}huaʔ^{LM}
REL irritable see^P3 teacher

CAUSE
ziu^{H}-kǫ́ʔ^{L} ʔe^{L} líʔ^{H} -b zä^{L} dó^{M}
but-for REL able^P3 -AFF person that
He is enemies with (sees irritably) the teacher because that person is so capable.

The cause clause can either follow the result clause, as in (196)–(198), or can precede it, as in (199).

(199) CAUSE
kǫ̨ʔ^{L} *ʔe*^{L} *la*^{L}*-báʔ*^{H} *ʔán*^{LM} *uín*^{LM} *ka*^{L}*-hmé:*^{L} *kéMe*
for REL thus-AFF really hard PST-do^P3 of^1s

RESULT
ʔe^{L} *ha*^{L}*-hu*^{L}*ɲíʔ*^{M} *sí:*^{LH}*naʔ* *sï*^{L}*niú:*^{H} *kéMe*
REL NEG-Spanish speak^P1p household of^1s
It was so difficult for me because we did not speak Spanish in my home.

Two additional conjunctions are found which mark cause clauses, *ʔuiʔ*^{LH} 'because' and *la*^{L}*ʔán*^{LM} 'by means of'.

(200) CAUSE RESULT
ʔuiʔ^{LH} *ʔe*^{L} *sï*^{L}*-uí:*^{L} *guó:*^{L}*o* *hǫ̨*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *ha*^{L}*-ka*^{L}*-kó:*^{L}*o*
because REL STA-hurt^3 hand^1s that AFF NEG-PST-play^C1s
Because I hurt my hand, I did not play.

(201) CAUSE
la^{L}*ʔán*^{LM} *ʔe*^{L} *bí:n*^{M} *-b* *ʔe*^{L} *ʔma*^{L} *la*^{L}
by^means^of REL strong^S3 AFF REL wood this

RESULT
hǫ̨^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *ka*^{L}*-tǎʔ*^{M}
that AFF PST-resist^C3
Because this wood is so strong, it resisted.

(202) CAUSE
la^{L}*ʔán*^{LM} *kǫ̨ʔ*^{LH} *kuä*^{LH} *báʔ*^{H}
by^means^of with^3 horse AFF

GROUND (RESULT)
ka^{L}*-ré̱ʔ*^{M}*naʔ* *la*^{L}*hï*^{L} *lé:*^{LH}
PST-able^carry^C1p all baggage
It was by means of horses we were able to carry all of the baggage.

3.9. Result. Purpose and result are seen to be closely related concepts as far as their encoding in Chinantec syntax is concerned. Both may be marked by the inanimate relative word. The sentences in (200)–(202) show that result may also be marked by the inanimate anaphoric deictic *hǫ*^{L} 'that' and one of the modal adverbs, or may be unmarked by a conjunction as was indicated earlier in (196)–(198). Two additional sentences in (203) and (204) illustrate result clauses marked by hǫ^{L} 'that'.

(203) CAUSE RESULT
kǫ́ʔ^{L} *ʔí:n*^{LH}*n* *ʔe*^{L} *giún*^{M} *ba*^{M}*a* *hǫ*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *gɛ́ʔ*^{L}*ë* *ʔi*^{M}*i*
for want^S1s REL well^S AFF^1s that AFF eat^P1s tortilla^1s
Wanting to be well, I eat my food.

(204) CAUSE RESULT
ziu^{H}*-kǫ́ʔ*^{L} *ha*^{L}*-ka*^{L}*-tu:*^{L} *hmĩ́*^{LM} *hǫ*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *ʔle:*^{L} *la*^{L}*ná*^{M}
but-for NEG-PST-pour^C3 rain that AFF dust now
Because it did not rain, so then now it is dusty.

3.10. Condition. The conditional word *son*^{L} 'if' introduces the protasis of a simple conditional sentence. The protasis may precede or follow the apodosis. The apodosis which follows the protasis tends to be marked as a result clause by *hǫ*^{L} 'that'.

(205) APODOSIS PROTASIS
ní:^{LH} *ba*^{M}*a* *son*^{L} *kĩ́*^{H}*ʔ* *ké*^{M}*e*
go^1ls AFF^1s if pay^12s of^1s
I will go if you will pay my way.

(206) PROTASIS APODOSIS
son^{L} *ka*^{L}*-lĩ́ʔ*^{M}*ĩ* *ta*^{LH} *hǫ*^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *ní:*^{LH}*i*
if PST-get^C1s work that AFF go^1ls
If I get work, then I will go.

The conjunction *huĩ́n*^{H} 'if' introduces a hypothetical condition which often implies a future realization. The apodosis clause is a result clause marked by the inanimate anaphoric deictic plus affirmation modal.

(207) PROTASIS APODOSIS

huín^{H} *guó*^{H}*?* *za*^{L}*?ó*^{L} *hǫ*^{L} *bâ?*^{H} *ní:*^{LH}*i*

if go^I2s tomorrow that AFF go^I1s

If you go tomorrow, then I will go.

(208) APODOSIS PROTASIS

za^{L}*?ó*^{L} *ní:*^{LH}*i* *huín*^{H} *?nán*^{Mr} *hnä*^{LH}

tomorrow go^I1s if need^I3 Is

Tomorrow I will go if they need me.

(209) PROTASIS

huín^{H} *gí:*^{M} *?án*^{LM} *to:*^{L}

if hot^S3 very oven

APODOSIS

hǫ^{L} *bâ?*^{H} *zán?*^{LH} *ni*^{L}*-zí?*^{L} *?i*^{L}*ŋí?*^{H}

that AFF dangerous IMPF-raw^I3 bread

If the oven is really hot, then the bread will likely not get cooked inside.

(210) PROTASIS APODOSIS

huín^{H} *ka*^{L}*-gé*^{M}*na?* *ni*^{L}*kuį?*^{H}*,* *?án*^{LM}*b* *hlo?*^{H} *hné:n*^{M}

if PST-arrive^C1p Oaxaca very^AFF pretty^S3 appears

When you arrive in Oaxaca, it is very beautiful.

A contrary-to-fact condition is formed by the use of the irrealis conjunction introducing a past-tense protasis with an imperfect apodosis either preceding or following. The irrealis conjunction may occur with a variety of other adverbs and has a combining form *hua*^{L}- and a full form *huá?*^{H}.

(211) APODOSIS PROTASIS

la^{L}*mï*^{LH}*-sï*^{L}*?í*^{H} *ní:*^{LH}*i* *hua*^{L}*-kǫ́?*^{L} *ha*^{L}*-ka*^{L}*-tu:*^{L} *hmí*^{LM}

PST^IMPF-plan^S3 go^I1s IRR-for NEG-PST-pour^C3 rain

I had planned to go to Oaxaca if it had not rained.

A conditional sentence may also be formed by use of the interrogative manner adverb combined with the irrealis conjunction. If the apodosis precedes the protasis, it is introduced by the adversative conjunction.

(212) PROTASIS APODOSIS

hial^{L}huáʔ^{H} tu̯:^{L} hmíʔ^{LM} za^{L}ʔó^{L}, ziúʔ^{H} ní:^{LH} ba^{M}a
how-IRR pour^P3 rain tomorrow but go^I1s AFF^1s
Even if it rains tomorrow, nevertheless I will go.

(213) APODOSIS PROTASIS

zé^{H} ba^{L}aʔ za^{L}ʔó^{L} hial^{L}-huáʔ^{H} tu̯:^{L} hmíʔ^{LM}
go^I1p AFF^1p tomorrow how-IRR pour^P3 rain
We will go tomorrow even if it rains.

3.11. Temporal sequence. The deictic word *hǫ^{L}* 'that' was introduced above as marking a result clause. When it occurs with one or more modal adverbs postposed—as in *hǫ^{L} báʔ^{H}* (affirmation), *hǫ^{L} gíʔ^{H}* (augmentation), *hǫ^{L} gíʔ^{H} báʔ^{H}*, or *hǫ^{L} bíʔ^{L}* (continuation)—it may introduce a clause to indicate that it names an activity or process which occurs in temporal sequence following that named by the preceding clause.

(214) FIRST SECOND

mi^{LH}-ka^{L}-tíʔ^{L} la^{L}-ʔi̯:^{M} kǫ:^{L} hǫ^{L} gíʔ^{H} báʔ^{H} ka^{L}-tóʔ^{LM}
when-PST-reach^C3 PST-ring one that AUG AFF PST-finish
At one o'clock, then it finished.

(215) FIRST SECOND THIRD

geʔ^{M} kǫ:^{L} bëʔ^{LH} hǫ^{L} ka^{L}-hninʔ^{LH}naʔ hǫ^{L} ka^{L}-hę^{LM}r
arrive^C3 one truck that PST-impede^C1p that PST-stop^C3
A truck arrived and we stopped it and it stopped.

There is no structural difference between the marking of two clauses in temporal sequence by *hǫ^{L}*, and a sequence in which the second clause is a result of the situation named by the first clause.

(216) GROUND RESULT

zínʔ^{M} guí:^{M} hǫ^{L} báʔ^{H} ni^{L}-duʔ^{LH}u ka^{L}hué^{LH}
very cold that AFF IMPF-drink^I1s coffee
It is very cold so I will drink coffee.

A temporal sequence in which the subsequent situation is not anticipated from the first one may be linked by the adversative conjunction *ziúʔ^{H}* 'but'.

(217) FIRST SECOND

siᴸʔíᴴ niᴸ-tiɻ́ᴸ hmíᴸᴹ ziúʔᴴ haᴸ-kaᴸ-tɻ:ᴸ

plan^S3 IMPF-pour^I3 rain but NEG-PST-pour^C3

It was going to rain but it didn't.

3.12. Comparison. A simile is formed by placing a clause in the manner position of a matrix clause, with the adverb phrase *laᴸ-kǫ́ʔᴸ* 'as for' as manner complementizer of the clause of comparison.

(218) P O MA[MA P S]

haᴸ-niᴸ-móᴴʔ ʔiᴸuíᴸᴹ laᴸ-kǫ́ʔᴸ kaᴸ-móᴹ hnäᴸᴴ

NEG-IMPF-see^I2s suffer^S3 thus-for PST-see^C1s 1s

You will not suffer like I suffered.

A contrary-to-fact simile is formed by the adverb of manner and the irrealis conjunction *huáʔᴴ* as manner complementizer of the clause of comparison.

(219) S P MA[MA P S]

ʔɻᴸ hiú:nᴸᴴ naᴸ -b zéᴹ laᴸ-huáʔᴴ ŋóᴸᴹ hnäᴸᴴ

REL child that AFF go^I3 thus-IRR go^P1s 1s

That child is going as if I were going.

3.13 Topicalization

It is not possible in this study to make a comprehensive statement about the use of topicalization, except to briefly describe the basic method by which it is expressed in Comaltepec Chinantec, namely, a constituent is moved from its normal location within a clause to the left-most position. When this left dislocation occurs, the modal adverb *báʔᴴ* (affirmation), either in its phonologically full or enclitic form *-b*, may be postposed to the topicalized constituent. Any clause may contain more than one constituent made prominent by the affirmation modal, but the full form of the modal never occurs except in this left dislocation position.

When the predicate is topicalized, the affirmative modal is added to the verb stem either in its reduced or full form. The reduced form of the subject pronoun, if present, occurs postposed to the modal.

(220) P MODAL S MA
ka^{L}-ŋán?^{M} *bá^{M}* *-a* *tá?^{M}hiu^{LH}*
PST-go home^C1 AFF^1s 1s slowly
I *went home* very slowly.

(221) P MODAL S O L
ka^{L}-sí:n^{L} *-b* *zä^{L}* *kën?^{LH}* *ké^{M}* *hnä^{LH}* *hüï^{LM}* *?es^{L}kuě:l^{LH}*
PST-send^C3 AFF person big^PL of^1s 1s road school
My parents *did send* me to school.

An element may be made prominent without being topicalized by left dislocation. This prominence is achieved by postposing the enclitic form of the affirmation modal—never the full form. More than one constituent of the same clause may be made prominent in this way, and a topicalized form (left dislocated) may also have this form.

(222) P S MA[P S[H MODAL P O]
ni^{L}-hmé^{M} *-r* *la^{L}-tí^{LM}* *há^{M}* *zí^{LM}* *-b* *-re*
IMPF-do^I3 3 thus-reach^P3 come heart^3 AFF 3
Whatever they decide to do they will do.

(223) S MODAL P O
gán^{L} *tu^{L}hua?^{LM}* *-b* *ka^{L}-hme?^{LM}r* *?e^{L}* *dó^{M}*
two teacher AFF PST-create^C3 REL that
It was two teachers who created that.

(224) L MODAL P
hüï^{LM} *mó?^{L}* *kuo?^{L}* *-b* *ka^{L}-hún^{M}r*
road mountain bald AFF PST-die^C3
It was on Bald Mountain that he died.

Both temporal and spatial locatives may be topicalized by left dislocation.

(225) T MODAL P S
la^{L}hé:^{HM} *hǫ^{L}* *bá?^{H}* *ka^{L}-ŋí:^{L}* *?į^{L}* *sï^{L}min?^{L}* *dó^{M}*
during that AFF PST-answer^C3 REL young^man that
It was during that time that the young man answered.

(226) L MODAL P
huïᴸᴹ ʔuíːᴸᴴ -b kaᴸ-kiáːnʔᴹna?
road below AFF PST-sleepˆC1p
It was on the ground that we slept.

(227) L MODAL P T MODAL MODAL
huïᴸᴹ hǫᴸ -b kaᴸ-hęᴸᴹr uə́ːᴹ -b hiuᴸᴴ
road that AFF PST-stayˆC3 longˆtime AFF DIM
It is there that he stayed *for a little while.*

The associative constituent may also be topicalized by left dislocation, either as INSTRUMENT or ACCOMPANIMENT.

(228) INSTR MODAL P O
kǫʔᴸᴴ sïːᴹ ʔmaᴸ taʔᴸᴹmembríːᴴ -b kaᴸ-bə́ːnᴹr hnäʔᴴ
with branch tree quince AFF PST-hitˆC3 1x
It was with a quince branch that he switched us.

(229) ASSOC MODAL P L
kǫʔᴸᴴ ʔíᴸ -b kaᴸ-ŋóᴹo niᴸkuíʔᴴ
with that AFF PST-goˆC1 Oaxaca
It was with him/her that I went to Oaxaca.

Any primary nominal constituent may also be topicalized by left dislocation.

(230) S P O
ʔíᴸ ziːᴸ dóᴹ kaᴸ-gə́ʔᴸreʔ haᴸléʔᴸ móːᴸ kiáːᴹinʔ
REL dog that PST-eatˆC3 PL bone ofˆ3
That dog ate all his bones.

An affirmed, left-dislocated topic can and probably always should be interpreted as an intransitive predicate, although the necessity of such an interpretation is not clear in every case. In the following sentences, however, such an interpretation is fairly compelling because of the

presence of the relative word *ʔe*^{L} (inanimate) or *ʔį*^{L} (animate),[3] or the preposition *lï*^{LH} 'where'.

(231) P MODAL S
mï^{LH}- *hmí*^{LH} *tï*^{L}*ʔë:n*^{M} *báʔ*^{H} *ʔe*^{L} *gui*^{L}*lí:n*^{L}*r*
when holiday easter AFF REL arrive^P3p
It is at Easter that they all arrive home.

(232) P MODAL S
gán^{L} *zä*^{L} *-b* *-inʔ* *ʔín*^{M} *ʔe*^{L} *bëʔ*^{LH} *dó*^{M}
two person AFF REL enter^I3 REL vehicle that
It is two people who can fit into that vehicle.

(233) P MODAL S
gán^{L} *tu*^{L}*huaʔ*^{LM} *-b* *-inʔ* *ka*^{L}*-hmeʔ*^{LM}
two teacher AFF REL PST-create^C3
It was two teachers who created (it).

(234) P MODAL S
ʔį^{L} *mïʔ*^{L} *dó*^{M} *-b* *-inʔ* *ka*^{L}*-hmï*^{L}*gë:n*^{HL} *hnä*^{LH}
REL snake that AFF REL PST-deceive^C3 1s
It was that snake which deceived me.

(235) P MODAL S
hui^{LM} *móʔ*^{L} *kuoʔ*^{L} *-b* *lï*^{LH}- *ka*^{L}*-hún*^{M}*r*
road mountain bald AFF where PST-die^C3
It was Bald Mountain where he died.

[3] *-inʔ* is the enclitic form of the animate relative word *ʔį*^{L}, which has undergone the same phonological reduction as is described in footnote 1 of §5 for the third-person personal pronoun. Indeed, this form of the personal pronoun would appear to have its source in the relative pronoun.

[blank]

4

The Comaltepec Chinantec Noun Phrase

A Comaltepec Chinantec noun phrase has five constituents—quantifier, head, modifier, possessor, and deictic, which occur in that order—the quantifier, modifier, and the linguistic deictic word agreeing in gender with the noun head. All five constituents may, theoretically, be present within any particular phrase; but it is much more common for no more than two or three to be present, and any of the five may stand alone to constitute a noun phrase. It is common, on the other hand, for the modifier to be repeated APPOSITIONALLY one or more times at the end of the phrase.

(236) P S O[Q H M]
ka^{L}-hį́n?^{LM} -ne? ha:n^{L} zi:^{L} ?ų?^{LH}
PST-meet^C3 animal one dog fat
The animal met a fat dog.

(237) P S[H PO] O L
ka^{L}-sí:n^{L} ni^{L}iún?^{LM} ké^{M}e hnä?^{H} huï^{LM} he^{L}nu:^{HL}
PST-send^C3 grandmother of^1s 1x road ranch
My grandmother sent us (excl) to the ranch.

4.1. The noun head. Most nouns are simple lexemes, and are not in any way inflected, with the exception of inalienable nouns which are inflected for person-of-possessor. Typical nouns are listed in (238).

(238)	*kuäᴸᴴ*	horse	*ŋi:ᴸ*	grass
	taʔᴸᴹ	honey bee	*ŋíᴸᴹ*	pig
	líᴴ	flower	*hú:ᴴ*	word, oppossum
	ŋiᴸᴹ	thread	*zäᴸ*	person
	ŋiᴸᴴ	salt	*hiᴸ*	book
	ŋiʔᴸᴹ	moss	*hįʔᴸ*	orange, wasp

Idioms formed of two noun roots do occur, however, in which the first is generic and the second specific. Sometimes the first indicates a characteristic of the second. Often one cannot identify the parts of such an idiom. Some of those which have been distinguished follow. Within the noun phrase, they are treated as forming complex noun-phrase heads.

(239)	*lo:ᴸ*	+	*guiᴸᴴ*,	skin	+	head	→	*loᴸguiᴴᴹ*,	hat
	ʔmaᴸ	+	*ʔuᴸᴴ*,	wood	+	cane	→	*ʔmaᴸʔuᴴᴹ*,	cane
	kuäᴸᴴ	+	*nu:ᴸ*,	horse	+	wild	→	*kuäᴸnu:ᴴᴸ*,	deer
	kueʔᴸᴴ	+	*ʔíʔᴸ*,	dipper	+	measure	→	*kueᴸʔíʔᴴᴸ*,	scale
	teʔᴸᴴ	+	*guaᴸᴴ*,	be in	+	handle	→	*teᴸguaᴴᴹ*,	earring
	mó:ᴸ	+	*tuᴸ*,	bone	+	chicken	→	*moᴸtuᴴᴸ*,	egg
	zäᴸ	+	*ŋiuʔᴸ*,	person	+	male	→	*zäᴸŋiuʔᴸ*,	man
	míʔᴴ	+	*tiúᴸᴹ*,	seed	+	rifle	→	*mïᴸtiúᴸᴹ*,	bullet
	máʔᴴ	+	*hiᴸ*,	leaf	+	book	→	*maᴸhíᴸ*,	paper
	tïᴸᴹ	+	*huaʔᴸᴹ*	expert	+	doctrine	→	*tuᴸhuaʔᴸᴹ*,	teacher
	hú:ᴴ	+	*ŋíʔᴹ*,	word	+	Spaniard	→	*huᴸŋíʔᴹ*,	Spanish

Noun gender. As mentioned in §2.15, every noun in Comaltepec is either animate or inanimate, without their being an overt morphological marker of gender on the noun itself. The quantifier, modifier, and linguistic deictic word, on the other hand, are inflected for the gender of the noun they modify, nasalization or final nasal consonant often being the inflectional feature which marks animacy in such words, but not always. The possessor of a noun, or a spatial deictic word are not inflected for the gender of the noun they accompany. The two noun phrases of (240) and (241) illustrate gender agreement in the Comaltepec noun phrase.

(240)

Q	H	M	PO	D
ʔeᴸ	*hįʔᴸ*	*né:ᴹ*	*kéᴹe*	*dóᴹ*
REL	orange	yellow	of^1s	that

that yellow orange of mine

(241) Q H M PO D
ʔį^{L} hį́ʔ^{L} nā́:n^{M} ké^{M}e dó^{M}
REL wasp yellow of^1s that
that yellow wasp of mine

Gender can be rhetorically upgraded to express a closer association than the normal gender assignment would indicate, or it can be downgraded to express a more distant association. The nouns 'paper' and 'corn' in the following clauses are normally inanimate. In (242) and (243), the quantifier of the first is animate and the verb of the second clause is transitive animate to upgrade these nouns, assigning them a more intimate status than would otherwise be the case. These 'papers' and this 'corn' are, in this way, viewed as products of someone's personal labor and attention.

(242) P S O[Q H]
mï^{LM} -r hmi^{L}giú:n^{L} -b hiu^{LH} ma^{L}hí^{L}
request^P3 3 many^ANIM AFF DIM paper
S/he asks for many papers.

(243) P S O
ni^{L}-ʔuén̄ʔ^{M} -r mï^{L}kuī́:^{H}
IMPF-remove^TAI3p 3 corn
She will take out her corn.

The various elements of a noun phrase are not syntactically dependent upon one another. Any constituents may be absent from the noun phrase, including the noun head, and any remaining constituents may stand alone or in combination to constitute a normal noun phrase. It is common for the relative word to occupy the head of a noun phrase in the absence of a true noun, but this is not required, other than with a deictic word.

(244) P S[Q H]
ni^{L}-hiún^{L}ʔ gán^{M} ʔlé:^{M}
IMPF-fall^I3p two soldier
Two soldiers fell.

(245) P S
ni^{L}-hiún^{L}ʔ gán^{M}r
IMPF-fall^I3p two^3
Two of them fell.

(246) MA P S[Q D]
ʔǻnᴸᴹb kiú:nᴸ ʔeᴸ dóᴹ
very^AFF narrow^S3 REL that
That thing is very restricted.

(247) P S[Q PO]
säᴸ-b kǫ:ᴸ kéᴹe
exist^AFF one of^1S
I have one.

(248) P O[Q D]
hə̌:ᴹnaʔ ʔeᴸ hǫᴸ
look^PI REL that
We are looking at that.

4.2. Quantifiers. Quantifiers are either numerals or other quantifying expressions, including measure phrases. They agree with the head noun in gender. Nouns are either count nouns to which numerals may be added directly, or mass nouns which require a measure phrase to indicate number. A few numerals are illustrated below, but the rules by which numerals are formed are beyond the scope of this study.

(249) Q H
gánᴸ hóʔᴸ
two animal
two animals

(250) Q H
giᴸ-tɥᴸᴹ hiᴸ
ten-two book
twelve books

(251) Q H
hŋiú:ᴹ ʔmáᴸ mïᴸkuə́:ᴴ
six measure corn
six measures of corn

(252) Q H
ʔniïLM máʔH maLhíL
three leaf paper
three pieces of paper

Measure phrases are a special kind of noun phrase which contain only two elements, a quantifier and a measure word as head. There are only a few measure words in Comaltepec Chinantec, some of which are listed in (253). Some nouns, such as the first three listed in (253), are *classifier nouns* in that, although they name ordinary tangible objects, they may also function as standards of measurement.

(253) *máʔH* 'leaf' for measuring paper,
ziu:M 'jug' for measuring liquids,
míʔH 'seed' for measuring small round objects,
hmanʔLH 'measure' for measuring land,
mïnʔLH 'measure' for measuring people or animals,
ʔmáL 'measure' for measuring corn, and
ʔíʔL 'measure' for measuring money, weight, or time.

(254) *kaL-ʔuë:L tɥ́M ʔniïLM míʔH maLhąLHr*
PST-take out^C3p two three seed teeth^3
Two or three of his teeth came out.

(255) *kínLM tɥ́M ʔíʔL ku:M*
cost^S3 two measure money
It costs two pesos.

(256) *tɥ́M ʔíʔL -b kínLM ʔeL naL*
two measure AFF cost^P3 REL that
That costs two pesos.

(257) *ʔí:nLHn kiɥ́L míʔH miïLró:M*
want^P1s four seed candy
I want four pieces of candy.

(258) *ʔnéM tɥ́M hmí:L guïLtáH*
necessary two yoke oxen
Two yoke of oxen are needed.

(259) *ziᴸlíːnᴹ ʔniïᴸᴹ mïnʔᴸᴴ zäᴸ*
go˙I3p three measure person
Three people will go.

A numeral may be modified by a preposed nonnumeric quantifier.

(260) *laᴸhiïᴸ kiúːnᴹ zäᴸ*
all four people
all four people

(261) *táʔᴹ gánᴹ zäᴸ*
group two person
groups of two people

An animate numeral may be inflected for person. When this occurs, it functions as head of a noun phrase.

(262) P S O[Q H] L
kaᴸ-tḗᴹ -r laᴸhiïᴸ kiúːnᴹr huiïᴸᴹ niᴸkuíʔᴴ
PST-take^C3 3 all four^3 road Oaxaca
They took all four of them to Oaxaca.

(263) P S O[H PO]
zéᴸᴹnaʔ góᴹnaʔ taᴸᴴ kuäᴸnuːᴴᴸ
go^P1p two˙1p work deer
We are going, the two of us, deer hunting.

The numeral 'one' may function, in the quantifier position, as an indefinite article. The relative word, on the other hand, functions in the quantifier position to lend definiteness to the anaphoric reference of a noun phrase, in lieu of Chinantec having a definite article. Both the numeral and the relative word must agree with the noun in gender.

(264) P O[Q H M[COMP P S] D
niᴸ-kuḗᴹr ʔeᴸ maᴸhíᴸ ʔeᴸ siːᴸ pasaporte dóᴹ
FUT-give^I3 REL paper REL name^S3 passport that
S/he will give that paper called the passport.

(265) P S[Q H]
ka^{L}-lï^{L}-se:n^{L} *ha:n^{L}* *hó?^{L}*
PST-ACT^C-exist^3 one animal
An animal was born.

Inasmuch as a noun is not itself inflected or marked in any way for plural, Comaltepec Chinantec has a plural word which functions as a quantifier within the noun phrase. It agrees with the noun in gender.

(266) *ha^{L}lé?^{L}* *hi^{L}*
PL book
books

(267) *ha^{L}lén?^{L}* *kuä^{LH}*
PL horse
horses

Count and mass nouns. Comaltepec Chinantec nouns may be classified as count nouns or mass nouns on the basis of the way they may be quantified. Those which may be quantified directly by a numeral are count nouns; those which require a measure phrase to be quantified are mass nouns. The first example of (268) illustrates a count noun, the second example illustrates a mass noun with its measure phrase.

(268) *gé^{M} hį?^{L}*, seven orange, seven oranges
tą́^{M} má?^{L} ma^{L}hí^{L}, two leaf paper, two sheets of paper

4.3. The descriptive modifier. The modifier in Comaltepec Chinantec may always be considered a relative clause, the structure of which is discussed in detail in §6. The relative clause modifier normally occurs immediately following the noun head and usually begins with the relative word. As is generally true of all noun phrase constituents, a relative clause may occur in the absence of other of the constituents, even of the head noun itself. Examples of relative clauses are presented in (269) and (270), but further discussion of their structure is reserved for §6.

(269) P S[Q H M]
ni^{H}-sï^{L}-ní?^{HM} *kǫ:^{L}* *?mï?^{LM}* *ią́:^{M}*
PRF-STA-stretch^3 one cloth red
A red cloth was already stretched out.

(270) P S[Q H M[COMP P]]
hial^{LH} *si:*^{L} *ha*^{L}*lé?*^{L} *gua*^{L} *?e*^{L} *la*^{L}*ni:n*^{M}
how? name^S3 PL river REL important
What are the names of the important rivers?

4.4. Possessor. The possessor constituent takes one of two forms, depending upon whether the possessed noun is alienable or inalienable. An inalienable noun is inflected internally for person-of-possessor and is obligatorily followed by a possessor constituent. The possessor of an inalienable noun is a pronoun or noun phrase, directly postposed to the noun.

(271) P S O[H PO]
ni^{L}*-kué*^{M} *-r* *?i*^{L} *-na?*
IMPF-give^1S 3 tortilla^1P 1P
S/he will give our tortillas.

(272) P S[H PO]
ka^{L}*-ho:*^{L} *tï:*^{M} *kuä*^{LH}
PST-break^C3 foot^3 horse
The horse's foot broke.

Inalienable nouns primarily include those which name body parts, kinship relationships, or common household items. A few typical ones are listed in (273), one of which is further illustrated in (274).

(273)	*guo:*^{L} *zä*^{L}	hand^3 man	man's hand(s)
	ni^{LH} *hú:*^{H}	face^3 opposum	opposum's face(s)
	tï^{M}*ï*	foot^1S	my foot/feet
	?i^{L}*na?*	tortilla^1P	our tortilla(s)
	ta^{L}*?i?*^{LM}*r*	nose^3	his/her/their nose(s)
	rún?^{L}	relative^2S	your relative(s)
	mo^{L}*ko?*^{LH} *ná?*^{L}	back^2P	your (pl) backs
	ni^{L}*kú*^{LM}*re?*	tail^animal	its/their tail(s)

(274)	*ni*^{M}*i*	face^1S	my face
	ni^{L}*na?*	face^1P	our faces
	ni^{M}*i?*	face^1P	our faces
	ní^{H}*?*	face^2S	your face(s)
	ní^{H} *ná?*^{L}	face^2P	your (pl) faces
	ni^{LH}*r*	face^3	his/her/their face(s)
	ni^{LH}*re?*	face^animal	its/their face(s)

With inalienable possession, where the inflected noun must be followed immediately by the possessor constituent, a modifier constituent, if present, must follow the head and possessor rather than intervene between the head and possessor within the same phrase.

(275) P O[P ACC[P O[H PO M[COM P S} D}]]
ha^{L}-líʔ^{L}i ŋï^{M}ï kǫʔ^{LH} tí:^{L} -ï ʔe^{L} ię:^{L} Ø dó^{M}
NEG-able^P1s walk^P1s with foot^1s 1s REL swell^P3 that
I can't walk with my swollen foot.

(276) O P O[H PO M[COMP P S L}]
zi:^{L}b ka^{L}-kuḗ:^{M}ë ʔi^{M} -i ʔe^{L} nï^{H}-ŋo:^{L} hą^{LH} Ø
dog^AFF PST-give^C1s tortilla^1s 1s REL PRF-go^P3 mold
I gave the dogs my moldy tortillas.

An alienable noun does not require a possessor but may optionally occur with one. In this context, however, the possessor must be introduced by the allocational noun 'of', which is itself an inalienable noun whose possessor names, in effect, the possessor of the alienable noun which precedes it. The allocational noun 'of' is the Chinantec answer to the genitive.

(277) P S[H PO] O
ni^{L}-ʔuḗʔ^{M} zä^{L}mí^{L} ké^{M}e ʔo^{L}-ni^{LH}r
IMPF-take^I3 woman of^1s mouth-face^3
My wife will have her picture taken.

(278) P S O[H PO]
ka^{L}-hmé^{M} -e examen kiáʔ^{M} ʔe^{L} sïʔ^{L} hǫ^{L}
PST-do^C1 1s test of^3 REL month that
I took the test of that month.

(279)

kuä^{LH}	*ké^{M}e*	horse of^1s	my horse(s)
ma^{L}sí:^{LH}	*kí^{M}iʔ*	chair of^1p	our chair(s)
ma^{L}sí:^{LH}	*kí^{M}naʔ*	chair of^1p	our chair(s)
he^{L}nu:^{HL}	*kí:^{M} náʔ^{L}*	ranch of^2p	your (pl) ranch(es)
bëʔ^{LH}	*kiáʔ^{M}r*	ball of^3	his/her/their ball(s)
hi^{L}	*kiáʔ^{M}r*	book of^3	his/her/their book(s)
nu:^{L}	*kiá:^{M}reʔ*	hay of^animal	its/their hay

Both full and enclitic forms of pronouns occur with the allocational noun, as in any other context where a pronoun may occur. Pronouns are presented in greater detail in §5; but note that in (280), pronouns are seen to distinguish a further gender category, dividing ANIMATE into HUMAN versus ANIMAL for third-person reference.

(280)

	With enclitic pronoun	With full pronoun	
1s	*kéᴹe*	*kéᴹ*	*hnäᴸᴴ*
1p	*kíᴹiʔ*	*kíᴹ*	*hnäʔᴴ*
1p	*kíᴹnaʔ*	*kíᴹ*	*hnä́:ᴸᴴaʔ*
2s	*kí:ᴹʔ*	*kí:ᴹ*	*ʔniuᴸ*
		kí:ᴹ	*ʔniúʔᴸ*
		kí:ᴹ	*náʔᴸ*
3	*kiáʔᴹr*	*kiáʔᴹ*	*ʔírᴸ*
An	*kiáʔᴹreʔ*	*kiáʔᴹ*	*ʔiᴸreʔ*
An	*kiá:ᴹreʔ*		

Nouns for body parts and kinship relationships are generally inalienable in all contexts. Nouns which name certain household items may have an alienable form, when spoken of in less intimate contexts, as well as an inalienable form to indicate a more intimate relationship between possessor and possessed. The following words have both uninflected alienable forms and inflected inalienable forms.

(281)

gloss	free	1s	1p	2s	3
blood	*hmiᴸᴹ*	*hmiï*	*hmiᴸiʔ*	*hmíᴴʔ*	*hmiᴸᴴr*
petate	*hmo:ᴸ*	*hmó:ᴸo*	*hmó:ᴸᴴoʔ*	*hmoᴸᴴʔ*	*hmo:ᴹr*
metate	*tó:ᴸ*	*tó:ᴸo*	*tóᴸᴹoʔ*	*tó:ᴹʔ*	*tóᴴr*
net	*noʔᴸᴴ*	*nóʔᴸo*	*nóʔᴸoʔ*	*nóʔᴸ*	*noʔᴴr*

(282)

hmó:ᴸo	or	*hmo:ᴸ*	*kéᴹe*	my petate(s)
kuű́ᴸᴹiʔ	or	*kuű́:ᴸᴴ*	*kíᴹnaʔ*	our firewood
kuű́ᴸᴹnaʔ	or	*kuű́:ᴸᴴ*	*kíᴹiʔ*	our firewood
ʔniúᴴʔ	or	*ʔniúᴸᴹ*	*kí:ᴹʔ*	your house(s)
hmű́:ᴸᴴ náʔᴸ	or	*hmï:ᴸ*	*kí:ᴹ náʔᴸ*	your (pl) water
zí:ᴸᴴr	or	*zi:ᴸ*	*kiáʔᴹr*	his/her/their dog(s)
ʔmï:ᴹreʔ	or	*ʔmï:ᴸ*	*kiá:ᴹreʔ*	its/their (animal) feces

As indicated, there are two factors which distinguish alienable and inalienable nouns. Inalienable nouns are always possessed; alienable nouns are only optionally so. Inalienable nouns occur directly with possessor

constituent following; alienable nouns require the allocational noun. There is a final, very small set of nouns which crosses these distinctions—they are inalienable in the sense that they alway occur possessed, but the possessor constituent occurs with the allocational noun.

(283) *ni^{L}iún?^{LM} kí:^{M}?,* grandmother of^2, your grandmother(s)
ti^{L} ké^{H}e, father of^1s, my father

4.5. Deictic words. A deictic, when present, is the last element of the noun phrase.

(284) P S[Q H D]
ka^{L}-tḗn?^{L} ?ị^{L} hó?^{L} dó^{M}
PST-fall^C3 REL animal that
That animal fell.

There are two sets of deictic words, spatial and linguistic. Three spatial deictics point to increasing degrees of distance from the speaker: *la^{L}* 'this (near the speaker)', *na^{L}* 'that (near the addressee)', and *dó^{M}* 'there (near neither speaker nor addressee)'.

(285) P O[Q H D]
ka^{L}-hmé^{M}e ?e^{L} mapa la^{L}
PST-make^C1s REL map this
I made this map.

(286) P L[H PO D]
zí:n^{M}ne? iú?^{H} ?ma^{L} na^{L}
be^up^P3 up tree that
It (animal) is up in that tree.

(287) MA P O[Q H D]
hlo?^{H}-b sï^{L}tḭ́n^{LM}ne? ?e^{L} kui?^{LH} dó^{M}
lovely-AFF gather^P3 REL piece that
It was lovely the way the animal picked up those pieces.

Two linguistic deictic words distinguish the gender of referents in the linguistic context, usually anaphorically, but occasionally kataphorically to a referent to be introduced in the immediate following context: *hǫ^{L}* 'that (inanimate)' and *?í^{L}* 'that (animate)'. The inanimate member of this set

has a wide range of uses outside the noun phrase, as in the second sentence below, where it functions as a clause conjunction.

(288) P S O[H PO[H PO[Q H D]]]
ho^{L}-ka^{L}-hmé^{M} gí^{H} -ï examen kiá?^{M} ?e^{L} sï?^{L} hǫ^{L}
TRM-PST-make^CI AUG 1S test of^3 REL month that
I no longer had to take the test that particular month.

(289) S[Q H D] P S O
?ị^{L} zä^{L} ?í^{L} lín^{LM} -r tu^{L}hua?^{LM}
REL person that BE^P3 3 teacher
That person is a teacher.

Closely related to the use of these anaphoric deictic words is the use of the relative word as quantifier, as seen in (285)–(289), when the reference is definite.

Like all other noun phrase constituents, a deictic word can stand alone in the place of a noun phrase when the noun head is absent.

(290) P S MA
tí^{LM} hiu^{LH} ?í^{L} la^{L}-tí^{LM} tu^{L}-?ié:^{LH}
reach^P3 DIM 3 thus-reach^P3 fowl-female
It is about the same size as a turkey hen.

(291) T[PREP PO MODAL] P S
la^{L}hé:^{HM} hǫ^{L} -b ge?^{M} kǫ:^{L} bë?^{LH}
during that AFF arrive^P3 one vehicle
During that time a vehicle arrived.

The relative words, animate and inanimate, may also occupy the head of the noun phrase for the deictic to occur in this role without a noun. Any other element of the noun phrase may intervene between the relative word and the deictic word in this context.

(292) P O[H PO D]
kuë^{M}ë ?e^{L} ké^{M}e dó^{M}
give^P1S REL of^1S that
I am giving that one of mine.

Four of the five deictic words may occur alone with the relative word.

(293) P S[H D]
ha^{L}*-ze:n*^{L} *ʔe*^{L} *hǫ*^{L}
NEG-serve REL that
That one does not work.

(294) P S[H D]
ŋí:^{L} *tụ́*^{M} *ʔị*^{L} *dó*^{M}
answer^P3 REP REL that
That one answered again.

(295) P S[H D]
ni^{H}*-zeʔ*^{LH} *ʔị*^{L} *la*^{L}
PRF-sick^S3 REL this
This one has been sick.

(296) MA P S[H D]
ʔấn^{LM} *kiú:n*^{L} *ʔe*^{L} *na*^{L}
very narrow^S3 REL that
That is very narrow.

Adverbial deixis is accomplished by postposing any of the deictic words to the manner deictic adverb *la*^{L}- (§3.3).

(297) T MA MA P
hǫ^{L} *báʔ*^{H} *táʔ*^{M} *hiu*^{LH} *la*^{L}*-dǫ́*^{M} *ka*^{L}*-hịʔ*^{LM}*r*
that AFF group DIM like-that PST-turn^C3
So they turned it very slowly like that.

The order of elements in a noun phrase may appear to vary superficially, as in (298) and (299), where the deictic appears to precede the possessor within the noun phrase; but these may be accounted for as noun phrases embedded as head of a larger noun phrase. In the first sentence the subject is the noun phrase 'that paper' to which further adjuncts marking plural and possessor are added. In the second sentence the locative is the prepositional noun phrase 'on that paper' to which the definite article (relative word) and possessor are added as adjuncts.

(298) P MA S[Q H[Q H D] PO]
niᴴ-néᴸᴹ giúᴹ haᴸléʔᴸ ʔeᴸ maᴸhíᴸ hǫᴸ kíːᴹʔ
PRF-lie^S3p well PL REL paper that of^2s
All those papers of yours are completed.

(299) P L[Q H[H PO D] PO]
niᴸ-tǫ́ᴹ ʔeᴸ niᴸᴴ maᴸhíᴸ dóᴹ kíːᴹʔ
IMPF-stick^I3 REL face paper that your^2s
It will stick on that paper of yours.

4.6. Locative nouns. There are spatial and temporal nouns which have a more limited distribution than other nouns. They often occupy locative positions in a clause, not participating in nonlocative noun phrases with the same frequency as other nouns. References to times or places are more usually made by locative constituents than by primary nominal constituents.

(300) T P S
hóᴹ kaᴸ-guiᴸlíːnᴹ ŋiúnᴹ sïᴸminʔᴸ
day^before^yesterday PST-arrive^C3p nine young^man
Nine young men arrived day before yesterday.

(301) P L T
zéᴹeʔ huïᴸᴹ móʔᴸ kaᴸʔlóːᴹ
go^I1p road mountain afternoon
We will go to the mountain this afternoon.

A second type of locative noun which carries a heavy syntactic load is *huïᴸᴹ* 'road'. It may occur as the head of a locative noun phrase, not only with verbs of motion or position, but any time a locative element is present. It is often used in conjunction with a prepositional noun.

(302) P S L[H PO]
seːnᴸ haːnᴸ lóːᴸᴴ huïᴸᴹ tïːᴹ ʔmaᴸ dóᴹ
exist^S3 one rabbit road foot tree that
There is a rabbit at the foot of that tree.

(303) L[H PO] P O

huï^{LM} *ni*^{LH}*-ʔniú*^{LM} *ni*^{L}*-bá*^{L}*a* *mí̋ʔ*^{H} *ka*^{L}*hué*^{LH}

road face^3-house IMPF-hit^I1s seed coffee

I will pound the coffee beans on the porch.

(304) P L[H PO]

ka^{L}*-ʔe*^{LM}*r* *huï*^{LM} *zí*^{LM} *salon*

PST-teach^C3 road heart^3 classroom

He taught inside the classroom.

A third type of locative noun which is significant to mention is the PREPOSITIONAL NOUN. A number of inalienable nouns may function like prepositions in that they introduce noun phrases which have adverbial force. Syntactically they are noun and possessor; functionally they are like preposition and object-of-preposition. Some of these nouns name body parts; others do not. An example is given in (305), but see §9 (prepositions) for a more complete treatment.

(305) P L[H PO]

gia^{M}*a* *ni*^{LH} *mes*^{LH}

put^P1S face^3 table

I put them on top of the table.

4.7. Names and other vocative nouns. Personal names are of Spanish origin, usually based on the stressed syllable of the corresponding Spanish name. A few vocative nouns are based on kinship terminology which may include some extended meanings. Although nicknames are common when referring to individuals, they are not generally used vocatively. The vocative constituent is discussed in §3.6. Some examples of vocative nouns are illustrated in (306).

(306)

tā́:^{LH}	Dad	*tį́:*^{H}	Juventino, Christina
nā́:^{LH}	Mother	*rí̋ʔ*^{H}	Ricardo, Enrique
hį́^{H}	Virginia	*mí*^{H}	little girl
hiú:n^{LH}	kid	*ciúnʔ*^{H}	little boy
hó^{H}	George		

[blank]

5
Comaltepec Chinantec Pronouns

5.1. Personal pronouns. Personal pronouns distinguish seven categories of person-number-gender. Whereas verb inflection distinguishes first-singular from first-plural, personal pronouns further divide first-plural into two categories—first-person inclusive, which includes one or more addressees with the speaker, and first-person exclusive, which includes any number of third persons with the speaker but excludes all addressees. Personal pronouns further distinguish singular and plural second-persons and two third-person categories, with separate pronouns for third-person human and third-person animal. Neither of these last two dichotomies are normally made in verb inflection, apart from the suppletive verbs which distinguish singular and plural number in all persons.

(307) *hnä*^{LH} (first-person singular)
hnä?^{H} (first-person exclusive)
hnå:^{LH}*a?* (first-person inclusive)
?niu^{L} (second-person singular)
?niú?^{L} (second-person plural)
?ír^{L} (third-person human)
?i^{L}*ré?*^{L} (third-person animal)

In addition to the phonologically full forms of the seven pronouns listed above, there are alternate forms for six of them which express less prominence than the full forms, only the inclusive-exclusive distinction being absent in the less prominent forms.

(308) *-R* (first-person singular)
-R?/-na? (first-person plural)
-? (second-person singular)
ná?^{L} (second-person plural)
-r/-in? (third-person human)
-re?/-ne? (third-person animal)

Five of these forms are enclitic, only one being a fully-stressed phonological word.[1] Three of the pronouns have two enclitic forms without any difference in meaning. The third-person human pronoun is here written as *-r* or *-in?*.[2] The form *-R?* (1p) never occurs after stems with postvocalic /n/, while *-na?* (1p) may occur after a stem of any form. The form *-ne?* of the animal pronoun only follows stems with postvocalic /n/; otherwise *-re?* occurs.

Note that this represents a shift in interpretation from earlier work. When these pronouns were first studied in depth in the Spring of 1974, the second plural pronoun was considered to have two competing full forms for which no distinct syntactic function had at that time been discerned. The phonological characteristics of pronouns are described in some detail in Anderson, Martínez, and Pace (forthcoming), but briefly the

[1]An alternative phonological interpretation would be to consider the less prominent form of the second-plural pronoun as enclitic *-na?*, and the second enclitic form of the first-person plural pronoun in (308) as *-na:?*. This interpretation, however, leads to the anomaly that *-na:?* would be the only known unstressed syllable in the language having a long vowel. It seems better to recognize the second-plural pronoun as being a normal, stressed syllable in spite of its being phonologically different from its fellow less-prominent pronoun forms than to interpret the less-prominent set as all enclitic but have one of them phonologically unique within the language as a whole. In spite of its not being interpreted here as enclitic, this second-person pronoun is considered to have all of the syntactic characteristics of the truly enclitic forms. Note that this represents a shift in interpretation from earlier work. When these pronouns were first studied in depth in the Spring of 1974, the second plural pronoun was considered to have two competing full forms for which no distinct syntactic function had at that time been discerned.

[2]Anderson, Martínez, and Pace (forthcoming), which was drafted around 1973, does not give a complete statement concerning the phonological realizations of the enclitic forms of the third-person pronoun. In this study, it is written as *-r* and as *-in?* as a partial aid to the reader who may have the opportunity to hear Chinantec spoken, even though these two forms are predictable by rule and do not exhaust the full range of phonological realizations. Briefly, the enclitic form of this pronoun is *-in?* when it is the second of two third-person pronouns occurring together after a verb, or when it is the only pronoun following a stem with postvocalic /n/. In this last context, the postvocalic /n/ of the stem, and any glottal closure of the stem are elided. The enclitic

symbol *R* is used to stand for a phonological chameleon which takes the form of a preceding vowel or alveolar nasal /n/. In this study, the resulting vowel or nasal consonant is written in all examples, rather than using the more abstract symbol *R*.

(309) *mi^{M} -ï kǫ:^{L} hi^{L}*
ask^PIS 1S one book
I ask for a book.

(310) *ka^{L}-kú?^{L} -u ?o^{L}huï:^{L}*
PST-eat^C1S 1S fruit
I ate fruit.

(311) *ni^{L}-zé:n^{LH} -n niu^{L}?ló:^{M}*
IMPF-dance^I1S 1S tomorrow^evening
I will dance tomorrow evening.

(312) *ko:^{M} -na? bë?^{LH}*
play^P1P 1P ball
We play ball.

(313) *ka^{L}-hní^{LM} -ï? ha^{L}lé?^{L} hi^{L}*
PST-carry^C1P 1P PL book
We carried the books.

(314) *ka^{L}-?a:n^{M} -na? kuä^{LH} ka^{L}hį:^{L}*
PST-raise^C1P 1P horse last^year
We raised horses last year.

(315) *ni^{L}-sǫ́?^{L} -re? lu^{L}guo:^{HL} -r*
IMPF-grab^I3 animal wrist^3 3
The animal will grab the people's wrists.

(316) *ŋó^{M} -o? hui^{LM} lï^{LH} zí:n^{M} -ne?*
go^C1P 1P road where BE^UP^P3 animal
We went to the place where the animal was.

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form is *-re* following a stem with postvocalic /n/ when a first-person or second-person pronoun (in enclitic form) or a modal adverb in enclitic form intervenes. It is *-ne* following a stem with postvocalic /n/ when preceding a second third-person enclitic pronoun (which is to say, preceding *-in?*). In all other contexts it is *-r*, which is a voiceless retroflexed fricative.

A personal pronoun may occupy any position in which a noun or noun phrase may occur, the free pronouns occurring without restriction, but the enclitic forms (and *náʔ*^{L}) occurring only in neutral, nontopicalized postpositions. When a noun phrase or a full pronoun occupies a primary nominal position and is topicalized as the left-most position of its clause, it occurs in apposition with an enclitic form of the pronoun in its neutral postposition. When a noun phrase or full pronoun occupies that same neutral position, however, the enclitic form of the pronoun does not occur. The following three sentences show relative prominence of the first-person singular pronoun as subject, from greater to lesser. In (317), the full form of the pronoun occurs in topicalized position preceding the verb and the enclitic form follows the verb in neutral position; in (318), the full form of the pronoun occurs in neutral, postverb position; and in (319), the enclitic form occurs in postverb position.

(317) S P S L T
hnäᴸᴴ níːᴸᴴ -i huïᴸᴹ heᴸnuːᴴᴸ zaᴸʔóᴸ
1s go˜1s 1s road ranch tomorrow
I will go to the ranch tomorrow.

(318) P S L T
níːᴸᴴ hnäᴸᴴ huïᴸᴹ heᴸnuːᴴᴸ zaᴸʔóᴸ
go^1s 1s road ranch tomorrow
I will go to the ranch tomorrow.

(319) P S L T
níːᴸᴴ -i huïᴸᴹ heᴸnuːᴴᴸ zaᴸʔóᴸ
go^1s 1s road ranch tomorrow
I will go to the ranch tomorrow.

Note the following sentences which show that the shorter second-person-plural form *náʔ*^{L} functions like the enclitic forms of other pronouns. In (320), it occurs in the neutral postverb position; in (321), it functions as subject of a main clause in neutral position with the enclitic form of the third-person pronoun as object postposed and phonological attached to it; and in (322), the other full form of this same pronoun *ʔniúʔ*^{HL} (second-person plural) occurs in topicalized, preverb position while *náʔ*^{L} occurs following the verb as the enclitic form of any other pronoun would. This shorter, albeit stressed, form of the second plural pronoun may not occur in preverb position in these (or any other) sentences.

(320) T P S L
miᴸᴴ-gíːᴹ ʔieːᴸ niᴸ-ŋiᴸ-léʔᴹ náʔᴸ huiᴵᴸᴹ kéᴹe
when hot^S3 sun IMPF-come^I2-bathe 2p road of^1s
When it gets hot, you all please come and swim at my place.

(321) T P S[P S O]
miᴸᴴ-haᴸmïʔᴸᴴr ʔniúʔᴸ túᴹ ʔiᴸníʔᴴ ʔnéᴹ kuëʔᴸᴴ náʔᴸ -r
when^come^P3^ask^3 2p two bread want^S3 give^I2p 2p 3
When s/he comes and asks you all for two [pieces of] breads, you must give [it] to him/her.

(322) S P S O
ʔniúʔᴸ-b kéᴴ náʔᴸ haᴸléʔᴸ hiᴸ
2p-AFF carry^I2 2p PL book
You all are the ones who carry the books.

To distinguish between first-person inclusive and first-person exclusive, only full forms of pronouns can be used. When one or the other of these full pronouns is topicalized to a position preceding the predicate, either of the enclitic forms of first plural may be postposed to the verb stem, within the phonological limitations already mentioned.

(323) *hnă̋ːᴸᴴaʔ zéᴴ -eʔ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
1i go^1ip 1p tomorrow
We (incl) are going tomorrow.

(324) *hnă̋ːᴸᴴaʔ zéᴴ -naʔ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
1i go^1ip 1p tomorrow
We (incl) are going tomorrow.

(325) *hnäʔᴴ zéᴴ -eʔ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
1x go^1ip 1p tomorrow
We (excl) are going tomorrow.

(326) *hnäʔᴴ zéᴴ -naʔ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
1x go^1ip 1p tomorrow
We (excl) are going tomorrow.

Full forms of pronouns are not generally restricted in their syntactic occurrence—they may occur in any nominal position whether topicalized or not—but enclitic forms may neither occur preceding a verb in

topicalized position nor as direct objects whether topicalized or not, with the exception that third-person enclitic forms may occur as objects. The *ná?*^{L} form of second plural also shares this latter restriction with nonthird-person enclitic forms—it never occurs as a direct object.

The following examples illustrate enclitic pronouns. (327)–(332) illustrate first-person enclitic forms as subjects, (333)–(334) have second-person forms as subjects, and (335)–(337) have third-person forms as subjects.

(327) *ni*^{L}*-hmï*^{L}*kǫ?*^{HM} *-o -r*
IMPF-help^I1s 1s 3
I will help them.

(328) *ka*^{L}*-hui?*^{LH} *-i -r ʔe*^{L} *hán?*^{L} *-r la*^{L}*ná*^{M}
PST-whistle^C1s 1s 3 REL come^home^P3 3 now
I whistled to him to come home now.

(329) *ka*^{L}*-bḗ:n*^{M} *-n -re gé:*^{M}
PST-hit^C1s 1s 3 yesterday
I hit him yesterday.

(330) *hŋán?*^{L} *-n -re?*
kill^C1s 1s animal
I killed it (animal).

(331) *ni*^{L}*-kuḗ:*^{H} *-ë -r hi*^{L}
IMPF-give^I1s 1s 3 book
I will give the book to him.

(332) *ka*^{L}*-bḗ:n*^{H} *-na? -r gé:*^{M}
PST-hit^C1p 1p 3 yesterday
We hit him yesterday.

(333) *ka*^{L}*-bḗ:n*^{M} *-ʔ -re? gé:*^{M}
PST-hit^C2 2s animal yesterday
You hit it yesterday.

(334) *kuí:n*^{L} *ná?*^{L} *-r*
know^S2 2p 3
You know him.

(335) *kuí:n*^{L} *-r hnǎ:*^{LH}*a?*
know^S3 3 1i
They know us (incl).

(336) *kuí:n*^{L} *-ne -in?*
know^S3 3 3
They know them.

(337) *kuë?*^{LM} *-re -in?*
give^P3 3 3
He is giving it to him.

5.2. Reflexive. Reflexive expressions are formed by use of a noun rather than pronoun. The noun is suppletive, having three inflected roots which distinguish singular and plural number and three categories of person—first, second, and third—without reference to the inclusive-exclusive or human-animal distinctions found in personal pronouns. As inflected stems, the reflexive noun acts like any other inalienable noun, occurring with postposed possessor in the form of a personal pronoun or noun phrase. By the use of a personal pronoun as possessor, the inclusive-exclusive and human-animal distinctions are, in fact, made when the reflexive noun occurs.

(338)

REFLEXIVE	1	2	3
singular	*ʔŋiá?*^{L}	*ʔuěLM*	*ʔŋia?*^{LM}
plural	*ié:*^{LH}	*iá:n*^{LH}	*iá:n*^{LH}

The reflexive noun has three primary functions—to emphasize the identity of a referent in its role as participant in a particular nominal relation to a predicate, to indicate solitary action of a participant, or to indicate truly reflexive action of an agent upon him/herself.

In this last role, there is a set of transitive verb stems which may occur as intransitive middles by use of the reflexive noun as their subject constituent. In this context, the subject is expressed by the reflexive noun as acting upon itself and no separate object constituent may be expressed.

(339) *bě:n*^{H} *ʔŋiá?*^{L}*a*
hit^P1s REFL^1s
I am hitting myself.

(340) *niᴸ-liu:nᴹ* *iéːᴸᴴnaʔ*
IMPF-free^1p REFL^1p
We free ourselves.

There is a small set of verbal expressions which are always semantic middles and only occur with the reflexive noun as subject rather than a personal pronoun.

(341) *hmiᴸ-rá:nᴴ* *ʔŋiáʔᴸa*
CAUSE-sweet^P1s REFL^1s
I am arrogant.

(342) *niᴸ-kïʔᴹ-hį́nʔᴸ* *iá:nᴸᴴr*
IMPF-turn^I3-turn^I3 REFL^3p
They change their attitude.

The following sentence illustrates the use of the reflexive to indicate solitary action.

(343) S P L
ʔŋäʔᴸᴹ-b *iu̯:ᴸ* *kéᴹe* *sinʔᴸᴹ* *gïᴴ-r* *dóᴹ*
REFL^3-AFF baby of^1s stand^S3 AUG^3 there
Only my baby was still standing there.

The reflexive noun may also function appositionally with a personal pronoun or noun phrase to emphasize the identity of the participant named by the personal pronoun or noun phrase.

(344) P S S
niᴸ-kuſ́:ᴸᴴ *-i* *ʔŋiáʔᴸa*
IMPF-run^I1s 1s REFL^1s
I myself will run.

(345) P S O S
kaᴸ-bĕ́:nᴹ *-ʔ* *-r* *ʔuëᴸᴹʔ*
PST-hit^C2 2s 3 REFL^2s
You hit him yourself.

The reflexive noun without following expression of possessor may occur as manner constituent of a clause to indicate the solitary participation of a referent in a process or action.

(346) MA P S
ʔŋia^{LM} niˀ^{L}-ʔlé:^{M} ʔe^{L} lï^{LH} sïˀ^{L}-kaúʔ^{HL}
REFL^3 IMPF-heal^I3 REL where STA-cut^S3
That cut will heal by itself.

5.3. Reciprocal. Reciprocal action is expressed in Comaltepec by the inalienable noun *rún*ʔ^{L}*r* 'his/her kinsman' as object of a transitive clause.

(347) S P O
*la^{L}hï:n^{L} zä^{L} ka^{L}hmïˀ^{L}ŋïʔ^{LM} rún*ʔ^{L}*r*
all person PST^ask^C3 kinsman^3
They were all asking each other.

(348) P S[O P S O |
*ʔné^{M} huḯ:^{M} lḯ:n^{L} rú*ʔ^{L} *-ʔ ná*ʔ^{L}
need^S3 pity feel^P2 2 kinsman^2 2p
You all need to be compassionate toward each other.

(349) P O
*ʔma^{LH}-hmïˀ^{L}kǫʔ^{HM} rú*ʔ^{L}*naʔ*
HORT-help^I1p RECIP^1p
Let's help each other!

[blank]

6
The Comaltepec Chinantec Relative Clause

As indicated in §4, the descriptive modifier of a noun phrase always follows the noun head (unless the noun head is absent) and may be considered in all cases to be a relative clause. This chapter discusses the internal structure of the relative clause.

6.1. The gap strategy. The relative clause contains a regular finite verb, with no special marker on the verb itself to indicate that it is in a relative clause. The relative clause does have two features, however, which distinguish it from other clauses. First, it may be introduced by a relative word, but this is not always the case. More will be said of the relative word below. The more important characteristic of the relative clause is that the so-called GAP STRATEGY (Comrie 1981:144) is employed in its formation, which is to say that the grammatical position within the clause which corresponds to the relation the head of the noun phrase bears to that clause is EMPTY—there is a GAP at that position. This is illustrated in (350) and (351), where a simple TI clause is paired with a noun phrase whose noun head bears the relation of subject to a modifying relative clause, the latter being left with a gap (marked Ø) at the subject position.

(350) P S|Q H] O
huéʔ^{L} *ha*^{L}*lénʔ*^{L} *zä*^{L} *hu*^{L}*ŋíʔ*^{M}
speak^P3 PL person Spanish
The people speak Spanish.

(351) Q H M[P S O]
haᴸlénʔᴸ zäᴸ huéʔᴸ Ø huᴸŋíʔᴹ
PL person speak^P3 Spanish
(some) Spanish-speaking people

I will here speak of a relative clause such as this as being "relativized on its subject." The variety of positions upon which a clause may be relativized is discussed in §6.3 but first a few words need to be said concerning the relative word *ʔeᴸ*.

6.2. Use of the relative word. In addition to the gap strategy, a second characteristic of the relative clause is for the inanimate relative word *ʔeᴸ*, or its animate counterpart *ʔįᴸ*, to commonly be present at the beginning of such a clause. The relative word agrees in gender with the noun modified by the relative clause. This is illustrated in (352)–(355), where the relative word is designated, somewhat arbitrarily, as a complementizer.

(352) P O[Q H D]
kaᴸ-hméᴹe ʔeᴸ mapa dóᴹ
PST-make^CIs REL map that
I made that map.

(353) Q H M[COMP P O] D
ʔeᴸ mapa ʔeᴸ kaᴸ-hméᴹe Ø dóᴹ
REL map REL PST-make^CIs that
that map which I made

(354) P O L
kaᴸ-hįnʔᴸᴹn zäᴸ giáᴴ huïᴸᴹ
meet^CIs person midst road
I met people on the trail.

(355) H M[COMP P O L]
zäᴸ ʔįᴸ kaᴸ-hįnʔᴸᴹn Ø giáᴴ huïᴸᴹ
person REL PST-meet^CIs midst road
the people I met on the trail

Shorter and less complex relative clauses tend to occur without the relative word introducing them. In some cases, such as those of (356) and (357), the relative clauses would not be well formed were the relative word

present. In these cases, the verb is inanimate intransitive, but I am not yet able to make a general statement concerning when the relative word may or must be absent.

(356) P L[H M[P S]]
ka^{L}-ŋo^{L}-tin?^{LH}na? *hui^{LM}* *(*?e^{L})* *hue?^{L}* *Ø*
PST-go^C-reach·CIP road big
We went as far as the main road.

(357) P O[H M[P S]]
kǫ?^{LH} *hú:^{H}* *(*?e^{L})* *rë:^{L}* *Ø*
with word true
with integrity

I CAN say, however, that in the same sense that the relative word may function as quantifier of a noun phrase to mark definiteness (§4.2)—its absence conversely implying lack of definiteness—it may also be absent as complementizer when DEFINITENESS is lacking in the use of the modifying clause.

(358) P O[H M[P O L]
kǫ?^{LH} *zä^{L}* *ka^{L}-hįn?^{LM}n* *Ø* *giá^{H}* *hui^{LM}*
with person PST-meet^CIS midst road
with people I met on the trail

6.3. Accessibility to relativization. Any of the three primary nominal constituents of a clause may undergo relativization, as illustrated in (359) through (365).

(359) P S L
se:n^{L} *ha^{L}lén?^{L}* *zä^{L}mí^{L}* *hui^{LM}* *mo^{L}?ia^{LM}*
exist^S3 PL woman road Comaltepec
Women live in Comaltepec.

(360) Q H M[COMP P S L]
ha^{L}lén?^{L} *zä^{L}mí^{L}* *?į^{L}* *se:n^{L}* *Ø* *hui^{LM}* *mo^{L}?ia^{LM}*
PL woman REL exist^S3 road Comaltepec
the women who live in Comaltepec

(361) Q H M[COMP P S O] D
ʔeᴸ maᴸhíᴸ ʔeᴸ si:ᴸ Ø visa dóᴹ
REL paper REL name^S3 visa that
that paper which is called a visa

(362) Q H M[COMP P S INSTR[P O]]
ha:nᴸ guïᴸtáᴴ ʔįᴸ lǐnᴸᴹ Ø kǫʔᴸᴴ taᴸ
one bull REL be^P3 with cane
a bull made of cane

(363) P S O O[Q H D]
kaᴸ-ʔenʔᴸᴴ ʔniuᴸ hiú:nᴸᴴ ʔįᴸ zi:ᴸ dóᴹ
show^C2 2s child REL dog that
You showed the child that dog.

(364) Q H M[COMP P S O O]
ʔįᴸ hiú:nᴸᴴ ʔįᴸ kaᴸ-ʔenʔᴸᴴ ʔniuᴸ Ø ʔįᴸ zi:ᴸ dóᴹ
REL child REL PST-show^C2 2s REL dog that
the child to whom you showed that dog

(365) Q H M[COMP P S O O] D
ʔįᴸ zi:ᴸ ʔįᴸ kaᴸ-ʔenʔᴸᴴ ʔniuᴸ ʔįᴸ hiú:nᴸᴴ Ø dóᴹ
REL dog REL PST-show^C2 2s REL child that
that dog you showed to the child

Temporal- or spatial-locative constituents may also be relativized, as in (366)–(369), respectively. In the case of a spatial locative, the preposition *lïᴸᴴ* 'where' functions as complementizer in place of the relative word.

(366) P T
kaᴸ-hmiᴸʔínʔᴸᴹn kiúᴸ hį:ᴸ
PST-rest^C1s four year
I rested for four years.

(367) H M[COMP P T] D
hį:ᴸ ʔeᴸ kaᴸ-hmiᴸʔínʔᴸᴹn Ø dóᴹ
year REL PST-rest^C1s that
that year in which I rested

(368) P O L
hmo:^{M}na? *ta^{LH}* *hui^{LM}* *zí^{LM}* *oficina*
do^P1p work road heart^3 office
We are working in the office.

(369) H M[COMP P O L]
oficina *lï^{LH}* *hmo:^{M}na?* *ta^{LH}* *Ø*
office REL do^P1p work
the office where we work

A noun possessor may be relativized in the same manner as any noun occupying a clause position, leaving the inalienable noun (370) or allocational noun (372), as the case may be, in place.

(370) P [H PO]
sä^{L} *kú^{H}* *zä^{L}ta^{LH}*
exist^S3 money^3 councilman
The councilman has money.

(371) P S[H M[P S[O PO]] D]
ni^{L}-gui^{L}?í^{LM} *zä^{L}ta^{LH}* *sä^{L}* *kú^{H}* *Ø* *dó^{M}*
FUT-exit^I3 councilman exist^S3 money^3 that
The councilman who has money will leave office.

(372) P S[H PO D]
?i:^{M} *ŋí^{H}* *kiá?^{M}* *guá?^{M}* *dó^{M}*
sound^P3 bell of^3 church that
That church bell is ringing.

(373) Q H M[COMP P S PO[H PO] D]
?e^{L} *guá?^{M}* *?e^{L}* *?i:^{M}* *ŋí^{H}* *kiá?^{M}* *Ø* *dó^{M}*
REL church REL sound^P3 bell of^3 that
that church whose bell is ringing

The associative constituent is based on a verbal construction, as indicated in §3.5. Relativization of this element is, thus, a special case of relativization of a nominal constituent.

(374) P O INSTR
ka^{L}-ŋ́ː^{M}bre *dóː^{LH}* *kǫ?^{LH}* *kǫː^{L}* *hu?^{L}*
PST-strain^C3^AFF^3 nectar with one strainer
They strained the nectar with a strainer.

(375) Q H M[P O[COMP P O INSTR] D
?e^{L} *hu?^{L}* *kǫ?^{LH}* *?e^{L}* *ka^{L}-ŋ́ː^{M}* *dóː^{LH}* *Ø* *dó^{M}*
REL strainer with REL PST-strain^C3 nectar that
that strainer with which the nectar was strained

(376) P S[Q H D] INSTR
ka^{L}-hŋán?^{L}n *?i̱^{L}* *hó?^{L}* *dó^{M}* *kǫ?^{LH}* *tiú^{LM}*
PST-kill^C1s REL animal that with rifle
I killed that animal with a rifle.

(377) Q H M[P O[COMP P O INSTR]
?e^{L} *tiú^{LM}* *kǫ?^{LH}* *?e^{L}* *ka^{L}-hŋán?^{L}n* *-re?* *Ø*
REL rifle with REL PST-kill^C1s animal
that rifle with which I killed the animal

It is not uncommon for a relative clause to be present in the noun phrase in the absence of an overt head noun. The clause may be the only constituent of the phrase or it may accompany any combination of the other possible constituents.

(378) P S[COMP P S O]
tã́ːn^{M} *?i̱^{L}* *hmóː^{L}* *Ø* *hi^{L}*
stand^S3p REL make^P3 book
Those who make books were there.

(379) P O[Q M[COMP P S O]]
ka^{L}-hmi^{L}-ŋiún?^{L}r *ha^{L}lé?^{L}* *?e^{L}* *ka^{L}-gë?^{L}* *zä^{L}* *Ø*
PST-prepare^C3 PL REL PST-eat^C3 person
They made all that people ate.

(380) P L[H PO[COMP P O L]]
ka^{L}-ŋó^{M}na? *hui^{LM}* *i̱^{LH}* *ni^{L}-hę?^{L}r* *?e^{L}* *?niú^{LM}* *dó^{M}* *Ø*
PST-go^C1p road REL FUT-move^I3 REL house that
We went to where they would remove that house.

(381) P O[Q M[COMP P S INSTR[P O] D]
hé:n^{L}r *ha:n^{L}* *ʔi̯^{L}* *lí́n^{LM}* *Ø* *kǫʔ^{LH}* *ta^{L}* *dó^{M}*
carry^P3 one REL be^P3 with cane
They carry one of those made of cane

6.4. Relativizing nonthird persons. It is possible to relativize on a nonthird-person personal pronoun, but in this context the noun *zä^{L}* 'person' functions as complementizer in place of the animate relative word *ʔi̯^{L}*.

(382) P L
né^{LM}naʔ *la^{L}*
sit^P1p here
We live here.

(383) Q H M[COMP P L]
ha^{L}lénʔ^{L} *hnäʔ^{H}* *zä^{L}* *né^{LM}naʔ* *la^{L}*
PL 1x people sit^P1p here
we who live here

Any pronoun may be relativized, irrespective of the grammatical position it occupies, but as (383) shows, there is no gap in the relative clause in the case of a relativized nonthird-person subject. In such cases, the modified pronoun is copied to the relative clause, usually in enclitic form. This parallels the copying of pronouns when topicalization causes their left-dislocation to a position preceding the verb, as mentioned above in §5.1. Example (385) illustrates the first-person singular pronoun being relativized in subject position. Example (387) illustrates the second-person plural pronoun being relativized in subject position with two copies following it.

(384) P O
lí́n^{LM}n *tu^{L}huaʔ^{LM}*
BE^P1s teacher
I am a teacher.

(385) P O[H M[COMP P S O] O
ka^{L}-kuëʔ^{LM}r *hnä^{LH}* *zä^{L}* *lí́n^{LM}* *-n* *tu^{L}huaʔ^{LM}* *kǫ:^{L}* *hi^{L}*
PST-give^C3 1s person BE^P1s 1s teacher one book
He gave me, who am a teacher, a book.

(386) P S O[P S O]
tï:n^{L} *ná?*^{L} *huó?*^{L} *ná?*^{L} *hu*^{L}*ŋí?*^{M}
able^P2 2p speak^P2 2p Spanish
You (pl) are able to speak Spanish.

(387) H M[COMP P S O[P S O]]
?niú?^{L} *zä*^{L} *tï:n*^{L} *ná?*^{L} *huó?*^{L} *ná?*^{L} *hu*^{L}*ŋí?*^{M}
2p people able^P2 2p speak^P2 2p Spanish
you (pl) who are able to speak Spanish

7

Comaltepec Chinantec Injunction

Until now I have focussed upon clauses in the indicative mood. This chapter considers injunctive clauses, which include direct and negative imperatives, hortatives, and optatives. Imperative forms address second persons. Hortative clauses enjoin first and second persons inclusively. Optative clauses have subjects of any person-number category.

7.1. The direct imperative. A direct imperative clause enjoins one or more second persons to perform an action. The inflectional form of the imperative verb is usually based on the second-person completive form of the indicative stem. The enclitic form of the second-person singular pronoun may not occur with the imperative verb, but plural subject may be marked by the shorter form *náʔ*^{L} of the second-person plural pronoun (but not the longer full form of this pronoun).

(388) *ka*^{L}*-ko:*^{M} *-ʔ*
PST-play^C2 2s
You played.

(389) *ko:*^{M}
play^!

(390) *ko:*^{M} *náʔ*^{L}
play^! 2p

(391) *ka*^{L}*-kuéʔ*^{H} *náʔ*^{L}
PST-give^C2 2p
You (pl) gave (it).

(392) *kua*^{LH}
give^! (it)
Give (it)!

(393) *kuë*^{LH} *ná?*^{L}
give^! 2p (it)
You (pl) give (it)!

If the subject is prominent, either singular or plural second-person pronouns may occur preceding the predicate. In the case of the plural imperative, both full forms of the plural pronoun may occur, *?niú?*^{L} preceding and *ná?*^{L} following the predicate.

(394) S P
?niu^{L} *kué*^{H}
2s give^!
You (sg) give (it).

(395) S P S
?niú?^{L} *kué*^{H} *ná?*^{L}
2p give^! 1p
You (pl) give (it).

None of the inflectional prefixes which mark aspect occur with direct imperative verb forms. A second-person directional prefix *ŋi*^{L}- 'come' or *guï*^{L}- 'go', however, may be prefixed to the verb stem when enjoining the addressee to move to or from the place of the speech act in conjunction with the action named by the verb stem.

(396) *ŋi*^{L}*-?en?*^{LH} *-r*
come-teach^! 3
Come and teach him!

(397) *guï*^{L}*-hme:*^{M} *ta*^{LH}
go^12-do^! work
Go work!

7.2. The negative imperative. A negative imperative verb enjoins one or more addressees not to perform or cease to perform some action. The negative imperative is based on the second-person progressive form of the indicative stem, with the prefix *ha*^{L}- (negative) or the prefix *ho*^{L}-

(terminative). The second-person pronominal inflection which normally follows the indicative form of the verb is not dropped as in the case of direct imperative forms.

(398) *hiú:M -ʔ lúLM*
blow^P2 2s instrument
You are playing an instrument.

(399) *haL-hiú:M -ʔ lúLM*
NEG-blow^P2 2s instrument
Do not blow the instrument!

(400) *hoL-hiú:M -ʔ lúLM*
TRM-blow^P2 2s instrument
Stop blowing the instrument!

(401) *hoL-hiú:M náʔL ʔeL lúLM naL*
NEG-blow^P2 2p REL instrument that
(You^pl) Stop blowing those instruments!

7.3. Hortative. The hortative verb is used to call the interlocutors to action. The hortative verb is formed by prefixing the horative prefix *ʔmaLH-* 'let us' to the first-person-plural intentive form of the verb stem.

(402) *ʔmaLH-lé:nHM -naʔ ha:nL tuL*
HORT-buy^IIp 1p one chicken
Let's buy a chicken.

To emphasize the solidarity of a group, the free form of the first plural inclusive pronoun may be used.

(403) *ʔmaLH-sɛ́ʔH hnǎ:LHaʔ guo:L -r*
HORT-grab^IIp 1i hand 3
Let's all of us shake his hand.

When enjoining a group to perform an action reciprocally (with each other), the reciprocal noun *rún?Lr* 'his/her kinsman' (§5.2) is added to the hortative verb.

(404) *ʔma*^{LH}*-hmï*^{L}*kǫʔ*^{HM} *rún*$ʔ^{L}$*na*$ʔ$
HORT-help^IIp kinsman^1p
Let's help each other!

(405) *ʔma*^{LH}*-zi*^{L}*-hmï*^{L}*kǫ:*$ʔ^{HM}$ *rún*$ʔ^{L}$ *hnä*$ʔ^{H}$
HORT-go^IIp-help kinsman 1x
Let's you and I go help each other.

When the hortative injunction implies directional movement to perform the action of the verb, the plural form of the directional prefix follows the hortative prefix.

(406) *ʔma*^{LH}*-zi*^{L}*-ʔé:*^{LH} *-naʔ* *-r*
HORT-go^IIp-greet 1p 3
Let's go visit him!

7.4. Optative. An optative verb expresses a wish that the subject perform or persist in the performance of an action named by the verb. It is formed by the optative word *huï*^{LH} and the progressive form of the verb stem, inflected for any category of person-of-subject.

(407) *huï*^{LH} *hmi*^{L}*-guän*$ʔ^{H}$ *-b* *-re* *ʔniú*$ʔ^{L}$
may CAUS-bless^P3 AFF 3 2p
May he cause you all to be blessed!

(408) *huï*^{LH} *kuë*^{LM} *-b* *-re* *huï*^{LM} *ní:*^{LH} *-i*
may give^P3 AFF 3 road go^IIs 1s
May he give me permission to go!

8
Comaltepec Chinantec Questions

The formation of Chinantec questions patterns as one would expect for a vso language. Confirmation questions have a special higher pitched intonational pattern at the beginning of the clause. Interrogative words in information questions are clause-initial, without a special intonation.

8.1 Confirmation questions

A confirmation or yes-no question is formed by adding the question word *súᴴ* to a declarative clause. The constituent being questioned is topicalized by left dislocation. The question word may be suppressed, but not without leaving behind a perturbed intonation (here marked by /?/) on the constituent which follows.

(409) *ʔsúᴴ guóᴴʔ niᴸkuʃʔᴴ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
? go^I2s Oaxaca tomorrow
Are you going to Oaxaca tomorrow?

(410) *ʔsúᴴ säᴸ ŋúᴸᴹ ʔnɬ́ːᴴʔ*
? exist^S3 meat sell^I2s
Do you have some meat to sell?

(411) *ʔguóᴴʔ niᴸkuʃʔᴴ zaᴸʔóᴸ*
go?^I2s Oaxaca tomorrow
Are you going to Oaxaca tomorrow?

(412) *ʔsäᴴ ŋúᴸᴹ ʔnɬ́ːᴴʔ*
exist?^S3 meat sell^I2s
Do you have some meat to sell?

The negative prefix *haL-* or the irrealis conditional conjunction *huáʔH* may also be used to form a confirmation question, with the special high, interrogative intonation. Such questions imply a positive or a negative response, respectively.

(413) *ʔahaH-guóH?* *niLkuíʔH* *zaLʔóL*
NEG?-go^12s Oaxaca tomorrow
Aren't you going to Oaxaca tomorrow?

(414) *ʔahaH-ʔínLH?* *hiL* *kéMe*
NEG?-want^P2s book of^1s
Don't you want my book?

(415) *ʔhuáʔH* *kaL-bäLMb* *liLH* *ʔnï̈:H?* *kéMe*
IRR? one-bunch^AFF palm sell^12s of^1s
Don't you have a few tepejilote palm shoots to sell me?

(416) *ʔhuáʔH* *kǫ:Lb* *ʔiLŋíʔH* *kuéH?* *hnäLH*
IRR? one^AFF bread give^I2s 1s
Aren't you going to give me a piece of bread?

Confirmation questions embedded in a clause are formed the same way as independent confirmation questions.

(417) *ne:M-duLu?* *súH* *haLlí:nLr* *hmï̈:LH* *sanLtiáLH*
see-VOL^P1p ? come^13p day St^James
Let's see if they will come home for the fiesta of St. James.

8.2–8.7 Information questions

In forming questions for information, the questioned constituent is replaced by an interrogative word and topicalized by left dislocation. Special interrogative intonation is not present in information questions. Interrogative words include a pronoun, a numeral, and adverbs of space, time, manner, and purpose.

8.2. The interrogative pronoun. The interrogative pronoun has two forms, inanimate *ʔeLH* and animate *ʔi̱LH*. It may occupy any of the nominal positions of a clause. In the illustrations which follow, 'X' indicates the normal position from which the interrogative constituent is dislocated.

(418) S P X L T
ʔį^{LH} *tá:n^{LH}* *huï^{LM}* *huï:^{L}* *la^{L}ná^{M}*
who? live^P3p road town now
Who is in town now?

(419) O P X
ʔe^{LH} *ʔín^{LH}ʔ*
what? want^P2s
What do you want?

In the case of an embedded nominal, such as the modifier of a noun or the object of the associative verb, there may be double dislocation—both within the matrix clause and in the embedded construction itself. In these particular cases, the modifer and object, respectively, are dislocated to the left of the embedded construction, which is then also dislocated in its entirety to the beginning of the matrix clause (two 'X's are required in the labelling of such cases).

(420) O[M H X] P X
ʔe^{LH} *ma^{L}hí^{L}* *ʔín^{LH}ʔ*
what? paper want^P2s
Which paper do you want?

(421) ASSOC[O P X] P X T
ʔį^{LH} *kǫʔ^{LH}* *guó^{H}ʔ* *za^{L}ʔó^{L}*
who? with go^I2s tomorrow
With whom are you going tomorrow?

The interrogative pronoun can function as an intransitive predicate to question the identity of an (animate or inanimate) nominal.

(422) P S
ʔį^{LH} *ʔį^{L}* *zä^{L}* *dó^{M}*
who? REL person that
Who is that person?

(423) P S
ʔe^{LH} *ʔe^{L}* *na^{L}*
what? REL that
What is that?

There is an indefinite pronoun, with inanimate and animate forms which would appear to be closely associated with the interrogative pronoun—*ʔį́:*^{L} 'who?, whoever', and *ʔe:*^{L} 'what?, whatever'. These forms occur especially in clauses functioning as complement of a cognition verb, but may also occupy the head of any indefinite noun phrase.

(424) *ha*^{L}*-ŋi*^{M}*i* *ʔį́:*^{L} *ʔį́*^{L} *zä*^{L} *la*^{L}
NEG-know^S1s who REL person this
I do not know who this person is.

(425) *ha*^{L}*-ŋi*^{M}*i* *ʔe:*^{L} *hmó:Lo*
NEG-know^S1s what do^P1s
I do not know what to do.

(426) H M[P S O]
ʔį́:^{L} *ʔniúʔ*^{L} *ʔo:*^{M} *náʔ*^{L} *tą́*^{M} *ʔmïʔ*^{L}*kiʔ*^{LH} *náʔ*^{L}
whoever 2p have^P2p 2p two shirts^2p 2p
whoever of you has two shirts

(427) O P S O
ha^{L}*-ʔį́:*^{L} *ni*^{L}*-sḯʔ*^{L} *-r* *hį́ʔ*^{LH} *ha:n*^{L}
NEG^whoever IMPF^tell^I3 3 only one
Not even one person are they to tell.

(428) O P S
ha^{L}*-ʔe:*^{L} *ʔuëʔ*^{LH} *náʔ*^{L}
NEG-whatever remove^PL^I2 2p
Do not remove anything!

8.3. The interrogative numeral. The interrogative numeral—*hoʔ*^{LH} 'how much/many?' for inanimate nouns and *hënʔ*^{LH} for animate nouns—occupies the quantifier position of a noun phrase or—as in the case of any numeral—may occur alone in nominal reference in the absence of any other element of the noun phrase. Since the quantifier is normally the left-most constituent of a noun phrase, no left-dislocation occurs within the phrase itself when the interrogative numeral is present; but the noun phrase as a whole must move to the dislocated position within the clause. The interrogative numeral has the same form in an embedded question as in an independent question.

(429) S[Q H] P X L T
hën?LH *tuLhua?LM* *tá:nLH* *huïLM* *huï:L* *laLnáM*
how^many? teacher live^P3p road town now
How many teachers are in town now?

(430) O[Q H] P X
ho?LH *moLtuHL* *láH?*
how^many? egg buy^I2s
How many eggs will you buy?

8.4–8.7 Interrogative adverbs

There are four interrogative adverbs—of spatial location, of temporal location, of manner, and of purpose. The constituent questioned undergoes left dislocation, in the same manner as with the interrogative pronoun or numeral.

8.4. The interrogative adverb of spatial location. This adverb is *hieLH* 'where?'; the form for embedded questions is *hié?L*.

(431) L[M H X] P S X
hieLH *huïLM* *rǫ́:L* *bë?LH* *kéMe*
where? road lie^P3s ball of^1s
Where is my ball?

(432) P L
haL-ŋiMi *hié?L* *huïLM* *rǫ́:L* *bë?LH* *kí:M?*
NEG-know^P1s where road lie^P3s ball of^2s
I don't know where your ball is.

8.5. The interrogative adverb of temporal location. This adverb is *lïLH* 'when?'; the form used for embedded questions is *lï?L*.

(433) T P L X
lïLH *guën?H* *huïLM* *kí:M?*
when? go^home^I2 road of^2s
When are you going home?

(434) P O
haL-ŋiMi *lïʔL* *guënʔH* *huïLM* *kíːMʔ*
NEG-know^P1s when go^home^I2s road of^2s
I do not know when you are going home.

8.6. The interrogative adverb of manner. This adverb is *hialLH* 'how?'; in an embedded question its form is *hialL*.

(435) MA P S O X
hialLH *hmoʔLM* *zälL* *ʔeL* *laL*
how? assemble^P3 person REL this
How do people make this?

(436) P MA[MA P S O X]
haL-ŋíH *hialL* *gëʔLM* *zälL* *ʔeL* *ʔoLhuïːL* *laL*
NEG-know how eat^P3 person REL fruit this
It is not known how people eat this fruit.

8.7. The interrogative adverb of purpose. This adverb has the complex form *hialLHlïʔLM* 'why?'; its embedded form is *hialLlïʔLM*.

(437) PURPOSE GROUND
hialLHlïʔLM *haL-kə́ʔL* *ʔeL* *ʔoLhuïːL* *laL*
why? NEG-eat^P2s REL fruit this
Why do you not eat this fruit?

(438) P O
haL-ŋíH *hialLlïʔLM* *gëʔLM* *zälL* *ʔeL* *ʔoLhuïːL* *laL*
NEG-know why eat^P3 people REL fruit this
It is not known why people eat this fruit.

9
Comaltepec Chinantec Prepositions

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

9.1. Prepositions. Comaltepec Chinantec is a prepositional language, conforming to the normal pattern of a vso language. A number of preposed grammatical markers have been described elsewhere in this study—§3 mentions conjunctions which introduce interrelated clauses and the associative verb which marks accompaniment or instrument within the clause, §4 mentions the allocational noun and prepositional nouns, which act like prepositions although they are easily considered inalienable nouns with possessor constituent following them. These latter are dealt with in the second part of this chapter, but this first section summarizes a narrower group of words, most of which have been mentioned above, but all of which subordinate spatial- or temporal-locative material within the clause, namely, the forms listed in (439).

(439) *mïᴸᴴ-* 'when'
ʔieᴸᴴ 'while'
karᴸ 'until'
liᴸᴴ 'where'
tïᴸᴹ 'to'

The first three of these preposed subordinators are temporal in reference. The first, *mïᴸᴴ-* 'when', is proclitic in form and seems to always subordinate a clause, marking a point in time when the action named by the subordinated clause has taken place.

(440) P O O T[PREP P]
hmó:ᴸo ʔíᴴ ʔniúᴸᴹ mïᴸᴴ- kaᴸ-niu:ᴸ
make^P1S care house when PST-dark^C3
I guard houses after it gets dark.

(441) P L[PREP P S]
kaᴸ-hnǻᴹ mïᴸᴴ- kaᴸ-géᴹ ha:nᴸ zäᴸmíᴸ
PST-dawn^C3 when PST-arrive^C3 one woman
It dawned when a woman arrived.

The second subordinator, *ʔieᴸᴴ* 'while', indicates a period of time during which an action or state existed or was in process (as opposed to a point in time). This preposition seems to subordinate a wider range of grammatical forms than *mïᴸᴴ-* 'when'.

(442) T P S L
ʔieᴸᴴ ŋóᴹo niᴸkuíʔᴴ ŋóᴸᴹ -o héᴸᴴ ʔniúᴸᴹ
while go^C1S Oaxaca go^P1S 1S among house
While I went to Oaxaca, I was going among the houses.

(443) S P T
haᴸ-loᴸmíᴸï mïᴸᴹ-säᴸ ʔieᴸᴴ hmí:ᴸᴴ hǫᴸ
NEG-sandle^1S PERF^exist^S3 while day that
I did not yet have sandles in those days.

The third subordinator, *karᴸ* 'until', indicates the end point of a period of time occupied by a process or state as being that indicated by the occurrence of the action stated by the clause it subordinates.

(444) P O T[PREP P S]
bá^{L}a mo^{L}gi^{LH} -re? kar^{L} ni^{L}-hú:n^{M} -ne?
hit^P1s head^3 animal until IMPF-die^I3 animal
I am hitting its head until it dies.

(445) L P S T
hǫ^{L}b ni^{L}hą^{H} ná?^{L} kar^{L} ta^{LH} tá:n^{LH} ná?^{L}
that^AFF IMPF^stay^2 2p until work have^P2 2p
There is where you will stay until you finish your work.

Two subordinators occasionally combine in the same construction. The following sentence illustrates *kar^{L}* 'until' subordinating *mï^{LH}-* 'when'.

(446) P S O T
ha^{L}-ni^{L}-hu^{LH} -? ?niú^{LM}ŋí^{H} kar^{L} mï^{LH}- ka^{L}-kí^{H} -? ha^{L}lé?^{L} ku:^{M}
NEG-IMPF-exit^I2 2s jail until when PST-pay^C2 2s PL money
You will not get out of jail until you have paid all the money.

The remaining two prepositional subordinators reference spatial location. The first of these, *lï^{LH}* 'where', locates an action or state at a place named by the clause it subordinates.

(447) P MODAL S
huï^{LM} mó?^{L} kuo?^{L} -b lï^{LH}- ka^{L}-hún^{M}r
road mountain bald AFF where PST-die^C3
It was Bald Mountain where he died.

(448) MA P S
?ŋia?^{LM} ni^{L}-?lé:^{M} ?e^{L} lï^{LH} sï^{L}-kuí?^{HL}
REFL^3 IMPF-heal^I3 REL where STA-cut^S3
That cut will heal by itself.

In the following sentences, the clause subordinated by *lï^{LH}* 'where' functions as the modifier of the locative noun *huï^{LM}* 'road'.

(449) P L[H PO[PREP P O]
ka^{L}-ŋó^{M}na? huï^{LM} lï^{LH} ni^{L}-hé?^{L}r ?e^{L} ?niú^{LM} dó^{M}
PST-go^C1p road where IMPF-remove^I3 REL house that
We went to where they would remove that house.

(450) GROUND

ka^{L}-są?r *bë?^{LH}*
PST-grab^C3 vehicle

PURPOSE

?e^{L} *ŋó^{M}r* *hui^{LM}* *lï^{LH}* *ŋo^{L}-hmé:^{L}r* *ta^{LH}*
REL go^C3 road where go^C-do^C3 work
He caught the bus in order to go to work.

The second spatial subordinator, *tï^{LM}* 'to', subordinates a clause which names the final location of another action involving movement of an entity from an earlier location. This form is very likely related to the inanimate intransitive verb *tï^{LM}* 'reach'.

(451) P S O L

nï^{L}-kę^{LM} *-r* *ha^{L}lé?^{L}* *lí^{H}* *tï^{LM}* *kią?^{M}*
PRF-carry^P3 3 PL flower to nearby
They have carried the flowers to [a place] nearby.

(452) P S O L

ka^{L}-hgia:n^{M} *-ne* *-in?* *tï^{LM}* *ki^{L}ni^{MH}* *zä^{L}* *dó^{M}*
PRF-lower^C3 3 3 to front^3 person that
They lowered him to [a place] directly in front of that person.

The subordinator *tï^{LM}* 'to' may occur as the first or the second of two prepositions occurring in sequence.

(453) P S L

ŋó^{M} *-r* *tï^{LM}* *lï^{LH}* *uí:^{M}*
go^C3 3 to where far
S/he went to [a place] that is far.

(454) P S O L T

ka^{L}-tän?^{LH} *ná?^{L}* *-re?* *zí^{LM}* *hmí^{L}*
PST-put^in^C2 2p animal heart^3 water

kar^{L} *tï^{LM}* *ka^{L}-hŋën?^{LM}* *ná?^{L}-* *re?*
until to PST-kill^C2 2p animal
You (pl) put the animal into the water until you killed it.

9.2. Prepositional nouns. In addition to the subordinators treated above as prepositions, Chinantec also has a small subset of inalienable nouns, introduced briefly in §4.6, which function like locative prepositions. The example given in §4.6 is repeated here—the inalienable noun meaning 'face', as in *ni*^{LH} *zä*^{L} 'person's face', is commonly used locatively with an inanimate possessor to mean 'on the surface of', as in *ni*^{LH} *mes*^{LH} 'on the table'.

(455) P L[H PO]
gia^{M}*a* *ni*^{LH} *mes*^{LH}
put^PIS face^3 table
I put them on top of the table.

This use of inalienably possessed nouns is an important feature of Chinantec for locating referents in the way many languages do by the use of true prepositions. There are two sets of these nouns—those which name body parts and can generally occur with enclitic forms of pronouns as well as with full noun phrases as possessor, and those which only occur with noun phrases as possessor. Nouns of the first sort, naming body parts, are presented first in (456) and illustrated in the paragraphs which follow.

(456)

ni^{LH}	'face of'	→	'on top of'
tï:^{M}	'lower leg of'	→	'at the foot of'
zí^{LM}	'heart of'	→	'inside of'
?o:^{M}	'mouth of'	→	'at the mouth of'
ki^{L}*ni*^{HM}	'space before'	→	'in front of'
ka^{L}*lú:*^{HM}	'space behind'	→	'behind, outside of'
mo^{L}*gi*^{LH}	'head of'	→	'at the head of'
mo^{L}*ko?*^{LH}	'back of'	→	'on the back of'

The noun *ni*^{LH} 'face of' has been illustrated above, but an additional example is as follows.

(457) P S L[H PO]
ka^{L}*-hme?*^{LM} *-r* *ni*^{LH} *hi*^{L}
PST-write^C3 3 face^3 paper
S/he wrote a book.

The noun *tï:*^{M} indicates the lower leg from the knee to and including the foot of a human or animal.

(458) P S L[H PO]
ka^{L}-ʔí^{M} *hmï:^{L}* *tï:^{M}* *ʔe^{L}* *ʔniú^{LM}* *dó^{M}*
PST^enter^C3 water foot^3 REL house that
Water entered the foundation of that house.

(459) L[H M[H PO] P S O
huï^{LM} *tï:^{M}* *móʔ^{L}b* *ka^{L}-sí:n^{L}* *-r* *gán^{M}* *ʔį^{L}* *zä^{L}* *dó^{M}*
road foot mountain^AFF PST^send^C3 3 two REL person that
It was from the foot of the mountain that he sent those two men.

The noun *zí^{LM}* 'heart of' names the upper body cavity or, figuratively, the seat of emotions. In its preposition-like use, it references interior space. In (460) this inalienable noun phrase is modifier of the locative noun *huï^{LM}* 'road'.

(460) P S L
ka^{L}lïnʔ^{M} *-r* *huï^{LM}* *zí^{LM}* *guáʔ^{M}* *dó^{M}*
PST^experience^C3 3 road heart^3 church that
S/he experienced it inside that church.

(461) P S L
ni^{L}zi^{L}tänʔ^{LH} *-r* *zí^{LM}* *ha^{L}lénʔ^{L}* *ʔį^{L}* *kú^{H}* *dó^{M}*
IMPF^GO^BE^IN^I3p 3 heart^3 PL REL pig that
They (spirits) will go into those pigs.

The noun *ʔo:^{M}* 'mouth of' can reference most any orifice.

(462) P S O
ni^{L}hní^{M} *-r* *ʔe^{L}* *ʔo^{L}ʔniú^{H}* *dó^{M}*
IMPF^close^I3 3 REL mouth^house that
She will close that door.

(463) P S L
ka^{L}-ŋo^{L}-tanʔ^{LH}-b *-re* *zí^{LM}* *ʔo^{L}to:^{HL}* *ʔę:^{L}* *dó^{M}*
PST-go^C3-insert^3-AFF 3 heart^3 mouth^hole tomb that
S/he was placed inside of that cave-like tomb.

The form *ki^{L}ni^{HM}* is based on the word 'face' and means 'face-to-face, in front of'.

(464) P O L[H PO]
ni^{L}-hmé:^{LH}e *hú:^{H}* *ki^{L}ni^{HM}* *zä^{L}ta^{LH}*
IMPF-make^I1s word before council
I will speak before the town council.

(465) P S O L
ka^{L}-gia^{LM} *-r* *guí^{L}* *ki^{L}ní^{H}* *ná?^{L}*
PST^spread^C3 3 advice before^2 2p
He spoke his counsel before you all.

(466) P S O L
ni^{L}hmé^{M} *-r* *ta^{LH}* *ki^{L}ni^{MH}* *fí:^{LH}r*
IMPF^do^I3 3 work before boss^3
S/he will do work for his/her boss.

In its prepositional use, the noun *ka^{L}lú:^{HM}* conveys a meaning of 'behind' or 'outside of' an object.

(467) L P L[H PO]
dó^{M}b *sin?^{LM}r* *ka^{L}lú:^{HM}* *-?*
there^AFF stand^S3s behind 2s
There he stands, behind you.

(468) L[H PO] P S
ka^{L}lú:^{HM} *?e^{L}* *hi^{L}* *dó^{M}* *né:^{M}* *ha^{L}lé?^{L}* *hmï^{L}ró:^{M}*
behind REL book that lie^S3 PL sodapop
The sodapop is behind that book.

(469) P S O L
ka^{L}-mán^{M} *ba^{M}* *-a* *ha:n^{L}* *mï?^{L}* *ka^{L}lú:^{L}u*
PST-see^C1s AFF 1s one snake behind^1s
I saw a snake behind me.

The noun *mo^{L}gi^{LH}* 'head of' has, in its prepositional use, the meaning 'at the head of'.

(470) T P S L
kǫ:^{L} *ne?^{LH}* *ka^{L}-guén^{M}* *zä^{L}* *mo^{L}gi^{LH}* *hui^{LM}* *mo?^{L}?ia^{LM}*
one time PST-arrive^C3 person head road^3 Comaltepec
Once the governor came to Comaltepec.

(471) P S T

ni^{L}-hą́ʔ^{H} *zä^{L}* *mo^{L}gi^{LH}* *ʔmí:^{M}* *hį:^{L}* *ni^{L}-ʔí^{L}*

IMPF-remain^I3 person head new year IMPF-enter^3

A new president/governor will take office next year.

The noun *mo^{L}koʔ^{LH}* 'back of', in its prepositional use, locates an object 'on the back of' another object.

(472) P S L[H M[H PO]

se:n^{L} *ha:n^{L}* *hä^{LM}* *huï^{LM}* *mo^{L}koʔ^{LH}* *ʔí^{H}ʔ*

exist^S3 one spider road back^3 tortilla^2s

There is a spider on the back of your tortilla.

(473) P S L

sä^{L} *guïʔ^{LM}* *huï^{LM}* *mo^{L}koʔ^{LH}* *guo^{LH}r*

exist^3 scar road back^of hand^3

S/he has a scar on the back of his/her hand.

The remaining prepositional nouns, not specifically body parts, are presented in (474) and illustrated below. These nouns are not generally able to occur with enclitic pronouns as possessor, but must have a noun phrase possessor following them.

(474) *giá^{H}* 'in midst of'
hé:^{LH} 'among, within, during'
kaʔ^{LM} 'beside'
kią́ʔ^{M} 'near'
niúʔ^{M} 'under, before'
zeʔ^{L} 'on the side of'
ʔuí:^{LH} 'at foot of'
ʔnïʔ^{L} 'edge'

The noun *giá^{H}* 'in the midst of' is used to locate an object within the scope of a larger object, the scope being either spatial or temporal.

(475) P S L[H PO]

nï^{H}-ka^{L}-tóʔ^{L} *ʔe^{L}* *hi^{L}* *dó^{M}* *giá^{H}* *huï^{LM}*

PRF-PST-fall^C3 REL book that midst road

That book had fallen along the way [in the road].

The noun *hé:LH* 'in the midst of' speaks to an object being located among a group of other objects. It has both spatial and temporal uses. It sometimes occurs as *laLhé:HM*.

(476) P L[H PO]
ŋóMoʔ hé:LH kuí̱:LH
go^C1p among firewood
We went to get firewood.

(477) T[H PO] P S
hé:LH hmïLʔlí̱:LH haLlí:nL haLlénʔL zäL huï:L
among day^dead come^P3p PL person town
During All Souls' Day, the townspeople return home.

(478) P T[H PO PO]
haL-ní:LHi laLhé:HM zaLʔóL ʔiéLM
NEG-go^1IS among tomorrow day^after^tomorrow
I will not be going tomorrow or the next day.

The form *zeʔL* 'side of' references a verticle surface.

(479) P O L[H PO[H PO]]
niL-tɛ́ʔLnaʔ ʔi̱LM huïLM zeʔL ʔieʔL
IMPF-paint^1IP color road side wall
We will paint the wall.

The form *kaʔLM* 'side of' has spatial reference to the area adjacent to some object.

(480) P L[H PO]
gí:nLHn kaʔLM ʔeL géLM dóM
sit^P1S beside REL lake that
I live by that lake.

The form *niúʔM* 'underneath, before' speaks of the under side of an object or of 'prior' time.

(481) P O L[H PO]
ni^{L}-ʔmä^{M}a *ho^{L}ŋí^{L}* *niúʔ^{M}* *ʔe^{L}* *ʔma^{L}* *na^{L}*
IMPF-guard^I1s key under REL wood that
I will hide the key under that wood there.

(482) P O L[H PO]
ka^{L}-ʔmä^{LM}r *hi^{L}* *kiáʔ^{M}r* *niúʔ^{M}* *mï^{L}kuí:^{H}*
PST-guard^C3 book of^3 under corn
He hid his book in a pile of kernelled corn.

(483) P S T[H PO]
ʔi:^{L} *gí^{L}* *guíʔ^{H}* *niúʔ^{M}* *hmï^{L}ʔlí:^{LH}*
hang^P3 air cold before day^dead
The cold winds blow before All Souls' Day.

10
Modal Adverbs

There are nine adverbs which modify the action of the verb in a quantitative or qualitative way. When postposed to a verb, they intervene between the verb and any pronoun which might otherwise be adjacent to the verb. If the pronoun is enclitic, it combines closely with the modal adverb and the adverb may exhibit tonal inflection for person in the same way found in verbs and inalienable nouns. The modal adverbs are listed in (484) and discussed one at a time.

(484)	*gǫ́*^{L}	(courtesy)	'please'
	du^{L}	(volition)	'intend'
	tɻ́^{M}	(repetition)	'again'
	tä^{L}	(momentary)	'awhile'
	hiu^{LH}	(diminution)	'a little'
	bɨ́^{H}	(continuation)	'still'
	gɨ̃^{H}	(augmentation)	'further'
	bá?^{H}	(affirmation)	'yes'
	lɨ̃^{LM}	(excessive)	'much'

10.1. The courtesy modal adverb *gǫ́*^{L}. This adverb is enclitic in form and is used when asking a superior for a favor. It does not occur with a range of enclitic pronouns associated with it and, therefore, only has one, nonvariant phonological form.

(485)	P	MODAL	O		VOC
	hme:^{M}	*gǫ́*^{L}	*huén?*^{LM}	*?o*^{LM}*?*	*ka*^{L}*bó*^{LH}
	make^!	COUR	big	heart^2s	cofather
	Please be patient, cofather.				

(486) P MODAL O
nä^{LH} gǫ́^{L}ʔ ʔe^{L} ʔo^{L}ʔniú^{H} la^{L}
open^I2 COUR^2s REL door this
Please open this door!

10.2. The volition modal adverb *du^{L}*. This adverb only occurs immediately following a verb, but not a completive-aspect verb. It indicates intention, urging, purpose, or desire on the part of the subject of the verb.

(487) P MODAL S
guï:n^{M} du^{M} -u
sleep^P1s VOL^1s 1s
I intend to sleep.

(488) P MODAL S MA
ʔmán^{LM} ʔ du^{M} u ʔlǎ:n^{M}
thank^1s VOL^1s much
I really want to thank you alot.

10.3. The repetition modal adverb *tą́^{M}*. This adverb indicates that an action is a repetition of an earlier like action. It undoubtedly derives from the inanimate numeral *tą́^{M}* 'two'. It occurs only following verbs.

(489) P MODAL S T
kuį:^{L} tą́^{M} -u la^{L}ʔe:^{L}
run^P1 REP 1s morning
I am running again in the mornings.

(490) P MODAL S L
zi^{L}lí:n^{M} tą́^{M} -r huï^{LM} ni^{L}kuį́ʔ^{H}
go^P3p REP 3 road Oaxaca
They are going again to Oaxaca.

10.4. The momentary modal adverb *tä^{L}*. This adverb is, more generally, a temporal adverb meaning 'briefly' and functions like other temporal adverbs as the temporal constituent of a clause, as in (491); but it may also occur directly following a verb with all the formal characteristics of an enclitic modal adverb, as in (492).

(491) P S T
guï:n^{L} *-r* *ka^{L}tá^{L}*
sleep^P3 3 briefly
S/he sleeps for a brief time.

(492) P MODAL S T
ka^{L}-kó^{H} *tä^{L}* *-a?* *zi^{L}?ló:^{M}*
PST-play^C1p MOM 1p last^evening
We played briefly yesterday afternoon.

The momentary modal adverb may be used to soften a request.

(493) NEG P MODAL S O O
?ha^{H}-kuě?^{H} *tä^{L}* *-?* *hnä^{LH}* *pala* *kí:^{M}?*
?^NEG-give^I2 MOM 2s 1s shovel of^2s
Won't you loan me your shovel briefly?

The remaining modal adverbs are not restricted to following verbs, but may follow all other classes of words. They tend to appear more commonly than the first four and indicate a degree of topicalization or perhaps even mark a constituent as a predicate.

10.5. The diminution modal adverb *hiu^{LH}*. This adverb is derived from an ordinary manner adverb which has both a long form *hiú:^{LH}* and a short form *hiu^{LH}* 'a little', with no apparent difference in meaning between the two. In its modal function, it invariably takes the short form and expresses politeness or focuses more literally upon a smallish size or quantity. It may follow other parts of speech as well as verbs.

(494) P S[Q H MODAL D]
ka^{L}-ko:^{L} *?e^{L}* *?ma^{L}* *hiu^{LH}* *dó^{M}*
PST-burn^C3 REL tree DIM that
That bush burned.

(495) P S[Q H M[COMP P MODAL MODAL S]]
?iu:n^{M} *ha:n^{L}* *?ie?^{L}tí^{LM}* *?i^{L}* *pin?^{H}* *-b* *hiu^{LH}* *Ø*
be^in^P3 one tiger REL small AFF DIM
A smallish tiger was there.

(496) P MODAL S O

ʔí:n^{LH} *hiu*^{M} *-u* *ʔe*^{L} *hmi*^{L}*ŋi*^{HM} *dó*^{M}

like^P1 DIM^1s 1s REL food that

I sort of like that food.

Like the momentary model, the diminution adverb may be used to soften a request.

(497) NEG P MODAL S O O

ʔha^{H}*-kuéʔ*^{H} *hiu*^{LH} *-ʔ* *hnä*^{LH} *ʔí*^{H}*ʔ*

?^NEG-give^12 DIM^2 2s 1s tortillas^2s

Won't you give me some of your tortillas?

10.6. The continuation modal adverb *bí*^{H}. This adverb indicates that the action of a verb continues in progress. When used with other parts of speech, it may have this continuing aspect also.

(498) P MODAL S

hiú:n^{LH} *bí*^{H} *-ï*

child CONT 1s

I was (am) still a child.

(499) P MODAL S T

sï^{L}*mí:n*^{H} *bí*^{H} *-r* *mï*^{LH}*-ka*^{L}*-kún*^{L}*ʔr* *guó*^{L}*r*

young^lady CONT 3 when-PST-join^C3 hand^3

She was still a young lady when she got married.

(500) P MODAL S

hnä^{LH} *bí*^{H} *ʔi*^{L} *si:*^{L} *sé*^{H}

1s CONT REL name^S3 Joseph

I continue to be the person named Joseph.

(501) P MODAL S

bí^{L} *bí*^{H} *zí*^{LM} *ni*^{L} *ké*^{H}*e*

strong CONT heart^3 mother^1s of^1s

My mother is still strong.

(502) P MODAL S
kaL-ŋïLM *bíH* *-r*
PST-walk^C3 CONT 3
She can still walk.

10.7. The augmentation modal adverb *gíH*. This adverb is also used with several parts of speech, one of its uses being to form comparative statements. It is used more often than any other modal except the affirmation modal *báʔH* (§10.8).

(503) P S]Q MODAL H]
kaL-guiLlí:nM *gánM* *gíH* *zäLŋiuʔL*
PST-arrive·C3p two AUG man
Two more men arrived.

(504) P MODAL S
ti:L *gíH* *máʔH* *kiáʔM* *ʔmaLkí:HL*
thin AUG leaf of^3 pine tree
The leaves of pine trees are thinner.

(505) P MODAL S MA
kaL-lïʔM *gíH* *-ʔ* *laLkǫ́ʔL* *hnäLH*
PST-get^C2 AUG 2s than 1s
You got more than I.

(506) P MODAL S
ní:LH *gíH* *-ï*
go^11 AUG 1s
I will be going further.

10.8. The affirmation modal adverb *báʔH*. This adverb is the most frequently used of all the modal adverbs, able to occur following any part of speech. It is used to express prominence, agreement, or assertion. Its reduced (enclitic) form is *-b*. As is true of the other modals which may follow verbs, enclitic forms of pronouns are postposed to the affirmation modal, modifying its phonological form.

(507) P MODAL S T
ní:^{LH} *ba^{M}* *-a* *za^{L}ʔó^{L}*
go^1s AFF^1s 1s tomorrow
Yes, I'm going tomorrow.

(508) MA MODAL P L
zə̃nʔ^{L} *ti:^{M}* *-b* *ʔí^{LM}* *hé:^{LH}* *huï:^{L}*
very silently AFF hang^P3 among town
It was very silent in town.

When a constituent is topicalized by left dislocation, either form of the affirmation modal adverb may be added to the last element of the constituent. The modal adverb predicates this constituent.

(509) T MODAL P O
la^{L}-ʔį:^{M} *ŋiú^{M}* *báʔ^{H}* *ka^{L}-gúʔ^{L}u* *ka^{L}hué^{LH}*
PST^sound nine AFF PST-drink^C1s coffee
It was at nine o'clock that I drank my coffee.

(510) L MODAL P
sï^{L}niú:^{H} *-b* *nə̃n^{LM}r*
inside AFF sit^S3p
Inside is where they sit.

When a relative clause follows the affirmation modal, the relative word is reduced to the same enclitic form *-inʔ* as for the third-person pronoun when it is the second of two enclitic pronouns (§3.13 & §5.1, fn).

(511) P MODAL S[COMP P S O]
ʔį^{L} *zä^{L}mí^{L}* *na^{L}* *-b* *-inʔ* *ka^{L}-kuë^{LM}* *Ø* *hmi^{L}giu^{LM}* *gî^{H}*
REL woman that AFF REL PST-give^C3 much AUG
It was that woman who gave more.

(512) P MODAL S[COMP P S L]
ka^{L}-mïnʔ^{LH} *sï^{L}minʔ^{L}* *la^{L}* *-b* *-inʔ* *se:n^{L}* *Ø* *ké^{M}e*
one-measure young^man this AFF REL exist^S3 of^1s
Only this one young man exists of mine.

Up to three modal suffixes may be added to a single word. In the case of a verb, the verb form is internally inflected for all persons and aspects,

but the enclitic pronoun follows the final modal adverb. The volition and courtesy modal adverbs always occur alone. The diminution modal always occurs last when two or three modals occur together.

(513)

P	MODAL	MODAL	MODAL	S	T		
kaᴸ-ʔúᴸ	*bíᴴ*	*gíᴸ*	*hiuᴹ*	*-u*	*hįʔᴸᴴ*	*kǫ:ᴸ*	*semestre*
PST-enter^C1	CONT	AUG	DIM^1s	1s	only	one	semester

I continued a little longer for only one semester.

(514)

T		P		MODAL	MODAL	S
laᴸʔį:ᴹ	*ʔniᴸᴹ*	*niᴸ-zǎʔᴴ*		*-b*	*túᴹ*	*-naʔ*
PST^sound^S3	three	FUT-go^home^1p		AFF	REP	1p

At three o'clock we will go home again.

10.9. The excessive modal adverb *liᴸᴹ*. This adverb indicates that an action occurs to an excessive degree.

(515)

P		MODAL	S	O
hoᴸ-guiᴸ-hmiᴸhuénʔᴸᴹ		*liᴸᴹ*	*-r*	*ʔniuᴸ*
NEG-DIR-worship^13		EXCESS	3	2s

They must no longer idolize you so much.

(516)

P	MODAL	S	O
hmémᴹ	*liᴸᴹ*	*-r*	*huiᴸʔiᴴ*
make^P3	EXCESS	3	sadness

S/he is so very sad.

10.10. Modal adverbs with enclitic pronouns. Modal adverbs have been illustrated throughout this study with following enclitic pronouns which, in some cases, affect the phonological form of the adverb. There are just two basic tone patterns in this context; they are illustrated in this section in the form of two prototypical paradigms.

The courtesy modal adverb does not occur with all of the enclitic pronouns and the excessive modal adverb has only been observed with third-person pronouns; but the other modals may occur with any of the enclitic forms of the pronouns. Following are examples of the two basic tone patterns which the modal adverbs carry when inflected for the enclitic pronoun. The repetition, momentary, continuation, and augmentation modal adverbs are inflected in the following way for the enclitic pronouns, as indicated by means of the repetition adverb.

(517)	*ní:*^{LH}	*tɻ́*^{H}*u*	I go again.
	guó?^{H}	*tɻ́*^{H}*?*	You (sg) go again.
	zé^{M}	*tɻ́*^{M}*r*	S/he goes again.
	zé^{H}	*tɻ́*^{M}*u?*	We go again.
	gui^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*tɻ́*^{M}*u?*	You (pl) go again.
	zi^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*tɻ́*^{M}*r*	They go again.
	zé^{M}	*tɻ́*^{M}*re?*	The animal goes again.
	zi^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*tɻ́*^{M}*re?*	The animals go again.

The affirmation, diminution, and volition modal adverb is inflected for the enclitic pronouns as follows.

(518)	*ní:*^{LH}	*ba*^{M}*a*	Yes, I go.
	guó^{H}	*bá*^{H}*?*	Yes, you (sg) go.
	zé^{M}	*-bre*	Yes, s/he goes.
	zé^{H}	*ba*^{M}*a?*	Yes, we go.
	gui^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*bá*^{M}*a?*	Yes, you (pl) go.
	zi^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*-bre*	Yes, they go.
	zé^{M}	*-bre?*	Yes, the animal goes.
	zi^{L}*lí:n*^{L}	*-bre?*	Yes, the animals go.

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Comaltepec Chinantec, with 1500 speakers, is one of fourteen Chinantec languages and related dialects spoken in the northeast quadrant of the Mexican State of Oaxaca. The Chinantec languages comprise a major branch of the important Otomanguean stock of Mesoamerican tone languages and Comaltepec Chinantec is one of two or three of these languages spoken in the highland, Sierra de Juárez District of Oaxaca which are noted for their very complex phonological systems.

Comaltepec Chinantec Syntax by Judi Lynn Anderson is the third volume of a subseries of SIL AND UTA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS dedicated to the description and interpretation of Chinantec languages and the second of five syntactic overviews prepared to date for publication in this series. Miss Anderson's study presents the results of nearly two decades of concentrated research on this interesting vso language. It is cast in a nonformal style designed to facilitate typological comparison with other Chinantec as well as with non-Chinantec languages.

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