

Syllables, Tone, and Verb Paradigms

Studies in Chinantec Languages 4

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William R. Merrifield and Calvin R. Rensch

Editors

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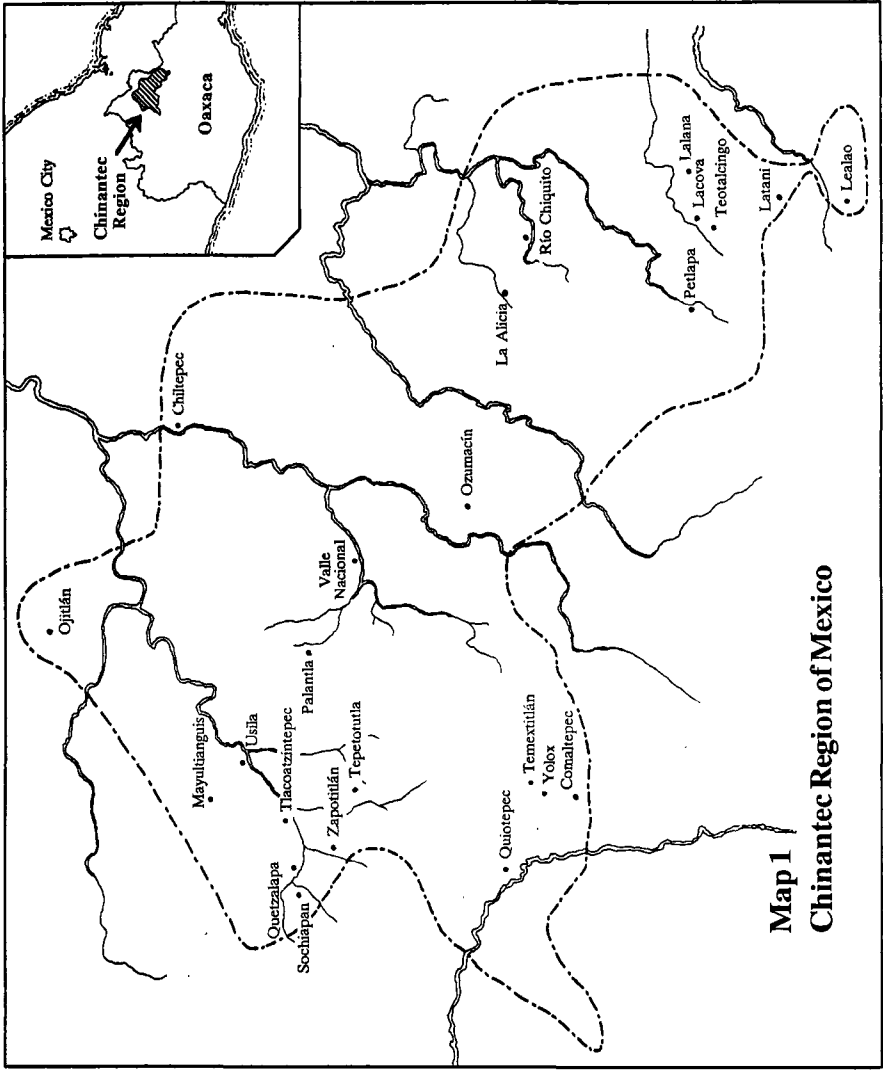
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Moving and Arriving in the Chinantla

David O. Westley and William R. Merrifield

This paper describes the syntactic and semantic structure of Chinantec¹ verbs of motion and arrival. The study was inspired by a series of lectures presented by Charles J. Fillmore at the sIL Jaime Torres Bodet Linguistics Study Center in Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico, in the fall of 1970, and by a subsequent manuscript on deixis (Fillmore n.d.). The primary aim of the paper is to understand a few Chinantec verbs, but we trust that this product of our study will also be useful as input to the study of similar systems in other languages as well.

We have found two of Fillmore's (1969:110) neologisms particularly apt, and will use them frequently throughout the paper: PLA 'place of the locutionary act' and TLA 'time of the locutionary act'. Close attention to these and other factors of the speech act itself are indispensable for understanding Chinantec verbs of motion and arrival.

The following scheme will be used to diagram representations of real-life situations appropriate to the use of particular verbs of motion and arrival. Consider the following figures:

¹Chinantec is here represented by the language spoken in Santa Cruz Tepetotutla, a village of 800 inhabitants located 70 air miles north of Oaxaca City, México. Fieldwork was begun in this language by DOW in March 1968. WRM, who has studied a related Chinantec language since October 1956, collaborated in this study as linguistic consultant. The orthography employed is that of Westley (1971) except that /m n ŋ/ are used for the nasalized stops, /z/ is used for the voiced affricate, and /L M H/ are used for tone.



Each horizontal line in these figures represents a time line at a particular point in space. By convention, the lower of two lines in a diagram will represent time at PLA. Any imaginary point along a time line represents a given point of time, with successive points to the right representing successively later points in time at the particular place represented by the line.

The vertical line represents TLA.

A diagonal line represents the motion of an AGENT through time and space, and a dot at one end of a diagonal (redundantly) represents the arrival of an agent at his GOAL. A dotted diagonal indicates motion not specifically signalled by a verb, but which is necessarily implied by the limitations time and space impose upon us. Sentences (1a) through (3a) are appropriate to the situations represented in the corresponding figures.²

More complex situations involving more than two points in space can easily be represented by adding additional time lines. At least three time lines are needed, for example, to represent a situation appropriate to the sentence 'He came as far as Denver'. In this paper, we have not tried to elaborate diagrammatically on all possible situations appropriate to the use of each verb. We limit ourselves to two time lines per diagram and rely on prose to give a fuller understanding of the semantic content of the verbs.

All object inflection within this paper is inanimate. The bringing and taking verbs can also be inflected for animate object as well, usually with a change of initial consonant but following the basic tone-stress pattern.

- (1a) He left yesterday for Bangkok.
 (2a) They will come over for a visit next week.
 (3a) I go there often.

²WRM attended a weekly seminar led by Ivan Lowe at the 1972 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma in which applications of (mathematical) topology to linguistic problems were explored. The diagrams used here were developed after that seminar, and although Dr. Lowe may not recognize it (or want to take any responsibility), the seed thoughts for their development were probably planted by him.

1. Momentary verbs

Chinantec verbs of motion and arrival are **MOMENTARY** verbs (Fillmore 1969:112). They view activities as either accomplished or not; never as though in progress. With verbs of arrival this means that an **AGENT** has already arrived at **TLA** or that he is yet to arrive. With verbs of motion it means that motion has been initiated at **TLA** or that it is yet to be initiated. This limitation is nontypical of many Chinantec verbs and requires some clarification.

In general, active verbs may be inflected for any of three aspects, referred to in Chinantec studies as **PROGRESSIVE**, **INTENTIVE**, and **COMPLETIVE**, as in (4) to (6), respectively.

- (4) *lóp^{LM} za^M ië^Mnë^L*
 bathe[^]P₃ 3 now
 He is bathing right now.

- (5) *lóp^L za^M ?yóg^L*
 bathe[^]I₃ 3 tomorrow
 He will bathe tomorrow.

- (6) *ka^M-lóp^M za^M zyóg^M*
 PST-bathe[^]c₃ 3 yesterday
 He bathed yesterday.

në^M-lóp^M za^M ma^M?míg^M
 HOD-bathe[^]c₃ 3 earlier
 He bathed earlier today.

Aspectual inflection involves, among other things, stress-tone inflection, and completive stems occur with one or two tense prefixes, *ka^M-* indicating past time in general and *në^M-* indicating hodiernal past time of the same day as **TLA**.

The perfective prefix *ma^M-* may occur with progressive, intentive, or completive stems, as in (7).

- (7) *ma^M-lóp^{LM} za^M*
 PRF-bathe[^]P₃ 3
 He is already bathing.

ma^L-lóp^L za^M
 PRF-bathe[^]I3 3
 He is already going to bathe.

ma^M-lóp^M za^M
 PRF-bathe[^]C3 3
 He has already bathed.

PROGRESSIVE aspect is an inflectional category—one of three such categories which form a paradigm, as illustrated above. Semantically, however, it is not one; it has at least two different meanings. In (4) it has a truly progressive meaning because of the presence of the word *tě^Mně^L* ‘right now’. In (8), however, the meaning of the so-called progressive is better termed ITERATIVE. This sentence can be uttered appropriately when the person referred to is lying ‘high and dry’ in his hammock.

(8) *hma^L-ka^M-?ni^{LM} hmīg^{MH} lóp^{LM} za^M*
 each-three day bathe[^]P3 3
 He bathes every other day.

A verb of motion or arrival may be inflected for any of the three inflectional categories, but it is never interpreted as semantically progressive. The PROGRESSIVE form of such a verb is always interpreted either as PERFECTIVE OR ITERATIVE, as in (9) and (10), respectively.

(9) *ma^M?mīg^M gwa^{LM} hniá^M*
 earlier arrive[^]P1s 1s
 I arrived (here) a while ago.

(10) *hme^Hl^LH zyóg^{LM} hniá^M*
 occasionally arrive[^]P1s 1s
 I arrive (there) occasionally.

In a leave-taking situation, the intentive form is used until motion is initiated (11), and the progressive with perfective prefix as soon as motion is begun (12). As soon as a person has left PLA and is out of sight, the completive is used even though he is known to be yet a long way from his destination (13).

- (11) *né^{MH} hniá^M ?yóg^L*
 go^{1s} 1s tomorrow
 I will go home tomorrow.
- (12) *ma^M-há^{LM} hniá^M ka^Mba^{LH}*
 PRF-go^{1s} 1s compadre
 I am already going home, compadre.
- (13) *ka^M-há^L za^M*
 PST-go³ 3
 He went home.

2. Singular verbs

Most Chinantec verb stems may occur with either singular or plural agents, with first-person singular agents being distinguished inflectionally from first plural agents, but with no such differences for second- or third-person agents. INTENTIVE forms of the verb *ló^{LM}* 'bathe' serve to illustrate the typical situation, as in (14)–(17).

- (14) *ló^{MH} hniá^M*
 bathe^{1s} 1s
 I will bathe.
- (15) *lio^{LH} hnia^{LH}*
 bathe^{1p} 1p
 We will bathe.
- (16) *lo^{LH} ?ne^M*
 bathe^{2s} 2s
 You (sg) will bathe.
- lo^{LH} ?nia^M*
 bathe^{2p} 2p
 You (pl) will bathe.
- (17) *ló^L za^L*
 bathe³ 3
 He/she/they will bathe.

A few verbs have suppletive stems to distinguish singular and plural agents. Verbs of motion and arrival are of this sort, and the stems which occur with singular agents are introduced first. Two such verbs indicate motion towards and motion away from PLA. A second pair indicate arrival at and arrival away from PLA.³ These four verbs are introduced first.

2.1. *gwǎ^{LM}* ‘arrive at NONBASE toward PLA’. The person-aspect paradigm of this verb is represented in (18).⁴ PROGRESSIVE forms are always interpreted as perfective. Since a truly ‘progressive’ interpretation is not possible, the overt presence of *ma^M*- (perfect) is not required, so that the prefix may be suppressed without change of meaning. An arrival at PLA early in the same day as TLA is particularly appropriate to the use of the perfective (= progressive) form of this verb. INTENTIVE forms are interpreted iteratively or as forecasting a future arrival. COMPLETIVE forms report an arrival prior to TLA. Sentences (19) through (21) are appropriate to the situations represented in the corresponding figures.⁵

(18)	1s	2	3
P	<i>gwǎ^{LM}</i>	<i>gwǎ^{ʔM}</i>	<i>gwǎ^{LM}</i>
I	<i>gwǎ^H</i>	<i>gwǎ^{ʔM}</i>	<i>gwǎ^M</i>
C	<i>gwǎ^L</i>	<i>gwǎ^{ʔL}</i>	<i>gwǎ^L</i>

(19) *gwǎ^{LM}* *za^M* *ma^Mʔmǐg^M*
 arrive[^]P3 3 earlier
 He arrived (here) earlier today.

ma^M-gwǎ^{LM} *tǝ^{LM}*
 PRF-arrive[^]P3 teacher
 The teacher has arrived (here).

ka^M-gwǎ^L *za^M* *zyóg^M*
 PST-arrive[^]C3 3 yesterday
 He arrived (here) yesterday.

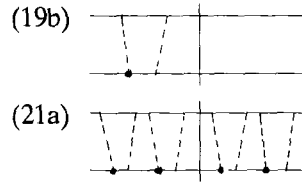
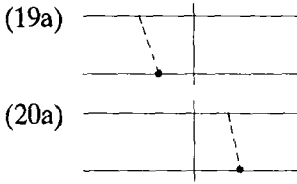
³The concept BASE is explained in §3.

⁴Person-aspect paradigms are presented in the form of a matrix. Columns from left to right present first-, second-, and third-person forms, respectively. Rows from top to bottom present progressive, intentive, and completive forms, respectively.

⁵Both (19a) and (19b) are appropriate to any of the sentences of (19).

(20) $gwá^M$ za^M $ně^L$
 arrive¹³ 3 today
 He will arrive (here) today.

(21) $gwá^M$ za^M $hme^{Hl}i^{LH}$
 arrive¹³ 3 occasionally
 He arrives (here) occasionally.



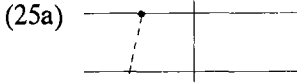
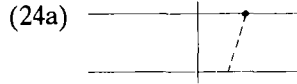
2.2. $zyóg^{LM}$ 'arrive at NONBASE away from PLA'. The person-aspect paradigm of this verb is presented in (22). PROGRESSIVE forms of this verb are used only iteratively. Inasmuch as the arrival is away from PLA and the observance of the interlocutors, a perfective use of this verb is not appropriate. INTENTIVE forms forecast a future arrival; completive forms an arrival prior to TLA. Sentences (23) through (25) are appropriate to the situations represented in the corresponding figures.

(22)	1s	2	3
P	$zyóg^{LM}$	$zyóg^{PLM}$	$zyóg^{LM}$
I	$zyóg^{MH}$	$zyóg^{PMH}$	$zyóg^{MH}$
C	$zyóg^L$	$zyóg^{PL}$	$zyóg^L$

(23) $hme^{Hl}i^{LH}$ $zyóg^{LM}$ za^M he^{PLH}
 occasionally arrive¹³ 3 Barrio
 Only occasionally does he arrive (there) at Barrio.

(24) $zyóg^{MH}$ za^M he^{PLH} $ʔyóg^L$
 arrive¹³ 3 Barrio tomorrow
 He will arrive (there) at Barrio tomorrow.

(25) ka^M - $zyóg^L$ za^M he^{PLH} $cī^{PM}$ *mayo*
 PST-arrive¹³ c3 3 Barrio month May
 He arrived (there) at Barrio in May.



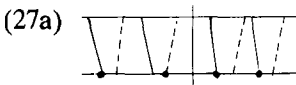
2.3. *ha^M* ‘move to NONBASE toward PLA’. The person-aspect paradigm of this verb is presented in (26). It is composed of three suppletive stems, one for each of the three persons.

(26)	1s	2	3
P	<i>gyo^{LM}</i>	<i>ɲeɽ^M</i>	<i>ha^M</i>
I	<i>gyo^{LH}</i>	<i>ɲeɽ^{LH}</i>	<i>hyá^L</i>
C	<i>gyo^L</i>	<i>ɲeɽ^L</i>	<i>há^L</i>

PROGRESSIVE forms of this verb are always interpreted iteratively, intensive forms as future, iterative or not. Compare sentences (27) and (28) with the corresponding figures.

(27) *hma^Lka^M.ɽni^{LM} hmäg^{MH} ha^M za^M*
 each-three day come[^]P3 3
 He comes every other day.

(28) *ɽliŋ^M räu^M hyá^L za^M*
 many times come[^]I3 3
 He will come many times.

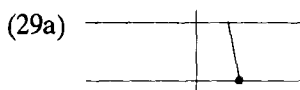


The completive form of this verb competes with and is often replaced by the completive form of *gwa^{LM}* ‘arrive at NONBASE toward PLA’. Evidently, once the motion toward PLA is complete and the arrival accomplished, the verb which focuses on the arrival is considered more appropriate than that which focuses on the motion related to the arrival.

There is a context, however, in which the completive form of *ha^M* is appropriate. A locative word collocated with a verb of motion can have semantic reference to the point of origin of the motion, its SOURCE, or to its point of destination, its GOAL. The difference between SOURCE and Goal

is not marked syntactically, and only the context can provide the information required to distinguish the two. Thus, out of context, a sentence like (29) has two interpretations. It may mean that PLA is the town of Barrio, and that the speaker states an intention to return there on the morrow, or PLA is some other NONBASE than Barrio, and the speaker states an intention to return to the NONBASE PLA from Barrio on the morrow.⁶

- (29) *gyo^{LH} hniá^M heʔ^{LH} ʔyóg^L*
 come[^] 1_{ts} 1_s Barrio tomorrow
 I will return (here) to Barrio tomorrow *or*
 I will return (here) from Barrio tomorrow.



The completive form of *ha^M* is used to indicate motion prior to TLA toward PLA from a named SOURCE, but it is otherwise replaced by the completive form of *gwa^{LM}* to indicate motion prior to TLA toward PLA (with attending arrival). Paired sentences with a completive form of each of these verbs, as in (30), are particularly appropriate.

- (30) *ka^M-gyo^L hniá^M heʔ^{LH} zyóg^M;*
 PST-come[^] C1_s 1_s Barrio yesterday
 I came from Barrio yesterday;

ma^M-nei^M ka^M-gwa^L hniá^M.
 PRF-dark PST-arrive[^] C1_s 1_s
 I arrived (here) after dark.

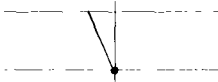


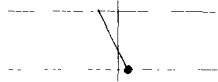
⁶The 'dot' in diagrams (29b) and (30a) indicate SOURCE rather than GOAL.

With the perfective prefix *ma^M*, the completive stem of this verb is particularly appropriate to a situation where an AGENT arrives at PLA at TLA. The third-person stem is anomalous in this regard, however, in having a fourth inflected form, *há^{LM}*, with stress-tone inflection typical of a progressive form and yet different from *ha^M*.⁷ It is used as a perfective, with or without the overt presence of *ma^M*- (perfect). Sentence (31) is appropriate as an opening greeting upon arrival at the home of an acquaintance. Sentence (32) may be used when someone is in view and approaching PLA.

(31) *hniá^M ma^M-gyo^L ka^Mba^{LH}*
 1s PRF-COME ^C1s compadre
 I have come, compadre.

(32) *za^M ma^M-há^{LM} mag^{LH}*
 3 PRF-COME ^P3 mother
 Someone is coming, mother.

(31a) 

(32a) 

2.4. *zó^{LM}* 'move to NONBASE away from PLA'. The person-aspect paradigm of this verb is comprised of a bewildering collection of five suppletive stems, all occurring with singular agents. A sixth stem is used with a first-person plural agent, and is introduced at this point because of its probable inflectional relationship to *zó^{LM}*, the third-person stem. The various stems are presented in (33)⁸ and (34).

(33)	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>nei^{LM}</i>	<i>záu^{LM}</i>	<i>góg^{LM}</i>	<i>zó^{LM}</i>
I	<i>nei^{LH}</i>	<i>zau^{LH}</i>	<i>gog^{LH}</i>	<i>zó^L</i>
C	—	—	—	—

⁷Pace (this volume, §2.4 and §3.6) reports a similar minor pattern for Comaltepec Chinantec which suggests that *ha^M* is actually HABITUAL while *há^{LM}* is the true PROGRESSIVE form of this verb.

⁸In matrices of four columns, the first plural forms are presented as the second column, between first singular and second-persons.

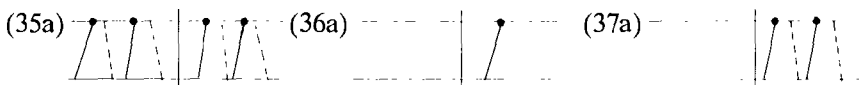
- (34)
- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | 1s | 2 | 3 |
| P | $\eta\acute{o}^{LM}$ | $zy\acute{o}g^{?M}$ | $\eta\acute{o}^{LM}$ |
| I | — | — | — |
| C | $\eta\acute{o}^L$ | $zy\acute{o}g^{?M}$ | $\eta\acute{o}^L$ |

PROGRESSIVE forms of (33) are always interpreted iteratively, intensive forms as future, iterative or not. Sentences (35) through (37) and the corresponding figures illustrate these uses.

- (35) hme^{Hj}^{LH} nei^{LM} $hni\acute{a}^M$ $i^Hkw\ddot{i}r^{?M}$
 occasionally go[^]P1s 1s Oaxaca
 Only occasionally do I go to Oaxaca.

- (36) zau^{LH} $hnia^{?LH}$ $i^Hkw\ddot{i}r^{?M}$ $?y\acute{o}g^L$
 go[^]11p 1p Oaxaca tomorrow
 We will go to Oaxaca tomorrow.

- (37) $hma^Lka^M-?ni^{LM}$ $hm\ddot{i}g^{MH}$ $z\acute{o}^L$ za^M
 each-three day go[^]13 3
 He will go every other day.



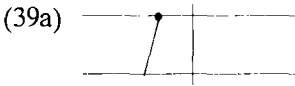
The intensive forms of (33) may occur with ma^M - (perfect), and are then synonymous with the progressive forms of (34) which are always interpreted perfectly, with or without the overt presence of ma^M - (perfect). Any of these forms are appropriate to a leave-taking situation, as in (38).

- (38) ma^M-nei^{LH} $hni\acute{a}^M$
 PRF-go[^]11s 1s
 I am going now.
- $ma^M-\eta\acute{o}^{LM}$ $hni\acute{a}^M$
 PRF-go[^]P1s 1s
 I am going now.



A third-person completive form of (33) is illustrated in (39), and is perfectly acceptable to the situation represented in the accompanying diagram. Because of the requirement that first- and second-person be present at the intersection of PLA and TLA,⁹ however, first- or second-person completive forms of this verb are only rarely heard¹⁰—usually being replaced by the completive form of ηe^{MH} , which is introduced immediately below.

- (39) ka^M - $\eta\acute{o}^L$ za^M hwi^L M $m\acute{a}^M$ M
 PST-go[^]C3 3 road mountain
 He went to the mountain.



2.5. ηe^{MH} 'move to GOAL away from PLA and return away from GOAL'.

The person-aspect paradigm of this verb, presented in (40), is limited to completive aspect forms which are interpreted as straight past when occurring with tense prefixes, and otherwise as perfective, with or without the overt presence of ma^M - (perfect). It is further defective in comparison with the other verbs introduced in that it is appropriately used whether the GOAL is a BASE or a NONBASE. Sentences (41) and the corresponding figure illustrate the use of this verb. Comparison of the figure with (39a) gives an indication of the similarity of this verb with the situations which would be appropriate to the use of the completive form of $z\acute{o}^{LM}$ with first- or second-person agent. Since a return to PLA from GOAL is required for a first- or second-person, the situation becomes isomorphic with that represented in (41a), thus providing motivation for the use of ηe^{MH} in place of $z\acute{o}^{LM}$ in such contexts.

⁹As Fillmore has noted, there are situations in which first- and second-persons may not be located at precisely the same points in space, thus complicating the definition of PLA. We have not addressed ourselves to such situations in this paper.

¹⁰They are acceptable in subordinated temporal clauses such as $hme^Hka^M\eta\acute{e}^L$ $hni\acute{a}^M$ 'After I have gone, ...'.

(40)

1s	2	3
P	---	---
1	---	---
C	ηe^{MH}	$\eta e^{\rho LH}$

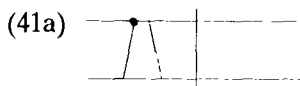
(41)

ηe^{MH}	$hni\acute{a}^M$	$i^Hkw\ddot{i}^{\rho M}$
go [^] C1s	1s	Oaxaca

I have been to Oaxaca.

$ma^M-\eta e^{MH}$ $hni\acute{a}^M$ $i^Hkw\ddot{i}^{\rho M}$
 PRF-go[^]C1s 1s Oaxaca
 I have been to Oaxaca.

$zy\acute{o}g^M$ $ka^M-\eta e^{MH}$ $hni\acute{a}^M$ $ha^H-ky\acute{o}^L$
 yesterday PST-go[^]C1s 1s at-of[^]1s
 I went home (and came back) yesterday.



3. The concept BASE

A small set of Chinantec verbs may be inflected to indicate that an action is not, in some sense, a first-time action. The pairs of (42) are typical.

(42)

hmo^{LM}	make, do	versus	$hm\acute{o}g^{\rho LM}$	repair
ρme^{LM}	sew	versus	$\rho m\acute{e}i^{LM}$	mend
ρag^{LM}	set	versus	$\rho \acute{a}g^{\rho LM}$	reset

This inflectional category has been termed ECHO (Merrifield 1968:30f). With verbs of motion and arrival, it gives the idea of BASE, a place to which an agent tends to return when his day's work or his journey is over—his home, his home town, his home State, etc., depending upon the order of magnitude of the distance traversed.

Each of the verbs introduced above, with the exception of ηe^{MH} as mentioned, is matched by a corresponding inflected form indicating that the GOAL of the motion or arrival is the agent's BASE. Since the phonological realization of this category is complex and remains unanalyzed, we list the full paradigms of the corresponding inflected forms. Their distribution with

aspects in each case, however, matches that of the corresponding uninflected form, and requires no further comment.

(43) $gwáʔ^{LM}$ arrive at BASE toward PLA

	1s	2	3
P	$gwáʔ^{LM}$	$gwáʔ^{LM}$	$gwáʔ^{LM}$
I	$gwáʔ^M$	$gwáʔ^M$	$gwáʔ^M$
C	$gwáʔ^L$	$gwáʔ^L$	$gwáʔ^L$

(44) $zyáʔ^{LM}$ arrive at BASE away from PLA

	1s	2	3
P	$zyáʔ^{LM}$	$zyáʔ^{LM}$	$zyáʔ^{LM}$
I	$zyáʔ^{MH}$	$zyáʔ^{MH}$	$zyáʔ^{MH}$
C	$zyáʔ^L$	$zyáʔ^L$	$zyáʔ^L$

(45) $hóʔ^M$ move to BASE toward PLA¹¹

	1s	2	3
P	$gyóʔ^{LM}$	$h'éʔ^{LM}$	$hóʔ^M$
I	$gyóʔ^{MH}$	$h'éʔ^{MH}$	$hnyóʔ^L$
C	$gyóʔ^L$	$h'éʔ^L$	$hóʔ^L$

(46) $záʔ^{LM}$ move to BASE away from PLA

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$néʔ^{LM}$	$záuʔ^{LM}$	$gwáʔ^M$	$záʔ^{LM}$
I	$néʔ^{MH}$	$záuʔ^{LH}$	$gwáʔ^{LH}$	$záʔ^L$
C	—	—	—	—
P	$h'áʔ^{LM}$		$zyáʔ^M$	$h'áʔ^{LM}$
I	—		—	—
C	$h'áʔ^L$		$zyáʔ^M$	$h'áʔ^L$

¹¹The third-person stem of this verb has a fourth inflected form $hóʔ^{LM}$ which corresponds exactly to the extra form of ha^M (§2.3).

4. DIRECTIONAL prefixes

Most Chinantec verbs may occur with a phonologically reduced form of a motion verb as a DIRECTIONAL prefix which indicates the direction of motion by an agent prior to the performance of the action indicated by the main verb. Compare the sentences of (47) in which the prefix *o^L*- of the second indicates motion of the agent to, with attending arrival at, PLA prior to performing his search.

(47) *ka^M-ʔnio^{ʔM} za^M kwig^{MH}*
 PST-look[^]c3 3 firewood
 He looked for firewood.

ka^M-o^L-ʔnio^{ʔM} za^M kwig^{MH}
 PST-go[^]c3-look 3 firewood
 He came and looked for firewood.

The person-aspect paradigm of directional prefixes is presented in (48). The stress-tone pattern of the verb stem which follows a directional prefix, though complex and yet unanalyzed, is presumably derivable from automatic morphophonemic rules.¹² A small sample of illustrative sentences with the verb *loʔ^{LM}* ‘bathe’ is presented in (49).

(48) *ha^M*- move toward PLA

	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>i^M</i>	<i>ha^M</i>	<i>i^M</i>	<i>ha^M</i>
1	<i>i^H</i>	<i>ha^H</i>	<i>i^H</i>	<i>ha^L</i>
C	<i>o^L</i>	<i>o^L</i>	<i>o^L</i>	<i>o^L</i>

zi^M- move away from PLA

	1s	1p	2	3
P	<i>i^M</i>	<i>zi^M</i>	<i>o^M</i>	<i>zi^M</i>
1	<i>i^H</i>	<i>zi^H</i>	<i>o^H</i>	<i>zi^L</i>
C	<i>i^L</i>	<i>i^L</i>	<i>i^L</i>	<i>i^L</i>

¹²Since this research was undertaken, Rupp (1989:15) has determined for Lealao Chinantec that “regardless of the aspectual inflection of the directional prefix, the [verb stem which follows] has the inflection (in almost all cases) of the corresponding nondirectional, same-person completive form of the root.” If this proves to be true of Tepetotutla Chinantec, the morphophonemic hypothesis can be discarded.

i^H- move away from PLA and return

	1s	1p	2	3
P	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	<i>i</i> ^H	<i>i</i> ^H	<i>i</i> ^H	<i>i</i> ^H

- (49) *ha*^M-*lió*^{PLH} *hnia*^{PLH}
 come[^]P1p-bathe 1p
 We come and bathe [iteratively].

i^H-*lió*^L *hniá*^M
 go/come[^]I1s-bathe 1s
 I will go/come bathe.

zi^L-*lió*^M *za*^M
 go[^]I3-bathe 3
 He will go and bathe.

ka^M-*o*^L-*lió*^M *?ne*^M
 PST-come[^]C2-bathe 2s
 You came and bathed.

ka^M-*i*^H-*lió*^{PLH} *hnia*^{PLH}
 PST-go&come[^]C1p-bathe 1p
 We went and bathed (and returned).

5. Plural agents

There are a small number of Chinantec stems which always occur with a directional prefix. These stems are called DIRECTIONAL stems (Merrifield 1968:24). They occur with only a subset of directional prefixes, and they are always pseudodirectional in meaning. Examples are presented in (50).

- (50) *ka*^M-*i*^L-*ga*^{PLH} *za*^M
 PST-go[^]C3-fall[^]down 3
 They fell down.

zi^M-*bi*^{LH} *?wë*^L
 go[^]P3-shake ground
 The ground is quaking.

ka^M-i^L-kó^L *kwig^M*
 PST-go[^]c3-grow corn
 The corn grew.

The plural forms of verbs of motion and arrival—those which occur with plural agents—are based on three suppletive, directional stems. They always occur with a directional prefix, but are otherwise atypical of other directional stems or other verbs occurring with directional prefixes in that they occur with a larger paradigm of prefixes based both on verbs of motion and verbs of arrival. The plural forms match one-for-one the inflectional patterns for aspect and base of the singular verbs with two exceptions: (1) there is only one paradigm for the verb meaning to move away from PLA, and (2) there is a separate inflected form for the verb indicating round trip motion when the GOAL is the agent's base. The full paradigms are presented in (51), with the citation form of the corresponding singular-agent verb.

(51) *gwá^{LM}* arrive at NONBASE toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	<i>o^Mnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>o^Mnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>o^Mlê^M</i>
I	<i>o^Hnáú^{MH}</i>	<i>o^Lnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>o^Hlê^M</i>
C	<i>o^Lnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>o^Lnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>o^Llê^M</i>

zyóg^{LM} arrive at NONBASE away from PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	<i>zi^Mnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Mnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Mlê^M</i>
I	<i>zi^Hnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Hnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Hlê^M</i>
C	<i>zi^Lnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Lnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>zi^Llê^M</i>

ha^M move to NONBASE toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	<i>ha^Mnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>ha^Mnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>ha^Mlê^M</i>
I	<i>ha^Hnáú^{MH}</i>	<i>ha^Hnóʔ^{MH}</i>	<i>ha^Llê^M</i>
C	<i>ha^Lnáú^{LM}</i>	<i>ha^Lnóʔ^{LM}</i>	<i>ha^Llê^M</i>

$z\acute{o}^{LM}$ move to NONBASE away from PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	$zi^Mn\acute{a}u^{LM}$	$\acute{o}^Mn\acute{o}^?LM$	$zi^Ml\acute{e}^M$
I	$zi^Hn\acute{a}u^{MH}$	$\acute{o}^Hn\acute{o}^?LM$	$zi^Ll\acute{e}^M$
C	$i^Ln\acute{a}u^{LM}$	$i^Ln\acute{o}^?LM$	$i^Ll\acute{e}^M$

ηe^{MH} move to NONBASE away from PLA and return toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____
C	$i^Hn\acute{a}u^{MH}$	$i^Hn\acute{o}^?MH$	$i^Hl\acute{e}^{LH}$

$gw\acute{a}^?LM$ arrive at BASE toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	\acute{o}^Mno^L	$\acute{o}^Mno^?L$	$\acute{o}^Ml\acute{e}^L$
I	\acute{o}^Hno^L	$\acute{o}^Hno^?L$	$\acute{o}^Hl\acute{e}^L$
C	\acute{o}^Lno^L	$\acute{o}^Lno^?L$	$\acute{o}^Ll\acute{e}^L$

$zy\acute{a}^?LM$ arrive at BASE away from PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	zi^Mno^L	$zi^Mno^?L$	$zi^Ml\acute{e}^L$
I	zi^Hno^L	$zi^Hno^?L$	$zi^Hl\acute{e}^L$
C	zi^Lno^L	$zi^Lno^?L$	$zi^Ll\acute{e}^L$

$h\acute{o}^?M$ move to BASE toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	ha^Mno^L	$ha^Mno^?L$	$ha^Ml\acute{e}^L$
I	ha^Hno^H	$ha^Hno^?MH$	$ha^Ll\acute{e}^L$
C	ha^Lno^L	$ha^Lno^?L$	$ha^Ll\acute{e}^L$

$z\acute{a}ʔ^{LM}$ move to BASE away from PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	zi^Mno^L	$o^Mnoʔ^L$	$zi^Ml\epsilon^L$
I	zi^Hno^H	$o^Hnoʔ^{MH}$	$zi^Ll\epsilon^L$
C	i^Lno^L	$i^Lnoʔ^L$	$i^Ll\epsilon^L$

ηe^{MH} move to BASE away from PLA and return toward PLA

	1p	2p	3p
P	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____
C	i^Hno^H	$i^Hnoʔ^{MH}$	$i^Hl\epsilon^L$

6. Bringing and taking

There are a number of inflectionally related stems which indicate the movement of an object by an agent, and which translate readily by the English verbs 'bring' and 'take'.

6.1. There is, first of all, a stative¹³ stem which simply indicates the transporting of an object (or objects) without indicating the direction of motion. This stem may collocate with a verb of motion in paired sentences as in (52) and (53).

(52) nei^{LM} $hni\acute{a}^M$ $m\acute{a}ʔ^M$. $ky\grave{a}^{MH}$ $hni\acute{a}^M$ $\eta i^Ht\acute{a}g^M$ $ky\acute{o}^L$.
 go[^]P1s 1s mountain carry[^]S1s 1s machete of[^]1s
 I go to the mountain, and I carry my machete.

(53) ka^M - gyo^L $hni\acute{a}^M$ $m\acute{a}ʔ^2$. hme^H - $ky\grave{a}^H$ $hni\acute{a}^M$
 PST-come[^]C1s 1s mountain IMPF-carry[^]S1s 1s
 I came from the mountain, and was carrying

$\eta i^Ht\acute{a}g^M$ $ky\acute{o}^L$.
 machete of[^]1s
 my machete.

¹³A stative stem may occur with ma^M - (perfect) or hme^H - (imperfect), but does not otherwise occur with aspectual inflection as do active stems (Merrifield 1968:22f). A more complete definition can be found in Rupp 1989:5, 12ff.

The stative form may be inflected to indicate that the object being carried is being returned to BASE, as in (54).

- (54) *ka^M-gwá^{ʔL}* *za^M. hme^H-kyo^M* *za^M ηi^Htá^M.*
 PST-arrive^here^c3 3 IMPF-carry^s3 3 machete
 He arrived home (here), carrying (his) machete.

The stative paradigm of this verb, inflected for first singular, first plural, second, and third-person agents, and for NONBASE and BASE, respectively, is given in (55).

- (55) *kyá^{LM}* carry to NONBASE
- | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| s | <i>kyá^{MH}</i> | <i>kyá^{MH}</i> | <i>kyá^{ʔLH}</i> | <i>kyá^{LM}</i> |
- kyo^M* carry to BASE
- | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| s | <i>kyo^{MH}</i> | <i>kyo^{MH}</i> | <i>kyo^{ʔLH}</i> | <i>kyo^M</i> |

6.2. There is also an active stem which may be inflected for BASE as well. The active stem places more emphasis on taking or bringing an object to a GOAL, although the direction in relation to PLA is not marked. The person-aspect paradigms for NONBASE and BASE, respectively, are presented in (56) and (57). The pattern of palatalization and vowel change for part of the paradigm is a regular pattern for many Chinantec verbs. Examples are given in (58) and (59).

- (56) *ká^M* carry to NONBASE
- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>ká^{MH}</i> | <i>kyá^M</i> | <i>ká^{ʔM}</i> | <i>ká^M</i> |
| I | <i>ká^{LH}</i> | <i>kyá^H</i> | <i>ká^{ʔH}</i> | <i>ká^M</i> |
| C | <i>ká^L</i> | <i>kyá^H</i> | <i>kyá^{ʔM}</i> | <i>ká^L</i> |

- (57) *kó^M* carry to BASE
- | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>káu^{LM}</i> | <i>kyo^M</i> | <i>káu^{ʔMH}</i> | <i>kó^M</i> |
| I | <i>káu^{MH}</i> | <i>kyo^{LH}</i> | <i>káu^{ʔLH}</i> | <i>kó^M</i> |
| C | <i>káu^L</i> | <i>kyo^{LH}</i> | <i>kyo^{ʔM}</i> | <i>káu^L</i> |

- (58) *gyo*^{LH} *hniá*^M. *ká*^{LH} *hniá*^M *ŋi*^H*tá*^M.
 come[^]_{1s} _{1s} carry[^]_{1s} _{1s} machete
 I will come, and will bring (along) a machete.
- (59) *nei*^{LH} *hniá*^M. *ká*^{LH} *hniá*^M *ŋi*^H*tá*^M.
 go[^]_{1s} _{1s} carry[^]_{1s} _{1s} machete
 I will go, and will take (along) a machete.

6.3. Neither the stative nor the active forms of this verb indicates the direction of motion in relation to *PLA*. The active stem, however, may occur with directional prefixes which do. Curiously enough, when occurring with directional prefixes, there are nonpalatal forms of the stem to indicate that the motion of the agent and the object are simultaneous and in the the same direction, and palatal forms to indicate that after initial motion by the agent in one direction, he returns in the opposite direction with the object. The full paradigm of this verb with directional prefixes is presented in (60) through (71).

- (60) *ha*^M*ká*^{LM} come carrying to NONBASE¹⁴
- | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>i</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>ha</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>i</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{?LH} | <i>ha</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |
| I | <i>i</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^H | <i>ha</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^H | <i>i</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^{?MH} | <i>ha</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |
| C | <i>o</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>o</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>o</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{?LH} | <i>o</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |
- (61) *zi*^M*ká*^{LM} go carrying to NONBASE¹⁵
- | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| | 1s | 1p | 2 | 3 |
| P | <i>i</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>zi</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{MH} | <i>o</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{?MH} | <i>zi</i> ^M <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |
| I | <i>i</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^H | <i>zi</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^H | <i>o</i> ^H <i>ká</i> ^{?MH} | <i>zi</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |
| C | — | — | — | <i>i</i> ^L <i>ká</i> ^{LM} |

¹⁴First- singular- and second-person progressive and intentive forms of this verb and of that in (63), (66), and (69), also occur with the prefix *ha*- rather than *i*-, apparently on the analogy of plural motion verbs (§5).

¹⁵This verb and that of (64), (67), and (70), have alternate third-person progressive forms with *i*^M- which are interpreted as PERFECTIVE, with or without the overt presence of *ma*^M- (perfect).

(62) $i^Hk\grave{a}^{LM}$ go carrying to NONBASE and return

	1s	1p	2	3
P	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	$i^Hk\grave{a}^H$	$i^Hk\grave{a}^H$	$i^Hk\grave{a}^?MH$	$i^Hk\grave{a}^{LM}$

(63) $ha^Mky\grave{a}^M$ come and take to NONBASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mky\grave{a}^L$	$ha^Mky\grave{a}^M$	$i^Mky\grave{a}^?M$	$ha^Mky\grave{a}^M$
I	$i^Hky\grave{a}^L$	$ha^Hky\grave{a}^H$	$i^Hky\grave{a}^?M$	$ha^Lky\grave{a}^M$
C	$o^Lky\grave{a}^L$	$o^Lky\grave{a}^H$	$o^Lky\grave{a}^?L$	$o^Lky\grave{a}^M$

(64) $zi^Mky\grave{a}^M$ go and bring to NONBASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mky\grave{a}^L$	$zi^Mky\grave{a}^M$	$o^Mky\grave{a}^?M$	$zi^Mky\grave{a}^M$
I	$i^Hky\grave{a}^L$	$zi^Hky\grave{a}^H$	$o^Hky\grave{a}^?M$	$zi^Lky\grave{a}^M$
C	_____	_____	_____	$i^Lky\grave{a}^M$

(65) $i^Hky\grave{a}^{LH}$ go and return, bringing to NONBASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	$i^Hky\grave{a}^L$	$i^Hky\grave{a}^{LH}$	$i^Hky\grave{a}^?M$	$i^Hky\grave{a}^{LH}$

(66) $ha^Mk\grave{o}^L$ come carrying to BASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mk\grave{o}^{MH}$	$ha^Mk\grave{o}^{MH}$	$i^Mk\grave{o}^?MH$	$ha^Mk\grave{o}^L$
I	$i^Hk\grave{o}^H$	$ha^Hk\grave{o}^H$	$i^Hk\grave{o}^?MH$	$ha^Lk\grave{o}^L$
C	$o^Lk\grave{o}^L$	$o^Lk\grave{o}^{MH}$	$o^Lk\grave{o}^?LH$	$o^Lk\grave{o}^L$

(67) $zi^Mk\grave{o}^L$ go carrying to BASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mk\grave{o}^L$	$zi^Mk\grave{o}^{MH}$	$o^Mk\grave{o}^?MH$	$zi^Mk\grave{o}^L$
I	$i^Hk\grave{o}^H$	$zi^Hk\grave{o}^H$	$o^Hk\grave{o}^?MH$	$zi^Lk\grave{o}^L$
C	_____	_____	_____	$i^Lk\grave{o}^L$

(68) $i^Hk\phi^M$ go taking to BASE and return

	1s	1p	2	3
P	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	$i^Hk\phi^H$	$i^Hk\phi^H$	$i^Hk\phi^?MH$	$i^Hk\phi^M$

(69) $ha^Mky\phi^L$ come and take to BASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mky\phi^L$	$ha^Mky\phi^{LH}$	$i^Mky\phi^?M$	$ha^Mky\phi^L$
I	$i^Hky\phi^L$	$ha^Hky\phi^{LH}$	$i^Hky\phi^?M$	$ha^Lky\phi^L$
C	$o^Lky\phi^L$	$o^Lky\phi^{LH}$	$o^Lky\phi^?M$	$o^Lky\phi^L$

(70) $zi^Mky\phi^L$ go and bring to BASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	$i^Mky\phi^L$	$zi^Mky\phi^{LH}$	$o^Mky\phi^?M$	$zi^Mky\phi^L$
I	$i^Hky\phi^L$	$zi^Hky\phi^{LH}$	$o^Hky\phi^?M$	$zi^Lky\phi^L$
C	_____	_____	_____	$i^Lky\phi^L$

(71) $i^Hky\phi^M$ go and return, bringing to BASE

	1s	1p	2	3
P	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	$i^Hky\phi^L$	$i^Hky\phi^{LH}$	$i^Hky\phi^?M$	$i^Hky\phi^M$

The paradigms of (61), (64), (67), and (70) are defective in first- and second-person completive forms since the presence of these agents at the intersection of PLA and TLA makes the situations which would underlie their use more appropriate to the use of (62), (65), (68), and (70), respectively. Their sources are indeed different, the prefixes of the first set being associated with $z\acute{o}^{LM}$ ‘move to NONBASE away from PLA’ while those of the second are associated with ηe^{MH} ‘move to GOAL away from PLA and return away from GOAL’.

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