OAXACA CHONTAL NOUN INFLECTION AND CLASSIFICATION

Viola Waterhouse and Mariel Parrott

Summer Institute of Linguistics

O. Oaxaca Chontal (OC), also known as Tequistlateco, comprises two closely related languages spoken in the extreme south of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico: Highland Chontal (HC) and Lowland Chontal (LC). Although there is a high percentage of cognates and even some identical forms, differences of grammar are so great that speakers of the two languages communicate only through Spanish.

The OC phonological system has been tentatively described and some cognate sets have been presented. This paper describes grammatical features of noun inflection and classification.

As has been shown, the LC phonological system is more complex than that of HC, but with regard to the grammar LC shows a marked tendency toward regularization and simplification, whereas HC has retained most of the intricacies of the proto system in both nouns and verbs. In spite of this simplifying tendency, LC still preserves the basic outlines of the noun inflectional and classificational system. Only the gender distinctions have been lost.

In describing the OC system, no attempt has been made to reconstruct proto forms. Rather, the system is presented in broad outline. Then the HC system, which closely reflects the proto system, is given in detail with examples, followed by the description and examples of the LC system. For most examples cognate words are used so that reconstruction of proto forms should not be difficult.

1. OC nouns were inflected for SPECIFICATION, POSSESSION, and PLURAL. Specification was shown by definite article (DA) prefixes. Possession was shown by person possessor prefixes (PP) which followed DA prefixes. Pluralization was shown both by DA plural prefixes and by a complex array of pluralizing inflexes, suffixes, suprafixed and combinations of these. Only specification and possession are germane to the classification system as here presented. Pluralization for both HC and LC has been described elsewhere, but that of OC remains to be reconstructed, since plural forms differ widely for some words both between HC and LC, and between villages and speakers in the LC area.

Crosscutting phonological criteria of free vs. bound and C-initial vs. V-initial determined the formation of the underlying stems to which DA and PP prefixes were added. Free stems prefixed DA's directly to the stem. Bound stems prefixed a- between the DA and the stem. This a- was prepended to stems beginning with consonants and with vowels i and u but replaced other initial vowels. C-stems, whether free or bound, prefixed PP's directly to the stem. V-stems prefixed a possessive combiner consonant (PCC) between the PP and the stem in most forms but coalesced the third person singular PP with the stem vowel and deleted the PCC in most bound V-stems (i.e., those using the PCC \{n\}).

The criterion of free vs. bound was partly semantic in that many high bound stems had basically possessed referents such as kin terms and body parts, but was largely phonological in that all bound stems, regardless of referents, prefixed a- between DA's and the stem in nonpossessed forms. See Table 1.

Along with these phonological criteria, grammatical gender of animate vs. inanimate determined the choice of DA prefix sets. Animate free nonpossessed C-stems occurred with one set of DA prefixes, singular and plu-
### Stem Formation

Table 1

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<tr>
<th>FREE</th>
<th>BOUND</th>
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<td>C-initial</td>
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<tr>
<td>non-possessed</td>
<td>root</td>
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<td>possessed</td>
<td>root</td>
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### Distribution of DA prefixes in HC

Table 2

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<th>with V-initial form</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ag</td>
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<tr>
<td>animate</td>
<td>kal-</td>
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<td>Set</td>
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<td>inanimate</td>
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<td>Set ICa</td>
<td>el-</td>
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<td>Set ICb</td>
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<td>Set ICc</td>
<td>el-</td>
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<td>kal- and</td>
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### Distribution of DA's in LC

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C-initial root</th>
<th>V-initial form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ag</td>
<td>pl</td>
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<tr>
<td>el-</td>
<td>lan-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>l-</td>
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55
ral, and inanimate free nonpossessed C-stems prefixed a different set.
Animate V-initial forms, whether possessed forms, free nonpossessed
V-stems, or bound nonpossessed C- or V- stems prefixed by a- occurred
with a third set and the corresponding inanimate V-initial forms prefixed
a fourth set.

The gender classification was partly natural, in that all animate
beings were animate gender, but partly arbitrary, in that some inanimate
beings were inanimate gender but others were animate gender. Possibly
because of this arbitrary character the gender distinctions were lost in
LC and now there is variation in gender indication from one village to
another in some HC forms as well.

The present day HC system reflects the OC system just presented and
is now described.

2.1. In HC the criterion of free vs. bound determines the underlying
forms to which DA's are prefixed. Free stems show no stem formation pro-
cess; they prefix DA's directly to the stem. Singular free C-stems pre-
fix kal- if they are animate gender and el- if they are inanimate gender.
Singular free V-stems prefix a- if they are animate gender and l- if they
are inanimate gender.

(1) cee'ee? 'squirrel', kalcece? 'the squirrel'; pana? 'river',
elpana? 'the river'

(2) llna 'pig', IlInna 'the pig'; ipa? 'flower', lipa? 'the flower'

Bound stems do not prefix DA's directly to the stem. In nonpossessed
forms, a- is prefixed between the DA and the stem. Bound C-stems and
bound V-stems beginning with i propose the a- directly to the stem.
Bound V-stems beginning with c or u change the resulting sequences to a
and au to u. Since the resultant forms derived from both C-stems and
V-stems are now V-initial, the DA's selected are those occurring with
V-stems.

(3) -pepo, apepo 'younger relative', Iapepo 'the younger relative';
iwala, aiwala 'horse', Jaiwala 'the horse'

(4) -ene, ene 'road', lane 'the road'; -uli, oli 'pitch pine',
lohi 'the pitch pine'; -etu, atu 'fish', Jatu 'the fish'

The criterion of C-initial vs. V-initial determines the kind of un-
derlying form to which PP's are prefixed. C-stems, whether bound or free,
prefix PP's directly to the stem. V-stems propose a possessive combiner
consonant (PCC) to form a possessed base to which PP's are then prefixed.
Free V-stems propose p-. A few bound stems also propose p- but most pro-
pose [n-]. PP's do not usually occur without DA's. When they do, the
resultant form is a predication which no longer enters into noun con-
structions. When DA's are added, since PP's are V-initial, the DA's ap-
propriate to V-initial forms are selected.

(5) cee'ee? 'squirrel', aicece? 'I have a squirrel', Jaicece? 'my
squirrel'; -pepo, apepo 'younger relative', aipepo 'I have
a younger relative', Jaipepo 'my younger relative'

(6) ipa? 'flower', aipipa? 'I have a flower', laipipa? 'my flower'

(7) -ene, ane 'road', sipene 'I have a road', laipene 'my road'

(8) -etu, atu 'fish' ainetu 'I have a fish', Jainen 'my fish';
-uli, oll 'pitch pine', ainuli 'I have pitch pine', lainuli 'my pitch pine'

2.2. Specification is marked by DA prefixes. Grammatical gender plus the phonological criterion of C-initial vs. V-initial determines which DA set is selected. There are two genders, animate (A) and inanimate (I). All animate beings are animate gender. Some inanimate beings are also classed as animate; others are classed as inanimate. The choice appears to be arbitrary.

There are four basic sets of DA prefixes, three of which are divided into subsets, one of these into three subsets and the others into two. Each set and subset contains singular and plural forms. Two basic sets mark animate gender and two mark inanimate. Within each gender category one set precedes C-initial forms and the other precedes V-initial forms. See Table 2.

Set AC consists of kal- 'animate (C) DA sg' and lan- 'animate (C) DA pl' and is prefixed to free nonpossessed animate C-stems.

(9) šank 'man', kalšanks 'the man', šanuk 'men', lanšanuk 'the men'

(10) košak 'grain of corn', kalkošak 'the grain of corn', košak 'grains of corn', langošak 'the grains of corn'

Set AW consists of a- 'animate (V) DA sg' and l- 'animate (V) DA pl' and is prefixed to most animate V-initial forms, whether they are basic free V-stems, bound V- or C- stems prefixed by a-, or possessed forms prefixed by PP's.

(11) emes 'squash seed', ėmes 'the squash seed', cmec 'squash seeds'; lemeč 'the squash seeds'


(13) -pouhna, apouhna 'boss', ėpouhna 'the boss', -poumhala, apoumhala 'bosses', lapoumhala 'the bosses', aipouhna 'I have a boss', ėaipouhna 'my boss', aipoumhala 'I have bosses', laipoumhala 'my bosses'

Set AVb consists of a- 'animate (V) DA sg and pl' and is prefixed to a few animate V-initial forms.

(14) -paž, apaž 'tongue', ėpaž 'the tongue', -paž, apaž 'tongues', ėlapaž 'the tongues', unga 'fire', ėunga 'the fire', ungay 'fires', ėungay 'the fires'

Set ICa consists of el- 'inanimate (C) DA sg' and kal- 'inanimate (C) DA pl' and is prefixed to an arbitrary class of inanimate C-stems, free nonpossessed. Set ICb consists of el- 'sg' and lan- 'pl' and is prefixed to a second arbitrary subclass of inanimate C-stems. Set ICc consists of el- 'sg' and both kal- and lan- 'pl' and is prefixed to a third arbitrary subclass of inanimate C-stems with separate sense discriminations for the separate plural forms in most cases. It may have been that in OC kal- had a more collective meaning and lan- was more distributive. In present day HC lan- is the most common of the two, with alternation between the two as second most used in Turners' material. Bu'vin our material many of these alternating forms occur only with lan-.

(15) pine 'plate', elpime 'the plate', piimee 'plates', kalpimee
'the plates'

(16) huti 'water jar', elhuti 'the water jar', hudi 'waterjars', lanjuht 'the water jars'

(17) ?ek 'stick, tree!', al?ek 'the stick, the tree', ?ek 'sticks, trees', kal?ek 'the trees, the woods', lan?ek 'the sticks, the firewood'

Set IVa consists of 1- 'inanimate (V) DA sg' and 1- 'inanimate (V) DA pl' and is prefixed to most inanimate V-initial forms, whether they are basic free V-stems, bound V- or C-stems prefixed by a-, or possessed forms prefixed by PP's.

(18) ipeʔ 'flower', lipeʔ 'the flower', iipəʔ 'flowers', liipəʔ 'the flowers'

(19) -ehuʔ, ahuh 'house', lahuʔ 'the house', -euʔi, auʔ 'houses', ahuʔi 'the houses'

(20) -taikîʔ atakîʔ 'word', latakîʔ 'the word', -taikî?'atakîʔ 'words', ʔatakîʔ 'the words', ʔatakiʔ 'I have a word', laiakîʔ 'my word', ʔatakiʔ 'I have words', ʔatakiʔ 'my words'

Set IVb consists of 1- 'inanimate (V) DA sg and pl' and is prefixed to several inanimate V-initial forms.

(21) -ʔmiʔ, ʔamis 'foot', lamis 'the foot', ʔamis, ʔamis 'feet', laʔmici 'the feet', laʔmici 'my feet'

2.3. Possession is marked by person possessor (PP) prefixes which follow DA prefixes. Singular PP's are: ai- '1 sg', o- '2 sg', i- '3 sg'. Plural PP's are formed by postposing the pluralizer -i- to the singular (with 1 sg ai-) resulting in ai- '1 pl', o- '2 pl', i- '3 pl'. PP's are prefixed directly to C-stems whether bound or free. They are preceded by DA's appropriate to V-initial forms: a- 'A sg' and 1- 'A pl' for animate forms, and 1- 'I sg' and 2- 'I pl' for inanimate forms.

When possessed forms occur without DA's, they function as predications glossed as 'it is my (your, his)'; or 'I have a...'

(22) -ʔwa 'child, offspring', ʔwa 'it is his child'

Full examples of possessed forms are given in the sample paradigms. PP's are not prefixed directly to V-stems. Rather, a possessive combiner consonant (PCC) is proposed to the stem to form a possessed base to which PP's are then prefixed. There are two of these: -p- proposed to all free V-stems and to a few bound V-stems, and -{n} - proposed to the remaining bound V-stems. PCC -{n} - follows all PP's and has no change of form. PCC -{n} - undergoes a series of phonological rules which result in the following surface forms for PP's plus PCC plus stem: ainh- '1 sg', omn- '2 sg', V '3 sg', aln- '1 pl', oln- '2 pl', iln- '3 pl'. Full examples of these possessed forms are given in the sample paradigms.

(23) inna 'pig', liinna 'the pig', apiinna 'I have a pig', laiinna 'my pig', liinna 'the pigs', laiinna 'my pigs'

(24) -inaka, ainaka 'cornfield', lainaka 'the cornfield', lainakanaka
On the basis of the above characteristics HC nouns stems are divided into four basic animate classes and four corresponding inanimate classes. These are (1) free C-stems, (2) bound C-stems, (3) free V-stems, (4) bound V-stems. All but class 1A are divided into subclasses on the basis of the DA or PCC subset they prefix. All features except the initial segment, which is inherently part of the stem, must be marked in the lexicon.

Class 1A, AFC (Animate Free C-initial) show no stem formation and prefix DA set AC kal- 'sg' and lan- 'pl' to nonpossessed forms and DA set AVa 1- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to possessed forms.

(25) mehuuk 'hammock', kalmehuuk 'the hammock', mehuk 'hammocks', lammehuuk 'the hammock', lammehuuk 'my hammock', lammehuxu 'our hammocks' (see also 1, 5, 9, 10)

Class 2A, ABC (Animate Bound C-initial) prefix a- to the stem in nonpossessed forms, and has two subclasses. Subclass 2A1 prefix DA set AVa 1- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 2A2 prefix DA set AVb 1- for both singular and plural in both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Only one clear example has been found of subclass 2A2.

(26) -apı, apı 'older relative of opposite sex', ıapı 'the o.'s o.', -apı, aapı 'older relatives of opposite sex', ıapı 'the o.'s o.', ıapı 'my o.'s o.', ıapı 'my older relatives of opposite sex' (see also 5, 15, 22)

(27) -pǝ, pǝ 'tongue', ıpǝ 'the tongue', -pǝ, a pǝ 'tongues', ıpǝ 'the tongues', ıpǝ 'my tongue', ıpǝ 'their tongues'

Class 3A, AFV (Animate Free V-initial) prefix p- to the stem in possessed forms, and has two subclasses. Subclass 3A1 prefix DA set AVa 1- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 3A2 prefix DA 1- for both singular and plural in both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Very few stems have been found of subclass 3A2.

(28) ımes 'squash seed', ımes 'the squash seed', emo 'squash seeds', ımes 'the squash seeds', ıapımes 'my squash seed', ıapımes 'my squash seeds'

(29) unga 'fire', ıunga 'the fire', ungay 'fires', ıungay 'the fires', ıapıunga 'my fire', ıapıungay 'my fires'

Class 4A, ABV (Animate Bound V-initial) prefix a- to the stem in nonpossessed forms and consists of four subclasses. Subclass 4A1 prefix ı- to the stem in possessed forms, and DA set AVa 1- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 4A2 prefix ı- to the stem in possessed forms and DA 1- for both singular and plural in both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 4A3 prefix p- to the stem in possessed forms, and DA 1- for both singular and plural in both nonpossessed and possessed forms. The last three subclasses have few forms.

(30) -ı, aı 'bread' ıaı 'the bread', -ııı aıı 'breads', ıaıı
'the breads', ąainąi 'my bread', ąaini?i? 'my breads'

(31) -unšahma? onšahma? 'heart', ąonšahma? 'the heart',
-unšawehma? ohšawehma? 'hearts', ąonšawehma? 'the hearts',
ąainunšahma? 'my heart', ąalunšawehma? 'our hearts'

(32) -iwala, aiwala 'horse', ąaiwala 'the horses', -iwala, aiwala 'horses', ąaiwala 'my horse', ąaiwipala 'our horses'

(33) -itai, aitai 'wall', ąaitai 'the wall', -itaya', aitaya' 'walls' ąaitaya' 'the walls', ąaipita' 'my wall', ąaipitaya' 'my walls'

Class 1B, IFC (Inanimate Free C-initial) shows no stem formation and has three subclasses. Subclass 1B1 prefix DA set ąo a el- 'sg' and kal-
'pl' to nonpossessed forms. Subclass 1B2 prefix DA set ąo a el- 'sg' and lan-
'pl' to nonpossessed forms. Subclass 1B3 prefix DA set ąo a el- 'sg'
and both kal- and lan- 'pl' (with separate sense discriminations) to non-
possessed forms. All three subclasses prefix DA set ąo a el- 'sg' and ą-
'pl' to possessed forms. Subclass 1B3 is the largest of the three.

(34) pana 'river', elpana 'the river', ąanay 'rivers', kalpanay
'the rivers', ąaipanay 'our rivers', ąaipanay 'our rivers' (see 15)

(35) haša 'reed', elhaša 'the reed', hašay 'reeds', lanhašay 'the
reeds', ąaihašay 'my reed' ąaihašay 'my reeds' (see also 16)

(36) capo 'thick tortilla', elcapo 'the thick tortilla', ąacapo
'thick tortillas', kalcapo or lanacapo 'the thick tortillas',
őacapo 'my thick tortilla', ąaicalpo 'my thick tortillas' (17)

Class 2B, IBC (Inanimate Bound C-initial) prefix a- to the stem in
nonpossessed forms and has two subclasses. Subclass 2B1 prefix DA set
ąo a el- 'sg' and ą- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Sub-
class 2B2 prefix DA ą- for both singular and plural to both nonpossessed
and possessed forms. There are relatively few members of either subclass,
most of which are body parts. Those of subclass 2B2 are mostly those
body parts which are in pairs and which have distinctive plural forms.

(37) -po, apó 'tail', lapó 'the tail', -po, apó 'tails', ąapó 'the
tails', ąlipó 'their tails' (see also 20)

(38) -peko, apoke 'check', lapoke 'the check', ąpeko, apoke 'checks',
lapipeko 'the checks', ąapipeko 'my check', ąapipeko 'my checks'
(see also 21)

Class 2B, IVV (Inanimate Free V-initial) prefix p- to the stem in
possessed forms and DA set ąo a el- 'sg' and ą- 'pl' to both nonpossessed
and possessed forms. In our material several words are listed with ą-
for both singular and plural, which would set up a subclass of this but
since every one of these is listed with ą- for plural in Runners' material
it seemed best to leave them that way.

(39) itak 'thorn', litak 'the thorn', itak 'thorns', ąitak 'the
thorns', ąaipitak 'my thorn', ąaipitak 'my thorns'

(40) oka 'bone' lokal 'the bone', ekala 'bones', ąokala (or lokala)
'the bones', ąapipekala 'my bone', ąapipekala 'my bones'
Class 4B, IBV (Inanimate Bound V-initial) prefix a- to the stem in nonpossessed forms and has three subclasses. Subclass 4B₁ prefix {n} to the stem in possessed forms and DA set IVa l- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 4B₂ prefix {n'} to the stem in possessed forms and DA l- for both singular and plural to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Subclass 4B₃ prefix p- to the stem in possessed forms and DA set IVa l- 'sg' and 1- 'pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. Only one member has been found of this last subclass. The sequence aé actualizes as à, and au as o.

(41) -ukwis 'rope', lokwis 'the rope', -ukwić, okwić 'ropes', lokwić 'the ropes', lainukwis 'my rope', lainukwić 'my ropes'

(42) -engok, angok 'wart', langok 'the wart', -engoks, angoks 'warts', langoks 'the warts', lainengok 'my wart', lainengoks 'my warts'

(43) -ene, ane 'road', lane 'the road', -eneye, aneya 'roads', laneya 'the roads', laipene 'my road', laipeneya 'our roads'

2.6. Before turning to LC we would like to note certain trends in HC language development, pointed up by a comparison of our material (E for Batepec) and Turners' (SM for San Matias). It appears that E is conservative in retaining animate singular marking for stems referring to inanimate items for which SM prefixes inanimate DA's, but innovative in using l- 'pl' for many items for which SM retains the conservative 1- 'pl'. Both areas show a trend toward the loss of the animate-inanimate distinction which has now become a reality in LC.

(44) kalwose (E), elongose (SM) 'cactus fruit'; kalškwahi, ellškwahi (op. LC laškwahi) 'clay griddle'; Ianšuñe, Ianšune (op. LC lānšuñe) 'tomato'

(45) lapone 'the nopal cactus', lapone (E), Ianšone (SM) 'the nopal cacti'; lidaya 'the town', Ianšoñaya, Ianšolóya 'the towns'

Another feature of HC, lost in LC, is that of some homophonous stems differing only by prefix. Some show a type of relationship, others appear fortuitous.

(46) kalkuwa 'the bee', elkuwa 'the honey'; kalmoł 'the sheep', elmoł 'the cotton'

(47) Ianšše 'corn dough', Ianšše 'corn gruel'; Ianššmas 'ear', Ianššmas 'earring', lawi 'sore', Ianššlawi 'laziness'

(48) lāštu 'the fish', lāštu 'the umbilicus'; kaltulu 'the turkey hen', eltulu 'the blister'; lene 'grinding stone', lene 'tumpline'

3.1. The LC system retains the basic OC system of stem formation for both nonpossessed and possessed forms as seen in Table 1. Phonological criteria of free vs. bound and C-initial vs. V-initial are still crucial. Bound C-stems and V-stems prefix a- in nonpossessed forms. LC also retains the basic system of inflection for specification by means of DA prefixes and for possession by means of PF prefixes which follow DA prefixes. Only the gender distinction has been lost, with a resultant coalescing and simplification of the DA prefix sets. The possessive combiner {n} has also been simplified and regularized following the analogy of possessive combiner p-.
3.2. DA prefixes have been greatly reduced as shown in Table 3. Animate sg DA kal- has been replaced by el- for all free C-stems, with lan- as its only plural. Animate sg DA 1- has been lost (also inanimate pl 2-), and 1- has been retained for both singular and plural DA with all V-initial forms.

(49) eee? 'squirrel', ellee? 'the squirrel', lance? 'the squirrels', pana? 'river', elpana? 'the river', lampanay? 'the rivers'

(50) linha 'wild pig', linha 'the wild pig', linhay? 'the wild pigs'; ipa 'flower', lipa 'the flower', lipa? 'the flowers'

3.3. PP prefixes have remained the same: ai- '1 sg', c- '2 sg', i- '3 sg', with a- as their pluralizer (with ai → a in first person). Possessive combiner consonant p- has been retained without change. FGC {n} has been regularized to /n/ with all persons, but with a morphophonemic change to /m/ following PP's containing i.

(51) kosah 'grain of corn', elkosah 'the grain of corn', laikosak 'the grains of corn', laikosah 'my grain of corn', laikosak 'my grains of corn'

(52) -pepo, apepo 'younger relative', lepepo 'the younger relative', lepepowa? 'the younger relatives', laipepo 'my younger relative', laipepowa? 'my younger relatives'

(53) moom 'squash seed', lemo? 'the squash seed', lemo? 'the squash seeds', laiemo? 'my squash seed', laiemo? 'my squash seeds'

(54) -etYu, atYu 'fish', letYu 'the fish', latYue? 'the fishes', lai4etYu 'my fish', linetYu 'your (sg) fish', liYetYu 'his fish' lai4etYu 'our fish', loc4etYu 'your (pl) fish', loc4etYu 'their fish'

3.4. The resultant system consists of four basic stem classes: (1) free C-stems, (2) bound C-stems, (3) free V-stems, (4) bound V-stems. The V-stems have two subclasses.

Class 1, FC, consists of free C-stems, which prefix DA's el- 'sg' and lan- 'pl' to nonpossessed forms, and l- 'sg/pl' to possessed forms.

(55) mehu4 'hammock', elmehu4 'the hammock', lammehu4 'the hammocks' laimehu4 'my hammock', lai4mehu4 'our hammocks'; espo 'thick tortilla', eloapo 'the thick tortilla', lanoapo? 'the thick tortillas', laicapo 'my thick tortilla', laicaapo? 'my thick tortillas'

Class 2, BC, consists of bound C-stems which prefix a- to the stem in nonpossessed forms, and DA l- 'sg/pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms.

(56) -pa4, apa4 'tongue', lapa4 'the tongue', lap4 'the tongues', laip4 'my tongue', li4pa4 'their tongues'; m4i4, am4i4 'foot' lam4i4 'the foot', lam4ic4i4 'the feet', laim4i4 'my foot', laim4ic4i4 'my feet'

Class 3, FV, consists of free V-stems which prefix DA l- 'sg/pl' to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. It has two subclasses. Subclass 3a prefix FGC p- to the stem in possessed forms. Subclass 3b prefix FGCn- to the stem in possessed forms.
(57) unkwa 'fire', lunkwa 'the fire', lunkwala 'the fires', laipunkwa 'my fire', laipunkwala 'my fires'; eka 'bone', leka 'the bone', lekalala 'the bones', laipeka 'my bone', laipekala 'my bones'

(56) alewa 'gourd dipper', lalewa 'the gourd dipper', lalewa 'the gourd dippers', laiifealewa 'my gourd dipper', lonalewa 'your (sg) gourd dippers'

Class 4, BV, consists of bound V-stems which prefix a- to the stem in nonpossessed forms and DA 1-sg/pl to both nonpossessed and possessed forms. It has two subclasses. Subclass 4a prefix PCC n- to the stem in possessed forms. Subclass 4b prefix PCC p- to the stem in possessed forms.

(58) -i, -i 'bread', lai 'the bread', la i 'the breads', laimik 'my bread', lonimik 'your (sg) breads'

(60) -one, aone 'road', lanca 'the road', lanca 'the roads', laipene 'my road', liapene 'their roads'

In addition to the changes already mentioned, many bound u-initial stems have become free in LC and occur with PCC p- rather than with n-.

(61) unkwa 'rope', lunkwa 'the rope', laipunkwa 'my rope'; umuaha 'heart (of a tree)', lunuaha 'the heart' lipuuna 'its heart'

4. Sample paradigms of possessed forms are now given for both languages. The HC nonpossessed forms are given first for each class, with the corresponding LC form (where different) in parentheses following the HC form. Then the possessive paradigm is given, with separate columns for HC sg, LC sg, HC pl and LC pl respectively. No examples are given for very small subclasses. Listing follows the HC classification.

**1A, AFC**, cana (traana) 'hen', kaloana (altraana) 'the hen', lancanay (lantraanay?) 'the hens'

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>laican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>lo caraana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>lo caraana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>la caraana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>lo caraana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aican</td>
<td>lo caraana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2A, ABC**, -pouha, apouha (apoyhma) 'boss', lapouha (lapoyhma) 'the boss', lapouhala (lapoymala?) 'the bosses'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>laipoyhma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>lo poyma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>lipoyma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>laipoyma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>loipoyma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>aipouha</td>
<td>lipoyma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3A, AFV**, ina (inha 'wild pig') 'pig', iina (linha) 'the pig', liinay (linhay?) 'the pigs'

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Footnotes

1 Data for Lowland Chontal were obtained by Waterhouse on field trips to the villages of Santiago Astata and San Pedro Huamelula, 1942-1966, and for Highland Chontal by both authors, 1967-1977, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Highland data are mainly from Santa Maria Ecatepec, Santo Tomas Teipan and San Matias Pocolcatepec. We are indebted to Paul and Shirley Turner for data from San Matias, taken from their dictionary (1971). The second author is responsible for compilation and organization of HC data, the first for LC data and for the final writeup. For description of LC phonemes see Waterhouse and Morrison (1960), for HC see Turner (1967).

2 A possible third variety may have been that formerly spoken in Tequisistlan, from which the name Tequixtitlán is taken. See deAngulo and Freeland (1925). When I first saw the article, while working in LC, I thought it to be HC, but Turner, working in HC, considered it to be LC.

3 Turner, 1969.

4 Waterhouse, 1976.


7 An alternative presented by Turner and Turner (1971, 327) considers the a- as part of the DA when they occur with these C-stems. This sets up additional DA’s but makes a simpler statement of distribution. However, since the alternation of presence and absence of initial a with bound C-stems seems analogous to the alternation of a with some other vowel in bound V-stems, I prefer the analysis given here.

8 The n → m / m, p. In some villages the n / k actualizes as y.

9 These rules are as follows: (I am indebted to Barbara Hollenbach for their formulation.)

\[
\begin{align*}
(n) & \rightarrow m / c \\
& \rightarrow \emptyset / - \\
(\text{ap}) & \rightarrow \emptyset / -y \\
(\text{en}) & \rightarrow \emptyset / -e \\
(\text{pi}) & \rightarrow \emptyset / -i \\
(\text{ri}) & \rightarrow \emptyset / -r
\end{align*}
\] (applies only to output of preceding rule)
10 An alternative used by Turner and Turner (1971, 327) considers these surface forms and also those with p- (which he writes as b in accordance with the voicing practiced in SM) as allomorphs of al-, o-, i- etc. In view of the corresponding LC forms, I prefer to handle both p- and n- as PCC’s, separate from the PP’s, in both languages.

11 This classification differs slightly (in detail mainly) from that given by Turner and Turner (1971, 326-327).

12 This word is listed by Turners as having alternate plural forms with either l- or 1-, but since our data have only 1- we included it for comparative purposes.

13 Turners give the alternation as kalcapo/lancaipo but our data show the form as given. The sense distinction of the alternatives is not clear. It may be idiolectal.

14 This classification differs somewhat from that given in Waterhouse 1962, 88-94. The chief difference is that in the earlier work I shifted the basis of the classification of V-stems to make choice of PCC primary and free vs. bound secondary. Here I am making the classification of C-stems and V-stems parallel in both languages. Whichever criterion is taken as primary (PCC or free vs. bound) one ends up with subclasses, but the present classification seemed more consistent.
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Number 2

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PREFACE

The first meeting of linguists working on Hokan and Yuman languages was held at the University of California, San Diego, in 1970 at the invitation of Margaret Langdon, who established the Yuman Languages Archives with the aid of a National Science Foundation grant. This meeting made it possible for various specialists working on these languages to get to know each other and to benefit from technical discussions of many problem points. Those attending this first meeting felt that the papers and discussions contributed so much to the advancement of the understanding of these languages that participants soon began asking when we would meet again. In 1975 Margaret Langdon again invited the Yumanists to meet at San Diego. It was felt that this and the previous meeting had contributed so much to the collective understanding of Hokan and Yuman that it was decided to meet every year if it could be arranged. In 1976 another workshop was held at UCSD, to which both Hokanists and Yumanists were invited. In 1977 Hokanists and Yumanists met at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. In 1978 the meeting will again be at UCSD.

The participants of the 1977 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Mauricio Mixco and his assistants, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably.

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1976 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1977 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop. The Yuman papers were given first, and papers from the other branches of Hokan followed.


The proceedings of the 1975 and 1976 workshops are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound copies from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent Street, Arlington, VA 22209.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1978
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