Low-Tone Spreading in Chalcatongo Mixtec

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This paper discusses a rule of Low-Tone Spreading found in the variety of Mixtec spoken in the town of Chalcatongo (Oaxaca, Mexico), which is absent from the closely related San Miguel el Grande dialect documented by Pike (1948) and Dyk and Stoudt (1973). The analysis is based on the speech of Luciano Cortés Nicolás.

1. The rule. Chalcatongo Mixtec has three distinctive tones: High (H), Mid (M), and Low (L); I treat the Mid tone as underlyingly unspecified and filled in by default rule (cf. Pulleyblank 1986). Low-Tone Spreading occurs in several different environments, but in all cases a Low tone spreads rightward onto a vowel (mora) which otherwise would bear Mid tone, i.e. a toneless vowel:

(1) \[ \text{Low-Tone Spreading (basic form)} \]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
L \\
V
\end{array}
\]

Once the rule applies, the target vowel is no longer unspecified and will not receive a default M.

2. Spreading within the root. San Miguel has roots with the surface tones LM but none with LL; Chalcatongo has LL and no LM. There is evidence in Chalcatongo from the linking of a floating High tone that the surface LL roots actually derive from underlying LM: when the H tone links to the first syllable of the root, it replaces the L and the root surfaces as HM. One source of this floating H is the preposition \(hží\) ‘with’. We can see from the following simple examples that it changes the first tone of the noun to H:

(2) \[ \text{kiti} \quad \text{MM} \quad \text{‘horse’} \]
\[ hží kiti \quad \text{HH HM} \quad \text{‘with (a) horse’} \]

(3) \[ \text{háʔa} \quad \text{ML} \quad \text{‘foot’} \]
\[ hží háʔa \quad \text{HH HL} \quad \text{‘with (a) foot’} \]

(4) \[ \text{súʔú} \quad \text{LH} \quad \text{‘money’} \]
\[ hží súʔú \quad \text{HH HH} \quad \text{‘with money’} \]

(5) \[ \text{haluí} \quad \text{MHH} \quad \text{‘child’} \]
\[ hží haluí \quad \text{HH HHH} \quad \text{‘with (a) child’} \]

But when the surface tone on the noun in isolation is LL, the form after \(hží\) is HM:

(6) \[ \text{kàà} \quad \text{LL} \quad \text{‘metal’} \]
\[ hží kàà \quad \text{HH HM} \quad \text{‘with metal’} \]

(7) \[ \text{séʔé} \quad \text{LL} \quad \text{‘son’} \]
\[ hží séʔé(-ri) \quad \text{HH HM} \quad \text{‘with (my) son’} \]

The same is true for verbs, which take a floating H in the Continuative aspect:
(8) haà ML  'arrive'
  hââ HL  'is arriving'

(9) kîu LL  'enter'
  kîu HM  'is entering'

(10) hâ?à LL  'pass (a test)'
  hâ?à HM  'passes'

We can explain this by treating the underlying form as LM. In isolation the L spreads onto the following syllable (11); but when the H replaces the L, the spreading rule cannot occur and a default M is inserted (12):

(11) UNDERLYING L-SPREAD
  kàa  →  kàà
  L    L

(12) H LINKING (REDRAWN) DEFAULT M
  hîî kàa  →  hîî kàa  →  hîî kàa
  √   √   √  √   √   √  h  H H L  H H M

3. Spreading from a prefix. The verb prefix (or proclitic) nî-, which marks Completive aspect, bears an underlying L tone. In the following examples the tones of the root are unchanged (though there are segmental changes which mark the Realis mood):

(13) tâíí HH  'break'
    nî-tâíí-de L-HH-M  'he broke it'

(14) kunu MM  'run'
    nî-hînu-rí L-MM-H  'I ran'

(15) kusù ML  'sleep'
    nî-kiší-rí L-ML-H  'I slept'

Notice in (14) and (15) that the L from the prefix does not spread onto the following vowel, even though it is underlingly toneless (and surfaces as M). This is because all cases of Low-Tone Spreading across morpheme boundaries impose additional requirements on the environment beyond the simple schema in (1). Specifically, in order for a L to spread from the prefix onto the root, there must be a H tone after the toneless vowel(s) within the root; nî-hînu-rí shows that the presence of H in the person marking suffix will not trigger the rule. But when there are one or more toneless vowels followed by a H in the root, Low-Tone Spreading does apply:

(16) kutáíí MHM  'fight'
    nî-kutáíí-ri L-LHM-H  'I fought'

(17) cîndéé MHH  'help'
    nî-cîndéé L-LHH  'helped'

(18) kacáíí MHH  'dance'
    nî-hacáíí L-LHH  'danced'
We can express this revised version of Low-Tone Spreading, which applies in derived environments, as follows:

(19) **Low-Tone Spreading (derived environment)**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & V (V) & V \\
\underline{L} & & \underline{H} \\
\end{array}
\]

Here a simple mora is one which will surface as M if no rule applies to it. Low-Tone Spreading seems to apply regardless of the number of toneless moras which separate the L and H. The rule applies iteratively to all the toneless syllables preceding the H; but the scope of the rule excludes the suffix (or, alternatively, the suffix is added after the rule has applied).

4. **Spreading in compounds.** Another case in which Low-Tone Spreading requires a H trigger is in noun compounds:

(20) \[\text{ML} + \text{MH} \rightarrow \text{ML} \text{ LH}\]

- nuù 'face'   rosá 'rose'   nuù rosá 'face of rose'
- nuù 'face'   pisú 'floor'   nuù pisú 'surface of floor'
- ?iù 'insides'   ţiñì 'mouse'   ?iù ţiñì 'insides of mouse'

(21) \[\text{LL} + \text{MH} \rightarrow \text{LL} \text{ LH}\]

- sè?è 'son'   ţiñì 'mouse'   sè?è ţiñì 'son of mouse'
- nù?ù 'tooth'   ţiñì 'mouse'   nù?ù ţiñì 'tooth of mouse'

(22) \[\text{HL} + \text{MH} (\text{H}) \rightarrow \text{HL} \text{ LH} (\text{H})\]

- tàà 'father'   halúli 'child'   tàà halúli 'father of child'
- tàà 'father'   ţiñì 'mouse'   tàà ţiñì 'father of mouse'
- tàà 'father'   rosá 'rose'   tàà rosá 'father of Rose'
- nàà 'mother'   rosá 'rose'   nàà rosá 'mother of Rose'

There is a special case involving monosyllabic words (including CV?V, which contains a long glottalized vowel) with the isolation pattern LH. When they serve as the first element of a compound, they take the form LL. This happens regardless of the tone in the second element of the compound:

(23) \[\text{còò?ò 'flea'}   \text{kìtì 'horse'}   \text{còò kìtì 'flea of horse'}\]

- mè 'sheep'   còò mè 'flea of sheep'

(24) \[\text{sù?ù 'money'}   \text{bà?ù 'coyote'}   \text{sù?ù bà?ù 'money of coyote'}\]

- sókò 'well'   sù?ù sókò 'money of well'
- ña?à 'woman'   sù?ù ña?à 'money of woman'

The reason for this change in tone is unclear; but notice that the L tone spreads onto a following M when the required H is also present:
(25) \[ LL + MH \rightarrow LL LH \]
\[
còò 'flea' \quad \text{diśi} \quad 'goat' \quad \text{còò} \quad \text{diśi} \quad 'flea of goat'
\]

The presence of a H in a word following the second element of the compound has no effect on Low-Tone Spreading, which still fails to apply:

(26) \[ \text{šù} \quad \text{na} \quad 'money of woman' \]
\[ \text{šù} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wa} \quad 'that woman's money' \]

This fact suggests that phonologically the bracketing of such phrases is as follows:

(27) \[ [ \text{šù} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{wa} ] \]
\[ \text{money woman that} \]

The compounding of the two nouns is a lexical process, whereas the addition of the demonstrative is syntactic. That means that the morphosyntactic bracketing corresponds to the phonological in (27), and Low-Tone Spreading applies to the compound but not to the entire noun phrase. Similar facts hold of the possessive suffixes:

(28) \[ \text{šù} \quad 'money' \quad \text{na} \quad 'my wife' \quad \text{šù} \quad \text{na} \quad 'my wife's money' \]
\[ [ \text{šù} \quad \text{na} \quad ] \quad \text{-ri} \]

The possessive suffix is added to the compounded unit, and is not present to trigger the spreading rule at the time of compounding.

5. Spreading across words. There is a periphrastic future with \(ki\) ‘go’ placed before the form of the verb used for future tense, and usually there is no change in the main verb’s tone:

(29) \[ 'dè?e-ri' \quad \text{LM-H} \quad 'I will look' \]
\[ ki\quad 'dè?e-ri' \quad \text{ML \quad LM-H} \quad 'I'm going to look' \]

(30) \[ tá?ú-de \quad \text{HH-M} \quad 'he will break it' \]
\[ ki\quad tá?ú-de \quad \text{ML \quad HH-M} \quad 'he's going to break it' \]

Low-Tone Spreading can occur here across the word boundary if M tones at the beginning of the main verb are immediately followed by a H — and in this case the H can be in a suffix:

(31) \[ \text{kunu-ri} \quad \text{MM-H} \quad 'I will run' \]
\[ ki\quad \text{kunu-ri} \quad \text{ML \quad LLL-H} \quad 'I'm going to run' \]

(32) \[ 'dani-ri' \quad \text{MMM-H} \quad 'I will lift' \]
\[ ki\quad 'dani-ri' \quad \text{ML \quad LLL-H} \quad 'I'm going to lift' \]

The spreading can optionally fail to apply, especially in slow speech, but the form with spreading is preferred. If there is no H later in the word, or if a L intervenes, the M’s remain unaffected:

(33) \[ \text{kusù-ri} \quad \text{ML-H} \quad 'I will sleep' \]
\[ ki\quad \text{kusù-ri} \quad \text{ML \quad ML-H} \quad 'I'm going to sleep' \]
\[ *ki\quad \text{kusù-ri} \quad *\text{ML \quad LLL-H} \]
We expect this result given the formulation of the rule in (19). This is simply an application of the rule at the phrasal level, where the distinction between root and suffix is no longer accessible or relevant to the phonology.

References
Occasional Papers On Linguistics

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We are grateful to the University of California, Santa Cruz, Professor William Monahan and the staff of the Center for Southwestern Studies, and the staff of the Linguistic Society of America for their help and facilities regarding the American Indian Languages Program. These meetings, which made for a most enjoyable week, featured the authors of these Indian languages.

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PREFACE

The 1991 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop was held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, July 1-2, 1991. Because the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute and the LSA Summer Meeting were also held at UCSC in summer 1991, other Amerindianists also met at UCSC at that time. The Friends of Uto-Aztecan met June 28, 1991; The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas met June 29-30, 1991; and the Athapaskan Linguistics Conference met July 1-2, 1991.

Presenters from all these groups were invited to submit papers for inclusion along with the Hokan-Penutian papers. Some papers from all these groups are included. The papers appear here in the order that they occurred on the programs. All the papers except the last one were given at UCSC in summer 1991. The last paper was given at the 1989 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop, but the manuscript has not been available until now.

We are grateful to the University of California, Santa Cruz, Professor William Shipley and all the staff that assisted him, and the staff of the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute for all the help and facilities offered the Amerindian languages groups at these meetings, which made for a most enjoyable week feasting on the wonders of American Indian languages.

James E. Redden, Editor

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