

ANOTHER LOOK AT NOUN POSSESSION IN QUIOTEPEC CHINANTEC

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As language families go, Chinantec's problem area has usually been in finding the underlying system between the different forms that present themselves. The heavy load carried by tone and vowel (I say vowel because the language usually builds on one syllable stems) makes it difficult to correlate the changes with the meaning since several changes in the form might accompany only one change in meaning, or vice versa. Nouns possessed by internal inflection have usually been listed in partially predictable classes and left pretty much at that. This paper shows that there is a systematic relation between the noun syllable index and its possessed form.

Quiotepec Chinantec nouns can be possessed in two ways, by noun phrase and by internal inflection. The non-familiar class can only be possessed by participation in a noun phrase. búʔ³ 'burro'; búʔ³ tyia¹³ 'burro mine'; búʔ³ tyáʔ¹ jná²³ 'burro of me'; búʔ³ ʔo¹² 'It is my burro' Proper nouns and probably two thirds of the common nouns are of this class. One might want to consider this two classes since some place names etc. might not be considered possessible.

The familiar noun class, dealt with in this paper, may be possessed by internal inflection. Person has two manifestations in each form of a possessed familiar noun. Person is indicated by a bound possessive pronoun which consists of R 1st person sing; ʔR 2nd person sing; R 3rd person sing; Rʔ 1st person plural incl; RʔR 1st person plural excl; ʔRʔ 2nd person plural. R indicates a reduplication of the root vowel. Tone of R is as per Merrifield and Gardner tone study paper of April 1974. Familiar nouns subclass as independent or dependent nouns. Independent familiar nouns are optionally possessed either by internal inflection or by participation in a possessive noun phrase type 1. tsii² 'dog'; tsii³i 'my dog'; tsii² tyá¹ jná²³ 'dog of me'; tsii² tyia¹³ 'dog mine'

Dependent familiar nouns are obligatorily possessed by internal inflection and may optionally participate in a possessive noun phrase type 2. saa³a 'my mother'; saa³ jná²³ 'my mother me'; saa²ʔa 'your mother' saa² ʔná² 'your mother you'

Person is also indicated by inflection of the root. tsii² 'dog'; tsii³i 'my dog'; tsi¹³ ʔi 'your (sing) dog'; tsii²³i 'his dog'; tsi¹²iʔ/tsi¹²iʔi 'our dog (incl/excl)'; tsi¹³ ʔiʔ 'your (plural) dog' The root inflection system is the area of study in this paper. In this paper only 1st sing, 2nd sing, 3rd sing, and 1st pl. incl. are noted and in that order. The root of the 1st pl. excl. is the same as the 1st pl. incl. root and and the 2nd pl. root is the same as the 2nd sing. root. The corpus consisted of 150 familiar nouns.

The syllable type of the stem index determines the manifestation of the internal inflection. The stem index is the unpossessed form of an independent familiar noun or the 3rd person singular root of a dependent familiar noun.

Syllable types in Quiotepec Chinantec are expressed in terms of vowel length (i.e. long/short), ballisticity (i.e. controlled/ballistic), and glottalization (i.e. open/checked). Checked syllables do not have a long/short controlled/ballistic distinction since phonetic long is analysed as controlled and phonetic short is analysed as ballistic. In this study, however, only three syllable distinctions are relevant; open long, open short, and checked. The addition of tone gives us the noun's syllable index.

Chart I graphically indicates the systematic relation between the syllable stem index and the possessed forms.

Open Long Independent Familiar nouns decline either as 2/12

3	13	23	2	or non-2/12	3	2	3	2
long	long	short			long	long	long	short

except a small class of 12 nouns that take the non-2/12 forms (e.g. nó?13 súu12 'red'; ?ú?3 jmi12 'cereza'; móo12 'chalupa' and 'maguey'.¹)

1. 2nd pronominal glottal lost probably due to laryngalization characteristic of tone 2.

Open Short Independent Familiar nouns decline either as 2/12

3	3	12	2	or non-2/12	3	1	3	2
long	short	short	short		short	short	short	short

All tone possibilities occur except \acute{v}^{13} which has a very limited inventory of nouns, none of which are familiar nouns.

Body Parts Familiar nouns follow the 2/12 paradigms of their long-short counterparts with the following replacement rules:

Replacement Rule 1: 3rd person replaces all body parts familiar noun stem tones with the noun root tone. This rule arises from the fact that body parts are obligatorily possessed. Being obligatorily possessed they do not have a free stem form for classification so the 3rd person root form is used for classification. (i.e. ni²³ tsá² 'face of people')

Replacement Rule 2: 2nd person replaces 2/12 Body Parts familiar stem tone with tone 1.

Checked Independent Familiar nouns decline either as 2

13	13	13	13	or non-2	3	2	3	1
v	v	v	v		v	v	v	v

Checked Body Parts Familiar nouns follow the 2̂ paradigm of the independent familiar noun, the same replacement rules being followed.²

2. The evidence is that the underlying form for the 2̂ independent familiar paradigm is: $\left[\begin{array}{cccc} \acute{3} & \acute{1}3 & \acute{1}3 & \acute{1} \\ v & & & v \end{array} \right]$.

This would lead to Replacement Rule 3: In checked familiar nouns, if there are two 13 tones in the paradigm, the rest of the root tones go to 13 also. In body parts, this rule is applied after the applying of Replacement Rules 1 and 2.

Open Kinship Familiar nouns decline as 3̂ or non-3̂. 3̂ is $\left[\begin{array}{cccc} \acute{3} & \acute{2} & \acute{3} & \acute{2} \\ vv & vv & vv & v \end{array} \right]$. Non-3̂ is $\left[\begin{array}{cccc} \acute{3} & \acute{2} & \acute{1}3 & \acute{2} \\ vv & vv & & v \end{array} \right]$. The exception in the non-3̂ being a Spanish loan náa³ 'his brother-in-law' which takes the non-3̂.

Only one checked Kinship Familiar noun is attested. ná³?³u 'my father'; ná²?²u 'your father'; jmii²?²i 'his father'; ná¹?¹u? 'our incl. father'

Because of the amount of differences that various language sources allow to be familiar nouns, I would judge that the familiar noun possession system is under pressure from Spanish to use the noun phrase as the growing preference to express possession. Although there are several items that one would think should be body parts (tóo 'brains'; joo¹? 'fist') but participate in the independent familiar system, irregularities in the system are basically three.

Irregular type I: Body parts that have maintained their Body Parts possessive form but have taken on an odd free stem. loo² 'skin, leather'; loo²cwó²³ 'ear'

Irregular type II: Body Parts that have taken Independent Familiar 1st and 2nd possessed forms by continuing to keep the 3rd singular root tone like body part nouns. ?mó²cúun¹² 'tail'

Irregular type III. Completely fouled up. ní¹?¹fii¹³ 'boss'; goo¹o 'his town'. Fuu²? 'town' has no relation to the possessed 'his town'. The forms góo³o 'my town'; góo²o 'your town'; goo¹o 'his town'; goo²o? 'our incl. town', although glossed as possessives, probably have their etymological root in the verb 'where I have come from'.

There are several other observations and conclusions that should be made.

By postulation Replacement Rule 4: 1st person and 2nd person Kinship replace ballistic with controlled in open 3̂ syllables and controlled with ballistic in checked syllables, and by applying Rule 1, Kinship could be considered related to Open Long non-2/12 Independent Familiar and Checked non-2 Independent

Familiar in the same way Body Parts is related to Open Long 2/12 Independent Familiar, Open Short 12 Independent Familiar, and Checked 2 Independent Familiar. This would fill out the system very nicely.

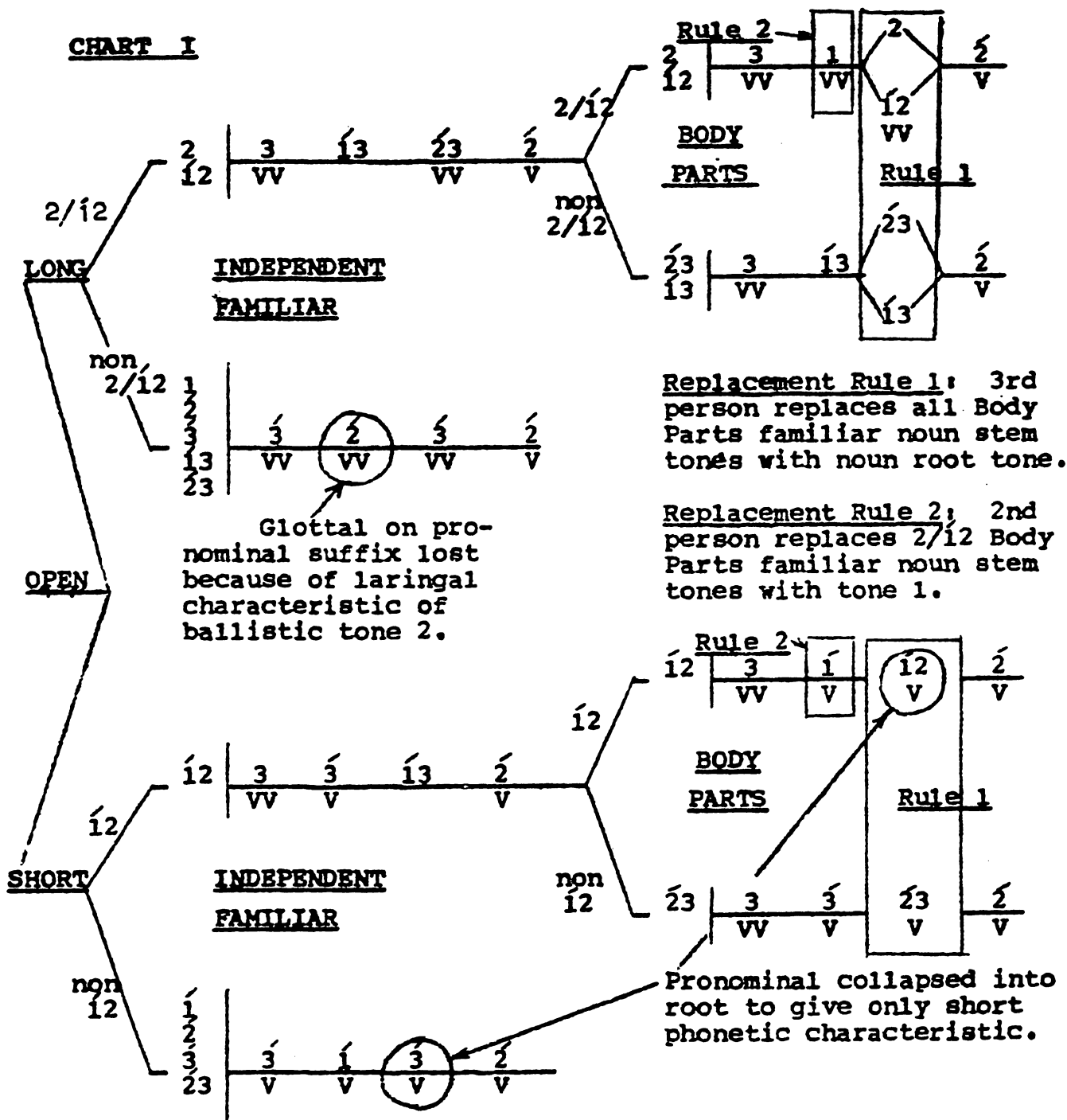
1st person pl. remains the most constant: 2̇ for open syllables and 1 or 13 for checked syllables. 1st person sing. is either 3̇ or 3.

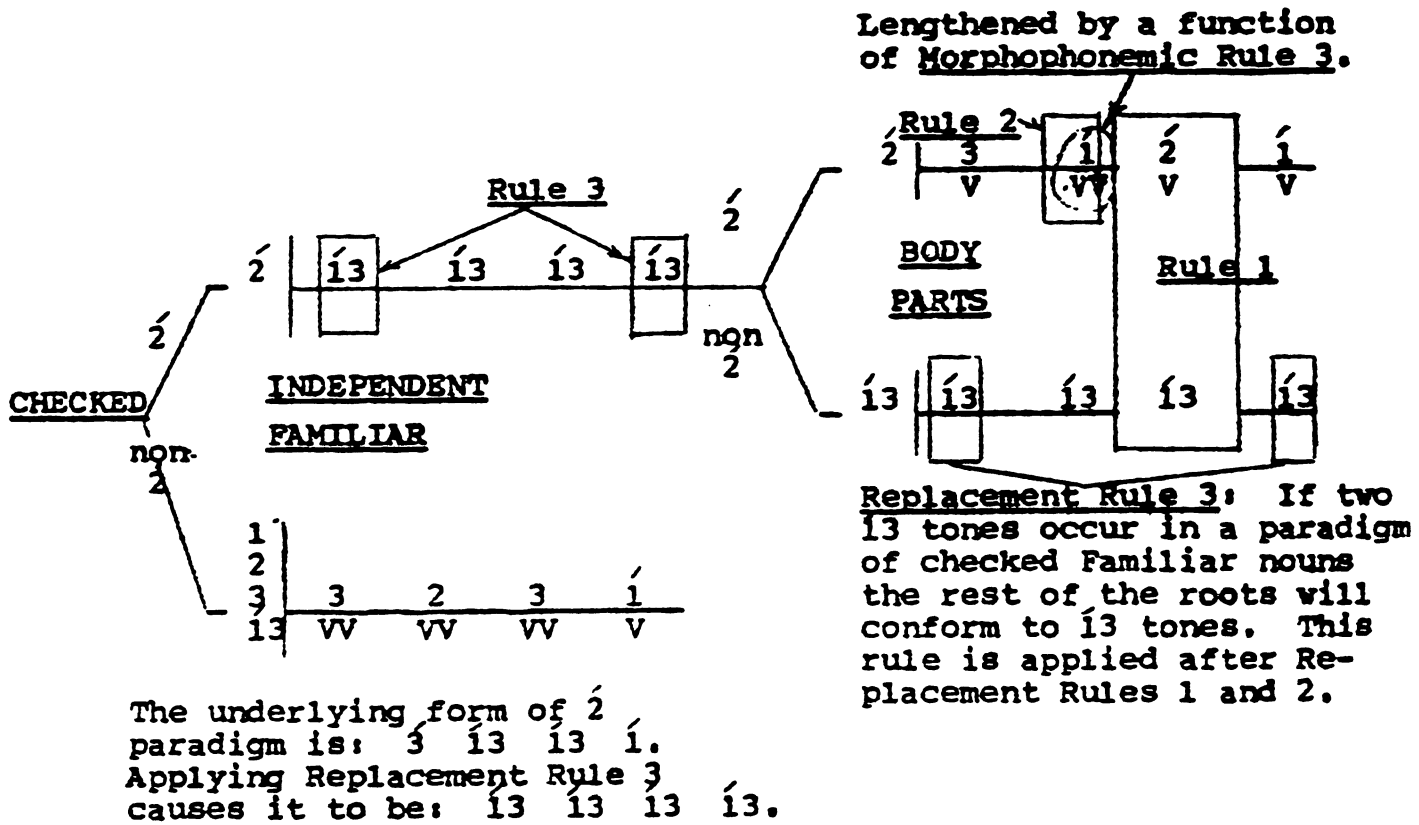
This system eliminates the need for unpredictable subclasses of internally inflected nouns and leaves a system which is primarily lexically defined. The qualification is the need to know the stem index: i.e., long, short, checked; 2/12, non-2/12, etc.

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CHART I





QUIOTEPEC CHINANTEC FAMILIAR NOUN POSSESSION PATTERNS