



## Two Copala Trique Adverbs for Much

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- (9) beda-ndă-bé  
*he arrived (here)*

Hence, in IZ the PLA is relevant for *arrive* as well as for *come* and *go*.

There are other lesser differences in the two systems, but they are beyond the scope of this brief note. I conclude with a set of paradigms comparable to those given for TZ,<sup>4</sup> by way of interest in lexical comparison. A comparison of the two sets will show that the IZ stem for *come* is cognate with TZ *come*<sub>1</sub>. The paradigms in table 1 are all in third singular except the progressive forms, which require the plural -ka. The paradigms given for TZ are ambiguously singular or plural, with addition of a plural morpheme optional.

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#### TWO COPALA TRIQUE ADVERBS FOR *Much*

Copala Trique<sup>1</sup> has a number of adverbs meaning *much*,<sup>2</sup> two of which are considered in this note: ndo<sup>3</sup>o<sup>34</sup> and uſă<sup>32</sup>. Consider the following examples:

- (1) da<sup>3</sup>we<sup>3</sup> ndo<sup>3</sup>o<sup>34</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby cries a lot.*  
(da<sup>3</sup>we<sup>3</sup> to cry, ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> baby, âh declarative)

- (2) da<sup>3</sup>we<sup>3</sup> uſă<sup>32</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby cries a lot.*  
(3) čă<sup>32</sup> ndo<sup>3</sup>o<sup>34</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby eats a lot of tortillas.*  
(čă<sup>32</sup> to eat, čă<sup>3</sup> tortilla)  
(4) čă<sup>32</sup> uſă<sup>32</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby eats a lot of tortillas.*

Sentences (1) and (2) are synonymous, as are sentences (3) and (4). When these pairs of sentences are negated, however, they are no longer synonymous. Consider the following examples:

- (5) ne<sup>3</sup> da<sup>3</sup>we<sup>3</sup> ndo<sup>3</sup>o<sup>34</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby doesn't cry a lot.*  
(ne<sup>3</sup> negative)  
(6) ne<sup>3</sup> da<sup>3</sup>we<sup>3</sup> uſă<sup>32</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby doesn't cry at all.*  
(7) ne<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>32</sup> ndo<sup>3</sup>o<sup>34</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby doesn't eat a lot of tortillas.*  
(8) ne<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>32</sup> uſă<sup>32</sup> ne<sup>3</sup>eh<sup>3</sup> čă<sup>3</sup> âh  
*The baby doesn't eat tortillas at all.*

The meaning difference between these two pairs of sentences is striking, but it can be accounted for rather neatly in a generative semantics framework by positing logical structure trees having the predicate *much* in a different order. Thus the tree underlying (5) will look like that shown in figure 1. The tree underlying (6), on the other hand, will look like that shown in figure 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Speck and Pickett, table 3, p. 63.

<sup>1</sup> Copala Trique is a Mixtecan language spoken by about 8,000 people in the districts of Juxtahuaca and Putla, Oaxaca, Mexico. Data for this paper were gathered on field trips to San Juan Copala from 1962 to 1974 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Copala Trique has the following phonological units: fortis stops p, t, k; lenis stops b, d, g; affricates č, č̣, č̣̣; fortis sibilants s, š, ſ; lenis sibilants z, ž, r; nasals m, n; lateral l; semivowels y, w; laryngeals ʔ, h; long vowels a, e, i, o, u; short vowels ạ, ẹ, ọ; nasalization ̃; tone contours 21, 32, 3, 34, 35, 4, 5, 53; utterance-final tone contours ˊ, ˋ, ˆ, ˋˊ, ˋˋˊ (disyllabic sequence).

<sup>2</sup> A different way of expressing the intensification of a predicate in Copala Trique is described in Barbara E. Hollenbach, "Reduplication and Anomalous Rule Ordering in Copala Trique," *IJAL* 40 (1974): 176-81.

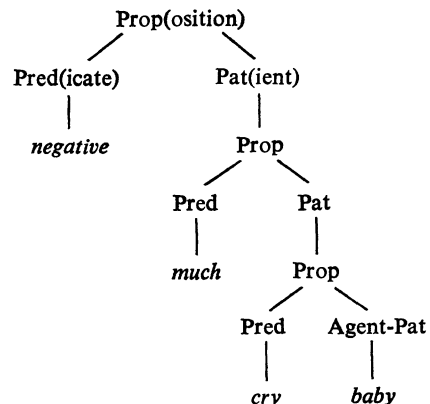


FIG. 1

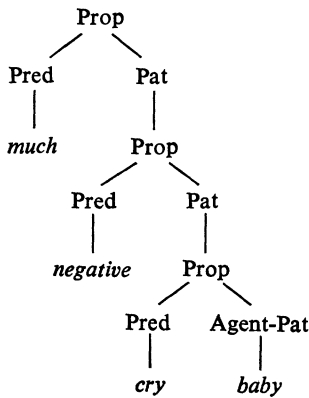


FIG. 2

The trees underlying (7) and (8) would be similar to those underlying (5) and (6), respectively. A simple difference in the order of the predicates *much* and *negative* accounts nicely for the difference in meaning between the pairs of negative sentences. Thus, for example, (5) can be paraphrased as *It is not the case that it is much that the baby cries*, while (6) can be paraphrased as *It is much that it is not the case that the baby cries*.

Lexical insertion rules will require *much* to be realized by *uʃa*<sup>32</sup> when the next-lower predicate is *negative*, but block the realization of *much* by *uʃa*<sup>32</sup> when the next-higher predicate is *negative*, permitting *ndoʔo*<sup>34</sup> (or some other word not treated in this note) to realize it. If *much* is not contiguous to *negative*, either word can realize it.

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WORDS FOR *Buffalo*

Highly similar words for *buffalo* were used in recent times in many of the languages formerly spoken in what is now the southeastern United States, regardless of their family relationships. Haas gives the following terms for Southeastern languages which she has studied:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mary R. Haas, *Tunica Dictionary*, UCPL, no. 6 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 279–80.

Tunica	yániʃi
Natchez	yanasah
Choctaw	yanaʃ
Alabama-Koasati	yanasa
Hitchiti	yanasi
Creek	yanása
Cherokee	yahnsa

To this can be added Biloxi, which has both *yinisa* and *yanasa*.<sup>2</sup>

The terms, in Haas's opinion, are "obviously a borrowing in many or all of these languages, but the lending language is unknown."<sup>3</sup>

If borrowing is involved, it could have been from one of these languages to the others in the group or from some other language into one or more of the southeastern group. Gatschet believed that Cherokee was the source of the Creek term,<sup>4</sup> but Cherokee appears on phonological grounds to be the least likely of all as a source for any of the other terms. Either Tunica or Natchez would be better a priori sources for the other terms. This assumes a west-to-east direction of transmission.

Such an assumption is justified by what is known about buffalo distribution in North America prior to the animal's virtual extinction. The classical habitat of *Bison bison* is the Great Plains and the greatest numbers were concentrated there. They were found in lesser numbers (in some cases in local varieties) in contiguous areas. East of the Mississippi, buffalo were commonest in the Ohio River Valley, although they did reach the Carolina coast. They appear to have been unknown in southern Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, southern Georgia, and Florida,<sup>5</sup> territory

<sup>2</sup> James O. Dorsey and John R. Swanton, *A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages*, BAE-B, no. 47 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Haas, pp. 279–80.

<sup>4</sup> Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (1884; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), vol. 1, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> Frank Gilbert Roe, *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in Its Wild State*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), esp. chap. 10, "The