

Chapter 9

The morphology of essence predicates in Chatino

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In the Chatino language [Oto-Manguan; Mexico], essence predicates are a class of predicative lexemes exhibiting a special complex of properties that distinguishes them from other kinds of predicates. We characterize this complex of properties with evidence from the San Juan Quiahije (SJQ) variety of Chatino. After examining the principal morphosyntactic characteristics of essence predicates, we focus particular attention on their patterns of person/number marking, on which basis we distinguish two possible hypotheses about the grammatical status of essence predicates: the possessed-subject hypothesis and the compound predicate hypothesis. We then assess these hypotheses in light of four kinds of evidence: the structural variety of essence predicates, their external syntax, their general lack of semantic compositionality, and their relation to the distributional flexibility of subject-agreement marking in Chatino. On the basis of this evidence, we conclude that neither the possessed-subject hypothesis nor the compound predicate hypothesis is fully adequate; we therefore propose an alternative way of situating essence predicates in the wider context of Chatino morphosyntax.

1 Introduction

Our intention here is to characterize a distinctive class of predicates in Chatino; we call this the class of ESSENCE PREDICATES. As we show, the members of this class share certain distinctive morphosyntactic characteristics; at the same time, they are also heterogeneous with respect to various criteria. Their interest here resides in the superficial ambiguity of their structure: in some ways, this resembles the syntactic combination



of a verb and its subject, while in other ways, it resembles the morphological structure of a compound predicate. In section 1, we examine the fundamental features of essence predicates. Their patterns of person/number marking (section 2) suggest two alternative analyses of their structure, one syntactic, the other morphological. In section 3, we examine four characteristics of essence predicates as a way of gauging the relative adequacy of the two competing analyses. In view of the equivocal outcome of this examination, we conclude (section 4) that essence predicates are, in fact, neither verb-subject combinations nor ordinary compound predicates, but lexemes whose realization is invariably periphrastic and whose content stems from the special function of a handful of grammaticalized nouns.

2 Basic characteristics of essence predicates

One of the defining features of essence predicates is their structure, which comprises a predicative base followed by a nominal component. For example, the essence predicate *ndi⁴ riq²* ‘s/he was thirsty’¹ comprises the predicative base *ndi⁴* ‘be thirsty’ and the noun *riq²* ‘essence’; its inflectional paradigm is given in Table 1. Essence predicates exhibit a wide range of predicative bases, but there is only a handful of choices for the nominal component, the most common being *riq²*.

Table 1: Paradigm of the essence predicate *ndi⁴ riq²* ‘s/he was thirsty’ [thirsty essence] in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>ndi⁴ renq²⁰</i>	<i>ndi³² renq²⁰</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ renq²⁰</i>	<i>tyi³² renq²⁰</i>
2SG	<i>ndi⁴ riq¹</i>	<i>ndi³² riq¹</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ riq¹</i>	<i>tyi³² riq¹</i>
3SG	<i>ndi⁴ riq²</i>	<i>ndi³² riq²</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ riq²</i>	<i>tyi³² riq²</i>
1INCL	<i>ndi⁴ renq² en¹</i>	<i>ndi³² renq² en¹</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ renq² en¹</i>	<i>tyi³² renq² en¹</i>
1EXCL	<i>ndi⁴ riq² wa⁴²</i>	<i>ndi³² riq² wa⁴²</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ riq² wa⁴²</i>	<i>tyi³² riq² wa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>ndi⁴ riq² wan¹</i>	<i>ndi³² riq² wan¹</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ riq² wan¹</i>	<i>tyi³² riq² wan¹</i>
3PL	<i>ndi⁴ riq² renq¹</i>	<i>ndi³² riq² renq¹</i>	<i>ndyi⁴ riq² renq¹</i>	<i>tyi³² riq² renq¹</i>

In view of its structure, the inflectional morphology of essence predicates differs from that of simple verbal lexemes. These differences can be seen by comparing the inflectional

¹Here and throughout, we generally use a verb’s third-person singular completive form as its citation form; deviations from this practice are duly noted. We employ the following abbreviations: CPL ‘completive aspect’, PROG ‘progressive aspect’, HAB ‘habitual aspect’, POT ‘potential mood’, DEM ‘demonstrative’, ABS signifies that a referring expression’s referent is absent; ESS = *riq²*, *tye³²* or *qin⁴*; EV.MOD = event modifier; and CBM = cranberry morpheme. A superscript 0 represents a floating super high tone, 1 a high tone, 2 a mid high tone, 3 a low mid tone, and 4 a low tone. Contour tones are represented as combinations of these numerals. For details concerning the SJQ Chatino tone system, see Cruz (2011), Woodbury (to appear).

paradigm of the essence predicate *ndi⁴ riq²* ‘s/he was thirsty’ in Table 1 with that of the simple verbal lexeme *yqan⁴²* ‘s/he washed’ in Table 2.²

Table 2: Paradigm of the simple verbal lexeme *yqan⁴²* ‘s/he washed’ in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>yqan²⁴</i>	<i>ntyqan¹</i>	<i>ntyqan²⁴</i>	<i>yqan²⁴</i>
2SG	<i>yqan³²</i>	<i>ntyqan³²</i>	<i>ntyqan⁴²</i>	<i>yqan⁴²</i>
3SG	<i>yqan⁴²</i>	<i>ntyqan³²</i>	<i>ntyqan²⁴</i>	<i>yqan²⁴</i>
1INCL	<i>yqan⁴² an⁴²</i>	<i>ntyqan¹ an¹</i>	<i>ntyqan¹⁴</i>	<i>yqan¹⁴</i>
1EXCL	<i>yqan⁴² wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntyqan³² wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntyqan¹⁴ wa⁴²</i>	<i>yqan¹⁴ wa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>yqan⁴² wan⁴</i>	<i>ntyqan³² wan⁴</i>	<i>ntyqan²⁴ wan³²</i>	<i>yqan²⁴ wan³²</i>
3PL	<i>yqan⁴² renq⁴</i>	<i>ntyqan³² renq⁴</i>	<i>ntyqan²⁴ renq³²</i>	<i>yqan²⁴ renq³²</i>

As Table 2 shows, the singular forms of a simple verbal lexeme are single, synthetic word forms inflected both for aspect/mood and for subject person and number. The corresponding plural forms consist of a verb form inflected for aspect/mood and an enclitic pronominal element marking person and number; in general, this pronominal element appears only in the absence of an overt subject constituent, in the presence of which the verb simply appears in its default third-person singular form. As Table 1 shows, essence predicates differ from simple verbal lexemes in satisfying what Rasch (2002) calls the Compound Inflection Criterion, according to which an essence predicate exhibits aspect/mood marking on its predicative base but person and number marking on its nominal component, where, again, the marking of plural persons takes the form of an enclitic that only appears in the absence of an overt subject constituent. The one complication is that in the first-person plural inclusive, subject agreement is marked twice, not only by the clitic *en¹*, but also by ablauting of the nominal component, which appears as *renq²* rather than as *riq²* in Table 1.

Tables 1 and 2 show that the essence predicate *ndi⁴ riq²* is like a verb in inflecting for aspectual and modal properties; but not all essence predicates are similarly verb-like. We take this as evidence that essence predicates are heterogeneous with respect to their syntactic category membership. In SJQ Chatino, the criteria in (1) are diagnostics of the distinction between verbs and adjectives. By criterion (1a), the predicate *yqan⁴²* ‘s/he washed’ in Table 2 is a verb because it exhibits distinct completive, progressive, habitual

²The 1INCL clitic appearing as *en¹* in Table 1 and as *an⁴² ~ an¹* in Table 2 gets its vowel quality from its host and is manifested as a lengthening of the preceding vowel mora. (Note, however, that verbs with tone 14 do not undergo mora lengthening in the first person inclusive, so that superficially, they appear to lack the 1INCL enclitic, as in Table 2.) Its tone is generally determined by a process of progressive tone sandhi (Chen 2004); but verbs whose basic tone is 4 instead exhibit a regressive process by which their tone becomes 24. It is evidently the historical reflex of a clitic that was once constant in form. This constant form survives as the clitic *na⁴* in Zenzontepec Chatino (Campbell 2011). For details of the idiosyncratic sandhi exhibited by the 1INCL enclitic, see Cruz (2011).

and potential subparadigms. By contrast, the predicate *tqi*⁴ ‘sick’ in Table 3 does not, and is therefore an adjective according to criterion (1a). Similarly, *yqan*⁴² and *tqi*⁴ may both be used predicatively (as in (2)), but only *tqi*⁴ is used attributively (e.g. (3a)); in order to modify a noun as part of a noun phrase, *yqan*⁴² must appear as part of a relative clause introduced by the pronominal *no*⁴ ‘one’, as in (3b). Thus, criterion (1b) also leads to the conclusion that *yqan*⁴² is a verb and *tqi*⁴, an adjective.

- (1) a. Verbs inflect for aspect and mood, but adjectives do not.
 b. Adjectives may be used attributively, but verbs cannot (except as part of a relative clause).
- (2) a. *tqi*⁴ *no*⁴ *kiqyu*¹.
 sick one(s) male
 ‘The men are sick.’
 b. *ntyqan*³² *no*⁴ *kiqyu*¹.
 wash.PROG one(s) male
 ‘The men are washing.’
- (3) a. *no*⁴ *kiqyu*¹ *tqi*⁴
 one(s) male sick
 ‘the sick men’
 b. *no*⁴ *kiqyu*¹ *(*no*⁴) *ntyqan*³²
 one(s) male one(s) wash.PROG
 ‘the men that are washing’

Table 3: Paradigm of the adjective *tqi*⁴ ‘sick’ in SJQ Chatino

1SG	<i>tqen</i> ²⁰
2SG	<i>tqi</i> ³²
3SG	<i>tqi</i> ⁴
1INCL	<i>tqen</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²
1EXCL	<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²
2PL	<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴
3PL	<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴

By these diagnostics, it appears that some essence predicates are verbs and others, adjectives. Unlike the essence predicate *ndi*⁴ *riq*² ‘s/he was thirsty’ but like the adjective *tqi*⁴ ‘sick’, the essence predicate *tqi*⁴ *riq*² [sick essence] ‘s/he was scornful’ in Table 4 does not inflect for aspect and mood. Moreover, a comparison of (4) and (5) reveals that while *tqi*⁴ *riq*² readily appears in attributive position, the attributive use of *ndi*⁴ *riq*² requires a relative clause construction. Thus, although *ndi*⁴ *riq*² and *tqi*⁴ *riq*² are both

essence predicates, the diagnostics in (1) suggest that the former is a verb³ and the latter, an adjective.⁴

Table 4: Paradigm of the essence predicate *tqi⁴ riq²* [sick essence] ‘s/he is scornful’ in SJQ Chatino

1SG	<i>tqi⁴ renq²⁰</i>
2SG	<i>tqi⁴ riq¹</i>
3SG	<i>tqi⁴ riq²</i>
1INCL	<i>tqi⁴ renq² en¹</i>
1EXCL	<i>tqi⁴ riq² wa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>tqi⁴ riq² wan¹</i>
3PL	<i>tqi⁴ riq² renq¹</i>

- (4) Ntqan²⁴ qin³² no⁴ kiqyu¹ tqi⁴ riq² qnya¹ kanq⁴².
 see.CPL.1SG ACC one male sick essence.3SG me DEM
 ‘I saw the guy scornful of me.’
- (5) Ntqan²⁴ qin³² no⁴ kiqyu¹ *(no⁴) ndi³² riq²kanq⁴².
 see.CPL.1SG ACC one male *(one) thirsty.PROG essence.3SGDEM
 ‘I saw the guy who is thirsty.’

Most essence predicates denote a particular psychological state or disposition, as the representative examples in Table 5 reveal. Some essence predicates, however, denote a physical state, as in Table 6; and there are also occasional examples that have an active rather than a stative or dispositional meaning, as in Table 7.

In nearly all cases, *riq²* ‘essence’ seems to be interpretable as ‘X’s self’, making the essence predicate similar to a lexically reflexive verb in a language like French; *skeq¹ riq⁰* ‘il se méprend’, *sqwi⁴ riq²* ‘elle se souvient’, *ndwe⁴ riq²* ‘il s’inquiète’, *tno⁴ nga²⁴ tye³²* ‘elle se sent courageuse’. Note, however, that argument reflexives are expressed by means of a reflexive pronoun in Chatino, as in (6) and (7). We return to the semantic issues raised by essence predicates in Section 3.3.

- (6) Ti² kwenq⁴² en⁴² qnyi⁴ qnya⁴.
 EV.MOD:only myself hit.CPL.OBJ.PRON.1SG
 ‘I flagellated myself.’

³This conclusion further implies that *ndi⁴* is itself a verb, but its status as a verb is not independently demonstrable, given that it is a kind of cranberry morpheme, appearing as part of the essence predicate *ndi⁴ riq²* and nowhere else.

⁴The question naturally arises whether an essence predicate’s predicative base is ever a noun. There are occasional instances in which this superficially appears to be the case, but closer scrutiny leaves room for doubt. For example, the essence predicate *tnya³ riq²* ‘s/he is hardworking’ seems to have the noun *tnya³* ‘work’ as its predicative base, but *tnya³* also seems to have adjectival uses, as in

No⁴ nga²⁴ tnya⁴ [one be.PROG working] ‘the ones who are authorities’.

Table 5: Some representative essence predicates in SJQ Chatino

Essence predicate	Gloss	Component parts
<i>nkqan</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he remembered’	[sit essence]
<i>sa</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was smart, fast, agile’	[light essence]
<i>ndon</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was happy’	[standing essence]
<i>sqwi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he remembered’	[exist essence]
<i>senq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	‘s/he was upset’	[CBM essence]
<i>qna</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he pitied’	[pity essence]
<i>xkuq</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was sad’	[turn.around essence]
<i>ndwe</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he worried’	[minced essence]
<i>skwa</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was fed up’	[lying essence]
<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he hated’	[sick essence]
<i>sqwe</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² / <i>tye</i> ³²	‘s/he was generous/happy’	[good essence/chest]
<i>liqa</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	‘s/he was taciturn’	[slow essence]
<i>chin</i> ⁴ <i>nga</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	‘s/he was scared/queasy’	[ugly feel chest]
<i>ndya</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	‘s/he liked’	[like essence chest]
<i>xqan</i> ¹ <i>nga</i> ⁰⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	‘s/he felt angry’	[mean feel chest]

Table 6: Some essence predicates denoting physical states in SJQ Chatino

	Essence predicate	Gloss of component parts
‘s/he is fair-skinned’	<i>lwi</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² ~ <i>lwi</i> ³ <i>tye</i> ³²	[clean essence ~ chest]
‘s/he was thirsty, wheezing’	<i>ndyi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	[CBM essence]
‘s/he is dark-skinned’	<i>nta</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	[dark essence]
‘s/he is hungry’	<i>nreq</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ²	[hungry essence]
‘s/he is skinny’	<i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	[skinny essence]
‘s/he is sturdy’	<i>tjoq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	[strong essence]
‘s/he is cold’	<i>tlyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	[cold essence]
‘s/he is skinny’	<i>tyjyan</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	[skinny essence]
‘s/he is hot’	<i>tykeq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	[hot essence]

Table 7: Some essence predicates with an active denotation in SJQ Chatino

	Essence predicate	Glosses of component parts
‘s/he mocks’	<i>lyeq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² ~ <i>lyeq</i> ³ <i>tye</i> ³²	[bully essence ~ chest]
‘s/he placates’	<i>tlaq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰ ~ <i>tlaq</i> ¹⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	[cool essence ~ chest]
‘s/he takes a liking to’	<i>skwi</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	[CBM essence]

- (7) ti^2 $kwiq^{42}$ ti^4 Tyu^{14} kwa^0 $qny:i^1$ qin^{24} .
 EV.MOD:still himself EV.MOD:only Peter DET hit.CPL.OBJ.PRON.3SG
 ‘Peter flagellated himself.’

3 Person/number marking in essence predicates

An essence predicate exhibits person/number marking on its nominal component. Person/number marking has a complex distributional pattern in Chatino; in this section, we propose to situate essence predicates within this complex pattern by comparing them with simplex verbs, inalienably possessed nouns, and compound verbs. These comparisons lead us to entertain two competing hypotheses about the morphosyntax of essence predicates: the possessed-subject hypothesis (according to which essence predicates embody a verb-subject construction, defined by the syntax of Chatino) and the compound predicate hypothesis (according to which essence predicates belong to a larger class of predicative—mainly verbal—compounds, defined by the morphology of the language).

3.1 Comparison to person/number marking in simplex verbs

A prominent feature of Chatino grammar is the heavy use of tone contrasts in its inflectional system (Cruz 2011, Cruz & Woodbury 2013). Consider, for example, the paradigm of the simple verb *sqi²* ‘s/he bought’ in Table 8. In this paradigm, contrasts in aspect/mood are marked in three ways: (i) a nasal prefix distinguishes the progressive and the habitual from the completive and the potential, (ii) a stem-initial consonant alternation distinguishes the completive and the progressive (both with stem-initial *s*) from the habitual (stem-initial *ch*) and the potential (stem-initial *x*), and (iii) the completive and the progressive share one pattern of tone alternation, while the habitual and the potential share another. Within a particular aspect/mood subparadigm, contrasts in person and number are marked both tonally and—in the plural forms—by the use of personal clitics (in the absence of an overt subject constituent); in first-person singular and first-person plural inclusive forms, the verb stem also exhibits nasalization, sometimes in combination with ablaut. Verbs fall into a number of different conjugation classes that are distinguished mainly by their paradigms’ patterns of tone alternation. Thus, despite some similarities, the pattern of tone alternation in the paradigm of *sqi²* ‘s/he bought’ contrasts with the pattern of *yqan⁴²* ‘s/he washed’ observed earlier in Table 2; these contrasting tone patterns are given in Table 9. For extensive details on conjugation-class distinctions in Chatino, see Cruz & Woodbury (2013), Woodbury (to appear).

Essence predicates participate in this system of tone contrasts, but in a different manner from simplex verbs. In the inflection of a simplex verb, a verb form’s tone exhibits a kind of cumulative exponence, serving to distinguish (or to help distinguish) both the form’s aspect/mood and its person/number. In the inflection of an essence predicate, by contrast, forms do not exhibit this sort of cumulation, but conform to the Compound Inflection Criterion, with the predicative base carrying the tone relevant to identifying

Table 8: Paradigm of the verbal lexeme *sqi*² ‘s/he bought’ in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>sqen</i> ⁴⁰	<i>nsqen</i> ⁴⁰	<i>nchqin</i> ⁴⁰	<i>xqin</i> ⁴⁰
2SG	<i>sqi</i> ¹	<i>nsqi</i> ¹	<i>nchqi</i> ²⁰	<i>xqi</i> ²⁰
3SG	<i>sqi</i> ²	<i>nsqi</i> ²	<i>nchqi</i> ¹⁴	<i>xqi</i> ¹⁴
1INCL	<i>sqen</i> ² <i>en</i> ¹	<i>nsqen</i> ² <i>en</i> ¹	<i>nchqin</i> ¹⁴	<i>xqin</i> ¹⁴
1EXCL	<i>sqi</i> ² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>nsqi</i> ² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>nchqi</i> ⁴⁰ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>xqi</i> ⁴⁰ <i>wa</i> ⁴²
2PL	<i>sqi</i> ² <i>wan</i> ¹	<i>nsqi</i> ² <i>wan</i> ¹	<i>nchqi</i> ¹⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁰	<i>xqi</i> ¹⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁰
3PL	<i>sqi</i> ² <i>renq</i> ¹	<i>nsqi</i> ² <i>renq</i> ¹	<i>nchq</i> ¹⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁰	<i>xqi</i> ¹⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁰

Table 9: Tone patterns of two verbal lexemes in SJQ Chatino

		COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
<i>sqi</i> ² ‘s/he bought’	1SG	40	40	40	40
	2SG	1	1	20	20
	3SG	2	32	14	14
	1INCL	2-1	2-1	14	14
	1EXCL	2-42	2-42	140-42	140-42
	2PL	2-1	2-1	14-0	14-0
	3PL	2-1	2-1	14-0	14-0
<i>yqan</i> ⁴² ‘s/he washed’	1SG	24	24	24	
	2SG	32	32	42	42
	3SG	42	32	24	24
	1INCL	42-42	1-1	14	14
	1EXCL	42-42	32-42	14-42	14-42
	2PL	42-4	32-4	24-32	24-32
	3PL	42-4	32-4	24-32	24-32

its aspect or mood and its nominal component carrying the tone that helps distinguish its person and number. (See again the inflection of *ndi*⁴ *riq*² ‘s/he was thirsty’ in Table 1.)

3.2 Comparison to person/number marking in inalienably possessed nouns

The exponents of person and number employed in verb inflection also appear in the inflection of nouns, where they serve to express the properties of an inalienable possessor. Thus, in the paradigm of the noun *skon*² ‘arm’ in Table 10, the person and number of an inalienable possessor are expressed by tone and—in the plural (in the absence of an overt possessor constituent)—by a clitic. Different nouns exhibit different patterns of tone alternation in their inflection for an inalienable possessor; thus, the tone pattern in the paradigm of *yqan*¹ ‘mother’ (Table 11) is different from that of *skon*² ‘arm’. Cruz (2016) distinguishes seven classes of nouns according to their patterns of tone alternation.

Table 10: Inflection of the noun *skon*² ‘arm’ for an inalienable possessor’s person and number in SJQ Chatino (E. Cruz)

Possessor	Possessum	
1SG	<i>skon</i> ⁴⁰	‘my arm’
2SG	<i>skon</i> ¹	‘your (sg) arm’
3SG	<i>skon</i> ²	‘his/her arm’
1pl incl	<i>skon</i> ² <i>on</i> ¹	‘our arm’
1pl excl	<i>skon</i> ² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	‘our arm’
2PL	<i>skon</i> ² <i>wan</i> ¹	‘your (pl) arm’
3PL	<i>skon</i> ² <i>renq</i> ¹	‘their arm’

Table 11: Inflection of the noun *yqan*¹ ‘mother’ for an inalienable possessor’s person and number in SJQ Chatino (E. Cruz)

Possessor	Possessum	
1SG	<i>yqan</i> ²⁰	‘my mother’
2SG	<i>yqan</i> ⁴²	‘your (sg) mother’
3SG	<i>yqan</i> ¹	‘his/her mother’
1INCL	<i>yqan</i> ¹ <i>an</i> ¹	‘our mother’
1EXCL	<i>yqan</i> ¹ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	‘our mother’
2PL	<i>yqan</i> ¹ <i>wan</i> ²⁴	‘your (pl) mother’
3PL	<i>yqan</i> ¹ <i>renq</i> ²⁴	‘their mother’

In view of this correspondence of form between a verb’s subject-agreement marking and a noun’s inalienable possessor marking, one might hypothesize that an essence

predicate's nominal component is in fact a subject denoting an individual's inalienably possessed essence, and that its person-number marking therefore marks the person and number of the possessor of this essence. Indeed, *riq*² belongs to an inflection class differing minimally from that of *skon*² 'arm', exhibiting the same pattern of tone alternation as in Table 10 except in the first-person singular (where *riq*² exhibits tone 20 instead of tone 40). Accordingly, given the additional fact that Chatino is verb-initial, one might be drawn to conclude that the literal sense of the form *ndi*⁴ *renq*²⁰ (analyzed in Table 1 as 'I was thirsty') is 'my essence is thirsty'—that of a verb-subject combination whose subject is the noun *riq*² 'essence' inflected for a first-person singular inalienable possessor and whose predicate is, appropriately, the third-person singular progressive form of *ndi*³² 'be thirsty'. On this POSSESSED-SUBJECT HYPOTHESIS, an overt noun phrase apparently serving as the subject of an essence predicate is instead seen as a possessor, so that (i) *no*⁴ *kyqyu*¹ *kwa*³ 'that guy' is a possessor in (8) exactly as in (9), and (ii) the head of the subject constituent in (8) is *riq*² '(his) essence', paralleling *tqwa*⁴ '(his) mouth' in (9).

- (8) La¹ riq² no¹ kyqyu¹ kwa³.
 open essence one male that
 'That guy is friendly, talkative.' [= 'That guy's essence is open', according to the possessed-subject hypothesis.]
- (9) La¹ tqwa⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹ kwa³.
 open mouth one male that
 'The guy's mouth is open.'

This is a tempting analysis, but there is also an alternative possibility—the COMPOUND PREDICATE HYPOTHESIS, according to which essence predicates are a class of compound predicates taking mostly experiencer subjects. In order to evaluate this hypothesis, we now consider person/number marking in compound predicates in SJQ Chatino.

3.3 Comparison to person/number marking in compound verbs

Consider the compound verbs *yku*⁴ *jyaq*³ 's/he tasted' [eat amount] and *ykwiq*⁴ *sla*³ [speak tiredness] 's/he dreamed', whose paradigms are given in Tables 12 and 13. Each compound consists of a verbal element (*yku*⁴ 's/he ate', *ykwiq*⁴ 's/he spoke') and a nominal element (*jyaq*³ 'amount', *sla*³ 'tiredness'). The verbal element is like an essence predicate's predicative base, inflecting for aspect/mood but not ordinarily for person and number (though the verbal element sometimes exhibits agreement in the first person singular, as in Table 12); likewise, the nominal element is like an essence predicate's nominal component, since it carries the person/number inflection. In other words, the inflectional pattern again tends to conform to Rasch's Compound Inflection Criterion.⁵

⁵Compound predicates are nevertheless somewhat varied in their properties in SJQ Chatino. Compound verbs whose inflection deviates from the Compound Inflection Criterion may do so in more than one way. In the inflection of some compound verbs, person and number, like aspect and mood, are marked on the first, verbal element rather than on the following nominal element (e.g. *snyi*⁴ *chaq*³ 's/he dealt, negotiated')

Table 12: Paradigm of the compound predicate *yku⁴ jyaq³* ‘s/he tasted’ [eat amount] in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>ykon¹ jyanq³</i>	<i>ntykon¹ jyanq³</i>	<i>ntykon²⁰ jyanq³</i>	<i>kon²⁰ jyanq³</i>
2SG	<i>yku⁴ jyaq¹</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyaq¹</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyaq¹</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyaq¹</i>
3SG	<i>yku⁴ jyaq³</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyaq³</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyaq³</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyaq³</i>
1INCL	<i>yku⁴ jyan² anq¹</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyanq² an¹</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyanq² an¹</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyanq² an¹</i>
1EXCL	<i>yku⁴ jyaq³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyaq³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyaq³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyaq³ wa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>yku⁴ jyaq³ wan²⁴</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyaq³ wan²⁴</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyaq³ wan²⁴</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyaq³ wan²⁴</i>
3PL	<i>yku⁴ jyaq³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>ntyku³² jyaq³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>ntyku⁴ jyaq³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>ku⁴ jyaq³ renq²⁴</i>

Table 13: Paradigm of the compound verb *ykwiq⁴ sla³* [speak tiredness] ‘s/he dreamed’ in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>ykwiq⁴ slan⁴⁰</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² slan⁴⁰</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ slan⁴⁰</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ slan⁴⁰</i>
2SG	<i>ykwiq⁴ sla¹</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² sla¹</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ sla¹</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ sla¹</i>
3SG	<i>ykwiq⁴ sla³</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² sla³</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ sla³</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ sla³</i>
1INCL	<i>ykwiq⁴ slan² an¹</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² slan² an¹</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ slan² an¹</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ slan² an¹</i>
1EXCL	<i>ykwiq⁴ sla³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² sla³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ sla³ wa⁴²</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ sla³ wa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>ykwiq⁴ sla³ wan¹⁴</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² sla³ wan¹⁴</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ sla³ wan¹⁴</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ sla³ wan¹⁴</i>
3PL	<i>ykwiq⁴ sla³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>ntykwiq³² sla³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>ntykwiq⁴ sla³ renq²⁴</i>	<i>tykwiq⁴ sla³ renq²⁴</i>

As Rasch (2002) and Cruz & Woodbury (2013) observe, compound verbs in Chatino are quite varied in their structure, consisting of a verb paired with a stem of any of a range of categories to form either a head-complement structure (as in (10a)) or a head-modifier structure (as in (10b)), but not, in general, to form a verb-subject structure.⁶

[grab word]); in the inflection of other compound verbs, aspect and mood, like person and number, are marked on the second, nominal element rather than on the preceding verbal element (e.g. *xi⁴² skwa³* ‘s/he turned (s.o.) over’ [cause be.in.elevated.position]); still others sporadically exhibit person/number marking on both the verbal and the nominal elements (as with *ykon¹ jyanq³* ‘I tasted’ in Table 12); and yet others exhibit marking of aspect and mood on both the verbal and the nominal elements (e.g. *sti¹ qo²⁰* ‘s/he made fun of’ [laugh with]). See Cruz & Woodbury (2013) for details concerning these deviations from the Compound Inflection Criterion in SJQ Chatino.

⁶Despite initial resemblances, a compound verb such as *ykwiq⁴ sla³* ‘s/he dreamed’ cannot be seen as the phrasal combination of a verb with an independent postverbal constituent. As a VSO language, Chatino ordinarily positions a verb’s subject between the verb and a following complement or modifier, as in (i); but a compound verb is followed by its subject, as in (ii). Moreover, the nominal component of a compound verb carries the verb’s person/number inflection, as in (iii), but a verb’s object does not, as (iv) shows.

- (10) a. $nchu^1 yaq^2$
 ‘s/he clapped’ [hit hand]
 b. $yku^4 na^2$
 ‘s/he ate in secret’ [eat hidden]

Whether as a verb-complement structure or a verb-modifier structure, the compound verb tends to conform to the Compound Inflection Criterion. This similarity between an essence predicate such as $ndi^4 riq^2$ ‘s/he was thirsty’ and a compound verb such as $yku^4 jyaq^3$ ‘s/he tasted’ raises the possibility that essence predicates are in fact simply a subclass of compound predicates. If this is so, then an essence predicate’s nominal component does not obviously function as an argument of its predicative base. Instead, it seems to serve as a quasi-adverbial modifier: $ndi^4 renq^{20}$ ‘I was thirsty inside’. On this analysis, the person/number marking on an essence predicate’s nominal component is not an expression of possession, but (as in the compound verb $yku^4 jyaq^3$ ‘s/he tasted’) an ordinary expression of subject agreement.

In the following section, we assess the relative adequacy of the possessed-subject and compound predicate hypotheses in light of four kinds of evidence.

4 Assessing the possessed-subject and compound predicate hypotheses

We now consider four important characteristics of essence predicates in SJQ Chatino: their structural variety, their external syntax, their general lack of semantic compositionality, and their relation to the distributional flexibility of subject-agreement marking. As we show, this evidence reveals that neither the possessed-subject hypothesis nor the compound predicate hypothesis accounts for the full range of characteristics exhibited by essence predicates.

-
- (i) $Ykwiq^4 no^4 qan^1 kwa^3 ska^4 poema^{24}$.
 speak.CPL one female that one poem
 ‘That woman spoke a poem.’
- (ii) $Ykwiq^4 sla^3 no^4 qan^1 kwa^3$.
 speak.CPL tiredness one female that
 ‘That woman dreamt.’
- (iii) $Ykwiq^4 slan^{40} nka^3$.
 speak.CPL tiredness.ISG yesterday
 ‘I dreamed yesterday.’
- (iv) $Ykwenq^1 chaq^3-xlya^{10} nka^3$.
 speak.CPL.ISG word-Castilian yesterday.
 ‘I spoke Spanish yesterday.’

4.1 Structural variety

Essence predicates vary in their structure in at least three ways. First, there is variation with respect to the identity of the nominal component, which we have so far exemplified mainly with *riq*² ‘essence’. Second, there is variation with respect to the possibility of employing more than one nominal component within the same essence predicate. And third, essence predicates vary with respect to their predicative base—specifically, with respect to whether the predicative base has independent uses apart from its use in an essence predicate. Consider each of these areas of variation.

4.1.1 Choice of nominal component

The examples of essence predicates cited so far have nearly all had the noun *riq*² ‘essence’ as their nominal component. This is, indeed, the most usual nominal component for essence predicates. There is, however, a sizeable class of essence predicates whose nominal component is instead *tye*³² ‘chest’; one such predicate is *nqne*⁴² *tye*³² ‘s/he dared’, whose paradigm is given in Table 14. Still another class of essence predicates has the nominal component *qin*⁴ (whose low tone makes it frequently susceptible to tone sandhi; an example is the predicate *skeq*¹ *qin*²⁴ ‘he (wrongly) thought or believed’ [imagine essence] in Table 15.

Table 14: Paradigm of the essence predicate *nqne*⁴² *tye*³² ‘s/he dared’ [do chest] in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tyin</i> ²⁰	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tyin</i> ²⁰	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tyin</i> ²⁰	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tyin</i> ²⁰
2SG	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²
3SG	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²
1INCL	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tyin</i> ¹ <i>in</i> ¹	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tyin</i> ¹ <i>in</i> ¹	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tyin</i> ¹ <i>in</i> ¹	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tyin</i> ¹ <i>in</i> ¹
1EXCL	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wa</i> ⁴²
2PL	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>wan</i> ⁴
3PL	<i>qne</i> ⁴² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>nqne</i> ³² <i>tye</i> ³² <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>nqne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>qne</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³² <i>renq</i> ⁴

The identity of *qin*⁴ in *skeq*¹ *qin*²⁴ ‘s/he wrongly thought or believed’ is debatable, since *qin*⁴ has a variety of functions in Chatino; for example, *qin*⁴ functions (with tone sandhi) as a third-person singular pronoun in (11a), but arguably as an animal classifier in (11b).

- (11) a. Ye⁴² qa²⁴ yku²⁴ tykwen¹ qin²⁴ sen³².
 very EMPH eat.CPL bedbug OBJ.PRON:3SG last.night
 ‘Bedbugs bit her last night.’

Table 15: Paradigm of *skeq¹ qin²⁴* ‘s/he (wrongly) thought or believed’ [imagine essence] in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>skeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>
2SG	<i>skeq¹ qin⁴²</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qnya²⁴</i>
3SG	<i>skeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qin²⁴</i>
1INCL	<i>skeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qin²⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qin²⁴</i>
1EXCL	<i>skeq¹ qwa⁴²</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qwa⁴²</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qwa⁴²</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qwa⁴²</i>
2PL	<i>skeq¹ qwan¹⁴</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qwan¹⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qwan¹⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qwan¹⁴</i>
3PL	<i>skeq¹ qin²⁴ renq²⁴</i>	<i>nskeq¹ qin²⁴ renq²⁴</i>	<i>nxkeq¹ qin²⁴ renq²⁴</i>	<i>xkeq¹ qin²⁴ renq²⁴</i>

- b. Yla⁴² qin⁴ qo¹ snyiq²⁴ qin²⁴.
 arrive.CPL ANIMAL.CLF with offspring OBJ.PRON:3SG
 ‘The (animal) returned home with his offspring.’

Although *riq²*, *tye³²* and *qin⁴* are not freely interchangeable as the nominal component of an essence predicate, they do exhibit a partial overlap in their distribution; in cases of overlap, the choice of nominal component may or may not serve to express a difference in meaning. The forms in (12) constitute a minimal triplet in which the predicative base *sqwe³* ‘good’ combines with *riq²* (‘essence’), *tye³²* (‘chest’), or *qin⁴* (‘his or her essence’), with each combination expressing a different meaning.

- (12) a. *sqwe³ riq²*
 ‘s/he was in a good mood’
 b. *sqwe³ tye³²*
 ‘s/he was generous’
 c. *sqwe³ qin²⁴*
 ‘s/he was affable’

Several cases in which *riq²*, *tye³²* and *qin⁴* may be used more or less interchangeably are listed in Table 16a. The essence predicates in Table 16b involve *riq²* and *tye³²* but have no alternative with *qin⁴*; conversely, those in Table 16c involve *riq²* and *qin⁴* and have no alternative with *tye³²*. Those in Table 16d involve *riq²* but not *tye³²* or *qin⁴*; those in Table 16e involve *tye³²* but not *riq²* or *qin⁴*; and those in Table 16f involve *qin⁴* but not *riq²* or *tye³²*.⁷

Even where the choice of nominal component corresponds to a difference of meaning, it is not clear that the nature of this difference is predictable. For example, the general sense of pity may be expressed by an essence predicate consisting of *qna³* and either

⁷It might appear that in Table 16d, *tqi⁴ riq²* ‘s/he hates’ has a counterpart with *tye³²*, but *tqi⁴ tye³²* only has the literal meaning ‘her/his chest hurts’, not that of an essence predicate.

Table 16: Some essence predicates in SJQ Chatino

	Based on riq^2	Based on tye^{32}	Based on qin^4	
a. 's/he understood'	$nkwa^2 jyaq^3 riq^2$	$nkwa^2 jyaq^3 tye^{24}$	$[nkwa^2 jyaq^3 qin^{24}$'s/he was tried']	[realized ESS]
's/he is naïve'	$ntu^1 riq^0$	$ntu^1 tye^0$	$ntu^1 qin^0$	[stupid ESS]
's/he is getting angry'	$ntykwen^3 riq^{24}$	$ntykwen^3 tye^{24}$	$[ntykwen^3 qin^{24}$'s/he choked on sth']	[choke ESS]
's/he misperceives'	$skeq^1 riq^0$	$skeq^1 tye^{32}$	$skeq^1 qin^{24}$	[imagine ESS]
's/he is happy'	$stu^1 riq^1$	$stu^1 tye^{32}$	$stu^1 qin^0$	[gusto ESS]
's/he is fuzzy'	$swaq^{24} riq^{32}$	$swaq^{24} tye^{32}$	$swaq^{24} qin^{32}$	[slovenly ESS]
's/he is cool (not hot)'	$tlaq^{14} riq^0$	$tlaq^{14} tye^{32}$	$[tlaq^{14} qin^0$'s/he is in peace']	[cool ESS]
's/he is hot'	$tykeq^{14} riq^0$	$[tykeq^{14} tye^0$'s/he is angry']	$tykeq^{14} qin^0$	[hot ESS]
b. 's/he pities'	$qna^3 riq^2$	$qna^3 tye^{32}$		[pity ESS]
's/he remembers'	$sqwi^4 riq^2$	$[sqwi^4 tye^{32}$'s/he holds a grudge']		[exist ESS]
's/he is greedy'	$tkong^1 riq^2$	$tkong^1 tye^{32}$		[greedy ESS]
's/he is sad'	$xkuq^{42} riq^2$	$xkuq^{42} tye^{32}$		[CBM ESS]
c. 's/he is fast or in a hurry'	$sa^4 riq^2, ndla^2 riq^2$		$ndla^2 qin^0$	[hurry ESS]
's/he is satisfied/satiated'	$ylaq^{42} riq^2$		$sa^4 qin^4, ylaq^{42} qin^4$	[satiated ESS]
d. 's/he hates'	$tqi^4 riq^2$			[sick ESS]
's/he knows/is aware'	$jlyo^{20} riq^2$			[CBM ESS]
's/he is worry'	$ndwe^{32} riq^2$			[minced ESS]
's/he remembers'	$nkya^{42} yqwi^{32} riq^1$			[remember ESS]
's/he is disgusted'	$stya^4 riq^2$			[place ESS]
's/he is ecstatic'	$sty^1 riq^2$			[laugh ESS]
e. 's/he is scared/ queasy'		$chin^4 nga^{24} tye^{32}$		[ugly ESS]
's/he likes'		$ndya^{24} riq^2 tye^{32}$		[like ESS]
's/he feels brave'		$tno^4 nga^{24} tye^{32}$		[big ESS]
's/he feels angry'		$xqan^{10} nga^{24} tye^{32}$		[mean ESS]
's/he feels sad'		$tqwa^{14} nka^{24} tye^{32}$		[cool ESS]
f. 's/he is affable'			$sqwe^3 qin^{24}$	[good ESS]
's/he is a thief or fast'			$sa^4 qin^4$	[light ESS]

In the three central columns, bracketed essence predicates have a meaning different from that of the corresponding essence predicate with riq^2 . Note that tone sandhi alters the expected tonality of third-person singular riq^2 in some of these forms.

riq^2 or tye^{32} , and the nuanced difference expressed by this choice in (13) is not obviously predictable from the semantic difference between riq^2 'essence' and tye^{32} 'chest'. Note, by way of contrast, that the meaning of disgust expressed by the essence predicate $stya^4 riq^2$ has no counterpart with tye^{32} : * $stya^4 tye^{32}$. Moreover, the meaning 's/he is sad' may be expressed by an essence predicate with either riq^2 or tye^{32} (as either $xkuq^{42} riq^2$ or $xkuq^{42} tye^{32}$), but the meaning 's/he feels sad' is expressed by an essence predicate requiring tye^{32} rather than riq^2 (as $tqwa^{14} nka^{24} tye^{32}$ but not * $tqwa^{14} nka^{24} riq^2$).

- (13) a. Qna³ qa²⁴ riq² La²⁰ya²⁴ kwa³ xneq² qin².
 pity very essence Hilaria that dog POSS.3SG
 ‘Hilaria feels bad for her dog.’
- b. Qna³ qa²⁴ tye³² La²⁰ya²⁴ kwa³, nkjwi⁴² xneq² qin¹.
 pity very essence Hilaria that die.CPL dog POSS.3SG
 ‘Hilaria is pitiable, her dog died.’

These facts suggest that choices among the nominal components *riq*², *tye*³² and *qin*⁴ in essence predicates are often (perhaps always) determined by lexical stipulation.

4.1.2 Combinability of nominal components

It is often possible to use *riq*² and *tye*³² in tandem, as in Table 17.⁸ In such cases, it is *tye*³² rather than *riq*² that exhibits the person-number agreement; for instance, the first-person singular completive form of *njlya*³² *riq*² *tye*³² ‘s/he forgot’ is *njlya*³² *riq*² *tyin*²⁰ ‘I forgot’. It is not clear that *qin*⁴ appears in tandem with either *riq*² and *tye*³² in its function as the nominal component of an essence predicate; in those cases in which it might appear to do so, it instead serves one of its other functions, e.g. that of an animal classifier (as in *tkonq*¹ *riq*² *tye*³² *qin*²⁴ ‘that animal is gluttonous’).

4.1.3 Cranberry predicative bases

Essence predicates also vary with respect to the independence of their predicative base. On one hand, there are essence predicates whose predicative base also appears independently (though usually not with the same meaning as the essence predicate), as in (14). On the other hand, there are instances whose predicative base does not have an independent use as a predicate, as in (15)–(18); such predicative bases are in effect cranberry morphemes.

- (14) a. Sqwe³ riq² / tye³² no⁴ kyqyu¹.
 good essence / chest.3SG the male (ones)
 ‘The men are in a good mood / generous.’
- b. Sqwe³ no⁴ kyqyu¹.
 good the male (ones)
 ‘The men are good.’
- (15) a. Ndi³² riq² Xwa³ kwa³.
 thirsty.PROG essence.3SG Juan that
 ‘Juan is thirsty.’
- b. *Ndi³² Xwa³ kwa³.
 thirsty.PROG Juan that
 Sought interpretation: ‘Juan is thirsty.’

⁸In Table 17 and some later tables, ‘#’ marks forms that we have not encountered and that aren’t clearly acceptable, but whose acceptability to at least some speakers we do not wish to rule out.

Table 17: Instances of *riq*² used in tandem with *tye*³² in SJQ Chatino

Gloss	<i>riq</i> ² + <i>tye</i> ³²	Gloss	<i>riq</i> ² + <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he forgives'	<i>chaq</i> ³ <i>tlyu</i> ² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he likes sth'	<i>sn̄yi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he forgets'	<i>jlȳa</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is generous/happy'	<i>sqwe</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he knows/is aware'	<i>jlyo</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he remembers'	<i>sqwi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he mischievous, playful'	<i>jnya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is strong/sturdy'	<i>sqye</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰ <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he worries'	<i>ndwe</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is happy'	<i>stu</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ⁰ <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is open, extroverted'	<i>la</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is disgusted'	<i>stya</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is taciturn'	<i>liqa</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is ecstatic'	<i>sty</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is fair-skinned'	<i>lwi</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is hard-working'	<i>t(j)nya</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he mocks'	<i>lyeq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is frugal/takes care of sth'	<i>tjenq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he realizes'	<i>nd̄i</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is sturdy'	<i>tjoq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is happy'	<i>ndon</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is greedy'	<i>tkonq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is worry'	<i>ndwe</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he placates, calms'	<i>tlaq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰ <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he likes, loves'	<i>ndya</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is cold'	<i>tlyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is thirsty, wheezing'	<i>ndyi</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is tired'	<i>tnyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he remembers'	<i>nkqan</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is fully conscious'	<i>tqa</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he realizes'	<i>nkwa</i> ² <i>jyaq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he scorns'	<i>tq̄i</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he remembers'	<i>nkya</i> ⁴² <i>yqwi</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is flirtatious'	<i>tsa</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is dark-skinned'	<i>nta</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is smart'	<i>tya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is hungry'	<i>nteq</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is slow'	<i>tyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is feeling lazy'	<i>ntja</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is hot'	<i>tykeq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰ <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is weak'	<i>ntqan</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he made up her/his mind'	<i>wa</i> ² <i>xtya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is stupid'	<i>ntu</i> ¹⁰ <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is sad'	<i>xkuq</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he gets mad'	<i>ntykwen</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is afraid'	<i>xqnyi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he gets used to'	<i>ntyqan</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is fed up with/tired of'	<i>xyaq</i> ² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he pities'	<i>qna</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he bullies'	<i>xyuq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is smart, fast, agile'	<i>sa</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he believes/is gullible'	<i>ya</i> ⁴² <i>ntyqan</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>qin</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is upset'	<i>senq</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ¹ <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is satisfied/satiated'	<i>ylaq</i> ⁴² / <i>ndlaq</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is standoffish'	<i>siyeq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is shy'	<i>yqu</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he misperceives'	<i>skeq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he breaks a bad habit/learns a lesson'	<i>#ksa</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is fed up'	<i>skwa</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is skinny'	<i>#ti</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he takes a liking to'	<i>skwi</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	's/he is skinny'	<i>#tyjyan</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²
's/he is desirous'	<i>snya</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²		

- (16) a. Ndi³² riq² sti¹ Xwa³ kwa³.
 thirsty.PROG essence.3SG father.3SG Juan that
 ‘Juan’s father is thirsty.’
 b. *Ndi³² sti⁴ Xwa³ kwa³.
 thirsty.PROG father.3SG Juan that
 Sought interpretation: ‘Juan’s father is thirsty.’
- (17) a. Ndi³² renq²⁰.
 thirsty.PROG essence.1sg
 ‘I am thirsty.’
 b. *Ndi³².
 thirsty.PROG
 Sought interpretation: ‘I am thirsty.’
- (18) a. Ndi³² riq² sten¹.
 thirsty.PROG essence.3SG father.1SG
 ‘My father is thirsty.’
 b. *ndi³² sten⁴.
 thirsty.PROG father.1SG
 Sought interpretation: ‘My father is thirsty.’

Table 18 lists some essence predicates whose predicative bases have independent uses, and Table 19, some whose predicative bases are cranberry morphemes. As inspection of both tables reveals, the meaning expressed by an essence predicate L usually cannot be equivalently expressed by using L’s predicative base by itself; either the predicative base of L differs in meaning from L (as in (14)) or it is simply unavailable for use as an independent predicate (as in (15)–(18)).

Summarizing, we have seen that essence predicates exhibit three sorts of structural variety: in their choice of nominal component; in whether they exhibit one nominal component or two; and in whether their predicative base has uses apart from the essence predicate. None of these sorts of structural variety is unexpected under the compound predicate hypothesis. Because a compound constitutes a lexeme, two compounds may differ in lexically idiosyncratic ways. Despite their closely related meanings, the English compound nouns *German shepherd* and *Shetland sheepdog* differ in their internal logic; while one can imagine alternative combinations such as *Germany sheepdog* and *Shetlander shepherd*, each breed has its own conventional name agreed upon on the occasion of its coinage. In the same way, the use of *riq²*, *tye³²*, *qin⁴* or the combination *riq² tye³²* as an essence predicate’s nominal component is a matter of convention enforced by the lexicon of Chatino. The incidence of essence predicates whose predicative base is a cranberry morpheme is further testimony to their lexical status; in such cases, the predicative base, like the *were-* in English *werewolf*, persists long after losing its status as an independent lexeme. If one instead views essence predicates as predicates having inalienably possessed subjects, the structural variety examined here is somewhat unexpected. On

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Table 18: Essence predicates whose predicative bases are also used independently in SJQ Chatino

Essence predicate	Gloss	Independent use of predicative base
<i>chaq³ tlyu² riq²</i>	's/he forgives'	[strong essence] <i>chaq³ tlyu² no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'because the men are strong'
<i>ksa⁴ riq²</i>	's/he breaks a bad habit/learns a lesson'	[break essence] <i>ksa⁴ yka⁴</i> 'to break a piece of wood'
<i>ndwe⁴ riq²</i>	's/he worries'	[minced essence] <i>ndwe⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men will be minced.'
<i>la¹ riq²</i>	's/he is open, extroverted'	[open essence] <i>la¹ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men got open.'
<i>lwi³ riq²</i>	's/he is fair-skinned'	[clean essence] <i>lwi³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are clean.'
<i>ndo⁴² riq²</i>	's/he is happy'	[stand essence] <i>ndo⁴² no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are standing.'
<i>ndya²⁴ riq²</i>	's/he likes, loves'	[arrive essence] <i>ndya²⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men arrived.'
<i>nkqan⁴ riq²</i>	's/he remembers'	[sit essence] <i>nkqan⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are sitting.'
<i>nta¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	's/he is dark-skinned'	[black essence] <i>nta¹⁴ no⁰ kyqyu¹</i> 'Men are black.'
<i>ntja¹ riq²</i>	's/he is feeling lazy'	[lazy essence] <i>ntja¹ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'Men are lazy.'
<i>ntu¹⁰ riq⁰</i>	's/he is stupid'	[stupid essence] <i>ntu¹ no⁰ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are stupid or slow.'
<i>ntykwen³ riq²</i>	's/he gets mad'	[climb essence] <i>ntykwen³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men climbed up.'
<i>qna³ riq²</i>	's/he pities'	[poor essence] <i>qna³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'the poor men'
<i>sa⁴ riq²</i>	's/he is smart, fast, agile'	[light/fast essence] <i>sa⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are light or fast.'
<i>siyeq³ riq²</i>	's/he is standoffish'	[vain essence] <i>siyeq³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'Men are vain.'
<i>skwa³ riq²</i>	's/he is fed up'	[lie.elevated essence] <i>skwa³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are lying elevated.'
<i>snyi⁴ riq²</i>	's/he likes sth'	[grab essence] <i>snyi⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men grabbed.'
<i>sqwe³ riq²/tye³²</i>	's/he is generous/happy'	[good essence] <i>sqwe³ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'Men are good.'
<i>sqwi⁴ riq²</i>	's/he remembers'	[exist essence] <i>sqwi⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men exist.'
<i>sqye¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	's/he is strong/sturdy'	[strong essence] <i>sqye¹⁴ no⁰ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are strong.'
<i>sty¹ riq²</i>	's/he is ecstatic'	[laugh essence] <i>sty¹ no⁴ kyqyu¹</i> 'The men are laughing.'

<i>t(j)nya</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is hard-working'	[work essence]	<i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹ <i>tnya</i> ³	'the men who are authorities'
<i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is skinny'	[skinny essence]	<i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are skinny.'
<i>tjenq</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is frugal or to take care of sth'	[sticky essence]	<i>tjenq</i> ³ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are sticky.'
<i>tjoq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is sturdy'	[strong essence]	<i>tjoq</i> ⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are strong.'
<i>tkonq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is greedy'	[ambitious essence]	<i>tkonq</i> ¹ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are ambitious.'
<i>tlaq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	's/he placates, calms'	[cool essence]	<i>tlaq</i> ¹⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are cooled, calm.'
<i>tnyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is tired'	[tired essence]	<i>tnyaq</i> ⁴ <i>no</i> ⁰ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are tired.'
<i>tqa</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is fully conscious'	[complete essence]	<i>tqa</i> ²⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'all men'
<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he hates'	[sick essence]	<i>tqi</i> ⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are sick.'
<i>tya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is smart'	[smart essence]	<i>tya</i> ²⁰ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are smart.'
<i>tyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is slow'	[slow essence]	<i>tyaq</i> ⁴ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are slow.'
<i>tyjyan</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is skinny'	[skinny essence]	<i>tyjyan</i> ²⁰ <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are skinny.'
<i>tykeq</i> ¹⁴ <i>riq</i> ⁰	's/he is hot'	[hot essence]	<i>tykeq</i> ¹⁴ <i>no</i> ⁰ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men are hot (temp).'
<i>xyaq</i> ² <i>riq</i> ²	's/he is fed up with/tired of'	[mix essence]	<i>xyaq</i> ² <i>no</i> ⁴ <i>kyqyu</i> ¹	'The men will be mixed.'

that conception, the choice among *riq*², *tye*³² and *qin*⁴ as subjects should seemingly be independent of the choice of predicate, and they should not appear in tandem (any more than *you* and *they* should appear in tandem to produce sentences such as **You they left*).

4.2 External syntax

With only occasional exceptions, the components of an essence predicate can be interrupted by members of a small class of elements; their syntax relative to these elements is a revealing criterion for evaluating the possessed-subject and compound predicate hypotheses. The class of interruptors includes the elements in (19), some of which Rasch (2002: 10) labels EVENT MODIFIERS; we extend his terminology to the full class. These may intervene between a verb and its subject, as in examples (20)–(25) (where verb and subject are in boldface). Correspondingly, they may sometimes intervene between an essence predicate's predicative base and its nominal element, as in (26)–(33), in which the interrupted essence predicates are in boldface.

Table 19: Essence predicates whose predicative bases are not used independently in SJQ Chatino

Essence predicate	Gloss
<i>jlya</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he forgot’
<i>jlyo</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he knews/was aware’
<i>jnya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was mischievous, playful’
<i>ngwi</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he realized’
<i>ndwe</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he worried’
<i>ndya</i> ³² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he liked, loved’
<i>ndi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was thirsty, wheezing’
<i>nteq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was hungry’
<i>ntqan</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ¹	‘s/he was weak’
<i>ntyqan</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he got used to’
<i>qna</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he pitied’
<i>senq</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ¹	‘s/he was upset’
<i>skeq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ² / <i>qin</i> ⁴	‘s/he mistook, misperceived’
<i>skwi</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he took a liking to’
<i>snya</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was desirous’
<i>stu</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ⁰	‘s/he was happy’
<i>stya</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was disgusted’
<i>tlyaq</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was cold’
<i>tsa</i> ³ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was flirtatious’
<i>tya</i> ²⁰ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was careful’
<i>xkuq</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was sad’
<i>xqnyi</i> ⁴ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was afraid’
<i>xyaq</i> ² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was fed up with/ tired of’
<i>xyuq</i> ¹ <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he bullied’
<i>ylaq</i> ⁴² / <i>ndlaq</i> ⁴² <i>riq</i> ²	‘s/he was satisfied/satiated’

- (19) a. *sqwe*³
‘good, well’
- b. *ka*²⁴
‘able to; expression of emphasis’
- c. *ye*⁴²
‘very’
- d. *la*²⁴
‘comparative’
- e. *qa*²⁴
‘very’
- f. *kcha*⁴
‘crazy’

- g. ti², ti⁴
 ‘very, still, just’
- h. kcha⁴ qa¹
 ‘crazy’
- (20) Ntqan⁴² ti⁴ La²⁰ya²⁴ kwa³ kna¹, kwen⁴² qa²⁴ ntqo¹ xqya²⁴.
 see.CPL EV.MOD:just Hilaria that snake loud very leave.CPL scream
 ‘As soon as Hilaria saw the snake, she screamed very loudly.’
- (21) Nkwa² tqi⁴ ka³ nten¹⁴ no⁰ yku²⁴ kla³² xi¹ kanq⁴² qa²⁴.
 be.CPL sick EV.MOD:EMPH people that eat.CPL fish bad that.ABS very
 ‘People who ate the bad fish got really sick.’
- (22) Ti² ykwiq¹ ye⁴² silya¹⁴ qo⁰ chaq³ tyqo¹ qo¹ ja⁴
 EV.MOD:very speak.CPL EV.MOD:very police with.3SG to leave and NEG
 slya¹ qa¹.
 agree.CPL NEG
 ‘The police pleaded with him to leave and he refused (to leave).’
- (23) Ykwiq⁴ la¹ sti⁴-qo² kwa⁴ ke⁴ neq⁴-sya¹⁰ kwa¹.
 speak.CPL EV.MOD:more father-saint that then type.people-justice that
 ‘The priest spoke more than the authorities.’
- (24) Ya⁴² kcha⁴ no⁴ qan¹ lyuq⁰⁴ kwa³.
 go.away.CPL EV.MOD:crazy one female little that
 ‘That little girl went (somewhere) aimlessly.’
- (25) Qya⁴² kcha⁴ qa¹ kyo²⁴ nka³.
 fall.CPL EV.MOD:crazy EV.MOD:very rain yesterday
 ‘It rained crazy, unpredictably yesterday.’
- (26) Nkqan⁴ sqwe³ riq² no⁴ qan¹ chaq³ tsa²⁴
 sitting.ground.PROG EV.MOD:well essence the female (one) COMPL go.away.POT
 kwaq³.
 that
 ‘That woman remembers well that she has to go to the party.’
- (27) sqwa¹⁴⁰ ye⁴² chaq³ tye³².
 put CPL.3SG EV.MOD:very word/thing chest
 ‘He really encouraged him.’
- (28) Ndon⁴² qa²⁴ riq² Xwa³ kwa³ ndon⁴² tqwa⁴-tqan⁴ qin⁴.
 stand.PROG EV.MOD:very essence Juan that stand.PROG mouth-house his
 ‘Juan was very happy standing in is front porch.’
- (29) Ndon⁴² ti⁴ riq² Xwa³ kwa³ ndon⁴² tqwa⁴-tqan⁴ qin⁴.
 stand.PROG EV.MOD:only essence Juan that stand.PROG mouth-house his
 ‘Juan was just happy standing in his front porch.’

- (30) **Ndon**⁴² **ka**²⁴ **riq**² **Xwa**³ **kwa**³ **ndon**⁴² **tqwa**⁴-**tqan**⁴ **qin**⁴.
 stand.PROG EV.MOD:very essence Juan that stand.PROG mouth-house his
 ‘Juan was sure very happy standing in his front porch.’
- (31) **Ndon**⁴² **la**²⁴ **riq**² **Xwa**³ **kwa**³ **ndon**⁴² **tqwa**⁴-**tqan**⁴ **qin**⁴.
 stand.PROG EV.MOD:more essence Juan that stand.PROG mouth-house his
 ‘Juan was happier standing in his front porch.’
- (32) **Ndo**⁴² **kcha**⁴ **qa**¹ **riq**².
 happy EV.MOD:crazy EV.MOD:very essence
 ‘He is crazy happy.’
- (33) **Stu**¹⁰ **kcha**⁰ *(**qa**²⁴) **riq**¹ **Xwa**³ **kwa**³ **nky**²⁴.
 gusto EV.MOD:crazy EV.MOD:very essence Juan that go.away.CPL
 ‘Juan left awfully happy.’

Strikingly, compound predicates generally resist the intrusion of an event modifier, a fact reflected by the unacceptability of (34). When an event modifier combines with a compound predicate, it generally follows it, as in (35). Yet, event modifiers in general do not follow essence predicates, as the evidence in (36) and (37) attests. Similarly, event modifiers do not typically follow the subject of a clause. Thus, in (38), the event modifier may intrude between the verb *ylu*² ‘it grew’ and its subject *yka*²⁴-*knyi*²⁴ *kwa*³ ‘that tree graft’ (as in (38a)) but cannot follow the subject (*(38b)). The overarching generalization is that an event modifier typically follows the head of a predicate phrase, whether this head be simplex or compound. This generalization suggests that because an event modifier typically follows an essence predicate’s predicative base, the essence predicate itself is phrasal.

- (34) * **Ykon**¹ **ten**²⁴ **jyanq**²⁴ **skwa**¹ **qin**²⁴.
 eat.CPL.1SG EV.MOD:only.1SG measure.1SG soup his
 Sought interpretation: ‘I only tasted his soup.’
- (35) **Ykon**¹ **jyanq**²⁴ **ten**²⁴ **skwa**¹ **qin**²⁴.
 eat.CPL.1SG measure.1SG EV.MOD:only.1SG soup his
 ‘I only tasted his soup.’
- (36) a. **Ndon**⁴² **qa**²⁴ **riq**².
 stand.PROG EV.MOD:very essence
 ‘S/he is very happy.’
 b. * **Ndon**⁴² **riq**² **qa**¹.
 stand.PROG essence EV.MOD:very
 Sought interpretation: ‘S/he is very happy.’
- (37) a. **Qne**⁴² **sqwe**³ **tye**³.
 do.CPL EV.MOD:good chest.3SG
 ‘S/he dared do something.’

- b. * **Qne**⁴² **tye**³² sqwe³.
do.CPL chest.3SG EV.MOD:good
Sought interpretation: ‘S/he dared do something.’
- (38) a. **Ylu**² sqwe³ **yka**²⁴-**knyi**²⁴ **kwa**³.
grow.CPL EV.MOD:well tree-graft that
‘That grafted tree grew really well.’
- b. * **Ylu**² **yka**²⁴-**knyi**²⁴ sqwe³.
grow.CPL tree-graft EV.MOD:good
Sought interpretation: ‘That grafted tree grew really well.’

This distributional generalization about event modifiers is, however, deceptively broad, because event modifiers exhibit a number of idiosyncrasies in their interaction with essence predicates. On one hand, the event modifiers *ti*² / *ti*⁴ ‘very, still, just’, *ka*²⁴ ‘able to’, *la*²⁴ ‘comparative’, *kcha*⁴ ‘crazy’, and *kcha*⁴ *qa*¹ ‘crazy’ intervene quite freely between the parts of an essence predicate with two components; thus, all of these event modifiers may appear in the contexts in (39). On the other hand, if an essence predicate has three or more components, these event modifiers exhibit a much more variable pattern of distribution, as the examples in (40) suggest.

- (39) ‘s/he worries’ ndwe⁴ — riq²
‘s/he remembers’ nkqan⁴ — riq²
‘s/he is standoffish’ siyeq³ — riq²
‘s/he is daring’ tno⁴ — tye³²
‘s/he is afraid’ xqnyi⁴ — riq²
- (40) ‘s/he forgives’ chaq³ — * tlyu² — riq² (very idiomatic)
‘s/he realizes’ nkwa² — * jyaq³ ✓ riq²
‘s/he made up her/his mind’ wa² — * xtya²⁰ ✓ riq²/tye³²
‘s/he feels sad’ tqwa¹⁴ ✓ nka²⁴ — * tye³²
‘s/he believes/is gullible’ ya⁴² — * ntyqan⁴ ✓ riq¹ — * qin²⁴

Moreover, the event modifiers *sqwe*³ ‘good’, *ye*⁴² ‘very’ and *qa*²⁴ ‘very’ exhibit a much higher degree of idiosyncrasy in their capacity to intervene between the parts of an essence predicate, as the examples in Table 20 show. This irregularity very likely has more than one cause. Some interventions are semantically improbable, e.g. **senq*²⁴ *sqwe*³ *riq*¹ ‘s/he is well upset’. But it also appears that essence predicates are simply more fully grammaticalized as tightly bound units, more strongly resisting intrusive formatives.

We conclude that although the distribution of event modifiers exhibits a number of idiosyncrasies, essence predicates resemble verb + subject combinations more closely than they resemble compound predicates as regards their interaction with event modifiers. Thus, this evidence militates in favor of the possessed-subject hypothesis and against the compound predicate hypothesis.

Table 20: Intervention of the event modifiers *sqwe*³ ‘good’, *ye*⁴² ‘very’ and *qa*²⁴ ‘very’ into essence predicates in SJQ Chatino

Gloss	Essence predicate	<i>sqwe</i> ³ ‘good’ <i>ye</i> ⁴² ‘very’	<i>qa</i> ²⁴ ‘very’
‘s/he remembered’	<i>nkqan</i> ⁴ – <i>riq</i> ²	✓	✓
‘s/he was smart, fast, agile’	<i>sa</i> ⁴ – <i>riq</i> ²	✓	✓
‘s/he was happy’	<i>ndon</i> ⁴² – <i>riq</i> ²	✓	*
‘s/he remembered’	<i>sqwi</i> ⁴ – <i>riq</i> ²	✓	*
‘s/he was upset’	<i>senq</i> ¹⁴ – <i>riq</i> ⁰	*	✓
‘s/he pitied’	<i>qna</i> ³ – <i>riq</i> ²	*	✓
‘s/he was sad’	<i>xkuq</i> ⁴² – <i>riq</i> ²	*	*
‘s/he worried’	<i>ndwe</i> ⁴ – <i>riq</i> ²	*	*
‘s/he was fed up’	<i>skwa</i> ³ – <i>riq</i> ²	#	#
‘s/he hated’	<i>tqi</i> ⁴ – <i>riq</i> ²	#	#
‘s/he was generous/happy’	<i>sqwe</i> ³ – <i>riq</i> ² / <i>tye</i> ³²	#	*
‘s/he was taciturn’	<i>liqa</i> ²⁴ – <i>riq</i> ¹	#	*
‘s/he was scared/queasy’	<i>chin</i> ⁴ – <i>nga</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	*	*
	<i>chin</i> ⁴ <i>nga</i> ²⁴ – <i>tye</i> ³²	*	*
‘s/he liked’	<i>ndya</i> ³² – <i>riq</i> ² <i>tye</i> ³²	*	✓
	<i>ndya</i> ²⁴ <i>riq</i> ² – <i>tye</i> ³²	#	#
‘s/he felt angry’	<i>xqan</i> ¹⁰ – <i>nga</i> ²⁴ <i>tye</i> ³²	*	#
	<i>xqan</i> ¹⁰ <i>nga</i> ²⁴ – <i>tye</i> ³²	*	*

4.3 Lack of compositionality

As we have seen, essence predicates tend to refer psychological states, with some exceptions. In a large proportion of cases, essence predicates are not transparently compositional. There are, to be sure, those whose semantics is directly deducible from their parts; examples are the essence predicates in Table 21. But a substantial number of essence predicates exhibit various degrees of departure from compositionality; the examples in Table 22 illustrate. The analogy of essence predicates to lexically reflexive verbs (noted in section 1) is again apt, since reflexive predicates are often idiosyncratic in their semantics; compare *attendre* ‘wait for’ to *s’attendre* (*à*) ‘expect’, *douter* ‘doubt’ to *se douter* ‘suspect’, *rendre* ‘return’ to *se rendre* (*à*) ‘go to’. In the case of essence predicates whose predicative base is a cranberry morpheme appearing in no context other than the essence predicate itself (see again Table 19), there is no real question of compositionality. Here, too, the analogy to lexically reflexive verbs holds, since they also may be based on cranberry morphemes, as in the case of French *s’évanouir* ‘faint’ (whose verbal base *évanouir* has no independent use).

Table 21: Semantically transparent essence predicates in SJQ Chatino

	Essence predicate	Glosses of component parts
‘s/he was hard-working’	<i>t(j)nya³ riq²</i>	[work essence]
‘s/he was open, extrovert’	<i>la¹ riq²</i>	[open essence]
‘s/he realized’	<i>ngwi³ riq²</i>	[awake essence]
‘s/he got used to’	<i>nt(y)qan¹ riq²</i>	[used.to essence]
‘s/he was hungry’	<i>ntenq³² riq²</i>	[hungry essence]
‘s/he was feeling lazy’	<i>ntja¹ riq²</i>	[lazy essence]
‘s/he was stupid’	<i>ntu¹ riq⁰</i>	[stupid essence]
‘s/he misperceived’	<i>skeq¹ riq⁰</i>	[imagine essence]
‘s/he was strong/ sturdy’	<i>sqye¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	[strong essence]
‘s/he was skinny’	<i>ti⁴ riq²</i>	[skinny essence]
‘s/he was sturdy’	<i>tjoq⁴ riq²</i>	[sturdy essence]
‘s/he was greedy’	<i>tkonq¹ riq²</i>	[greedy essence]
‘s/he was cold’	<i>tlyaq⁴ riq²</i>	[cold essence]
‘s/he was tired’	<i>tnyaq⁴ riq²</i>	[tired essence]
‘s/he was slow’	<i>tyaq⁴ riq²</i>	[slow essence]
‘s/he was skinny’	<i>tyjyan²⁰ riq²</i>	[skinny essence]
‘s/he was hot’	<i>tykeq¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	[hot essence]
‘s/he was shy’	<i>yqu²⁰ riq²</i>	[embarrassed essence]

These facts about the semantics of essence predicates might be seen as favoring the compound predicate hypothesis; the observed variability in semantic transparency is, of course, typical of compounds. But the semantic noncompositionality of many essence predicates might be reconciled with the possessed-subject hypothesis by regarding them as idioms; even the incidence of essence predicates with cranberry morphemes might be likened to the fact that idioms sometimes involve words that have no use outside the idiom (e.g. *jiffy* in the idiom *in a jiffy*, *dint* in *by dint of*, *fro* in *to and fro*). Nevertheless, recurring commonalities of form and content among essence predicates might be argued to make them different from idioms, which tend not to possess this high degree of systematicity.

4.4 Distributional flexibility of subject-agreement marking

An important feature of Chatino subject-agreement marking is its flexibility: in the inflection of a simplex verb, subject-agreement marking is expressed cumulatively with aspect/mood marking (as in the case of *sqi²* ‘s/he bought’—Table 8); but in the inflection of a compound predicate, aspect/mood is marked on the first member, and subject agreement is marked separately, on the second member (as in the case of *yku⁴ jyaq³* ‘s/he tasted’—Table 12). This flexibility extends even farther: If a simplex verb is followed by

Table 22: Semantically opaque essence predicates in SJQ Chatino

	Essence predicate	Glosses of component parts
's/he was mischievous, playful'	<i>jnyá²⁰ riq²</i>	[borrow essence]
's/he broke a bad habit/learned a lesson'	<i>ksa⁴ riq²</i>	[break essence]
's/he worried'	<i>ndwe⁴ riq²</i>	[minced essence]
's/he was fair-skinned'	<i>lwi³ riq²</i>	[clean essence]
's/he was standoffish'	<i>lyaq¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	[quiet essence]
's/he mocked'	<i>lyeq³ riq²</i>	[fun essence]
's/he was satisfied/satiated'	<i>ndla² riq²</i>	[fast essence]
's/he was happy'	<i>ndon⁴² riq²</i>	[stand essence]
's/he remembered'	<i>nkqan⁴ riq²</i>	[sit essence]
's/he realized'	<i>nkwa² jyaq³ riq²</i>	[be.able measure essence]
's/he was dark-skinned'	<i>nta¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	[dark essence]
's/he pitied'	<i>qna³ riq²</i>	[poor essence]
's/he was smart/fast agile'	<i>sa⁴ riq²</i>	[airy essence]
's/he was fed up'	<i>skwa³ riq²</i>	[lie.elevated essence]
's/he took a liking to'	<i>skwi¹ riq²</i>	[round essence]
's/he liked sth'	<i>snyi⁴ riq²</i>	[grab essence]
's/he was excited'	<i>sti¹ riq²</i>	[laugh essence]
's/he was standoffish'	<i>syeq³ riq²</i>	[happy essence]
's/he was frugal or took care of sth'	<i>tjenq³ riq²</i>	[sticky essence]
's/he placated'	<i>tlaq¹⁴ riq⁰</i>	[cool essence]
's/he was fully conscious'	<i>tqa²⁴ riq²</i>	[complete essence]
's/he was envious'	<i>tqi⁴ riq²</i>	[sick essence]
's/he was afraid'	<i>xqnyi⁴ riq²</i>	[sad essence]
's/he was fed up with/tired of'	<i>xyaq² riq²</i>	[mix essence]
's/he bullied'	<i>xyuq¹ riq²</i>	[naughty essence]

an event modifier, the event modifier may carry the verb's subject-agreement morphology; thus, compare the inflection of *ykwiq⁴* 's/he spoke' in Table 23 with that of *ykwiq⁴ ti⁴* 's/he just spoke' [speak EVENT.MODIFIER] in Table 24.⁹

The compound predicate hypothesis entails that in the inflection of an essence predicate, the nominal component (*riq²*, *tye³²* or *qin⁴*, alone or in combination) functions very much like the event modifier *ti⁴* in the inflection of *ykwiq⁴ ti⁴* 's/he just spoke': not as a subject, but as an adverbial or quasi-adverbial modifier of the predicate's head; in either instance, the modifier's adjacency to the preceding head makes it available to carry the head's agreement morphology. On this view, the literal meaning of an essence predicate's nominal component does not combine in a compositional way with the lit-

⁹Note that as in the inflection of the compound verb *yku⁴ jyaq³* 's/he tasted' [eat amount] in Table 12, the inflection of the verb + event modifier combination *ykwiq⁴ ti⁴* 's/he just spoke' [speak EVENT.MODIFIER] exhibits ablaut of its verbal element in the first person singular.

Table 23: Paradigm of the verb *ykwiq*⁴ ‘s/he spoke’ in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>ykweng</i> ¹	<i>ntykweng</i> ¹	<i>ntykweng</i> ²⁰	<i>tykweng</i> ²⁰
2SG	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴²	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴²
3SG	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴
1INCL	<i>ykweng</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>ntykweng</i> ¹ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>ntykweng</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>tykweng</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²
1EXCL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²
2PL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴
3PL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴

Table 24: Paradigm of *ykwiq*⁴ *ti*⁴ ‘s/he just spoke’ [speak EVENT.MODIFIER] in SJQ Chatino

	COMPLETIVE	PROGRESSIVE	HABITUAL	POTENTIAL
1SG	<i>ykweng</i> ¹ <i>ten</i> ²⁴	<i>ntykweng</i> ¹ <i>ten</i> ²⁴	<i>ntykweng</i> ²⁰ <i>ten</i> ²⁴	<i>tykweng</i> ²⁰ <i>ten</i> ²⁴
2SG	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ti</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴²	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴²
3SG	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ti</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴
1INCL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ten</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ten</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>ntykweng</i> ²⁴ <i>ten</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²	<i>tykweng</i> ²⁴ <i>ten</i> ²⁴ <i>en</i> ³²
1EXCL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wa</i> ⁴²
2PL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>wan</i> ⁴
3PL	<i>ykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ³² <i>ti</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>ntykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴	<i>tykwiq</i> ⁴ <i>renq</i> ⁴

eral meaning of the predicative base; instead, the nominal component has been grammaticalized with a meaning something like that of English *inside* in experiencer-based expressions such as *ntykwen*³ *riq*²⁴ ‘s/he got angry inside’; note again that reflexive pronouns have been grammaticalized with much the same function in expressions such as *elle s’est fâchée* ‘she got angry inside’. Thus, the compound predicate hypothesis situates the expression of subject agreement in essence predicates within a larger, independently motivated system in which other compound predicates and verb + event modifier combinations also participate in parallel fashion. The distributional flexibility of subject agreement therefore yields equivocal results. Both the possessed-subject hypothesis and the compound predicate hypothesis relate the person/number marker on an essence predicate’s nominal component to an independent phenomenon in Chatino: according to the possessed-subject hypothesis, the person/number marking on an essence predicate’s nominal component can be identified with a noun’s inflection for the person and number of an inalienable possessor; by contrast, the compound predicate hypothesis entails that an essence predicate’s nominal component reflects a more general pattern in which the person and number of a predicate’s subject are marked on a nonsubject constituent—on the second member of a compound predicate, on an event modifier, or on a quasi-adverbial essence word. Given that both of these patterns of person/number

marking must in any event be countenanced in an adequate grammar of Chatino, it is not clear that the present criterion provides compelling evidence for choosing either of the two hypotheses over the other.

5 Essence predicates: A formal interpretation

Superficially, the properties of essence predicates seem ambiguous in their implications for a formal analysis. The essence predicate in (41) on the one hand resembles the verb-subject construction in (42): in both cases, the predicative word (in boldface) is inflected for aspect/mood and the nominal element (in italics) is inflected for person and number. At the same time, the essence predicate in (41) resembles the compound verb in (43): here, too, the boldface predicative word is inflected for aspect/mood and the nominal element is inflected for person and number. Finally, the essence predicate in (41) resembles the verb + event modifier combination in (44), where the predicative word is again inflected for aspect/mood and the event modifier, for person and number.

- (41) **Ndi**⁴ *riq*² no⁴ kyqyu¹ kwa³.
 thirsty.CPL essence.3SG one male that
 ‘That guy was thirsty.’
- (42) **Nkya**²⁴ *sti*¹ Xwa³ kwa³.
 go.baseward.CPL father.3SG Juan that
 ‘Juan’s father left.’
- (43) **Ykwiq**⁴ *sla*³ no⁴ qan¹ kwa³.
 speak.CPL tiredness.3SG one female that
 ‘That woman dreamt.’
- (44) **Ykwiq**⁴ *ti*⁴ no⁴ kyqyu¹ kwa³.
 speak.CPL EV.MOD.3SG one male that
 ‘That guy just spoke.’

According to the possessed-subject hypothesis, an essence predicate is a predicate-subject construction comparable to that of (42): its nominal element (*riq*² ‘essence’ in (41)) is a subject, and as in (42), the inflectional marking on the subject expresses the person and number of an inalienable possessor; this entails that *no*⁴ *kyqyu*¹ *kwa*³ ‘that guy’ is not the subject of (41), but instead denotes an inalienable possessor, like *Xwa*³ ‘Juan’ in (42).

According to the compound predicate hypothesis, an essence predicate is a compound predicate comparable to those of (43) and (44). In a compound predicate, the second element is not a subject, but is either a complement or a modifier of the predicate (as in (43) and (44) respectively), so that its inflection encodes the person and number of the predicate’s subject rather than that of an inalienable possessor. This suggests that through grammaticalization, an essence predicate’s nominal component has come to

serve a quasi-adverbial function, ordinarily causing the predicate to refer to the psychological or physical state of its subject's referent.

In section 3, we examined four characteristics of essence predicates: their structural variety, their external syntax relative to event modifiers, their general lack of semantic compositionality, and their possible relation to the distributional flexibility of Chatino subject-agreement marking. As we have seen, these four criteria do not decisively favor either of the two hypotheses under consideration. The criterion of external syntax seems to favor the possessed-subject hypothesis; the criteria of structural variety and lack of compositionality seem to favor the compound predicate hypothesis; and the criterion of the distributional flexibility of subject agreement marking does not clearly favor either hypothesis.

It is clear from this impasse that a third hypothesis is necessary to account for the properties of essence predicates. We therefore suggest the following account.

- We regard an essence predicate as a lexeme whose predicative base and nominal component act as separate constituents in syntax.¹⁰ They are different from compound predicates in Chatino: their parts may be interrupted by event modifiers, while those of a compound predicate in general cannot.
- We propose that every Chatino predicate has an “inflectional domain” to which its agreement morphology is confined. A predicate is ordinarily its own domain; this is true whether the predicate is simplex or compound. In the former case, aspect/mood and agreement are expressed cumulatively. In the latter case, inflection is regulated by a principle of distributed exponence which we here equate with the Compound Inflection Criterion; according to this principle, a compound predicate's inflection is ordinarily bipartite, with aspect/mood marked on its head and agreement marked on nonhead component. (The details of this principle are complicated by deviations from this ordinarily bipartite pattern, as e.g. in the first-person singular forms in Tables 12 and 24; see Cruz & Woodbury (2013) for discussion of the range of such deviations.)
- Certain kinds of syntactic combinations also constitute inflectional domains. If a simplex verb is modified by an adjacent event modifier, these two words compose an inflectional domain, whose inflection again involves the distributed exponence

¹⁰There is abundant evidence that lexemes may inflect periphrastically; for discussion, see Börjars et al. (1997), Sadler & Spencer (2001), Ackerman & Stump (2004), Ackerman et al. (2011), Chumakina & Corbett (2013), Bonami & Samvelian (2009), and Bonami (2015). In many languages, a lexeme's paradigm may include both synthetic and periphrastic realizations; that is, periphrasis is used for the realization of particular morphosyntactic property sets (as in Latin, where periphrastic realizations occupy the perfective passive cells in paradigms whose other cells are realized synthetically). An essence predicate, however, is uniformly periphrastic in its realization; that is, the incidence of periphrasis is not restricted to the realization of particular morphosyntactic property sets, but is characteristic of all of an essence predicate's realizations. This view of essence predicates as lexemes whose realization is invariably periphrastic recalls the similar conception of Persian complex predicates proposed by Bonami & Samvelian (2010).

prescribed by the Compound Inflection Criterion.¹¹ In addition, an essence predicate is a lexeme whose periphrastic realization functions as an inflectional domain, exhibiting the same pattern of distributed exponence. In particular, its person/number marking is situated on its nominal component and is an expression of subject agreement rather than inalienable possession.

- An essence predicate's nominal component is not a subject, but has been grammaticalized as a quasi-adverbial formative ordinarily serving to express the psychological or physical state of the referent of the essence predicate's subject.
- The structural variety of essence predicates and their semantic idiosyncrasy reflect their status as lexemes listed in the lexicon.
- In most instances, the parts of an essence predicate are recognizably associated with independent lexemes, but this is not invariably the case. In English, the derivational suffix *-ize* may transparently relate a verb with a causative or inchoative meaning to a nominal or adjectival stem (*magnet* → *magnetize*, *popular* → *popularize*) but may also simply mark a causative or inchoative verb that is not synchronically related to any nominal or adjectival base (*baptize*, *ostracize*, *recognize*). Analogously, a Chatino essence predicate denoting a psychological or physical state may be transparently related (in form if not in content) to an independent predicate (as in (45)) but there are also "intrinsic" essence predicates that are synchronically unrelated to any independent predicate (as in (46)). The observed parallelism of reflexive verbs is again telling: *demande* 'ask' → *se demande* 'wonder', but *se moquer* 'mock' (**moquer*).

(45) *skwa*³ *riq*² (← *skwa*³ 's/he lay elevated')
's/he was fed up'

(46) *ndi*³² *riq*² (**ndi*³² without *riq*²)
's/he was thirsty'

Other Oto-Manguan languages possess essence predicates exhibiting both similarities to and differences from those of SJQ Chatino; future work on these similarities and differences will likely shed additional light on the properties of this distinctive class of predicates.

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¹¹There are also cases in which the combination of a compound predicate with an adjacent event modifier constitutes an inflectional domain in which subject agreement is marked both on the compound predicate's non-head component and on the event modifier; sentence (35) is an example of this sort.

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