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**A Grammar of Sierra Popoluca
(Soteapanec, a Mixe-Zoquean Language)**

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**A Grammar of Sierra Popoluca
(Soteapanec, a Mixe-Zoquean Language)**

by

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This dissertation is a comprehensive description of the grammar of Sierra Popoluca (SP, aka Soteapanec), a Mixe-Zoquean language spoken by approximately 28,000 people in Veracruz, Mexico. This grammar begins with an introduction to the language, its language family, a typological overview of the language, a brief history of my fieldwork, and the methodology undertaken in this study. The grammar continues with a description of the phonology of SP, followed by an overview of the word classes, including verbs, nouns, rela-

tional nouns/postpositions, adjectives, adverbs, and numbers, and formative types. The bulk of this grammar is devoted to the morphosyntax of Sierra Popoluca, including nouns and nominal morphology, verbs and verbal morphology, and the mechanisms for expressing tense, aspect, mood, and modality. The grammar also describes the complex predicate formation strategies and sentence-level syntax. A compilation of interlinearized texts appears in the appendix.

Sierra Popoluca is an agglutinating, polysynthetic, head-marking language with a complex verbal system. It has ergative-absolutive alignment and its grammar is sensitive to animacy and saliency hierarchies, evident in the case marking and ‘split’ plural systems. Its constituent order is verb-initial, although word order is pragmatically determined. Sierra Popoluca has a number of strategies to form complex predicates, which include verb serialization, noun incorporation, and dependent verb constructions.

The data available in this grammar contributes a body of data and descriptive analysis to broad theoretical areas of linguistics as well as existing research on the Mixe-Zoquean language family, languages throughout Mesoamerica, and especially the Gulf branch of the Zoquean family.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

The abbreviations used in this dissertation are as follows:

1:2	first person agent; second person object
2:1	second person agent; first person object
A	subject of transitive verb
ABS	absolutive
1ABS	first person absolutive
1ERG	first person ergative
1PRO	first person pronoun
2ABS	second person absolutive
2ERG	second person ergative
2PRO	second person pronoun
2PSR	second person possessor
3ABS	third person absolutive
3ERG	third person ergative
3PRO	third person pronoun
3PSR	third person possessor
ALR	'already'
AMBUL	ambulative
ANTIP	antipassive
ASSOC	associative
ASSUM	assumptive
AUX	auxiliary

CAUS ₁	causative: direct
CAUS ₂	causative: indirect
CMP	completive
CMP _{dep}	dependent completive
COMP	complementizer
DEP _{ia}	dependent intransitive, type a
DEP _{ib}	dependent intransitive, type b
DEP _t	dependent transitive
INDEF	defocused subject
DEPOS	depositive
DERIV	derivational
DESID	desiderative
DJO	‘it is said, they say’
ERG	ergative
fig.	figuratively
FRUS	frustrative
FUTURE	future
IABS	first person inclusive absolutive
IDEO	ideophone, sound symbolic expression
IERG	first person inclusive ergative
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect
INC	incompletive
INC _{dep}	dependent incompletive
BEN	indirective
INDEF	indefinite
LOC _{applic}	instrument
IPSR	first person inclusive possessor
lit.	literally
LOC ₁	locative indicating ‘at, in, on, with’
LOC ₂	locative indicating ‘inside’
LOC ₃	locative/relational component ‘below, near’
LOC ₄	locative/relational component ‘middle’
LOC ₅	locative/relational component ‘upper part’
LOC ₆	locative/relational component ‘head’
LOC ₇	locative/relational component ‘ground’
LOC ₈	locative/relational component ‘sky’

LOC ₉	locative/relational component
LOC ₁₀	locative/relational component ‘skin’
LOC ₁₁	locative/relational component ‘face, surface’
LOC ₁₂	locative/relational component
LOC ₁₃	locative/relational component
LOC ₁₄	locative/relational component ‘mouth, opening’
LOC ₁₅	locative/relational component ‘else’
ms	manuscript
MZ	Mixe-Zoquean
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
O	object of transitive verb
OPT	optative
p.c.	personal communication
PART	partitive
PASS	passive
PERF	perfective
PLU _{hum}	human plural
PLU _{nonhum}	nonhuman plural
PLU _{nonsap}	non-speech act participant plural
PLU _{sap}	speech act participant plural
PO	primary object
PRIV	privative
PROG	progressive
PROV	provisory
PSR	possessor
REDUP	reduplicated root
RR	reflexive/reciprocal
REL	relativizer
REP	repeat (v), another (n)
S	subject of intransitive verb
smo	someone
smt	something
SO	secondary object
SP	Sierra Popoluca (aka Soteapanec)
sp.	Spanish
STILL	‘still’

SUBORD	subordinator
TT	transitive thematic subject
VERS	versive
XABS	first person exclusive absolutive
XERG	first person exclusive ergative
XPSR	first person exclusive possessor
YET	'yet'

The symbols used in this dissertation are as follows:

+	clitic boundary
-	morpheme boundary
.	morpheme boundary in lexicalized expression
=	word root and stem boundary, compounds

There are over fifty different Indian languages spoken in the country, of which at least seven, each with two or three dialects, are in daily active use in the narrow, sparsely populated Isthmus. Zapotec, the language that concerns us here, is of course the dominant speech, but the other languages spoken there (Chontal, Huave, Nahuatl, Popoluca, Zoque, and Mixe) are extremely interesting because the archaism of some is an index of their antiquity. When they are more thoroughly studied, they may provide clues to the identity of the original group that once mastered the Isthmus.

—Covarrubias 1946

Because the geography and chronology of [proto-Mixe-Zoquean] and the Olmec correspond closely, we suggested [Mixe-Zoquean] languages as the most probable candidate for the linguistic identification of the Olmecs...Furthermore, the reconstructed [proto-Mixe-Zoquean] vocabulary items of cultural content suggest a rather sophisticated Mesoamerican culture for speakers of [proto-Mixe-Zoquean] around 1500 B.C., additional support for the hypothesis.

—Campbell and Kaufman 1976

Part I

Introduction and Preliminaries

Chapter 1

Introduction

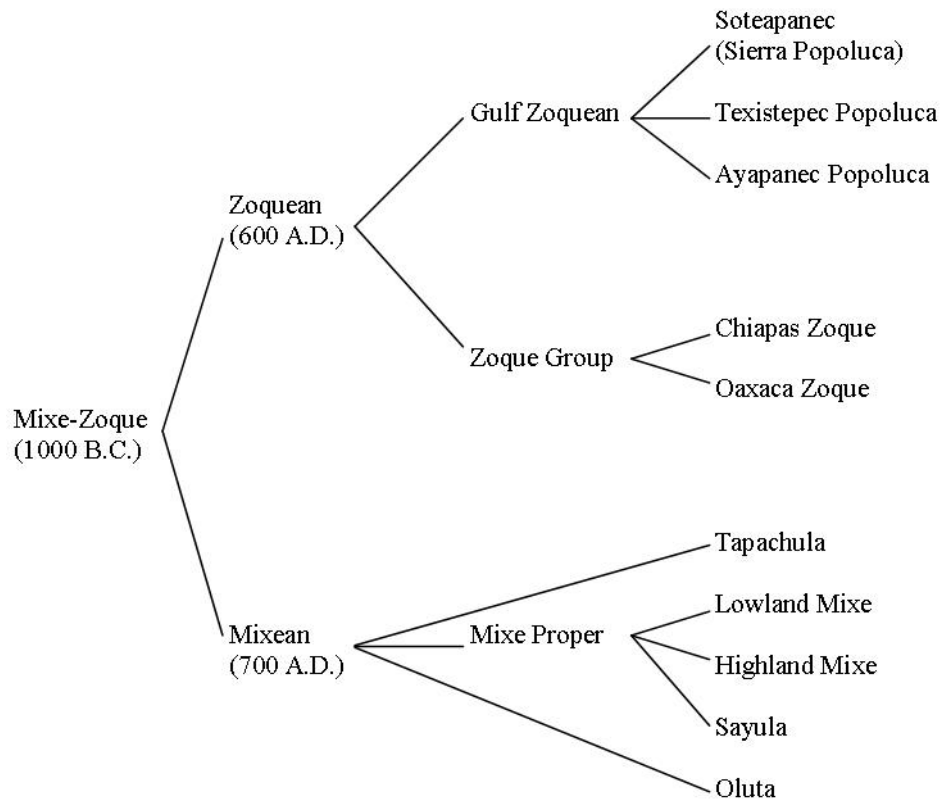
Sierra Popoluca (SP), also known as Soteapanec, is a Mixe-Zoquean language spoken in the southern part of the State of Veracruz, Mexico.

Figure 1.1: Sierra Popoluca Language Region



The Mixe-Zoquean family has two branches, Zoquean and Mixean (Kaufman 1963, 1964; Nordell 1962; Wichmann 1995; and Zavala 2000). SP is a member of the Gulf Zoquean subgroup, shown in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2: Mije-Zoquean Language Family (Zavala 2000)



SP is spoken by 28,194 (INALI 2008, based on INEGI 2000, 2005) individuals throughout four municipalities: Soteapan, Tatahuicapan, Hueyapan de Ocampo, and Benito Juarez.

1.1 Previous research

Existing research on the language consists of a number of published and unpublished works including: word lists, descriptions of phonology, morphology and syntax; historical reconstructions; ethnographic descriptions; and text collections. The bulk of this work focuses on two major areas. The first is the language's verbal morphosyntax. SP has a rich verbal system with a complex morphosyntax, which is largely informed by its alignment and hierarchical systems, as well as complex verb formation strategies. The second is based on its historical context and classification status within Mexico.

There are a number of publications providing brief descriptions of SP. These largely focus on its verbal morphosyntax, and a scan of these materials shows that phonology, nouns, and syntax tend to receive a treatment that is usually perfunctory. The first grammatical analysis of the language is Foster and Foster's (1948) grammatical sketch based on ethnographic and linguistic work conducted during the Spring of 1941 (45 pages). The most complete source of grammatical description up to now is Elson's (1956) Ph.D. dissertation "Sierra Popoluca Morphology" (211 pages). Revised and abbreviated versions appear in *The International Journal of American Linguistics* (Elson, 1960a) (18 pages); in a Spanish version was published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Elson, 1960b) (130 pages); and in a more refined description of Sotepanec morphology in Elson's (1967) "Sierra Popoluca" (20 pages). There also exist a number of papers on specific aspects of SP grammar. Elson has published revised excerpts from these grammars that focus specifically

on syllable structure (1947b), person marking (1961), passives (1984), word order (1989), and argument structure (1990). Elson and Marlett (1983) and Marlett (1986) published on SP applicatives and Lind on “Clause and Sentence Level Syntagmemes in Sierra Popoluca” (1963). Himes’ (1997) Master’s Thesis on “Multi-verb Constructions in Sierra Popoluca” deals with auxiliary verb constructions and the morphology associated with dependent clauses, and provides the starting point for the description of dependent clauses in this grammar.

Corresponding to the descriptive research conducted around the mid-1900s, another research focus was to situate SP genetically within the Mixe-Zoque family. Early reconstructive work includes Wonderly’s (1949) “Some Zoquean Phonemic and Morphophonemic Correspondences”; Wonderly and Elson’s (1953) “El sistema de prefijos personales en las lenguas zoqueanas”; and Nordell’s (1962) “On the Status of Popoluca in Zoque-Mixe”. The most extensive comparative work is found in Kaufman’s (1963) unpublished work “Mixe-Zoque Diachronic Studies” in which Kaufman presents a historical reconstruction of the main structural features of proto Mixe-Zoque. Campbell and Kaufman later publish their “A Linguistic Look at the Olmecs” (1976), in which they provide evidence for proto-Mixe-Zoquean as the language of the Olmecs. Elson (1992) also undertakes the task of reconstructing the features of language family, although his reconstruction is largely incomplete and much of the reconstruction had previously been done by Kaufman (1963) and Wichmann (1991), among others. More recently, Kaufman’s (1997) “Grammati-

calization Through Incorporation in the Diachrony of Mixe-Zoquean Verbs” provides a reconstruction of the grammatical patterns for proto-Mixe-Zoque based on his own work from 1958 to 1963 and 1991 to 1997. Kaufman’s (unpublished ms) ‘A Typological Sketch of the Mije-Sokean Languages”, intended as the introductory article for the Mije-Sokean dictionaries of the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Mesoamerica (PDLMA), provides an extensive and useful listing of the comparative morphology of Santa María Chimalapa Zoque, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque, Chiapas Zoque, Sotepanec, Texistepec, Sayula, and Olutec.

A more recent listing of reconstructed lexical items of proto-Mixe-Zoque can be found in Wichmann’s “The relation among the Mixe-Zoquean languages of Mexico” (1995, based on his 1991 MA thesis). In addition, Wichmann’s “Mixe-Zoquean linguistics: A status report” (1993) provides a review (with extensive bibliography) of existing literature on the Mixe-Zoquean languages. This survey includes description of publications relating to the language family dating as far back as 1927 (and earlier) and has proven an invaluable reference in locating existing resources on Sotepanec and the other Mixe-Zoquean languages. Elson’s (1992) less extensive “Reconstructing Mixe-Zoque” pulls from his own work on Sotepanec and a limited number of other resources.

Departing from the trend of focusing on the language’s morphosyntax, Gutierrez’ (2008) dissertation addresses grammaticalization and contact between Sierra Popoluca, Nahuatl and Spanish. His is the first study to look at SP in terms of language contact.

In terms of Soteapanec’s lexicon, there exist two resources. The primary source of lexical data is the database developed by the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso-America (PDLMA, Kaufman & Himes, in progress). Consisting of over 14,000 lexical entries, this database was created as a resource for the comparison and historical reconstruction of the languages of the Mixe-Zoquean language family, as well as a dictionary. Elson (1999) also published a dictionary of “Sierra Popoluca” consisting of approximately 2000 words and a brief grammar description. The entries from Elson’s dictionary have been incorporated into the PDLMA lexical database.

In the course of the research described here, I have used a number of texts, in addition to my own, that have been published or made available by researchers. Sixteen texts were given to me by the PDLMA, six of which were provided to the project by John Lind, a researcher for the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Elson’s (1947a) “The Homshuk: A Sierra Popoluca Text” has been translated into the PDLMA practical orthography as has Gutiérrez and Wichmann’s (2001) “Hem Tzitzimat, ‘La Chichimeca’”. These have been incorporated into the corpus used for analysis here.

Work on Soteapanec’s sister languages Texistepec and Ayapanec is somewhat more limited than that of Soteapanec. Both of these languages are severely endangered. Texistepec has a reported 238 speakers, Ayapanec 2 (INALI 2008, INEGI 2000, 2005). Ehren Reilly has written a number of works, which focus primarily on morphosyntax: “Ergativity and Agreement Splits at the Syntax/Phonology Interface” (2004a); “A Survey of Texistepec Popoluca

Verbal Morphology” (2002); and “Promiscuous Paradigms at the Morphologically Conditioned ‘Ergative Split’ in Texistepec Popoluca (Zoquean) (2004b). The resources for Ayapenec consist of word lists and field notes by Wichmann and Nordell and two short texts (Garcia de Leon G., 1969), as well as “lexical database of more than 6000 entries compiled by Daniel Suslak of the PDLMA, incorporating earlier PDLMA work by James Fox and Giulia Oliverio” (Kaufman p.c.).

The resources available on the languages of the Zoque group (Chiapas and Oaxaca) are also valuable for typological comparison. Heidi Johnson (2000) produced a detailed grammar of San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Oaxaca). Faarlund’s “Person marking in Chiapas Zoque - An Optimality account” (2004) has also proved useful in terms of comparative analysis of person markers in the Zoquean languages. Earlier work includes that of Francisco Leon Zoque (Chiapas, Engel and Engel 1987), Copainlá Zoque (Chiapas, Harrison et al. 1981), and Zoque de Rayón (Harrison et al. 1984).

The most extensive work for any of the Mixe-Zoquean languages has been on Olutec, on the Mixean side of the family, by Roberto Zavala. Zavala’s (2000) dissertation provides detailed grammatical description of Olutec with particular focus on the four morphosyntactic topics of ergativity and inversion; nuclear serial verbs; noun-incorporation and denominalization; and applicatives. Additional published work on Oluta includes Zavala’s work on inversion (2000, 2007) external possession (1999), Olutec causatives and applicatives (2001), serial verbs (2006), verb classes in Olutec (2001), adjectives

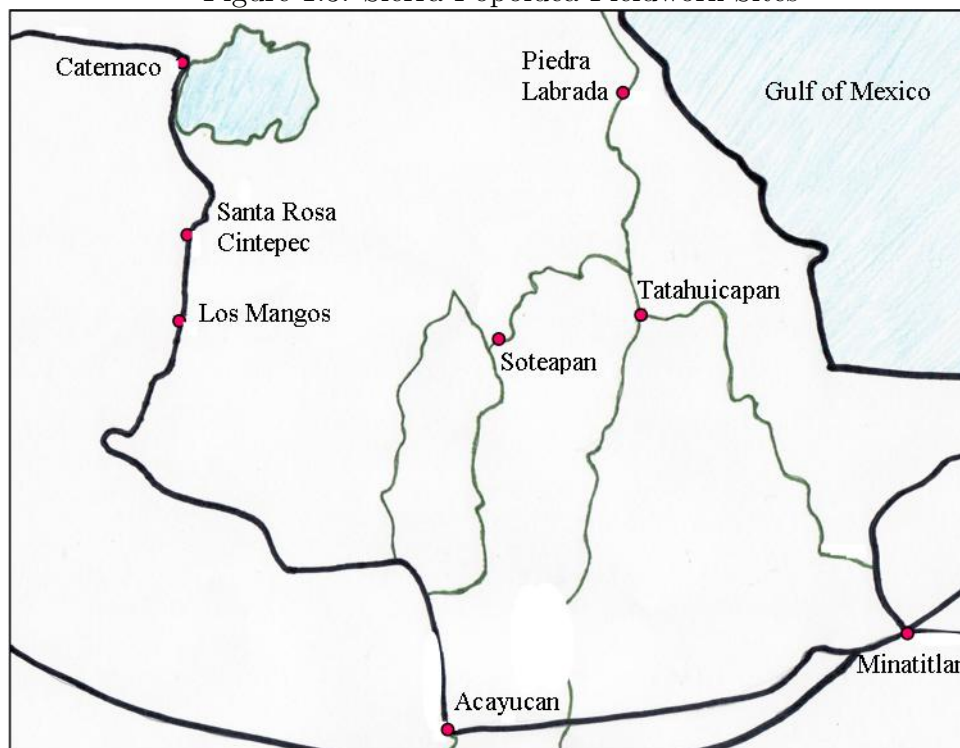
(2004), possessive constructions (2006), motion verbs (2003), and a collection of texts (2001), to name a few. In addition to the grammatical data available in these publication, Zavala (1998) has also compiled the comprehensive digital Olutec Trilingual Dictionary with over 6000 entries, posted on the web at <http://www.albany.edu/maldp>, which has also incorporated the “Diccionario Popoluca de Oluta” (Clark, 1981), published by SIL.

Other Mixe language work includes Clark’s work on Sayula, which include a collection of texts with a brief grammatical sketch (Clark 1961), a publication on verb derivation (Clark, 1983), and a dictionary, *Vocabulario Popoluca de Sayula* (Clark 1981).

1.2 Fieldwork

I made five fieldwork trips ranging from 1 week to 9 months from 2004 to 2009, totaling just over 11 months. During this time I worked with speakers from three different communities (figure 1.3): Soteapan, Piedra Labrada and Santa Rosa Cintepec (10 minutes by bus from Los Mangos). In 2004 I worked in Catemaco with Juliana Albino Franco during preliminary stages of research on Sierra Popoluca. I began work in 2005 in Soteapan (figure 1.4), where I stayed for eight months.

Figure 1.3: Sierra Popoluca Fieldwork Sites



In Soteapan, I worked primarily with 8 speakers: Cirilo Hernández Arizmendi, his wife Enedina Rodríguez Pérez and his daughter Catalina Hernández Rodríguez (Figure 1.5), Pastora Duarte Savalsa (Figure 1.6), Rosa Cervantes Rodríguez, Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco, Etiberio Ramírez Pérez, and Reina Gutiérrez Rodríguez. During the summer of 2005 I worked in Catemaco with Juliana Albino Franco. At this time I was also acquainted with Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez in Santa Rosa Cintepec, near Los Mangos, and began commuting daily to work with her.

Figure 1.4: Soteapan, View from Colored Hills 2005



During the summers of 2006 and 2007, I returned to the field to work with Ms. Franco in Catemaco (and at her home in Piedra Labrada, figure 1.7) and Ms. Gutiérrez in Santa Rosa (figure 1.8). I also traveled to Soteapan for brief field visits to work with Ms. Rodríguez and Ms. Savalsa. In 2009, I returned to Piedra Labrada, where I also worked with Reina Gutiérrez Albino and Fidencio Albino Gutiérrez.

Figure 1.5: Enedina Rodríguez Pérez, Catalina Hernández Rodríguez, and Cirilo Hernández (from left), Soteapan 2005



Figure 1.6: Pastora Duarte Savalsa with author, Soteapan 2005



Figure 1.7: Juliana Albino Franco at home, Piedra Labrada 2007



Figure 1.8: Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez with her grandchildren Kevin and Patricia, Santa Rosa Cintepec 2007



1.3 Methodology

The methodology I used centered on the collection and analysis of recorded texts, both audio and video, in a variety of genres, including narratives about personal experiences; traditional and non-traditional versions of well-known stories; legends; ethno-medical descriptions of illness and treatment; folk etymologies; public service announcements; anecdotes; explanations of daily life, past and present; historical accounts of the village; recipes; naturally occurring conversations; and descriptions prompted by video stimulus. The texts were recorded digitally with the Marantz PMD670 and Edirol Wave/MP3 24 bit digital Recorder R-1. The texts were translated by native speaker consultants and transcribed in the PDLMA orthography (see below) using Linguist's Toolbox. Over 60 hours of language data have been recorded, 12 hours of which consist of narratives and conversation. About 10% of the 12 hours of the naturally occurring discourse have been transcribed. The corpus consists of over 5300 sentences (not clauses). The corpus of texts is supplemented with direct elicitation of paradigms and grammatical forms, transcribed in the PDLMA orthography.

The data in this grammar comes from a number of sources. Primary data was obtained during field work in the towns of San Pedro Soteapan, La Piedra Labrada, and Santa Rosa Cintepec. Native speakers from these communities included men and women ranging in age from 29 to 80. While younger speakers have assisted primarily with translation and transcription, they have also provided texts in the form of narratives and conversations and

participated in elicitation sessions. The older speakers participated principally in providing textual data, some elicitation, and some translation of texts. Informed consent has been obtained from each of these speakers.

Non-primary data comes from the PDLMA lexical database, which consists of over 14,000 lexical entries and examples. This database was made available to me for my use in working on Soteapanec by the PDLMA. Other sources of textual data come from published texts by Elson (1947a, 1956, 1984) and Gutiérrez and Wichmann (2001). These texts have been incorporated into the text corpus and used in the analysis of the grammar presented here. The texts used here are listed and coded in Appendix B, organized by source. A large number of the texts I obtained during my fieldwork are stored at the Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (<http://ailla.utexas.org/site/welcome.html>).

1.4 Orthographic Issues

There are a few orthographies in use for SP, which include orthographies from SIL, community (SIL based), IPA, and PDLMA, among other. I have chosen to use the PDLMA orthography throughout the majority of the dissertation for two practical reasons. The first is my association with the PDLMA and the breadth of existing work and resources made available to me at every stage of writing this grammar. The work on SP, as well as the Mixe-Zoque languages, by the PDLMA has produced the largest collection of lexical and textual materials. The research across the languages within the family is unified by the

orthography. In addition, the use of the PDLMA orthography is the most consistent throughout the literature available on SP. Second, in choosing between the PDLMA orthography and the IPA, the PDLMA orthography has more in common with the orthographies in use by the communities, and therefore is more accessible to the communities. A chart showing the symbols used in this grammar and those used by the PDLMA and by the community is shown in Table 1.1. The only exception in my use of orthographies is the glottal stop. I use the symbol ʔ, rather than the symbol ʔ. Because of the limitations of this orthography with respect to the details of the phonology, I use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) throughout the phonology chapter (2).

Table 1.1: Transcription symbols

IPA	PLDMA	Community
i	i/ü	i
tʰ	ty	ty
dʰ	dy	dy
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ts	tz	ts
tʃ	ch	ch
ʃ	x	x
ɲ	ny	ñ
ŋ	nh	ñ (also ng)

The other set of symbols used in this grammar are the boundary marking symbols shown in Table 1.4. These include clitic boundaries, morpheme boundaries, and morpheme boundaries in lexicalized expressions.

Table 1.2: Morpheme Boundaries

Clitic boundary	+
Suffix boundary	-
Lexicalized morpheme boundary	.
Compound word boundary	=

1.4.1 Presentation of Examples

The examples are presented in four lines, illustrated in (1.1): (i) the phonemic transcription; (ii) the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown; (iii) the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses; and (iv) the free translation. Line (i) provides as close to a broad phonetic transcription as permitted by the practical orthography, which is essentially phonemic. That is, I attempt to capture processes such as metathesis and glottalization.

- (1.1) (i) *nɨg* *i+tyopyaj* *jeʔm* *?i+chimpa*
(ii) *nɨkk-W* *?i+top-yaj-W₂* *jeʔm* *?i+chimpa*
(iii) *g_{oaux}-CMP* *ʒERG+extract-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t* that *ʒPSR+dog*
(iv) ‘They went to get his dog.’ (REY.046)

I have incorporated a number of texts from different sources into my own corpus, including texts transcribed by SIL researchers, the PDLMA, as well as

other researchers (Elson, the Fosters, Gutiérrez and Wichmann). The different sources use different transcription methods, and the different transcription methods reflect different levels of phonemic detail, as well as morphophonemic analysis. To avoid making assumptions about other researchers' transcriptions, I have attempted to preserve the transcriptions of previous researchers when they do not represent competing analyses. Therefore, even if a researcher's transcription does not capture (surface) phonetic detail, I preserve the original transcription. For instance, observe the word *ʔapityʔiʔy* in example (1.2). While this transcription is true to the analysis, the surface form would be realized as *ʔapidyiʔy* ([ʔa.pi'dʲiʔy]) in the orthography.

(1.2) *jeʔm kuuma tzaam ʔapityʔiʔy* *pero jemik+ʔam*
 jeʔm kuuma tzaam **Ø+ʔapity-ʔiʔy-W** pero jemik+ʔam
 that palm.tree a.lot 3ABS+thorn-PROV-CMP but there+ALR
 'The palm tree had a lot of thorns but there

ʔetzpa ʔi+xʔ
 ʔetz-pa ʔi+siʔ-W₃
 dance-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 he is dancing.' (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.188)

1.5 Typological Characteristics

Soteapanec is an ergative, head-marking, agglutinating, polysynthetic language. That is, grammatical words are composed of a number of concatenated morphemes, and phrase heads bear the majority of morphemes. It is predominantly a verb initial language, although word order is pragmatically influenced. With respect to its alignment system, SP is an ergative/absolutive, primary

object language with a hierarchical system. It also exhibits split ergativity motivated by subordination. The hierarchical system is pervasive throughout the grammar, appearing throughout its alignment and number system.

As a polysynthetic language, SP has highly productive predicate formation processes, which include noun incorporation (ch. 20) and verb serialization (ch. 21). Processes such as verb serialization constitute one end of a continuum of complex predicate constructions in SP. The language also has a number of complex predicates composed of multiple verbs that co-occur as independent lexical items yet share information about person, aspect/mood, and number (ch. 22). At the furthest end of the continuum, SP also has a number of clause combining strategies in which verbs remain independent (ch. 23).

1.6 Objectives and Organization of Grammar

SP has a rich and complex verbal system, which in addition to its genetic affiliation, has drawn much of analytical attention that the language has received over the course of the last century. The goals of any grammar are to (1) document the language—critical in light of the status of many of the world’s languages today—and (2) to provide as broad as possible a description of a language to contribute to research in the various linguistic subdisciplines. In addition to these objectives, this grammar will contribute a body of data and descriptive analysis to existing research on SP and the Mixe-Zoquean language family.

The analysis presented in this grammar both complements and supple-

ments the existing research on SP, and in turn the Mixe-Zoque languages, in a number of ways. As stated above, the majority of research on SP has largely focused on the language's rich verbal system with its complex morphosyntax and verb formation strategies, as well as its historical context. In addition to the broad, field-specific objectives described above, this grammar has five goals specific to SP research. First, this grammar seeks to add to our knowledge of the SP sound system by providing a detailed description of the phonology. Second, this grammar seeks to provide a thorough treatment of nonverbal elements of the language, which have tended to draw only peripheral attention. Third, this grammar seeks to add to what we know about the complexity of the verbal system, building on the work of previous scholars and applying analytical tools available to researchers today. Forth, the grammar seeks to complement the existing research on sentence structure with consideration to information structure. Fifth, the grammar seeks to present a more complete picture of the complex predicate formation strategies found in the language. These goals are reflected in the organization of this grammar.

The grammar is divided into six parts. Part I deals with the preliminaries, which includes the introduction, a description of the sound system (ch. 2), and an overview of the SP words and formatives (ch. 3).

Part II addresses nonverbal elements in five chapters. Chapter 4 provides description nouns and their morphology, morphosyntax and associated syntax. Chapter 5 describes each of the nominal modifiers: adjectives, demonstratives, possessors, quantifiers and relative clauses. In each of its correspond-

ing sections, each word class receives a thorough treatment of its morphology, morphosyntax and associated syntax. Postpositions and relational nouns make up a distinct word class from adverbs that manifests a number of unique properties in the language. The word class is described independently in ch. 6. Adverbs make up a small closed class of words consisting of lexicalized expressions. These are addressed in ch. 7.

Part III deals with predicates. In chapter 8 I define the verb class and its subclasses. I include the chapter on non-verbal predicates in chapter (ch. 9), in which I compare non-verbal predicates with verbs. I provide a description of verbal derivation in chapter 10, which includes description of lexical prefixes.

SP has an ergative/absolutive alignment system that is informed by a hierarchical system. The alignment and number systems are described in detail with consideration of hierarchy in chapter 11. The aspect and mood systems (SP is a tenseless language) are described in chapter 12. This chapter also deals with modality, a complex topic that requires future investigation. The aspect and number systems are revisited at length in the descriptions of voice (ch. 13) and valency adjusting (ch. 14). Because of the richness of verbal morphology, part III is concluded with a summary overview of verbal morphology in ch. 15.

The syntax of clause types is essentially addressed over the course of four chapters in Part IV. These chapters include: Simple Clause (ch. 16), Negation (ch. 17), Interrogative Clauses (ch. 18), and Topic and Focus (ch. 19).

Part V deals with complex structures, which consists of discussion of

complex predicates and multi-verb constructions. The first three chapters describe complex predicates. SP has two types of noun incorporation, including external possession, described in chapter 20. It also has nuclear verb serialization, or verb compounding, which is described in chapter 21. SP also has complex verbal constructions whereby phonologically independent verb stems make up complex verbal units that are syntactically bound. These are described in the chapter on dependent verb constructions (ch. 22).

SP has a number of strategies for combining independent clauses that demonstrate a low level of integration, compared with the complex predicates described in the preceding chapters. The remaining five chapters describe these constructions: complement clauses (ch. 23), adverbial and conditional clauses (ch. 25), relative clauses (ch. 24), a preliminary treatment of secondary predication (ch. 26), and coordination (27).

The concluding chapter in Part VI provides a summary overview of the grammar of SP.

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter describes the sound system of SP, including the phonemic and phonetic inventories of consonants and vowels (§2.1), the syllable structure (§2.3), stress (§2.4), phonological processes (§2.5) and morphophonemic processes (§2.6).

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

The SP phonemic inventory consists of 13 consonants (§2.1.1) and 12 vowels (§2.1.2). The inventory is described here. In this chapter examples appear in both the practical orthography and the IPA¹. Only the practical orthography is used in subsequent chapters.

¹For description of the phonology I use the International Phonetic Alphabet. The practical orthography developed by the Project for the Documentation of the Languages of Meso America (PDLMA) is as follows: t^j = ty ; d^j = dy; ts = tz; tʃ = ch; f = x; ɲ = ny; ŋ = nh; j = y. All other differences are noted throughout text.

2.1.1 Consonants

The SP consonant inventory is shown in Table 2.2. SP has 13 native phonemes²: four voiceless stops /p, t, k, ʔ/, one voiced stop /g/, two fricatives /s, h/, three nasals /m, n, ŋ/, two glides /w, j/, and one unspecified segment /H/.

Table 2.1: Phoneme Inventory: Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops (-voice)	p	t			k	ʔ
(+voice)						
affricate		ts				
fricative		s				h
nasal	m	n			ŋ	
liquid						
approximant	w			j		
tap/flap						
trill						
unspecified segment						H

²Himes' (1997:14) indicates that there are only 11 consonants in the phoneme inventory, stating that these segments are native to SP; however, she does not list that inventory. Diachronically, the motivation for Himes' inventory is consistent with that of the Proto-MZ inventory (Kaufman 1997); nevertheless, it does not take into account the phonemes that occur marginally. On the other hand, Elson (1967:270) lists 21 consonants in his inventory. These are: voiceless stops /p, t, t^j, k/; voiced stops /b, d, d^j, g/; affricates /ts, tʃ/; fricatives; /s, ʃ, h/; nasals /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/; approximants /j, w, l/; and tap /r/. Elson's analysis treats the glottal stop as suprasegmental, and therefore it is not included in his inventory. The analysis presented here treats the glottal stop as phonemic. Motivation for this treatment is discussed in §2.2.1.1. In addition, Elson does not include the alveolar trill /r/.

Examples (2.1)³ and (2.2) provide minimal pair sets (or near minimal pair sets) showing the phonemes /p, t, k, ts, s, h, m, n, ŋ, w, j/ in SP. The set shown in (2.1) shows all phonemes with the exception of /s/, /w/, /j/ and /ŋ/. The set shown in (2.2) shows all phonemes with the exception of /k/ and /ŋ/.

(2.1) CORE PHONEMES IN *_ak* SET:

<i>pak</i>	/pak/	[p ak ^h]	‘bone’
<i>tak</i>	/tak-pa+ʔam/	[t ak ^h .pam]	‘It is weaving.’
<i>kak</i>	/kak-taH-W/	[k ak ^h .taah]	‘It is lent.’
<i>ʔak+</i>	proclitic ‘causative’	[ʔak.kəʔ.taah]	‘He’s been killed.’
<i>jak</i>	/hak-taH-pa/	[hak ^h .taap ^h]	‘It is being split.’
<i>tzak</i>	/tsak-taH-W/	[tsak ^h .taah]	‘It was left.’
<i>makti</i>	/makti/	[mak ^h .tiʔ]	‘supernatural being’
<i>naks</i>	/naks-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/	[naks.nɛʔ.um]	‘It has cleared.’

(2.2) CORE PHONEMES IN *_ik* SET:

<i>pik</i>	/pik-taH-pa/	[p ik ^h .taap ^h]	‘It has been taken.’
<i>tik</i>	/tik/	[t ik ^h]	‘house’
<i>ʔiks</i>	/ʔiks-taH-W/	[ʔiks ^h .taah]	‘Shelled (of maize).’
<i>hik</i>	/hik-W-ʔam/	[h ik.:um]	‘[Water] came down.’
<i>sik</i>	/sik/	[s ik ^h]	‘bean’
<i>tsik</i>	/tsik-taH-W/	[tsik ^h .taah]	‘It has been touched.’
<i>mik</i>	/mik-taH-pa/	[m ik ^h .taap]	‘It has been rolled in a ball.’
<i>nikk</i>	/nikk-W+ʔam/	[n ik.:um]	‘He went already.’
<i>wik</i>	/wik-taH-W/	[w ik ^h .taah]	‘It has been sliced.’
<i>yik</i>	/jik/	[j ik ^h]	‘black’

³The segment *-W* represents the completive suffix, which has five allomorphs in its surface form. The segment is described in §2.6.

The phoneme /ŋ/ does not occur in word initial position; however, it does occur in final position. It is shown contrasting with /m/ in (2.3) and /n/ in (2.4).

(2.3) NASALS /m/ AND /ŋ/ IN WORD FINAL POSITION:

<i>tzam</i>	/tsam-W/	[tsam]	'It is ripe.'
<i>tzanh</i>	/wiH-ʔaH-pa+tsaŋ/	[wi.'ʔaap.tsaŋ]	'He is able it is said.'

(2.4) NASALS /n/ AND /ŋ/ IN WORD FINAL POSITION:

<i>kiinpa</i>	/kiin-pa/	[kiin.paʔ]	'It smells.'
<i>kiinhpa</i>	/kiinh-pa/	[kiinh.paʔ]	'He's scared.'

There are 11 restricted phonemes (Table 2.2): two phonemes (/l/ and /r/) occur only in ideophones; three phonemes (/b, d, g/) occur in lexicalized expressions and in Spanish borrowings; six (/t^j, d^j, ts, tʃ, ʃ, ɲ/) occur in ideophones, in lexicalized expressions, and in Spanish borrowings; and one phoneme (/r/) occurs in stylistic alternations. There is also a segment [f], which occurs only in very few Spanish loans. The Spanish phoneme /f/ typically surfaces as [p] in borrowed words. The difference between the segment [f] and the segments [l, r, r] is that the former occurs only in borrowed forms, and rarely, whereas the latter occur in sound symbolic expressions, therefore constituting phonemes, however restricted they may be. For this reason I do not include /f/ in the sound inventory.

Table 2.2: Phonemic Inventory: Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops (-voice)			(tʃ)			
(+voice)	(b)	(d)	(dʒ)		(g)	
affricate			(tʃ)			
fricative			(ʃ)			
nasal				(ɲ)		
liquid		(l)				
approximant						
tap/flap		(ɾ)				
trill		(r)				
unspecified						

2.1.2 Vowels

SP has a 12 vowel system: three high vowels, two mid vowels, and one low vowel. Vowel length is contrastive, although the contrast is neutralized in stressed open syllables, when short vowels are lengthened. The vowel inventory is shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Phoneme Inventory: Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i i:	ɨ ɨ:	u u:
mid	ɛ ɛ:		ɔ ɔ:
low	a a:		

Example (2.5) lists a minimal pair set (or near minimal pair set) illustrating the short vowels in SP.

(2.5) VOWEL CONTRAST:

<i>juk</i>	/tan+huk-W/	[tan.'huk ^h]	'We smoke it.'
<i>jok</i>	/hək-pa/	[hək.pa [?]]	'[His] vision is cloudy.'
<i>jiks</i>	/ʔa+hiks-pa/	[ʔa.'hiks.pa [?]]	'I hurry.'
<i>jek</i>	/ʔan+hɛks-pa/	[ʔan.'hɛks.pa [?]]	'I knock it down.'
<i>jak</i>	/ʔan+hak-pa/	[ʔan.'hak ^h .pa [?]]	'I cut it.'
<i>jik</i>	/hik-pa/	[hik.pa ^h]	'[Water] comes down.'

Vowel length is contrastive in a handful of words, as illustrated with the minimal pair sets in (2.6).

(2.6) MINIMAL PAIRS CONTRASTING VOWEL LENGTH:

(a)	/ʔan+pit ^j -pa/	[ʔam.'pit ^{jh} .pa [?]]	'I roll up [tortilla]'
	/ʔan+pit ⁱ -pa	[ʔam.'pit ^{ih} .pa [?]]	'I bandage [a wound]'
(b)	/hik-pa/	[hik ^h .pa [?]]	'[water level] goes down'
	/hi:k-taH-pa/	[hi:k ^h .'ta:p ^h]	'it is dragged'
(d)	/ʔan+kum-pa/	[ʔaŋ.'kum.pa]	'I bury it'
	/ʔan+ku:m-pa/	[ʔaŋ.'ku:m.pa]	'I pile it up'
(e)	/ʔan+hɛts-pa/	[ʔan.'hɛts.pa [?]]	'I brush [my hair]'
	/ʔan+hɛ:ts-pa/	[ʔan.'hɛ:ts.pa [?]]	'I scratch it'
(f)	/kəm-pa/	[kəm.pa [?]]	'it fills up'
	/kə:m-pa ʔi+nuʔk-W/	[kə:m.pa ʔi'nuʔk ^h]	'he arrives crouched over'
(g)	/ʔan+paŋ-pa/	[ʔam.'paŋ.pa [?]]	'I drive a nail in it'
	/ʔan+pa:ŋ-pa/	[ʔam.'pa:ŋ.pa [?]]	'I plant seed'

Other pairs include *tip* ‘to spear’ and *tɪp* ‘to cool’, *haj* ‘to write’ and *haɪj* ‘to make pile with hands’, *waj* ‘to listen from afar’ and *waɪj* ‘play with horns’.

Notice the semantic similarities in some pairs. For example in (2.6a), the verb root *piʔ* means to wrap or roll up a flat object such as a tortilla or a leaf around something else; *pi:ʔ* means specifically to wrap a bandage around a body part. Vowel length is not used to alter the meaning of a root productively, and this is not a strategy reported in other Mixe-Zoquean languages. It seems to once have been a productive process for creating new vocabulary.

2.2 Description of Sounds in SP

The segments described in this section are organized into their natural classes, predominantly grouped by manner of articulation. Throughout the description that follows, the allophonic realizations are discussed with their phonemic counterparts.

2.2.1 Voiceless Stops

The phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/⁴ are the voiceless bilabial, alveolar, velar, and glottal stops, respectively. /p/, /t/, and /k/ occur in onset and coda, as well as in word initial and final position. The glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs in word initial and final position, as well as in coda position; however it is subject to

⁴Note on phonetic transcription: Throughout Chapter 2, when glottal stop is phonemic, the glottal stop will be represented in standard 12pt font. However, when the glottal stop is phonetic, it will be transcribed in superscript typeface. Throughout the rest of the grammar, the phonetic occurrence of the glottal stop will not be transcribed.

behavior that distinguishes it from the other stops in the series and is therefore discussed independently in §2.2.1.1 below. I include discussion of allophonic [tʰ] in this section because it patterns as a natural class with stops. Examples of /p/, /t/, and /k/ are shown in (2.7)⁵⁶ through (2.9).

(2.7) /p/ VOICELESS BILABIAL STOP:

Onset Position:

<i>piiji</i>	/pi:h-i/	[pi :hiʔ]	‘heat’
<i>pijpa</i>	/piH-pa/	[pi :pa]	‘she’s gotten fat’
<i>puʔu</i>	/puʔu/	[pu .ʔuʔ]	‘belly’
<i>peekam</i>	/pɛ:k+ʔam/	[pɛ :kam]	‘long ago’
<i>poopo</i>	/pɔɔpɔ/	[pɔ :pɔʔ]	‘white’
<i>pak</i>	/pak/	[pa k ^h]	‘bone’
<i>kiiipi</i>	/ki:pi/	[ki :piʔ]	‘fire wood’
<i>jeʔm+piʔk</i>	/heʔm+piʔk/	[he :m. pi ʔk]	‘like this’
<i>wiitypu</i>	/wi:tʰ=puj/	[wi :tʰ. pu j]	‘leg’
<i>pejpen</i>	/pɛhpɛn/	[pɛ h. pɛ n]	‘bastard’
<i>ʔikx=poʔoty</i>	/ʔikʃ-i=pɔʔt-i/	[ʔikʃ. pɔ ʔɔ.tʰiʔ]	‘ground corn’
<i>ʔetz-pa+ʔam</i>	/ʔɛts-pa+ʔam/	[ʔɛts. pa m]	‘he’s dancing’

⁵Note that in the surface form the completive morpheme -W does not surface. This is the result of stress assignment patterns in SP and is described in detail in §2.4.

⁶Note that the notation [VʔV] represents a single long vowel with glottal pulse. This sequence represents a single vowel nucleus. For this reason there is no syllable boundary.

Coda Position:

<i>jipxi</i>	/hipʃ-i/	[hip .ʃiʔ]	‘burn (n.)’
<i>tiʔip=teeruj</i>	/tiʔipi=teeruh/	[tiʔi p .ʔe:ruh]	‘fisherman’
<i>ʔi+jupkaʔaba</i>	/ʔi+hup-kaʔ-pa/	[ʔi.hu p .kaʔa.ba]	‘he’s going to drown him’
<i>ʔa+neppa</i>	/ʔa+nɛp-pa/	[ʔa.nɛ p .paʔ]	‘it is kicking me’
<i>ʔi+tyopyaj</i>	/ʔi+tʔɔp-jah-W/	[ʔi.tʔɔ p .jah]	‘they took it out’
<i>kugaptzuʔ</i>	/kugaptsuʔ/	[ku.ʔga p .tsuʔ ^h]	‘midnight’
<i>ʔi+nyip</i>	/ʔi+nip-W/	[ʔi.ni p]	‘she planted it’
<i>ʔan+jip</i>	/ʔan+hip/	[ʔan.hi p ^h]	‘my mouth’
<i>juʔp</i>	/huʔp/	[huʔ p]	‘which’
<i>ʔi+jeps</i>	/ʔi+hɛps-W/	[ʔi.hɛ ps]	‘she served it’
<i>ʔi+tyop</i>	/ʔi+top-W/	[ʔi.tʔɔ p]	‘he took it out’
<i>niʔmaʔytyaap</i>	/nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa/	[niʔ.maʔj.tʔa a p ^h]	‘he’s being told’

(2.8) /t/ VOICELESS ALVEOLAR STOP:

Onset Position:

<i>ʔa+tiʔppa</i>	/ʔa+tiʔp-pa/	[ʔa.tiʔp.paʔ]	‘they’re inviting me’
<i>tuj</i>	/tuh/	[‘tuh]	‘rain’
<i>teeny</i>	/tɛ:n/-W/	[‘tɛ:n]	‘he stood up’
<i>toomi</i>	/tɔ:mi/	[‘tɔ:miʔ]	‘near’
<i>ta+nimpa</i>	/ta+nim-pa/	[ta.'nim.paʔ]	‘we say’
<i>ʔan+tik</i>	/ʔan+tik/	[ʔan.'tik ^h]	‘my house’
<i>juʔktuuku</i>	/juʔk=tu:ku/	[juʔk ^h .tu:kuʔ]	‘orphan’
<i>wisteen</i>	/wistɛ:n/	[wis.'tɛ:n]	‘two’
<i>yamtoʔoba</i>	/jam-tɔʔ-pa/	[jam.'tɔʔ.baʔ]	‘she wants to hide’
<i>yoom+tam</i>	/jɔ:mɔ+tam/	[jɔ:m.tam]	‘women’

Coda Position:

<i>miʔit</i>	/miʔit/	[‘mi.ʔit ^h]	‘brother-in-law’
<i>tzut</i>	/tsut-W/	[‘tzut ^h]	‘it fell’
<i>ʔi+pet</i>	/ʔi+pɛt-W/	[‘pɛt ^h]	‘he swept’
<i>ʔi+ku+woot</i>	/ʔi+ku+wɔ:t-W/	[ʔi.ku'wɔ:t ^h]	‘she rolled it up’
<i>suyat</i>	/sujat/	[‘sujat ^h]	‘palm’
<i>ʔi+wiiɪtpa</i>	/ʔi+wiiɪt-pa/	[ʔi'wiiɪt ^h .paʔ]	‘she massages her’
<i>ʔi+wii=pettzak</i>	/ʔi+wiiH=pɛt=tsak-W/	[ʔi,wii.pɛt'tsak ^h]	‘she swept it well’
<i>putpa</i>	/put-pa/	[‘put ^h .paʔ]	‘he is leaving’
<i>pottzaʔ</i>	/pɔttsaʔ/	[pɔt.tsaʔ ^h]	‘obsidian’
<i>ʔi+watpa</i>	/ʔi+wat-pa/	[ʔi'wat ^h paʔ]	‘he is making it’

(2.9) /k/ VOICELESS VELAR STOP

Onset Position:

<i>kiʔmpa</i>	/kiʔm-pa/	[kiʔ m.paʔ]	‘he ascends
<i>kiipi</i>	/kiipi/	[ki: piʔ]	‘fire wood’
<i>ku+tyuum</i>	/ku+tʲu:m/	[ku.tʲum]	‘alone’
<i>ketum</i>	/kɛt-W+ʔam/	[kɛt .tum]	‘he descended already’
<i>komom</i>	/kom-W+ʔam/	[kɔ .mɔm]	‘it filled up already’
<i>kaʔnpu</i>	/kaʔnpu/	[kaʔ n.puʔ]	‘egg’
<i>ʔi+ʔaʔmkiʔmpa</i>	/ʔi+ʔaʔmkiʔmpa/	[ʔi.ʔaʔm. kiʔ m.paʔ]	‘she looks up’
<i>ʔa+tzaanykiinhpa</i>	/ʔa+tsaɲ=ki:ŋ-pa/	[ʔa.ʔsa:ŋ. ki:ŋ .paʔ]	‘I fear snakes.’
<i>ʔixkuy</i>	/ʔiʃ=kuj/	[ʔiʃ. kuj]	‘eye’
<i>ʔa+nh+kɛj</i>	/ʔa+ŋ+kɛh-i/	[ʔaŋ. kɛɛ .hiʔ]	‘Teach us.’
<i>ʔanh+koobak</i>	/ʔan+kɔ:bak/	[ʔaŋ. kɔ: bak ^h]	‘my head’

Coda Position:

<i>ʔany+chik</i>	/ʔan+ʃik-W/	[ʔaŋ. ʃik^h]	‘I harvested it’
<i>sik</i>	/sik/	[sik^h]	‘bean’
<i>kuybuk</i>	/kujbuk/	[kuj .buk ^h]	‘achiote’
<i>kek</i>	/kek-W/	[kɛk^h]	‘it flew off’
<i>mok</i>	/mɔk/	[mɔk^h]	‘corn’
<i>ʔi+nektzak</i>	/ʔi+nɛk=tsak-W/	[ʔi.nɛk. ʔsak^h]	‘he left it swept’
<i>pak</i>	/pak/	[pak^h]	‘bone’
<i>xikpa</i>	/ʃik-pa/	[ʃik.paʔ]	‘she laughs’
<i>nikpa+m</i>	/nik-pa+ʔam/	[nik^h .pam]	‘he’s going already’
<i>mukneʔ</i>	/muk-nɛʔ-W/	[muk .nɛʔ ^h]	‘he fell’
<i>kekyajpa</i>	/kɛk-jah-pa/	[kɛk .ʔjah.paʔ]	‘they’re flying’
<i>nokkoy</i>	/nɔkkɔj/	[nɔk .kɔj]	‘pants’
<i>ʔa+pakjaʔppa</i>	/ʔa+pak=haʔp-pa/	[ʔa.pak. haʔ p.paʔ]	‘we grind the seed’

The voiceless stop /t/ does not occur adjacent to the high front vowel /i/ or palatal (or palatalized) consonants [tʲ, ʃ, ɲ, tʃ, j]. That is, /t/ does occur preceding nor following these segments. In these environments, /t/ surfaces as [tʲ], as shown by the pairs in (2.10).

(2.10) [t] ~ [tʲ] ALTERNATION:

(a)	/ʔa+sɛ:t-pa/	[ʔa+sɛ:tpaʔ]	‘I return.’
	/mɔhpa ʔa+sɛ:t-i/	[mɔh.pa ʔa.'sɛ:t.tʲiʔ]	‘I begin returning.’
(b)	/ʔan+tiŋ-pa/	[ʔan.'tiŋ.paʔ]	‘he’s cutting it’
	/ʔi+tiŋ-pa/	[ʔi.'tʲiŋ.paʔ]	‘he’s cutting it’
(c)	/ʔa+ʔitʲ-taʔm-pa/	[ʔa.ʔitʲ.'ʔaʔm.pa]	‘we’re going to be [there].’
	/ʔan+na+sɛ:t-taʔm-W/	[ʔa.ra.sɛ:tʰ.'taʔm]	‘we returned with it.’
(d)	/jɔ:mɔ+tam/	[‘jɔ:m.tam]	‘women’
	/ʔitʃ+tam/	[‘ʔitʃ.tʲam]	‘we, us’
(e)	/ʔa+sɔs-taʔm-W/	[ʔan.sɔs.'taʔm]	‘we cook it’
	/ʔa+ʔiʃ-taʔm-W/	[ʔa.ʔiʃ.'tʲaʔm]	‘they saw us’
(f)	/ʔan+tik/	[ʔan.'tikʰ]	‘my house’
	/ʔin+tik/	[ʔin.'tʲikʰ]	‘your house’
(g)	/ʔa+nɪk-taʔm-W/	[ʔa.nɪkʰ.'taʔm]	‘We went.’
	/ʔa+ʔɔj-taʔm-W/	[ʔa.ʔɔj.'tʲaʔm]	‘We went and came back.’

The exception is in words borrowed from Spanish, as shown in (2.11).

(2.11) SPANISH BORROWINGS:

tiimbrej	[‘ti:m.brɛh]	‘bell’	(sp. ‘timbre’)
tiiruj	[‘ti:r.uh]	‘shot’	(sp. ‘tiro’)
tiyeendaj	[ti‘jɛ:m.dah]	‘shop’	(sp. ‘tienda’)

The segment /tʲ/ occurs in two specific contexts: lexicalized stems (2.12a) and sound symbolic expressions (2.12b).

- (2.12) /tʲ/ VOICELESS PALATAL STOP:
- (a) kutyum /kutʲum/ [ku'tʲum] 'alone'
 - (b) ʔeetypa /ʔɛ:tʲ-pa/ [ʔɛ:tʲ.paʔ] 'he's leaning'

Voiceless stops in SP are aspirated upon release in two environments. The first environment is syllable final preceding a voiceless stop differing in place of articulation from itself. For example /p/ surfaces as [pʰ] preceding [t], [tʲ], and [k]; /t/ surfaces as [tʰ] preceding [p], [tʲ], and [k]; /tʲ/ surfaces as [tʲʰ] preceding [p], [t], and [k]; and /k/ surfaces as [kʰ] preceding [p], [t], and [tʲ]. Examples are shown in (2.13). The second environment is in word final position. Examples are shown in (2.14).

- (2.13) RELEASED STOPS, MEDIAL:
- | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| ʔan+toptʲoʔoba | /ʔan+tʲp-tʲoʔ-pa/ | [ʔan.tʲpʰtʲoʔ.baʔ] | 'I want to take it out' |
| ʔi+petketpa | /ʔi+pɛt=kɛt-pa/ | [ʔi.pɛtʰkɛtʰpaʔ] | 'she is sweeping it all up' |
| witypa | /'witʲ-pa/ | ['witʲʰ.paʔ] | 'he walks' |
| ʔa+kektoʔoba | /ʔa+kɛk-tʲoʔ-pa/ | [ʔa.kɛkʰtʲoʔ.baʔ] | 'I want to fly' |

- (2.14) RELEASED STOPS, FINAL:
- | | | | |
|---------|-------------|------------|------------------|
| ʔi+tyop | /ʔi+tʲɔp-W/ | [ʔi'tʲɔpʰ] | 'he took it out' |
| ʔi+pet | /ʔi+pɛt-W/ | [pɛtʰ] | 'he swept' |
| huuty | /huutʲ/ | [huutʲʰ] | 'where' |
| pak | /pak/ | [pakʰ] | 'bone' |

Aspirated stops are illustrated in the spectrograms in Figures (2.1) and (2.2).
The aspirated release is not a contrastive feature.

Figure 2.1: Aspirated /t/ Syllable Final: kiʔm=seet^hpa ‘He returns ascending.’

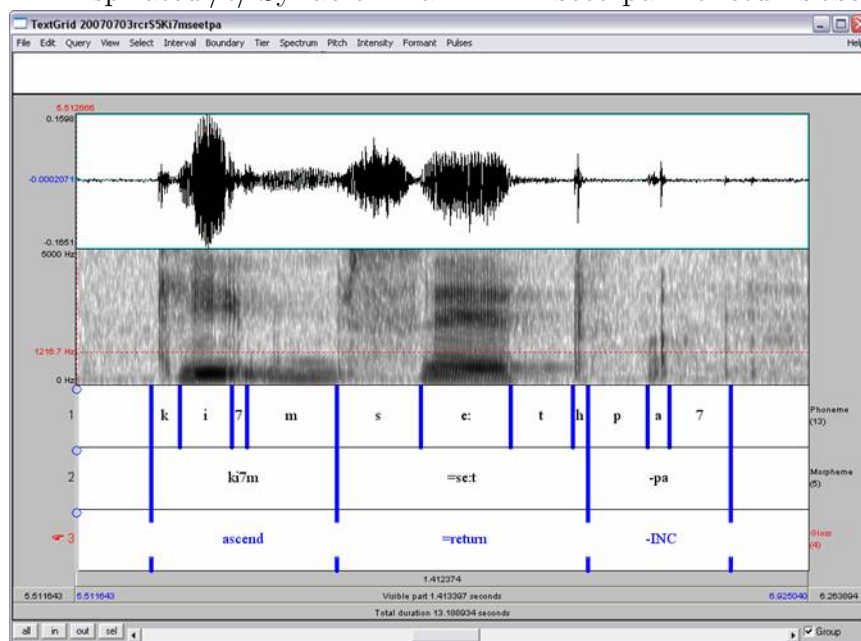
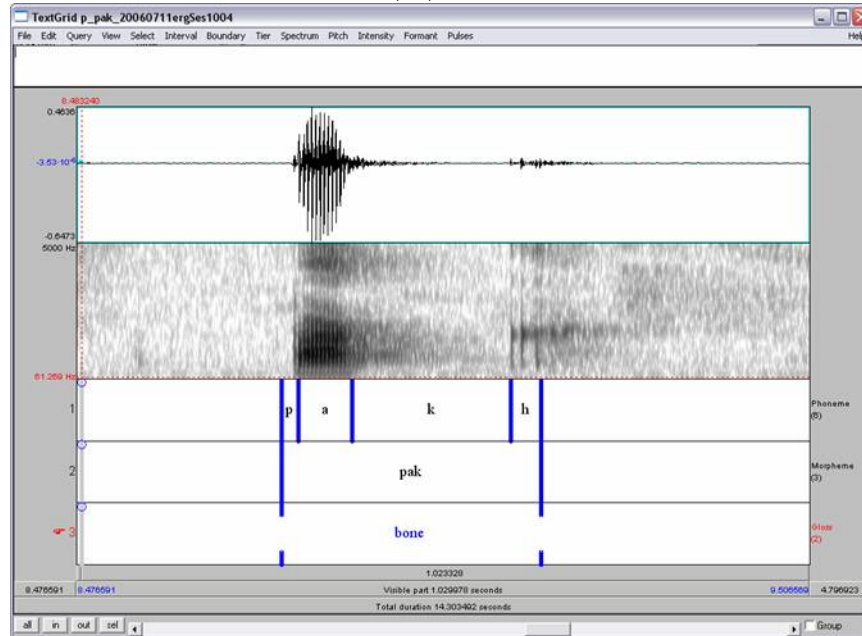


Figure 2.2: Aspirated /k/ Word Final: pak^h ‘bone’



Voiceless stops /p, t, t^j/ also have the alternation [ᵐ, ᵑ, ᵑ^j] when they occur preceding nasals that agree in place of articulation. In this environment the voiceless stop segments surface as their devoiced nasal counterparts. That is, the segment assimilates in manner of articulation (sonorant feature) to a following nasal, but retains its voice feature [-voice]. For example, as shown in (2.15a) /p/ preceding /m/ surfaces as [ᵐ]. Contrasting (2.15a) with (b), the voiceless bilabial stop of the same word *poopo* ‘white’ in a different environment shows that /p/ surfaces as [p]. In (2.16a) /t/ preceding /n/ surfaces as [ᵑ]. The same stem *seet* ‘return’ inflected with the morpheme *-pa* ‘incomplete’ in example (2.16b) does not show this alternation. In (2.17a) /t^j/ preceding

/ɲ/ surfaces as [ɲ]⁷. If we look at (b), we see that /t^j/ in the same verb stem inflected with *-pa* ‘incomplete’ does not show the alternation. Presumably, the reason /k/ has not been observed with this surface realization is because there is no morpheme (lexical or formative) that begins with ɲ, and therefore, there is no environment where this alternation would occur.

(2.15) BILABIAL STOP ALTERNATION WITH VOICELESS NASAL PRECEDING

NASAL:

- (a) /pɔ:pɔ=muʔk/ [pɔ:ṁmuʔk] ‘white fodder’
 (b) /pɔ:pɔ=na:ka-ʔiʔj-W/ [pɔ:p.naʔa'giʔj] ‘she had white skin’

(2.16) ALVEOLAR STOP ALTERNATION WITH VOICELESS NASAL

PRECEDING NASAL:

- (a) /sɛ:t-nɛʔ-pa/ [sɛ:ṁnɛʔɛ.baʔ] ‘we’re returning’
 (b) /sɛ:t-pa/ [sɛ:t^h.paʔ] ‘we going to return’

(2.17) PALATAL STOP ALTERNATION WITH VOICELESS NASAL PRECEDING

NASAL:

- (a) /ʔa+ʔɛ:t^j-nɛʔ-pa/ [ʔa.ʔɛ:ṁ^jnɛʔɛ.baʔ] ‘we’re lying down’
 (b) /ʔa+ʔɛ:t^j-pa/ [ʔa'ʔɛ:t^j^h.paʔ] ‘we’re going to lay down’

The assimilation of a voiceless stop to the nasal feature of a following nasal while preserving its voice feature ([-voice] is typologically rare.

⁷This example is particularly interesting because of another alternation that occurs with respect to the nasal [n] (discussed in the section on nasal phonemes). /n/ surfaces as [ɲ] when it occurs adjacent to a palatal consonant or high front vowel. Therefore, there are two simultaneous processes that take place in this example. The first is that the nasal /n/ of the morpheme *-neʔ* ‘perfective’ assimilates in place to the /t^j/ of the stem to which it attaches. The assimilation of the nasal to the place of articulation of [t^j] conditions the assimilation of manner of the [t^j] to [ɲ]

2.2.1.1 Glottal stop

Glottal stops occur phonemically and phonetically⁸. Glottal stops occur in word initial, in word final, and in onset and coda positions. In each of these positions, glottal stops /ʔ/ in SP manifests a number of interesting properties. This section provides a description of the basic phonemic characteristics of glottal stops in each of these positions, as well as how glottal stops are distinguished phonemically and phonetically.

2.2.1.1.1 Word initial glottal stops. Glottal stops occur in word initial position phonemically, as shown in example (2.18).

(2.18) /ʔ/ WORD INITIAL:

<i>ʔity</i>	/ʔitʰ-W/	[ʔitʰ]	‘He is [here].’
<i>ʔich</i>	/ʔitʃ/	[ʔitʃ]	‘1st person pronoun’
<i>ʔuʔksi</i>	/ʔuʔksi/	[ʔuʔk.siʔ]	‘cloud’
<i>ʔetzpa</i>	/ʔɛts-pa/	[ʔɛts.paʔ]	‘he dances’
<i>ʔoy</i>	/ʔɔj-W/	[ʔɔj]	‘he went and returned’
<i>ʔay</i>	/ʔaj/	[ʔaj]	‘leaf’

We know that words in SP begin with phonemic glottal stops because they condition a number of morphophonological alternations in word initial position, as well as in word medial position. Glottal stops condition voicing in voiceless stops in specific environments; they undergo metathesis when they occur in onset position following sonorants in coda position; and they condition laryngealization (creaky voice) in long vowels of stressed syllables.

⁸Also see Muñoz (2008) for phonetic analysis of glottal stops.

It may be the case that words in SP do not begin with vowels⁹. We know that word initial glottal stops in a large number of words are phonemic, and evidence of this comes from compounds and inflectional morphology. For instance, the examples in (2.19) show noun and verb stems with inflectional morphology. The noun stem *?aapa* ‘mother’ has been inflected with the ergative person marker *?an+* (indicating possession). The glottal stop has metathesized with the [n] in coda position of the ergative morpheme. Observe the same process of metathesis with respect to the verb root *?if* ‘see’. Example (2.20) shows a number of more complex processes. The verb root *?a?m* ‘look’ is in a compound with the noun *tooto* ‘paper’; the glottal stop has metathesized with /t/, conditioned the voicing of the voiceless stop, and due to stress has laryngealized the lengthened vowel. The same is shown for the compound *poopo=?ay* ‘white leaf’. The examples provide clear evidence for positing word initial glottal stops in SP.

- (2.19) /ʔ/ GLOTTAL STOP WORD INITIAL, METATHESIS:
?an+?aapa /ʔan+ʔa:pa/ [ʔaʔ.na:paʔ] ‘my mother’
?any+?ix /ʔan+ʔif-W/ [ʔaʔ.ʔiʃ] ‘I saw it’

- (2.20) /ʔ/ GLOTTAL STOP WORD INITIAL, METATHESIS AND
 LARYNGEALIZATION:
to?oda?m /tɔ:tɔ=?a?m/ [tɔʔɔ.ʔaʔm] ‘I am going to read.’
po?obay /pɔ:pɔ=?aj/ [pɔʔɔbaj] ‘white leaf’

⁹This is contrary to Elson’s (1967:272) analysis in which he states that “all vowels occur initially” and indicates that glottal stops do not occur word initially. Elson treats the “glottal catch” as a suprasegmental feature and not a phoneme

2.2.1.1.2 Phrase final glottal stop. Glottal stops occur phonemically in word final position, as shown in example (2.21), although they may also occur phonetically in word final position when the word ends in a vowel.

(2.21) WORD FINAL GLOTTAL STOP /ʔ/:

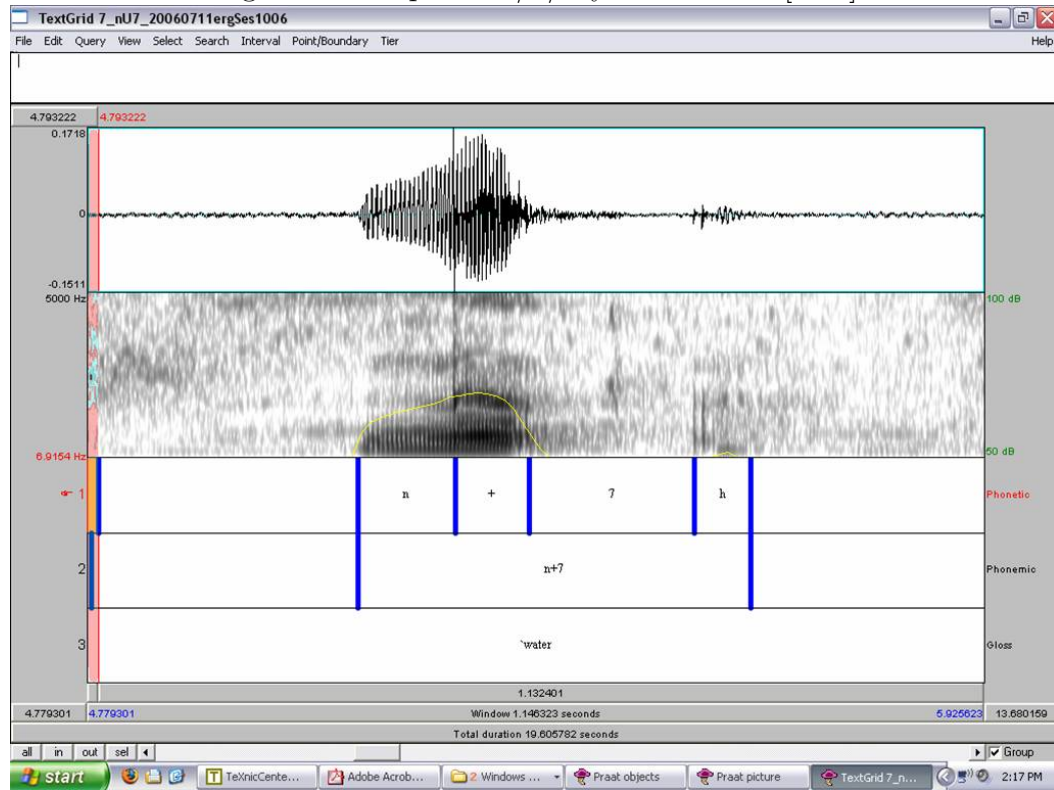
<i>kaʔ</i>	/kaʔ-W/	[ˈkaʔ ^h]	‘he died’
<i>tzaʔ</i>	/tʂaʔ/	[ˈtʂaʔ ^h]	‘rock’
<i>wejnéʔ</i>	/wɛh-nɛʔ-W/	[wɛh.ˈnɛʔ ^h]	‘she’s cried’
<i>ʔi+chiʔ</i>	/ʔi+ʧiʔ/	[ʔi.ˈʧiʔ ^h]	‘he gave it [to him]’
<i>niʔ</i>	/niʔ/	[ˈniʔ ^h]	‘water’

The phonemic and phonetic realizations are distinguishable because of characteristics associated with stops in final position. Like the other stops in the voiceless series, the glottal stop is aspirated upon release in word or phrase final position. The aspirated release is visible in the spectrogram shown in Figure 2.3.

Phonetically, a glottal closure also occurs on words ending in vowels, as shown by the examples in (2.22)¹⁰. We know that these are not laryngealized vowels because no series of laryngealized vowels has been observed contrasting with vowels and as such there are no minimal pairs.

¹⁰In order to distinguish between glottal stops that are phonemic or that surface phonetically, I transcribe the phonetic glottal stop as a superscript glottal stop [ʔ^h]

Figure 2.3: Aspirated /ʔ/ Syllable Final: [niʔ^h]



(2.22) /ʔ/ GLOTTAL STOP PHONETIC REALIZATION:

<i>kaʔnpu</i>	/kaʔnpu/	[ˈkaʔn.puʔ]	‘egg’
<i>poypa</i>	/pɔj-pa/	[ˈpɔj.paʔ]	‘he’s running’
<i>poopo</i>	/pɔ:pɔ/	[ˈpɔ:.pɔʔ]	‘white’
<i>tiʔipi</i>	/tiʔipi/	[ˈtiʔi.piʔ]	‘fish’

2.2.1.1.3 Glottal stop in onset position. In general, [ʔ] occurs in onset position only when following a vowel or in word initial position (2.23). In normal speech, however, it does not occur in onset position following voiceless stops nor following nasal obstruents.

(2.23) GLOTTAL STOP IN ONSET POSITION FOLLOWING VOWEL:

<i>ʔa+ʔixpa</i>	/ʔa+ʔiʃpa/	[ʔa.ʔiʃ.pa ^h]	‘He sees me.’
<i>ta+ʔich+tyam</i>	/ta+ʔich+tam/	[ta.ʔich.t ^j am]	‘we (inclusive)’
<i>ʔi+puʔu</i>	/ʔi+puʔu/	[ʔi.ʔu.ʔu ^ʔ]	‘his belly’
<i>mi+ʔetzpa</i>	/mi+ʔɛts-pa/	[mi.ʔɛts.pa ^h]	‘You dance.’
<i>ʔi+ʔoomi</i>	/ʔi+ʔo:mi/	[ʔi.ʔo:.mi ^ʔ]	‘his owner’
<i>miʔa</i>	/miʔa/	[‘mi.ʔa ^ʔ]	‘deer’

The exception to this statement occurs during slow, carefully articulated speech (typically during elicitation). For example, as shown by the pair in (2.24), the glottal stop clearly occurs in onset position.

(2.24) /ʔ/ GLOTTAL STOP SYLLABLE INITIAL:

(a) Rapid speech:

[ʔaʔ^jnɛ:t^j.pam] /ʔan+ʔɛ:t^j-pa+ʔam/ ‘We stood it up’

(b) Slow speech:

[ʔan^jʔɛ:t^j.pam] /ʔan+ʔɛ:t^j-pa+ʔam/ ‘We stood it up’

When the glottal stop occurs in the coda position of a stressed syllable with a long vowel, the vowel surfaces as a laryngealized vowel (which is also described in the literature as glottalization or creaky voice, following Ladefoged 1983). Examples are shown in (2.25).

(2.25) LARYNGEALIZED VOWELS:			
<i>ʔi+chiʔiba</i>	/ʔi+ʧiʔ-pa/	[ʔi.ʔʃiʔi.ba]	‘He gives it.’
<i>kiʔibáap</i>	/kiʔi-ʔaH-pa/	[kiʔi.ʔbaap]	‘He is chopping wood’
<i>titznéʔeba</i>	/tits-neʔ-pa/	[tits.ʔneʔε.baʔ]	‘be drying’
<i>póʔobay</i>	/pɔ:pɔ=ʔaj/	[ˈpɔʔɔ.baj]	‘white leaf’
<i>pòp=naʔagíʔy</i>	/pɔ:pɔ=na:ka-ʔiʔj-W/	[pɔp.naʔa.ʔgiʔj]	‘She had white skin.’

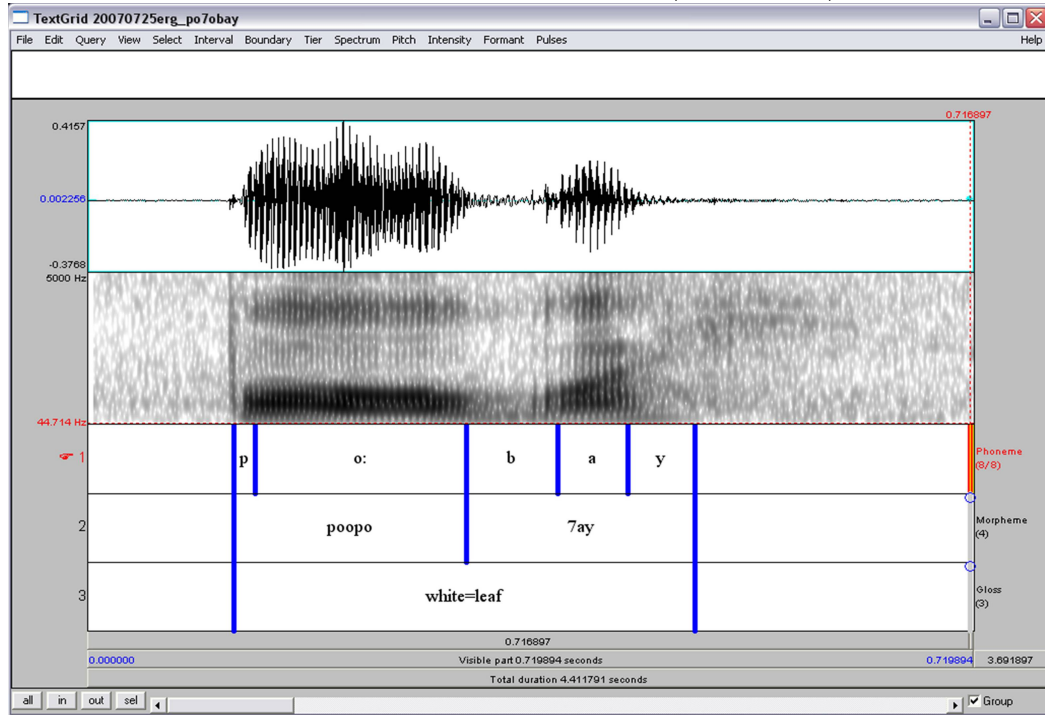
Laryngealized vowels are not contrastive. That is, there are no minimal pairs in which modal (normal) vowels and laryngealized (creaky voice) vowels are in contrastive distribution. Laryngealization of vowels is conditioned by glottal stops, typically as a result of stress. The laryngealized long vowels are perceived as [VʔV], or a modal vowel followed by a glottal pulse followed by an “echo” vowel. This description is consistent with observations on the realization of glottal stops: “Often phonemic glottal stops are realized as creaky phonation on neighboring sounds rather than with complete glottal closure” (Gordon and Ladefoged 2001:401, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:75).

The spectrogram in Figure 2.4 shows the word /pɔ:pɔ=ʔaj/ [ˈpɔʔɔbaj]¹¹.

In addition to influencing long vowels, the glottal stop also influences voiceless stops. The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /tʰ/, and /k/ surface as [b], [d], [dʰ] and [g] (respectively) when they precede the glottal stop /ʔ/ (underlyingly)

¹¹I transcribe the creaky voiced long vowels as VʔV following the established conventions in the existing orthographies. Elson uses ’ (apostrophe) and the PDLMA uses the symbol 7. Although creaky voice is not always perceptible, a glottal pulse is. The convention used here reflects this.

Figure 2.4: Laryngealized vowel: /pə:pə=ʔaj/



as a result of morphosyntactic processes¹². Examples of the voiced stops are shown in (2.26).

¹²Also, note in example (2.25) that voiceless stops following stressed syllables in which the long vowel is laryngealized surface as voiced stops.

(2.26) VOICELESS STOPS VOICED BY GLOTTAL STOP:

/ta+tɔp-ʔaʔj-pa+ʔun/	[ta.tɔ ^h baʔj.pa.ʔun]	‘they take it out for us, it is said’
/tan+wat-ʔaʔj-pa/	[tan.wa ^h daʔj.paʔ]	‘we make it for ourselves’
/ʔan+tuk-ʔaʔj-W/	[ʔan.tu ^h gaʔj]	‘I cut it for him’

This alternation occurs only as a results of morphosyntactic processes and stress. Glottal stops do not condition voicing when they precede voiceless stops in roots, with two exceptions: when they occur in stressed syllables, or if the stop is /p/ (see §2.5). Examples of roots in which voiceless stops occur adjacent to the glottal stop but do not condition voicing are shown in (2.27). (Compare with example 2.26.)

(2.27) VOICELESS STOPS ADJACENT TO GLOTTAL STOP IN ROOTS:

<i>yɨʔp</i>	/jɨʔp/	[jɨʔp]	‘this’
<i>tɨʔpxi</i>	/tɨʔpʃi/	[tɨʔp.ʃiʔ]	‘rope’
<i>ʔam+paʔtpa</i>	/ʔan+paʔt-pa/	[ʔam. ^h paʔt ^h .paʔ]	‘I find it.’
<i>ʔi+kuʔtpa</i>	/ʔi+kuʔt-pa/	[ʔi. ^h kuʔt ^h .paʔ]	‘He eats it.’
<i>wiʔkpa</i>	/wiʔk-pa/	[wiʔk ^h .paʔ]	‘He eats.’

The voice alternation also occurs across word boundaries, providing further evidence that the glottal stop occurs at the beginning of words. This is illustrated by the example in (2.28).

(2.28) VOICED STOP ALTERNATION [t^j] ~ [d^j] ACROSS WORD BOUNDARIES:

/ʔan+na+ʔit ^j -W ʔid ^j ik/	[ʔa.ra.ʔi. ^h d ^j i.d ^j ik ^h]	‘I had a child before’
--	---	------------------------

In addition, the phoneme /p/ of the suffix *-pa* ‘incompletive’ also surfaces as the voiced bilabial counterpart when it follows the glottal stop in coda

position of a stressed syllable, as shown in example (2.29). Note in the example that the voiceless onset /p/ of the incomplete morpheme *-pa* immediately following the glottal stop /ʔ/ of the verb stem *kaʔ* ‘die’ and the perfect inflectional morpheme *-neʔ* surface as its voiced counterpart. The other voiceless stops /t/, /tʰ/, and /k/ do not surface as their voiced counterparts in this context. It appears that the suffix /pa/ has the allomorphs [pa], [p] and [ba].

(2.29) PHONEMIC REALIZATION OF /ʔ/:

<i>kaʔaba</i>	/kaʔ-pa/	[kaʔa.baʔ]	‘she’s going to die’
<i>ʔakkaʔatáap</i>	/ʔak-kaʔa-taH-pa/	[ʔak.kaʔa.'ta:pʰ]	‘he’s been killed’
<i>chiʔityaap</i>	/tʃiʔ-taH-pa/	[tʃiʔi.tʰa:pʰ]	‘it was given’
<i>kaʔakuy</i>	/kaʔ=kuj/	[kaʔa.kuj]	‘sickness’

Finally, glottal stops occur in clusters of two or three consonants. The two consonant clusters include [ʔm], [ʔn], [ʔp], [ʔt] [ʔk], and [ʔj] (2.30). Three consonant clusters consist of [ʔps] and [ʔks] (2.31).

(2.30) TWO-CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN CODA POSITION:

<i>yíʔp</i>	/jiʔp/	[jiʔp]	‘this’
<i>ʔi+paʔt</i>	/ʔi+paʔt-wi/	[ʔi.'paʔt]	‘He found it.’
<i>wiʔk</i>	/wiʔk-wi/	[wiʔk]	‘He ate.’
<i>ʔa+ʔaʔm</i>	/ʔa+ʔaʔm-wi/	[ʔa.'ʔaʔm]	‘He saw me.’
<i>kaʔnpu</i>	/kaʔnpu/	[kaʔn.puʔ]	‘egg’
<i>ʔoʔtsnéʔ</i>	/ʔoʔts-nεʔ-wi/	[ʔoʔts.'nεʔʰ]	‘be squatting’
<i>ʔan+jeɸpspa</i>	/ʔan+hεɸs-pa/	[ʔan.'hεɸs.paʔ]	‘I serve it.’
<i>ʔi+nakspa</i>	/ʔi+naks-pa/	[ʔi.'naks.paʔ]	‘She hangs it.’

- (2.31) THREE-CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN CODA POSITION:
pujkuwiʔks /puj=ku+wiʔks-W/ [puj.ku.'wiʔks] 'He twisted his
 foot.'
ʔa+soʔpspa /ʔa+soʔps-pa/ [ʔa.'soʔps.paʔ] 'It tires me.'

Glottal stops do not occur as the second or third consonant in a consonant cluster. Voiceless stops are not voiced if adjacent to glottal stop in roots; the only exception being when the vowel nucleus is laryngealized due to stress (see §2.4 and §2.5). Glottal stops do not occur adjacent to affricates or fricatives in coda position. They also do not occur adjacent to fricatives in verb stems, with one known exception. This is [chiʔf.ʔiʔ] 'smell of burnt food' (also [ʔiʔiʔ.ʔiʔ]), which is a reduplicated, affective verb stem (see ch. 8).

2.2.2 Voiced stops

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ and the voiced alveolar stop /d/ are only phonemes in Spanish loan words, as shown in examples (2.32) and (2.33). Otherwise they are allophones of their voiceless counterparts (as discussed above).

- (2.32) VOICED BILABIAL STOPS /b/:
bweeltaj [bwɛ:ltah] 'turn (sp. *vuelta*)'
bandeeja [bandɛ:hah] 'platter (sp. *bandeja*)'

- (2.33) VOICED ALVEOLAR STOP /d/:
deesdej [dɛ:sdɛh] 'from (sp. *desde*)'
duulsej [du:lsɛh] 'sweet (sp. *dulce*)'
diiskuj [di:skuh] 'disk (sp. *disco*)'

/d^j/ is a voiced palatal stop that occurs in loan words and in a limited number of other words. Spanish loan words are shown in example (2.34).

- (2.34) Voiced palatal stop /d^j/ in Spanish loans:
meedyuj [med^juh] ‘middle, semi (sp. *medio*)’
raadyuj [raad^juh] ‘radio (sp. *radio*)’

[d^j] is an allophone of [t^j] and is observed in environments adjacent to both the glottal stop and the front, high vowel /i/ or the palatal consonants [tʃ], [ʃ], [ɲ], and [j] as shown in example (2.35). As a phoneme, it occurs in a limited number of words, shown in (2.36). In fact, these may actually be the only two words. Therefore, its status as a phoneme is marginal, as is that of /t^j/.

- (2.35) [t^j] ~ [d^j] ALTERNATION:
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>ʔan+ʔukketyiny</i> | /ʔan+ʔuk=kɛt-ʔɪɲ/ | [ʔaʔ.nuk.'kɛd ^j ɪɲ] | ‘So I can finish
it all up.’ |
| <i>ʔi+ʔukkét</i> | /ʔi+ʔuk=kɛt-wi/ | [ʔi.ʔuk.'kɛt ^h] | ‘He finished
it all up.’ |
| <i>ʔan+piʔidyay</i> | /ʔan+pi:t ^j -ʔaʔj-wi/ | [ʔam.pi.'d ^j aʔj] | ‘I wrapped
(his belly).’ |
| <i>ʔi+piity</i> | /ʔi+pi:t ^j -wi/ | [ʔi.'pi:t ^j] | ‘He wrapped
it’ |

- (2.36) VOICED PALATAL STOP /d^j/ IN SP WORDS:
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>dya</i> | /d ^j a/ | [d ^j aʔ] | ‘no’ |
| <i>ʔidyik</i> | /ʔid ^j ik/ | [ʔid ^j ik ^h] | ‘past’ |

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. Like its voiced stop counterparts, [g] is an allophone of the voiceless stop /k/ when it occurs adjacent to the glottal stop (as described above). Like the voiced palatal stop, /g/ occurs marginally as a

phoneme in a limited number of words and formatives. For example, it is observed syllable initially in the inflectional formative *gak* ‘again (verbs); another (nouns)’, as shown in (2.37a). It also occurs in the word *kugaptsu?* ‘midnight’, which has been lexicalized from *kuk-ʔaH-tsu?* ‘middle-VERS-night’ (Kaufman and Himes, in progress).

(2.37) VOICED VELAR STOP /g/:

(a)	<i>seetgakpa</i>	/sɛ:t- gak -pa/	[sɛ:t. gak . ^h pa]	‘He returns again.’
(b)	<i>kugaaptzu?</i>	/kuk-ʔaH-pa-tsu?/	[ku. g ap.tsu? ^h]	‘midnight’
(c)	<i>tzoogoy</i>	/tsɔ:kɔj/	[ts ɔ: g ɔj]	‘liver, heart’
			[ts ɔ: k ɔj]	
(d)	<i>toogóy</i>	/tɔ:goj-W/	[tɔ: g ɔj]	‘It got lost.’

It also occurs in Spanish and Nahuatl loan words and only in loans is it found word initially. Examples are shown in (2.38).

(2.38) VOICED VELAR STOP /g/ IN BORROWED WORDS:

gasuliinaj	[g asuliinah]	‘gasoline	(sp. <i>gasolina</i>)’
gitaaraaj	[g itaarah]	‘guitar	(sp. <i>guitarra</i>)’
<i>futugrafiijaj</i>	[fut g rafiijah]	‘photograph	(sp. <i>fotografia</i>)’
ʔiga+	[ʔ g a]	‘complementizer	(borrowed from Nahuatl)’
<i>ʔagi</i>	[ʔ g i]	‘very, much’	

2.2.3 Nasals

The phonemes /m/ and /n/ are the bilabial and alveolar nasals, respectively. They occur word initial and word final, as well as in onset and coda positions medially. Examples are shown in (2.39) and (2.40).

(2.39) BILABIAL NASAL /m/:

<i>matza</i>	/matsa/	[ma .tsaʔ]	‘star’
<i>ʔa+monhpa</i>	/ʔa+moŋ-pa/	[ʔa. m oŋ.paʔ]	‘I am sleeping.’
<i>ʔik+monhpa</i>	/ʔi+ʔak+mōŋ-pa/	[ʔik. m oŋ.paʔ]	‘She makes her sleep.’
<i>ʔan+sosmonhpa</i>	/ʔan+səs-mōŋ-pa/	[ʔan.səs. m oŋ.paʔ]	‘I’m going to cook late.’
<i>niʔmaʔytyaap</i>	/nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa/	[niʔ .maʔj.tʰaap ^h]	‘He was told.’
<i>tzam</i>	/tsam/	[tsam]	‘a lot’
<i>jimpa</i>	/him-pa/	[him .paʔ]	‘It is spicy.’

(2.40) ALVEOLAR NASAL /n/:

<i>nas</i>	/nas/	[nas]	‘earth, ground’
<i>nooki</i>	/nɔ:ki/	[n ɔ:kiʔ]	‘zapote seed’
<i>niʔ</i>	/niʔ/	[niʔ ^h]	‘water’
<i>monhneʔeba</i>	/moŋ-nɛʔ-W/	[moŋ. n ɛʔ ^h]	‘He has slept.’
<i>ʔa+wanpa</i>	/ʔa+wan-pa/	[ʔa. wan .paʔ]	‘I am singing.’
<i>wan</i>	/wan-W/	[wan]	‘He sang.’

The bilabial nasal is often devoiced in phrase final position, as shown in (2.41), however, this is not a strict rule and tends to vary from speaker to speaker¹³.

(2.41) BILABIAL NASAL /m/: *tzam* /tsam/ [**tsam**] ‘a lot’

[n] does not occur adjacent to the high front vowel /i/, the palatal glide, or the palatal consonants [tʰ], [tʃ], [ʃ], and [ɲ]. As illustrated by the examples in (2.42), in these environments /n/ surfaces as [ɲ]. As with /n/, [ɲ] appears word initially and finally, and in onset and coda position. Therefore, the segment [ɲ] is an allophone of /n/. This is also illustrated with the examples in (2.42).

¹³Devoiced sonorants have been referred to as “voiceless off-glides” (Elson 1967:271).

(2.42) PALATAL NASAL ALLOPHONE [ɲ] IN ONSET AND CODA POSITIONS:

<i>nyiiwi</i>	/ɲiiwi/	[ɲ ii.wiʔ]	‘chile’
<i>niʔipiny</i>	/niʔ=piɲ/	[niʔ.pi ɲ]	‘blood’
<i>ʔi+nyippa</i>	/ʔi+ɲip-pa/	[ʔi' ɲ ip.paʔ]	‘He is planting.’
<i>minyipa</i>	/miɲ-pa/	[ɲ miɲ.paʔ]	‘He is coming.’

The examples in (2.43) show a number of alternations between [n] and [ɲ] in a number of environments. The pairs in (2.43) show the nasal /n/ surface as [ɲ]: (a) following the high front vowel /i/, (b) following the palatal glide /j/, (c) following the alveopalatal fricative [ʃ]; (d) following [ɲ]); and (e) preceding the palatal affricate [tʃ].

(2.43) [n] ~ [ɲ] ALTERNATION:

(a)	/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔj-wi/	[ʔi. ɲ iʔ'maʔj]	‘He told him.’
	/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-wi/	[ʔa. n iʔ'maʔj]	‘He told me.’
(b)	/naj-neʔ-wi/	[naj' ɲ eʔ]	‘(The baby) had been born.’
	/ʔa+juʔ-ʔaH-neʔ-wi/	[ʔa.juʔa' n eʔ]	‘I am hungry.’
(c)	/ʔa+ʔiʃ-neʔ-wi+nam/	[ʔa.ʔiʃ' ɲ eʔ.nam]	‘She was still looking at me.’
	/dʲa+tʲi+ʔam nas-neʔ-wi/	[dʲatʲim nas' n eʔ]	‘Nothing has happened.’
(d)	/miɲ-neʔ-wi/	[miɲ' ɲ eʔ]	‘he’s come’
	/piɲ-neʔ-taH-wʔ/	[piɲ. n eʔ'ta:h]	‘They had been gathered.’
(e)	/ʔan+tʃɔ:mə/	[ʔa ɲ tʃɔ:m:ʔ]	‘my grandma’
	/ʔan+tsits/	[ʔa n 'tsits]	‘my tooth’

In addition, there is an alternation that occurs with the alveolar nasal segment /n/ that occurs specifically with proclitics. The /n/ segment in the ergative person marking proclitics *ʔan+* ‘first person exclusive ergative’, *tan+* ‘first person inclusive ergative’, and *man+* ‘first person acting on second

person' assimilate to place of articulation of the following consonant. Examples are shown in (2.44). As is evident from the example in (2.40e) above, this alternation does not occur in stems and is particular to the behavior of clitics (with the exception of the palatalization of /n/, which occurs in all environments, as described below). Stylistic and morphophonological alternations associated with clitics are addressed below.

(2.44) [m] ~ [n] ~ [ɲ] ~ [ŋ] ALTERNATION:

<i>ʔam+pak</i>	/ʔan+pak/	[ʔa m 'pak ^h]	'my bone'
<i>ʔanh+kaawa</i>	/ʔan+ka:wa/	[ʔa ŋ 'ka:wa ^ʔ]	'my horse'
<i>ʔanh+way</i>	/ʔan+waj/	[ʔa ŋ 'waj]	'my hair'
<i>ʔan+xix</i>	/ʔan+ʃiʃ/	[ʔa ɲ 'ʃiʃ]	'my cow'
<i>ʔany+nyippa</i>	/ʔan+nip-pa/	[ʔa'ɲ:ip.pa ^h]	'I am planting.'

2.2.3.1 Palatal Nasal /ɲ/

Like other phonemes of the palatal series, /ɲ/ is a phoneme, although marginally and in only three specific contexts. It occurs in a few verb stems, as shown in (2.45).

(2.45) ROOTS WITH [ɲ]:

<i>ʔa+koonypa</i>	/ʔa+kɔ:ɲ-pa/	[ʔa'kɔ: ɲ .pa ^ʔ]	'I sit.'
<i>koonyiʔ</i>	/kɔ:ɲ-i/	[kɔ: ɲ .i ^ʔ]	'Sit!'
<i>ʔa+teenypa</i>	/ʔa+tɛ:ɲ-pa/	[ʔa'tɛ: ɲ .pa ^ʔ]	'I stand'
<i>teenyiʔ</i>	/tɛ:ɲ-i/	[tɛ: ɲ .i ^ʔ]	'Stand up!'
<i>ʔaany</i>	/tsa:ɲ/	[tsa:ɲ]	'snake'

It occurs in ideophones (2.46).

- (2.46) IDEOPHONES WITH [ɲ]:
 [ɲuʔtʃ] [ɲuʔch] ‘scrunch, crumple’

And it occurs in Spanish loan words (2.47).

- (2.47) SPANISH LOANWORDS WITH [ɲ]:
maanya [maɲnaʔ] ‘skill, craftiness (sp. *maña*)’
seeyaa [seeɲaʔ] ‘signal (sp. *señal*)’

As stated above, /n/ does not occur adjacent to the high front vowel /i/, the palatal glide, or the palatal consonants [tʃ], [tʃ], [ʃ], and [ɲ]. Rather, /n/ surfaces as its allophone [ɲ]. As with /n/, [ɲ] appears word initially and finally, and in onset and coda position. This is also illustrated with the examples in (2.48) (repeated from 2.42).

- (2.48) PALATAL NASAL ALLOPHONE [ɲ] IN ONSET AND CODA POSITIONS:
- | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>nyiiwi</i> | /ɲi:wi/ | [ɲi:wiʔ] | ‘chili’ |
| <i>niʔipiny</i> | /niʔ=piɲ/ | [ni:piɲ] | ‘blood’ |
| <i>ʔi+nyippa</i> | /ʔi+ɲip-pa/ | [ʔi.ɲip.paʔ] | ‘He is planting.’ |
| <i>minypa</i> | /miɲ-pa/ | [miɲ.paʔ] | ‘He is coming.’ |
| <i>pitynyeʔetaaj</i> | /pitʃ-nɛʔ-taH-wi/ | [piɲ.nɛʔ.'ta:h] | ‘It has been wrapped.’ |

2.2.3.2 Velar Nasal /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal. It occurs in word final, in syllable onset and in coda positions, as shown in (2.49). It does not occur in word initial onsets and no morpheme begins with /ŋ/. It occurs in syllable onset position only as a result of metathesis, as illustrated with the example in (2.50).

- (2.49) VELAR NASAL /ŋ/:
tunh /tuŋ/ [tuŋ] ‘road’
sih /siŋ/ [siŋ] ‘party’
monhpa /mɔŋ-pa/ [mɔŋ.paʔ] ‘He sleeps.’

- (2.50) /ŋ/ IN ONSET:
 /nikpa siŋ-ʔaH-i/ [nik^h.pa siʔ.ʔaa.hiʔ] ‘He is going to party.’

Finally, as described above, [ŋ] is an allophone of [n] when /n/ occurs in a proclitic preceding the velar stops [k] and [g] and the labio-velar glide [w], as shown in example (2.51).

- (2.51) [n] ~ [ŋ] ALTERNATION IN PROCLITICS:
ʔanh+way /ʔan+waj/ [ʔaŋ.ʔwaj] ‘my hair’
ʔanh+kaawa /ʔan+ʃiʃ/ [ʔaŋ.ʃiʃ] ‘my cow’

2.2.4 Affricates

SP has two affricates: the segments /ts/ and /tʃ/. /ts/ is an alveolar affricate. It appears syllable initially and syllable finally. It does not occur adjacent to the high front vowel /i/ or palatal consonants. In this environment its palatal counterpart /tʃ/ surfaces.

(2.52) ALVEOLAR AFFRICATE /ts/:

<i>tzas</i>	/tsas/	[^h tsas]	‘crab’
<i>tzaany</i>	/tsaap/	[^h tsaap]	‘snake’
<i>tzoy</i>	/tsɔj/	[^h tsɔj]	‘medicine’
<i>ʔan+tzoy</i>	/ʔan+tsɔj/	[ʔan. ^h tsɔj]	‘my medicine’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	/tsɔ:ɡɔj/	[^h tsɔ:ɡɔj]	‘liver, heart’
<i>tzeʔes</i>	/tseʔes/	[^h tseʔes]	‘bed’
<i>tum tʔitz</i>	/tum tsits/	[tum ^h tsits]	‘a dead (body)’
<i>totz</i>	/tɔts/	[^h tɔts]	‘tongue’
<i>tzabatz</i>	/tsabats/	[^h tsa.bats]	‘red’
<i>ʔa+ʔetzpa</i>	/ʔa+ʔets-pa/	[ʔa. ^h ʔets.pa ^ʔ]	‘I dance.’

The palatal affricate [tʃ] is an allophone of /ts/. It occurs syllable initially and syllable finally adjacent to the high front vowel /i/ and the palatal consonants, as shown in (2.53), which shows the alternation of [ts] ~ [tʃ]: the segment /ts/ surfaces as [ts] following the alveolar [n]; the segment surfaces as [tʃoj] when it follows the vowel /i/.

(2.53) [ts] ~ [tʃ] ALTERNATION:

<i>ʔan+tzoy</i>	/ʔan+tsɔj/	[ʔan. ^h tsɔj]	‘my medicine’
<i>ʔi+tzoy</i>	/ʔi+tsɔj/	[ʔi. ^h tʃɔj]	‘his medicine’

The exception is found in ideophones, like the one shown in (2.54). Here the word *tsitsimat*, the proper name of a mythical creature, has two occurrences of /ts/ adjacent to the high front vowel /i/, yet surfaces as [ts].

(2.54) IDEOPHONE WITH /ts/:

/tsitsimat/	[tsi.tsi.mat]	‘tʔitzimat (proper name of character)’
-------------	---------------	--

As such, the phoneme /tʃ/ occurs in a limited number of words and appears to be a phoneme marginally. Like other palatal or palatalized segments, /tʃ/

occurs in a few verbs and nouns, shown in (2.55); ideophones (2.56); and in Spanish loan words (2.57).

- (2.55) /tʃ/ AS MARGINAL PHONEME:
ʔich /ʔitʃ/ [ʔitʃ] ‘I’
miich /miitʃ-pa/ [mi:tʃ.paʔ] ‘He plays.’

- (2.56) /tʃ/ IN IDEOPHONES:
chejche /tʃeh.tʃε/ [tʃeh.tʃεʔ] ‘thin. shallow’

- (2.57) /tʃ/ IN LOANWORDS:
ʔaachaj [ʔa:tʃah] ‘ax (sp. *hacha*)’

2.2.5 Fricatives

There are three fricatives in SP: /s/, /ʃ/, and /h/. The phoneme /s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative that appears syllable initially and syllable finally. /s/ has an allophone [ʃ], which is the palatal counterpart of /s/. There is also the marginal phoneme /ʃ/, which belongs to the palatal series and as we have noted for other phonemes in the palatal series has a limited distribution. Finally, there is the glottal fricative /h/.

2.2.5.1 Alveolar Fricative /s/

The example in (2.58) illustrates the phoneme /s/ in word initial and final positions as well as in onset and coda positions word medially. /s/ does not occur adjacent to /i/ and palatal (or palatalized) consonants. It also occurs

in final position in consonant clusters involving two and three consonants, as shown in (2.58). Observe in the examples in (2.59) that the allophone [ʃ] surfaces in positions adjacent to the high front vowel.

(2.58) ALVEOLAR FRICATIVE /s/:

<i>saawa</i>	/sa:wa/	[sa:waʔ]	‘air, wind’
<i>suutyi</i>	/surtʃi/	[su:tʃiʔ]	‘small snail’
<i>sik</i>	/sik/	[sikʰ]	‘beans’
<i>nas</i>	/nas/	[nas]	‘earth’
<i>mos</i>	/mos/	[mos]	‘ten’
<i>ʔa+naspa</i>	/ʔa+nas-pa/	[ʔa.nas.paʔ]	‘I pass by.’
<i>ʔan+sospa</i>	/ʔan+sos-pa/	[ʔan.sos.paʔ]	‘I’m cooking it’
<i>tzeʔe s</i>	/tseʔes/	[tseʔes]	‘bed’
<i>ʔan+jepsa</i>	/ʔan+hɛps-pa/	[ʔan.hɛps.paʔ]	‘I serve it’
<i>ʔi+nyaksa</i>	/ʔi+naks-pa/	[ʔi.naks.paʔ]	‘she hangs it’
<i>ʔa+soʔpsa</i>	/ʔa+sɔʔps-pa/	[ʔa.soʔps.paʔ]	‘I’m very tired’

(2.59) [s] ~ [ʃ] ALTERNATION:

<i>ʔaga+soʔpsa</i>	/ʔaga+sɔʔps-pa/	[ʔaga.sɔʔps.paʔ]	‘I am very tired.’
<i>moj soʔpxi</i>	/mɔh-W sɔʔpʃ-i/	[mɔh sɔʔp.ʃiʔ]	‘He began to tire.’
<i>ʔa+seetpa</i>	/ʔa+sɛ:t-pa/	[ʔa.sɛ:tʰ.paʔ]	‘I return.’
<i>mi+xeetpa</i>	/mi+sɛ:t-pa/	[mi.ʃɛ:tʰ.paʔ]	‘You return.’
<i>ʔan+sospa</i>	/ʔan+sɔs-pa/	[ʔan.sɔs.paʔ]	‘I am boiling it.’
<i>ʔiny+sospa</i>	/ʔin+sɔs-pa/	[ʔin.ʃɔs.paʔ]	‘You are boiling it.’

(2.60) [s] ~ [ʃ] ALTERNATION:

laapis [la:pis] ‘pencil (sp. *lapiz*)’

2.2.5.2 Palatal Fricative /ʃ/

Like the other palatal (or palatalized) segments in SP, the palatal fricative /ʃ/ is a marginal phoneme, occurring in a small number of words, loanwords, and ideophones. Examples (2.61) through (2.63) illustrate cases in which /ʃ/ occurs not adjacent to palatal consonants or the high front vowel /i/. Example (2.61)) shows the quantifier *ʔu:ʃaŋ* ‘a little’.

(2.61) SP WORD:
ʔu:ʃaŋ [ʔu:ʃaŋ] ‘a little’

Example (2.62) shows Spanish loanwords in which /ʃ/ occurs. These examples are interesting because in Spanish these are pronounced [sapátos] and [sepíjoh] respectively. These are likely to be older borrowings, which reflect features of an earlier Spanish pronunciation.

(2.62) SPANISH LOAN WORD:
xapaatuj [ʃa.'pa:tu:h] ‘shoes (sp. *zapatos* [sapatos])’
xepiiyuj [ʃɛ.'pi:juh] ‘brush (sp. *cepillo* [sepíjoh])’

An example of a sound symbolic expression is shown in (2.63).

(2.63) SOUND SYMBOLIC WORDS:
xoki.xoki [ʃɔ.ki.ʃɔ.ki] ‘full of little holes’
'xuu.tyu [ʃu:tʃu] ‘small’

2.2.5.3 Glottal Fricative /h/

The phoneme /h/ is a glottal fricative. It occurs word initial and final and in onset and coda within the word. In Spanish loans it also occurs in word final

position.

(2.64) LARYNGEAL FRICATIVE /h/:

<i>jaama</i>	/ha:ma/	[h a:maʔ]	‘sun, day’
<i>jon</i>	/hɔn/	[h ɔn]	‘bird’
<i>mij</i>	/mih/	[mi h]	‘big’
<i>jij</i>	/hi:h/	[hi h]	‘yes’
<i>ʔan+jip</i>	/ʔan+hɪp/	[ʔan. h ɪp]	‘my mouth’
<i>ʔa+jejneʔum</i>	/ʔa+hɛh-nɛʔ-wi+ʔam/	[ʔa. h ɛ h .nɛ.ʔum]	‘I have already rested’
<i>ku+kejpa</i>	/ku+kehpa/	[ku. ke h.paʔ]	‘It appears.’
<i>ʔi+joodonh</i>	/ʔi+hɔ:dɔŋ/	[ʔi. h ɔ:dɔŋ]	‘He knows.’
<i>ʔaamjipsnéʔ</i>	/haam=hips-nɛʔ-wi/	[haam. hi ps.nɛʔ]	‘He has been sun-burned’

The segment /h/ assimilates in place and manner features to the preceding sonorants. This is not a strict rule and generally only occurs in rapid speech and not always.

(2.65) GLOTTAL FRICATIVE /h/ FOLLOWING SONORANTS:

<i>josoom</i>	/hɔs=hɔ:m/	[hɔs. h ɔ:m]	‘in the hole’
<i>nassoom</i>	/nas=hɔ:m/	[nas. h ɔ:m]	‘in the ground’
<i>ʔussimpa</i>	/ʔuʃ=him-pa/	[ʔuʃ. h im.pa]	‘It is a little spicy.’
<i>kaammoom</i>	/kaama=hɔ:m/	[ka:m. h ɔ:m]	‘in the field’
<i>ʔan+jaatunh</i>	/ʔan+hatuŋ/	[ʔan. h a:tuŋ]	‘my father’
		(also [ʔaŋ.ja:tuŋ])	

Finally, as with its glottal stop counterpart, /h/ surfaces in word final position phonetically. Spanish words that end in a vowel (in Spanish) end in [h] when borrowed into SP .

(2.66) LARYNEAL FRICATIVE /h/ IN SPANISH LOANS:

<i>tiyeendaj</i>	[tijeendah]	‘shop’	(sp. <i>tienda</i>)
<i>tiimbrej</i>	[ti:mbreh]	‘bell’	(sp. <i>timbre</i>)
<i>diiskuj</i>	[di:skuh]	‘disk (i.e. compact)’	(sp. <i>disco</i>)

2.2.6 Approximants

There are three approximants: The palatal /j/, the labio-velar /w/, and the lateral /l/. Only /j/ and /w/ can be considered fully productive phonemes in SP. The lateral /l/ occurs in a limited number of environments, including sound symbolic expressions and Spanish loan words.

2.2.6.1 Palatal Approximant /j/

/j/ occurs word initial and final and syllable initial and final (2.67). In phrase final (or word final preceding a pause), /j/ is devoiced.

(2.67) PALATAL APPROXIMATE /j/:

<i>yik</i>	/jik/	[j ^h ik ^h]	‘black’
<i>yajum</i>	/jah-wi+ʔam/	[ja.hum]	‘It is finished.’
<i>yooya</i>	/jo:ja/	[jo:ja ^ʔ]	‘pig’
<i>ʔixkuy</i>	/ʔif=kuj/	[ʔif.kuj]	‘eye’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	/tsɔ:ɡɔj/	[tsɔ:ɡɔj]	‘liver’
<i>kuyanhjoom</i>	/kuj-ʔaŋ=hɔ:m/	[kuʔ.jaŋ.hɔ:m]	‘There is a lot of wood.’
<i>ʔay</i>	/ʔaj/	[ʔaj]	‘leaf’
<i>kuy</i>	/kuj/	[kuj]	‘tree, wood, stick’
<i>joojpa</i>	/hɔ:j-pa/	[hɔ:j.pa ^ʔ]	‘He goes for a walk.’

2.2.6.2 Labio-velar Approximant /w/

The labio-velar approximant occurs word initially and in syllable onset (2.68).

It does not occur in word final or coda position.

(2.68)	LABIO-VELAR APPROXIMATE /w/:			
	<i>woony+tyam</i>	/wɔ:ɲi+tam/	[^h wɔɲ.t ^h am]	‘girls’
	<i>wisteen</i>	/wistɛn/	[^h wis ^h tɛn]	‘two’
	<i>wiʔkkuy</i>	/wiʔk=kuj/	[^h wiʔk.kuj]	‘food’
	<i>wejpa</i>	/weh-pa/	[^h weh.pa ^h]	‘He cries.’
	<i>ʔik+wiʔkpa</i>	/ʔi+ʔak+wiʔk-pa/	[ʔik. ^h wiʔk.pa]	‘She feeds him.’
	<i>nyiiwi</i>	/ɲi:wi/	[^h ɲi:wi ^h]	‘chili’
	<i>jessawi+m</i>	/hes-s-ʔaH-wi+ʔam/	[hes ^h 'saa.wim]	‘It was like that.’

/w/ is also the one of the only two phonemes (with /k/) that occur in onset consonant clusters in surface realizations. For example, the verb stem [kwiʔks] ‘twist at the waist/hip’ is the only verb or noun root to occur with a consonant cluster at onset¹⁴.

2.2.6.3 Lateral approximant /l/

As stated above, the lateral approximant /l/ occurs in Spanish loans, as shown in example (2.69). It also occurs in a very limited number of words that appear to be sound symbolic (2.69).

¹⁴The discrepancy prompts the breakdown of the verb into its possible root *wiʔks* ‘twist’ with the derivational proclitic *ku+*, a proclitic reconstructed as connoting ‘self’ or ‘else’. This analysis fits in with the observation that in rapid speech stems derived with *ku+* and verb roots beginning with /w/ may surface as consonant cluster [kw]. This analysis also coincides with observations made of clitics, which are phonologically reduced in a number of morphophonological environments. (See Section (2.5) for discussion of morphophonological processes associated with clitics).

(2.69) SPANISH LOANS WITH /l/:

<i>ʔaanjel</i>	[ʔa:ŋ.hil]	‘angel’	(sp. <i>ángel</i>)
<i>yeeluj</i>	[ʔjɛ:l.uh]	‘ice’	(sp. <i>hielo</i>)
<i>laapis</i>	[ʔla:pis]	‘pencil’	(sp. <i>lapiz</i>)

(2.70) EXPRESSIVE VOCABULARY WITH /l/:

<i>ywuli</i>	[ʔjuu.li]	‘probably’
<i>ʔijlinh</i>	[ʔih.liŋ]	‘make smt move’
<i>ʔihin</i>	[ʔi.liŋ] (also [ʔiri])	‘clear throat’

2.2.7 Taps and Trills

The phonemes observed least in SP are the alveolar tap /ɾ/ and the alveolar trill /r/. The tapped /ɾ/ and trilled /r/ both occur in loan words. The trilled /r/ occurs in sound symbolic expressions. There is also an allophonic occurrence of /ɾ/ that results from stylistic alternations involving proclitics.

2.2.7.1 Alveolar tap /ɾ/

The allophonic segment [ɾ] surfaces as a stylistic alternation (not obligatory) at the morpheme boundary of person marking clitics and three derivational proclitics: the causative *ʔak+*, the derivational *ʔaŋ+*, and the associative *na+*. Table (2.4) lists all the possible alternations resulting from the combination of proclitics.

Table 2.4: Stylistic Alternation of /r/

Proclitic+	/ʔak+/ /	/ʔaŋ+/ /	/na+/ /
/ʔan+/ /	[ʔarak]	[ʔaraŋ]	[ʔara]
/tan+/ /	[tarak]	[taraŋ]	[tara]
/ʔin+/ /	[ʔirik]	[ʔiriŋ]	[ʔiri]
/ʔi+/ /	—	—	[ʔiri]
/ʔa+/ /	—	—	[ʔara]
/ta+/ /	—	—	[tara]
/mi+/ /	—	—	[miri]

The segment /r/ occurs in Spanish loan words (2.71).

(2.71) LOAN WORDS WITH /r/:

[ʔa.gu'ri:tah] ‘right now, in a minute’ (sp. *ahorita*)

2.2.7.2 Alveolar trill /r/

The phoneme /r/ occurs in loan words and in ideophones. Spanish loans are shown in example (2.72).

(2.72) SPANISH LOANS WITH /r/:

rrabyuj [ʔrab.juh] ‘anger’ (sp. *rabio*)

ʔaarrus [ʔaa.rus] ‘rice’ (sp. *arros*)

/r/ also occurs in expressive vocabulary (also known as ideophones and sound symbolic expressions) (2.73).

(2.73) EXPRESSIVE VOCABULARY WITH /r/:

rropsnéʔ [rops.'nɛʔ] ‘It had slid down.’

kurruutkiʔm [ku.ruut.'kiʔm] ‘He broke out in hives.’

2.2.8 The segment /H/

There are a number of words that contain an unspecified underlying segment, identified as the segment /H/¹⁵, which shows three alternations in three environments¹⁶. These alternations are [ː] (vowel length), [ːh] (vowel length followed by a laryngeal fricative) and Ø (Elson 1956:22). This segment cannot be identified as /h/ underlyingly because the laryngeal fricative /h/ is not subject to the rules that apply for the unspecified segment. The rules describing the alternations are shown in (2.74). Rules (a) through (c) are described here.

(2.74) /H/ ALTERNATION RULES:

- (a) H → ː / V __ C
- (b) H → ːh / V __ #
- (c) H → Ø / V __ wim

¹⁵Himes (1997:6, citing Kaufman p.c.) notes that /H/ was originally /h/ in proto-Mixe-Zoquean.

¹⁶Elson (1956:22) reports five alternations. Himes (1997:6) reports four alternations—the fourth shown in (i)—although no examples are provided.

(i) FOURTH /H/ ALTERNATION RULE:

H → h / V __ V

I have been unable to corroborate the fourth environment, for two reasons. First, words do not begin with vowels, and only four suffixes begin with or consist of vowels: *-i* ‘imperative’, *-i* ‘dependent intransitive-a’, *-i* ‘nominalizer’ and *-i* ‘motion progressive’. Therefore, the only environment in which this alternation occurs is verb roots marked with one of these four suffixes. This marking results in word stems of the shape CVCV(C), which leads to the second problem in recreating the conditions of the [h] alternation. Vowels in open syllables in stressed environments tend to surface as long (see §2.5.1). That is, if a root of the shape CVH is followed by a vowel, then the V surfaces long. Observe in example (ii-a) that constructions with the minimal pairs /paH/ ‘have diarrhea’ and /piH/ ‘get fat, soak’. The same is observed for the verb root /pah/ ‘lock, enclose’ followed by the suffix *-i* in (ii-b). The vowel of the root also surfaces as long.

(ii) /H/ ALTERNATION: /H/ → h / V __ V:

- (a) /məh-W ?a+paH-i/ [móh ?a'pa:hi²] ‘I began to get diarrhea.’
 /məh-W piH-i/ [pɪ:hi²] ‘Soak them!’
- (b) /?a+pah-i/ [ʔa'pa:hi²] ‘Lock me up!’

As such, the fourth alternation remains an open question.

The segment /H/ occurs only in coda the position of a limited number of words and formatives, which are shown in examples (2.75) through (2.78). Example (2.75) illustrates the verb roots in which /H/ occurs. The adjective/adverb *wiH* ‘good, fine’ is shown in (2.76). The interrogative pronouns *?iH* ‘who’, *hutfaH* ‘when’, and *tyiH* ‘what’ are shown in (2.77) and the derivational suffixes *-?aH* ‘versive’ and *-taH* ‘passive’ in (2.78).

(2.75) VERB ROOTS:

<i>?uH</i>	‘take care of smt.’
<i>ku+hoH</i>	‘roll around, over’
<i>naH</i>	‘numeral classifier (diachronic remnant)’
<i>ku+pukuH</i>	‘to swarm’
<i>piH</i>	‘get fat, soak, fatten smt. up’
<i>paH</i>	‘have diarrhea’
<i>woH</i>	‘be reclined’

(2.76) ADJECTIVE:

<i>wiH</i>	‘good, fine’
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(2.77) PRONOUNS:

<i>?iH</i>	‘who’
<i>hutfaH</i>	‘when’
<i>tyiH</i>	‘what’

(2.78) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES:

<i>-?aH</i>	‘versive’
<i>-taH</i>	‘passive’

In terms of its distribution, /H/ occurs only in coda position; it can occur adjacent to all six vowels. There is evidence to support positing an

unspecified underlying segment, each of which will be discussed in this section.

2.2.8.1 /H/ alternation: /H/ → : / __ C

/H/ surfaces as length of its preceding vowel before a consonant, illustrated in examples (2.79) through (2.84).

(2.79) FOLLOWED BY BILABIAL STOP /p/:

[ʔa.gi.hɔʔ:'gá:p^h]
 /ʔagi+hɔ:ko-ʔaH-pa/
 INTENS+smoke-VERS-INC
 ‘S/he makes a lot of smoke’

(2.80) FOLLOWED BY ALVEOLAR STOP /t/:

[ʔa.rak₁tsiʔmá:taʔ.mim]
 /ʔan+ʔak+tsi:m-ʔaH-taʔm-W+ʔam/
 XERG+CAUS₁+load-VERS-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘Now we’re loading it’

(2.81) FOLLOWED BY GLOTTAL STOP /ʔ/:

[wí:ʔam]
 /wíH+ʔam/
 good+ALR
 ‘good, fine’

(2.82) FOLLOWED BY NASAL /m/:

[wí:muh'nɛ.ʔum]
 /wíH=muh-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/
 well=wet-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘It was very wet’

(2.83) FOLLOWED BY NASAL /n/:

[**wi**:nuʔk'nɛʔ^h]
 /**wiH**=nuʔk-nɛʔ-W/
 good=arrive-PERF-CMP
 ‘(S/he) arrived well.’

(2.84) FOLLOWED BY FRICATIVE /s/:

[**pi**:sɛ:n'ɛ.ʔum]
 /**piH**=sɛ:t-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/
 fat=return-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘She has got fat again.’

The glottal fricative /h/ does occur in coda position preceding a consonant.

In the examples in (2.85), a number of verb and noun roots are shown with /h/ in coda position. In each case /h/ appears in the surface form.

(2.85) /h/; NO ALTERNATION PRECEDING CONSONANT:

/ mɔh -pa+ʔam/	[mɔh .pam]	‘It begins.’
/ʔi+ pah -nɛʔ-W+ʔam/	[ʔi. pah 'nɛʔum]	‘he’s enclosed it’
/wɛh-pa/	[wɛhpa]	‘S/he cries.’
/hɛh=mɔŋ/	[hɛhmɔŋ]	‘rest at night’
/ʔak+ mih -ʔaH/	[ʔakmihʔaH]	‘cause to become big, raise a child’
/ nɛh =sɛ:t/	[nɛh =sɛ:t]	‘tilt, tip’
/ tuh =saawa/	[tuh 'saa.wa]	‘windy rain storm’

Comparing the minimal pair *paH* ‘have diarrhea’ and *pah* ‘enclose’, shown in (2.86), observe the behavior of the roots in the same context.

(2.86) MINIMAL PAIRS PRECEDING CONSONANT:

/ʔa+paH-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/	[ʔa pa :nɛ.ʔum]	‘I’ve had diarrhea’
/ʔa+paH-pa/	[ʔa' pa :pa]	‘I have diarrhea’
/ʔa+pah-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/	[ʔa. pah 'nɛ.ʔum]	‘I’ve been locked up.’
/ʔa+pah-pa/	[ʔa' pah pa]	‘I am locked up.’

2.2.8.2 /H/ [h] alternation: /H/ → :h / V __ #

The second rule shown in (2.74) indicates that the segment /H/ surfaces as vowel length of the vowel preceding it and the laryngeal fricative [h] in word final position. Examples are shown in (2.87). Example (2.87a) shows the adjective/adverb *wiH* ‘good, fine’ in isolation.

- (2.87) /H/ ALTERNATION: /H/ → :h / V __ #:
 (a) /wiH/ [wi:h] ‘good, fine’
 (b) /piH-W/ [pí:h] ‘S/he got fat.’
 (c) /piŋ-nɛʔ-taH-W/ [piŋnɛʔtá] ‘They were gathered.’

Observe the examples in (2.88), which show words (or roots) that end in /h/ underlyingly. (2.88a) shows the adjective *wiH* ‘big’ in isolation. Note that the vowel [i] does not appear long. Similarly, the vowels of the verb roots [sah] ‘gift’ and [moh] ‘begin’ do not appear long. Again if we compare the minimal pair /paH/ and /pah/ in example (2.89) in the same environments, inflected only with the completive suffix *-wi* and the first person exclusive absolutive clitic *ʔa+*, /paH/ surfaces as [paa] and /pah/ surfaces as [pah].

- (2.88) /h/ EXAMPLES; NO ALTERNATION WORD FINAL:
 /mih/ [mih] ‘big’
 /ʔa+sah-W/ [ʔasáh] ‘She gifted it (to) me.’
 /moh-W/ [móh] ‘It began.’

- (2.89) MINIMAL PAIRS PRECEDING EDGE OF WORD:
 /ʔa+paH-W/ [ʔa.ˈpa:h] ‘I had diarrhea.’
 /ʔa+pah-W/ [ʔa.ˈpah] ‘I was locked up.’

2.2.8.3 /H/ alternation: /H/ → Ø/ V __ wim

The final rule specifies that /H/ surfaces as Ø preceding the morpheme combination of the completive morpheme *-W* and *+ʔam* ‘already’, which surfaces as [-wim]. Observe in the examples shown in (2.90) that the passive suffix *-taH* preceding [wim] surfaces as [ta] ¹⁷.

(2.90) /H/ ALTERNATION (A): /H/ → Ø/ V __ wim:
 /ʔi+wat-**taH**-W+ʔam/ [ʔiwat.'**ta**wim] ‘It has already been made.’

As shown in (2.91), when verb roots that end in /h/ underlyingly are inflected with the completive and the ‘already’ enclitic, the inflectional suffix *-W* surfaces [ɔ], [u], or [i].

(2.91) /h/ EXAMPLES; NO ALTERNATION WORD FINAL:
 /mɔh-W+ʔam/ [mɔ.hɔm] ‘It began.’
 /ʔi+ʔak+nuʔk-yaɟ-W+ʔam/ [ʔik.nuʔk.'ja.hum] ‘They put it together.’
 /jah-W+ʔam/ [ja.him] ‘They finished.’

2.2.9 Vowels

Soteapanec has three high vowels: the high front vowel /i, i:/, the high back, unrounded vowel /ɨ, ɨ:/, and the high back rounded vowel /u, u:/. The front vowels /i, i:/ occur adjacent to palatal and alveo-palatal segments, as shown in examples (2.92) and (2.93). /i, i:/ do not occur adjacent to alveolar stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, as they condition palatalization of the alveolar segments (see §2.5.2.3). The only exception is in Spanish loan words, as shown

¹⁷The occurrence of the morpheme [wi] is of particular interest because this is one of only two environments in which the suffix *-W*, which has five alternations [ɔ], [u], [i], Ø, and [wi], appears as [wi]. See 2.6 for description.

in (2.94).

(2.92) HIGH FRONT VOWEL /i:/

<i>ʔaapity</i>	/ʔa:pit ^h /	[ʔa:pit ^h]	‘thorn’
<i>ʔixkuy</i>	/ʔiʃkuj/	[ʔiʃ.kuj]	‘eye’
<i>xix</i>	/ʃiʃ/	[ʃiʃ]	‘cow’
<i>chimpa</i>	/tʃimpa/	[tʃim.pa ^h]	‘dog’
<i>mich</i>	/mitʃ/	[mitʃ]	‘you’
<i>niʔipiny</i>	/niʔ=pij/	[niʔi.pij]	‘blood’
<i>ʒimny</i>	/himpi/	[him.pi ^h]	‘forest’

(2.93) HIGH FRONT VOWEL /i:/

<i>chiinyi</i>	/tʃi:pi/	[tʃi:pi ^h]	‘thunder’
<i>chii cha</i>	/tʃi:tʃa/	[tʃi:tʃa ^h]	‘net’
<i>puykiityi</i>	/puj=ki:tʃi/	[puj.ki:tʃi ^h]	‘broken foot’
<i>kuumxiwi</i>	/ku:m=ʃi:wi/	[ku:m.ʃi:wi ^h]	‘(hunting) bow’
<i>nyiiwi</i>	/ni:wi/	[ni:wi ^h]	‘chili’
<i>xiiynchujsik</i>	/ʃi:ntʃuh sik/	[ʃi:ntʃuh sik ^h]	‘coral colored bean’

(2.94) HIGH FRONT VOWEL IN LOAN WORDS:

<i>pinsaj</i>	[piinsah]	‘pliers (sp. <i>pinsa</i>)’
<i>sinturuunh</i>	[sinturuun]	‘belt (sp. <i>cinturon</i>)’
<i>ʔiskiinaj</i>	[ʔiskiinah]	‘corner (sp. <i>esquina</i>)’
<i>bentiladuur</i>	[bentiladuur]	‘electric fan (sp. <i>ventilador</i>)’

The high back unrounded vowels /i, i:/ appear adjacent to all consonants, as shown in (2.95) and (2.96).

(2.95) HIGH MID UNROUNDED VOWEL /i/:

<i>niʔ</i>	/niʔ/	[niʔ ^h]	‘water’
<i>yik</i>	/jik/	[jik ^h]	‘black’
<i>miʔa</i>	/miʔa/	[mi.ʔa ^h]	‘deer’
<i>piʔpa</i>	/pis-pa/	[ˈpis.paʔ]	‘it heals’
<i>kiʔaapa</i>	/kiʔ=ʔaapa/	[ki.ʔaa.pa ^h]	‘big toe’
<i>ʔidyik</i>	/ʔidyik/	[ˈʔi.dyik ^h]	‘past’
<i>ʔiʔ</i>	/ʔiʔ/	[ʔiʔ]	‘I’
<i>piʔtyik</i>	/piʔtʲik/	[ˈpiʔ.tʲik ^h]	‘lice’
<i>taatzik</i>	/ta:tsik/	[ˈta:tsik ^h]	‘ear’

(2.96) HIGH MID UNROUNDED VOWEL /i:/:

<i>pi:ini</i>	/pi:fiŋ/	[ˈpi:.fiŋ]	‘man’
<i>tzi:xi</i>	/tʃi:fi/	[ˈtʃi:.fi]	‘child’
<i>ʃi:stáap</i>	/hi:s-taH-pa/	[hi:s.ˈta:p ^h]	‘She is remembered.’

The high back rounded vowels /u, u:/ also appear adjacent to all consonants, as shown in (2.97) and (2.98).

(2.97) HIGH BACK ROUNDED VOWEL /u/:

<i>tuj</i>	/tuh/	[tuh]	‘rain’
<i>tzuʔ</i>	/tsuʔ/	[tsuʔ ^h]	‘night’
<i>jetzkuy</i>	/hetskuj/	[ˈhets.kuj]	‘brush’
<i>suyat</i>	/sujat/	[ˈsu.jat ^h]	‘palm’
<i>kugaptsuʔ</i>	/kugaptsuʔ/	[kuˈgap.tsuʔ ^h]	‘midnight’
<i>ʔuksi</i>	/ʔuʔksi/	[ˈʔuʔk.siʔ]	‘cloud’
<i>puʔu</i>	/puʔu/	[ˈpu.ʔuʔ]	‘belly’
<i>tzutz</i>	/tsuts/	[tsuts]	‘tooth’
<i>tzujmity</i>	/tsuhmitʃ/	[ˈtsuh.mitʃ ^h]	‘blanket’
<i>tukuteen</i>	/tukutɛ:n/	[tu.ku.ˈtɛ:n]	‘three’
<i>yukmi</i>	/jukmi/	[ˈjuk.miʔ]	‘high, above’

(2.98) HIGH BACK ROUNDED VOWEL /u:/:

<i>tzuus</i>	/tsu:s/	[tsu:s]	‘blue, green’
<i>nuuma</i>	/nu:ma/	[nu:ma [?]]	‘certainty’
<i>puuchi</i>	/pu:ʃi/	[pu:ʃi [?]]	‘garbage’
<i>puktuuku</i>	/puktu:ku/	[puk.tu:ku [?]]	‘clothing’
<i>tuuku</i>	/tu:ku/	[tu:ku [?]]	‘old’
<i>yuuli</i>	/ju:li/	[ju:li [?]]	‘probably’

Soteapanec has two mid vowels: the front mid vowels /ε, ε:/ and the mid back mid vowel /ɔ, ɔ:/. the mid front vowels /ε, ε:/ are shown in (2.99) and (2.100).

(2.99) MID FRONT VOWEL /ε/:

<i>seket</i>	/sekkεt/	[sε.kεt ^h]/	‘bird nest’
		[sεk.εt ^h]	
<i>teʔkxi</i>	/teʔkʃ/	[teʔk.ʃi [?]]	‘dress’
<i>ken</i>	/kεn/	[kεn]	‘seem’
<i>jespiy</i>	/hespij/	[hes.pi _ɔ j]	‘like that’
<i>jetzkuy</i>	/hetskuj/	[hets.kuj]	‘brush’
<i>yemkuy</i>	/jemkuj/	[jem.kuj]	‘fan’

(2.100) MID FRONT VOWEL /ε:/:

<i>jeem</i>	/hε:m/	[hε:m]	‘there’
<i>neeja</i>	/nε:ha/	[nε:ha [?]]	‘side’
<i>jeepe</i>	/hε:pe/	[hε:pe [?]]	‘tree gourd’
<i>wisteen</i>	/wistε:n/	[wis.tε:n]	‘two’
<i>ʔa+seetpa</i>	/ʔa+sε:t-pa/	[ʔa'sε:t.pa [?]]	‘I’m returning.’

The mid back vowels /ɔ, ɔ:/ are shown in (2.101) and (2.102).

(2.101) MID BACK VOWEL /ɔ:/:

<i>mok</i>	/mɔk/	[mɔk ^h]	‘corn’
<i>kom</i>	/kɔm/	[kɔm]	‘post’
<i>totz</i>	/tɔts/	[tɔts]	‘tongue’
<i>woyo</i>	/wɔj ɔ/	[‘wɔ:.jɔʔ]	‘circular’

(2.102) MID BACK VOWEL /ɔ:/:

<i>yooya</i>	/jɔ:ja/	[‘jɔ:jaʔ]	‘pig’
<i>poopo</i>	/pɔ:po/	[‘pɔ:poʔ]	‘white’
<i>nooki</i>	/nɔ:ki/	[‘nɔ:kiʔ]	‘zapote seed’
<i>yoomo</i>	/jɔ:mo/	[‘jɔ:moʔ]	‘woman’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	/tsɔ:ɡɔj/	[‘tsɔ:ɡɔj]	‘liver’
<i>ʔa+yooxaap</i>	/ʔa+yɔ:x-ʔaH-pa/	[ʔa.jɔ:ʔa:p ^h]	‘I’m working.’

There is one low central vowel: /a, a:/, shown in (2.103) and (2.104).

(2.103) LOW CENTRAL VOWEL /a/:

<i>tam</i>	/tam/	[tam]	‘bitter’
<i>tzaʔ</i>	/tsaʔ/	[tsaʔ ^h]	‘rock’
<i>yooya</i>	/jɔ:ja/	[‘jɔ:jaʔ]	‘pig’
<i>pak</i>	/pak/	[pak ^h]	‘bone’
		[takaɟ]	
<i>wanh</i>	/waɟ/	[waɟ]	‘horn’

(2.104) LOW CENTRAL VOWEL /a:/:

<i>tzaam</i>	/tsa:m/	[tsa:m]	‘much, very’
<i>saawa</i>	/sa:wa/	[‘sa:waʔ]	‘wind, air’
<i>jaamtáap</i>	/ha:m-taH-pa/	[ha:m.‘ta:p ^h]	‘He’s felt (said of the dead).’

Words in SP do not begin with vowels. We know that words begin with glottal stops phonemically and that word initial stops are not phonetic, because they condition a number of morphophonological alternations in word

initial position, as well as in word medial position¹⁸. Evidence of this comes from compounds or inflectional morphology. Glottal stops condition voicing in voiceless stops in specific environments; undergo metathesis following sonorants in coda position; and condition laryngealization in the long vowels of stressed syllables. The examples in (2.105) show noun and verb stems with inflectional morphology or in a compound in which an alternation has occurred. In (2.105a), the noun stem *?aapa* ‘mother’ has been inflected with the ergative person marker *?an+* (indicating possession). In this example the word initial glottal stop has metathesized with the [n] in coda position of the ergative morpheme. Observe the same process of metathesis with respect to the verb stem *?if* ‘see’ in example (2.105b). In (2.105c) the verb root *?a?m* ‘look’ is in a compound with the noun *toto* ‘paper’ and we observe a number of more complex processes. The glottal stop has metathesized with /t/, conditioned the voicing of the voiceless stop, and due to stress has laryngealized the lengthened vowel, providing clear evidence for positing word initial glottal stops in Soteapanec.

(2.105) /ʔ/ GLOTTAL STOP WORD INITIAL

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (a) /ʔan+ʔa:pa/ | [ʔaʔna:paʔ] | ‘my mother’ |
| (b) /ʔan+ʔif-wi/ | [ʔaʔniʃ] | ‘I saw it’ |
| (c) /toto=ʔa?m-wi/ | [tɔʔɔ'daʔm] | ‘he reads’ |

¹⁸This is contrary to Elson’s (1967:271-272) analysis in which he states that “all vowels occur initially”. Elson treats the “glottal catch” as a suprasegmental feature and not a phoneme.

2.3 Syllable Structure

In Soteapanec, a syllable minimally consists of a consonant and a vowel: CV. The maximal syllable is (C)CV(:)(?)(C)(C). The attested syllable shapes are shown in example (2.106). Syllables with clusters in onset position are rare. The clusters in onset position that have been observed consist of a voiceless stop in first position.

(2.106) ATTESTED SYLLABLE SHAPES:

CV	/ku+t ^j u:m/	[ku.t ^j u:m]	‘alone’
	/ju?-ʔaH-neʔ-W+ʔam/	[ju.ʔa.'ne.ʔum]	‘he was already hungry.’
CV:	/ki:pi/	[ki:pi ^h]	‘firewood’
CVC	/pak/	[pak ^h]	‘bone’
CV:C	/hu:t ^j /	[hu:t ^j ^h]	‘where’
CVʔC	/kaiʔnpu/	[kaʔn.pu ^ʔ]	‘egg’
CVʔCC	/ʔa+sɔʔps-pa/	[ʔa.'sɔʔps.pa ^ʔ]	‘It tires me.’
CCVC	/trajt ^j i/	[traj.t ^j i ^ʔ]	‘kid, adolescent male’
CCVCC	/kruʔjt ^j i/	[kruʔj.t ^j i ^ʔ]	‘quail’

2.3.1 Syllable Onsets

All consonants occur in onset position, as shown in example (2.107). /ŋ/ does not generally occur in syllable onset as no morpheme begins with /ŋ/. The exception, however, is under the condition of metathesis, when /ŋ/ occurs in coda position preceding the glottal stop and then metathesizes with the glottal stop, resulting in syllable onset.

(2.107) SYLLABLE ONSETS:

(a) Stops:

<i>ʔay</i>	/ʔaj/	[ʔaj]	‘leaf’
<i>poopo</i>	/pɔɔpɔ/	[pɔɔ.pɔʔ]	‘white’
<i>yamtoʔoba</i>	/jam-tɔʔ-pa/	[jam.tɔʔo.baʔ]	‘She wants to hide.’
<i>suutyi</i>	/suutʃi/	[suu.tʃiʔ]	‘small snail’
<i>ʔa+kɛkpa</i>	/ʔa+kɛk-pa/	[ʔa.kɛkʰ.paʔ]	‘I fly.’
<i>tzabatz</i>	/tsabats/	[tsa.bats]	‘red’
<i>ʔidʒik</i>	/ʔidʒik/	[ʔi.dʒikʰ]	‘past’
<i>sɛ:tgakpa</i>	/sɛ:t-gak-pa/	[sɛ:t.gakʰ.paʔ]	‘He returns again.’

(b) Nasals:

<i>ʔa+moŋpa</i>	/ʔa+moŋ-pa/	[ʔa.mɔŋ.paʔ]	‘I sleep.’
<i>moŋnɛʔ</i>	/moŋ-nɛʔ-W/	[moŋ.nɛʔʰ]	‘He has slept.’
<i>ɲiiwi</i>	/ɲiiwi/	[ɲii.wiʔ]	‘chili’
<i>nikpa siŋʔaahi</i>	/nikpa siŋ-ʔaH-i/	[nikʰ.pa siʔʔaa.hiʔ]	‘He goes to party.’

(c) Affricates:

<i>tzaanyi</i>	/tʃaɲi/	[tʃa.ɲiʔ]	‘snake’
<i>ʔi+tzɔy</i>	/ʔi+tʃɔj/	[ʔi.tʃɔj]	‘his medicine’

(d) Fricatives:

<i>saawa</i>	/sa:wa/	[sa:waʔ]	‘air, wind’
<i>xix</i>	/ʃiʃ/	[ʃiʃ]	‘cow’
<i>ʔi+joodonh</i>	/ʔi+hɔ:dɔŋ/	[ʔi.hɔ:dɔŋ]	‘He knows.’

(e) Approximates:

<i>yooya</i>	/jɔ:ja/	[jɔ:jaʔ]	‘pig’
<i>wejpa</i>	/wɛh-pa/	[wɛhpaʔ]	‘he cries’

(f) Liquids:

<i>ʔilinh</i>	/ʔiliŋ/	[ʔi.liŋ]	‘clear throat’
<i>rropsnɛʔ</i>	/rops-neʔ-W/	[rops.nɛʔ]	‘It slips.’
<i>ʔara+ʔity</i>	/ʔan+na+ʔitʃ-W/	[ʔa.r a.ʔitʃʰ]	‘I had it.’

The only consonant clusters that occur in onset position are [tr], [kr] and [kw], as shown in example (2.108). Onset clusters, however, are rare. In fact, the etymology of some of the words is unknown, and they are likely to be loanwords, ideophones, or the result of morphophonemic processes. For example *kruuna* ‘crown’, shown in (2.108), is borrowed from the Spanish *corona*. In the case of the consonant cluster [kw], the sequence often results as a contraction involving the deletion of the vowel [u] of the derivational proclitic *ku+* preceding the labio-velar approximate [w].

(2.108) CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN ONSET:

<i>traytyi</i>	/trajtʃi/	[traj.tʃi]	‘kid, adolescent male’
<i>kruʔytyi</i>	/kruʔjtʃi/	[ˈkruʔj.tʃiʔ]	‘quail’
<i>kruuna</i>	/kru:na/	[ˈkru:.naʔ]	‘crown’
<i>kwidaadoj</i>	/kwida:doh/	[kwɪ.ˈda:.doh]	‘Be careful.’
<i>ku+wiʔks</i>	/ku+wiʔks-W/	[kwɪʔks]	‘It twisted.’

2.3.2 Syllable Nuclei

All vowels occur as syllable nuclei, as shown in (2.109). There are no diphthongs in Sotepanec.

(2.109) SYLLABLE NUCLEI:

<i>ʔa+xikpa</i>	/ʔa+fɪk-pa/	[ʔa.'fɪk ^h .pa ^ʔ]	'I laugh.'
<i>nyiiwi</i>	/ni:wi/	[ni:wi ^ʔ]	'chili'
<i>ʔan+mikpa</i>	/ʔan+mɪk-pa/	[ʔam.'mɪk ^h .pa ^h]	'I wrap it.'
<i>piixiny</i>	/pi:ʃɪn/	[pi:ʃɪn]	'man'
<i>yumpa</i>	/jum-pa/	[jum.pa ^h]	'It boils.'
<i>nuuma</i>	/nu:ma/	[nu:ma ^ʔ]	'certainty'
<i>ʔa+ketpa</i>	/ʔa+kɛt-pa/	[ʔa.'kɛt ^h .pa ^h]	'I descend.'
<i>ʔa+seetpa</i>	/ʔa+sɛɪt-pa/	[ʔa.'sɛɪt.pa ^ʔ]	'I return.'
<i>ʔan+sospa</i>	/ʔan+sɔs-pa/	[ʔan.'sɔs.pa ^h]	'I boil it.'
<i>mooya</i>	/mɔ:ja/	[mɔ:ja ^ʔ]	'flower'
<i>nas</i>	/nas/	[nas]	'earth, dirt'
<i>saawa</i>	/sa:wa/	[sa:wa ^ʔ]	'wind, air'

2.3.3 Syllable Codas

All consonants occur in coda position except [w], [l], [r], [ɾ]. In the case of [w], three roots have been documented that show [w] in coda position: *ʔowʔoks* 'bend back', *kɔ:w-ʔa:h-i* 'cut flesh', and *tsɔ:wʔiʔj* 'be expensive' (Kaufman & Himes, in progress). Due to its position preceding the glottal stop, however, these expressions surface as [ʔoʔwoks], [kɔʔɔwa'neʔ], and [tsɔʔɔ'wiʔj], respectively¹⁹. Therefore, [w] does not appear in coda position. With respect to [l] and [r], these phonemes occur only in onset position in loanwords and ideophones. The allophone [ɾ] occurs only in stylistic alternations associated with clitics and only in onset position.

¹⁹See sections (2.2.1.1) and (2.5.3) for discussion of glottal stops and metathesis.

(2.110) SYLLABLE CODAS:

<i>tzaʔ</i>	/tʂaʔ/	[tʂaʔ ^h]	‘rock’
<i>ʔi+tyopyaj</i>	/ʔi+tʂ ^j ɔp-jah-wi/	[ʔi.tʂ ^j ɔp.jah]	‘They took it out.’
<i>tzut</i>	/tsut-wi/	[ʔtʂut]	‘It fell.’
<i>witypa</i>	/wit ^j -pa/	[ʔwit ^j .paʔ]	‘He is walking.’
<i>muknéʔ</i>	/muk-nɛʔ-wi/	[ʔmuk.nɛʔ ^h]	‘He fell.’
<i>jimpa</i>	/him-pa/	[ʔhim.paʔ]	‘It is spicy.’
<i>ʔa+wanpa</i>	/ʔa+wan-pa/	[ʔa.wan.paʔ]	‘I am singing.’
<i>ʔi+winj=pak</i>	/ʔi+wij ⁿ -pak/	[ʔi.wij ⁿ .pak ^h]	‘his forehead’
<i>monhpa</i>	/moŋ-pa/	[ʔmoŋ.paʔ]	‘He sleeps.’
<i>totz</i>	/tɔts/	[ʔtɔts]	‘tongue’
<i>ʔich</i>	/ʔiʧ/	[ʔiʧ]	‘I’
<i>nas</i>	/nas/	[ʔnas]	‘earth’
<i>xix</i>	/ʃiʃ/	[ʃiʃ]	‘cow’
<i>ku+kejpa</i>	/ku+keh-pa/	[ku.keh.paʔ]	‘It appears.’
<i>kuy</i>	/kuj/	[ʔkuj]	‘tree, wood, stick’

Consonant clusters are more prevalent in coda position. Clusters consist of two and three consonants. Clusters of two consonants that occur in coda position are made up of: [stop] + [fricative] ([ps] and [ks]) and [glottal stop] + [obstruent_{-sibilant}] ([ʔm], [ʔn], [ʔp], [ʔt] [ʔk], [ʔj]). Clusters of three consonants that occur in coda position consist of: [glotta stop] + [labial or velar stop] + [fricative] ([ʔps] and [ʔks]).

(2.111) TWO-CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN CODA POSITION:

<i>yijʔp</i>	/jiʔp/	[ʔjiʔp]	‘this’
<i>ʔi+paʔt</i>	/ʔi+paʔt-wi/	[ʔi.paʔt]	‘He found it.’
<i>wiʔk</i>	/wiʔk-wi/	[ʔwiʔk]	‘He ate.’
<i>ʔa+ʔaʔm</i>	/ʔa+ʔaʔm-wi/	[ʔa.ʔaʔm]	‘He saw me.’
<i>kaʔnpu</i>	/kaʔnpu/	[ʔkaʔn.puʔ]	‘egg’
<i>ʔi+koʔtz</i>	/ʔi+koʔts-W/	[ʔi.koʔts]	‘He hit him.’
<i>ʔan+hepspa</i>	/ʔan+heps-pa/	[ʔan.heps.paʔ]	‘I serve it.’
<i>ʔi+nakspa</i>	/ʔi+naks-pa/	[ʔi.naks.paʔ]	‘She hangs it.’

(2.112) THREE-CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN CODA POSITION:

<i>puj=ku+wiʔks</i>	/puj=ku+wiʔks/	[₁ puj.ku.'wiʔks]	'He twisted his foot.'
<i>ʔa+soʔpspa</i>	/ʔa+soʔps-pa/	[ʔa.'soʔps.paʔ]	'It tires me.'

2.3.4 Medial Consonant Clusters

Clusters of two, three and four consonants occur in medial position.

2.3.4.1 Two Consonant Clusters

The majority of combinations of stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates are attested.

Examples with two consonant clusters are shown in (2.113) through (2.118).

Exceptions are addressed below.

(2.113) STOP + C:

(a) Stop + stop:			
	/ʔa+put-pa+ʔam/	[ʔa.'put ^h .pam]	'I'm leaving'
	/jiʔp/	[jiʔp]	'this'
(b) Stop + nasal:			
	/muk-nεʔ-W/	[muk.'nεʔ ^h]	'He fell.'
(c) Stop + approximant:			
	/kεk-jah-pa/	[k εk.'jah.paʔ]	'They are flying.'
	/ʔi+ʔak+wiʔk-pa/	[ʔik.'wiʔik.pa]	'She feeds him.'
	/haj-ʔaŋ/	[haʔjaŋ]	'a lot'
(d) Stop + fricative:			
	/suksuk/	[suk.suk ^h]	'river'
(e) Stop + affricate:			
	/kugaptsuʔ/	[ku.'gap.ts uʔ ^h]	'midnight'
	/wit ^j =tʃɔ:mɔ/	[wit ^j .'tʃɔ:mɔʔ]	'grandfather'
	/ʔi+wiH=pɛt=tsak-W/	[ʔi.wii.pɛt.'tsak ^h]	'She swept it well.'
	/ʔi+nεk=tsak-W/	[ʔi.nεk.'tsak ^h]	'He left it swept.'

(2.114) NASAL + C:

- (a) Nasal + stop
/jam-təʔ-pa/ [jam.təʔ.baʔ] ‘She wants to hide.’
/ʔan+ʔaapa/ [ʔan.ʔaa.pa] ‘my mother’
- (b) Nasal + nasal
/ʔaanma/ [ʔa.n.maʔ] ‘heart’
/məŋ-nɛʔ-W/ [məŋ.nɛʔ^h] ‘He has slept.’
- (c) Nasal + approximant
/mij-jah-pa/ [mij.jah.paʔ] ‘They are coming.’
- (d) Nasal + fricative
/ʔan+səs-pa/ [ʔan.səʔs.paʔ] ‘I’m cooking it.’
- (e) Nasal + affricate
/ʔan+tsəj/ [ʔan.tsəj] ‘my medicine’

(2.115) APPROXIMANT + C:

- (a) Approximant + stop
/ʔa+poj-pa/ [ʔa.pəj.paʔ] ‘I run.’
- (b) Approximant + nasal
/majmaj/ [maj.maj] ‘happy’
- (c) Approximant + approximant
/toj-jah-pa/ [toj.ʔah.pa] ‘They hurt.’
- (d) Approximant + fricative
/tsaj=fik/ [tsaj.fik^h] ‘bean’
- (e) Approximant + affricate
/haj=ʔfi:fi/ [haj.ʔfi:fiʔ] ‘son’
/kajtsaj/ [kaj.tsaj] ‘hammock’

(2.116) FRICATIVE + C:

- (a) Fricative + stop
/ʔan+səs-pa/ [ʔan.'sɔs.paʔ] 'I am cooking it.'
/ʔa+ʔiʃ-taʔm-W/ [ʔa.ʔiʃ.'tʃaʔm] 'They saw us.'
/ʔi+nas-kaʔ-pa/ [ʔi.nas.'kaʔa.baʔ] 'It happens to him.'
- (b) Fricative + nasal
/ʔan+səs-məŋ-pa/ [ʔan.səs.'məŋ.paʔ] 'I am going to cook.
late'
/ʔa+hɛh-nɛʔ-wi+ʔam/ [ʔa.hɛh.'nɛ.ʔum] 'I have already
rested.'
- (c) Fricative + approximant
ʔi+ʔiʃ-jah-pa/ [ʔi.ʔiʃ.'jah.paʔ] 'They see [it].'

(2.117) AFFRICATE + C:

- (a) Affricate + stop
/ʔɛts-pa+ʔam/ [ʔɛts.pam] 'He is dancing'
/ʔi+ʧiʧ-pa/ [ʔi'ʧiʧ.paʔ] 'He pulls it.'
- (b) Affricate + nasal
/ʧits-nɛʔ-W/ [ʧits.nɛʔ^h] 'It is dried.'
- (c) Affricate + approximant
/mi:ʧ-jah-pa/ [mi:ʧ.'jah.paʔ] 'They play.'

(2.118) LIQUIDS + C:

- (a) Liquid + stop
/siʔ-pa ʔan+kapɛl=piŋ-W/ [siʔp ʔan.kɑ.pɛl.'piŋ] 'I am
picking coffee.'

Exceptions include [glottal stop] + [fricative] clusters; SP disprefers these sequences and tends to insert an epenthetic “echo” vowel following the

stop. Another exception involves fricatives. Fricatives undergo assimilation alternations when they occur adjacent to one another. For example the glottal fricative /h/ surfaces as an alveolar or palatal fricative [s, ʃ] when it follows the alveolar or palatal fricative /s, ʃ/ (rule: $h \rightarrow s, ʃ / s, ʃ_$), as shown in (2.119).

(2.119) FRICATIVE + FRICATIVE:

/nas=hɔ:m/ [nas.'o:m] 'in the ground'

The affricates [ts] and [tʃ] also do not occur adjacent to one another because the alveolar affricate assimilates in place of articulation to palatal segments. Therefore, /ts/ surfaces as [tʃ] when it appears adjacent to [tʃ]. Liquids show a limited distribution. [r] and [l] appear in a limited number of clusters when borrowed words are involved. In ideophones, [l] has not been observed in clusters.

2.3.4.2 Three Consonant Clusters

Clusters of three consonants are also observed. The distribution is more restricted than that of two consonant clusters. The three consonant clusters that are observed are listed in (2.120) through (2.124).

(2.120) GLOTTAL STOP + STOP + C:

- (a) Glottal + stop + stop
/ʔa+tiʔp-pa/ [ʔa.'tiʔp.paʔ] 'They are inviting me.'
- (b) Glottal + stop + nasal
/ʔaŋ+kuʔt=məŋ-pa/ [ʔaŋ.kuʔt.'məŋ.paʔ] 'I eat dinner.'
- (c) Glottal + stop + approximant
/nuʔk-jah-W/ [nuʔk.'jah] 'They arrived.'
- (d) Glottal + stop + fricative
/maʔks-i/ ['maʔk.ʃi] 'before'
- (e) Glottal + stop + affricate
/muʔk=tsaj/ ['muʔk.tʃ aj] 'grazing land'

(2.121) GLOTTAL STOP + NASAL + C:

- (a) Glottal + nasal + stop
/ʔa+ʔaʔm-pa/ [ʔa.'ʔaʔm.paʔ] 'He sees me.'
/kaʔnpu/ ['kaʔn.puʔ] 'egg'
- (b) Glottal + nasal + nasal
/ʔi+ʔaʔm-neʔ-W/ [ʔi.ʔaʔm.'neʔ^h] 'He had seen her.'
- (c) Glottal + nasal + approximant
/ta+ʔaʔm-jah-pa/ [ta.ʔaʔm.'jah.paʔ] 'They see us.'
- (d) Glottal + nasal + fricative
/ʔa+ʔaʔm=sɛ:t-pa/ [ʔa.ʔaʔm.'sɛ:t^h.paʔ] 'He looks back.'
to see me'
- (e) Glottal + nasal + affricate
/ʔi+ʔak+kiʔm=tsak-W/ [ʔik.kiʔm.'tsak^h] 'He left it raised.'

(2.122) GLOTTAL STOP + APPROXIMANT + C:

- (a) Glottal + approximant + stop
/was-ʔɔʔj-pa/ [wa.'sɔʔj.pa] 'It bites.'
- (b) Glottal + approximant + nasal
/hoʔj-neʔ-W/ [hoʔj'ɲɛʔ^h] 'He had been
angry.'
- (c) Glottal + approximant + approximant
/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-yaj-W/ [ʔi.nyiʔ.maʔy'yaj] 'He told them.'
- (e) Glottal + approximant + affricate
/ʔa+maʔj=ʧiʔ-W/ [ʔa.maʔj'ʧiʔ^h] 'She gave it to us
sold.'

(2.123) GLOTTAL STOP + AFFRICATE + C:

- (a) Glottal + affricate + stop
/ʔi+koʔts-pa/ [ʔi.'koʔts.paʔ] 'He hits him.'
- (b) Glottal + affricate + nasal
/ʔi+koʔtzneʔ-W/ [ʔi.koʔtz.'neʔ] 'He had hit him.'
- (c) Glottal + affricate + approximant
/ʔi+koʔtsjah-W/ [ʔi.koʔts.'jah] 'They hit him.'

- (2.124) STOP + FRICATIVE + C:
- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) | Stop + fricative + stop | | |
| | /ʔan+hɛps-pa/ | [ʔan.'hɛps.paʔ] | 'I serve it.' |
| | /ʔi+naks-pa/ | [ʔi.'naks.paʔ] | 'She hangs it.' |
| (b) | Stop + fricative + nasal | | |
| | /ʔa+nɛks-nɛʔ=kaʔm-pa/ | [ʔa.nɛks.nɛʔ.'kaʔm.pa] | 'I am going to stick it.' |
| (c) | Stop + fricative + approximant | | |
| | /ʔi+naks-jah-pa+ʔam/ | [ʔi.naks.'jah.pam] | 'They beat [cotton].' |
| (c) | Stop + fricative + affricate | | |
| | /ʔan+paks=tsak-pa/ | [ʔan.paks.'tsak ^h .paʔ] | 'I leave it folded.' |

Glottal stops do not occur adjacent to fricatives. Therefore, no three consonant cluster sequences begin with [ʔ] + [fricative]. No [ʔ] + [approximant] + [fricative] sequences have been observed, although they are plausible. Clusters consisting of [ʔ] + [affricate] + [affricate] and [stop] + [fricative] + [fricative] clusters are not observed. This is likely to be due to assimilation of the segments.

2.3.4.3 Four consonant clusters

There are clusters of four consonants, all of which begin with [ʔ]. These are composed of the sequences listed in (2.125).

(2.125) CLUSTERS CONSISTING OF FOUR CONSONANTS:

- (a) Glottal + stop + fricative + stop
 /ʔan+weʔks-taʔm-pa/ [ʔaŋ.weʔks.taʔm-paʔ] ‘We braided them.’
- (b) Glottal + stop + fricative + nasal
 /neʔks-neʔ-jah-W+ʔam/ [neʔks.neʔ.ya.jum] ‘They are sticking.’
- (c) Glottal + stop + fricative + approximant
 /ʔi+tsik=soʔps-jah-W/ [ʔi.tʃiksoʔps.jah] ‘They tired them out.’

Clusters composed of [ʔ] + [stop] + [fricative] + [fricative] and [ʔ] + [stop] + [fricative] + [affricate] are not observed, probably as a result of assimilation.

Consonant clusters of two and three consonants in coda position may be divided when they precede vowels, as shown in examples (2.126) and (2.127).

(2.126) MEDIAL CLUSTERS OF TWO CONSONANTS PRECEDING VOWEL:

- mijpa wiʔiki /mij-pa wiʔk-i/ [ˈmijpaʔ wiʔiʔ.kiʔ] ‘He comes to eat.’
- ʔuksi /ʔuks-i/ [ˈʔuk.siʔ] ‘Shell it (corn)!’
- ʔi+kuʔtum /ʔi+kuʔt-wi+ʔam/ [ʔiˈkuʔ.tum] ‘He already ate it.’

(2.127) MEDIAL CLUSTERS OF THREE CONSONANTS PRECEDING VOWELS:

- tiʔpxi /tiʔps-i/ [ˈtiʔp.ʃiʔ] ‘rope’
- suʔkxi /suʔks-i/ [ˈsuʔk.ʃiʔ] ‘cough’
- ʔa+soʔpsum /ʔa+sɔʔps-wi+ʔam/ [ʔaˈsoʔp.sum] ‘I tired.’

Clusters in coda position do not divide when they precede consonants. For example in (2.128), which shows clusters of two syllables, the clusters [ʔj],

[ʔt], [ʔm] are preserved as the coda of the syllable when preceding the nasal consonant [n].

(2.128) MEDIAL CLUSTERS OF TWO CONSONANTS PRECEDING

CONSONANTS:

/man+wat-ʔaʔj-pa/	[maj.wa'daʔj.paʔ]	'I do it for you.'
/ʔa+ʔak+wak-ʔaʔj-nɛʔ-taʔm-wi+ʔam/	[ʔak.wa.gaʔj.nɛʔ.taʔmum]	'They have asked me.'
/ʔi+kuʔt-pa/	[ʔi.'kuʔt ^h .paʔ]	'He eats it.'
/ta+ʔaʔm-taʔm-pa/	[ta.ʔaʔm.'taʔm.paʔ]	'He sees us.'
/ta+ʔaʔm-jah-pa/	[ta.ʔaʔm.'yah.paʔ]	'They see us.'

Example (2.129) shows clusters of three preceding consonant onsets.

(2.129) MEDIAL CLUSTERS OF THREE CONSONANTS PRECEDING

CONSONANTS:

/ʔa+soʔps-nɛʔ-jah-wi+ʔam/	[ʔa,soʔps.nɛʔ'ja:.hum]	'They have tired me.'
/ʔa+soʔps-pa/	[ʔa'soʔps.paʔ]	'It tires me.'

2.4 Stress

SP has three degrees of stress, which are assigned from right to left. Primary stress may fall on the penultimate or ultimate syllable, depending on syllable weight. Secondary stress is assigned to the leftmost syllable, not including clitics. Tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable (i.e. containing a long vowel or a closed syllable) preceding primary stress. Clitics²⁰ are extrametrical

²⁰Clitics are indicated by the symbol +, used to mark the morpheme boundaries between clitics and stems. In subsequent chapters of this grammar, the boundaries between the clitics and the stress bearing word are indicated this way in both phonemic and phonetic representations.

and do not bear stress. This distribution is illustrated by the paradigm shown in (2.130).

(2.130) PRIMARY-PENULTIMATE:

/Ø+nim-pa/
/Ø+nim-jah-pa/
/Ø+nim-nɛʔ-pa/
/tso:ɡɔj/

[nim.paʔ]
[nim.jah.paʔ]
[nim.nɛʔ.baʔ]
[tso:ɡɔj]

‘He says.’
‘They say.’
‘He has said’
‘liver, gall bladder’

PRIMARY-ULTIMATE:

/nim-nɛʔ-W/
/nim-jah-W/
/nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa/
/tɔ:ɡɔj-W/
/ti:ɡiʔ-W/

[nim.nɛʔ^h]
[nim.jah]
[niʔ.maʔj.tʰaap^h]
[tɔ.ɡɔj]
[ti.ɡiʔ]

‘He had said.’
‘They said.’
‘He was told.’
‘It is lost’
‘He entered.’

SECONDARY:

/Ø+nim-nɛʔ-jah-pa/
/Ø+nim-nɛʔ-jah-gak-pa/
/Ø+nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa/
/Ø+nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa+ʔam/

[nim.nɛʔ.jah.paʔ]
[nim.nɛʔ.jah.gak.paʔ]
[niʔ.maʔj.tʰaap^h]
[niʔ.maʔj.tʰaa.bam]

‘They have said.’
‘They have said again.’
‘He has been told.’
‘He has been told already.’

TERTIARY:

/Ø+nim-ʔaʔj-jah-taH-pa+ʔam/
/Ø+nim-ʔaʔj-nɛʔ-jah-taH-pa+ʔam/

[niʔ.maʔj.jah.taa.bam]
[niʔ.maʔj.jah.taa.bam]

‘They are told.’
‘They are told.’

EXTRAMETRIC CLITIC:

/ʔan+hak-ʔaʔj-pa/
/ʔan+tsak=se:t-pa/
/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-pa/
/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-nɛʔ-pa/
/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-nɛʔ-taʔm-pa/

[ʔan.ha.ʔaʔj.paʔ]
[ʔan.tsak.se:t^h.paʔ]
[ʔa.nim.ʔaʔj.paʔ]
[ʔa.nim.ʔaʔj.nɛʔ.baʔ]
[ʔa.nim.ʔaʔj.jɛʔ.tʰaʔm.paʔ]

‘I am going to cut it.’
‘I am returning it.’
‘He told me.’
‘He has told me.’
‘He has told us.’

2.4.1 Clitics

Clitics occur at the outer edges of the words to which they attach and are extra-metrical. That is, they do not take stress. In keeping with the widely accepted characteristic features of clitics, they attach phonologically to words, undergoing the phonological processes to which affixes are subject (Klavans 1982; Zwicky and Pullum 1983; Zwicky 1977, 1985). In SP clitics include person marking proclitics (2.131), derivational proclitics (2.132) and enclitics (2.133).

(2.131) PERSON MARKING PROCLITICS:

<i>?a+</i>	<i>/?a+/?</i>	‘first exclusive absolutive’
<i>?an+</i>	<i>/?an+/?</i>	‘first exclusive ergative’
<i>ta+</i>	<i>/ta+/?</i>	‘first inclusive absolutive’
<i>tan+</i>	<i>/tan+/?</i>	‘first inclusive ergative’
<i>mi+</i>	<i>/mi+/?</i>	‘second absolutive’
<i>?iny+</i>	<i>/?in+/?</i>	‘second ergative’
<i>?i+</i>	<i>/?i+/?</i>	‘third ergative’

(2.132) DERIVATIONAL AND SUBORDINATOR PROCLITICS:

<i>na+</i>	<i>/na+/?</i>	‘associative’
<i>?ak+</i>	<i>/?ak+/?</i>	‘causative’
<i>?anh+</i>	<i>/?aŋ+/?</i>	‘derives verbs/nouns’
<i>ku+</i>	<i>/ku+/?</i>	‘derives verbs/nouns’
<i>?iga+</i>	<i>/?iga+/?</i>	‘complementizer’

(2.133) ENCLITICS:

+ʔam	/+ʔam/	‘already’ (verbal)
+nam	/+nam/	‘still’ (verbal)
+tyi	/+tʰi/	‘just’ (verbal)
+tam	/+tam/	‘first/second/animate plural marker’
+yaj	/+jah/	‘third person/inanimate plural marker’
+gak	/+gak/	‘another’ (nominal)
+piʔk	/+piʔk/	‘relativizer’ (clausal)

Clitics occur at the outer edges of the words, as shown in the examples in (2.134) and (2.135).

(2.134) PROCLITICS:

(a)	/ʔan+kɔ:bak	[ʔaŋ.'kɔ:.bak ^h]	‘my head’
(b)	/ʔan+ʔaj/	[ʔaʔ.'nəj]	‘my leaf’
(c)	/ʔan+ʔaŋ+səŋ=nuʔk-pa/	[ʔa.raŋ.səŋ.'nuʔk.paʔ]	‘I am going to cover it tight’
(d)	/∅+na+ku+wih-ʔaʔj-taH-pa	/	
		[na.ku,wiʔ.haʔj.'tʰa:p ^h]	‘It unties itself.’
(e)	/ʔa+na+ʔak+weʔks-ʔaʔj-taʔm-taH-W/	[ʔa.rak,weʔk,saʔj.tʰaʔm.'ta:h]	‘We are braiding each other’s hair.’

(2.135) ENCLITICS:

(a)	/ta+ʔiŋ-pa+nam/	[ta.'ʔiŋ.pa.nam]	‘We still bathed.’
(b)	/∅+pi:ʔiŋ+gak/	[pi:ʔiŋ.gak ^h]	‘He is a man again.’
(c)	/ʔa+majmaj+ʔam/	[ʔa.'maj.maj.ʔam]	‘I am happy.’

The bisyllabic and monosyllabic nouns in (2.134a) and (b) show that clitics do participate in phonological processes. For instance, the nasal stop of the clitic

ʔan+ in (2.134a) assimilates to place of articulation of the velar stop in onset position of the noun *kɔːbak* ‘head’. In this example, stress falls on the first syllable of the noun root. In (2.134b) the monosyllabic noun *ʔaj* ‘leaf’ is also inflected with the proclitic *ʔan+*, undergoing metathesis (refer §2.5.3). Notice that stress falls on the monosyllabic root and not the penultimate syllable. The inflected verbs in (2.134c) through (e) illustrate that the secondary and tertiary stress fall on the verb stem and not the proclitics. In (c) stress falls on the penultimate syllable and no secondary stress is assigned. In (d) the primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable and secondary stress falls on the left most syllable of the stressable word, immediately following the derivational proclitic *ku+*. In (e) primary stress falls on the heavy final syllable, secondary stress falls on the first syllable following the causative prefix *ʔak+*, indicating the edge of the stressable word. Tertiary stress falls on the syllable immediately following the stressed syllable at the edge of the word. Clitics that attach at the end of the word also do not receive stress. In (2.135a) the stress falls on the ante-penultimate syllable of the stressable word, which consists of the verb root *tʃij* ‘bathe’ and the inflectional suffix *-pa*; the clitic *+nam* occurs at the edge of the stressable word. Similarly in (b), stress falls on the first syllable of the noun root *pɪːfijɪ* ‘man’, the penultimate syllable of the stressable word. Finally, in (c) stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the stressable word.

2.4.2 Primary stress

Primary stress in SP falls on the penultimate syllable, as shown in (2.136).

(2.136) PRIMARY STRESS ON PENULTIMATE SYLLABLE:

/wɛh-pa/	[wɛh .pa [?]]	‘S/he cries.’
/ʔɛ:ɸ-i/	[ʔɛ: ɸi [?]]	‘dance’
/humpi/	[hum .pi [?]]	‘forest’
/kaʔnpu/	[kaʔn .pu [?]]	‘egg’
/pɪ:f iɲ/	[pɪ: .f iɲ]	‘man’
/suksuk/	[suk .suk ^h]	‘river’
/kuʔjpuk/	[kuʔj .puk ^h]	‘achiote’

/ʔa+sɔʔps-pa/	[ʔa' sɔʔps .pa [?]]	‘It tired me.’
/puktuuku/	[puk' tu: ku [?]]	‘clothes’
/tɔ:t=haj=kuj/	[tɔ:t' haj .kuj]	‘pencil’
/pɔttajkuj/	[pɔt' tah .kuj]	‘camomile’
/hɛh-W-ʔa+ʔam/	[hɛ .him]	‘She rested.’
/hɛh-nɛʔ-W+ʔam/	[hɛh' nɛ: ʔim]	‘She’s rested.’
/kaʔ-ʔaH-nɛʔ-W-ʔam/	[kaʔa' nɛ: ʔum]	‘He’s dead.’

There are four exceptions to this rule. These exceptions include: heavy final syllables (CVVC[+nasal]) the allomorphic alternations of the completive (and incompletive in one context), words borrowed from Spanish, and vocatives. A number of morphemes that affix to roots are of the shape CVVC[+nasal], which are heavy and attract stress. Two such morphemes *hoom* ‘in’ and *tɛ:n*, thought to be a numeral classifier diachronically, are shown in example (2.137).

(2.137) EXCEPTION TO PENULTIMATE STRESS: HEAVY FINAL SYLLABLE

(a) /ka:ma=hɔ:m/	[ka:m' hɔ:m]	‘in the field’
(b) /wistɛ:n/	[wis' tɛ:n]	‘two’

(2.138) EXCEPTION TO PENULTIMATE STRESS: COMPLETIVE ASPECT

SUFFIX /-W/

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) /ʔi+t ^j aŋ-pa/ | [ʔi't ^j aŋ.pa] | 'x puts it face down' |
| (b) /ʔi+t ^j aŋ-W+ʔam/ | [ʔi't ^j aŋ.um] | 'x already put it face down' |
| (c) /ʔi+t ^j aŋ-W/ | [ʔi't ^j aŋ] | 'x put it face down' |

(2.139) RULES: [wi] ~ [i] ~ [u] ~ [o] ~ [Ø]

/W/	→ [u, ɔ]	/ C ₋₋ +m
	→ [Ø]	/ C ₋₋ #
	→ [wi]	/ a:--+m
		/ --+ʔpV

(2.140) EXAMPLES SHOWING [wi] ~ [i] ~ [u] ~ [o] ~ [Ø] ALTERNATION :

(a) Ø:

/tɔgɔj-W/	[tɔ'gɔj]	'It's lost.'
/tsut-W/	[tsut ^h]	'It fell.'

(b) [o] ~ [u]:

/tsun-W+ʔam/	[tsu.nu <u>m</u>]	'He got angry already.'
/mɔŋ-W+ʔam/	[mɔ.ŋɔ <u>m</u>]	'He slept already.'

(c) [wi]:

/ʔak+kaʔ-nɛʔ-taH-W+ʔam/	[ʔak ₁ aʔ.nɛʔ'ta:. <u>wi</u> m]	'It's been killed.'
/tuts-nɛʔ-W-ʔpV/	[tutsnɛʔ' <u>wi</u> ʔip]	'that which is dry'

There have been a number of hypotheses accounting for this distribution. The suffix is present when it occurs with the enclitic *+ʔam* and relativizer suffix *-ʔpV*. Based on the allophonic distribution of the completive, a morpheme of the shape *-wi* is posited. Additional evidence for positing an underlying segment is the stress pattern. Evidence that the underlying segment

has the shape /wi/ also comes from comparative analysis of other Mixe-Zoque languages (Kaufman 1963:100,102; 2005; Wichmann 1995:103; Wonderly 1951-52). Kaufman (1963:102) has reconstructed the independent completive suffix for proto-Mixe-Zoque (pMZ) as *wi, and Kaufman (unpublished notes) suggests that the underlying segment indicating completive aspect is /-wi/, a plausible candidate.

A consonant that is reduced in its surface form explains the ultimate syllable stress in terms of syllable weight. This would account for ultimate syllable stress in that it would make the syllable heavy.

Further evidence of the existence of the underlying /W/ comes from nouns and adjectives that occur in non-verbal predicates, which do not take inflection for aspect or mood. Notice in the pair of non-verbal predicates in (2.141) that stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the stressable, bisyllabic word.

- (2.141) NON-VERBAL PREDICATES NOT INFLECTED FOR ASPECT:
 /ʔa+majmaj/ [ʔa'**maj**.maj] 'I'm happy.'
 /pi:ʃiŋ+ʔam/ [p*ɨ*:.ʃiʔ.pam] 'He's a man already.'

Another related case in which stress falls on the final syllable involves the incompletive suffix *-pa*, shown in (2.142). In this case, there are two possible explanations for the final stress. The first is that the final vowel is devoiced and inaudible, in which case stress is actually falling on the penultimate syllable. The second is that the suffix /pa/ surfaces as [p] causing the syllable to be heavy and therefore receive stress. Neither of these explanations can be

proved.

(2.142) EXCEPTION TO PENULTIMATE STRESS: INCOMPLETE ASPECT
SUFFIX /-pa/ FOLLOWING PASSIVE SUFFIX /taH/:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) /nim-ʔaʔj-taH-pa/ | [niʔ.maʔj.tʰa:pʰ] | ‘he was told’ |
| (b) /ʔi+nim-ʔaʔj-pa/ | [ʔi.niʔ.'maʔj.paʔ] | ‘He tells him.’ |
| (c) /ʔi+nim-ʔaʔj-pa+ʔam/ | [ʔi.niʔ.'maʔj.pam] | ‘He tells him already.’ |

The last two exceptions to the penultimate rule are easier to explain. Many words borrowed from Spanish also preserve stress, as shown in example (2.143). In many cases the stressed vowel surfaces as long.

(2.143) EXCEPTION TO PENULTIMATE STRESS: BORROWED WORDS:

Soteapanec	Spanish	English
<i>kapéel</i> or <i>kapél</i>	<i>café</i>	‘coffee’
<i>ʔabrúil</i> or <i>ʔabríl</i>	<i>abríl</i>	‘April’
<i>galán</i> or <i>galáan</i>	<i>galán</i>	‘attractive’
(also <i>galaanh</i>)		

Finally, as shown in (2.144), stress falls on the final syllable on words (usually kinship) used as vocatives to call out to someone or to get someone’s attention.

(2.144) EXCEPTION TO PENULTIMATE STRESS: VOCATIVES

- | | | |
|----------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| /pɨʔi:ŋ/ | [pɨʔi:ŋ] | ‘Man!’ (calling to someone) |
| /tʃɔ:mɔ/ | [tʃɔ:m'ɔʔ] | ‘Grandma!’ (calling to grandmother) |

2.4.3 Secondary stress

Secondary stress falls on the leftmost syllable following clitics. Examples are shown in (2.145).

(2.145) SECONDARY STRESS ON LEFTMOST SYLLABLE FOLLOWING CLITICS:

/soʔps-nɛʔ-jah-W+ʔam/	[,sɔʔps.nɛʔ.'ja.hum]	‘They’re tired.’
/wɔʔ.tɔks-nɛʔ-pa/	[,wɔʔ.tɔks.'nyeʔ:.baʔ]	‘She sleeps doubled over.’
/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-nɛʔ-W/	[ʔa,nɪʔ.maʔj.'nyɛʔ ^h]	‘She’s told me.’
/ta+wa:ga+put-W/	[ta,wɑ:ga.'put ^h]	‘We’re leaving together.’
/ta+wa:ga+put-taʔm-W/	[ta,wɑ:ga.put.'taʔm]	‘We’re leaving together.’
/man+,wat.ʔaʔj.'jah-pa/	[manh,wɑ.daʔj.'jah.paʔ]	‘I’m going to make you all tortillas.’

2.4.4 Tertiary stress

Tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable between primary and secondary stress. If syllables are of the same shape and weight, stress will fall on the leftmost following the syllable bearing secondary stress. (There are some exceptions but no definitive experiments have been done.)

(2.146) TERTIARY STRESS ON HEAVIEST SYLLABLE:

Five Syllable Stems:

/tan+na+jooʃ-paʔt-taʔm-taH-pa/

[ta.ra.jooʃ.paʔt, **taʔm**. 'ta:p]

'We help each other.'

/ʔan+hεʔεga=hukti=ʔak+nuʔk-pa/

[ʔan,hεʔε.ga, **huk**.tak. 'nuʔk.pa]

'I lit the fire hurriedly.'

/ʔan+tsak+sε:t-ʔaʔj-taʔm-pa/

[ʔan,tsak.seʔ, **daʔj**. 'tʰaʔm.pa]

'We are going to return it.'

/ʔa+kiʔm=sε:t-taʔm-ʔak-pa+ʔam/

[ʔa,kiʔm,sε:t.taʔŋ. 'gak.pam]

'We are going to go back up again.'

/nεh-nεʔ-mɔnh-tɔʔ-pa/

[nεh.nεʔ, **mɔnh**. 'toʔ:.ba]

'He wants to sleep on his side.'

Six Syllable Stem:

/ʔi+taŋga-wiʔj-nεʔ-W+ʔam/

[ʔi,tʰaŋ.ga.wiʔj. 'nye.ʔum]

'She has already put it face down.'

Also of interest, the status of clitics as non-stress bearing does not change when they occur word medially as a result of compounding. Examples are shown in (2.147). For example in (a) we would predict the syllable [ʔaŋ] to be heavier than the syllable of the shape [sah]. However, stress falls on [sah]. In (b) we would predict stress to fall on the heavier CVC syllable, rather than the open syllable [sε:ʔ]. Stress falls on the open syllable. Additional work on medial derivational clitics is required before making any conclusions.

(2.147) WORD MEDIAL CLITICS:

- (a) /toh.tohʔanh+sah-neʔ-W+ʔam/
 [toh.toh.ʔaŋ, **sah.**'neʔ.wim]
 'It is all mixed up, turned upside
 down.'
- (b) /ʔan+ʔak+sɛ:t=ʔaŋ+ku+tsik-ʔaʔj-W+ʔam/
 [ʔa.rak, **sɛ:**.daŋ.ku.tsi.'gaʔ.jum]
 'I let it go again.'

2.5 Phonological Processes

The phonological processes in SP include assimilation, metathesis, vowel lengthening, and effects of laryngealization (or glottalization). These processes are described here.

2.5.1 Vowel Lengthening

In open syllables that are stressed, short vowels surface as long vowels (2.148).

(2.148) LONG VOWELS IN OPEN SYLLABLES:

<i>piiki</i>	/pik-i/	[pi:kiʔ]	'Take it!'
<i>tzaaki+m</i>	/tsak-i+ʔam/	[tsa:kim]	'Leave it!'
<i>maatzi</i>	/mats-i/	[ma:tsiʔ]	'Grab her!'
<i>keeti</i>	/ket-i/	[ke:tiʔ]	'Lower it!'
<i>miinyi+ʔam</i>	/mij-i+ʔam/	[mi:ji.ʔam]	'She's coming already.'
<i>nik moonhi</i>	/nik-W məŋ-i/	[nik 'mə:ŋiʔ]	'He went to sleep.'
<i>yuusi+m</i>	/jus-i+ʔam/	[ju:sim]	'Wake up already!'
<i>ʔuuki</i>	/ʔuk-i/	[ʔu:kiʔ]	'a drunk'
<i>puutyi</i>	/put ^j -i/	[pu:tʰi]	'They're leaving.'

In open syllables with a glottal stop [ʔ] in coda position that are stressed, short vowels surface as long vowels (2.149).

(2.149) LONG VOWELS IN SYLLABLES WITH [ʔ] CODA:

<i>ʔi+nyaskaʔaba</i>	/ʔi+nas-kaʔ-pa/	[ʔi.nas.'kaʔ:ba]	'He passes by it.'
<i>tan+noʔoba</i>	/tan+nɔʔ-pa/	[tan.'nɔʔ:.ba]	'We burn her.'
<i>mi+wanneʔeba</i>	/mi+wan-nɛʔ-pa/	[mi.wan.'nɛʔ:.ba]	'You lie down.'
<i>ʔi+tzeʔeba</i>	/ʔi+tʃɛʔ-pa	[ʔi.'tʃɛʔɛ.ba]	'She washes it.'
<i>peʔenyi</i>	/pɛʔn-i/	[pɛʔ.niʔ]	'nest'
<i>Miʔinhɪ</i>	/miʔn-i/	[miʔ:.niʔ]	'Jump!'
<i>kuʔuti</i>	/kuʔt-i/	[kuʔ:.tiʔ]	'Eat it!'

2.5.2 Assimilation

2.5.2.1 Place Assimilation and Preservation of Voice Feature of Stops Preceding Nasals in Homorganic Clusters

Voiceless stops /p, t, t^j/ surface as [ṃ, ṅ, ṅ^j] when they occur preceding nasals that agree in place of articulation. In this environment the voiceless stop segments surface as their devoiced nasal counterparts. That is, the segment assimilates in manner of articulation to a following nasal, but retains its voice feature [-voice]. The rule is described in (2.150).

(2.150) PLACE ASSIMILATION AND PRESERVATION OF VOICE RULE:

p	→	ṃ	/	--m
t	→	ṅ	/	--n
t ^j	→	ṅ ^j	/	--n

The assimilation of a voiceless stop to the nasal feature of a following nasal while preserving its voice feature ([-voice] is typologically rare. What nasal assimilation is doing is resolving a problematic cluster in which a voiceless stop precedes a nasal consonant. Still, the result of this process is another typologically marked outcome (i.e. voiceless nasals).

(2.151) STOP ALTERNATION IN HOMORGANIC CLUSTERS PRECEDING

NASALS:

/pɔ:pɔ=muʔk/	[pɔ:m̥.:ʔk]	‘white grass, hay’
/sɛ:t-nɛʔ-pa/	[sɛ:n̥. nɛʔ:.baʔ]	‘We are returning.’
/kuʃtʃat+nəm/	[kuʃ.tʃan̥.:əm]	‘It is still a sack.’
/ʔa+ʔɛ:tʃ-nɛʔ-pa/	[ʔa.ʔɛ:n̥. nɛʔ:.baʔ]	‘We are lying down.’

This alternation does not occur in non-homorganic clusters, as shown in (2.152).

(2.152) NO ALTERNATION IN NON-HOMORGANIC CLUSTERS:

/pɔ:pɔ=nɑ:kɑ-ʔiʔj-W/	[pɔp.nɑʔ:ʔiʔj]	‘She had white skin.’
/sɛ:t-pa/	[sɛ:tʰ.paʔ]	‘We are going to return.’
/ʔa+ʔɛ:tʃ-pa/	[ʔa.ʔɛ:tʃ.paʔ]	‘We are going to lie down.’

The reason /k/ has not been observed with this surface realization is because there is no morpheme (lexical or formative²¹) that begins with ŋ, and therefore, there is no environment where this alternation would occur.

2.5.2.2 Velarization

When the alveolar nasal of a clitic precedes a velar consonant, it surfaces as a velar nasal. The rule is shown in (2.160) and examples in (2.154).

$$(2.153) \quad C_{[+nasal,+coronal]} \rightarrow C_{[+nasal,-coronal]} \quad / \quad -C_{[velar]}$$

(2.154) [n] ~ [ŋ] ALTERNATION IN PROCLITICS:

<i>ʔanh+way</i>	/ʔan+waj/	[ʔaŋ.'waj]	‘my hair’
<i>ʔanh+kaawa</i>	/ʔan+ka:wa/	[ʔaŋ.'ka:waʰ]	‘my cow’

²¹Formative, as defined by Bickel and Nichols (2007), are “morphological entities” that differ from words in that “they cannot govern or be governed by other words, cannot require or undergo agreement, and cannot head phrases.” See ch. 3 for discussion.

2.5.2.3 Palatalization

The alveolar segments /t, t^j, d^j, s, ts, n/ undergo palatalization when they occur adjacent to the high front vowel [i], the palatal glide [j] or palatal (or palatalized) consonants [t^j, ʃ, ɲ, tʃ]. The alternations are: [t] ~ [t^j] (2.155), [t^j] ~ [d^j] (2.156), [ts] ~ [tʃ] (2.157), [s] ~ [ʃ] (2.158), and [n] ~ [ɲ] (2.159).

(2.155) [t] ~ [t^j] ALTERNATION:

/ʔa+sɛ:t-i-taʔm-wi/	[ʔa,sɛ:tʲi.tʲaʔm]	‘We returned.’
/ʔi+tiŋ-pa/	[ʔi.tʲiŋ.paʔ]	‘He is cutting it.’
/ʔin+tik/	[ʔiŋ.tʲik ^h]	‘your house’
/ʔa+ʔiʃ-taʔm-wi/	[ʔa.ʔiʃ.tʲaʔm]	‘They saw us.’

(2.156) [t^j] ~ [d^j] ALTERNATION:

/ʔan+ʔuk=kɛt-ʔiŋ/	[ʔaʔ.nuk.ʔɛdʲiŋ]	‘so I can finish it all up’
/ʔi+ʔuk=kɛt-wi/	[ʔi.ʔuk.kɛt ^h]	‘He finished it all up.’
/ʔan+pi:t ^j -ʔaʔj-wi/	[ʔam.pi.dʲaʔj]	‘I wrapped (his belly).’
/ʔi+pi:t ^j -wi/	[ʔi.pit ^j ^h]	‘He wrapped it.’

(2.157) [ts] ~ [tʃ] ALTERNATION:

<i>ʔan+tzoy</i>	/ʔan+tsɔj/	[ʔanʔtsɔj]	‘my medicine’
<i>ʔi+choy</i>	/ʔi+tsɔj/	[ʔiʔtʃɔj]	‘his medicine’

(2.158) [s] ~ [ʃ] ALTERNATION:

<i>ʔaga+sóʔpspa</i>	/ʔaga+soʔps-pa/	[ʔaga.'soʔps.paʔ]	'I am very tired'
<i>moj sóʔpxi</i>	/mɔh-wi soʔpʃ-i/	[mɔh 'soʔp.ʃiʔ]	'He began to tire.'
<i>ʔa+séetpa</i>	/ʔa+sɛ:t-pa/	[ʔa.'sɛ:t ^h .paʔ]	'I return.'
<i>mi+xéetpa</i>	/mi+sɛ:t-pa/	[mi.'ʃɛ:t ^h .paʔ]	'You return.'
<i>ʔan+sóspa</i>	/ʔan+sos-pa/	[ʔan.'sos.paʔ]	'I am boiling it.'
<i>ʔiny+xóspa</i>	/ʔin+sos-pa/	[ʔin.'ʃos.paʔ]	'You are boiling it.'

(2.159) [n] ~ [ɲ] alternation:

<i>ʔi+nyíʔmáʔy</i>	/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔj-wi/	[ʔi.ɲiʔ.'maʔj]	'He told him.'
<i>ʔa+niʔmáʔy</i>	/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔj-wi/	[ʔa.ɲiʔ.'maʔj]	'He told me.'
<i>naynyéʔ</i>	/naj-nɛʔ-wi/	[naj.'ɲɛʔ]	'It had been born.'
<i>ʔa+yùʔanéʔ</i>	/ʔa+juʔ-ʔaH-nɛʔ-wi/	[ʔa.juʔa.'nɛʔ ^h]	'I am hungry.'
<i>ʔa+ʔixnyéʔ</i>	/ʔa+ʔiʃ-nɛʔ-W/	[ʔa.ʔiʃ.'ɲɛʔ ^h]	'She had seen me.'
<i>nasnéʔ</i>	/nas-nɛʔ-wi/	[nas.'nɛʔ]	'It has happened.'
<i>minynyéʔ</i>	/miɲ-nɛʔ-wi/	[miɲ.'ɲɛʔ]	'He is come.'
<i>ʔinynyéʔtáaj</i>	/piɲ-nɛʔ-taH-wi/	[piɲ.'nɛʔ.'taɪh]	'They had been gathered.'
<i>ʔany+choomo</i>	/ʔan+ʃɔ:mɔ/	[ʔaɲ.'ʃɔ:mɔʔ]	'my grandma'
<i>ʔan+tzitz</i>	/ʔan+tsits/	[ʔan.'tsits]	'my tooth'

2.5.3 Metathesis

When a nasal precedes a [ʔ], metathesis takes place and the nasal and the glottal stop switch places. This rule is shown in (2.160).

$$(2.160) \quad C_{[+nasal]}ʔ \rightarrow ʔC_{[+nasal]} \quad / \quad V_V$$

The examples in (2.161) show noun and verb stems with inflectional morphology or in a compound in which an alternation has occurred.

(2.161)	/ʔ/	GLOTTAL STOP WORD INITIAL:		
	<i>ʔan+ʔaapa</i>	/ʔan+ʔa:pa/	[ʔaʔ'na:paʔ]	'my mother'
	<i>ʔany+ʔix</i>	/ʔan+ʔif-W/	[ʔaʔ'niʃ]	'I saw it.'
	<i>nikpa sinháaji</i>	/nikpa siŋ-ʔaH-i/	[nik ^h .pa siʔ'ŋaa.hiʔ]	'He goes to party.'

2.5.4 Processes Involving Laryngealization

Glottal stops trigger laryngealization of adjacent segments. This is observed in voiceless stops surfacing as voiced and vowels surfacing in creaky voice. These processes are described here.

2.5.4.1 Laryngealization of Stops

When the voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /tʰ/, and /k/ precede the glottal stop, the glottal stop is deleted and the voiceless stops surface as [b], [d], [dʰ] and [g] (respectively) when they precede the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a result of morphosyntactic processes. The rule is shown in (2.162). Examples of the voiced voiceless stops are shown in example (2.163).

(2.162) RULE FOR LARYNGEALIZATION OF STOPS PRECEDING [ʔ]:

pʔ	→	b	/	V__V
tʔ	→	d	/	V__V
tʲʔ	→	dʲ	/	V__V
kʔ	→	k	/	V__V

(2.163) LARYNGEALIZATION OF STOPS PRECEDING [ʔ]:

(a) /ta+tɔp-ʔaʔj-pa+ʔun/	[ta.tɔ'baʔj.pa.ʔun]	‘they take it out for us, it is said’
(b) /tan+wat-ʔaʔj-pa/	[tan.wa'daʔj.pa]	‘we make it for ourselves’
(c) /ʔan+tuk-ʔaʔj-W/	[ʔan.tu'gaʔj]	‘I cut it for him’

This alternation also occurs across word boundaries, providing further evidence that the glottal stop occurs at the beginning of words. This is illustrated by the example in (2.164)²².

(2.164) VOICED STOP ALTERNATION [tʲ] ~ [dʲ] ACROSS BOUNDARIES:

[ʔa.ra.ʔi'dʲi'dʲik ^h]	
/ʔan+na+ʔitʲ-wi	ʔidʲik/
XERG+ASSOC+be-CMP	PAST
‘I had a child before’	

The phoneme /p/ also surfaces as its voiced bilabial counterpart when it follows the glottal stop in coda position of a stressed syllable, as shown in example (2.167). Note in the example that the voiceless onset /p/ of the incomplete morpheme *-pa* immediately following the glottal stop /ʔ/ of the verb stem *kaʔ* ‘die’ and the perfect inflectional morpheme *-neʔ* surface as its

²²Observe that in the example the suffix *-W*, the completive morpheme, does not occur in the surface form. The morphophonological properties of *-W* are discussed in § 2.6.

voiced counterpart. The other voiceless stops /t/, /tʰ/, and /k/ do not surface as their voiced counterparts in this context, as shown in (2.166).

(2.165) PHONEMIC REALIZATION OF /ʔ/ IN INFLECTED VERBS AND

COMPOUNDS:

/kaʔ-pa/	[ˈkaʔabaʔ]	‘she’s going to die’
/tits-neʔ-pa/	[titsˈneʔːbaʔ]	‘be drying’

(2.166) PHONEMIC REALIZATION OF /ʔ/ IN INFLECTED VERBS AND

COMPOUNDS:

/ʔak-kaʔa-taH-pa/	[ʔak.kaʔːtaap ^h]	‘he’s been killed’
/niʔ=tuŋ/	[ˈniʔːtuŋ]	‘water way, drain’
/kaʔ=kuj/	[ˈkaʔːakuj]	‘sickness’
/tʃiʔ-taH-pa/	[tʃiʔit ^h aap ^h]	‘it was given’

2.5.4.2 Laryngealization of Vowels

When the glottal stop occurs in coda position of a stressed syllable with a long vowel, the vowel is laryngealized (which is also described in the literature as glottalization or creaky voice, following Ladefoged 1983). Examples are shown in (2.167). Laryngealized vowels are not contrastive. That is, there are no minimal pairs in which modal (normal) vowels and laryngealized (creaky voice) vowels are in contrastive distribution. Laryngealization of vowels is conditioned by glottal stops, typically as a result of prosody. The laryngealized long vowels are perceived as VʔV, or a modal vowel followed by a glottal pulse followed by an “echo” vowel.

(2.167) LONG VOWELS WITH GLOTTAL PULSE AND/OR CREAKY VOICE:

/kaʔ-pa/	[ˈkaʔa.baʔ]	‘she’s going to die’
/tits-neʔ-pa/	[tits.ˈneʔε.baʔ]	‘be drying’
/ʔak-kaʔa-taH-pa/	[ʔak.kaʔa.ˈtaap ^h]	‘he’s been killed’
/niʔ=tuŋ/	[ˈniʔi.tuŋ]	‘water way, drain’
/kaʔ=kuj/	[ˈkaʔa.kuj]	‘sickness’
/tʃiʔ-taH-pa/	[tʃiʔi.tʃaap ^h]	‘it was given’
/ʔan+jaʔp-i/	[ʔan.ˈhaʔa.pi]	‘my batter’
/kuʔt-i/	[ˈkuʔu.tiʔ]	‘Eat it!’
/kuʔt-taʔm-i/	[kuʔt.ˈtaʔa.miʔ]	‘You all eat it!’
/kiʔm-i/	[ˈkiʔi.miʔ]	‘Go up!’
/ʔa+kiipi=poʔ-pa/	[ʔa.kip.ˈpoʔo.ba]	‘I split wood.’

2.5.5 Metathesis, Long Vowels and Laryngealization

The processes of metathesis and laryngealization of stops and vowels co-occur when a stressed syllable with a voiceless stop in coda position precede a syllable with a glottal stop in onset position. The rule is shown in (2.168). Examples are shown in (2.169).

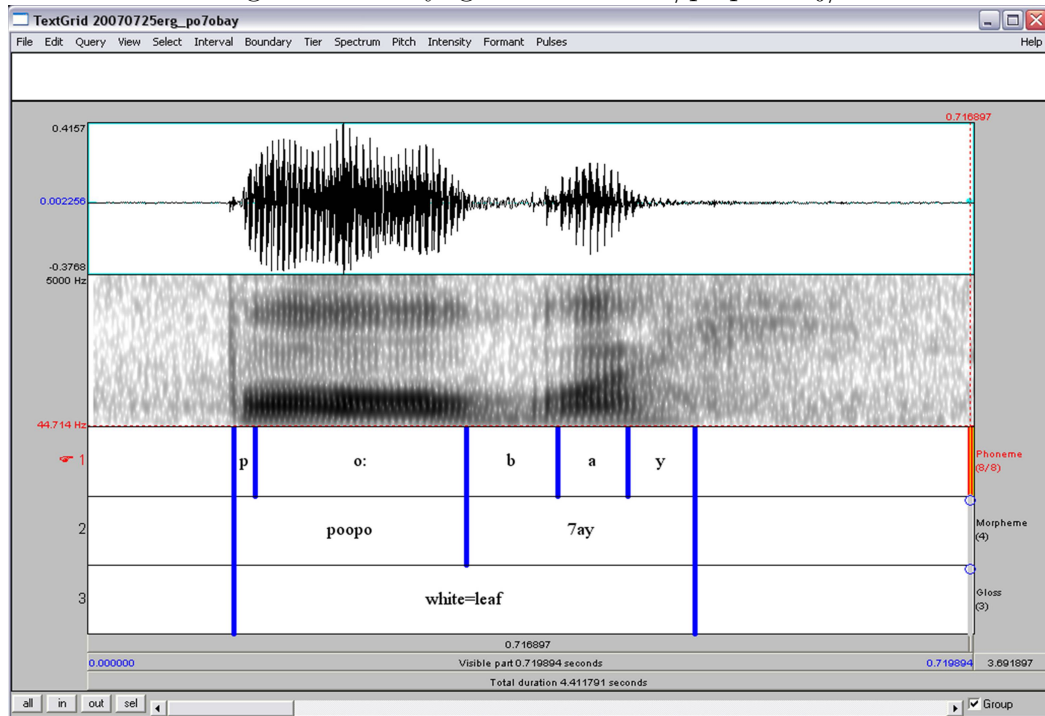
$$(2.168) \quad VC_{[-son,-voice]}ʔ \rightarrow Vʔ:C_{[-son,+voice]} \quad / \quad V_V$$

(2.169) *Metathesis, Vowel Length and Laryngealization* :

kiʔibaap	/kiipi-ʔaH-pa/	[kiʔiˈbaap ^h]	‘he’s wood chopping’
titz-neʔeba	/tits-neʔ-pa/	[titsˈneʔε.baʔ]	‘be drying’
poʔobay	/pɔ:pɔ=ʔaj/	[ˈpoʔɔbaʔ]	‘white leaf’
pop=naʔagiʔy	/pɔ:pɔ=na:ka-ʔiʔj-W/	[pɔp.naʔa.ˈgiʔj]	‘she had white skin’
tɔ:tɔ=ʔaʔm	/tɔ:tɔ=ʔaʔm-W/	[tɔʔɔˈdaʔm]	‘I’m going to read’

The spectrogram in Figure 2.4 shows the word /pɔ:pɔ=ʔaj/ [ˈpɔʔɔbaj]. Observe that the vowel is laryngealized, realized as creaky voice. Long vowels in creaky vowels are usually perceived as a long vowel with an audible glottal pulse. The VʔV sequence is transcribed as such in the orthography.

Figure 2.5: Laryngealized vowel: /pɔ:pɔ=ʔaj/



2.5.6 Devoicing of Final Segment

The sonorants /j, m, n, ɲ, l, r/ are often devoiced in phrase final position. The rule is shown in (2.170). This is not obligatory rule and tends to vary from speaker to speaker. Elson (1967:271) describes nasals (as well as the palatal approximant) as having “voiceless off-glides”. In phrase final position

(or word finally preceding a pause), /j/ is devoiced. Examples are shown in (2.171).

(2.170) j, m, n, ɲ, l, r → j̥, m̥, n̥, ɲ̥, l̥, r̥ / __#

(2.171) DEVOICED WORD FINAL SONORANTS:

<i>ɣix=kuy</i>	/ɣiʃ=kuj/	[ʰiʃkuj̥]	‘eye’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	/tsɔgɔj/	[ʰtsɔgɔj̥]	‘liver’
<i>ɣay</i>	/ɣaj/	[ʰaj̥]	‘leaf’
<i>kuy</i>	/kuj/	[kuj̥]	‘tree, wood, stick’

Sonorants are not devoiced when they occur in medial position.

(2.172) FINAL SONORANTS PRECEDING STOP IN MEDIAL POSITION:

jooypa /hɔj-pa/ [ʰhɔj̥.paʔ] ‘He goes for a walk.’

2.6 Morphophonemics

A number of morphophonemic processes occur. These processes are largely associated with clitics, although other suffixes are implicated. These processes include segment deletion of clitics, stylistic alternations at clitic boundaries, and the alternations of the completive and dependent suffixes of the shape /W/.

2.6.1 Stylistic Alternations Associated with Clitics

There are two stylistic alternations that occur with clitics. The first alternation involves deletion of segments of the clitic. The second is an alternation in which segments involving ʔ and nasals surface as $[\text{r}]$. In elicitation, when speakers are careful to enunciate, the $[\text{r}]$ alternation tends not to occur, although segment deletion occurs both in elicitation and naturally occurring speech. Both of these processes are described here.

2.6.1.1 Segment Deletion

There are two instances of segment deletion that occur with respect to clitics: the first involves clitics consisting of $[\text{ʔ}]$ onset and V nucleus; the second involves the derivational proclitics of the shape $[\text{ku}]$. These processes are described here.

When a proclitic of the shape CV precedes a proclitic that begins with the sequence $[\text{ʔV}]$, the onset and nucleus of the second syllable in the sequence is deleted. This is expressed with the rule in (2.173).

(2.173) SEGMENT DELETION RULE:

$$\text{ʔV} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{CV+--(C)+}$$

The examples in (3.10) illustrate the contracted forms that occur when the proclitic $na+$ precedes $\text{ʔa}\eta+$. Example (2.175) shows the contracted forms with the person proclitics $\text{ʔi}+$ preceding the derivational proclitic $\text{ʔa}\eta$ and the causative proclitic $\text{ʔak}+$.

(2.174) SEGMENT DELETION FOLLOWING *na+*:

/na+ʔanh-ʔaH-taH-W/

[**naŋ**.ʔa:. 'ta:j]

'He was scolded.'

/na+ʔak+waʔk-taH-W/

[**nak**.waʔ:k. 'ta:j]

'She asks herself.'

(2.175) SEGMENT DELETION FOLLOWING *ʔi+*:

/ʔi+ʔanh+tuum-ʔaH=wat-pa/

[ʔ**inh**₁tuʔ:.ma. 'wat.pa]

'They gather together.'

/ʔi+ʔak+kaʔ-W/

[ʔ**ik**. 'aʔ^h]

'He killed it.'

This contraction only occurs with clitics. As shown in (2.176), this does not occur when the clitic precedes stems that begin with [ʔV] sequence, such as the noun *ʔaapa* 'mother' or the verbs *ʔaʔm* 'look' and *ʔiʔ* 'live'.

(2.176) NO DELETION IN WORD STEMS:

/ʔi+ʔaapa/

[ʔi. 'ʔa:.paʔ]

'her mother'

/ʔi+ʔaʔm=put-ʔaʔy-W/

[ʔi₁ʔaʔm.pu. 'daʔj]

'She peaked out at them.'

/na+ʔit^j-taH-W/

[na.ʔit^j. 't^ja:h]

The contraction is also observed with the enclitic *+ʔam* and *+ʔun*. *+ʔam* has the alternations [ʔam] ~ [am] ~ [m] (2.177). In general /ʔam/ surfaces as [ʔam] following the vowel [i], as [am] following consonants, and as [m] following the vowels [a, o, u, i], although there is some variation. Frequently, the glottal stop [ʔ] metathesizes with a preceding consonant or triggers laryngealization of a voiceless stop (see 2.2.1.1 for description of /ʔ/).

(2.177) ‘ALREADY’ ENCLITIC [ʔam] ~ [am] ~ [m]:

/wiH+ʔam/	[wi.ʔ am]	‘That’s good already.’
/tʰiH+ʔam/	[tʰi.ʔ am]	‘what already’
/ʔa+tsa:mi+ʔam/	[ʔa.'tsa:mi.ʔ am]	‘I am older already.’
/mitʃ+ʔam/	[mi.tʃ am]	‘you already’
/hɛʔ+ʔam/	[hɛ.ʔ am]	‘That’s it already.’
/put-pa+ʔam/	[put.p am]	‘He goes out already.’
/nuʔk-W+ʔam/	[nuʔ.k um]	‘He arrived already.’
/pi:ʃiŋ+ʔam/	[pi:ʃi.ŋ am]	‘He is a man already.’
/majmaj+ʔam/	[maj.maʔ.j am]	‘She is happy already.’
/hesik+ʔam/	[hɛ.si.g am]	‘then already’

+ʔun ‘it is said’ has the alternations [ʔun], [un] and [n] (2.178).

(2.178) ENCLITIC [ʔun] ~ [un] ~ [n]:

/dʰa+ʔun/	[dʰa.ʔ un]	‘No, it is said.’
/ʔi+paʔt-pa+ʔun/	[ʔi.'paʔt.pa.ʔ un]	‘They found it, it is said.’
/moh-W+ʔam+ʔun/	[mo.ho.m un]	‘It began [to hurt] already, it is said.’
/jeʔm+ʔun/	[jeʔ.m un]	‘that [man], it is said.’
/nuʔk-W+ʔun/	[nu.g un]	‘He arrived, it is said.’

/w/ is also the one of the only two phonemes (with /k/) that occur in onset consonant clusters in surface realizations. For example, the verb stem

[kwiʔks] ‘twist at the waist/hip’ is the only verb or noun root to occur with a consonant cluster at onset. The discrepancy prompts the breakdown of the verb into its possible root *wiʔks* ‘twist’ with the derivational proclitic *ku+*, a proclitic reconstructed as connoting ‘*self*’ or ‘*else*’. This analysis fits in with the observation that in rapid speech stems derived with *ku+* and verb roots beginning with /w/ may surface as consonant cluster [kw].

2.6.1.2 The [r] Alternation

The second phonological process occurs with one proclitic in particular: the associative *na+*. This is an alternation in which the alveolar nasal alternates with an alveolar tap in certain contexts. Table 2.5 illustrates these contexts.

Table 2.5: Stylistic Alternation of /r/ Associated With Clitics

Proclitic+	/ʔak+/ 	/ʔaŋ+/ 	/na+/
/ʔan+/ 	[ʔarak]	[ʔaraŋ]	[ʔara]
/tan+/ 	[tarak]	[taraŋ]	[tara]
/ʔin+/ 	[ʔirik]	[ʔiriŋ]	[ʔiri]
/ʔi+/ 	—	—	[ʔiri]
/ʔa+/ 	—	—	[ʔara]
/ta+/ 	—	—	[tara]
/mi+/ 	—	—	[miri]

Example (2.179) shows the person marking proclitics *ʔan+* and *ʔi+* preceding the associative proclitic *na+*, which result in the contracted forms [ʔara] and [ʔiri] respectively.

- (2.179) [r] ALTERNATION:
 /ʔara+kuʔtaʔm/ [ʔara.kuʔt.'aʔm] 'We feed them.'
 /ʔi+na+nikk-W/ [ʔi.ri.'nik] 'He took him.'

This phonological change does not take place when the proclitic attaches to a verb or noun stem beginning with [na], as is demonstrated in (2.180). As shown in (2.181), the alternation is not permitted with verb stems.

- (2.180) NO ALTERNATION IN WORD STEMS:
 /ʔan+naks-W+ʔam/ [ʔan.'nak.sum] 'I hit them.'

- (2.181) NO ALTERNATION IN WORD STEM; SEQUENCES REJECTED:
 *ʔaraksum /ʔan+naks-W+ʔam/

2.6.2 Assimilation of Nasals in Clitics

There is an alternation that occurs with the alveolar nasal segment /n/ in proclitics. The /n/ segment in the ergative person marking proclitics *ʔan+* 'first person exclusive ergative', *tan+* 'first person inclusive ergative', and *man+* 'first person acting on second person' assimilate to place of articulation of the following consonant. Examples are shown in (2.44) with *ʔan+* '1st person ergative'.

- (2.182) [m] ~ [n] ~ [ɲ] ALTERNATION IN CLITICS:
ʔam+pak /ʔan+pak/ [ʔam.'pak^h] 'my bone'
ʔanh+kaawa /ʔan+ka:wa/ [ʔaɲ.'ka:wa^ʔ] 'my horse'
ʔanh+way /ʔan+waj/ [ʔaɲ.'waj] 'my hair'
ʔan+xix /ʔan+ʃiʃ/ [ʔaɲ.'ʃiʃ] 'my cow'
ʔany+nyippa /ʔan+nip-pa/ [ʔaɲ.'nip.'a^h] 'I am planting.'

This alternation does not occur in word stems, as shown in (2.183), and is particular to the behavior of clitics, with the exception of palatalization (described

in §2.5.2).

(2.183) NO ALTERNATION IN STEMS:

ʔa+wanpa /ʔa+wan-pa/ [ʔa.'wan.paʔ] 'I am singing.'

2.6.3 Suffixes of the Shape -W

There are three suffixes of the underlying form /W/. These are polysemous morphemes that have three functions: to indicate completive aspect, to mark dependent transitive verbs, and to mark dependent intransitive verbs in contexts of split ergativity (see ch. 11). The three morphemes are distinguished by the following glossing conventions: -W 'completive', -W₂ 'dependent transitive', -W₃ 'dependent intransitive-b'.

The completive segment -W has five allomorphs—[wi], [-i] [-u], [-o] and Ø (zero)—which occur in three different environments. The rule describing these alternations is shown in (2.184).

(2.184) ALLOPHONIC VARIATION OF -W:

(a) /-W/ → [u] (also [i] & [o]) / C--[m]

(b) /-W/ → Ø / --#

(c) /-W/ → [wi] / V:--[m]
--ʔip

The dependent suffixes -W₂ and -W₃ have a single alternation Ø. This is due to the environments in which the suffixes occur. The alternation of the completive suffix are described here. I address the alternation associated with the dependent suffixes where relevant.

2.6.3.1 [u, o, i] Alternations

The [u] alternation occurs following closed syllables and followed by the clitic *+ʔam* (2.185), which surfaces as [m].

- (2.185) [u] ALLOMORPH:
nákkí+m /nikk-**W**+ʔam/ ['nik.kum] 'She went.'
móǰí+m /moǰ-**W**+ʔam/ ['mo.ǰum] 'He began.'

The segment also surfaces as [i] (2.186) or as [o] (2.187) in the same environment.

- (2.186) [i] ALLOMORPH:
ʔí+ʔakkáʔí+m /ʔi+ʔak+kaʔ-**W**+ʔam/ [ʔik.'ka.ʔim] 'He kills it.'
mínǰí+m /mǰ-**W**+ʔam/ [mǰim] 'He comes.'

- (2.187) [o] ALLOMORPH:
yáǰo+m /jah-**W**+ʔam/ ['ja.him] 'She finished.'
móǰo+m /moh-**W**+ʔam/ ['mo.hum] 'It began.'

The reasons for this may be related to stress or due to influence from surrounding vowels and consonants; however, this variability is not predictable, as shown in (2.188) with [mohum] versus [moǰom].

- (2.188) [i] and [u] IN SAME ENVIRONMENT:
móǰí+m /moh-**W**+ʔam/ ['mo.hum] 'He began.'
móǰo+m /moh-**W**+ʔam/ ['mo.hum] 'It began.'

2.6.3.2 [wi] Alternation

The allomorph [wi] is the most restricted, occurring only in two contexts:

- (1) following open syllables with long vowels and preceding the clitic *+ʔam*

(2.189), and (2) preceding the relativizer suffix $-?pV$ (2.190). The first environment exists only following stems or affixes that end in the underlying segment /H/, which include the derivational affixes $-?aH$ ‘versive’ and $-taH$ ‘passive’ and a hand full of roots (see §2.2.8).

(2.189) [wi] ALTERNATION FOLLOWING $-?aH$ AND $-taH$:

(a) /ʔanh+paj=pak-taH-W+ʔam/
 [ʔam.paj.pak.ta.wiɪm]
 ‘They were locked up.’

(b) /ʔi+tsaj-ʔaH-W+ʔam/
 [ʔi.tʃaʔja.wɪɪm]
 ‘He became her lover.’

(2.190) [wi] ALTERNATION PRECEDING $-?pV$:

/tits-nɛʔ-W+ʔpV kiɪpi/
 [titsnɛʔ.wiʔip]
 ‘...wood that has dried.’

Although the allomorph [wi] occurs in these limited contexts, motivation for designating this morpheme as the unspecified segment $-W$ comes from comparative and historical data. An independent completive suffix of the shape $(-wi)$ occurs in Santa Marta, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque, Eastern Zoque, and Sayula. Although the morpheme is reconstructed as $-*wi$ in Proto-Mixe-Zoque, its shape is unspecified in SP. As such, Kaufman (1997:7, also unpublished ms) marks the completive suffix as $-W$, a convention I adopt here.

2.6.3.3 Ø Alternation

The Ø (zero) alternation is the most frequently occurring realization of the completive and the dependent suffixes and occurs in all contexts where the morphemes are word final. Evidence for the existence of the underlying segment comes from stress patterns observed in independent verbs. Primary stress in SP falls on the penultimate syllable. This is illustrated with the two paradigms shown in (2.191). Observe that in both paradigms stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

(2.191) STRESS PARADIGM FOR COMPLETIVE -W, [U] ALTERNATION:

Incomplete Paradigm:

/nim-pa/	['nim .paʔ]	‘He says.’
/nim-jah-pa/	[nim. 'jah .paʔ]	‘They say.’
/nim-nεʔ-pa/	[nim. 'nεʔ :baʔ]	‘He has said.’
/ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-pa/	[ʔa.nim. 'ʔaʔy .pa]	‘He told me.’

Completive Paradigm with ‘already’ enclitic +ʔam:

/Ø+nim-W+ʔam/	['ni .mum]	‘He said it already.’
/Ø+nim-nεʔ-W+ʔam/	[nim. 'nε .ʔum]	‘He had said it already.’
/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W+ʔam/	[ʔi.jiʔ. 'maʔ .jum]	‘He told him.’
/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-neʔ-W+ʔam/	[ʔi.jiʔ.maʔy. 'nε .ʔum]	‘He had told him already.’

The Ø alternation occurs on verbs in completive aspect when the segment occurs word final.

(2.192) STRESS PARADIGM FOR COMPLETIVE -W, Ø ALTERNATION:

/Ø+nim-W/	[ˈnim]	‘He said.’
/nim-yaj-W/	[nim.ˈjah]	‘They said.’
/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W/	[ʔi.niʔ.ˈmaʔj]	‘He told them.’
/ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-yaj-W/	[ʔi.niʔ.maʔj.ˈjah]	‘He tells them.’

The same distribution is observed for dependent verbs, which occur in auxiliary verb constructions (among other contexts, see ch. 22). In dependent verbs consisting more more than one syllable, as shown in (2.193), stress falls on the final syllable.

(2.193) STRESS PARADIGM FOR DEPENDENT -W₂ AND -W₃:

/moj-pa ʔi+ʔah=kaʔm-W₂/
 [moh.pa ʔi+tsah.ˈkaʔm]
 ‘He begins to stick it on.’

/mɔhpa ʔi+ʔah=kaʔm-jah-W₂/
 [ˈmɔh.pa ʔi.ˌtsah.kaʔm.ˈjah]
 ‘They begin to stick it on.’

/dya wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔin+ʔaʔm=put-W₃/
 [dya wi.ˌʔa:p ʔiʔ.naʔm.ˈput^h]
 ‘You can’t peak out.’

/dya wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔin+ʔaʔm=put-taʔm-W₃/
 [dya wi.ˌʔa:p ʔip.ʔaʔm.putˈtaʔm]
 ‘You all can’t peak out.’

Evidence for the shape of the suffix comes from comparison with other Mixe-Zoque languages. In San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Oaxaca Zoque) the ‘dependent completive’ suffix has the allomorphs [ə] ~ [i] ~ [e] (represented as the underlying segment /E/) the ‘dependent incomplete/non-declarative’ allomorphs [wə] ~ [yə] ~ [ə] (represented as /wə/ underlyingly) (Johnson

2000:201). In Francisco Leon Zoque (Eastern Zoque, Chiapas) suffixes appearing in similar contexts include [e ~ i], [a ~ ö], and [u] (Engel and Engel (1987:384-90). In Copainlá Zoque (Eastern Zoque, Chiapas), a suffix *-u* marks verbs in auxiliary verb constructions (Harrison et al. 1981:442). Kaufman (1963) has reconstructed this segment as **wi* in proto-Mixe-Zoque.

Chapter 3

Words and Formatives

There are three major word classes¹ in SP, the two open classes of nouns and verbs and the small closed class of adjectives. There are also a number of smaller, closed classes of words. These include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, relational nouns/ postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions. SP is an agglutinating, polysynthetic, head-marking language. As such, a grammatical word can consist of a number of concatenated morphemes. The grammatical word consists of a root from one or more word classes marked with its associated formatives (as defined by Bickel and Nichols 2007). Formatives consist of bound morphemes, or suffixes, and clitics. The phonological word in SP is defined based on stress (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:13). Pause phenomenon and morphophonemic properties are useful only to a limited extent in defining the phonological word because phonological processes frequently

¹The lexicon also includes sound symbolic words, which account for 11% of the lexicon (Kaufman, p.c.). Terms that may be described as sound symbolic include verbs, nouns and adjectives. Further study on sound symbolic expressions in SP is required.

cross word boundaries in naturally occurring speech.

This chapter provides an overview of words and formatives and their distinguishing characteristics in order to provide the reader with a map of the word; to demonstrate how the components of the word are integrated; and to expose readers early on to morphology that is described in later chapters of the grammar. Detailed description of word classes and the function of formatives with respect to syntactic and semantic definitions, associated morphology, derivational and inflectional properties, and their pragmatics are found in their corresponding chapters.

3.1 Words

Each of the three major word classes—verbs, nouns, and adjectives—are distinguishable based on a number of unique properties. While these properties are described in detail in their corresponding chapters throughout this grammar, a brief overview is provided here.

Verbs prototypically head clauses (3.1). They may not appear as bare roots or stems, requiring inflection for person and aspect/mood. An inflected verb can stand alone as a clause. Verb roots are transitive, intransitive, ambitransitive, and ditransitive. Roots and stems may occur independently or as part of a complex predicate (in a compound or as a dependent verb). In order to function as other word classes, they must be derived as such.

- (3.1) *ʔi+tyoʔbáʔypa+m*
 ʔi+top-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔam
 3ERG+extract-BEN-INC+ALR
 ‘She extracts its thread from it.’ (Puktuuku.033)

Nouns prototypically head phrases and act as arguments of verbs (3.2). Nouns may be bare stems, or they may take inflection for case and number. Nouns may be possessed, and they may be modified by demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers and relative clauses. They may function as predicates, although they must be derived as verbs to take inflection for aspect/mood.

- (3.2) *wisteen ʔan+tiwi+tam matztáap*
 wisteen ʔan+tiwi+tam Ø+matz-taH-pa
 two XPSR+brother+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+grab-PASS-INC
 ‘...two of our brothers were grabbed.’ (Cangrejo.101)

Adjectives may be inflected for number, but not person unless they occur as nonverbal predicates (3.3). They may not take inflection for aspect/mood. They may be derived as verbs, in which case they may take inflection for aspect/mood. Unlike nouns, they may not be derived with the provisory suffix *-ʔiʔy*. Like nouns, they may function as secondary predicates.

- (3.3) *xuutyu jeʔm suʔunh*
 Ø+xuutyu jeʔm suʔunh
 3ABS+small that pot
 ‘The pot is small.’ (ESK.064b)

The main defining characteristics of verbs, nouns and adjective is shown in Table (3.1).

Table 3.1: Properties of Distinct Word Classes

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
Inflect for person/number as monovalent predicate (intransitive/non-verbal)	✓	✓	✓
Inflect for aspect/mood with no derivational morphology	–	–	✓
May be inflected for possession	✓	–	–
Take versive derivation suffix <i>-ʔaH</i>	✓	✓	–
Take provisory derivation suffix <i>-ʔiʔy</i>	✓	–	–
Take nominalizer suffix <i>-i</i>	–	–	✓
May occur as secondary predicate	✓	✓	–
May directly modify noun (in underived form)	✓	✓	–
May be used adverbially	–	some	–

SP has a number of smaller word classes. Pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers (numeric and non-numeric) may head phrases and generally function as modifiers to the noun. They may also occur anaphorically, take inflection for person and number, and also occur as predicates. Nominal modifiers are described in ch. 5.

Relational nouns (an areal feature of Mesoamerica) and postpositions

(RN/PP) make up a small word class. They are composed of relational and locative roots. They may attach to nouns, they may occur independently as adverbs, and in most cases they may be possessed. RN/PPs are described in ch. 6.

Adverbs make up a small word class that is composed mostly of lexicalized expressions formed with particles, clitics and roots from other word classes. Adverbs are described in ch. 7.

3.1.1 Phonological Characteristics of Words

The root and its associated morphology constitute a phonological as well as grammatical word. The principal means for defining the phonological word is stress. SP has three degrees of stress (3.4). Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable in most contexts, or the final syllable in predictable contexts (See ch. 2 for a detailed description). Secondary stress is assigned to the leftmost syllable after clitics. In the case of stems consisting of five or more syllables, tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable following secondary stress and preceding primary stress.

- (3.4) *nìʔmàʔynyeʔyajtáaba+m*
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-neʔ-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam
 3ABS+say-BEN-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-INC+ALR
 ‘They are told.’

Clitics are extrametrical and do not participate in the stress assignment rules (see §3.2.2 below). Morphophonemic processes do not necessarily define the phonological word, as phonological processes frequently cross word boundaries.

As such, pause phenomena are useful only in identifying pragmatically salient components of the clause (i.e. topicalized elements).

3.2 Formatives

Formatives in SP consist of bound morphemes (suffixes) and clitics. The two forms are distinguished from one another based on three characteristics. The first is phonological: Suffixes are stress bearing units, while clitics are not. The second characteristic is morphosyntactic: Suffixes are restricted by word class, whereas clitics may be less selective with respect to host²; they may attach to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and negative particles. Third, suffixes occur closest to the root; clitics attach outside bound suffixes. Formatives that occur at the left edge of the word are all clitics. That is, there are no stress bearing affixes that occur at the left edge of words. Clitics occur at the left edge (proclitics) and the right edge (enclitics) of the word. The verbal template is shown in (3.5). The noun template is shown in (3.6).

(3.5) VERB TEMPLATE:

Proclitics	Proclitics		Suffixes	Enclitics
Inflectional	Derivational, Valency adjusting,	VERB STEM	Derivation, Valency adjusting, Inflection	Adverbial

²A defining characteristic of clitics, following Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503).

(3.6) NOUN TEMPLATE:

Proclitics	Proclitics		Suffixes	Enclitics
Inflectional	Derivational	NOUN STEM	Derivation	Inflectional Adverbial

3.2.1 Suffixes

Verbal suffixes consist of bound morphemes that derive verbs from other word classes (or other verbs), valency adjusting suffixes, and inflectional suffixes that mark aspect/mood and number. Suffix ordering is complex (see ch. 8), and the assortment of suffixes is somewhat heterogeneous. There are 28 derivational, valency adjusting and inflectional suffixes (Table 3.2.1). Overall, with relation to one another, the suffixes can occupy 12 possible postverbal “slots” (listed in left-hand column). No slot is associated with a grammatical function, although generally speaking the derivational formatives tend to occur closer to the root and inflectional further from the root, a tendency that is widely observed cross-linguistically. There is some variability with respect to derivational morphology. The nominalizer *-i*, being the most variable, is not observed in a fixed slot with relation to the other suffixes. See ch. 8 for description of the verbal template and discussion of suffix ordering.

Each of these suffixes is described in detail with respect to their semantic and functional categories in their corresponding sections on derivation (ch. 10), valency adjusting (ch. 14), aspect/mood (ch. 12), number (ch. 11).

Table 3.2: Suffixes in SP

*	<i>-i</i>	NOM	nominalizer
1	<i>-ʔiʔy</i>	PROV	provisory
	<i>-ʔaH</i>	VERS	versive
	<i>-neʔ</i>	AFFECT	affective
	<i>-neʔ</i>	ASSUM	assumptive
	<i>-wiʔy</i>	DEPOS	depositive
	<i>-ʔoʔy</i>	AMBUL	ambulative
2	<i>-ʔoʔy</i>	ANTIP	antipassive
3	<i>-kaʔ</i>	LOC _{applic}	instrumental applicative
4	<i>-ʔaʔy</i>	BEN	benefactive applicative
5	<i>-i</i>	PROG	motion progressive
6	<i>-neʔ</i>	PERF	perfect
7	<i>-yaj</i>	PLU _{nonsap}	3rd person plural
	<i>-taʔm</i>	PLU _{sap}	1st/2nd person plural
8	<i>-taH</i>	PASS	passive
	<i>-niim</i>	INDEF	indefinite subject
9	<i>-gak</i>	REP	repetitive
10	<i>-toʔ</i>	DESID	desiderative
	<i>-tiʔp</i>	FRUS	frustrative
11a**	<i>-W</i>	CMP	completive
	<i>-pa</i>	INC	incompletive
	<i>-i</i>	IMP	imperative
	<i>-ʔiny</i>	OPT	optative
11b†	<i>-i</i>	DEP _{ia}	dependent intransitive-a
	<i>-W₃</i>	DEP _{ib}	dependent intransitive-b
	<i>-W₂</i>	DEP _t	dependent transitive
12	<i>-ʔVp</i>	REL	relativizer (verbs)
	<i>-mi</i>	SUBORD	subordinator

*Exhibits greatest variability of order with respect to other suffixes.

**Independent verbs are obligatorily inflected with one suffix from this set.

†Dependent verbs are obligatorily inflected with one suffix from this set.

3.2.2 Clitics

Clitics, with the exception of the valency adjusting proclitics, occur on all word classes; they may affix to nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and negative particles. While suffixes occur closest to the root, clitics attach outside bound suffixes. Clitics occur at the left edge (proclitics) and the right edge (enclitics) of the word.

3.2.2.1 Defining Clitics in SP

There are three criteria for defining clitics in SP (following Klavans 1982; Zwicky 1985; Zwicky and Pullum 1983). These include stress, the distribution of phonological processes, and morphosyntax. First, clitics don't take stress. This is shown with the proclitics in (3.7). As described above, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable; secondary stress falls on the leftmost syllable following clitics. In (a) the bisyllabic root *kopaʔk* 'head' is inflected with the proclitic *ʔan+* indicating possession; stress is marked on the penultimate syllable. (b) shows a monosyllabic noun root inflected with the same proclitic; here stress falls on the root. (c) shows an inflected verb with composed of four stressable syllables: the penultimate syllable and the verb root *kak* following the derivational proclitic *ku+* are stressed. The proclitics *ʔan+* and *ku+* do not take stress. This is also shown in (b), in which the first syllable following the reflexive/reciprocal proclitic *na+* receives secondary stress.

(3.7) PROCLITICS:

- (a) *ʔanh+koobak*
ʔan+kopaʔk
XPSR+head
'my head'
- (b) *ʔaʔ+nay*
ʔan+ʔay
XPSR+leaf
'my leaf'
- (c) *ʔanhku+kàkputtáʔmpa*
ʔan+ku+kak=put-taʔm-pa
XERG+DERIV₂+loan-PERF-PLU_{sap}-INC
'that we had already returned.'
- (d) *ʔara+jètzaʔytyaʔmtáʔiny*
ʔa+na+jetz-ʔaʔy-taʔm-taH-ʔiny
XABS+RR+brush-BEN-PLU_{sap}-PASS-OPT
'That we brush each other's hair.'

Enclitics also do not participate in stress assignment patterns, as shown in (3.8). In each case, the stressable word is bisyllabic and stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the stressable word.

(3.8) ENCLITICS:

- (a) *ta+chínhpa+nam*
ta+chinh-pa+nam
IABS+bathe-pa+nam
'We still bathed'
- (b) *píixiny+gak*
Ø+píixiny+gak
3ABS+man+REP
'He's a man again.'

- (c) ʔa+máymay+ʔam
 ʔa+maymay+ʔam
 XABS+happy+ALR
 ‘I’m happy’

The second criterion by which clitics are defined, is that of the distribution of phonological processes. Clitics participate in two morphophonemic processes not observed elsewhere. In Soteapanec, clitics do not participate in stress assignment patterns. As a result, when proclitics occur adjacent to one another they are subject to processes such as segment deletion and stylistic alternations.

The first process is the deletion of the second segment when two proclitics are combined. When a [CV] clitic precedes a clitic that begins with a [ʔV] sequence, the onset and nucleus of the second syllable in the sequence is deleted. This is expressed with the rule in (3.9).

- (3.9) SEGMENT DELETION:
 $\text{ʔV} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{CV+--(C)+}$

The following pair of examples illustrate the contracted forms that occur when the proclitic $na+$ precedes $\text{ʔa}\eta+$ (3.10) and $\text{ʔak}+$ (3.11). Examples (3.12) and (3.13) show the contracted forms involving person marking proclitics. In (3.12), the third person ergative proclitic $\text{ʔi}+$ precedes the derivational proclitic $\text{ʔa}\eta+$ and results in the contracted form $\text{ʔi}\eta+$. In (3.13) the third person exclusive ergative proclitic precedes the derivational proclitic $\text{ʔak}+$ and results in the contracted form $\text{ʔik}+$.

- (3.10) *naŋ+ʔaatáʔ*
 Ø+na+ʔanh-ʔaH-taH-W
 3ABS+ASSOC+fight-PASS-CMP
 ‘He was scolded.’
- (3.11) *nak+waʔktaáj*
 Ø+na+ʔak+waʔk-taH-W
 3ABS+ASSOC+ask-PASS-CMP
 ‘She asked herself, then.’
- (3.12) *ʔinh+tùʔumawàtpa*
 ʔi+ʔanh+tuum-ʔaH=wat-pa
 3ERG+meet.together=do-INC
 ‘They gathered together.’
- (3.13) *ʔik+káʔ*
 ʔi+ʔak+kaʔ-W
 3ERG+CAUS₁+die-CMP
 ‘He killed him.’

This contraction only occurs with proclitics. As shown in (3.14) and (3.15), this does not occur when the clitic prefixes a [ʔV] initial verb stem, such as *ʔaʔm* ‘look’, or noun stem, such as *ʔaapa* ‘mother’. These examples show that this process applies only to clitics.

- (3.14) *ʔi+ʔaapa*
 ʔi+ʔaapa
 3PSR+mother
 ‘Her mother’
- (3.15) *ʔi+ʔàʔmpudáʔy*
 ʔi+ʔaʔm=put-ʔaʔy-W
 3ERG+look=out-BEN-CMP
 ‘She looked out to see them.’

Segment deletion also holds for the enclitic $+ʔam$ (described in §3.2.2.3), which is frequently reduced to [m].

The second morphophonemic process is a stylistic alternation that occurs at clitic boundaries. The rule is shown in (3.16).

$$(3.16) \text{ [r] ALTERNATION:}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} [\mathbf{n}] + [\mathbf{n}] \\ [\mathbf{n}] + [\mathbf{ʔ}] \\ [\mathbf{V}] + [\mathbf{n}] \end{array} \rightarrow \text{r} \begin{array}{l} / \\ / \\ / \end{array} \text{C(V)--+--(C)}$$

Table 3.3 illustrates the clitic combinations that result in the [r] alternation.

Table 3.3: Stylistic Alternation of Proclitics

Proclitic+	/ʔak+/ /ʔan+/ /tan+/ /ʔin+/ /ʔi+/ /ʔa+/ /ta+/ /mi+/ /ʔak+/ /ʔaŋ+/ /na+/ [ʔarak] [ʔaraŋ] [ʔara] [tarak] [taraŋ] [tara] [ʔirik] [ʔiriŋ] [ʔiri] — — [ʔara] — — [tara] — — [miri]	[ʔarak]	[ʔaraŋ]	[ʔara]
/ʔan+/ /tan+/ /ʔin+/ /ʔi+/ /ʔa+/ /ta+/ /mi+/ /ʔak+/ /ʔaŋ+/ /na+/ [ʔarak] [ʔaraŋ] [ʔara] [tarak] [taraŋ] [tara] [ʔirik] [ʔiriŋ] [ʔiri] — — [ʔara] — — [tara] — — [miri]	[ʔarak]	[ʔaraŋ]	[ʔara]	

In example (3.17), the person marking proclitic $ʔan+$ precedes the associative $na+$, resulting in the $ʔara+$ contraction. In example (3.18), the third person ergative marker $ʔi+$ precedes the associative and the resulting form is $ʔiri+$.

$$(3.17) \text{ } ʔara+kuʔtáʔminy$$

$$ʔan+na+kuʔt-taʔm-ʔiny$$

$$\text{XERG+ASSOC+eat-PLU}_{sap}\text{-OPT}$$

‘We feed them.’

- (3.18) *?iri+nyík*
 ?i+na+nikk-W
 3ERG+ASSOC+go-CMP
 ‘He took him.’

As with segment deletion, the [r] alternation does not take place at boundaries between clitics and stressable word stems. In (3.19a) the first person exclusive ergative *?an+* precedes the verb *naks* ‘hit’ and the result is a gemminate consonant at the morpheme boundary. As shown in (b), the alternation is not permitted with verb stems.

- (3.19) (a) *?an+naksu+m*
 ?an+naks-W+m
 XERG+hit-CMP+ALR
 ‘I hit [my beans].’
- (b) **?araksum*
 ?an+naks-W+?am
 XERG+hit-CMP+ALR

The third criterion by which clitics are defined in SP is that clitics occur on all word classes, with the exception of the valency adjusting proclitics described in (§3.2.2.2) below. The distribution of clitics is addressed in the following sections.

3.2.2.2 Proclitics

Proclitics include person markers, valency/voice adjusters, lexical prefixes that are derivational, and adverbial particles. The verbal template with respect to proclitics is shown in Table 3.4. The proclitic template for nouns differs from

the verbal template in that valency adjusting proclitics occur only on verbs. In both templates, person markers occur farthest from the stem, and derivational proclitics occur closest to the stem.

Table 3.4: Verbal Proclitic Template

COMP+	ABS+	RR+	CAUS ₁ +	<i>?anh+</i>	<i>ku+</i>	VERB STEM
INTENS+	ERG+		ASSOC+			
	1:2+					
	2:1+					

Table 3.5: Nominal Proclitic Template

COMP+	PSR+	<i>?anh+</i>	<i>ku+</i>	NOUN STEM
INTENS+	ABS+			
	1:2+			

3.2.2.2.1 Person Marking Proclitics. SP marks four persons: inclusive (includes 2nd person hearer), exclusive (excludes 2nd person hearer), 2nd person, and 3rd person. SP is an ergative/absolutive language with a hierarchical system. As such there are three sets of clitics: Set A, ergative; Set B, absolutive; and Set C, “local” (Hockett 1966) (3.20).

(3.20) PERSON MARKING PROCLITICS:

	Ergative: (Set A):	Absolutive: Set B:	Local: Set C:
First person exclusive	<i>?an+</i>	<i>?a+</i>	
First person inclusive	<i>tan+</i>	<i>ta+</i>	
Second Person	<i>?in+</i>	<i>mi+</i>	
Third person	<i>?i+</i>	\emptyset	
2:1			<i>?an+</i>
1:2			<i>man+</i>

The ergative proclitics (Set A) mark agreement with the transitive subject (henceforth A, following Dixon 1994:23) of transitive verbs³; the absolutive proclitics (Set B) mark agreement with the subject (S) of intransitive verbs and object (O) of transitive verbs; and the “local” proclitics (Set C) are used to mark the relation between 1st and 2nd person participants (see ch. 8). Each of these sets occurs on nouns as well (see ch. 4). Set A proclitics mark possessors; Set B proclitics mark S of nonverbal predicates; and Set C proclitics mark relations between speech act participants on kinship terms.

3.2.2.2.2 Valency Adjusting and Voice Proclitics. There are three valency adjusting and voice altering proclitics, listed in (3.21). The proclitics include *na+* ‘associative’, *na+* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ and *?ak+* ‘causative’. The causative and associative are described with respect to grammatical function in ch. 14; the reflexive/reciprocal in ch. 13.

(3.21) VALENCY PROCLITICS:

<i>na+</i>	ASSOC+
<i>?ak+</i>	CAUS ₁ +
<i>na+</i>	RR+

(3.22) DERIVATIONAL PROCLITICS:

<i>?anh+</i>	DERIV ₁ +
<i>ku+</i>	DERIV ₂ +

³Set A person markers also mark agreement with subjects of intransitive verb in some subordinate contexts. See ch. 22 for description of split ergativity in SP.

3.2.2.2.3 Derivational Proclitics *?anh+* and *ku+*. Two proclitics, *?anh+* and *ku+*, are lexical “prefixes”⁴ that appear in lexicalized complex expressions. Historically, they were used to derived new words from verb and noun roots. *?anh+*, reconstructed as **?aw=* ‘mouth’ in proto-Mixe-Zoquean (Kaufman 1997), grammaticalized as a proclitic meaning ‘endocentric, inside’ (Kaufman 1963:70) or ‘pertaining to the mouth or other opening’ (Wichmann 1991:535) in proto-Mixe-Zoquean. *ku+* is reconstructed as **ko-* in proto-Mixe-Zoquean and is thought to have grammaticalized into a derivational prefix meaning ‘self, other’ or ‘endocentricity’ (Kaufman 1963:70, 1995)⁵. Today, however, these proclitics are not productive derivational elements. Synchronically, the formatives are subject to the same phonemic processes as the other proclitics. Lexical proclitics have combined with nouns and verbs to form nominal, adjectival, verbal and postpositional expressions (10.24).

(3.23) VERBS, NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES WITH LEXICAL PREFIXES:

***?anh+* ‘mouth’**

<i>?anh+kiinyi</i>	‘tip, point’	<i>kiinyi</i>	‘nose’
<i>?anh+maatyi.i</i>	‘word’	<i>*mat</i>	‘to speak’
<i>?anh+ni?</i>	‘saliva’	<i>ni?</i>	‘water’
<i>?anh+naaka</i>	‘side, edge’	<i>naaka</i>	‘skin’
<i>?anh+tun</i>	‘cover’	<i>tun</i>	‘to put’
<i>?anh+tzim</i>	‘test weight of load’	<i>tzim</i>	‘to load’
<i>?anh.ki?.mi</i>	‘behind, outside’	<i>ki?.mi</i>	‘LOC ₃ .LOC ₁ ’

⁴There are four lexical “prefixes”. *?anh+* and *ku+* are clitics phonologically, and although they appear frequently in lexicalized expressions, they participate in morphophonemic processes associated with clitics. *winy* ‘*face’ and *kuk* ‘middle’ are stress-bearing units that are observed in relational noun and postpositional terms (ch. 6) and a handful of lexicalized expressions (ch. 10). None of the four derivational formatives are productive synchronically.

⁵It is also reconstructed as **ku+* ‘unfocused’ (Kaufman, p.c.).

ku+ ‘other, else’			
<i>ku+ʔiixi</i>	‘slow, crazy’	*ʔis.i	‘back.NOM’
<i>ku+jaam=sinh</i>	‘dry season’	<i>jaama=sinh</i>	‘day=sky’
<i>ku+ʔoy</i>	‘go/return looking for smt’	<i>ʔoy</i>	‘to go/return’
<i>ku+chij</i>	‘to cover with smt else’	<i>chij</i>	‘to pound’
<i>ku+ʔoʔoxiʔoʔoxi</i>	‘snarled, knotted’	<i>ʔoʔos</i>	‘piled up, garbage’
<i>ku+tyiny</i>	‘lazy’	<i>tyiny</i>	‘excrement’
<i>ku.kiʔ.mi</i>	‘below, underneath’	<i>kiʔ.mi</i>	‘LOC ₃ .LOC ₁ ’

3.2.2.2.4 Other Particles. There are two sentence level particles that occur independently or that may attach to phonological words. These include *ʔiga+* ‘COMP’ and *ʔagi+* ‘INTENS’. The complementizer *ʔiga+* (3.24), borrowed from Nahuatl, marks adverbial clauses.

- (3.24) *ʔi+ʔix* **ʔiga**+*sèetyneʔtaʔnhgáku+m*
 ʔi+ʔix-W **ʔiga**+ʔa+seet-neʔ-taʔm-gak-W+ʔam
 3ERG+see-CMP COMP+XABS+return-PERF-PLU_{sap}-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘He saw that we returned again.’ (CNC.038)

It occurs at the leftmost edge of the word preceding person marking (3.25). It does not participate in stress assignment patterns and it is subject to morphophonemic processes associated with clitics (3.26).

- (3.25) *mi+puttáʔmpa* **ʔiga**+*mi+xíx+tyam*
 mi+put-taʔm-pa **ʔiga**+mi+xix+tam
 2ABS+exit-PLU_{sap}-INC COMP+2ABS+cow+PLU_{hum}
 ‘You’re going to come out as cows.’ (VYT.127)

- (3.26) *ʔin nomaj ʔaʔ+nyixpa ʔigi+wátpa ʔidyik*
 ʔich no.maj ʔan+ʔix-pa ʔiga+ʔi+wat-pa ʔidyik
 1PRO no.more XERG+see-INC COMP+3ERG+do-INC PAST
 ‘I only saw what they did.’ (Pukuuku.084)

ʔagi+ is an intensifier particle that indicates ‘much, very’ (3.27).

- (3.27) *ʔagi+tóypa ʔam+puʔu*
ʔagi+Ø+toy-pa ʔan+puʔu
 INTENS+3ABS+ache-INC XPSR+belly
 ‘Her belly hurts a lot.’ (SA2.019a)

ʔagi+ attaches to an inflected stem preceding person marking at the leftmost edge. The particle is subject to morphophonemic processes associated with clitics and does not participate in stress marking patterns of the word (3.28).

- (3.28) *ʔich ʔag+a+wéjpa*
 ʔich **ʔagi+ʔa+wej-pa**
 1PRO INTENS+XABS+cry-INC
 ‘I cry a lot.’ (CNC.022)

It may also occur as an unattached particle to which enclitics attach (3.29).

- (3.29) *Nuʔkpa ʔi+tyikimi ʔagi+ʔun maymay+ʔam*
 Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik-mi **ʔagi+ʔun** maymay+ʔam
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₁ INTENS+DJO happy+ALR
 ‘He arrives at his house very happy, it is said.’ (ESK.047)

3.2.2.3 Enclitics

Enclitics occur on the right edge of the phonological word. They can be divided into three groups: inflectional, subordinator and adverbial. They are listed in (3.30).

(3.30) ENCLITICS:

Inflectional Enclitics:

+tam ‘1st and 2nd person/human plural’

+yaj ‘3rd person/non-human plural’

Subordinator:

+pi?k ‘relativizer’

Adverbial:

+gak ‘another, also’

+tyi ‘just’

+nam ‘still’

+?am ‘already’

+wey ‘I say’

+?un ‘It’s said’

The template for enclitics is shown in (3.6). There is no slot specifically designated for number. The enclitic *+tam* ‘PLU_{sap}/PLU_{hum}’ precedes *+pi?k*, and *+yaj* ‘PLU_{nonsap}/PLU_{nonhum}’ follows it. The adverbial enclitics occur furthest from the stem.

Table 3.6: Enclitic Template

1:	<i>+tam</i>	(PLU _{sap})	1st/2nd person/human plural
	<i>+yaj</i>	(PLU _{nonsap})	3rd person/nonhuman plural
	<i>+gak</i>	(REP)	again/another/also (repetitive)
	<i>+pi?k</i>	(REL)	relativizer*
2:	<i>+?am</i>	(ALR)	already
	<i>+nam</i>	(STILL)	still/yet
	<i>+tyi</i>	(JUST)	just
3:	<i>+?un</i>	(DJO)	he says, it’s said
	<i>+wey</i>	(TRUE)	true

*The relativizer *pi?k* exhibits some variability with respect to the plural suffixes.

3.2.2.3.1 *+tam* ‘1st/2nd person/human’ and *+yaj* ‘3rd person/nonhuman’. The enclitics *+tam* ‘1st & 2nd person/human’ and *+yaj* ‘3rd person/nonhuman’ occur on all word classes. Depending on context the enclitics may indicate plurality of nouns or agreement with arguments: *+tam* occurs with human nouns to indicate that the noun is plural (3.31); *+yaj* occurs on non-human nouns to indicate the noun is plural (3.32).

(3.31) *pero dya+ʔii tzoʔyiʔy*
 pero dya+ʔiH Ø+tzoy-ʔiʔy-W
 but NEG+who 3ABS+cure-CMP
 ‘but no one had a cure,

ni tuum jeʔm ʔi+jaymàanik+tam
 ni tuum jeʔm ʔi+jay=maanik+tam
 not one that 3PSR+male=child+PLU_{hum}
 not even her children.’ (MAB.260)

(3.32) *siʔp ʔi+kaʔmyáj yiʔp tzaʔa+yaj*
 siʔ-pa ʔi+kaʔm-yaj-W yiʔp tzaʔ+yaj
 prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+attach-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that stone+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They are attaching these rocks.’ (CP1.019a)

The enclitics mark number agreement on nonverbal predicates: *+tam* agrees with 1st and 2nd person arguments (3.33); *+yaj* agrees with 3rd person arguments (3.34).

(3.33) *pwej ʔa+yoom+tam dya+tyim ʔa+waaty+tyam*
 pwej ʔa+yoomo+tam dya+tyi+ʔam ʔa+waaty+tam
 well XABS+woman+PLU_{hum} NEG+JUST XABS+some+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Well, us women, we’re just not very many.’ (7NH.079)

- (3.34) *?antonse ?este ?an+tzix+tyam maymay+yaj porkej*
?antonse ?este ?an+tzix+tyam maymay+yaj porkej
 then FILL XPSR+child+PLU_{sap} happy+PLU_{nonhum} because
 ‘My children were happy because

?a+na+wi?kyajpa
?a+na+wi?k-yaj-pa
 XABS+ASSOC+eat-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘we were eating well.’ (PDLMA.RODILLA.004)

They also occur on verbs inflected with the dependent intransitive suffix *-i*, in which case they agree with the argument of the verb: *+tam* agrees with 1st and 2nd person (3.35); *+yaj* agrees with 3rd person (3.36) .

- (3.35) *yajpa+m* *?a+chiinhi+tyam*
yajpa+?am *?a+chinh-i+tyam*
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR XABS+bathe-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We finished bathing.’ (MAB.031b)

- (3.36) *yaju+m* *wi?iki+yaj*
yaj-W+?am *wi?k-i+yaj*
 finish_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (Cangrejo.012)

The plural suffixes *+tam* and *+yaj* are described in detail in ch. 4 with respect to nouns and ch. 11 with respect to predicates.

3.2.2.3.2 *+pi?k* ‘relativizer’. The enclitic *+pi?k* attaches to the nonverbal predicate of a relative clause (in contrast with the relativizer suffix *-?pV* that occurs on the verbal predicate of a relative clause). It occurs on nouns, adjectives, possessors, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs, etc. Examples (3.37) and

(3.38) illustrate the relativizer on an adjective and a locative adverb, respectively.

(3.37) *Siʔip na+minyi tum pukuuku yagatz+piʔk*
 siʔip na+miny-i tum pukuuku yagatz+**piʔk**
 now ASSOC+come-IMP one cloth large+REL
 ‘Now, bring a cloth that’s large.’ (SoyPartera.111)

(3.38) *ʔestej yiʔp yooma dya yiʔim+piʔk*
 ʔestej yiʔp yooma dya Ø+yiʔim+**piʔk**
 FILL this woman NEG 3ABS+here+REL

siʔipa ʔaranh+madáʔy
 siʔ-pa ʔan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W
 PROG_{aux}-INC XERG+DERIV+speak-BEN-CMP
 ‘I’m telling it to this woman, who’s not from here.’ (PQH.025)

3.2.2.3.3 +gak ‘another, also’. The enclitic *+gak*, which also has a verbal suffix counterpart, occurs on non-verbal elements. When it occurs on nouns it may convey the meaning ‘another’. When it occurs on nouns and other word classes that serve as non-verbal predicates, the semantics of the enclitic *+gak* is essentially the same as the verbal suffix *-gak*, conveying ‘also, again’. Example (15.46) shows *+gak* on the noun *piixiny* ‘man’ functioning as a non-verbal predicate. *+gak* may also occur on nouns and indicate ‘again’ (15.47).

(3.39) *jesik jeʔ piixinh+gak*
 jesik jeʔ Ø+piixiny+gak
 then 3PRO 3ABS+man+REP
 ‘Then he’s a man again. (ESK.078)

- (3.40) *jesik* *?i+ji?ya?ypa+m* *je?m* *?i+maayi+gak*
jesik *?i+jiy-?a?y-pa+?am* *je?m* *?i+maayi+gak*
 when 3ERG+speak-BEN-INC-ALR that 3PSR+meat+REP
 ‘Then he speaks to his flesh again.’ (ESK.073b)

3.2.2.3.4 *+?am* ‘already’. *+?am* can be translated roughly as “already, finally, presently”. *+?am* occurs in a number of contexts, most commonly on verbs (3.41).

- (3.41) *jesik* *?i+wa?ku+m*
jesik *?i+wa?k-W+?am*
 then 3ERG+request-CMP+ALR
 ‘Then he asked (to eat)

?iga+?agi+yu?ané?u+m *tempraanoj*
?iga+?agi+Ø+yu?-?aH-ne?-W+?am *tempraanoj*
 COMP+INTENS+3ABS+hunger-VERS-PERF-CMP+ALR early
 –that he was really hungry already–

?ich *?an+tojá?y?iny+am* *?aanyi*
?ich *?an+toj-?a?y-?iny+?am* *?aanyi*
 1PRO XERG+make.tortillas-BEN-OPT-VERS+ALR tortilla
 and that I make him tortilla already.’ (Comal.006/7)

+ʔam also occurs on nouns (3.42), pronouns (3.43), adjectives (3.44), particles (3.45), and adverbs (3.50).

(3.42) *yɨʔp ʔanimad+am*
yɨʔp Ø+ʔanimat+ʔam
 this animal+ALR
 ‘This is animal.’ (GU1.120)

(3.43) *tam+besiikulaj [pause] ta+ʔich+am*
tam+besikulaj [pause] ta+ʔich+ʔam
 IPSR+gall.bladder [pause] IABS+1PRO+ALR
 ‘The gall bladder, now that we already

ʔiga+siʔip ta+xutyu=ʔan+jaʔy+ʔam tan+ʔanh+mát
ʔiga+siʔip ta+xutyu=ʔan+jaʔy+ʔam tan+ʔanh+mat-W
 that+now IABS+little=a.lot+ALR IERG+speak-CMP
 speak a little better.’ (ESK.007)

(3.44) *Nuʔkpa ʔi+tyikmi ʔagi+ʔun maymaʔyam*
Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tyikmi ʔagi+ʔun maymay+ʔam
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house INTENS+DJO happy+ALR
 ‘He arrives at the house very happy.’ (ESK.047)

(3.45) *dya+m kiʔmpa*
dya+ʔam Ø+kiʔm-pa
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+go.up-INC
 ‘It doesn’t go up anymore.’ (Comal.015)

Particles and clitics connoting ‘already’ are commonly observed in other languages throughout Mesoamerica and North America (Bishop 1979; Hardy 1991; Koike 1996:268-9; Mackay 1991:193; and Smythe Kung 2007:458).

3.2.2.3.5 +*tyi* ‘just’. The enclitic *tyi* conveys the notion of ‘just’ as in ‘just there’, ‘just then’. It occurs on verbs (3.46), nouns (3.47), pronouns (3.48).

(3.46) *jeʔm ʔi+yoomo ʔiku+pík+tyi+m*
jeʔm ʔi+yoomo ʔi+ku+pík-W+tyi+ʔam
 that 3PSR+woman 3ERG+DERIV+understand-CMP+**just**+ALR
 ‘The woman understood just then.’ (ESK.115)

(3.47) *manteelax+tyim ku+kej-pa*
manteelax+tyi+ʔam Ø+ku+kej-pa
 napkin+JUST+ALR 3ABS+DERIV+appear-INC
 ‘Just one napkin appears.’ (ESK.019b)

(3.48) *jeʔe+tyim mi+watpa mal.*
jeʔ+tyi+ʔam mi+wat-pa mal
 3PRO+JUST+ALR 2ABS+make-INC bad
 ‘This can just make you ill.’ (SA2.056)

The enclitic also occurs on locative (3.49) and temporal adverbs (3.49).

(3.49) *ʔich ʔanikpa+tyim yiʔim+tyim*
ʔich ʔa+nikk-pa+tyi+ʔam yiʔim+tyi+ʔam
 1PRO XABS+go-INC+JUST+ALR here+JUST+ALR
 ‘I’m just going just over here.’ (MAB.041)

(3.50) *siʔip+tyim ʔanh+madáʔy*
siʔip+tyi+ʔam ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W
 now+JUST+ALR XABS+spek-BEN-CMP
 ‘Just now she spoke with me.’ (CVS.002)

3.2.2.3.6 +*nam* ‘still’. The enclitic +*nam* conveys the notion ‘still, yet’.

It occurs on verbs (3.51), nouns (3.52) and particles (3.53).

(3.51) *?okmi na+minytaaawim+nam*
 ?okmi Ø+na+miny-taH-W+?am+**nam**
 after 3ABS+ASSOC+come-PASS-CMP+ALR+STILL
 ‘Afterwards he was still taken.’ (PQ2.206)

(3.52) *?ich jesik ?a+tziixi+nyam ?idyik*
 ?ich jesik ?a+tziixi+**nam** ?idyik
 1PRO when XABS+small+STILL PAST
 ‘I was still small then.’ (Puktuuku.081)

(3.53) *si?ip dya+nam pisne?*
 si?ip dya+**nam** Ø+pis-ne?-W
 now NEG+STILL 3ABS+heal-PERF-CMP
 ‘Now she is still not healed.’ (ConvSerPartera.231)

3.2.2.3.7 +*?un* ‘he says/said’. +*?un* is a discourse marker, occurring only in narrative discourse to indicate reported speech (3.54).

(3.54) *nimpa ?an+choomo*
 Ø+nim-pa ?an+choomo
 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+grandmother
 ‘My grandmother says:

dya+?un dya+?un dya ?a+yu?ané?
 dya+?un dya+?un dya ?a+hunger-?aH-ne?-W
 NEG+DJO NEG+DJO NEG XABS+hungry-PERF-CMP
 ‘No, no. No, I’m not hungry.’ (she says) ” (MAB.081)

3.2.2.3.8 +wey ‘say’. The adverbial enclitic *+wey* is used to indicate ‘it’s true’. It occurs on adverbs (3.55), and other particles (3.56), as well as verbs (3.57).

- (3.55) *ʔokmi ʔapeena ʔi+màtzku+núʔk nimpa*
ʔokmi ʔapeena ʔi+matz=ku+nuʔk-W Ø+nim-pa
 after as.soon.as 3ERG+grab=arrive-CMP 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘As soon as she arrives she grabbed [her belly] and she says:

ʔay paadre nuuma+wey téeny
ʔay paadre nuuma+wey Ø+teeny-W
 ah father certain+TRUE 3ABS+stand-CMP
 ‘Oh, boy, it’s true its standing up.’ (SoyPartera.060)

- (3.56) *duuro ʔan+sujpa ʔanh+ku+yempa*
duuro ʔan+suj-pa ʔan+ku+yem-pa
 long.time XERG+blow-INC XERG+DERIV₂+fan-INC
 ‘I blew and fanned [my fire],

dya+wey ʔi+tzokpa ʔagi+jogáaba+m
dya+wey ʔi+tzok-pa ʔagi+jooko-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 NEG+TRUE 3ERG+burn-INC INTENS+smoke-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘but its true I say it didn’t burn; it smoked alot.’ (Comal.013b)

- (3.57) *tara+ʔoynyeʔum+wey*
tan+na+ʔoy-neʔ-W+ʔam+wey
 IERG+ASSOC+go/return-PERF-CMP+ALR+TRUE
 ‘It’s true we carried it.’ (Gutierrez-Morales, p.c.)

The enclitic is also reported as having the meaning ‘I say’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress).

Part II

Nouns and Their Projections

Chapter 4

Nouns and Their Morphology

Words belonging to the word class “noun” (roots or derived stems) head noun phrases and may occur as arguments of verbs or as the predicate in non-verbal predicate constructions. Nouns take a small number of inflectional morphemes. The morphological template for nouns is much simpler than that of verbs. Nouns are marked with plural marking or possession, but unlike verbs they may appear bare (lacking inflectional morphology) in the clause. Singular is not marked on nouns and is the default reading for bare stems. Marking for plural, however, is not obligatory and plurality may be determined from context. As such, a subclass of mass nouns can be distinguished from other nouns in that in their unmarked forms they refer to a quantity of that entity and when marked with a plural marker refer to a number of contained or measured items (i.e. cups of coffee as opposed to coffee in quantity). In addition, Sotepanec manifests a plurality split that distinguishes between humanness on the one hand and person (first and second versus third) on the other. Finally,

while animacy and alienability are not criteria for establishing a subclass of nouns, there is a closed set of nouns that are obligatorily possessed. This chapter provides a description of the basic properties of nouns, the types of nouns, their inflectional properties, and their derivational morphology. Chapter (5) provides a description of nominal modifiers (including possessors, adjectives, quantifiers, demonstratives, and adpositions).

4.1 Noun Types

The noun types discussed here are lexical nouns and pronouns, which include personal, demonstrative, interrogative, as well as derived pronouns.

4.1.1 Lexical nouns

Lexical nouns are inflected for plurality and possession. There are a number of semantically defined noun classes, however there are only two noun subclasses defined morphosyntactically; obligatorily possessed nouns and kinship terms. A number of nouns are obligatorily possessed.

Nouns may be inflected with Set-A (ergative) person markers, which indicate possession. These are discussed in Section 4.2 in this chapter. Nouns may also be inflected with Set-B (absolutive) person markers when they occur as non-verbal predicates. Although briefly discussed here, more detailed discussion is found in Chapter 8.

There are a number of nouns that are obligatorily possessed, however the criteria are not clear. Approximately 120 have been observed, some of which are listed in example (4.1). These include kinship terms and body parts, among other terms.

(4.1) NOUNS THAT ARE OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED:

<i>ʔa+ʔaapa</i>	‘my mother’
<i>ʔi+xaaka</i>	‘it’s gill’
<i>ʔi+ku+yukmi</i>	‘it’s motive, reason, guilt’
<i>ʔi+paaris</i>	‘her placenta’
<i>ʔi+neeja</i>	‘it’s side’
<i>ʔi+tzaanyi</i>	‘her parent-in-law’
<i>ʔi+tzoowa</i>	‘his salary, wage’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

As evident from the list, animacy and alienability are not criteria for establishing a subclass of nouns. In fact, as shown by the list in (4.2), not all body parts and kinship terms are obligatorily possessed.

(4.2) NOUNS THAT ARE NOT OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED:

<i>naaka</i>	‘skin’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	‘gall bladder’
<i>tzuʔu</i>	‘mother/father-in-law’
<i>ʔixkuy</i>	‘eye’
<i>wity=ʔaaya</i>	‘husband’

Body parts are inalienable when they are associated with humans and animals. There are a number of body part terms are shared by humans, animals, and plants, listed in (4.3). When body parts are associated with humans and animals, they are obligatorily possessed (or inalienable). When the same body parts are associated with plants, they are not obligatorily possessed (alienable). Therefore, alienability in SP is not a property associated with the lexical item

but a property associated with the semantic class with which the lexical item is associated.

(4.3) DISTRIBUTION OF ALIENABILITY IN SP:

		Human	Animal	Plant	
<i>witypik</i>	‘leg’	+	+	-	
<i>puy</i>	‘foot’	+	+	-	
<i>puʔu</i>	‘stomach’	+	+	-	
<i>tuʔunyi</i>	‘back’	+	+	+	
<i>way</i>	‘hair’	+	+	+	
<i>naaka</i>	‘skin’	+	+	+	(bark, shell)
<i>koobak</i>	‘head’	+	+	+	(where corn connects with stem)
<i>titz</i>	‘teeth’	+	+	+	(grains)
<i>kiitziis</i>	‘nails’	+	+	-	
<i>kiinyi</i>	‘nose’	+	+	+	(tip of corn)
<i>miɣpa k</i>	‘waist	+	+	?	
<i>ʔaakpak</i>	‘cheek’	+	+	?	
<i>pak</i>	‘bone, seed’	+	+	+	(seed)

4.1.2 Pronouns

SP has personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, interrogative pro-forms, and indefinite pronouns, which are derived from demonstratives and interrogatives). This section lists each of the different pronoun types found in SP. I advance the description of pronouns with respect to inflection (Section 4.2) and derivation (Section 4.3).

4.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

SP has a set of lexical pronouns, listed in (4.4).

- (4.4) PRONOUNS:
ʔich first person
mich second person
jeʔ third person

The use of overtly expressed pronouns is marked, and they typically occur in circumstances of emphasis.

- (4.5) ***ʔich*** *nikpa ʔan+ʔáʔm ʔan+choomo*
ʔich *nikk-pa ʔan+ʔaʔm-W₂ ʔan+choomo*
 1PRO go-INC XERG+see-DEP_t XPSR+grandmother
 ‘I’m going to see my grandmother.’ (VVA.005)

- (4.6) ***mich*** *ʔinh+kutyumʔoynyeʔu+m*
mich *ʔin+kutyum=ʔoy-neʔ-W+m*
 2PRO 2ERG+alone=go/return-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘You have gone and come back alone.’ (PDLMA.JJX.110)

- (4.7) ***jeʔ*** *ʔi+jjyʔáʔy jeʔm kaanh*
jeʔ *ʔi+jjy-ʔaʔy-W jeʔm kaanh*
 3PRO 3ERG+speak-BEN-CMP that jaguar
 ‘He speaks to the tigers.’ (PDLMA.JJX.119)

The following examples show naturally occurring utterances in which pronouns (and lexical nouns) are not expressed. In example (4.8) the S is understood to be 1st person because of person marking, however the 1st person pronoun is not overtly expressed. In example (4.9), neither the 2nd person A nor the 3rd person O is expressed overtly. And in example (4.10) both the A and O are third person and neither is referenced overtly with the pronoun *jeʔ* ‘3PRO’.

(4.8) *ʔa+soʔpsu+m*
 ʔa+soʔps-W+ʔam
 XABS+tire-CMP+ALR
 ‘I’m tired already.’ (SoyPartera.152b)

(4.9) *dya+m ʔiʔ+nyixpa*
 dya+ʔam ʔin+ʔix-pa
 NEG+ALR 2ERG+see-INC
 ‘You’re not going to see it.’ (SA2.054b)

(4.10) *ʔii jesik ʔi+tyóp wɨ̃mujnéʔu+m*
 ʔii jesik ʔi+tyop-W wiH=muj-neʔ-W+ʔam
 and when 3ERG+extract-CMP 3ABS+well=wet-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘And when he took them out they were very wet.’ (UDR.028)

4.1.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns modify nouns. SP has three (shown in 4.11): *yɨʔp* ‘this’, *jeʔm* ‘that (near hearer)’, and *peʔm* ‘that (yonder)’.

(4.11) DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS:
yɨʔp ‘this’
jeʔm ‘that (near hearer, aforementioned)’
peʔm ‘that (one) yonder’

Demonstratives modifying nouns precede the noun. The demonstratives *yɨʔp*, *jeʔm*, and *peʔm* are shown preceding the nouns they modify in examples (4.12) through (4.14).

(4.12) *sòʔps-neʔ-yájum yɨʔp kaawaj*
 Ø+soʔps-neʔ-yaj-W-ʔam yɨʔp kawaj
 3ABS+tire-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP-ALR this horse
 ‘These horses are tired.’ (VVA.022)

- (4.13) *jeʔm tziixi kǐj ʔi+kiinyi*
jeʔm tziixi Ø+kij-W ʔi+kiinyi
 that child 3ABS+hurt-CMP 3PSR+nose
 ‘That child, his nose was hurt.’ (Yerno.084)

- (4.14) *porkej peʔm nas, tzabátznas ʔoʔomǐʔy*
porkej peʔm nas tzapʔatz=nas Ø+ʔoomi-ʔiʔy-W
 because yonder earth red=earth 3ABS+owner-PROV-CMP
 ‘because that land, the red land, has an owner.’ (PDO.015)

Demonstratives may also modify possessed nouns.

- (4.15) *yiʔmum mam+mǐʔnyaʔytyáʔmpa jeʔm ʔim+puktuuku*
yiʔmum man+miny-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa jeʔm ʔin+puktuuku
 here 1:2+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC that 2PSR+clothes
 ‘Here we’ve brought you your clothes.’ (UDR.012b)

They may also be the head of an NP, as shown in example (4.16). Here the demonstrative references the subject *duende*, established earlier in the narrative.

- (4.16) *ʔinyi+wokyaǰpa porkej jeʔm ta+ʔixyaǰpa*
ʔi+na+wok-yaj-pa porkej jeʔm ta+ʔix-yaj-pa
 3ERG+fight-PLU_{nonsap}-INC because that 2ABS+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They fight because they see us.’ (PDO.009a)

4.1.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

There are a number of interrogative pronouns in SP. These are *tyiH* ‘what’¹ (4.17), *ʔiH* ‘who’ (4.18), *juuty* ‘where’ (4.19), *tyiʔiga* ‘why’ (and ‘because’) (4.20), *juʔutz* ‘how’ (4.21), and *juʔp* ‘which’ (4.22) (also *juʔ*).

¹Recall that H represents an unidentified, underlying segment with four allophones. Refer to Chapter 2 for discussion on H segment.

- (4.17) *tyii* *siʔip* *ʔiny+wát*
tyiH *siʔ-pa* *ʔin+wat-W₂*
 what walk_{aux}-INC 2ERG+do-CMP
 ‘What are you doing now?’ (CNC.032b)

- (4.18) *ʔa+nimʔaytyáaj* *mich*
ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W *mich*
 XABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP 2PRO
 ‘I’m told: ‘You,

ʔii *mi+nyimʔáʔy* *ʔiga+mi+ʔukpa*
ʔiH *mi+ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W* *ʔiga+mi+ʔuk-pa*
 who 2ABS+say-BEN-CMP COMP+2ABS+drink-INC
 who told you to drink?’ ” (PDLMA.BOR.012)

- (4.19) *mich* ***juuty*** *mi+nyíkpa*
mich ***juuty*** *mi+nikk-pa*
 2PRO where 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘You, where are you going?’ (PDO.023)

- (4.20) ***tyiʔiga*** *ʔam+moʔogíʔy-pa*
tyiʔiga *ʔan+mook-ʔiʔy-pa*
 why 2:1+bother-BEN-INC
 ‘Why do you bother me?’ (AVC.013)

- (4.21) ***juʔutz*** *kubraʔyaʔypa* *yiʔp* *ʔi+puʔujom*
juʔutz *∅+kubra-ʔaʔy-pa* *yiʔp* *ʔi+puʔu=jom*
 how 3ABS+cover-BEN-INC this 3PSR+belly=inside
 ‘How does it expand in the belly?’ (GU1.082)

- (4.22) *juʔp* *siʔip* *chimpa* *minypa* *ʔi+kuʔt?*
juʔp *siʔip* *chimpa* *miny-pa* *ʔi+kuʔt-W*
 which now dog come_{aux}-INC 3ERG+eat-DEP_t
 ‘Now, which dog is eating my them.’ (ESK.097)

Interrogative pronouns in questions generally precede verbs.

SP has a number of relativizing strategies that include both relative pronouns as well as the relativizer *+piʔk*. Interrogative pronouns are used as relativizers in relative clauses. The pronouns that may relativize a clause include *ʔiH* ‘who’, shown in example (4.23), *tyiH* ‘what’ in (4.24), and *juuch* ‘where’, shown in (4.25)².

- (4.23) *tyeenejki ta+yoomʔiʔypa*
 tyeenej.ki ta+yoomo-ʔiʔy-pa
 have.to IABS+woman-PROV-INC
 ‘We have to have women

juuty tan+naskaʔp jaama
 juuty+piʔk tan+nas-kaʔ-pa jaama
 where+REL IERG+pass-APPLIC-INC day
 with whom to pass the day,

ʔiH tak+wiʔkpa
ʔiH ta+ʔi+ʔak+wiʔk-pa
 who IABS+CAUS₁+eat-INC
 who will feed us.’ (PDLMA.BOR.048)

- (4.24) *ʔich ʔa+nikk-pa ʔan+meʔtz-W tyiH tan+kuʔt-pa*
 1PRO XABS+go_{aux}-INC XERG+look.for-DEP_t that IERG+eat-INC
 ‘I’m going to look for something we can eat.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 1997:320)

- (4.25) *ʔanku+tziʔgaʔytyáʔmi+m juuty ʔity muʔk*
 ʔan+ku+tziʔk-ʔaʔy-taʔm-W+ʔam juuty Ø+ʔity-W muʔk
 XERG+let.go-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR where 3ABS+be-CMP grass
 ‘We let them go where there is grass.’ (VVA.023b)

²Relativization is also discussed in detail in Chapter 24.

- (4.26) *ʔii dya ʔany+ʔixpa juuty+piʔ ii+watpa*
ʔii dya ʔan+ʔix-pa juuty+piʔ ii+wat-pa
 and NEG XERG+see-INC how 3ERG+do-INC
 ‘And I didn’t see how she did it.’ (PUK.086)

Lexical, demonstrative, interrogative pronouns are subject to the same inflectional rules as lexical nouns. §4.2.3 provides descriptions of pronominal inflectional in SP.

4.1.2.4 Possessive Pronouns

While SP does not have a set of possessive pronouns, pronouns may be marked with the absolutive suffixes to function as possessive pronouns.

- (4.27) *peʔm ʔa+ʔich+am*
peʔm ʔa+ʔich+ʔam
 yonder XABS+1PRO+ALR
 ‘Yes it is. It’s mine.’ (Sammons.KDK.271)

4.2 Nominal Inflection

Nouns may be inflected for possession, number, or number of possessor. Person markers and plural markers are clitics: person markers precede the noun and plural marking follows the noun. The shape of the inflected noun is shown in example (4.28).

(4.28) NOUN SHAPE:
Possessor + NOUN + Plural Marking

Marking for possession is independent of number. It is also obligatory, whereas marking for number is optional. The default reading for the first person exclusive, the second person and the third person is singular. The first person inclusive is the exception as its nature implies both a first person and a second person referent.

Nouns cannot be double marked. That is, in the case that both the possessor and the possessum are plural only one will be marked plural. In addition, which referent is marked is pragmatically—not hierarchically—motivated.

4.2.1 Person Marking

Table 4.1 lists the person marking proclitics in the alignment system of SP. Set-A (ergative) and Set-B (absolutive) proclitics are used in the morphology to mark agreement with the A of transitive verbs (Set-A) and the O of transitives or S of intransitive verbs (Set-B). The person marking proclitics also play several roles in the nominal morphology and are relevant to the discussion here for two reasons. The first is that Set-A (ergative) proclitics are used to mark agreement with nominal possessors. The second reason pertains to the role of the noun in non-verbal predicate constructions (see Section 4.2.1.2 below). When nouns occur as nominal predicates Set-A (absolutive) proclitics are used to indicate the S of the predicate.

Table 4.1: Person Inflectional Proclitics in SP

	Absolute (SET B)	Ergative/Possessor (PSR) (SET A)
First Person Exclusive:	?a+	?an+
First Person Inclusive:	ta+	tan+
Second Person:	mi+	?in+
Third Person:	Ø+	?i+
(SET C: LOCAL)		
1:2		man+
2:1		?an+

The two proclitics *man+* and *?an+* shown in the table occur on transitive verbs to expressed relations between speech act participants (SAPs). *Man+* indicates that a first person is acting on a second, and *?an+* indicates that a second person is acting on a first person. *Man+* (and possibly *?an+*) marks kinship terms when they occur as nominal predicates (see §4.2.1.2.1). Person marking, and more generally the alignment system in Sotepanec, are discussed in further detail in Chapter 11.

4.2.1.1 Possessed Nouns

Possessed nouns are marked with Set-A (ergative) person markers, shown in example (4.29).

- (4.29) SET-A ERGATIVE/POSSESSIVE PERSON MARKING PROCLITICS:
- ?an+* 1st Person Exclusive (default singular)
 - tan+* 1st Person Inclusive
 - ?in+* 2nd Person
 - ?i+* 3rd Person

Set-A proclitics serve in two capacities: (1) On transitive verbs, they mark agreement with the subject of the verb (A); (2) on nouns, they mark agreement with the possessor of the noun. Throughout this text I acknowledge this distinction in their labeling. Person marking proclitics referring to the argument of a verb are labeled ergative (ERG)³ and person marking proclitics referring to the possessor of a noun are labeled possessor (PSR). Also of typological note, SP does not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns in terms of possession. As noted in the introduction, a number of nouns are obligatorily possessed, but the criteria are not clear. The approximately 120 observed nouns that are obligatorily possessed include kinship terms, body parts, wages, etc. These are repeated in example (4.30). These include kinship terms and body parts, among other terms. Nevertheless, as shown by the list repeated in (4.31), not all body parts and kinship terms are obligatorily possessed.

(4.30) *Nouns that are obligatorily possessed:*

<i>?aapa</i>	‘mother’
<i>xaaka</i>	‘fish gill’
<i>ku+yukmi</i>	‘motive, reason, guilt’
<i>paaris</i>	‘placenta’
<i>neeja</i>	‘side’
<i>tzaanyi</i>	‘parent-in-law’
<i>tzoowa</i>	‘salary, wage’

³Following the discussion of palatalization of /n/ in the phonology section, it is important to note that the second person ergative marker *?iny+* is presumed to be underlyingly /?in+/ although it surfaces as [?iŋ+] based on the alternations described in Chapter 2. Throughout the grammar, the second person ergative clitic is transcribed in its underlying form /?in+/ in the morpheme breakdown.

(4.31) *Nouns that are not obligatorily possessed:*

<i>naaka</i>	‘skin’
<i>tzoogoy</i>	‘gall bladder’
<i>tzuʔu</i>	‘mother/father-in-law’
<i>ʔixkuy</i>	‘eye’
<i>wity=ʔaaya</i>	‘husband’

Examples (4.32) through (4.35) illustrate the nouns possessed with the 1st exclusive, 1st inclusive, 2nd, and 3rd person agreement markers, respectively.

(4.32) *ʔam+pík* *jeʔm ʔan+ʔaganh*
 ʔan+pik-W jeʔm ʔan+ʔakʔanh
 XERG+grab-CMP that XPSR+griddle
 ‘I grabbed my griddle

<i>ʔasta jemik</i>	<i>ʔarak+wiʔbáʔy</i>	<i>ʔanh+kiʔim</i>
ʔasta hemik	ʔan+ʔak+wiip-ʔaʔy-W	ʔanh+kiʔ-mi
until over.there	XERG+CAUS ₁ +throw.out-BEN-CMP	outside

and threw it all the way outside.’ (Comal.018)

(4.33) *ta+tobáʔypa+ʔun* *jeʔm tuum jaaka*
 ta+top-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔun jeʔm tuum jaaka
 3ABS+extract-BEN-INC+DJO that one piece
 ‘He takes a piece of

jeʔm tan+tzoogoy
 jeʔm tan+tzoogoy
 that IPSR+liver
 our liver.’ (ESK.046)

(4.34) *yiʔmim ʔity* *ʔin+mok*
 yiʔim Ø+ʔity-W ʔin+mok
 here 3ABS+be-CMP 2PSR+corn
 ‘Here is your corn.

na+niksqaaki+m
 na+niks-gak-i+ʔam
 ASSOC+go-REP-IMP+ALR
 'Take it!' (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.048)

- (4.35) *jeʔm ʔa+ra+ʔitytyáa* *jeʔm ʔi+mok*
 yiʔim ʔa+na+ʔity-yaj-W *jeʔm ʔi+mok*
 here XABS+ASSOC+be-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that 3PSR+corn
 'Here we had his corn.' (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny .016)

Occurrences of overtly expressed possessors in text are rare. When they do occur, the possessed noun is marked with the person marking proclitic. In the example shown in (4.36), the overt possessors *kuytyim* 'avocado' and *yaaty* 'apple custard plant', precede their respective possessed parts *pak* 'seed' and *ʔay* 'leaf'. Both possessums are marked with the third person proclitic *ʔi+*.

- (4.36) *jeʔm kuytyim ʔi+pak nomaj kon kum jaaka*
 jeʔm kuy=tyim ʔi+pak no.maj kon tuum jaaka
 that avocado 3PSR+seed no.more with one piece
 'The seed of the avocado, no more than with one piece,

tarak+yumpa kon kaaty yaaty ʔi+ʔay
 tan+ʔak+yum-pa kon kaaty yaaty ʔi+ʔay
 IERG+CAUS₁+boil-INC with custard.apple 3PSR+leaf
 'we're going to boil it with one custard apple leaf.' (SA1.003a)

4.2.1.2 Nominal Predicates and Person Marking

Nouns may take absolutive (Set B) person markers when they occur as nominal predicates. Example (4.37) illustrates the noun *pixiny* 'man' occurring as a predicate. Here the S is marked with the second person absolutive proclitic *mi+*. The status of the noun is not always clear in cases where the S is the

3rd person because agreement with 3rd person S and O is \emptyset -marked. The example in (4.38) illustrates two nominal predicates with third person S. In this example, the two instances of nouns are clearly predicates because they are preceded by the pronoun *jeʔ*. The second instance of *tzuʔukiny* ‘worm’ may be a repetition of the noun, or a predicate whose S *jeʔ* is not overtly expressed. (Recall that lexical nouns and pronouns need not be overtly expressed.)

- (4.37) *mich kumu mi+pɨxiny*
 mich [kumu mi+pɨxiny]
 2PRO [since 2ABS+man]
 ‘You, [since you are a man]

mi+wɨʔaap ʔiny+yooxáaj
 mi+wɨH-ʔaH-pa ʔin+yos-i-ʔaH-W₃
 2ABS+good-VERS-INC 2ERG+work-NOM-VERS-DEP_{ib}
 you are able to work.’ (PDLMA.GNT.109)

- (4.38) *jeʔ dya ʔidyɨk jeʔ pɨxiny.*
 jeʔ dya ʔidyɨk jeʔ pɨxiny
 3PRO NEG PAST 3PRO man
 ‘Him, he was no man.

jeʔ ʔidyɨk tzuʔukiny, tzuʔukiny.
 jeʔ ʔidyɨk tzuʔukiny tzuʔukiny
 3PRO PAST worm worm
 He was a worm, a worm.’ (Gusano2.025)

It is important to note that nominal predicates may only take a single argument. That is to say, nominal predicates are intransitive, the only exception being kinship terms (discussed below).

Possessed nouns may also occur in nominal predicate clauses, in which case the inflection for possessor trumps inflection for the S. For instance, in

example (4.39)⁴ the noun *?uutzu* ‘*monkey*’ is inflected with the exclusive ergative, indicating possession. It is not marked with the absolutive. Instead the S is indicated by overtly expressing the second person pronoun *mich*. In fact, of additional interest, person (possessive and absolutive) cannot be double marked on the noun. Therefore, it is ungrammatical to say **mi+?an+?uutzu*.

- (4.39) *mich* *?an+?uutzu*
 mich *?an+?uutzu*
 2PRO XPSR+monkey
 ‘You are my little monkey.’ (20070721RCRs1)

4.2.1.2.1 Kinship Terms and Person Marking

Kinship terms differ from other nouns in that nouns are inflected with Set-A and Set-B person marking clitics only. Nouns take Set-A person markers to indicate possession, and they take Set-B person markers on non-verbal predicate constructions. Kinship terms may be inflected with Set-A, Set-B, and Set-C proclitics. Absolutive (Set-A) clitics mark the S of nominal predicates. The ergative (Set-B) clitics reference possessors of nouns. Set-C proclitics belong to a set that are described in the literature as “local” (Hockett 1966) and refer to two arguments. Specifically, they refer to 1st and 2nd person referents acting on one another. The proclitic *man+* refers to a relation in which 1st person is A and 2nd person is O; the proclitic *?an+* refers to a relation in

⁴This example came up during a conversation in which the speaker and I were discussing affectionate terms used by parents for their young children, and we both commented that both in Mexico and in The U.S. some parents affectionately call their small children their little monkeys. This conversation produced a number of examples that prove useful in the discussion of non-verbal predicates, especially with respect to possession and pluralization.

which 2nd person is A and 1st person is O. The list of proclitics is repeated in example (4.40)⁵.

(4.40) PERSON MARKING PROCLITICS IN SP:

Ergative (Set-A):	<i>?an+</i>	‘XERG’
	<i>tan+</i>	‘IERG’
	<i>?in+</i>	‘2ERG’
	<i>?i+</i>	‘3ERG’
Abolutive (Set-B):	<i>?a+</i>	‘XABS’
	<i>ta+</i>	‘IABS’
	<i>mi+</i>	‘2ABS’
	\emptyset	‘3ABS’
Local (Set-C):	<i>?an+</i>	‘2:1’
	<i>man+</i>	‘1:2’

Kinship terms may take Set-C person marking proclitics. Set-C clitics are used on transitive verbs to mark the relation of 1st person acting on 2nd (*man+*) and 2nd person acting on 1st (*?an+*). The pair of examples in (4.41) and (4.42) illustrate the Set-C proclitics on transitive verbs⁶. Example (4.41) shows the proclitic *?an+*, which indicates a 2nd person A and a 1st person O. The example in (4.42) shows the proclitic *man+*, which indicates the relation between a 2nd person A and a 1st person O.

(4.41) *dya+tyi ?any+chitya?mpa*
 dya+tyiH ?an+chi?-ta?m-pa
 nothing 2:1+give-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘You don’t give us anything.’ (VVA.061)

(4.42) *?ich mam+pinhta?mpa*
 ?ich man+pinh-ta?m-pa
 1PRO 1:2+pick-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We’re going to pick you up.’ (7NH.042c)

⁵The person markers and the alignment system are described in detail in ch. 11.

⁶Refer to ch. 8: Verbs and Non-Verbal Predicates for description of verb classes and associated morphology.

The 1st and 2nd person relations may also be expressed with kinship terms. Both relations, however, are expressed with the proclitic *man+*. The pair in (4.43)⁷ illustrates two relations expressed by the term *?aapa* ‘mother’.

(4.43) PARADIGM FOR KINSHIP RELATIONS, MOTHER:

- (a) *?ich man+?aapa*
 1PRO 1:2+mother
 ‘I am your mother.’ (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)
- (b) *mich man+?aapa*
 2PRO 1:2+mother
 ‘You are my mother.’ (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)

A second pair of examples with *jatuunnh* ‘father’ (a) and *tziixi* ‘children’ (b) is shown in (4.44)⁸.

(4.44) PARADIGM FOR KINSHIP RELATIONS:

- (a) *man+jaatunh*
 1:2+father
 ‘You are my father.’ (Elson 1960b:208; 20070719RCR)
- (b) *man+tziix+tyam*
 1:2+child+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You are my children.’ (Elson 1960b:208; 20070719RCR)

The use of the person marking clitic *man+* to mark nouns is observed only on kinship terms (4.45).

⁷These two examples were elicited from two different female speakers from the communities of Soteapan and Piedra Labrada.

⁸The two examples shown here, which come from two male speakers from the communities of Soteapan and Piedra Labrada, were recorded by the PDLMA.

(4.45) POSSESSED NOMINAL PREDICATES:

(a) mich ʔan+ʔuutzu
2PRO XPSR+monkey
'You are my monkey.'

(b) *(mich) man+ʔuutzu (RCR20070721)

4.2.1.3 Reciprocal Relations

Set A proclitics may also be used to convey reciprocal kinship relations. In example (4.46) the noun *tiiʔimiʔ* 'sister' is inflected with the ergative inclusive proclitic *tan+* and the plural enclitic *+tam*.

(4.46) RECIPROCAL KINSHIP:

tan+tiiwi+tam
tan+tiiwi+tam
IERG+sister+PLU_{sap}
'You and I are sisters.' (20070713JAF)

Verbs in reciprocal/reflexive constructions require marking with the reflexive/reciprocal proclitic *na+*, the passive suffix *-taH*, and Set-B person marking clitics.

(4.47) 2ND PERSON:

mi+nya+ʔixtyaʔmtáaj
mi+na+ʔix-taʔm-taH-W
2ABS+RR+see-PLU_{sap}-PASS-CMP
'You see each other.' (BRN20050706)

(4.48) 3RD PERSON:

na+ʔixyajtáaj
Ø+na+ʔix-yaj-taH-W
3ABS+RR+see-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-CMP
‘They see each other.’ (BRN20050706)

Verbs are obligatorily inflected with aspect or mood. On the kinship terms, however, there is no morphology to indicate that the noun is derived as a verb, nor is there inflection for aspect or mood (see ch. 11).

4.2.2 Number Marking

Plurality is marked on nouns with the enclitics *+tam* ‘human plural’ and *+yaj* ‘non-human plural’, illustrated in examples (4.49) and (4.50) respectively.

(4.49) *jeʔm ʔi+ʔookmaanik+tam*
jeʔm ʔi+ʔook=maanik+tam
that 3PSR+grand=child+PLU_{hum}
‘Her grandchildren

ʔagi+miiich-yaj-pa
ʔagi+Ø+miiich-yaj-pa
INTENS+3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
play too much.’ (CQV.009)

(4.50) *yíʔp tzaʔ pìnhneʔtáaj*
yíʔp tzaʔ Ø+pinh-neʔ-taH-W
this rock 3ABS+gather-PERF-PASS-CMP
‘These rocks were gathered

kaamjoom+yaaj
 kaama=joj.mi+**yaaj**
 field=LOC₂.LOC₁+PLU_{nonhum}
 in the fields.’ (CP1.013)

Although singular is the default reading for unmarked nouns, plural marking is not obligatory. Thus, plurality may be recovered from context when a noun appears without overt inflection for number. For instance, (4.51) illustrates a plural noun not marked for plurality. The example is taken from a tale that tells of people from other towns coming to the speaker’s village to collect the seasonal crabs and the mythical creature that protects the crabs from being overhunted/harvested. At the point in the narrative at which this sentence is uttered, the speaker is explaining what happens when the crabs come out at sunset and how they’re caught. The context of the use of *?eexi* ‘crab’ in this example is clearly plural.

- (4.51) *putpa+m* *?i+xi?* *?eexi*
 Ø+put-pa+?am ?i+xi?-W ?eexi
 3ABS+exit-INC+ALR 3ERG+walk_{aux}-CMP crab
 ‘The crabs are coming out.’ (Cangrejo.008)

There is a small number of nouns that are said to not receive inflection for plural. Some nouns include *piy* ‘dust’, *kaama* ‘field’, *kaapel* ‘coffee’. Nevertheless, there are occasions when these nouns are inflected for plurality. For example *kaama* ‘field’ appears in texts with the plural enclitic *+yaaj*. In discussions about coffee and different types of coffees the noun *kaapel* ‘coffee’ has also been pluralized with *+yaaj*.

Plural enclitics may encode the plurality of nouns, pronouns, and nominal possessors. The plural marking system exhibits hierarchically driven plurality splits that distinguish between speech act participants (SAPs) and non-speech act participants (nonSAPs) and human and non-human entities (Corbett 2000, Smith-Stark 1974, and Silverstein 1976). The distribution of the agreement patterns are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Plural Morphology

	<i>+tam</i>	<i>+yaj</i>
Nouns	+human	-human
Pronouns	+SAP	-SAP
Possessors	+SAP	-SAP

4.2.2.1 Nouns, Number and the Plurality Split

The enclitics *+tam* and *+yaj* occur on lexical nouns to indicate that the nouns are plural. Looking at example (4.52a), the nouns *yoomo* ‘woman’, *tziixi* ‘child’, and *?ookmaanik* ‘grandchild’ are marked with the enclitic *+tam* to indicate ‘women’, ‘children’, and ‘grandchildren’. In example (4.52b), the nouns *chimpa* ‘dog’, *tza?* ‘stone’, *kaama* ‘field’, *mooya* ‘flower’ are inflected with *+yaj* to indicate the plural forms.

(4.52) NOMINAL PLURAL MARKERS:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| (a) | <i>yoomo+tam</i> | ‘women’ | <i>yoomo</i> | ‘woman’ |
| | <i>tziixi+tam</i> | ‘children’ | <i>tziixi</i> | ‘child’ |
| | <i>?okmaanik+tam</i> | ‘grandchildren’ | <i>?okmaanik</i> | ‘grandchild’ |
| (b) | <i>chimpa+yaj</i> | ‘dogs’ | <i>chimpa</i> | ‘dog’ |
| | <i>tzaʔ+yaj</i> | ‘rocks’ | <i>tzaʔ</i> | ‘rock’ |
| | <i>kaama+yaj</i> | ‘fields’ | <i>kaama</i> | ‘field’ |
| | <i>mooya+yaj</i> | ‘flowers’ | <i>mooya</i> | ‘flower’ |

4.2.2.1.1 *+tam*: Human plural marking

+tam is the human noun plural. It occurs on human referents (4.53); kinship terms (4.54), and occupational terms (4.55) to indicate plurality.

- (4.53) *Nikpa* *?i+wiit* *jeʔm yom+tam*
 nikk-pa ?i+wiit-W jeʔm yom+tam
 go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+massage-DEP_t that woman+PLU_{hum}
 ‘She’s going to massage these women.’ (MAB.040)

- (4.54) *?an+jeʔpsaʔypam* *?am+maanik+tam*
 ?an+jeps-ʔaʔy-pa+?am ?an+maanik+tam
 XERG+extract-BEN-INC+ALR ?an
 ‘I take it out for my children. Atole.018

- (4.55) *tunhkiy* *?a+niktaʔm* *kun* *?an+tiwi+tam*
 tum.kiy ?a+nikk-taʔm kun ?an+tiwi+tam
 one.time XABS+go-PLU_{sap} with XPSR+brother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘One time we went with our brothers,

?akku+yujjoʔoyi+tyam
 ?ak+ku+yuj-ʔoʔoy.i+tam
 CAUS₁+DERIV+become.accustomed-ANTIP-NOM+PLU_{hum}
 fellow teachers.’ (UDR.001)

There are a number of nouns that undergo idiosyncratic sound change when the plural enclitic *+tam* is attached. There are five sets of alternations. The set of words in example (4.56) illustrates noun stems with long vowels that appear with short vowels when inflected with *+tam*. Examples (4.56a) and (b) illustrate stems of the syllable shape CV:CVC. Here the vowel of the penultimate syllable appears short. Example (4.56c) shows a monosyllabic syllabic stem of the shape CV:C. Finally, in (d), the coda of the monosyllabic root is the segment /H/. Recall from Chapter 2 that the underlying segment /H/ surfaces as length preceding a consonant. When inflected with the plural enclitic *+tam*, the stem surfaces *tyi*. One additional word, although not a noun, is shown in (4.56e). Here the stem is the adjective *xuutyu* ‘small’ in a non-verbal predicate clause. The adjective *xuutyu* ‘small’ undergoes the same alternation when inflected with *+tam*.

(4.56) SHORTENED STEM:

(a)	<i>pīxiny</i>	‘man’	<i>pīxiny+tyam</i> , <i>pīxiny+tyam</i>	‘men’
(b)	<i>jaatunh</i>	‘father’	<i>jatunh+tam</i>	‘fathers’
(c)	<i>juuty</i>	‘where’	<i>juty+tyam</i>	‘places’
(d)	<i>tyiH</i>	‘what’	<i>tyi+tyam</i>	‘things’
(e)	<i>xuutyu</i>	‘small’	<i>mi+xutyu+tam+nam</i>	‘You are still small.’

The set of words in example (4.57) illustrates stems of the shape CV:CV in which the vowel of the final syllable does not surface.

(4.57) DELETION OF FINAL VOWEL:

(a)	<i>choomo</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>choom+tam</i>	‘grandmothers’
(b)	<i>?aapa</i>	‘mother’	<i>?aap+tam</i>	‘mothers’
(c)	<i>tziitzi</i>	‘aunt’	<i>tziitz+tam</i>	‘aunts’
(d)	<i>?iimi</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>?iim+tam</i>	‘brothers-in-law’
(e)	<i>?aachi</i>	‘uncle’	<i>?aach+tyam</i>	‘uncles’

The noun in (4.58) illustrates the only occurrence of this alternation. Here /h/ surfaces as [t] preceding *+tyam*. This alternation is not observed elsewhere in the language.

(4.58) MULTIPLE ALTERNATIONS:

<i>kaapaj</i>	‘man’s sister-in-law’	<i>kaapat+tyam</i>	‘sisters-in-law’
	‘woman’s brother-in-law’		‘brothers-in-law’
		(also <i>kaapay+tyam</i>)	

The nouns in (4.59) illustrate stems of the shape CV:CV that show an alternation in the vowel length of the first syllable in the bisyllabic stems, the deletion of the final vowel, or both.

(4.59) VARIABLE CHANGES:

(a)	<i>yoomo</i>	‘woman’	<i>yom+tam</i>	‘women’
			<i>yoom+tam</i>	
(b)	<i>tziixi</i>	‘child’	<i>tziix+tam,</i>	‘children’
			<i>tziix+tam</i>	
(c)	<i>wity=choomo</i>	‘husband’	<i>wity=chom+tam</i>	‘husbands’
(d)	<i>?i+tyiwi</i>	‘his big brother’	<i>?i+tyiwi+tam</i>	‘big bothers’
(e)	<i>tiiwi</i>	‘big brothers’	<i>tiiwi+tam</i>	‘big brothers’
(f)	<i>woonyi</i>	‘girl’	<i>woony+tam</i>	‘girls’
			<i>wony+tyam</i>	
(g)	<i>wity=?aaya</i>	‘husband,	<i>wity=?aj+tyam</i>	‘husbands,
	[<i>widyaaaya</i>]	old man’	<i>widyaj+tyam</i>	old men’

The nouns in (4.60) illustrate stems of the shape CV:CVC that exhibit no change.

- (4.60) NO CHANGE:
 (a) *maanik* ‘son, daughter’ *maanik+tam* ‘sons, daughters’
 (b) *weewej* ‘old man’ *weewej+tam* ‘old men’

The complete list of nouns that exhibit these alternations are listed in examples (4.56) through (4.60). The alternation described here occurs only with a small number of nouns (and adjectives), which are listed here. Each of these terms are human, with three exceptions: the adjective *xuutyu* ‘small’ and the pronouns *juuty* ‘where’ and *tyiH* ‘what’ (shown in example (4.56) above).

- (4.61) *mich* *?an+xuutyu?úutzut+tam*
 mich *?an+xuutyu=?uutzut+tam*
 2PRO XERG+small=monkey+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You’re (all) my little monkeys’ (RCR20070721s1)

4.2.2.1.2 +yaj: Non-human plural marking The enclitic *+yaj* refers to non-human plural entities and occurs on non-human nouns (4.62).

- (4.62) *si?p* *?i+ka?myáj* *yi?p* *tza?a+yaj*
 si?-pa ?i+ka?m-yaj-W yi?p tza?+yaj
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+attach-PLU_{nonhap}-DEP_t this stone+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They are attaching these rocks.’ (CP1.019a)

+yaj marks any non-human, nominal form, as shown by the list in example (4.63). For example, in (4.63a) and (b) the inanimate nouns *tik* ‘house’ and *tooto* ‘paper’ are inflected with *+yaj*. (4.63c) shows *yooya* ‘pig’ marked

with the plural. In (4.63d) and (e) observe that the pronouns *jeʔ* ‘3rd person’⁹ and *yiʔp* ‘this’ are also inflected with the plural.

- (4.63) NOUNS INFLECTED WITH NONHUMAN PLURAL MARKER *+yaj*:
- (a) *tik+yaj* ‘houses’
 - (b) *tooto+yaj* ‘papers’
 - (c) *yooya+yaj* ‘pigs’
 - (d) *jeʔ+yaj* ‘they, them’
 - (e) *yiʔp+yaj* ‘these’

In the following example, *animat* borrowed from the Spanish *animal* is inflected with *+yaj*.

- (4.64) *mijtam+piʔk* *ʔanimat+yaj* *dya* *wiʔaap*
 mij.tam+piʔk ʔanimat+yaj dya wiH-ʔaH-pa
 big+REL animal+PLU_{hum} NEG good-VERS-INC
 ‘The big animals are not able

ʔa+topʔaʔy *ʔan+wichoomo*
 ʔa+top-ʔaʔy-W ʔan+wity=choomo
 XABS+take.away-DEP_t XPSR+big=grandmother
 to take my wife back for me.’ (PDLMA.Giant.068)

The following example is ungrammatical because the plural enclitic does not agree in humanness with the unpossessed noun.

- (4.65) **jeʔm yooya+tam*
 THAT pig+PLU_{hum}
 ‘those pigs’

⁹See below for discussion of human third person.

4.2.2.2 Pronouns, Number and the Plurality Split

Pronouns also take plural enclitics to indicate that the referent is plural, as shown in examples (4.66) through (4.68). Pronouns, however, pattern differently from lexical nouns in terms of the plurality split. Plural marking of pronouns exhibits a +/-SAP agreement pattern. That is, first and second person pronouns are marked with *+tam*, whereas the third person pronoun *je?* is marked with *+yaj*, regardless of whether the referent is human or not. The example in (4.66) illustrates the first person pronoun *?ich* ‘I’ inflected with the plural enclitic *+tam*. Example (4.67) illustrates the pronoun *mich* ‘you’ inflected with *+tam*. In example (4.68) the pronoun *je?* ‘he, she, it’ refers to children *tziixi* ‘child’. Within the same utterance the lexical noun is inflected with the human plural enclitic *+tam*, while the pronoun indexing it is inflected with *+yaj*.

(4.66) *?estej ?ich+tam* *yi?im*
 ?estej ?ich+tam *yi?im*
 FILL 1PRO+PLU_{hum}here
 ‘We here,

?estej je?m kuxaamnyi *?i+pak*
?estej je?m kuy=saapnyi *?i+pak*
 this that zapote 3PSR+bone
 the zapote seed,

?am+piga?ytyá?mpa *para tzoy*
?an+pik-?a?y-ta?m-pa *para tzoy*
 3ERG+take-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC *para* *medicine*
 we use it for medicine.’ (SZ2.001)

- (4.67) *mich+tam* *ciH* *mi+nyimtaʔmpa*
mich+tam *tyiH* *mi+nim-taʔm-pa*
 2PRO+PLU_{hum} what 2ABS+say-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘You all, what do you say?’ (GU2.091)

- (4.68) *nimyaʔj* **jeʔ+yaj** *jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 Ø+nim-yaj-W **jeʔ+yaj** *jeʔm tziixi+tam*
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP 3PRO+PLU_{nonsap} that child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘They, the children, said...’ (Gutiérrez Morales and Wichmann, 2001:318)

4.2.2.3 Possession, Number and the Plurality Split

Plural marking on possessed nouns may modify the possessor, the possessum, or both depending on which entity is plural. This triggers the plurality split illustrated in Table 4.2 above. When the possessum is plural and overtly marked, the plural enclitics agree with the noun: *+tam* occurs with human nouns and *+yaj* occurs with non-human nouns. When the possessor is plural the agreement criteria are as follows: *+tam* agrees with first and second person possessor and *+yaj* agrees with third person possessor. In (4.69a) and (b) the plural enclitic agrees with the possessor *?an+* ‘first person exclusive’ and *?in+* ‘second person’. The plurality of the possessum is unmarked and ambiguous. In (4.70a) *+yaj* may agree with the third person possessor marked by *?i+* or the possessum *chimpa* ‘dog’. In this case plurality is determined by context. As shown in (4.70b) the construction is ungrammatical with the plural marker *+tam* because non-human nouns may only be marked with *+tam* if they are possessed by a first or second person referent.

(4.69) POSSESSOR AGREEMENT:

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------------|
| (a) <i>?an+chimpa+tam</i>
XPSR+dog+PLU _{sap}
'our dog(s)'
*my dog(s) | (b) <i>?in+chimpa+tam</i>
2PSR+dog+PLU _{sap}
'your (pl) dog(s)'
*your (sg) dog(s) | (e20050706.094/6) |
|---|--|-------------------|

(4.70) POSSESSUM AGREEMENT:

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------|
| (a) <i>?i+chimpa+yaj</i>
3PSR+dog+PLU _{nonhum}
'their dog(s)'
'his/her dog(s)' | (b) <i>*?i+chimpa+tam</i>
3PSR+dog+*PLU _{sap} /PLU _{hum}
*their dog(s)
*his/her dog(s) | (e20050706.088b/c) |
|---|--|--------------------|

In the following set of examples, looking at possessed human nouns, we can observe the same shift in the agreement criteria of the plural markers. In the pair in (4.71) the noun *tiiwi* 'brother' is possessed by the first person exclusive *?an+* and the second person *?in+*, respectively. In the examples in this pair it is ambiguous whether it is the possessor or the possessum that is plural because the enclitic *+tam* may agree with the first or second person possessor or the human possessum. Plurality here is determined by context.

(4.71) POSSESSOR/POSSESSUM AGREEMENT:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (a) <i>?an+tiiwi+tam</i>
XPSR+brother+PLU _{sap} /PLU _{hum}
'our brother/my brothers/our brothers' | (200500708BRN18.025) |
| (b) <i>?in+tiiwi+tam</i>
2PSR+brother+PLU _{sap} /PLU _{hum}
'your (pl) brother (sg)'/
'your (sg) brothers (pl)'/
'your (pl) brothers (pl)' | (200500708BRN19.029) |

However, in the following pair of examples there is no ambiguity as to whether it is the possessor or the possessum that is plural. In (4.72), the 3rd person plural enclitic *+yaj* agrees with the third person possessor proclitic in that

it is not co-referential with a first or second person possessor. Here it is the possessor that is plural, and the possessum cannot be understood to be plural. The sentence can only be understood to mean ‘their sisters’; whereas in example (4.73), the plural enclitic *+tam* agrees with respect to the humanness of the possessum. In this example the possessor cannot be understood as being plural and can only be understood as ‘her sisters’.

(4.72) *?i+yoom=tiiwi+yaj*
 3PSR+woman=sister+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘their sister(s)’/*his sisters (BRN200500706.103)

(4.73) *?i+yoom=~~tiiwi~~+tam*
 3PSR+woman=sister+PLU_{hum}
 ‘his sisters’/*their sister (BRN020500706.104)

Nouns may not be double marked for plurality. That is, in the event that both the possessor and the possessum are plural, only one may be encoded for plural. As such, examples such as those shown in (4.74), in which the possessor is +SAP and the possessum is -human, are ungrammatical because only one may be marked. Nevertheless, as indicated above agreement is pragmatically, not hierarchically, motivated. Therefore, in example (4.75) both (a) and (b) are possible.

(4.74) DOUBLE MARKING UNGRAMMATICAL:
 (a) **?an+tik+tam+yaj*
 (b) **?an+tik+yaj+tam*

(4.75) PLURAL AGREEMENT WITH POSSESSOR AND NOUN:

- (a) *?an+tik+tam*
IPSR+house+PLU_{sap}
'This is our house.'
(also 'These are our houses.')
- (b) *?an+tik+yaj*
'Those are our/my houses.'

4.2.2.4 Nominal Predicates and Plurality

We saw above (in Section 4.2.1.2) that nouns may occur as predicates and mark the S of the predicate with absolutive proclitics. Nominal predicates also mark plurality with the plural enclitics. We also saw (in Sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3) that pronominal referents and possessors exhibit a plurality split that distinguishes between SAPs and non-SAPs. The split holds for the referents of nominal predicates. As shown by the pair in (4.76), the nouns referring to humans *pixiny* 'man' and *yoomo* 'woman' occur as predicates and are inflected with person and plural clitics. In (4.76a) and (b) the S of the predicate is the 1st person, indicated by the 1st person pronoun *?ich* and the exclusive absolutive proclitic *?a+*. The plural enclitic indicates the plurality of the S and agrees with respect to the feature +/-SAP. This agreement pattern is corroborated by the examples in (4.76c) and (d). Here the nominal predicates are *pixiny* 'man' and *yoomo* 'woman'. The Ss are 3rd person referents, indicated by the 3rd person pronoun *je?* (absolutive person marking for 3rd is \emptyset). The plural enclitic is *+yaj*, which agrees with the S in that it is non-SAP.

(4.76) PLURAL INFLECTION OF NOMINAL PREDICATES:

- (a) *ʔich ʔa+piixiny+tam* ‘We are men.’
- (b) *ʔich ʔa+yoomo+tam* ‘We are women.’
- (c) *jeʔ piixiny+yaj* ‘They are men.’
- (d) *jeʔ yoomo+yaj* ‘They are women.’ (20070704JAFs13)

4.2.2.5 Group Marker (=ʔanhjoj)

The final topic with respect to number in SP is the use of the marker =ʔanhjoj, which indicates a large quantity of some noun in a group or cluster¹⁰. For example, in (4.77), the noun *tooto* ‘paper’ is marked with =ʔanhjoj to indicate a group or cluster, a type of aggregate indicator.

- (4.77) *yɨʔim Ø+ʔity-W jeʔm karpeetaj tooto*
here 3ABS+be-CMP that folder paper
‘Here is the folder

juuty+Ø+ʔak+kaʔy-yaj-taH-pa jeʔm toot=ʔanh.joj
where+3ABS+keep-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-INC that paper=GROUP
where the papers (mass) are kept.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

This affix can be used to describe inanimate (4.78a-b), animate (4.78c-e), human (4.78e-f), and geographic areas (4.78g-j).

¹⁰This suffix was dubbed “mass plural” by Elson (1956:53)

(4.78) NOUN GROUPINGS:

- (a) *tik=ʔanhjoj* ‘village’
- (b) *toot=ʔanhjoj* ‘stack of papers’
- (c) *xix=ʔanhjoj* ‘a group of cows’
- (d) *yooya=ʔanhjoj* ‘a group of pigs’
- (e) *tziix=ʔanhjoj* ‘a group of children’
- (f) *pixiny=ʔanhjoj* ‘a crowd of people’
- (g) *tzaʔ=ʔanhjoj* ‘where there are a lot of rocks; a rocky area’
- (h) *kam=ʔanhjoj* ‘farm lands; where there’s no forest’
- (i) *tziw=ʔanhjoj* ‘a bunch of tobacco’
- (j) *kuy=ʔanhjoj* ‘a group of trees’

Nouns inflected with *=ʔanhjoj* do not take additional plural marking. For example, we saw above that *tik=ʔanhjoj* ‘group of houses’ may be used to indicate ‘village’, however, as shown in (4.79), *tik=ʔanhjoj* ‘group of houses’ cannot be inflected with *+yaj* to indicate plural villages.

- (4.79) **tik=ʔanhjoj+yaj* (house=GROUP+PLU_{nonhum}) ‘towns’

4.2.3 Pronominal Inflection

The lexical pronouns of Sotepanec are listed in (4.80).

(4.80) PRONOUNS:

- ʔich* first person
- mich* second person
- jeʔ* third person

Pronouns do not accept Set-A (ergative or possessive) person markers, like lexical nouns. Pragmatically, pronouns cannot be possessed. Pronouns referring to SAPs, however, do accept absolutive (Set B) person markers. In

example (4.81), the third person pronoun *je?* is the non-verbal predicate and is inflected with the first person exclusive absolutive *?a+*. Adjectives may also occur as non-verbal predicates.

- (4.81) *nimpa* *choomo*, *kreo* *manh+widyaaya*
 Ø+nim-pa choomo kreo man+wity=?aaya
 3ABS+say-INC grandmother believe 1:2+big=male
 ‘The old woman says: ‘I think you are my husband.’

nimpa *maanik dya ?a+je?*
 Ø+nim-pa maanik dya ?a+je?
 3ABS+say-INC child NEG XABS+3PRO
 ‘The child says: ‘I’m not him.’ (Elson 1947:204)

There are two contexts in which Set-B markers occur with pronouns in a nominal role (as opposed to predicate role). The first pertains only to the first person pronoun *?ich*. The default meaning of *?ich* is the singular first person. When the pronoun is inflected with the inclusive first person prefix *ta+*, as in example (4.82)¹¹, the pronoun conveys a plural, inclusive meaning. The speaker here is referring to herself, women in general, and her audience, a female linguist. The second context can be seen in examples (4.83) and (4.84). Use of the Set-B morphemes emphasizes the referents or speech act participants. In example (4.83), the speaker is emphasizing that she herself acted alone. In example (4.84), the speaker is reporting what one speaker said to another and is emphasizing the second person.

¹¹In the text from which this example comes, the speaker describes the role of the woman in the home, what happens in the absence of her partner, and how she provides for her family.

(4.82) 1ST PERSON PRONOUN WITH INCLUSIVE ABSOLUTIVE *ta+*:

porkej ta+ʔich ʔich+tyam ʔa+yoomo
 porkej **ta+ʔich** ʔity+tam ʔa+yoomo
 because IABS+1PRO 1PRO+PLU_{sap} XABS+woman
 ‘because we, we women,

ʔan+sùntáʔmpa tuminy
 ʔan+sun-taʔm-pa tuminy
 XERG+want-PLU_{sap}-INC money
 we want money...’ (JOV.017b)

(4.83) 1ST PERSON PRONOUN WITH EXCLUSIVE ABSOLUTIVE *ʔa+*:

ʔan+kutyúm ʔa+ʔich
 ʔan+kutyum ʔa+ʔich
 XERG+alone XABS+1PRO
 ‘(I did it) alone, me myself,

porkej ʔi+jaatunh dya+tyim t̃giʔykúʔim
 porkej ʔi+jaatunh dya+tyi+ʔam Ø+tikʔiy.ʔiy=kuʔm-W
 because 3PSR+father NEG+just+ALR 3ABS+enter=????-CMP
 because her father wouldn’t get involved.’ (YER.032)

(4.84) 2ND PERSON PRONOUN WITH SECOND ABSOLUTIVE *mi+*:

ʔi+niʔmáʔyum ʔan+yommáanik
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W+ʔam ʔan+yoomo=maanik
 3PSR+say-BEN-CMP+ALR XPSR+girl=daughter
 ‘My daughter tells him,

ʔich kun mi+mich dya+m
 ʔich kun mi+mich dya+ʔam
 1PRO with 2ABS+2PRO NEG+ALR
 ‘Me with you (emphatic), not anymore.’ ” (YER.044b)

4.2.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns

There are a number of interrogative pronouns in Soteapanec. These are *tyiH* ‘what’ (4.85), *?iH* ‘who’ (4.86), *juuty* ‘where’ (4.87), and *tyi+?iga* ‘why’ (and ‘because’) (4.88).

- (4.85) *bweenoj mich tyii ?iny+metzpa*
 bweenoj mich **tyiH** ?in+metz-pa
 good 2PRO what 2ERG+look.for-INC
 ‘Well, what are you looking for?’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.005)

- (4.86) *?ii ?ik+wi?kpa?*
?iH ?i+?ak+wi?k-pa
 who 3ERG+CAUS₁+eat-INC
 ‘Who’s going to feed them?’ (PQ2.155b)

- (4.87) *juuty ?ity je?m piixiny tzoy?o?ypa?ap*
juuty Ø+?ity-W je?m piixiny Ø+tzoy-?i?y-pa-?pV
 where 3ABS+be-CMP that man 3ABS+heal-PROV-INC+REL
 ‘Where is the man who heals?’ (PDLMA.Borracho.069)

- (4.88) *?i jes?k tyi+?iga dya mi+?oytyá?m*
 ?i jes?k **tyi+?iga** dya mi+?oy+ta?m-W
 and then why NEG 2ABS+go/return-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘And so why didn’t you go?’ (VVA.038)

Like person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns can take plural marking. Kaufman (Kaufman & Himes, in progress) and Elson (1967:285) provide a number of examples demonstrating that interrogative pronouns may be inflected with plural marking. Some examples are shown in (4.89) through (4.91). I have not observed any instances in texts.

In (4.89) the interrogative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ is inflected with the plural marker *+tam*. In example (4.90) the interrogative pronoun *?iH* ‘who’ is also marked with *+tam*. And in (4.91) the interrogative pronoun *juuty* ‘where’ is also marked with *+tam*.

(4.89) *je?m piixiny si?-pa ?i+nh+mon-W toot=joo-m*
 that man walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+wrap-CMP paper
 ‘The man is wrapping up

tyiH+tyam *?i+ma?y-W-?pV*
 what+PLU_{hum} 3ERG+sell-CMP+REL
 the things that he sold.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(4.90) *?a+na+nik-pa ?iH+tyam nik-pa*
 XABS+ASSOC+go-INC who+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+go-INC
 ‘I’ll take whoever will go.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(4.91) *je?m kaayaj juuty+tyam Ø+nas-pa kamnyuunh*
 that street where+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+pass.by-INC car
 ‘The street is where cars pass.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Note that *juuty* and *tyiH* do not take the nonhuman plural marker. It’s not clear why this is the case, however, this points to another possible split in the plural marking system that requires further research.

Interrogative pronouns may also be marked with absolutive case, as shown in example (4.92). As with nouns and pronouns, this occurs when the pronoun is the predicate of the phrase. In example (4.92), *?iH* ‘who’ is a nonverbal predicate that is inflected with the second person absolutive *mi+*. (For further discussion of nonverbal predicates refer to Chapter 8.)

- (4.92) *mich mi+ʔii*
 mich mi+ʔiH
 2PRO 2ABS+who
 ‘(You), who are you?’ (GU2.028)

4.3 Nominal Derivation

This section describes the various methods of deriving nouns from verbs, new nouns from nouns, including derivational morphemes and compounding, as well as how other word classes are derived from nouns.

4.3.1 Deriving Nouns from Verbs

4.3.1.1 *Nominalizer -i*

The morpheme *-i* is used to derive nouns from verbs. The suffix *-i* occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. With some intransitive verbs, the derived nominal may refer to the would-be subject of the verb. For instance, in example (4.93a) the verb *kaʔ* ‘die’ derived with *-i* yields *kaʔi* ‘dead person’¹². With some intransitive verbs the derived noun refers to the product of the action, as shown in (4.94).

- (4.93) NOUNS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVES (i):
- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| (a) | <i>kaʔ-i</i> | ‘dead person’ | <i>kaʔ</i> | ‘die’ |
| (b) | <i>miiich-i</i> | ‘player’ | <i>miiich</i> | ‘play’ |
| (c) | <i>weej-i</i> | ‘crier’ | <i>weej</i> | ‘cry’ |

¹²The vowel in the root here is short. Refer to Chapter 2 for discussion of stress and vowel length.

(4.94) NOUNS DERIVED FROM INTRANSITIVES (ii):

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------------|--------------|---------|
| (a) | <i>suʔks-i</i> | ‘a cough’ | <i>suʔks</i> | ‘cough’ |
| (b) | <i>jiy-i</i> | ‘voice, word’ | <i>jiy</i> | ‘speak’ |
| (c) | <i>wiʔk-i</i> | ‘food’ | <i>wiʔk</i> | ‘eat’ |

On transitive verbs, it is generally the case that the resulting nominal is the patient. For example, in (4.95) verbs such as *tak* ‘to weave’ and *wan* ‘to sing’ yield *taaki* ‘woven thing’ and *waanyi* ‘song’, respectively.

(4.95) NOUNS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVES:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (a) | <i>taak-i</i> | ‘woven thing’ | <i>tak</i> | ‘weave’ |
| (b) | <i>waany-i</i> | ‘song’ | <i>wan</i> | ‘sing’ |
| (c) | <i>ku+pij-i</i> | ‘sweat’ | <i>ku+pij</i> | ‘sweat’ |
| (d) | <i>ʔikx-i</i> | ‘corn kernel’ | <i>ʔiks</i> | ‘shell’ |
| (e) | <i>ʔaany=moʔony-i</i> | ‘tamale’ | <i>ʔaany=moʔony</i> | ‘make tamales’ |

Verbs defined as ambitransitive, or labile (Nichols 1982, 1984; Haspelmath 1993), which have transitive and intransitive alternations, such as *ʔuk* ‘drink’, yield varying results. For example in (4.96) the verbs *ʔuk* ‘get drunk’, *juk* ‘smoke’ and *kiʔps* ‘measure’ yield *ʔuuki* ‘drunk (person)’, *juuki* ‘cigarette, cigar’, and *kiʔpxi* ‘measurement’, respectively. The three verbs occur as intransitive and transitive and are agentive, meaning the A of the transitive alternation is the S of the intransitive alternation.

(4.96) NOUNS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *-i*:

- | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>ʔuuk-i</i> | ‘drunk (person)’ | <i>ʔuk</i> | ‘get drunk’ |
| <i>juuk-i</i> | ‘cigarette, cigar’ | <i>juk</i> | ‘smoke’ |
| <i>kiʔpx-i</i> | ‘measurement’ | <i>kiʔps</i> | ‘measure’ |

The use of the nominalizer *-i* (as well as derivational formatives described below) may prove a useful diagnostic to determine distinctions between patientive

(unaccusative) and agentive unergative verbs. Further research is necessary.

4.3.1.2 *-kuy* ‘instrument’

The morpheme *kuy* derive a type of applicative noun. Applying the affix *-kuy* to intransitive verbs derives something to the effect of ‘NOUN that one VERBS with/on/of’. For example *miichkuy* ‘what one plays with, toy’; *wiʔkkuy* ‘what one eats’; *monhkuy* ‘where one sleeps, bed’; and *kaʔakuy* ‘what one may potentially die of, sickness’.

(4.97) *-kuy* WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

(a)	<i>miich-kuy</i>	‘toy, doll’	<i>miich</i>	‘play’
(b)	<i>wiʔk-kuy</i>	‘food’	<i>wiʔk</i>	‘eat’
(c)	<i>monh-kuy</i>	‘where one sleeps’	<i>monh</i>	‘sleep’
(d)	<i>kaʔa-kuy</i>	‘sickness’	<i>kaʔ</i>	‘die’

Applying *-kuy* to transitive verbs derives a noun that encodes an instrument used to perform the task expressed by the verb, as shown in (4.98).

(4.98) *-kuy* WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS:

(a)	<i>ʔix-kuy</i>	‘eye’	<i>ʔix</i>	‘see’
(b)	<i>jay-kuy</i>	‘pencil’	<i>jay</i>	‘write’
(c)	<i>yem-kuy</i>	‘fan’	<i>yem</i>	‘blow’
(d)	<i>jak-kuy</i>	‘thinking about going’	<i>jak</i>	‘cut’
(e)	<i>jetz-kuy</i>	‘brush’	<i>jetz</i>	‘comb hair’
(f)	<i>ku+tyiʔch-kuy</i>	‘stick to prop up’	<i>ku+tyiʔch</i>	‘prop up’

There is overlap in the case of some verbs as to whether they are nominalized with *-i* and *-kuy*. In some cases the semantic distinction is clear. For example, the transitive verb *nyip* ‘plant’ derived with the nominalizer *-i* yields *nyiiipi* ‘the sowing, sown plants’, yet derived with the instrumental

-kuy yields *nyipkuy* ‘dibble, planting stick’. The intransitive verb *kaʔ* ‘die’ may be derived with *-i* to yield *kaʔi* ‘dead person’ and may be derived with *-kuy* to yield *kaʔkuy* ‘illness’. The distinction between verbs derived with the nominalizer and the instrumental is not always clear. For example, *wiʔk* ‘eat (intransitive)’ may be derived as *wiʔiki* ‘food’ or *wiʔkkuy* ‘food’. There is no apparent semantic distinction between the two “foods”, although *wiʔkkuy* occurs more frequently in texts and naturally occurring discourse.

Some transitive verbs derive nouns with a combination of the instrumental *kuy* and the antipassive *-ʔoʔy*¹³. Examples are listed in (4.99).

(4.99) *kuy* WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS AND THE ANTIPASSIVE *ʔoʔy*:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) | <i>jukun</i> | ‘stir, bat’ |
| | <i>jukun-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘mixer, blender’ |
| (b) | <i>kum</i> | ‘bury (dead)’ |
| | <i>kum-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘burial’ |
| (c) | <i>ku+jaam</i> | ‘cover’ |
| | <i>ku+jim-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘thing to cover’ |
| (d) | <i>ku+tyiʔch</i> | ‘prop up’ |
| | <i>ku+tyiʔch-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘stick used as prop’ |
| (e) | <i>mak</i> | ‘fish with net’ |
| | <i>mak-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘shrimp net’ |
| (f) | <i>kinh</i> | ‘paint, stain’ |
| | <i>kinh-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘inst. for painting’ |
| (g) | <i>yan</i> | ‘spread seed’ |
| | <i>yanʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘gable cross-bar’ |
| (h) | <i>ʔanh+jinh</i> | ‘bar, clog, stop up’ |
| | <i>ʔanh+jinhʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘plug, cork’ |

¹³The antipassive *-ʔoʔy* reduces the valency of transitive verbs by “demoting” the patient and occurs only on verbs that are transitive (not ambitransitive). See Ch. 13 for discussion of antipassive voice.

Some transitive verbs derive the instrumental both ways, deriving nouns with clear semantic differences. For example, (4.100) shows the verb *kiʔps* ‘measure’. When derived with *-kuy*, the stem encodes “measurement”. When derived with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* and the instrumental *-kuy* it encodes the instrument with which the measurement is taken “scale, ruler”.

(4.100) INSTRUMENTAL AND ANTIPASSIVE - SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE:

- (a) *kiʔps-kuy* ‘measurement’ *kiʔps* ‘measure’
- (b) *kiʔps-ʔoʔy-kuy* ‘scale, ruler’

The semantic distinction is not always clear, however, as is shown by the verbs listed in (4.101).

(4.101) INSTRUMENTAL AND ANTIPASSIVE - NO SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE:

- (a) *jeps* ‘serve (with spoon)’
jeps-kuy ‘large spoon’
jeps-ʔoʔy-kuy ‘spoon’
- (b) *jetz* ‘brush’
jetz-kuy ‘brush’
jetz-ʔoʔy-kuy ‘brush’
- (c) *taj* ‘dig, excavate’
taj-kuy ‘tool for digging small hole’
taj-ʔoʔy-kuy ‘tool for digging hole (not pick)’
- (d) *ku+tyiʔch* ‘prop up’
ku+tyiʔch-kuy ‘stick to prop’
ku+tyiʔch-ʔoʔy-kuy ‘stick to prop’

4.3.2 Deriving Nouns from Nouns and Verbs

A number of formatives are used to derived nouns from both nouns and verbs. These include *=kiʔiwiny*, *=teeruj*, and *-ʔanh*, each of which are discussed here.

4.3.2.1 *Plural Actors (-kiʔiwiny) (-kaʔawiny)*

The affix *-kiʔiwiny*¹⁴ (which has the alternant [kaʔawiny]) derives plural actors from verbs.¹⁵ A number of examples are listed in (4.102). In elicitation this affix appears to be relatively productive.

(4.102) NOUNS DERIVED WITH PLURAL ACTOR =*kiʔi=winy*:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) | <i>ʔaʔm-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘tourists’ |
| | <i>ʔaʔm</i> | ‘look’ |
| (b) | <i>ʔak+ku+yuj-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who study’ |
| | <i>ʔak+ku+yuj</i> | ‘educate’ |
| (c) | <i>ʔeech-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘dancers’ |
| | <i>ʔetz</i> | ‘dance’ |
| (d) | <i>ʔanh+maaty-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who tell stories’ |
| | <i>ʔanh+mat</i> | ‘tell’ |
| (e) | <i>jooy-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘passengers, travelers’ |
| | <i>jooy</i> | ‘walk around’ |
| (f) | <i>juuk-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who smoke’ |
| | <i>juk</i> | ‘smoke’ |
| (g) | <i>nuʔum-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘thieves’ |
| | <i>nuʔm</i> | ‘steal’ |
| (h) | <i>yoox-ʔaH-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘helper, worker’ |
| | <i>yoox-ʔaH</i> | ‘work’ |
| (i) | <i>ʔiikx-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who shell corn’ |
| | <i>ʔiks</i> | ‘shell corn’ |
| (j) | <i>ʔanh+maaty-kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who tell stories’ |
| | <i>ʔanh+mat</i> | ‘tell, recount’ |

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Only one token appears in texts that I have analyzed. The example is shown in (4.103).

¹⁴This suffix is analyzed as underlyingly /-ikiʔwin/ because it palatalizes preceding alveolar consonants and lengthens the preceding root vowel (Kaufman, p.c.). It is represented as *-Ikiʔwin* in the PDLMA orthography.

¹⁵These were dubbed “plural actors” (“*actor en plural*”) by Elson (1960:95) .

- (4.103) *ʔii meʔtzʔaytyaap tiʔksʔoykiʔiwiny*
 ʔii Ø+meʔtz-ʔaʔy-taH-pa tiʔks-ʔoʔy-kiʔiwiny
 and 3ABS+look.for-BEN-PASS-INC touch-ANTIP-PLU_{actor}
 ‘The players were looked for.’ (PDLMA.MRT.050)

Some transitive verbs are derived with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* in order to be derived as a plural agent with *-kiʔiwiny*. Examples are shown in (4.104).

(4.104) NOUNS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH PLURAL

ACTOR AND ANTIPASSIVE:

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| (a) | <i>tiʔks-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘player (guitar) |
| | <i>tiʔks</i> | ‘play’ |
| (b) | <i>jak-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who cut wood’ |
| | <i>jak</i> | ‘cut’ |
| (c) | <i>jay-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who write’ |
| | <i>jay</i> | ‘write’ |
| (d) | <i>jaʔas-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who roast meat’ |
| | <i>jaʔas</i> | ‘roast over coals’ |
| (e) | <i>jaʔtz-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who buy on credit’ |
| | <i>jaʔtz</i> | ‘buy on credit’ |
| (f) | <i>jeep-ʔoʔy=kiʔiwiny</i> | ‘those who work with hoe’ |
| | <i>jeep</i> | ‘scrape, pull weeds’ |

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Nevertheless, not all transitive verbs require the detransitivizer *-ʔoʔy*. Notice in (4.102i) and (j) the verbs *ʔiks* ‘shell corn’ and *ʔanh+mat* ‘tell’ are not derived with the antipassive. Intransitive, transitive and ambitransitive verb classes are defined syntactically. There is evidence to suggest that further subclasses such as agentive and patientive ambitransitives may be defined. Further research is required to establish the distinctions with respect to these nominalizers. See Chapter 8 for further discussion of verb classes.

4.3.2.2 *-teeruj* ‘actor’

The derivational morpheme *-teeruj*¹⁶ can appear on nouns and verbs and indicates that the derived noun or verb is an actor. As apparent from the collection of examples, the morpheme does not refer to an occupation (or ‘one who does x’ as it does in Spanish) and is a somewhat productive form. Examples are shown in (4.105)¹⁷ and (4.106).

(4.105) *teeruj* WITH NOUNS:

- (a) *kii̯p=tyeeruj* ‘wood cutter; one who cuts a lot of wood’
- (b) *ti̯ʔip=teeruj* ‘fisherman’
- (c) *ʔaa=teeruj* ‘one who works with/makes canoes’
- (d) *yoom=teeruj* ‘womanizer’
- (e) *ʔaany=tyeeruj* ‘one who makes/sells/buys tortillas’

(4.106) *teeruj* WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

- (a) *wan=teeruj* ‘one who sings/likes to sing’
- (b) *way=tyeeruj* ‘one who grinds/likes to grind’
- (c) *ʔuk=teeruj* ‘one who drinks/likes to drink’
- (d) *joʔy=tyeeruj* ‘one who angers/likes to be angry’
- (e) *ʔetz=teeruj* ‘one who dances/likes to dance; dancer’

Nouns marked with *-teeruj* may not be inflected with plural marking to indicate that they are plural, however, they may be inflected with plural markers if they occur as non-verbal predicates. Notice that when the S is a 1st person referent, the plural enclitic used is *+tam* and when the S is a 3rd person referent (\emptyset marked) the plural enclitic is *+yaj* (See §4.2.2.4 above for further discussion).

¹⁶*teeruj* is reanalyzed as a suffix in SP borrowed from the Spanish morpheme *tero/a*.

¹⁷In (a) the underlying form is /ki̯pi-tɛ:ru/. Observe that the alveolar stop of the suffix *-teeruj* surfaces as its palatalized counterpart [tʃ].

(4.107) NOMINAL PREDICATES WITH *-teeruj*:

- (a) *ʔa+kiiip=teeruj+tam* ‘We are woodcutters.’
- (b) *kiiip=teeruj+yaaj* ‘They are woodcutters.’
- (c) *tiʔip=teeruj+yaaj* ‘They are fisherman.’

4.3.2.3 Resultative Nominalizers *ku+* and *-ʔanh*

The derivational morphemes *ku+* and *-ʔanh* are historically productive (Terrence Kaufman, p.c.). Many nouns and verbs that have been derived with these morphemes are today lexicalized forms. *-ʔanh*¹⁸ forms a resultative noun from a verb. An example is shown in (4.108). This morpheme as a suffix is largely used to form quantifiers (see ch. 5 for discussion).

(4.108) NOUNS DERIVED WITH *-ʔanh*:

- jips-ʔanh* ‘burnt stick used again for firewood’ *jips* ‘burn’

The morphemes *ku+* and *-ʔanh* occur together on verb roots to indicate the traces left as a result of the event encoded by the verb. Examples are shown in (4.109).

(4.109) NOUNS DERIVED WITH *ku+* AND *-ʔanh*:

- (a) *ku+tziʔy-ʔanh* ‘left overs (food)’ *tziʔy* ‘remain’
- (b) *ku+poʔt-ʔanh* ‘wood shavings’ *poʔt* ‘grind’
- (c) *ku+chij-ʔanh* ‘dregs, residue
of coffee or coffee’ *chiʔ* ‘hit, pound, grind’
- (d) *ku+jak-ʔanh* ‘pieces, scraps,
cuttings’ *jak* ‘cut’
- (e) *ku+kiiy-ʔanh* ‘pencil shavings’ ???

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

¹⁸*-ʔanh* is homophonous with the derivational prefix *ʔanh+*; it is unlikely that it is polysemous.

These forms are not productive, and there does not appear to be overlap between *ku+VERB-ʔanh* forms and *ku+VERB* or *ʔanh+VERB* forms.

4.3.3 Noun Compounds

Compounding is a highly productive word formation strategy observable in all word classes in SP. In fact, verbal compounding is discussed extensively in Chapter 21. Here I briefly discuss compounding nouns formed with nouns and verbs and some of the characteristics associated with compounds.

Noun compounds are composed of two nouns, as shown in the following examples taken from texts. Examples (4.110) and (4.111) illustrate compounds composed of two underived nouns: *mok* ‘corn’ and *yooya* ‘pig’ in (4.110) to form *mok=yooya* ‘corn pig (collared peccary)’ and *ʒimny* ‘jungle’ and *piixiny* ‘man’ to form *ʒimni=piixiny* ‘jungle man’ (man who lives in forest) in 4.111). Example (4.112) illustrates a compound composed of a nominalized verb *tzuuy* /*tzuj.i*/ ‘spit’ (derived from *tzuj* ‘spit’) and *niʔ* ‘water’.

- (4.110) *ʔi+paʔtpa* *mokyooya*
 ʔi+paʔt-pa *mok=yooya*
 3ERG+find-INC corn=pig
 ‘He finds a peccary’. (PDLMA.Giant.049)

- (4.111) *ʒemik+ʔam* *ʔi+paʔtpa* *jeʔm* *piixiny*, *ʒimnyipiixiny*
 ʒemik+ʔam *ʔi+paʔt-pa* *jeʔm* *piixiny*, *ʒimnyi=piixiny*
 there+ALR 3ERG+find-INC that man, jungle=man,
 ‘There he finds a man, a jungle man,

ʒigaantej
ʒigaantej
 giant

a giant.’ (PDLMA.Giant.003)

- (4.112) *ʔi+kaʔmáʔypa* *ʔi+tzùjinyíʔ*
ʔi+kaʔm-ʔaʔy-pa *ʔi+tzuj-i=niʔ*
3ERG+stick-BEN-INC 3PSR+spit-NOM=water
‘He applies saliva

ʔi+pùʔuyúk-mi
ʔi+puʔu=yuk.mi
3PSR+belly=LOC₅.LOC₁
over [the child’s] stomach.’ (PHE.004c)

In a noun compound, the first noun in the sequence modifies the second noun. This is exemplified in the triplet shown in (4.113).

- (4.113) Adjective/noun compounds:
(a) *muʔk=tik* grass=house ‘grass house’ (PDLMA.VJE.102)
(b) *suyát=tik* palm=house ‘palm house’ (PDLMA.VJE.103)
(c) *laaminah=tik* sheet metal=house ‘sheet metal house’ (PDLMA.VJE.104)

As we will see in ch. 5, adjectives, as do most nominal modifiers, generally precede the noun in the clause. Nevertheless, we know that these forms are compounds because of inflectional morphology. For example, in (4.114) the compound *suyat=tik* ‘palm=house’ clearly makes up an integrated lexical unit which is possessed.

- (4.114) *ʔan+wattóʔoba* *ʔan+suyáttik*
ʔan+wat-toʔ-pa *ʔan+suyat=tik*
XERG+do-DESID-INC XPSR+palm=house
‘I want to make my palm house.’ (20070712JAFs9)

Compound nouns receive the same inflectional marking typical of nouns. The example in (4.115) shows a possessed noun that is marked with the first person inclusive possessor agreement prefix *tan+* and the plural marking affix *+tam*.

- (4.115) *nimyájpa* *tan+taatajweewej+tam*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa tan+taataj=weewej+tam
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC IPSR+great=grandfather+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Say the old ones (our ancestors).’ (PHE.001)

Compounds composed of a noun preceding a verb are generally instances of verbs with incorporated nouns¹⁹. The use of the compound shown here is highly idiosyncratic and is an idiomatic expression.

4.3.4 Deriving Other Word Classes From Nouns

Nouns (and adjectives²⁰) can also be derived as verbs with one of two affixes: the versive *-ʔaH* and the provisory *-ʔiʔy*.

4.3.4.1 Versive *-ʔaH*

The versive suffix *-ʔaH* is used to derive nouns (and adjectives) into verbs. There are two possible connotations of the versive. In one case, the versive creates verbs that have the general meaning ‘*be/become* NOUN/ADJECTIVE’. In the example in (4.116) the verb *yuʔ-ʔaH* ‘be hungry’ is derived from the noun *yuʔ* ‘hunger’, shown in its underived form in (4.117).

¹⁹Noun incorporation is described in ch. 20

²⁰Derivation of adjectives into verbs is discussed in ch. 5.

(4.116) *tzam yuʔaap*
 tzam Ø+**yuʔ**-ʔaH-pa
 much 3ABS+hunger-VERS-INC
 ‘he was very hungry,’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion.002b)

(4.117) *Ø+tikʔiy-W yuʔ yiʔp ʔaatteʔet*
 3ABS+enter-CMP hunger this town
 ‘Hunger entered this town (Soteapan).’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

The second use of the versive derives verbs with the meaning ‘to NOUN’ or ‘to ADJECTIVE’. Example (4.118) shows the noun *soʔk* ‘grass’ derived with the affix *-ʔaH* to form *soʔk-ʔaH* ‘to gather hay’. The underived form of *soʔk* ‘grass’ is shown in (4.119). (4.120) shows the noun *tzoy* ‘medicine’ derived with the versive to form the verb *tzoy-ʔaH* ‘heal, become cured’. The underived noun is shown in example (4.121).

(4.118) *tzuyʔuyi+m siʔ ta+soʔgáabam*
 tzuyʔuy+ʔam siʔip ta+**soʔk**-ʔaH-pa-ʔam
 late+ALR now IABS+grass-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘Now its late. We’re going to cut grass.’ (VVA.031)

(4.119) *ʔóy ʔan+tinháʔm soʔk ʔanh+winytyuk*
 ʔoy-W ʔan+tinh-taʔm-W₂ **soʔk** ʔanh.winy.tyuk
 go_{aux}-CMP XERG+cut-PLU_{sap} grass LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We went to cut grass on the other side.’ (VVA.045)

(4.120) *dya tzoʔʔap bweenoj*
 dya Ø+**tzoʔ**-ʔaH-pa bweenoj
 NEG 3ABS+medicine-VERS-INC good
 ‘He doesn’t heal.’ (PDLMA.CUR.008)

(4.121) *ʔam+piktaʔmpa para tzoʔ*
 ʔan+pik-taʔm-pa para **tzoʔ**
 XERG+take-PLU_{sap}-INC for medicine
 ‘We use it for medicine.’ (SZ1.001)

4.3.4.2 Provisory -ʔiʔy

The provisory suffix *-ʔiʔy* derives verbs from nouns that express possession of the noun derived to convey the meaning ‘to provide with NOUN’ or ‘to be provided with NOUN’. For instance in examples (4.122) the noun *jawanh* ‘fever’ is inflected with the provisory *-ʔiʔy* to indicate that the subject has ‘a fever’.

- (4.122) *jawanhʔiʔyp*
 Ø+**jawanh**-ʔiʔy-pa
 3ABS+fever-PROV-INC
 ‘He has a fever.’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.005)

The use of *-ʔiʔy* is highly productive, as shown in (4.123) with body parts, (4.124) with a human term and with compound nouns in (4.125).

- (4.123) *tzaany dya mi totzʔiʔy jeʔm ʔi+koobak.*
 tzaany dya+mi Ø+totz-ʔiʔy-W jeʔm ʔi+kopaʔk
 snake NEG+ALR 3ABS+tongue-PROV-CMP that 3PSR+head
 ‘The head of the snake doesn’t have a tongue.’
 (Gutierrez and Wichmann 2001:332)

- (4.124) *ʔiga peʔm+ʔun tzabatznas*
 ʔiga peʔm+ʔun tzapʔatz=nas
 COMP that+DJ0 red=land
 ‘that that red land

ʔðʔomíʔy
 Ø+ʔoomi-ʔiʔy-W
 3ABS+owner-PROV-CMP
 has an owner.’ (PDO.003)

- (4.125) *piixiny dya yiknaʔagíʔy*
 piixiny dya Ø+yik=naaka-ʔiʔy-W
 man NEG 3ABS+black=skin-PROV-CMP
 ‘This man doesn’t have dark skin.’ (GU1.033a)

4.3.5 Derivation of New Words From Pronouns: Indefinite pronouns and conjunctions

Using the pronouns described above, a number of words may be derived with clitics or other particles to create new words. We saw above that the interrogative pronouns *tyi+ʔiga* ‘why’ and *juuty+piʔk* ‘how’ are derived in this manner. Other words derived in this manner include indefinite pronouns, conjunctions, relative pronouns, etc., (see Diessel 1999 for discussion on derivation and grammaticalization of proforms).

4.3.5.0.1 ʔiH+ʔam ‘someone’ The indefinite pronoun *ʔiH+ʔam*, which combines the interrogative pronoun *ʔiH* and the clitic *+ʔam* ‘already’, indicates ‘someone’ (4.126). As described in ch 3, *+ʔam* ‘already’ may be understood as ‘just’, ‘already’, ‘truly’, ‘just now’, and ‘now’ and is roughly equivalent to the spanish *ya* ‘already’.

(4.126) *jeʔ+ʔam* *kustuumbrej* *ʔich* *ʔan+tikmi+tam*
 jeʔ+ʔam *kustuumbrej* *ʔich* *ʔan+tik-mi+tam*
 3PRO+ALR custom 1PRO XPSR+house-LOC₁+PLU_{sap}
 ‘There is the custom in our town’

ʔity *ʔii+ʔam* *ʔiga+kaʔaba*
 Ø+ʔity-W **ʔiH+ʔam** *ʔiga+Ø+kaʔ-pa*
 3ABS+be-CMP who+ALR COMP+3ABS+die-INC
 that when someone dies

ʔanh+tuumʔaakaʔtaap
 Ø+ʔanh+tuum-ʔaH-kaʔ-taH-pa
 3ABS+meet.together-LOC₁-PASS-INC
 the people get together.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.042)

4.3.5.0.2 *dya+ʔii* ‘no one’ and *dya+tyii* ‘nothing’ The negative indefinite pronouns are formed by cliticizing the negative *dya* with the pronouns *ʔii* and *tyiiH*, to form *dya+ʔii* ‘no one’ and *dya+tyii* ‘nothing’. These are illustrated in examples (4.127) and (4.128).

(4.127) *dya+ʔii* *tzòʔyiʔyáj*
dya+ʔiiH Ø+tzoy-ʔiʔy-yaj-W
 NEG+who 3ABS+cure-PROV-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘No one had a cure.’ (MAB.261)

(4.128) *pero dya+tyii ku+kéjpa*
 pero *dya+tyiiH* Ø+ku+kej-pa
 b ut NEG+what
 ‘But nothing appeared.’ (ESK.019a)

4.3.5.0.3 *tyii+mi* ‘with which’ The affix *-mi* ‘with, at, to’ combines with *tyiiH* ‘what’ to form the relativizer *tyii-mi* ‘with which’, as illustrated in example (4.129). (This relative pronoun is discussed in detail in ch. 5 with respect to relativized nouns.)

(4.129) *ʔan+suntáʔmpa* *tuminy tyiimi* *tan+júypa*
 ʔan+sun-taʔm-pa *tuminy tyii-mi* *tan+juy-pa*
 3ERG+want-PLU_{sap}-INC money what+LOC₁ IERG+buy-INC
 ‘...we want money with which we buy

tyii tanh+kuʔtpa ʔikxi
tyiiH tan+kuʔt-pa ʔikxi
 what IERG+eat-INC corn
 what we eat, maize.’ (JOV.017b)

Chapter 5

Nominal Modifiers

Word classes and clause types that serve to modify the noun include determiners, adjectives, quantifiers, possessors, and relative clauses. Chapter 4 provided description of nouns as a class and their derivational and inflectional morphology. This chapter deals with the closed classes of nominal modifiers, their defining characteristics, their associated morphology, and their derivational properties.

5.1 Possessors

SP is a head-marking language, meaning that the head of the phrase takes all inflectional and derivational morphology. In possessed noun phrases the possessum, the head of the phrase, is inflected for person with Set-A proclitics, listed in (5.1).

- (5.1) PROCLITICS INDICATING POSSESSION:
ʔan+ ‘1st exclusive possessor/ergative’
tan+ ‘1st inclusive possessor/ergative’
ʔin+ ‘2nd possessor/ergative’
ʔi+ ‘3rd possessor/ergative’

The possessum may or may not be modified by its possessor, as shown in (5.2) and (5.3).

- (5.2) *ʔan+jeʔyɸa+m* *jeʔm* *ʔan+jaʔapi*
 ʔan+jeʔy-pa+ʔam jeʔm ʔan+jaʔp-i
 XERG+stir-INC+ALR that XPSR+grind-NOM
 ‘I stir my batter.’ (Atole.008)

- (5.3) *ʔii* *ʔi+pikpa* **yoomo** *ʔaacha*
 ʔii ʔi+pik-pa **yoomo** ʔaacha
 and 3ERG+grasp-INC woman ax
 ‘The woman grabbed the ax.’

tinhjakʔaytyaaʔ *jeʔm* *piixiny* *ʔi+ʔiski*
 Ø+tinh=jak-ʔaʔy-taH-W jeʔm piixiny ʔi+ʔiski
 3ABS=cut=cut-BEN-PASS-CMP that man 3PSR+neck
 ‘The man’s neck was chopped off.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrior.030a)

Overt possessors occur only with third person possessors. Overtly expressed lexical possessors are rare in naturally occurring speech. Out of approximately 2700 clauses, about 15 possessed nouns were overtly modified by their possessor¹. The lexical possessor in a possessed noun phrase typically precedes the possessum (5.4), although there are rare instances in which the possessor follows the noun (5.5). As is generally the case for word order in SP, this is likely to be pragmatically motivated.

¹This count was taken in 2005 when the corpus consisted of approximately 2700 clauses.

(5.4)

PSR PSM

ʔich ʔa+tiɡiʔyiny diyaabloj ʔi+jossóom
 ʔich ʔa+tikʔiy-ʔiny **diyaabloj ʔi+jos=joom**
 1PRO XABS+enter-OPT devil 3PSR+hole=in

‘That I should enter inside the devil’s hole.’ (i.e. go to hell) (CNC.012)

(5.5)

PSM PSR

niʔmaʔytyaa ʔi+jaatunh jeʔm woonyi:
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W **ʔi+jatunh jeʔm woonyi**
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP 3PSR+father that little

‘The girl’s father was told:

Nigi patzʔáʔy jimnyoom yiʔp tziix+tyam!
 nikk-i Ø+patz-ʔaʔy-W₂ jimnyi=jom yiʔp tziixi+tam
 go_{aux}-IMP 3ABS+throw-DEP_t forest=on that child+PLU_{hum}

‘Go get rid of the children in the forrest.’ ” (Gutierrez-Morales and Wichmann 2001:317)

Nevertheless, possessors are optional and need not be overtly expressed (5.6).

(5.6) *nikpa+m jeʔm piixiny jesik*
 Ø+nikk-pa+ʔam jeʔm piixiny jesik
 3ABS+go-INC+ALR that man then

‘Then the man goes,

PSM

ʔanh+jiypam+ʔun ʔi+pak
 Ø+ʔanh.jiy-pa-ʔam+ʔun **ʔi+pak**
 3ABS+DERIV.sound-INC+ALR+DJO 3PSR+bone

‘His bones rattle, they say.’ (lit. ‘His bones make noise.’) (ESK.039)

A possessor may itself be possessed, as illustrated by example (5.7).

(5.7)		PSR
	<i>dejpwej</i> <i>ʔiga+ʔa+puttum</i>	<i>ʔanh+jaatunh</i>
	dejpwej <i>ʔiga+ʔa+put-wi+ʔam</i>	<i>ʔanh+jaatunh</i>
	after that+XABS+exit-CMP	XPSR+father

PSM

ʔi+kiʔijoom
ʔi+kiʔ=joj.mi
 3PSR+hand=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘After that I moved out.’ (lit. ‘I came out from my father’s hand.’)
 (7NH.029)

Pronouns may function as possessors, however, there is no set of possessive pronouns in SP². Examples (5.8), (5.9), and (5.10) illustrate the 1st,

²This bears mentioning here because other languages in the Mixe-Zoquean family do have possessive pronouns. For example, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque distinguishes between personal pronouns (*dəʃháʔ* ‘1exc’, *ney háʔ* (also *neywin*) ‘1inc’, *miʃháʔ* ‘2nd’, *gadək* ‘3rd’) and possessive pronouns (*təntiʔ* ‘1exc’, *neytiʔ* ‘1inc’, *mintiʔ* ‘2nd’) (Johnson 2000:61). Copainlá Zoque has two sets of personal and possessive pronouns, personal and contextual, shown in (i) (Harrison et al, 1981:416-18).

(i) Personal and possessive pronouns in Copainlá Zoque (Chiapas)				
	Personal pronoun	Contextual pronoun	Possessive pronoun	Contextual possessive pronoun
1abs	<i>ʌj</i>	<i>neʔcʌ</i>	<i>ʌs</i>	<i>neʔ</i>
erg	<i>ʌs</i>	<i>neʔcʌʔs</i>		
2abs	<i>miʃ</i>	<i>neʔcʌ</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>neʔ</i>
erg	<i>mis</i>	<i>neʔcʌʔs</i>		
3abs		<i>neʔcʌ</i>		<i>neʔ</i>
erg		<i>neʔcʌʔs</i>		

(Harrison et al, 1981:416-18)

It appears that this is a characteristic unique to the Zoques of Oaxaca and Chiapas, as possessive pronouns have not been reported for the Gulf Zoques (Texistepec and Ayapanec) (Kaufman, unpublished ms). Possessive pronouns have also not been reported for Sayula or Olutec, Mixe languages spoken in the state of Veracruz.

2nd, and 3rd person pronouns, respectively, occurring as possessive pronouns.

(5.8) PSR PSM

ʔich ʔanh+widyaaaya tzam ʔidyik tujpa
ʔich ʔanh+wity=ʔaaya tzam ʔidyik Ø+tujpa
 1PRO XPSR+big=male much PAST 3ABS+shoot-INC
 ‘My husband used to hunt a lot.’ (CNC.053)

(5.9) PSR PSM

mich ʔiny+jaatunh ʔiny+ʔaapa
mich ʔin+jaatunh ʔin+ʔaapa
 2PRO 2PSR+father 2PSR+mother
 ‘Your father and mother

dya minh+kejáʔy konseejoj
dya mi+ʔanh+kej-ʔaʔy-W konseejoj
 NEG 2ABS+show.it-BEN-CMP advice
 don’t give you advise.’ (Yerno.018)

(5.10) PSR PSM

wadaʔynyeʔtaawi+m jeʔ ʔi+tyiʔpxi
Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam jeʔ ʔi+tiʔps-i
 3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR 3PRO 3PSR+twist-NOM
 ‘His rope had already been made.’ (VYT.106)

Possessors may be marked as core arguments on the verb. For example in (5.11), the verb is inflected with the ‘local’ person marker encoding a 1st person A and 2nd person O. The number of arguments is increased with the ʔaʔy ‘BEN’. The A is a 1st person referent; the PO (the goal) is a 2nd person referent, the possessor; the SO (the theme) is a 3rd person referent, the possessum.

(5.11) *yiʔmum* **mana**+*miʔnyaʔytyaʔmpa*
yiʔmum **man**+na+miny-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 here 1:2+ASSOC+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘...here we bring you

jeʔm **ʔim**+*puktuuku*
jeʔm **ʔin**+*puktuuku*
 that 2PSR+clothes
 your clothes. (UDR.012b)

5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in SP modify nouns, they may occur anaphorically in the absence of nouns, and they function as non-verbal predicates. SP has three demonstratives, which are listed in (5.12)³.

(5.12) DEMONSTRATIVES:
yiʔp ‘this’
jeʔm ‘that (near hearer, aforementioned)’
peʔm ‘that (one) yonder’

Semantically, demonstratives modify nouns, express deictic information about the noun being modified, and are generally used to focus the hearer’s attention

³Diachronically, demonstratives are composed of deictic roots and locative or relativizing particles. Only *jeʔ* occurs as an independent pronoun. *jeʔ* also occurs with the locative particle to indicate ‘there’. The root *yiʔ* does not occur as an independent pronoun. It occurs with the locative particle *-m(i)* (forming locative adverb *yiʔim* ‘there’) and the relativizer *-p* (forming the demonstrative *yiʔp*). The root *peʔ* does not occur independently. The demonstrative *peʔm* is composed of the deictic root *peʔ* and the locative suffix *-mi*. The distribution is shown in (i).

(i)	Deictic Root	Occur as pronoun	Locative <i>-m</i>	Relativizer <i>-p</i>
	<i>yiʔ</i>	–	✓	✓
	<i>jeʔ</i>	✓	✓	✓
	<i>peʔ</i>	–	✓	–

on objects or locations in the speech situation. The use of demonstratives described in this section is in keeping with the criteria identified by Diessel (1999:2).

As modifiers, demonstratives precede the nouns they modify (5.13).

Demonstratives, however, do not obligatorily modify nouns (5.14).

- (5.13) *Mich ?inh+kóʔtz jeʔm woonyi. jeʔeyukmi.*
 mich ?in+koʔtz-W **jeʔm** woonyi jeʔ=yuk.mi
 2PRO 2ERG+hit-CMP **that** girl 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘You hit the girl. That’s why [she’s crying].’ (MAB.017b)

- (5.14) *?a+nuʔkpa woonyi kajtzayjoo-m*
 ?a+nuʔk-pa woonyi kajtzay=joj.mi
 XABS+arrive-INC girl hammock=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘I arrived and the girl in the hammock

wejpa ?i+xíʔ.
 wej-pa ?i+xiʔ-W
 cry-INC 3ERG+walk_{aux}DEP_{ib}
 was crying.’ (SA2.016)

The demonstratives express a deictic relation locating the referent at three points from the speaker: proximal (5.15), medial (5.16), and distal (5.17) (Anderson and Keenan 1985; Diessel 1999:36-39).

- (5.15) *sóʔpsniʔyájum* **yíʔp** *kawaj*
 Ø+soʔps-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam **yíʔp** kawaj
 3ABS+tire-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR this horse
 ‘These horses have tired.’ (VVA.022)

- (5.16) *yaju+m* *?i+kumtáaj* *je?m jaama*
 yaj-W+?am ?i+kum-taH-W₃ **je?m** jaama
 finish_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+bury-PASS-DEP_{ib} that day
 ‘He was finished being buried that day.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.035)

- (5.17) *porkej* **pe?m** *nas, tzabatznas,* *?o?omi?y*
 porkej **pe?m** nas tzap?atz=nas Ø+?oomi-?i?y-W
 because yonder land red=land owner-PROV-CMP
 ‘because that land over there, the red land, it has an owner.’ (PDO.015)

The use of demonstratives usually accompanies a gesture. In the case of example (5.18), the speaker is asking her father to come closer to the microphone while placing the chair to which she refers next to the table.

- (5.18) *yi?im koonyi* *yi?p koonykoyyukumí*
 yi?im koony-i yi?p koony-kuy=yuk-mí
 here sit-IMP this sit-LOC_{applic}=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘Here, sit in this chair.’ (D3V.003)

Demonstratives may modify Ss (5.19)⁴, As (5.20), Os (5.21), POs (5.22) and SOs (5.23). In addition, demonstratives modify nouns that do not occur as arguments of the verb (5.24).

- (5.19) (a) *?an+ní?ma?ypa* *?i+jaatunh:*
 ?an+nim-?a?y-pa ?i+jaatunh
 XERG+say-BEN-INC 3PSR+father
 ‘I told its_i father:
 (b) **yi?p tziixi** *téeny.*
yi?p tziixi Ø+teeny-W
this child 3ABS+stand-CMP
 This baby_i is standing.’ (SoyPartera.019)

⁴In this example, the third person possessor in (a) indexes the baby in the second clause (b). The speaker is referring to her husband, the father of her unborn child, which is the S of the verb in (b).

- (5.20) *nimpa* *siʔ-pa* *mi+ʔix*
 Ø+nim-pa siʔ-pa mi+ʔix-W₂
 3ABS+say-INC prog_{aux}-INC 2ABS+see-DEP_t

jeʔm ʔakuyujkiʔiwiy

jeʔm ʔak.ku.yuj.ʔoʔy.i

that CAUS₁.DERIV₂.learn.ANTIP-NOM

‘He says: The teacher is looking at you.’ (AVC.015)

- (5.21) *porkej niʔ ʔiga+tzaam p̄imi*
 porkej niʔ ʔiga+tzaam p̄imi
 because water COMP+very strong

‘Because the water is very strong,

ʔi+kujiɖaʔyɔpa

ʔi+ku+jiʔt-ʔaʔy-pa

3ERG+DERIV+carry.away-BEN-INC

and it washes away this land.’ (CP1.005)

yɪʔp nas

yɪʔp nas

this earth

- (5.22) *taranh+madaʔyyajiny* ***jeʔm tziix+tyam***
 tan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-yaj-ʔiny ***jeʔm tziixi+tam***
 IERG+speak-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-OPT **that child+plu_{hum}**

‘We tell it to the children,

ʔiga ʔodoy niginy miichi+yaj *jeʔmum*

ʔiga ʔodoy nikk-ʔiny Ø+m̄ich-i+yaj jeʔmum

COMP NEG go_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap} there

that they should not go play there.’ (PDO.018)

- (5.23) *yɪʔmum mana+m̄iʔnyaʔytyáʔmpa*
 yɪʔmum man+na+m̄iny-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 here 1:2+ASSOC+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC

‘Here we bring you

jeʔm ʔim+puktuuku
jeʔm ʔin+putuuku
 that 2PSR+clothes
 your clothes.’ (UDR.012)

- (5.24) *ʔoytyáʔm* *yíʔp kóotzik*
 ʔoy-taʔm-W *yíʔp kootzik*
 go/return-PLU_{sap}-CMP this hill
 ‘We went to these hills.’ (AVC.002)

Demonstratives co-occur with other modifiers, including quantifiers (5.25) and adjectives (5.26). They may also modify possessed nouns (5.27).

- (5.25) *ʔich ʔestej ʔanh+wagáʔy* *ʔiga+minyiny*
 ʔich ʔestej ʔan+waʔk-ʔaʔy-W ʔiga+miny-ʔiny
 1PRO FILL XERG+ask-BEN-CMP COMP+come-OPT

yooxáaji+yaj *yíʔp wisnaj* *piixiny+yaj*
 Ø+yooxaH-i+yaj *yíʔp wisnaH* piixiny+yaj
 3ABS+work-DEP_{ia}-PLU_{nonhum} **this two** man-PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘I requested that these two men come to work.’ (CP1.006/7)

- (5.26) *ketyáj* *naxwiny,*
 Ø+ket-yaj-W nax=winy
 3ABS+descend-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP down
 ‘They went below,

ʔii nikyáj *ʔagi+pikyáj*
 ʔii nikyáj ʔagi+ʔi+pik-yaj-W
 and Ø+go_{aux}-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that+3ERG+take-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
 and they went to get

jeʔm serrerroj kaawa ʔajta sutyaapaj
jeʔm serrerroj kaawa ʔasta sutyaapaj
that untamed horse ʔasta Soteapan
 that untamed horse as far as Soteapan .’ (PQ2.060/1)

- (5.27) *ʔi+maytyiʔp* *jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh*
 ʔi+may-tiʔp-W **jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh**
 3ERG+recite-FRUS-CMP that 3PSR+incantation
 ‘She wanted to recite her incantation.’ (VYT.101)

Demonstratives may serve as a pronouns in the absence of overtly expressed nouns (5.28) and (5.29).

- (5.28) *jeʔm ʔa+pakkáʔ*
jeʔm ʔa+pak-kaʔ-W
 that XABS+knock.down-CMP
 ‘That one knocked me down.’ (PQ2.093)

- (5.29) *ʔaa yiʔp xixaseetpa* *rraatuj*
 ʔaa **yiʔp** Ø+xix-ʔaH=seet-pa rraatuj
 ah **this** 3ABS+cow-VERS=turn-INC a.while
 ‘Ah, this one’s going to turn into a cow in a little while.’ (VYT.143)

When demonstratives occur as pronouns they may take inflection for number (5.30).

- (5.30) *siʔ* *tan+ʔaʔmpa* *peʔm+yaj*
 siʔ-W tan+ʔaʔm-pa **peʔm+yaj**
 PROG_{aux}-INC IERG+see-INC yonder+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘We’re watching those over there.’ (20070704jaf)

In non-verbal predicate clauses, demonstratives also occur as “identifiers” that serve “to focus the hearer’s attention on entities in the surrounding situation or in the universe of discourse” (Diessel 1999:57). This is illustrated in example (5.31). The demonstrative *yiʔp* is from a text in which the priest is pointing out that witches are bad. Example (5.32) shows the demonstrative

jeʔm being used to identify a family member. In both of the examples, the demonstratives are identifying individuals (or entities), and the nouns they precede serve as nominal predicates.

- (5.31) *nimyajpa* *?i+tyiiwi+tam* *dya wii*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa ?i+tiiwi+tam dya wiH
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC 3PSR+brother+PLU_{hum} NEG good
 ‘Their brothers say: ‘It isn’t good

porkej yiʔp ?inhkaantuj+yaj+am
 porkej **yiʔp** Ø+?inhkaantuj-yaj+?am
 because **this** 3ABS+witch-PLU_{nonsap}+ALR
 because these are witches.’ ” (GU2.093/4)

- (5.32) *jeʔm ?an+jaʔyuk*
jeʔm ?an+jaʔyuk
that XPSR+younger.sibling
 ‘That is my brother.’ (Comal.001a)

When demonstratives modify a noun, they may be inflected, although this is rare. The example shown in (5.33) is taken from elicited data. In texts and naturally occurring speech the noun being modified is inflected with plural marking (5.33).

- (5.33) *yiʔp+yaj* *piixiny de Córdoba*
 yiʔp+yaj piixiny de Cordoba
 this+PLU_{nonhum} man from Cordoba
 ‘These people are from Cordoba.’ (PDLMA.LEX.y@7p)

The deictic reference implied by the demonstratives is evident when they occur as pronouns, as shown by examples such as (5.34) in which the

speaker uses the demonstratives *yiʔp* ‘this’ and *peʔm* ‘that yonder’ to contrast two unspecified items.

- (5.34) *nuunhkaj ʔa+niʔmáʔy*
nuunhkaj ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-W
 never XABS+say-BEN-CMP
 ‘She never told me:

ʔodoy kuʔuti yiʔp ʔodoy ʔuki peʔm
ʔodoy kuʔt-i yiʔp ʔodoy ʔuk-i peʔm
 NEG eat-IMP **this** NEG drink-IMP **that.yonder**
 Don’t eat this or don’t drink that.’ (MiAbuela.210)

The medial demonstrative *jeʔm* ‘that’ occurs more frequently than the proximal (*yiʔp*) or distal (*peʔm*) demonstratives, and the contexts in which it occurs do not necessarily encode deictic information. In fact, its deictic reference is somewhat neutralized in most cases. For example, the character in the mythical narrative of the Homxik⁵ is referring to a specific egg that is found in a river (5.35).

- (5.35) *yiʔp kaʔnpu nikk-pa+m ta+wiʔki*
yiʔp kaʔnpu nikk-pa+m ta+wiʔk-i
 this egg go-INC+ALR IABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘We’re going to eat this egg.’ (PDLMA.JJX.034)

In contrast, in (5.36) the speaker is explaining that her grandmother did not like eggs in general and that she almost never ate them, without reference to a specific egg. From the same story, in (5.37) the speaker explains that her grandmother, a midwife, would often be given food, which often included

⁵The corn god of the creation narratives found in many cultures throughout Mesoamerica.

a hardboiled egg, in gratitude for delivering a baby. Rather than eat the eggs, she would pocket them and bring them back to her granddaughter, the speaker. In (5.37) the speaker refers in general to the egg that she returned with on any given day.

- (5.36) *dya ?ig+i+jaayaku?tpa ka?npu*
dya ?iga+?i+jaaya=ku?t-pa ka?npu
 NEG COMP+3ERG+almost.never=eat-INC egg
 ‘She almost never eats eggs.’ (MAB.059)

- (5.37) *?a+chi?iba je?m ka?npu*
?a+chi?-pa je?m ka?npu
 XABS+give-INC that egg
 ‘She gave me the egg.’ (MAB.054b)

Native speakers generally translate the three demonstratives *yi?p*, *je?m* and *pe?m* as ‘the’. When asked explicitly, *yi?p* and *pe?m* are translated as ‘this’ and ‘that over there’ (or *aquel* ‘that over there’ in Spanish); whereas *je?m* is often translated as ‘the’. That the use of *je?m* to express deictic reference may be neutralized suggests that it is undergoing reanalysis as a determiner. Commonly attested in the literature, diachronically demonstratives are frequently reanalyzed as articles (Hopper 1991:20). Typologically, the evidence that demonstratives are pronouns and not determiners in general is that demonstratives can head the NP, whereas determiners cannot (see Diesel 1999:66-68 for discussion of ‘determiner-as-head hypothesis’). In SP, *je?m* may head the NP, as illustrated by examples such as (5.38). Therefore, I analyze *je?m* as a demonstrative and not a determiner.

(5.38) *?inyi+wokya?pa* *porkej*
 ?i+na+wok-ya?-pa porkej
 3ERG+ASSOC+fight-PLU_{nonsap}-INC porkej
 ‘They fight because

je?m ta+?ixya?pa
 je?m ta+?ix-ya?-pa
 that IABS+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 they see us.’ (PDO.009a)

It is common in SP to use the demonstratives described here as discourse deictics that refer to the discourse itself (Diessel 1999:99-101). In (5.39) the speaker is referring to the story that she was telling me; *yi?p* refers to the story. In (5.40), the speaker is explaining that her mother had told her and her siblings the story she had just recounted for me; *je?m* refers to the story.

(5.39) *?ii si?ip yi?im*
 ?ii si?ip yi?i-m
 and now here
 ‘And now here

si?p *?aranh+madá?y* ***yi?p***
 si?-pa ?an+?anh+mat-?a?y-W ***yi?p***
 prog_{aux}-INC XERG+tell-BEN-CMP **this**
 I am telling you this.’ (PQH.024)

- (5.40) *jeʔm* ʔanh+madaʔytyáʔm ʔich+tyam
jeʔm ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-taʔm-W ʔich+tam
that XABS+speak-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP 1PRO+PLU_{hum}

ʔan+ʔaapa

ʔan+ʔaapa

XPSR+mother

‘Our mother told us that.’ (GU1.128)

Demonstratives may also modify proper nouns. Such uses appear to be examples of the “recognitional use”, which indexes “information that is *discourse new* and *hearer old*” and “implies that speaker and hearer share the same view or that they sympathize with one another” (Diessel 1999:106)⁶. Examples (5.41) through (5.43) illustrate a few instances in the texts in which the use of the demonstrative *jeʔm* appears to be recognitional. In (5.41) the speaker tells a short version of the “Trinylo7kotch”, a mythical creature that sheds its skeleton and terrorizes villagers. Trinylo7kotch, the proper name of the monster, is widely known among speakers of SP. Example (5.42) refers to a large river running along the town of Soteapan. In (5.43) the speaker, a midwife, refers to one of her patients who had had a particularly difficult pregnancy. Each of these examples illustrate the notion of “recognitional” usage.

⁶Diessel (1999:105-109) notes that recognitional use has been described in a number studies, including Lakoff (1974), Auer (1981, 1984), Chen (1990), Gundel et al (1993), Prince (1992), Chafe (1987, 1994), Dryer (1996), with more detailed description by Himmelmann (1996, 1997).

- (5.41) *jeʔam minyi jeʔm Trinilokutz*
jeʔ+ʔam Ø+miny-i jeʔm Trinylo7kutz
 3PRO+ALR 3ABS+come-PROG **that** Trinylo7kutz
 ‘He comes, that Trinylo7kutz.’ (CRN.032)

- (5.42) *ʔa+chinh-i jeʔm tzaʔagatz*
ʔa+chinh-i jeʔm tzaʔagatz
 XABS+bathe-DEP_{ia} **that** Huazuntlán
 ‘We went to bath at that river Huuazuntlán.’ (UDR.002)

- (5.43) *ʔak+minyáʔy ʔanhmaatyi jeʔm ʔaana*
ʔa+ʔak+miny-ʔaʔy-W ʔanhmaatyi jeʔm ʔaana
 XABS+CAUS₁+come-BEN-CMP word **that** Ana
 ‘That Ana sent me word.’ (SA2.001)

5.2.1 Indefinite reference

SP does not require nouns to be modified by a demonstrative, and the lack of a demonstrative indicates an indefinite reference. For example in (5.44) the noun *puktuuku* ‘cloth, rag’ is not modified. Indefinite reference may also be expressed using the numeric quantifier *tuum* ‘a, an’ (5.45).

- (5.44) *siʔip dya ʔiri+miny puktuuku*
siʔip dya ʔin+na+miny-W puktuuku
 now NEG 2ERG+ASSOC+come-CMP cloth
 ‘Now, you didn’t bring a rag.’ (CSP.169)

- (5.45) *nuuma ʔoytyíp ʔan+kuʔaʔmtáʔm*
nuuma ʔoy-típ-W ʔan+ku.ʔaʔm-taʔm-W
 true go/return_{aux}-FRUS-CMP XERG+look.for-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Certainly, we went to look for

tuum *yoomo* *dya* *?a+pi?pa*
tuum *yoomo* *dya* *?a+pi?pa*
a woman NEG XABS+grasp-INC
 a woman, but no one wants me.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.022)

5.3 Adjectives

Adjectives form a distinct class from nouns, verbs, and adverbs, although they share properties with each of these classes. Adjectives may directly modify a noun within an NP (5.46) or they may function as the head of a non-verbal predicate (5.47).

(5.46) *nim* *karreteruj* *tuum* ***xuutyu*** *jon+tyi*
 Ø+nim-W karreteruj tuum **xuutyu** jon+tyi
 3ABS+say-CMP wagoner one **small** bird+JUST
 ‘The wagoner said, ‘It’s just one, small bird.

wi?ap *?i+wát*
wiH-?aH-pa *?i+wát-W*
 good-VERS-INC 3ERG+do-DEP_t
 What can he do?’ (PDLMA.SIL.BDG.011)

(5.47) *?agi+mi+xuutyu*
 ?agi+mi+**xuutyu**
 INTENS+2ABS+**small**
 ‘You’re very small.’ (PDLMA.Giant.074)

When adjectives function as predicates they pattern like nouns and may be inflected with person and number marking. Like nouns, adjectives may also head relative clauses (5.48), occur as nonverbal predicates in serial verb constructions (5.49), and occur as secondary predicates (5.50).

- (5.48) *siʔip naminyi tuum pukuuku yagatz+piʔk*
siʔip na+miny-i tuum pukuuku Ø+yagatz+piʔk
 now ASSOC+come-IMP one cloth 3ABS+long+REL
 ‘Now, bring a cloth that’s long.’ (SoyPartera.111)

- (5.49) *ʔi+ku+siikiʔtzaktóʔoba ʔidyik niʔikiʔim*
ʔi+ku+siikiʔ=tzak-toʔ-pa ʔidyik niʔ=kiʔ-mi
 3ERG+naked=leave-DESID-INC past water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He wanted to leave him naked in the water.’ (UDR.005)

- (5.50) *Nuʔkpa ʔi+tyikimi*
Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik-mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₁
 ‘He arrives at his house

ʔagi+ʔun máymay+ʔam
ʔagi+ʔun Ø+maymay+ʔam
 INTENS+DJO 3ABS+happy+ALR
 very happy.’ (ESK.047)

Adjectives differ from nouns in that they may only be derived as verbs using the versive suffix *-ʔaH*; whereas nouns may be derived as verbs with both the versive and the provisory suffix *-ʔiʔy*. Adjectives differ from verbs in that they may not take inflectional morphology for aspect and mood unless derived as a verb with the versive suffix *-ʔaH*. Within the NP they may not take inflection for possession or plurality in the absence of the noun⁷. The specific properties of adjectives are discussed here with respect to their semantics (§5.3.1), pragmatics (§5.3.2), morphology (§5.3.3), and syntax (§5.3.5).

⁷Refer to Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 for list of the unique properties of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs.

5.3.1 The Semantic Categories of Adjectives

The adjective class includes underived roots, which are relatively few, as well as derived and borrowed adjectives. The semantic types associated with adjectives in SP are dimension (5.51), age (5.52), color (5.53), corporeal properties (5.55), physical properties (5.54), human propensity (5.56) and value (5.57) (Dixon 1982, 2004). The category “speed” is communicated with adverbs.

(5.51) DIMENSION:

<i>chejche</i>	‘thin, clear, simple’
<i>mij</i>	‘big’
<i>noko</i>	‘near, short’
<i>nyoko</i>	‘short’
<i>wonh</i>	‘short’
<i>wityi</i>	‘wide’
<i>xwutyu</i>	‘small’
<i>yagatz</i>	‘long’

(5.52) AGE:

<i>joomi</i>	‘new’
<i>maanyi</i>	‘young, green’
<i>tzaami</i>	‘old (people)’

(5.53) COLOR:

<i>chiʔi</i>	‘brown, coffee color’
<i>mee kuj</i>	‘coffee color’
<i>pooja</i>	‘grey, ash color’
<i>poopo</i>	‘white’
<i>puʔuch</i>	‘yellow’
<i>tzabatz</i>	‘red’
<i>tzuus</i>	‘green, blue’
<i>yik</i>	‘black, brown’

(5.54) PHYSICAL PROPERTY:

<i>chikiny</i>	‘striped’
<i>jaʔaka</i>	‘sour’
<i>jokox</i>	‘luke warm’
<i>jiʔiki</i>	‘sweet’
<i>kaana paʔak</i>	‘salty’
<i>kaatzu</i>	‘sour, tart’
<i>kamam</i>	‘hard, solid, rigid’
<i>maanyxuj</i>	‘gentle, tranquil, calm’
<i>monyoy</i>	‘hairy, woolly’
<i>muuma</i>	‘whole; complete’
<i>paʔak</i>	‘sweet’
<i>pakʔak</i>	‘cold, cool’
<i>panatz</i>	‘slippery’
<i>peka</i>	‘old (non-human)’
<i>piʔichi</i>	‘dark’
<i>pon</i>	‘soft’
<i>pim</i>	‘thick’
<i>puuwa</i>	‘stinking’
<i>seke</i>	‘bland, dull, simple’
<i>taʔnhka</i>	‘difficult’
<i>takay</i>	‘smells like urine’
<i>tam</i>	‘bitter’
<i>toomi</i>	‘near’
<i>tiʔitz</i>	‘thick, dense’
<i>tiitzi</i>	‘dry (weather)’
<i>tiiji</i>	‘energetic, spirited’
<i>tiwinh</i>	‘clear (weather)’
<i>tzaʔkxnyi</i>	‘heavy’
<i>tzoko</i>	‘raw, uncooked; green’
<i>tzuupa</i>	‘sharp’
<i>wayay</i>	‘thin (people, rope), tight (clothes)’

(5.55) CORPOREAL PROPERTIES:

pik 'hairy'
xiʔnychi 'curly'

(5.56) HUMAN PROPENSITY:

ʔuʔukʔuy 'sad, poor'
(or *ʔuukʔuy*)
jaaya 'brave'
maymay 'happy, content'
tzootyi 'brave, valiant'
rraabyuj 'angry'
naaja 'jealous, envious'
nuuma 'true, certain'

(5.57) VALUE:

wiH 'good, pretty'
maaluj 'bad, ugly'

There are about 60 adjective roots in Soteapanec, although a large number of adjectives are derived from other word classes or borrowed, usually from Spanish. A number of the derived adjectives consist of reduplicated roots of nouns, verbs, adjectives or other unknown sources, which are presumed to be ideophones. Some reduplicated adjectives with their known sources are listed in example (5.58).

(5.58) REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES:

<i>ʔoʔmʔoʔm</i>	‘smell/taste of smoked earth/wood’	<i>ʔoʔm</i>	‘to smoke st.’
<i>maymay</i>	‘content, happy’		
<i>mujamuja</i>	‘damp, wet’	<i>muj</i>	‘to make wet’
<i>nyiʔchinyiʔchi</i>	‘wrinkled’		
<i>patapata</i>	‘square’		
<i>punpun</i>	‘straight, smooth, slippery’		
<i>suksuk</i>	‘cold’		
<i>tuʔntuʔn</i>	‘ripe-looking, but not for eating’		
<i>tyiʔktyiʔk</i>	‘stink like animal’		
<i>tzantzan</i>	‘rancid, foul odour’		
<i>tzupa.tzupa</i>	‘sharp’	<i>tzupa</i>	‘sharp’
<i>wiʔiyiwiʔiyi</i>	‘smell of wet dog/raw meat’		
<i>wokowoko</i>	‘shaped like back of knee’		
<i>xokixoki</i>	‘full of little holes’		
<i>chiʔxchiʔ</i>	‘smell of burnt food’		
<i>jichijichi</i>	‘rough, scratchy’	<i>jich</i>	‘scrape, wipe’
<i>chejche</i>	‘thin, clear, simple’		
<i>wayay</i>	‘thin (people), tight (clothes)’		

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Some adjectives are sound symbolic. Sound symbolic terms are defined as those containing phonemes that occur in environments where they would not occur normally. For example, in SP the palatal or palatalized segments [tʲ, dʲ, ʃ, ɲ, tʃ] are allophones of the alveolar segments /t, tʲ, s, ts, n/ when they occur adjacent to the high front vowel [i], the palatal glide [j] or any palatal (or palatalized) consonants [tʲ, ʃ, ɲ, tʃ]. In sound symbolic expressions, these palatal segments occur in any environment. Some examples are listed

in (5.59).

- (5.59) SOUND SYMBOLIC:
chejche ‘thin, clear, simple’
nyoko ‘short’
xokixoki ‘full of little holes’
xuutyu ‘small’

There are also a number of adjectives that are borrowed from Spanish.

These are listed in example (5.60).

- (5.60) BORROWED FROM SPANISH:
maaluj ‘bad’ (sp. *malo*)
maanyxuj ‘gentle, tranquil, calm’ (sp. *manso*)
moonyo ‘hairy, woolly’ (sp. *mooño*)
puuruj ‘pure’ (sp. *puro*)
raabyuj ‘angry’ (sp. *rabio*)

5.3.2 A Note on Pragmatics

In naturally occurring discourse, adjectives may modify an overtly expressed noun, as shown in (5.61); however, it is rare. Rather, once the noun is introduced in the discourse the adjective follows in a non-verbal predicate. For instance, in the excerpt shown in example (5.62), the noun *su?unh* ‘pot’ is introduced in the first sentence (a), and it is described as being small in the second (b).

- (5.61) *porkej jeʔ ʔi+chéʔnaʔy*
porkej jeʔ ʔi+tzen-ʔaʔy-W
because 3PRO 3ERG+tie-BEN-CMP
‘Because she tied him

kun tzabatz piʔityi
 kun tzabatz piʔityi
 with red thread
 with a red ribbon.’ (GU1.063)

(5.62) (a) *ʔi+piku+mun tuum ʔi+xuʔunh*
 ʔi+pik+wi+ʔam+ʔun tuum ʔi+suʔunh
 3ERG+grab-CMP+ALR one 3PSR+pot
 ‘He grabbed a pot.’

(b) *xuutu jeʔm suʔunh*
 Ø+xuutu jeʔm suʔunh
 3ABS+small that pot
 ‘The pot was small.’ (ESK.064)

5.3.3 Morphology

Adjectives may directly modify a noun within an NP or function as a predicate. Adjectives may not occur anaphorically, and as such they may not take inflection for possession (Set-A proclitics) or plural marking. Attempts to elicit possessed or pluralized adjectives result in speaker’s producing alternative constructions or deriving verbs. As a modifier of a noun within the NP, adjectives take no inflectional morphology (5.63). Adjectives may not bear Set-A person markers to indicate possession nor plural markers to indicate plurality in the absence of the noun they modify.

(5.63) *ta+nimpa tzabatz jiiloj ʔi+cheʔnáʔy*
 ta+nim-pa tzapʔatz jiiluj ʔi+tzen-ʔaʔy-W
 IABS+say-INC red thread 3ERG+tie-BEN-CMP
 ‘We say, she tied a red thread on him.’ (GU1.064)

Adjectives that function as the predicate take inflection for person and number. In example (5.64), *xuutyu* ‘small’ occurs as the predicate and is inflected with 2nd person. In example (5.65) the adjective *maymay* ‘happy’, the predicate of the clause, is inflected with number morphology to agree with the subject of the predicate. In this sense, adjectives are similar to nouns, which also occur as non-verbal predicates. In addition, adjectives don’t take inflection for aspect or mood, another characteristic they share with nouns.

(5.64) *?agi+mi+xuutyu*
?agi+mi+xuutyu
 INTENS+2ABS+small
 ‘You’re very small.’ (PDLMA.Giant.074)

(5.65) *?entonse ?este ?an+tzixi+tam maymay+yaj*
?entonse ?este ?an+tzixi+tam Ø+maymay+yaj
 then FILL XPSR+child+PLU_{sap} 3ABS+happy+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘My children were happy...’ (PDLMA.RODILLA.004)

5.3.4 Derivational Properties Associated with Adjectives

5.3.4.1 Deriving Adjectives from Other Word Classes

An important difference between nouns and adjectives is the way in which they are derived. As shown in Chapter 4, verbs may take the nominalizer suffix *-i* to derive nouns, illustrated in (5.66).

(5.66) *je? tzam ?i+chi?iba ?idyik jo?yi*
je? tzam ?i+chi?-pa ?idyik jo?y-i
 3PRO much 3ERG+give-INC PAST anger-NOM

‘It made him very angry.’ (lit. ‘It gave him lots of anger.’) (Comal.002)

Although there are a number of adjectives that are derived from verbs with the affixes *ku+* (5.67), *-piy* (5.68), and *-kiy* (5.69), or formed by reduplication of a root, there is no suffix that productively derives adjectives from verbs. The use of these affixes to derive adjectives is non-productive and the forms shown here are lexicalized. In many cases, the meaning of the derived root is unknown.

(5.67) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *ku+*:

<i>ku+ʔoʔoxiʔoʔoxi</i>	‘snarled, knotted’	<i>ʔo ʔos</i>	‘piled up, garbage’
<i>ku+tyiny</i>	‘lazy’	<i>tyiny</i>	‘excrement’
<i>ku+ʔixi</i>	‘slow, stupid’	<i>ʔixi</i>	?
<i>ku+siiki</i>	‘naked’	<i>siiki</i>	?

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(5.68) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *-piy*:

<i>jaʔppiy</i>	‘grindable’	<i>jaʔp</i>	‘to grind’
<i>jakpiy</i>	‘crossable’	<i>jak</i>	‘to cut, cross’
<i>jaypiy</i>	‘writable’	<i>jay</i>	‘to write’
<i>jespiy</i>	‘same, equal’	<i>jes</i>	‘to be like this’
<i>paʔapiy</i>	‘strainable’	<i>paʔ</i>	‘to strain, filter’
<i>koonypiy</i>	‘sittable’	<i>koony</i>	‘to sit’
<i>kiypiy</i>	‘supportable, can carry weight’	<i>kiy</i>	‘?’
<i>jempiy</i>	‘possible/not possible’	?	‘?’
<i>juʔtzpiy</i>	‘how much’	<i>juʔtz</i>	‘how’
<i>peeypiy</i>	‘low bassinet for baby so it doesn’t fall out’	<i>peey</i>	‘to wave back and forth’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(5.69) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *-kiy*:

<i>piskiy</i>	‘soft, for eating’	<i>pis</i>	‘heal, spill over’
<i>sijkiy</i>	‘densely vegetated’	<i>sij</i>	‘walk (insect)’
<i>tijkiy</i>	‘worker, active’	<i>tij</i>	?
<i>weskiy</i>	‘fragile’	<i>wes</i>	?

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

These derived adjectives occur in the same contexts as adjective roots. For instance, they may occur as non-verbal predicates (5.70), as relative clauses (5.71), or as nonverbal predicates in serial verb constructions (5.72)⁸. No examples have been observed in which the derived adjective directly modifies a noun, but as stated previously the use of adjectives to directly modify nouns occurs rarely in naturally occurring speech.

- (5.70) *proobem jeʔm piixiny ku+ʔiixi*
 pobre+ʔam jeʔm piixiny Ø+ku+ʔiix
 poor.thing+ALR that man 3ABS+DERIV₂+stupid
 ‘Poor thing, the man is stupid.’ (Gusano1.055)

- (5.71) *jikskiy+piʔk nuʔknéʔum*
 Ø+jikskiy+piʔk Ø+nuʔk-neʔ-wi+ʔam
 3ABS+hard.working+REL 3ABS+arrive-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘The one that’s hardworking has arrived.’ (20070721.RCR)

- (5.72) *ʔi+ku+siiki tzaktóʔoba ʔidyik niʔikiʔim*
 ʔi+ku+siiki=tzak-toʔ-pa ʔidyik nʔi=kiʔ-m
 3ERG+naked=leave-DESIDINC past water=LOC₃-LOC₁
 ‘They wanted to leave him naked in the water.’ (UDR.005)

Examples such as (5.72) may be thought of as depictive predicates semantically, however, syntactically they are not. Depictive predicates are formed

⁸See ch. 21 for description of serial verb constructions and the predicates that occur in them.

with verbs, and adjectives must be derived as verbs with the versive to participate as a depictive predicate. See Chapter 23 for discussion of depictive or secondary predicates.

5.3.4.2 Deriving Adjectives Into Other Word Classes

Verbs may be derived from adjectives with the versive suffix *-ʔaH*. The adjective *mij* ‘big’ derived with the versive is shown in (5.73).

- (5.73) *lo ke ʔich ʔa+súj jesik ʔich ʔa+mijá*
lo ke ʔich ʔa+saj-W jesik ʔich ʔa+mij-ʔaH-W
 it that 1PRO XABS+gift-CMP then 1PRO XABS+big-VERS-CMP
 ‘She gave it too me when I got big.’ (MAB.242)

Unlike nouns, adjectives may not be derived as verbs with the provisory suffix *-ʔiʔy*⁹. Attempts to elicit constructions in which the adjective is derived with the provisory were judged ungrammatical by speakers.

5.3.4.3 Compounding Adjectives

Adjectives occur in compounds with nouns. A clear indication that an adjective and noun are compounded is that compounds can be possessed, as shown in (5.74) and (5.75). In the two examples, the two compounds *mij=pak* ‘waist’ and *maanyi=mik* ‘young corn’ is inflected with Set-A person markers to indicate possession. ADJECTIVE=NOUN compounds that appear in texts, as illustrated here, are tight units that are lexically specific. Examples include:

⁹Derivation of nouns from verbs with the provisory suffix is described in §4.3.4 of Ch. 4.

body parts (5.74), agricultural staples (5.75), and names of flora and fauna (5.76).

- (5.74) *tzeʔnáʔytyáaj* *jeʔm ʔi+mijpak*
 Ø+tzen-ʔaʔy-taH-W *jeʔm ʔi+mij=pak*
 3ABS+tie-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3ERG+big=bone
 ‘His waist was tied.’ (GUS.049)

- (5.75) *Kej barbaroj jeʔm ʔim+maanyimik ʔiny+wáʔk*
kej barbaroj jeʔm ʔin+maanyi=mok ʔiny+waʔk-W
 what awful that 2PSR+young=corn 2ERG+lose-CMP
 ‘How awful that you lost your corn (sp. *elote*).’ (PQ2.209)

- (5.76) *jeʔm tzuustiixi jeʔ tikʔíy jeʔm*
jeʔm tzuus=tiixi jeʔ Ø+tikʔiy-wi jeʔm
 that green=bat 3PRO 3ABS+enter-CMP that
tikjojmi
 tik=joj.mi
 house=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘The green bat entered the house.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.093)

Compounding adjectives and nouns is productive. Speakers may produce constructions such as the one shown in (5.77) easily when asked, although in naturally occurring discourse the preference is to modify possessed nouns with predicate adjectives. When prompted speakers are just as likely to produce a construction in which the modifier of the possessed noun is relativized (5.78) or in which the modifier functions as the predicate (5.79).

- (5.77) *ʔich ʔan+tzabatzʔaasa*
ʔich ʔan+tzapʔatz=ʔaasa
 1PRO XPSR+red=dress
 ‘My red dress.’ (20070721.RCR)

- (5.78) *?i+jak?á?y* *wisteen* ***mij+pi?k*** *tzay*
 ?i+jak-?a?y-W wisteen \emptyset +***mij+pi?k*** tzay
 3ERG+cut-BEN-CMP two 3ABS+big+REL vine
 ‘He cut two big vines.’ (PDLMA.Juunychu7tz.004)

- (5.79) *?agi+wi* *?i+?ixkuy*
 ?agi+ \emptyset +***wiH*** ?i+?ixkuy
 INTENS+3ABS+pretty 3PSR+eye
 ‘His eyes were very pretty.’ (GU1.033b)

5.3.5 Syntax

5.3.5.1 Adjectives within the NP

When the adjective directly modifies the noun in the utterance, it precedes the noun (5.80).

- (5.80) *je?m tan+abweeloj* *?inh+matyyajpa*
 je?m tan+abuelo ?i+?anh+mat-yaj-pa
 that IPSR+grandfather 3ERG+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Our grandfathers say

?iga+pe?m+?un ***tzabatz*** *nas* *?o?omi?y*
 ?iga+pe?m+?un ***tzap?atz*** nas \emptyset +?oomi-?i?y-W
 that+that.yonder+DJO red land 3ABS+landlord-PROV-CMP
 ‘that that red land has a landlord.’ (Duenyo.002/3)

When an adjective follows the noun, it appears with the relativizer *+pi?k* and is interpreted as a relative clause, as illustrated in example (5.81).

- (5.81) *tum pi?ityi* ***tzabatz+pi?k*** *?i+tze?na?yu+m*
 tuum pi?ityi \emptyset +***tzap?atz+pi?k*** ?i+tzen-?a?y-W+?am
 one thread 3ABS+red+REL 3ERG+tie-BEN-CMP+ALR
 ‘She tied him with a string that was red.’ (GU2.043)

Adjectives don't occur anaphorically in naturally occurring speech. In cases where the noun has been expressed earlier in the discourse, speakers may omit the noun. In this case, however, the adjective is relativized, as shown in (5.82). In elicitation, speakers rejected utterances in which the noun was omitted and the adjective was not relativized (5.83).

- (5.82) *ʔam+pikpa* *jeʔm tyuus+piʔk*
 ʔan+pik-pa jeʔm Ø+tyuus+piʔk
 XERG+take-INC that 3ABS+green+REL
 'I take the one that's green.' (JAF.2006)

- (5.83) **ʔam+pikpa* *jeʔm tyuus*
 ʔan+pik-pa jeʔm Ø+tyuus
 XERG+take-INC that 3ABS+green
 Intended reading: 'I take the green one.' (JAF.2006)

Adjectives may occur with other adjectives, as shown in (5.84). They may also occur with other modifiers. For instance, they occur with quantifiers, in which case the quantifier precedes the adjective. As shown in (5.85), the noun *pok* 'gourd' is modified by the adjective *xuutyu* 'small' and the quantifier *tuum* 'one'.

- (5.84) *ʔi+ri+míny* *puuroj muja kuy*
 ʔi+na+miny-wi **puuroj muja** kuy
 3ERG+ASSOC+come-CMP pure wet tree
 'He brought pure wet wood.' (Comal.005b)

- (5.85) *ʔii tuum xuutyu pok* *ʔinhku+kompa* *ku+tooty*
 ʔii **tuum xuutyu** pok ʔin+ku+kom-pa ku+tooty
 and one small gourd 2ERG+DERIV+fill-INC brains
 'And you fill one small gourd with brains.' (PDLMA.Giant.078)

Adjectives may be modified by intensifiers when they are relativized (5.86) or when they occur as non-verbal predicates, as shown in (5.87). There are no occurrences of adjectives being modified by intensifiers when they directly modify the noun. Attempts to elicit intensified adjectives as modifiers results in the adjective being relativized or used as a non-verbal predicate.

- (5.86) *porkej minypa+m tzaam mij+pik tzaany*
 porkej Ø+minypa+m **tzaam mij+pik** tzaany
 because 3ABS+come-INC+ALR very big+REL snake
 ‘because a snake that is very big is already coming.’ (Gutierrez and Wichmann 2001:327)

- (5.87) *jeʔm ʔan+widyaaaya ʔagi+ku+tyiny*
 jeʔm ʔan+wity=ʔaaya **ʔagi+Ø+ku+tyiny**
 that XPSR+husband INTENS+3ABS+DERIV₂+lazy
 ‘My husband is very lazy.’ (Comal.004a)

5.3.5.2 Predicate Adjectives

When adjectives occur as the predicate, they pattern like nominal predicates. They take absolute proclitics to mark agreement with the S, illustrated for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in (5.88) through (5.90).

- (5.88) *ʔiny+dya+nam ʔa+juuch*
 ʔich+dya+nam **ʔa+juuch**
 1PRO+NEG+STILL XABS+little
 ‘I, not yet. I’m still little.’ (MAB.166a)

- (5.89) *ʔagi+mi+xutyu*
 ʔagi+mi+xutyu
 INTENS+2ABS+small
 ‘You’re very small.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.074)

- (5.90) *ʔa puej jeʔm ʔan+tzii̯tzi tzootyɪ ʔidyik*
ʔa puej jeʔm ʔan+tzii̯tzi Ø+tzootyɪ ʔidyik
 Ah well that XPSR+aunt 3ABS+angry PAST
 ‘Ah, well, my aunt was foul-tempered.’ (MAB.139a)

Predicate adjectives may precede or follow their S. The possible word orders are illustrated in (5.91), in which the S precedes the predicate adjective, and in (5.92), in which the S follows the predicate adjective.

- (5.91) *jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+maymay puej*
jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+Ø+maymay puej
 THAT woman INTENS+3ABS+happy then
 ‘Well, the woman was very happy.’ (GU1.051a)

- (5.92) *maaluj jeʔm tzuʔukiny*
Ø+malo jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 3ABS+bad that worm
 ‘The worms are bad.’ (GU2.123)

Multiple predicate adjectives may be coordinated. Example (5.93) shows an utterance with two coordinated adjectives, one of which is negated.

- (5.93) *dya wi̯i jeʔm tzuʔukiny ʔii ʔagi+chikiny*
dya Ø+wi̯H jeʔm tzuʔukiny ʔii ʔagi+Ø+chikiny
 NEG 3ABS+good that worm and INTENS+3ABS+striped
 ‘These worms were ugly (not good) and very striped.’ (GU2.124)

Adjectives that are borrowed from Spanish may also occur as predicate adjectives. Example (5.94) shows the use of a borrowed adjective as a nonverbal predicate. Example (5.93 above) also shows a borrowed adjective as a nonverbal predicate.

- (5.94) *maaluj jeʔm tzuʔukiny*
 Ø+**maaluj** jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 3ABS+bad that worm
 ‘The worms are bad.’ (GU2.123)

Making comparisons between two objects or persons is done by juxtaposing clauses, as shown in (5.95), an example obtained during elicitation. The closest example of a comparison that has been observed in texts so far is shown in (5.96), in which the speaker is explaining that her grandmother was fair-skinned but she herself was dark-skinned. Notice, however, that the speaker begins the comparison with the Spanish *nada mas*, which translates as ‘no more, just, only, simply’.

- (5.95) *yiʔp jiiuj ʔagi+waaytyam*
 yiʔp jiiuj ʔagi+Ø+waaytyam
 this thread INTENS+3ABS+thin
 ‘This thread is very thin.’

yiʔp tiʔpx-i mij
 yiʔp tiʔps-i Ø+mij
 this twist-NOM 3ABS+big

This rope is thick.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

- (5.96) *na maj ʔich jeʔm ʔan+choomo*
 nada mas ʔich jeʔm ʔan+choomo
 no more 1PRO that XPSR+grandmother
 ‘Not like me, my grandmother

dya ʔidyik yiknaʔagiʔy
 dya ʔidyik Ø+yik=naaka-ʔiʔy-W
 NEG past 3ABS+black/brown=skin-PROV-CMP
 didn’t have brown skin.

ʔich ʔan+choomo ʔagi+ʔidyik wii ʔi+nyaaka
ʔich ʔan+choomo ʔagi+ʔityʔik wiH ʔi+naaka
 1PRO XPSR+grandmother INTENS+PAST pretty 3PSR+skin
 My grandmother had very pretty skin.

ʔich pis ʔiga+ʔa+yiknaʔagiʔy
ʔich pues ʔiga+ʔa+yik=naaka-ʔiʔy-W
 1PRO then that+XABS+brown=skin-PROV-CMP
 me, well, I have brown skin....' (MAB.225-7)

pòopnaʔagiʔy ʔidyik
Ø+poopo=naaka-ʔiʔy-W ʔidyik
 3ABS+white=skin-PROV-CMP PAST
 She had white skin.' (MAB.235)

Frequently, there appear comparisons in which terms are borrowed from Spanish. (5.97) illustrates a case in which the speaker borrows *maas* 'more' and *kij* 'that' from the Spanish *mas* and *que*.

(5.97) [No bees] *ʔiga+ʔich mas ʔa+tzaami+ʔam kij mi+mich*
 no bees ʔiga+ʔich mas ʔa+tzaami+ʔam kij mi+mich
 no ves COMP+1PRO more XABS+old+ALR that 2ABS+2PRO
 'Don't you see that I'm older than you.' (AVC.014)

5.3.5.3 Modifiers of Nouns as Non-verbal Predicates

Adjectives may also modify nouns that occur as non-verbal predicates, or statives. For example in (5.98) the adjective precedes the nominal predicate *woonyi* 'girl'. The adjective and noun form a single unit, which is evident from the person marking that precedes the adjective.

(5.98) *mi+chixwoonyi+nyam*
 mi+tziixi=woonyi+nam
 2ABS+little=girl+STILL

‘You’re still a little girl.’ (20070713.JAF)

Nouns derived as verbs with the provisory *-ʔiʔy* may also be modified. In (5.99) (repeated from 5.96), the predicate is the noun *naaka* derived as a verb with *-ʔiʔy*. The adjective *yak* modifies the derived noun.

(5.99) *ʔich pis ʔiga+ʔa+yiknaʔagiʔy*
ʔich pues ʔiga+ʔa+yik=naaka-ʔiʔy-W
 1PRO then that+XABS+brown=skin-PROV-CMP
 me, well, I have brown skin.... (MAB.227)

Adjectives may also make up part of the inflected verb word. This includes a small number of adjectives (*wiH* ‘good, fine’ and *maluj* ‘bad’) whose function in these constructions is often adverbial.

(5.100) *porkej jeʔ ʔanh+wĩtzentáʔmam*
porkej jeʔ ʔan+wĩH=tzen-taʔm-wi+ʔam
 because 3PRO XERG+good=tie-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘Because we tied it up well.’ (PQH.021)

There are some verbs, however, in which adjectives occurring within the verb word describe the state of an argument rather than modifying the event. One such verb is *tzak* ‘leave’. In example (5.101), repeated from (5.72), the adjective *ku+siiki* precedes the verb. That the adjective and verb make up a single bound unit is evident from the inflectional morphology: The verb is inflected with the *ʔi+* ‘3ERG’.

(5.101) *ʔi+ku+siikitzaktóʔoba* *ʔidyik niʔikiʔim*
ʔi+ku+siiki=tzak-toʔ-pa *ʔidyik niʔ=kiʔ.mi*
 3ERG+DERIV+naked=leave-DESID-INC PAST water=LOC₁₅.LOC₁
 ‘They wanted to leave him naked in the water.’ (UDR.005)

5.4 Quantifiers

SP has numeric (5.102) and non-numeric (5.103) quantifiers.

- (5.102) **wisteen** *kastyanʔaanyi ʔi+kuʔt*
wisteen *kastyan=ʔaanyi ʔi+kuʔt-W*
 two bread 3ERG+eat-CMP
 ‘He ate two loaves of bread.’ (Comer.004)

- (5.103) **weenyi** *woonyjaychiix+tyam*
weenyi *woonyi=jay=tyiixi+tam*
some *boy=child+PLU_{hum}*
 ‘Some young men

yoʔomiʔyyajpa+m
 Ø+yoomo-ʔiʔy-yaj-pa+m
 3ABS+woman-PROV-PLU_{nonsap}-INC+ALR
 ‘take wives.’ (Jovenes.002)

For the most part, numeric and non-numeric quantifiers pattern similarly with a few exceptions. All quantifiers precede the noun they are modifying. They also generally precede all other nominal modifiers. They may occur as nonverbal predicates and be inflected with person and plural marking. Both types of quantifier may head the NP. Each of these topics are described in their respective sections: Numbers (§5.4.1) and non-numeric quantifiers (§5.4.2). The main difference, and the one that separates numerals from all other word classes, is that numbers may take a type of numeric specifier in the form of the proclitic *ku+*, which permits Set-A person markers. Finally, both numeric and non-numeric quantifiers are often borrowed from Spanish, as shown in examples (5.104) and (5.105), respectively.

- (5.104) *?içh ?a+çi?ityáa* *trej peesoj*
 ?içh ?a+çi?-taH-W **trej** peesuj
 1PRO XABS+give-PASS-CMP **three** pesos

‘I was given three pesos. (PDLMA.Viaje.014)

- (5.105) *?iri+?ity* *tooduj*
 ?i+na+?ity-W **tooduj**
 3ERG+ASSOC+be-CMP **all**

‘He had everyone.’ (referring to community support) (PDLMA.Presidente)

5.4.1 Numbers

There are three sets of Soteapanec numbers. These are listed in Table (5.1).

Table 5.1: Numbers

<i>=teen</i> numerals	<i>=naH</i> numerals	<i>tik</i> numerals	
<i>tuum</i>			‘one’
<i>wis=teen</i>	<i>wis=naH</i>	<i>wistik</i>	‘two’
<i>tuku=teen</i>	<i>tuku=naH/tuk=naH</i>		‘three’
<i>maktas=teen</i>	<i>maktas=naH</i>		‘four’
<i>mos=teen</i>			‘five’
<i>tujtu=teen</i>			‘six’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Numbers consist of a numeric root and some numeric affix. The numeric roots may not occur independently, and the numeric affixes are thought to be numerical classifiers historically. *=teen* may have been a numeral classifier associated with people (Terrence Kaufman p.c.). Today, the distinction in use between the sets is slightly blurred. The set of *=teen* numbers occurs more frequently in naturally occurring speech, and they are observed modifying both humans (5.106) and non-humans (5.107).

- (5.106) *j̄iyajpa* **wisteen** *jeʔm piixiny*
 Ø+j̄iy-yaj-pa **wis=teen** jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC **two** that man
 ‘The two men speak.’ (Cangrejo.049)

- (5.107) *ʔi+watpa+m* **wisteen** *ʔi+weʔkxi*
 ʔi+wat-pa+ʔam **wis=teen** ʔi+weʔks-i
 3ERG+make-INC+ALR **two** 3PSR+braid
 ‘She makes two braids.’ (VYT.013)

The *naH* forms are observed modifying predominantly humans (5.108), with two exceptions, which are shown in (5.109) and (5.110).

- (5.108) *j̄emum keyyáj* **wisna+yaj**
 jemum Ø+kej-yaj-W **wis=naH+yaj**
 there 3ABS+appear-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP two+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘There appeared

jeʔm *piixiny*
 jeʔm piixiny
two+PLU_{nonhum} that
 those two men.’ (PQ2.074)

- (5.109) *moj* *ʔi+watyyáj* *[pause]*
 moj-W ʔi+wat-yaj-W [pause]
 begin-CMP 3ERG+do-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t [pause]
 ‘They began to do it [pause]

ʔi+nyj+ʔityum **wisnaa** *semaanaaj*
 ʔi+na+ʔity-W+ʔam **wis=naH** *semaanaaj*
 3ERG+ASSOC+be-CMP+ALR two week
 they’ve had two weeks [working on it].’ (CP1.018)

- (5.110) *ku+kom-ʔaytyáa* *ʔi+kuxtyat*
 Ø+ku+kom-ʔaʔy-taH-W ʔi+kuxtyat
 3ABS+else+fill-BEN-PASS-CMP 3PSR+sack
 ‘His sacks were filled,

wisna *kuxtyat jeʔm mok*
wis=naH *kuxtyat jeʔm mok*
two sack that corn
two sacks of corn.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.026)

The third numeral set consists only of the number *wistik* ‘two’. *Wistik* has been observed in a number of texts and may refer to human (5.111) and nonhuman (5.112) entities. *Wistik* occurs only with the derivational suffix *ku+* and Set A person marking proclitics to indicate specific nouns being modified. This strategy is used to specify entities, similar to partitive constructions. Example (5.112) is interesting because the speaker uses two different ‘twos’. Example (5.113) shows a fragment with the first person inclusive proclitic *tan+*.

(5.111) *moj* *?i+k+póy*
 moj-W *?i+?ak+poy-W₂*
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+CAUS₁+run-DEP_t
‘They began to chase it

jeʔm ?i+k+wistik
jeʔm ?i+ku+wistik
that 3ERG+SPECIFIER+two
the two [children]

tuum ?an+jayuk ?ii tuum jeʔm ?anh+woonyi
tuum ?an+jayuk ?ii tuum jeʔm ?anh+woonyi
one XPSR+nephew and one that XPSR+daughter
one of my nephews and one of my daughters.’ (PQH.010/11)

(5.112) **wisteen** *jeʔm piyyuj*
 wisteen *jeʔm piyu*
 two that chicken
‘Two chickens

ʔóy *ʔan+juytyáʔm*
 ʔoy-W ʔan+juy-taʔm-W₂
 go/ret_{aux}-CMP XERG+buy-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 we went to buy,

ʔi+k+wistik *ʔarak+kaʔatáʔm*
 ʔi+ku+wistik ʔan+ʔak+kaʔ-taʔm-W
 3ERG+SPECIFIER+two XERG+CAUS₁+die-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 and we killed the two of them.’ (PQH.022/23)

- (5.113) *tanh+k+wistik*
 tan+ku+wistik
 XERG+SPECIFIER+two
 ‘the two of us.’ (PDLMA.Lex.w@st@k)

Derivational *ku+* also occurs with the =teen numerals. As illustrated in example (5.114), the noun being modified may be overtly expressed. All persons can be specified in this way. No examples have been observed with the =naH numerals.

- (5.114) *ʔi+tzentzák* *ʔi+chimpa* *ʔi+ku+tukuteen*
 ʔi+tzen=tzak-W ʔi+chimpa ʔi+ku+tukuteen
 3ERG+tie=leave-CMP 3PSR+dog 3ERG+SPECIFIER+three
 ‘He left the three dogs tied.’ (Gutierrez and Wichmann 2004, Chichimeca183)

The number *tuum* ‘one’ also occurs with the specifier *ku+* and means alone (5.115).

- (5.115) *jeʔam na.maj ta+tziʔypa* *tanh+ku+tyuum*
 jeʔam na.maj ta+tziʔy-pa tan+ku+tyuum
 that no.more IABS+remain-INC IERG+SPECIFIER+alone
 ‘There we stayed alone.’ (Yerno.016a)

Numbers precede the noun being modified (5.116). Numbers generally precede the demonstrative modifying the noun (5.117), although cases in which the demonstrative precedes the quantifier are also observed (5.118).

- (5.116) *?iri+miny* **wisteen** *yoomo*
 ?i+na+miny-W **wisteen** yoomo
 3ERG+ASSOC+come-CMP **two** woman
 ‘He brought two women.’ (PQ2.070b)

- (5.117) *?iku+kóm* **tukuteen** *je?m pok*
 ?i+ku+kom-W **tukuteen** je?m pok
 3ERG+fill-CMP **three** that gourd
 ‘He filled the three gourds.’ (PDLMA.Giant.080)

- (5.118) *?ich ?estej ?anh+wagá?y* *?iga+mi?nyiny*
 ?ich ?estej ?an+wa?k-?a?y-W ?iga+miny-?iny
 1PRO FILL XERG+ask-BEN-CMP COMP+come-OPT

- yoxáaji+yaj* *yi?p wisnaj* *piixiny+yaj*
 Ø+yooxaH-i+yaj yi?p **wisnaH** piixiny+yaj
 3ABS+work-DEP_{ia}-PLU_{nonhum} this **two** man-PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘I requested that these two men come to work.’ (CP1.006/7)

Numbers may be anaphoric and can occur as the head of the NP. In example (5.119) the S of the verb is *wisteen*, referring to ‘two [men]’.

- (5.119) **wisteen** *dya mónhne?yáj*
wisteen dya Ø+monh-ne?-yaj-W
two NEG 3ABS+sleep-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘The two [men] don’t sleep.’ (Cangrejo.049)

Numbers may function as non-verbal predicates. As such they may be inflected with Set-B person markers and plural suffixes (5.120). They may also be coordinated (5.121).

- (5.120) *jii* ?a+**wisteen**+tam
jii ?a+**wisteen**+tam
 yes XABS+**two**+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Yes, we are two.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.043)

- (5.121) *je?m dya+pik tan+kiiy-pa ta+wisteen ta+tukuteen*
je?m dya-pik tan+kiiy-pa ta+wisteen ta+tukuteen
 that NEG+REL IERG+endure-INC IABS+**two** IABS+**three**
 ‘There were two or three of us that didn’t endure it.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.062)

In addition, we saw in §5.3 that adjectives have been derived from other word classes with the morpheme *kiiy*. A morpheme of the same shape *kiiy* is used with numbers to indicate ‘number of times’, as shown by the list in (5.122).

- (5.122) DERIVING *n*-TIMES WITH *kiiy*:
tumkiiy ‘one time’
wiskiiy ‘two times’
tukkiiy ‘three times’
maktaskiiy ‘four times’
 (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

An example from the texts illustrating *wiskuy* ‘twice’ is shown in (5.123).

- (5.123) *wiskuy* ?i+jii?yá?y
wiskuy ?i+jii?y-?a?y-W
 twice 3ERG+say-BEN-CMP
 ‘Twice he says:

tyii si?ib inh+wát jeem
tyiH si?-pa ?in+wat-W jeem
 what walk_{aux}-INC 2ERG+do-DEP_t there
 ‘What are you doing there’ ” REY.012b

5.4.1.1 Borrowing Numbers from Spanish

Today the Spanish numbers 1 (one) through 3 (three) occur almost as frequently as their SP counterparts; the numbers 4 (four) and 5 (five) occur more frequently in Spanish; 6 (six) occurs only in Spanish. Spanish numbers are seen modifying nouns (5.124), they may head the NP (5.125), they may occur as non-verbal predicates (5.126), and they may also be specified with the derivational prefix *ku+* (5.127).

- (5.124) *ya despwes ?an+jiiisu+m kwaanduj*
 ya despwes ?an+jiiis-W+?am kwanduj
 already after XERG+think-CMP+ALR when
 ‘I thought about it when

?ityyaju+m
 Ø+?ity-yaj-W+?am
 3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR
 there were already

kwaatruj+?am ?an+tziix+tyam
kwaatruj+?am ?an+tziixi+tam
four+ALR XPSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 four children.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.055)

- (5.125) *?i+k+ka?ayaaj ?eeybik*
 ?i+?ak+ka?-yaj-W ?eeybik
 3ERG+CAUS₁+die-PLU_{hum}-CMP another.time
 ‘They killed it another time;

?i+tyinhgujuk+yáj putu+m
 ?i+tinh=ku+jak+yaj-W Ø+put-W+?am
 3ERG=cut=DERIV+cut+PLU_{hum}-CMP 3ABS+come.out-CMP+ALR
 they cut it up and out came

kwaatruj+ʔam
kwaatruj+ʔam
 four+ALR
 four.’ (PDLMA.XUUNUJTI.015)

- (5.126) *ʔa+siinkuj+tam*
 ʔa+siinkuj+tam
 XABS+five+PLU_{sap}
 ‘There were five of us

ʔa+jaʔamoynyeʔtamwip+am
 ʔa+jaam-ʔoʔy-neʔ+taʔm-W-ʔpV+ʔam
 XABS+feel-ANTIP-PERF+PLU_{sap}-CMP+REL+ALR
 that were old,

ʔanh+wattáʔm *kweentaj jeʔm tyeempuj* **trej** *meeses*
 ʔan+wat-taʔm-pa kweentaj jeʔm tyeempuj **trej** meeses
 XERG+do-PLU_{sap}-INC story that time **three** months
 we did this for three months.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.086)

- (5.127) *nim-pa,* *si mi+nyiktaʔmpa* *ʔinh+ku+trees.*
 Ø+nim-pa si mi+nikk-taʔm-pa ʔin+ku+**trees**
 3ABS+say-INC si 2ABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC 2ERG+SPECIFIER+**three**
 ‘He says: ‘The three of you are going?’ ’ (VVA.006)

5.4.2 Non-numeric Quantifiers

The set of known SP non-numeric quantifiers is shown in example 5.128. Lexically, there are no negative quantifiers. Speakers use the derived negative pronouns to indicate ‘nothing’ and ‘no one’.

(5.128) NON-NUMERIC QUANTIFIERS:

<i>juut=teen</i>	‘a few’
<i>waatyi</i>	‘some, many’
<i>weenyi</i>	‘some (people)’
<i>muuma</i>	‘all, every’
<i>tyuumpiy</i>	‘all, every’
(<i>tuumpiy</i>)	
<i>tunh+gak</i>	‘another’

A number of quantifiers are derived from other word classes. The two most commonly observed morphemes used to derive quantifiers are *-piy* and *?anh*. The quantifiers *tyuumpiy* ‘all, every’ and *tunh+gak* ‘another’ are derived from the number *tuum* ‘one’. The derivational morpheme *piy* derives modifiers from other word classes (as described in §5.3.4 above). The enclitic *+gak* occurs on verbs and non-verbal predicates to convey the meaning ‘again’. The examples in (5.129) show quantifiers derived with *?anh*. Synchronically, the use of *piy* or *?anh* is not productive.

(5.129) QUANTIFIERS DERIVED WITH *-?anh*

<i>yiks?anh</i>	‘this much’	<i>yi?</i>	‘deictic root: this’
<i>waaty?anh</i>	‘in groups’	<i>waatyi</i>	‘many, various’
<i>jay?anh</i>	‘many’	<i>ja?y</i>	‘be late’
<i>jes?anh</i>	‘this much’	<i>jees</i>	‘to be like this’
<i>ju?tz?anh</i>	‘how much’	<i>ju?utz</i>	‘how is it?’
<i>ju?ch?anh</i>			
<i>?uusanh</i>	‘a little’	<i>?us</i>	?
<i>?uuxanh</i>			

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

5.4.2.1 The Syntax of Non-numeric Quantifiers

Like numbers, non-numeric quantifiers (henceforth quantifiers) precede the noun they are modifying (5.130).

- (5.130) *ʔa+witytyáʔm* **muma** *jaama*
 ʔa+wity-taʔm-W **muuma** *jaama*
 XABS+walk-PLU_{sap}-CMP **all** *day*
 ‘We walked all day.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.019)

Quantifiers may head the noun phrase, a property that distinguishes quantifiers from adjectives. When they occur as the head of the NP, they may precede (5.131) or follow (5.132) the verb. The example in (5.131) shows the quantifier as S and example (5.132) shows the quantifier as O. A correlation between word order of the quantifiers and word order of arguments is unlikely here as word order tends to be pragmatic. For example in (5.133), the quantifier *jaʔyanh* ‘a lot’, which refers to cotton, is the O and precedes the verb.

- (5.131) **weenyi** *ʔidyik namaj* *ʔi+miihkaʔyajpa*
 weenyi ʔidyik namaj ʔi+miih-kaʔ-ya-j-pa
 some PAST no.more 3ERG+play.with-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Some [boys] just toy with them.’ (Jovenes.005a)

- (5.132) *ʔii* *ʔanhtugáʔy* **juteen**
 ʔii ʔan+tuk-ʔaʔy-W **juut=teen**
 and XERG+cut-BEN-INC some
 ‘And I cut him a few [leaves].’ (CDM.016)

- (5.133) **jaʔyanh** *ʔi+kót* *kuxtyatjoom*
 jayʔanh ʔi+kot-W *kuxtyat=joj.mi*
 many 3ERG+put-CMP *sack=LOC₂.LOC₁*

‘She put a lot [of cotton] in the container.’ (Puktuuku.030)

- (5.134) *weenyi dya ?ik+nu?kpa ?aamtyiiy*
weenyi dya ?i+?ak+nu?k-pa ?aamtyiiy
some NEG 3ERG+CAUS₁+arrive-INC year
 ‘Some [babies] don’t reach a year.’ (lit. ‘They die before they’re one.’)
 (JOV.031)

- (5.135) *waatyim tan+tiwi+tam*
waatyim ?am tan+tiwi+tam
some+ALR IERG+brother+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Many of our brothers

?i+k+pisné?
?i+?ak+pis-ne?-W
3ERG+CAUS₁+cure-PERF-CMP
 he has cured,

je?m baldomeero santiago paskwaj
je?m baldomeero santiago paskwaj
 that Valdomeero Santiago Pascual
 that Valdomeero Santiago Pascual.’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.034)

In the absence of the noun being modified, quantifiers may be modified by demonstratives (5.136). Quantifiers may also modify a demonstrative pronoun in the absence of the noun (5.137).

- (5.136) *sigaj je?m ?uuxanh ?i+?nyúk*
si+?iga je?m ?uuxanh ?in+?uk-W
if+COMP that a.little 2ERG+drink-CMP
 ‘If you drink that little bit,

?i?+nyix ?iga+teenyu+m
?in+?ix-W ?iga+Ø+teeny-W+?am
2ERG+see-CMP COMP+3ABS+stand-CMP+ALR
 and you see that it stops,

ʔodom ʔuukiʔ
 ʔodoy-ʔam ʔuk-iʔ
 NEG+ALR drink-IMP
 stop drinking it. (SA2.031/2)

- (5.137) *jeʔe waatyi jeʔm ʔinh+pinhpa*
jeʔe waatyi jeʔm ʔi+ʔanh+pinh-pa
 3PRO many that 3ERG+pick-INC
 ‘He picks a number of them.’ (ESK.051)

Quantifiers can also be possessed in the absence of the noun (5.138).

- (5.138) *ʔi+tyuumpiy Ø+monhyaajpa*
ʔi+tuumpiy Ø+monh-ya-j-pa
 3PSR+all 3ABS+sleep-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘All her children were sleeping.’ (CVS.012b)

Quantifiers can modify a possessed noun (5.139).

- (5.139) *ʔity weenyi tan+tiiwi+tam*
Ø+ʔity-wi weenyi tan+tiiwi+tam
 3ABS+be-INC some IPSR+brother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘There are some of our brothers
- dya ʔi+kupikyajpa*
dya ʔi+ku+pik-ya-j-pa
 NEG 3ERG+believe-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 that don’t believe.’ (PDO.016)

Finally, quantifiers may act as non-verbal predicates and take inflection for person and number (5.140).

- (5.140) *porkej ʔich ʔa+waaty+tyam*
porkej ʔich ʔa+waaty+tam
 because 1PRO XABS+various+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Because we were many.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.011)

5.4.3 Derivational Processes Associated with Quantifiers

Quantifiers can be derived as verbs with the versive *-ʔaH*, as shown in (5.141). Here the derived verb means ‘improving little by little’. An example with the quantifier *ʔuuxanh* ‘a little’ is shown in (5.142).

- (5.141) *Pwej wiH+tyim ʔiga+ʔagi+ʔuuxanhabam.*
 pues wiH+tyi+ʔam ʔiga+ʔagi+ʔuxanh-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 well good+STILL+ALR COMP+INTENS+a.little-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘Well it’s still good; he is getting better little by little.’ (PQ2.188)

- (5.142) *ʔa+chiʔityáaj ʔuuxanh niʔ*
 ʔa+chiʔ-taH-W ʔux.ʔanh niʔ
 XABS+give-PASS-CMP little water
 ‘I was given a little water.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.082)

They may not be derived with the provisory *-ʔiʔy*, which affixes to nouns to indicate ‘to provide/be provided with NOUN’.

5.5 Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) “is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC” (Andrews 2007b). In SP there are two strategies for delimiting the reference of an NP via relative clauses. The first strategy involves the use of the relativizers *+piʔk* (sometimes *+pik*) and *-ʔpV*, both of which attach to the predicate of the relative clause. The second strategy involves the use of the relative pronoun *tyimi* ‘with which’.

5.5.1 Relativizers *+piʔk* and *-ʔpV*

+Piʔk is a clitic that occurs on nouns, adjectives, and other non-verbal elements. Example (5.143) shows a relative clause in which an adjective is marked with *+piʔk*.

- (5.143) *jeʔm ʔi+ri+ʔityaj* *mijtam+piʔk tik*
jeʔm ʔi+na+ʔity-yaj-W *∅+mijtam+piʔk tik*
 that 3ERG+ASSOC+be-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP 3ABS+big+REL house
 ‘They have houses that are big.’ (PDO.010)

-ʔpV is a suffix that occurs on fully inflected verbs. Examples (5.144) and (5.145) show verbs inflected with the incomplete *-pa* and the completive *-W*, respectively. There are at least two allomorphs of the suffix *-ʔpV*, which are influenced by the shape of the inflectional suffix it follows. *-ʔpV* surfaces as [ʔap] following [pa] and [ʔip] following [wi]¹⁰.

- (5.144) *jeʔm jaaychiixi jeʔm saamnyi [ʔi+nyumpapʔap]*
jeʔm jay=tziixi jeʔm saapnyi [ʔi+nuʔm-pa-ʔpV]
 that boy that plantain [3ERG+steal-INC+REL]
 ‘The boy took the plantain [that he stole]

ʔi+nyinigaʔypa *ʔi+yoomtiiwi*
ʔi+na+nikk-ʔaʔy-pa *ʔi+yoomo=tiiwi*
 3ERG+ASSOC+go-BEN-INC 3PSR+sister
 to his sister.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001: 320-1)

- (5.145) *ʔi+tzén* *kunh momtzay*
ʔi+tzen-W *kunh mom=tzay*
 3ERG+tie-CMP with axquote=vine
 ‘He tied it with *axquote* vine

¹⁰Notice that the completive suffix *-W* surfaces as [wi] preceding *-ʔpV*. See ch. 12 for discussion of the completive, the underlying segment *-W*, and its allomorphic variation.

[jeʔm ʔapityʔiʔywiʔip]
 [jeʔm Ø+ʔapity-ʔiʔy-wi+ʔpV]
 [that 3ABS+thorn-PROV-CMP+REL]
 that had thorns.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.030)

5.5.1.1 +piʔk ‘Nonverbal Relativizer’

The relativizer +piʔk occurs with nouns (5.146)¹¹, adjectives (5.147), pronouns (5.148), adverbs (5.149), and other nominal and verbal modifiers.

(5.146) ʔi+nh+madaʔy tunh+gak widyaaya
 ʔi+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W tuunh+gak wity=ʔaaya
 3ERG+speak-BEN-CMP other husband
 ‘He talks to another old man,

ʔi+joodonh+piʔk ta+nimpa
 ʔi+jootoʔnh+piʔk ta+nim-pa
 3PSR+know+REL IABS+say-INC
 one who knows things, as we say,

ʔi+joodonh+piʔk maanya
 ʔi+jootoʔnh+piʔk maanya
 3PSR+know+REL craft
 who has knowledge of special skills.’ (VYT.040/1)

(5.147) siʔip na+miny tuum pukuuku yagatz+piʔk
 siʔip na+miny-i tuum pukuuku Ø+yagatz+piʔk
 now ASSOC+come-IMP one cloth 3ABS+long+REL
 ‘Now, bring a cloth that’s long.’ (SoyPartera.111)

(5.148) nimʔaytyaap jeʔm ʔich+tyam+piʔk
 nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa jeʔm Ø+ʔich+tyam+piʔk
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC that 3ABS+1PRO+PLU_{sap}+REL
 ‘That [one] that was our candidate, was told

¹¹ Possessed nouns cannot be double marked for person. Refer to §5.1.

ʔiga+dya+ʔii *ʔiga+mi+witypa* *todabiiyaj*
 ʔiga+dya+ʔiH ʔiga+mi+wity-pa todabiiyaj
 COMP+NEG+who COMP+2ABS+walk-INC still
 that ‘there’s nothing (no reason) that you still walk.’ ”
 (PDLMA.Presidente.035)

- (5.149) *siʔip ʔaranh+madáʔy* *yiʔp ʔestej*
siʔip ʔan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W *yiʔp ʔestej*
 now XERG+DERIV+speak-BEN-CMP this FILL
 ‘Now I’m talking to this, this,

yiʔp yoomo dya yiʔim+piʔk
yiʔp yoomo dya Ø+yiʔim+piʔk
 this woman NEG 3ABS+here+REL
 this woman who’s not from here.’ (PQH.025)

- (5.150) *ʔich dya ʔanyixnyéʔ*
ʔich dya ʔan+ʔix-neʔ-W
 1PRO NEG XERG+see-PERF-CMP
 ‘I’ve never seen

yiks+piʔk *tziixi+nyam*
Ø+yiks+piʔk *tziixi+nam*
 3ABS+like.this+REL child+STILL
 a child that’s like this.’ (SoyPartera.074bjaf)

In a relative clause, the noun, adjective, or other word class marked with *+piʔk* is the predicate of the clause. As such it bears person marking that agrees with the S, as shown in (5.151).

- (5.151) *ʔii para.kej ʔiny+ʔix*
ʔii para.kej ʔin+ʔix-W
 and so.that 2ERG+see-CMP
 ‘And so that you saw

ʔiga+ʔich ʔa+xutyu+piʔk ʔa+piixiny
ʔiga+ʔich ʔa+xutyu+piʔk ʔa+piixiny
 COMP+1PRO XABS+small+REL XABS+man
 that I am a man that's small.' (PDLMA.Giant.113)

Relative clauses may occur to the left (5.152) or the right (5.153) of the nouns that they modify.

(5.152) *nimʔaytyaap nak,*
Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa nak
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC toad
 'He said to a toad,

jeʔ [miʔ+piʔk] ʔanimat
jeʔ [Ø+miʔ+piʔk] ʔanimat
 3PRO [3ABS+big+REL] animal
 he's an animal that's big:

siʔip mich nikpa ʔinh+chak yiʔp poʔotyi
siʔip mich nikk-pa ʔin+tzak-W yiʔp poʔotyi
 now 2PRO go-INC 2ERG+leave-DEP_t this powder
 'Now you are going to leave this powder

lamarjojmi
 lamar=jojmi
 sea=LOC₂.LOC₁
 in the sea.' ” (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.215)

(5.153) *nuʔk jeʔm yoomo [miʔ+piʔk]*
Ø+nuʔk-W jeʔm yoomo [Ø+miʔ+piʔk]
 3ABS+arrive-CMP that woman [3ABS+big+REL]
 The woman who is fat arrived

mojpa chiinhi ʔen tum muutkiʔim
moj-pa Ø+chinh-i ʔen tum muuti=kiʔ.mi
 begin_{aux}-INC 3ABS+bathe-DEP_{ia} in one well=LOC₃.LOC₁
 and begins bathing in a well. (PDLMA.MRT.005)

+piʔk is used to relativize Ss (5.154), As (5.155), and Os (5.156).

- (5.154) *ʔentonsej jeʔm poobrej piixiny [siʔip+ʔam]*
 ʔentonsej jeʔm poobrej piixiny siʔ-pa+ʔam
 then that poor man prog_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘So this poor man [false start]

siʔip ʔi+yooxaaj
 siʔ-pa ʔi+yoox-ʔaH-W
 prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+work-NOM-VERS-DEP_{ib}
 is working

ʔii nuʔkpa tuum yoomo [mij+piʔk]
 ʔii Ø+nuʔk-pa tuum yoomo [Ø+mij+piʔk]
 and 3ABS+arrive-INC one woman [3ABS+big+REL]
 and a woman that is fat arrives.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.004)

- (5.155) *tyuum+tyim jeʔm kaanh mas mij+piʔk*
 tuum+tyim jeʔm kaanh mas Ø+mij+piʔk
 one+JUST that jaguar more 3ABS+big+REL
 ‘Just one. That jaguar that was the biggest

ʔi+koonykaneʔ
 ʔi+koony-kaʔ-neʔ-W
 3ERG+sit-LOC_{applic}-PERF-CMP
 sat on it.’ (Elson 1947:211)

- (5.156) *jeʔm ʔiri+ʔityaj [mijtam+piʔk] tik*
 jeʔm ʔi+na+ʔity-ya-j-W [Ø+mij.tam+piʔk] tik
 that 3ERG+have-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP [3ABS+big+REL] house
 ‘They have houses [that are big].’ (PDO.010)

There are no instances of secondary or primary objects relativized with *+piʔk* in naturally occurring speech. During elicitation, attempts to elicit relativized POs and SOs result in periphrastic or alternative constructions. One

example, however, was noted by Elson¹² and later confirmed by Kaufman and Himes (Kaufman & Himes, in progress) in which a secondary object is relativized. In the example, shown in (5.157), the noun *jiixi* ‘thought’ occurs in two noun phrases that are coordinated. The first is modified by *wi.tam+pi?k* ‘good+REL’ and the second by *joomi+pi?k* ‘new+REL’.

(5.157) *je?m ?ak+ku+yuj-?o?y-pa-?ap*
je?m ?ak+ku+yuj-?o?y-pa-?ap
 this ‘one.who.teaches’

‘The teacher

wi?aap ta+nh+kej?a?y
wiH-?aH-pa ta+?anh+kej?a?y-W
 be.able_{aux}-INC IABS+DERIV-BEN-CMP
 can teach us

je?m [witam+pi?k] jiixi
je?m [Ø+wiH.tam+pi?k] jiix.i
 that 3ABS+good+REL think.NOM
 ideas that are good

?o je?m [joomi+pi?k] jiixi
?o je?m [Ø+joomi+pi?k] jiix.i
 or that 3ABS+new+REL think.NOM
 or ideas that are new.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Within relative clauses formed with the relativizer *+pi?k*, the relativized noun may only be coreferential with the subject of the predicate, as shown in (5.158). This is because the relativizer *+pi?k* occurs only on nouns, adjectives and other word classes functioning as nonverbal predicates, which are intransitive.

¹²As cited by Kaufman & Himes, in progress.

- (5.158) *[wiɪ+bik]* *jeʔm piixiny nuʔk*
 [Ø+wɪH+piʔk] jeʔm piixiny Ø+nuʔk-W
 [3ABS+good+REL] that man 3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘The man, who is handsome, arrived.’ (GU1.034a)

5.5.1.2 -ʔpV ‘Verbal Relativizer’

The relativizer suffix *-ʔpV* occurs on verbs that are inflected for aspect or mood to form relative clauses. The example in (5.159) shows the relativizer on a verb marked with the completive suffix *-W*. Example (5.160) shows a noun modified by a relative clause that is headed by a verb inflected with the incomplete *-pa*. Example (5.161) shows a relative in the desiderative mood with the suffix *-toʔ* and the incomplete *-pa*.

- (5.159) *ʔa+ʔoytyáʔm* *tuum yiʔp ku+jaamsinh*
 ʔa+ʔoy-taʔm-W tuum yiʔp ku+jaam=sunh
 XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-CMP one this hot.season
 ‘We went one summer

[nas+wiʔip]
 [Ø+nas+W-ʔpV]
 [3ABS+pass-CMP-REL]
 that passed.’ (AVC.001)

- (5.160) *jemik ʔich ʔan+tikmiʔ ʔaatteʔet*
 jemik ʔich ʔan+tik=mi ʔaatteʔet
 there 1PRO XPSR+house=in Soteapan
 ‘There in my town Soteapan,

ʔity jeʔm piixiny [ʔi+kiʔwiitpaʔap]
 Ø+ʔity-W jeʔm piixiny [ʔi+kiʔ=wiit-pa-ʔpV]
 3ABS+be-CMP that man [3ERG+hand=work-INC+REL]
 there was a man who works with his hands.’ (PDLMA.Curandero.010)

- (5.161) *jeʔm piixny [dya kaʔatoʔobaʔap]*
 jeʔm piixny [dya Ø+kaʔ-toʔ-**pa-ʔpV**]
 that man [NEG 3ABS+die-DESID-INC+REL]
 ‘The man who didn’t want to die,

siʔib ikuʔáʔm tzoj
 siʔ-pa ʔi+kuʔaʔm-W tzoj
 prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+look.for-DEP_t medicine
 is looking for medicine.’ (20070705JAF)

Like relative clauses formed with *piʔk*, relative clauses formed with *-ʔpV* may precede (5.162) or follow (5.163) the relativized nouns.

- (5.162) *dya ʔan+tinhaʔypa*
 dya ʔan+tinh-ʔaʔy-pa
 NEG XERG+chop-BEN-INC
 ‘He doesn’t cut me

[titzneʔwiʔip] kiipi
 [Ø+titz-neʔ-W+ʔpV] kiipi
 [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL] firewood
 wood [that has dried].’ (Comal.021)

- (5.163) *ʔam+pinhpa kiipi [titzneʔwiʔip]*
 ʔan+pinh-pa kiipi [Ø+titz-neʔ-W-ʔpV]
 XERG+gather-INC firewood [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL]
 ‘I’m going to gather firewood that’s dry.’ (20070712jaf)

Relative clauses formed with *-ʔpV* may be headed by a noun (5.162 above), a demonstrative pronoun (5.164), a relative pronoun (5.165), or they may be headless (referred to as gapping) (5.166).

- (5.164) *jeʔm* [*ʔi+ʔixyaʝpaʔap*]
jeʔm [*ʔi+ʔix-yaʝ-pa-ʔpV*]
that [*3ERG+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC-REL*]

‘Those that see,

ʔi+ *ʔi+* *ʔi+nh+matyyaʝpa*
ʔi+ *ʔi+* *ʔi+ʔanh+mat-yaʝ-pa*
3ERG+ *3ERG+* *3ERG+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC*
‘[stutter] they say

ʔiga+dya *wii* *nik* *ta+miichi*
ʔiga+dya *wiH* *nik-W* *ta+miich-i*
COMP+NEG *good* *go_{aux}-CMP* *IABS+play-DEP_{ia}*
that it’s not good for us to play.’ (PDO.014a)

- (5.165) *ʔaʔ+nyixpa* **jup** [*titzneʔwiʔip*]
ʔan+ʔix-pa **jup** [*∅+titz-neʔ-W+ʔpV*]
XERG+see-INC **which** [*3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL*]

‘I’m going to see which one has dried.’ (Comal.029)

- (5.166) *porkej* *mujniʔwiʔib*
porkej *∅+muj-neʔ-W+ʔpV*
because *3ABS+get.wet-PERF-CMP+REL*

‘Because wet [wood]

ʔa+ra+mínypa+m
ʔa+na+miny-pa+tyi+ʔam
XABS+ASSOC+come-INC+JUST+ALR
‘[is what] he brings to me.’ (Comal.030a)

All arguments of the verb may take a relative clause with the suffix *-ʔpV*. Example (5.167) shows the S of the verb *ʔity*.

- (5.167) *ʔa+nimpa yiʔim juuty ʔity*
 ʔa+nim-pa yiʔim juuty Ø+ʔity-W
 XABS+say-INC here where 3ABS+be-CMP
 ‘I say, ‘Where is

jeʔm piixiny tzoʔiʔy-paʔap
jeʔm piixiny Ø+tzoʔ-ʔiʔy-pa-ʔpV
that man 3ABS+medicine-PROV-INC+REL
 the man who heals?’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.069)

As may take relative clauses with *-ʔpV*. In example (5.168) the A *piixiny* ‘man’ of the verb *ʔak+yoʔn* ‘let grow’ is relativized with the verb *tzam* ‘grow up, be raised’.

- (5.168) *ʔi nimpa jeʔm piixiny tzaamneʔwiʔip*
 ʔi Ø+nim-pa jeʔm piixiny Ø+tzaam-neʔ-W-ʔpV
 and 3ABS+say-INC that man 3ABS+grow.up-PERF-CMP-REL
 ‘And they say that this man who grew up

ʔimnyoom tzaam ʔik+yoʔnneʔ ʔi+way
 ʔimnyoom tzaam ʔi+ʔak+yoʔn-neʔ-W ʔi+way
 forest very 3ERG+CAUS₁+grow-PERF-CMP 3PSR+hair
 in the mountains let his hair grow a lot.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann
 2001:2001:327)

Os also take this kind of relative clause, as shown in example (5.169). Here the pronominal referent *jeʔm tuum* ‘this one’ is repeated in the relative clause and is the S of the intransitive verb *wij* ‘untie’.

- (5.169) *ʔan+wattáʔm yiʔp jaama*
 ʔan+wat-taʔm-W yiʔp jaama
 XERG+make-PLU_{sap}-CMP this day
 ‘...Today we made,

<i>ʔiga+ʔarakuʔtaʔminy</i> <i>ʔiga+ʔan+ʔak+kuʔt-taʔm-ʔiny</i> COMP+XERG+CAUS ₁ +eat-PLU _{sap} -OPT	<i>ʔam+maanik+tam</i> <i>ʔam+maanik+tam</i> XPSR+child+PLU _{hum}
to feed my children,	

<i>tuum jeʔm piyu</i>	[<i>wiʔwip</i>	<i>jeʔm tuum</i>]
tuum jeʔm piyu	[Ø+wij-W+ʔpV	jeʔm tuum]
one that chicken	[3ABS+untie-CMP+REL	that one]

a chicken, [this one that got untied].’ (PQH.017-9)

POs and SOs take this relative clause type as well. In (5.170) the SO is relativized. We know it is the SO because the verb *tinh* ‘cut’ is marked with the applicative *ʔaʔy* ‘indirective’, which indicates that an argument has been added. The A is a third person referent (not overtly expressed), the PO (the recipient) is the speaker (1st person absolutive *ʔa+*), and the SO (the theme) is *kiipi* ‘wood’. It is the SO that is modified by the relative clause.

(5.170) *nimpa si jipsa wiʔjipsxiny+am*
 Ø+nim-pa si Ø+jips-pa Ø+wiH=jips-ʔiny+ʔam
 3ABS+say-INC if 3ABS+burn-INC 3ABS+fine=burn-OPT+ALR
 “She says, ‘If he burns, may he burn well,

<i>paakej dya ʔa+tinhaʔypa</i>	
paakej dya ʔa+tinh-ʔaʔy-pa	
because NEG XABS+cut-BEN-INC	

because he doesn’t cut me

[<i>titzneʔwiʔap</i>	<i>kiipi</i>
[Ø+titz-neʔ-W+ʔpV]	kiipi
[3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL]	wood

wood [that has dried].’ ” (Comal.027)

Example (5.171) illustrates a relativized PO. Here the verb *?akkum* ‘cause to boil’ is marked with the benefactive applicative *-?a?y*. In this example *je?m yoomo* ‘this woman’ (the recipient) is the PO of the verb.

(5.171) *?ich je?m yoomo*
?ich je?m yoomo
 1PRO that woman
 ‘I, for a woman,

[*tzaam ku+ni?pinya?a?ypa?ap*]
 [tzaam Ø+ku+ni?=piny-?aH-?a?y-pa-?pV]
 [much 3ABS+DERIV₂+blood-VERS-BEN-REL]
 [who was bleeding a lot]

?arak+yu?ma?ypa je?m tzoy je?m tzaanytzuy
?an+?ak+yum-?a?y-pa je?m tzoy je?m tzaany=tzoy
 XERG+CAUS₁+boil-BEN-INC that medicine that snake=medicine
 boil her this medicine, this *culebrero*.’ (MED.001-2)

Oblique arguments may also take relative clauses with the *-?pV* suffix (5.172).

(5.172) *?i+tzén kunh momtzay*
?i+tzen-W kunh mom=tzay
 3ERG+tie-CMP with axquiotte=vine
 ‘He tied it with *axquiotte* vine

[*je?m ?apity?i?ywi?ip*]
 [je?m Ø+?apity-?i?y-**W**+?pV]
 [that 3ABS+thorn-PROV-CMP+REL]
 that had thorns.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.030)

Within relative clauses formed with *-?pV*, the relativized noun of the matrix clause may be coreferential with the S of an intransitive verb, the A or

O of a transitive verb, or the PO or SO of a ditransitive verb. For example in (5.173), the relativized noun is the S of the intransitive verb *kapeel=pij* ‘make coffee’ within the clause.

(5.173) *jem ?ityyajpa*
 jemim Ø+?ity-yaj-pa
 there 3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘There they are,

[*je?m kapeelpijpa?ap*]
 [je?m Ø+kapeel=pij-pa+?pV]
 [that 3ABS+coffee=reheat-INC+REL]
 the ones who make the coffee;

tzu?uki?im sinhnyi ?itypa jem
 tzu?u-ki?-mi sinhnyi Ø+?ity-pa jemim
 night-in day 3ABS+be-INC there
 night and day they are there

?asta ki mojpa je?m sinh
 ?asta ki Ø+moj-pa je?m sinh
 until there 3ABS+begin-INC that party
 until the party begins.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.025)

The relativized noun may be coreferential with the A (5.174) or the O (5.175) of a transitive verb within the relative clause.

(5.174) *me?tztaap je?m waanyiki?iwiny*
 Ø+me?tz-taH-pa je?m wan.i.ki?iwiny
 3ABS+look.for-PASS-INC that singers
 ‘Sought out are the singers

[*wi?aapa?ap ?i+watyyaj rresuj*]
 [wiH-?aH-pa-?pV ?i+wat-yaj-W rresuj]
 [be.able_{aux}-VERS-INC+REL 3ERG+do-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP rosary]
 that can pray the rosary.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.049)

- (5.175) *miny+dya wi?aap ?in+wát kweentaj*
 mich+?un+dya wi?aH-ps ?in+wat-W kweentaj
 2PRO+DJO+NEG be.able/aux-INC 2PRO+do-CMP account
 ‘You couldn’t take care of

je?m wi?kkuy ?iny+ku?tta?mwi?p
je?m wi?k-kuy ?iny+ku?t-ta?m-W-?pV
 that eat-NOM 2ERG+eat-PLU_{sap}-CMP-REL
 the food that you eat.’ (Rev.019)

Nouns may be coreferential with the PO within the relative clause, as shown in (5.176). Here the A of the matrix clause *je?m yoomo* ‘that woman’ is coreferential with PO of the ditransitive verb of the relative clause *?anh+ma?ychiwi?ip* ‘to whom I sold it’.

- (5.176) [*je?m piiyu ?anh+ma?ychiwi?ip*] *je?m yoomo*
 [je?m piiyu ?anh+ma?y=chi?-W-?pV] je?m yoomo
 [that chicken XERG+sell=give-CMP-REL] that woman
 ‘The woman [I sold the chicken to]

?ak+se?eda?y
 ?a+?ak+seet-?a?y-W
 XABS+CAUS₁+return-BEN-CMP
 returned it to me.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

In (5.177) the SO of the main verb is *kiipi* ‘wood’, which is co-referential with the SO of the verb in the relative clause.

- (5.177) *je?m [?ara+mi?nya?ytya?mwi?ip]* *kiipi*
 je?m [?an+na+miny-?a?y-ta?m-W-?pV] kiipi
 that [2>1+ASSOC+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP-REL] wood
 ‘The wood [that you all brought me]

tutznéʔ
 Ø+tutz-neʔ-W
 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP
 has dried.’ (20070712jaf)

5.5.1.3 A Note on the Verb *ʔity* ‘to be’

The verb *ʔity* ‘to be’ is distinct from verbs with respect to relative clauses. *ʔity* takes the relativizer *+piʔk* rather than *-ʔpV*. Examples (5.178) and (5.179) show two instances from naturally occurring speech by two different speakers from the same community. This is worth noting as *ʔity* ‘be, exist, live’ manifests behavior that is distinct from other verbs in a number of ways.

(5.178) *siʔip man+nɨʔmaʔyɬyaʔmpa*
siʔip man+nim-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 now 1:2+say-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Now I’m going to tell you about

yiʔp nas ʔitywi+piʔk yiʔim
yiʔp nas Ø+ʔity+W+piʔk yiʔim
 this earth 3ABS+be-CMP-REL here
 this land that’s here.’ (CP2.002)

(5.179) *yiʔm koonyi yiʔp koonykuyyukumi*
yiʔim koony-i yiʔp koony-kuy=yuk.mi
 here sit-IMP this sit-LOC_{applic}=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘Here, sit in this seat,

yiʔp kuusunh ʔitywibik yiʔm
yiʔp kuusunh Ø+ʔity-W+piʔk yiʔim
 this seat 3ABS+be-CMP+REL here
 in this seat that’s here.’ (DV3.003/4)

5.5.2 Relative pronoun *tyimɨ* ‘with which’

The relative pronoun *tyimɨ* is composed of the pronoun *tyiH* and the locative postposition *mɨ*. Both S and O have been observed in constructions in which they take a relative clauses headed by *tyimɨ*. For example, in (5.180) the S of the existential *?ity* ‘be’ is relativized. In (5.181) the O of the verb *na+?ity* ‘have’ is with *tyimɨ*. As and other core arguments have not been observed modified by relative clauses with *tyimɨ*.

- (5.180) *?ityum* [*tyimɨ* *?i+ju?ya?yɔpa*]
 Ø+?ity-W+?am [tyiH.mi ?i+juy-?a?y-pa]
 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR [with.LOC₁ 3ERG+buy-BEN-INC]
 ‘Already there is [money] with which to buy.’ (PQ2.158)

- (5.181) *dya ?iri?ity* *tuuminy* [***tyimɨ*** *?i+juɔpa*]
 dya ?i+na+?ity-W tuuminy [**tyiH.mi** ?i+juy-pa]
 NEG 3ERG+have-CMP money [what.LOC₁ 3ERG+buy-INC]
 ‘She doesn’t have money with which to buy.’ (JOV.023a)

Within the relative clause, the co-referential argument is an instrumental oblique argument.

5.5.3 The Accessibility Hierarchy

The distribution of the NPs that can be co-referenced within the relative clause corresponds with the “Accessibility Hierarchy” (Keenan and Comrie 1977), which reflects the accessibility of NPs within the relative clause. That is, the NPs within the clause are subject to a hierarchy whereby if the relative clause

“can bear a given grammatical function, it can also bear all functions that are higher on the hierarchy,” shown in Figure 24.1.0.6.

Figure 5.1: The Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977)

Subject > Direct > Indirect > Oblique > Genitive > Object of
 Object Object Comparison

In SP S, A, O, POs, SOs, and obliques occur as NPs within relative clauses formed with the verbal relativizer *-ʔpV*. Only S appear in relative clauses formed with the nonverbal relativizer *+piʔk*. Relative clauses headed by the relative pronoun *tyimi* consist of only instrumental oblique arguments.

5.5.4 A Note on Lexicalization and the Diachrony of Relativizing Suffixes in Mixe-Zoque

In SP there are a number of lexicalized expressions that are formed with the relativizer *piʔk*. Those that occur most frequently in discourse are shown in examples (5.182) through (5.184). *juutypiʔk* ‘how’ (5.182) is formed with the interrogative *juuty* ‘where’. *jeempiʔk* ‘like this/that’ (5.183) is formed with *jeem* ‘there’. *ʔeeybiʔk* ‘again’ (5.184) is formed with *ʔeey*, which does not occur independently.

- (5.182) *ʔeste ʔich ʔanh+ku+ʔixpa ʔeeyanh*
ʔeste ʔich ʔan+ku+ʔix-pa ʔeeyanh
 FILL 1PRO XERG+DERIV+see-INC also
 ‘I also wanted to see

juuty+piʔk tikaniimpa
 juuty+piʔk Ø+tik-ʔaH-niim-pa
 where+REL 3ABS+house-VERS-INDEF-INC
 how *they* build houses.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.084)

- (5.183) *ʔich jeempigam ʔaganh+wiijáam*
 ʔich jee-m+piʔk+ʔam ʔa+ʔak+ʔanh+wiH=jaam-W
 1PRO like.this+REL XABS+CAUS₁+DERIV+good=feel-CMP
 ‘That’s how I like

jeʔm yoomo, ʔiga+jeex
 jeʔm yoomo ʔiga+jeex
 that woman COMP+like.that
 my women; like that.’ (Comal.019b)

- (5.184) *jesik seetyi+m ʔeey+bik+tyi+m*
 jesik seet-i+ʔam ʔeey+piʔk+tyi+ʔam
 then return-PROG+ALR again
 ‘When she was returning again,

moj ʔi+ʔaʔm
 moj-W ʔi+ʔaʔm-W
 begin-CMP 3ERG+look-DEP_t
 she began to look.’ (GU2.016/7)

Other lexicalized expressions are listed in (5.185).

- (5.185) LEXICALIZED EXPRESSIONS WITH *piʔk*:
ʔaach+piʔk elder+REL ‘big brother’
ʔanh+piʔk last+REL ‘the last [one]’
yik.x+piʔk this.like+REL ‘like this’
 (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

The relativizer suffix *-ʔpV* also appears in lexicalized expressions formed with verbs. For example, the expression for “teacher” is derived from the root *yuj* ‘become accustomed to’, shown in (5.186 from example 5.157 above).

- (5.186) *ʔakuyujjoʔypaʔap*
 ʔak+ku+yuj-ʔoʔy-pa-ʔap
 CAUS₁+DERIV+become.accustomed.to-ANTIP-INC-REL
 ‘one.who.teaches’ (PDLMA.lex.database)

Early analysis identified *+piʔk* as a “nominalizer” (Elson 1947:209), “participle” (Kaufman 1963:108), or “participial”¹³ (Wichmann 1995:542) because many lexicalized nouns derived with *+piʔk* do function as verbal arguments. An example that shows *+piʔk* as a nominalizer is shown in (5.187). Here *ʔaanytyek+piʔk* ‘tortilla holder’ is clearly a lexicalized noun, inflected to indicate possession and marked with the locative *joom* ‘in’.

- (5.187) *ʔini+piʔkzakpa*
 ʔi+na+piʔk=tzak-pa
 3ERG+ASSOC+take=leave-INC
 ‘She leaves them
- jeʔm ʔi+ʔaanytyekpiʔkjoom*
 jeʔm ʔi+ʔaany=tyek+piʔk=joj.mi
 that 3PSR+tortilla=hang+REL=LOC₂.LOC₁
 in her tortilla keeper (that which holds tortilla). (ESK.013)

Suffixes of the same or similar shape serve different (related) functions across the language family, as noted by Kaufman (1963):

“[pi] occurs in all the languages. In [Oaxaca Mixe] its only use is to derive agentive nouns from verb stems. In [Sayula] it occurs with nouns and attributives with or without case suffixes.

¹³Based on comparison within the Mixe-Zoque family, participial is the label applied to the proto form **-piʔ* (Wichmann 1995).

In [Chiapas Zoque] participles can be inflected for local case, but in [Sierra Popoluca] they apparently cannot. ”

Kaufman reconstructs the relativizer *+piʔk* (and its verbal counterpart *-ʔpV*) as **pi*, dating back to pMZ (ca. 1000 BCE) (Kaufman 1963:108-9; 1997).

Synchronically, relativizing strategies in the different languages of the MZ family are diverse. For example, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Oaxaca) has two relativizers: *+Vʔk* and *+piʔk*. The difference between the two relativizers is that the former occurs on words ending in vowels and the latter on words ending in consonants (Johnson 2000:282). Like SP, Olutec, a Mixe language (Veracruz), has two strategies to relativize nouns: gapping and relative pronouns (Zavala 2000:60-61). In the gapping strategy, the nominalizer suffix *-ʔaʔ* acts as relativizer suffix. In Coatlan Mixe (Oaxaca), only the relative pronoun strategy is reported (Hoogshagen 1984:14-15).

The reconstructed **pi* form (Kaufman 1963, 1997; Wichmann 1991, 1995) comes from the comparative data on these languages (among others). Nevertheless, additional research on languages of the Mixean and Zoquean branches spoken throughout Oaxaca, Chiapas, and Veracruz is necessary to determine the distribution of relativizing strategies found across the family.

Chapter 6

Postpositions and Relational Nouns

SP has a number of expressions that serve to mark oblique arguments. The principal thematic relation that is marked is locative but also includes instrumental, partitive, and privative. The expressions consist primarily of relational nouns, which are nouns that express locative and related notions (Campbell et al. 1986). There is in one clear case of a postposition in the language, but there remain some questions with respect to the status of a few of the case markers. The relational nouns, an areal feature of Mesoamerica, may take nominal inflection to indicate possession (6.1), a principal characteristic in defining locative forms as relational nouns. The expression, in this case a locative, may attach to the noun to which it relates (6.2). It may also occur freely in the clause (6.3).

- (6.1) *titz* *?i+jojmi*
 Ø+titz-W ?i+joj.mi
 3ABS+dry-CMP 3PSR+LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘Its inside is dry.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.joj-m@)
- (6.2) *?i+pik* *tunh tik?iy* *jimnyoom*
 ?i+pik-W tunh Ø+ti?iy-W jimnyi=joj.mi
 3ERG+grasp-CMP road 3ABS+enter-CMP forest=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He took a road and entered into the forest.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.004)
- (6.3) *jojmi* *?i+ko?tpa*
joj.mi ?i+ko?t-pa
 LOC₂.LOC₁ 3ERG+insert-INC
 ‘He puts it inside.’ (CP2.004b)

The expressions are listed in Table (6.1). Although most of the terms listed in the table manifest characteristics associated with relational nouns, there are gaps in the paradigm. The locative *-mi* ‘in, at, with’ only appears as a bound morpheme; it may not appear as a free lexical item, and as such it may not take marking for possession. Similarly, *=taay* ‘part of’ appears only as a bound formative. The expression *=ki?.mi* ‘at (at, during, in)’ appears as bound and as a free lexical item, but it may not take possessive marking. That these terms do not take inflection for possession suggests that they are postpositions. On the other hand, other gaps in the paradigm suggest that they may just be gaps. For example, *?anh.joo.m* ‘among’, *?anh.koobak* ‘above, not on top’, *?anh.kuk.mi* ‘between’, and *ku.sinh.winy* ‘from endpoint up’ appear as bound formatives and may be possessed, but they do not appear as free adverbial expressions. Throughout this chapter expressions belonging to this class are referred to as PP/RN terms for brevity.

Table 6.1: Postpositions

Postposition	Gloss	Bound	Free	Possessed
<i>-mɨ</i>	‘in, at, with’	✓	–	–
<i>joj.mɨ/</i>	‘inside’	–	✓	✓
<i>joo.m</i>	‘in, within, among’	✓	–	–
<i>kɨʔ.mɨ</i>	‘at (at, during, in)’	✓	✓	–
<i>kuk.mɨ</i>	‘between, among’	✓	✓	✓
<i>yuk.mɨ</i>	‘up, upon’	✓	✓	✓
<i>naɣ.winy</i>	‘under side, below’	✓	✓	✓
<i>sinh.winy</i>	‘upper side, end’	✓	✓	✓
<i>yuk.winy</i>	‘top side, surface’	✓	✓	✓
<i>tyaaka</i>	‘without, lacking’	✓	–	–
<i>taay</i>	‘part of’	✓	–	–
<i>weenytyanh</i>	‘beside, behind (inanimate)’	✓	✓	✓
<i>ʔanh.joo.m</i>	‘among’	✓	–	✓
<i>ʔanh.kɨʔ.mɨ</i>	‘behind, outside’	✓	✓	–
<i>ʔanh.koopaʔk</i>	‘above, not on top’	✓	–	✓
<i>ʔanh.kuk</i>	‘in the midst’	✓	✓	✓
<i>ʔanh.kuk.mɨ</i>	‘between’	✓	–	✓
<i>ʔanh.naaka</i>	‘edge, entrance’	✓	✓	✓
<i>ʔanh.siik.mɨ</i>	‘outside’	–	✓	–
<i>ʔanh.winy.tyuk</i>	‘other side’	✓	✓	✓
<i>ku.kɨʔ.mɨ</i>	‘below, underneath’	✓	✓	✓
<i>ku.sinh.winy</i>	‘from endpoint up’	✓	–	✓

This chapter provides a description of the expressions that make up this word/formative class. The morphological components of the PP/RN expressions are described in §6.1. §6.2 provides description of *-mɨ*, which is likely to be the only true postposition in SP synchronically. The syntax of the PP/RN expressions are described in §6.3. The specific terms themselves are described

and exemplified in §6.4.

6.1 Composition of PP/RNs

PP/RNs in SP consist of lexicalized compositions of a handful of formatives that have been reconstructed as body part terms, locative case markers, and lexical items. For example *ku.sinh.winy* ‘from endpoint up, beyond’ (6.4) is formed with *ku+* the lexical item *sinh* ‘sky’, and body part term **winy* ‘face’¹.

- (6.4) *?i+ku.sinh.winy*
 ?i+ku.sinh.winy
 3PSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₈.LOC₁₁
 ‘beyond it’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.ku+s@nh=winy)

The grammaticalization of body part terms into expressions conveying spatial relations is cross-linguistically common (Claudi 1986; Heine, Claudi, & Hünemeyer 1991a, 1991b). In Mesoamerica, the use of body parts in locative expressions is also an areal feature (Campbell et al 1986). Body parts occur as relational nouns, as in Mam (England 1983:71), or as adpositions, as in Valley Zapotec (Lillehaugen 2003). In SP, terms that were historically body parts occur as components of a number of lexicalized locative expressions. They occur in most, if not all, the Mixe-Zoque languages. The morphemic components of the PP/RN expressions in SP, both the historically derived relational nouns and locative case markers, are listed in (6.5).

¹The morpheme *winy* occurs in a number of lexicalized expressions, but does not occur independently. Other lexical items include: *winy=pak* (face=bone) ‘face’, *ku+winy* ‘portrait, statue, drawing’, *maawiny* ‘dream’. Synchronically, the word for ‘face’ in SP is *winy=pak*.

(6.5) HISTORICALLY DERIVED COMPONENTS OF RELATIONAL NOUNS:

(a) Relational Nouns:

* <i>joj</i>	‘inside’	(heart, innards)
* <i>kuk</i>	‘middle’	
* <i>yuk</i>	‘upper part’	

(b) Locative Markers:

* <i>?anh+</i>	‘pertaining to mouth or opening’	(mouth)
* <i>ki?</i>	‘below, near’	
* <i>kis</i>	‘top’	
* <i>ko+</i>	‘else’	
*- <i>mi?</i>	‘at’	
* <i>win</i>	‘surface’	(face)

(Kaufman 1997, Wichmann 1995)

The morpheme *?anh+*² is reconstructed from the proto-Mixe-Zoque **?aw* meaning ‘mouth’ (Kaufman 1963:70; 1997). *?anh+* is thought to have grammaticalized as a locative proclitic co-occurring with body parts and other relational nouns. It occurs in a number of lexicalized expressions in all word classes, but it is no longer productive. In many of these lexicalized expressions it is not possible to recover the sense of the body part term. (See ch. 10 for discussion of *?anh+* and other formatives.)

The morpheme *ku+* is reconstructed as **ko+* in proto-Mixe-Zoque. It is a derivational proclitic that also occurs in words of all word classes and is no longer productive. It is reported as conveying different meanings: ‘else’, ‘extensive or exocentricity’ (Kaufman 1963:70) and ‘spread, extend’ (Elson 1960b:221). Like *?anh+*, the source meanings of *ku+* are not always apparent.

²Although *?anh+* and *ku+* are analyzed as proclitics, I employ the notation of a period (.) to mark the morpheme boundary of these expressions because these forms are lexicalized.

The locative postposition *-mĩ* is different from each of the PP/RN members from Table 6.1 in that it is the smallest component; it has not been reconstructed as having grammaticalized from a lexical expression; it may occur alone; it occurs only as a bound morpheme; and it serves as a locative component in 10 of the 22 forms listed in Table 6.1. Because of its prevalence within the PP/RN system, as well as other areas of the grammar, the postposition is described in the following section (§6.2). The syntax of the PP/RNs is described in §6.3, and the relational nouns are described in §6.4.

6.2 *-mĩ* ‘at, in, on, with’

The postposition *-mĩ* conveys the general sense of ‘at’ (6.6), ‘in’ (6.7) and ‘on’ (6.25). It occurs only as a bound postposition; it does not take inflection for possession or occur as a free lexical term. *-mĩ* occurs as a component of 10 of the PP/RNs in Table 6.1.

- (6.6) ?a+nú?k ?an+tikmĩ
 ?a+nu?k-W ?an+tik-mĩ
 XABS+arrive-CMP XPSR+house-LOC₁
 ‘I arrived at my house.’ (PDLMABorracho.093)

- (6.7) ?a+ki?m tze?esmĩ
 ?a+ki?m-W tze?es-mĩ
 XABS+ascend-CMP cot-LOC₁
 ‘I climbed into bed.’

- (6.8) *puymi* *?a+nik*
 puy-**mi** ?a+nikk-wi
 foot-LOC₁ XABS+go-CMP
 ‘I went by foot.’ (PDLMAViaje016)

As a locative, the postposition *-mi* does not convey direction. The sense of ‘to’ (allative) or ‘from’ (ablative) are provided by the verb, as illustrated by examples (6.9) and (6.10), respectively.

- (6.9) *nikne?u+m* *ko?kmi*
 Ø+nikk-ne?-W+?am ko?k-**mi**
 3ABS+go-PERF-CMP+ALR loft-LOC₁
 ‘He had left the loft.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.091)

- (6.10) *nim?aytyaa*
 Ø+nim-?a?y-taH-W
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘He’s told:

si?iga+?inh+wi?anhjaam
 si=?iga+?in+wiH=?anh+jaam-W
 if=COMP+2ERG+good=DERIV₁+feel-CMP
 ‘If you want,

manna+nikpa *?an+tikmi*
 man+na+nikk-pa ?an+tik-**mi**
 1:2+ASSOC+go-INC XPSR+house-LOC₁
 I will take you to my house.’ ” (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.020)

-mi also occurs with pronominal roots to form the deictic locative adverbs *yi?im* ‘here’ (sometimes *yi?imim*) (6.11) and *je?mim* ‘there’ (sometimes

jeem or *jemim*) (6.12)³. *yi?p* and *je?m* are demonstrative pronouns meaning ‘this’ and ‘that’, respectively⁴.

(6.11) *?iny+dya* *?a+nikpa* **yi?im** *?a+tzi?ytya?mpa*
 ?ich+dya ?a+nik-pa **yi?-mi** ?a+tzi?y-ta?m-pa
 1PRO+NEG XABS+go-INC this-LOC₁ XABS+stay-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘I’m not going. We’re staying here. (Cangrejo.037)

(6.12) *je?* *yeewa* **jemim** *monhne?*
 je? yeewa **je?-im** Ø+monh-ne?-W
 3PRO mare that-LOC₁ 3ABS+sleep-PERF-CMP
 ‘The mare slept there.’ (PQ2.034)

These derived locative adverbs, like relational nouns, may take nominal inflection (6.13). Because demonstrative pronouns don’t take inflection for possession, it is likely that this characteristic is associated with the locative *-mi*.

(6.13) *je?m* *?an+choomo* *tu?udí?y*
 je?m ?an+choomo Ø+tut-?i?y-W
 that XPSR+grandmother 3ABS+mud-PROV-CMP
 ‘My grandmother got muddy

yi?p *?i+yi?im* *yiksané?u+m*
 yi?p ?i+**yi?-mi** Ø+yik.s.?aH-ne?-W+?am
 this 3PSR+this-LOC₁ 3ABS+do.like.so-VERS-PERF-CMP+ALR
 on her here (pointing to her skirt), like this (demonstrating). (MAB.147)

³For descriptive purposes *yi?im* and *je?mim* are glossed as ‘this-LOC₁’ and ‘that-LOC₁’ here, respectively; however, elsewhere throughout the grammar they are glossed as ‘here’ and ‘there’.

⁴Refer to §4.1.2.2 for description of demonstrative pronouns.

The postposition *-mi* also conveys instrumental case⁵, shown in (6.14).

- (6.14) *jeʔ* *ʔa+nh+madáʔy* *ʔi+jipmĩ*
 jeʔ *ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W* *ʔi+jip-mĩ*
 3PRO XABS+DERIV₁+speak-BEN-CMP 3PSR+mouth-LOC₁
 ‘She told me with her mouth.’ (Comal.002c)

As an instrumental postposition, *-mi* occurs with the interrogative and relative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ to form the relativizer *tyiH-mi* ‘with which’, shown in (6.15).

- (6.15) *yiʔim* *ʔity* *jeʔm* *tzoy*
 yiʔ-mĩ \emptyset +ʔity-W *jeʔm* *tzoy*
 here-LOC₁ 3ABS+be-CMP that medicine
 ‘Here there is the medicine’

 tyimĩ *ʔiny+choʔyiʔyi* *yiʔp* *ʔiny+kaawaj*
 tyiH-mĩ *ʔin+tzoy-ʔiʔy-i* *yiʔp* *ʔin+kaawaj*
 what-LOC₁ 2ERG+medicine-PROV-IMP this 2PSR+horse
 ‘with which you’ll cure your horse.’ (OJO.025)

6.3 Syntactic Distribution of the PP/RN Class

The PP/RN terms occur with nouns to indicate location (locative) (6.16), part of a whole (partitive) (6.17), or the notion of ‘without’ (privative) (6.18).

- (6.16) *ʔi+tyoppa+m* *ʔi+chiimajoom*
 ʔi+top-pa+ʔam *ʔi+chiima=joj.mĩ*
 3ERG+serve-INC+ALR 3PSR+plate=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He served it in his plate.’ (ESK.068)

⁵It is not clear whether the instrumental and locative postpositions are polysemous or homophonous. Olutec has two distinct formatives: the associative/instrumental preposition *mü:t* ‘associative, instrumental’ and the locative postposition *-mü* ‘locative, in’ (Zavala 2000:92-93).

- (6.17) *?ixkuy* *?i+pooptaay*
 ?ix-kuy ?i+poopo=**taay**
 see-LOC_{applic} 3PSR+white=PART
 ‘The white part of the eye.’ (PDLMA.database.taay)

- (6.18) *puy=tyaaka*
 leg=PRIV
 ‘without leg’ (PDLMA.database.taay)

The terms have three possible realizations: relational noun, bound post-position, free adverbial expression. However, not all PP/RN terms have all three realizations. As stated above, relational nouns are characterized as nouns that express locative and related notions, typically exhibiting features of nouns such as person marking. In SP, relational expressions take all Set-A person markers to indicate location with respect to the possessor. The paradigm is shown in example (6.19) with the locative =*ku.ki?.mi* ‘below’.

(6.19) RELATIONAL NOUNS TAKE SET-A PERSON MARKERS:

- (a) *?an+kuki?im*
 ?an+ku.ki?.mi
 XPSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘It’s underneath me.’ (lit. It’s at my underneath.)
- (b) *tan+kuki?im*
 tan+ku.ki?.mi
 IPSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘It’s underneath us.’ (lit. It’s at our underneath.)
- (c) *?iny+kuki?im*
 ?in+ku.ki?.mi
 2PSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘It’s underneath you.’ (lit. It’s at your underneath.)

Unlike nouns, however, relational nouns do not take Set-B person markers and do not appear as non-verbal predicates. For example, constructions such as (6.20) are said to have no meaning.

(6.20) RNS UNGRAMMATICAL WITH SET-B PERSON MARKERS:

***ʔa**+*kukiʔ.mi*

***ta**+*kukiʔ.mi*

***mi**+*kukiʔ.mi*

Relational nouns may bind to the noun, functioning as its possessor and forming a type of “loose” noun compound (6.21) (Kaufman 1997).

(6.21) *ʔa+nuʔkpa* *woonyi kajtzayjoom*
 ʔa+nuʔk-pa woonyi kajtzay=**joj.mi**
 XABS+arrive-INC girl hammock=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘I arrive and the girl is in the hammock’

wejpa *ʔi+xiʔ*
 Ø+wej-pa ʔi+siʔ
 3ABS+cry-INC 3ERG+PROG-DEP_{ib}
 ‘crying.’ (SA2.016)

Evidence suggesting that these are compound forms comes from inflectional (and other) morphology, which attaches to the noun after the PP/RN. In (6.22) the locative *joo.m* attaches to the noun *kaama* ‘field’; the plural enclitic *+yaj* attaches following the locative. In (6.23) the enclitics *+tyi* and *+ʔam* attach to the noun after the locative. In (6.24) the relativizer *+piʔk* attaches following *ku.kiʔ.mi* ‘beneath’.

- (6.22) *yiʔp tzaʔ pinhneʔtáaj*
yiʔp tzaʔ Ø+pinh-neʔ-taH-W
 this stone 3ABS+gather-PERF-PASS-CMP
 ‘These rocks have been gathered

kaamjoom+yaj
 kaama=**joo.m+yaj**
 field=LOC₂.LOC₁+PLU_{nonhum}
 in the fields.’ (CP1.013)

- (6.23) *ʔa+nuʔkpa ʔich*
ʔa+nuʔk-pa ʔich
 XABS+arrive-INC 1PRO
 ‘I arrived

ʔan+choomokiʔim+tyim
 ʔan+choomo=**kiʔ.mi+tyi+ʔam**
 XPSR+grandmother=LOC₃.LOC₁+JUST+ALR
 just at my grandmother’s [house].’ (MAB.116)

- (6.24) *peʔm naskukʔim+piʔk yoomo*
*peʔm Ø+nas=**ku.kiʔ.mi+piʔk** yoomo*
 that.yonder 3ABS+ground=LOC₃.LOC₁+REL woman
 ‘That’s that woman who lives underground,

niʔmaʔytyaap
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC
 he’s told.’ (Cangrejo.059)

Nouns marked with postpositions may also be inflected for person as well as number. Example (6.25) illustrates a case in which the noun *kiʔ* ‘below, near’ is inflected with *ʔan+* to indicate ‘1st person exclusive possessor’.

- (6.25) *ʔan+tzén* ***ʔanh+kiʔimí*** *ʔan+topkáʔ*
 ʔan+izen-W **ʔan+kiʔ-mí** ʔan+top-kaʔ-W
 XERG+tie-CMP XPSR+hand-LOC₁ XERG+press-LOC_{applic}-CMP
 ‘I tie it; I press it with my hand.’ (PAR.125)

Members of this class may appear in the absence of the noun. Compare examples (6.26) and (6.27). In (6.26) the *ʔanh.winytyuk* ‘other side’ attaches to the noun *niʔ* ‘water, river’. In (6.27) *ʔanh.winytyuk* appears independently following the verb; the noun is not overtly expressed.

- (6.26) *ʔa+jaktáʔm* *niʔanhwinytyuk*
 ʔa+jak-taʔm-W niʔ=**ʔanh.winy.tyuk**
 XABS+cross-PLU_{sap}-CMP water=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We crossed to the other side of the river.’ (VVA.014)

- (6.27) *mojim* *ʔa+jakityaʔm* ***ʔanhwinytyuk***
 moj-W-ʔam ʔa+jak-i+taʔm **ʔanh.winy.tyuk**
 began-CMP-ALR XABS+cross-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap} LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We began to cross to the other side [of the river].’ (VVA.047)

Relational nouns may be quantified, as shown in (6.28), providing further evidence of their noun status.

- (6.28) *tum* ***ʔanhnaaka***
 tum **ʔanh.naaka**
 one LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 ‘one side’

The locative expressions may be stacked. The example in (6.29) illustrates a case in which two independent postpositions, both formed with the locative *-mí*, occur on the noun *wity.puy* ‘legs’.

(6.29) *jeʔm chimpa poy* *ʔinyi+nik*
jeʔm chimpa Ø+poy-W *ʔi+na+nik-W*
 that dog 3ABS+run-CMP 3ERG+ASSOC+go-CMP
 ‘The dog ran away; he went with

ʔi+tyuʔtz *ʔi+wiitypuyanhkukmijoom*
ʔi+tyuʔtz *ʔi+wiity.puy=ʔanh.kuk.mi=jøj.mi*
 3PSR+tail 3PSR+legs=LOC₁₄.LOC₄.LOC₁=LOC₂.LOC₁
 his tail in between his legs.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Postpositions differ from relational nouns in that they exhibit no nominal characteristics. The locative suffix *-mi* is clearly a postposition, sharing no nominal characteristics with the other locative expressions. Two relational nouns, on the other hand, behave more like postpositions, namely *=kiʔim* ‘at (temporal and spatial)’ and *=ʔanhkiʔim* ‘behind, outside’. Neither expression may be possessed. They do occur freely, however. The distribution of the three characteristics associated with relational nouns has gaps (as noted above). The source of these gaps is unknown. In-depth research into spatial relations in SP is necessary to determine if these gaps are associated with subtle semantic distinctions or with the process of lexicalization.

6.4 Description of PP/RN Terms

This section provides descriptions and examples of each of the PP/RNs listed in Table 6.1 (above).

6.4.1 PP/RNs Formed with *-mĩ*

6.4.1.1 =*jojmiĩ* and =*joom* ‘inside, within’

The locative *joj.miĩ* occurs frequently as a unbound expression meaning ‘inside’ or ‘deeply’, as shown in (6.30) and (6.31). It has been reconstructed as having been formed from the postposition **-miĩ?* and the proto-Zoque term **joj*, originally a body part term meaning ‘heart’ that functioned as a relational noun meaning ‘inside’ (Kaufman 1997, Wichmann 1991).

- (6.30) *jojmiĩ* *?i+ko?tpa*
joj.miĩ *?i+ko?t-pa*
 LOC₂.LOC₁ 3ERG+stick-INC
 ‘He put it inside.’ (CP2.004b)

- (6.31) *kumu tzaam jojmiĩ ni? dya ?a+jaktá?m*
kumu tzaam joj.miĩ ni? dya ?a+jak-ta?m-W
 as much LOC₂.LOC₁ water NEG XABS+cross-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘As deep as the river was we couldn’t cross it.’ (VVA.043)

Characteristic of relational nouns, *joj.miĩ* may be possessed (6.32). In this example the possessor of the relational noun is not overtly expressed.

- (6.32) *Ø+titz-W ?i+joj.miĩ*
 3ABS+dry-CMP 3PSR+LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘Its inside is dry.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.joj-m@)

The term has the variant form =*joom* ‘in’ (6.33), which is related to *joj.miĩ*. It occurs only as a bound morpheme.

- (6.33) *?ii tzút* *?i+tyikjoom*
 ?ii Ø+tzut-W *?i+tik=joj.mi*
 and 3ABS+fall-CMP 3PSR+house=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘And he fell in his house’

?ii tyón
?ii Ø+ton-W
 and 3ABS+hurt.again-CMP
 and hurt himself [again].’ (PQ1.008)

6.4.1.2 =*ki?*.*mi* ‘at’

The locative expression =*ki?*.*mi* is composed of *ki?*, which has been reconstructed as **ki?* ‘space beneath, near’ in proto-Zoque (Kaufman 1997). =*ki?*.*mi* attaches to the noun and translates as ‘at’ with a more general connotation that can include ‘in, from, to, during’, illustrated by examples (6.34) through (6.37).

- (6.34) *minypam* *?i+tyikki?im*
 Ø+miny-pa+?am *?i+tik=ki?.mi*
 3ABS+come-INC+ALR 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He comes to the house’. (ESK.060)

- (6.35) *je?m tuuruj tza?aki?im* *nu?kpa*
 je?m tuuru tza?=ki?.mi *Ø+nu?k-pa*
 that bull stone=LOC₃.LOC₁ 3ABS+arrive-INC
 ‘The bull arrives at the rock.’ (VYT.022)

- (6.36) *pero ?ity* *?i+tyikki?im* *piiyu*
 pero Ø+?ity-W *?i+tik=ki?.mi* *piiyu*
 pero 3ABS+be-CMP 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁ *chicken*
 ‘But there’s chicken in/at her house.’ (JOV.023c)

- (6.37) *ʔii jeʔe ʔeste ta+nimpa*
ʔii jeʔ ʔeste ta+nim-pa
 and 3PRO FILL IABS+say-INC
 ‘And they, as we say,

na+ʔixpikyajtaa+m *ʔentre ʔanimat*
Ø+na+ʔix=piɁ+yaj-taH+ʔam *ʔentre ʔanimat*
 3ABS+RR+recognize-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS+ALR between animal
 they recognized each other as animals

tzuʔkiʔim
tzuʔ=kiʔ.mi
 night=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the night.’ (VYT.005)

kiʔ.mi also occurs freely, as shown in (6.38) following the verb *tikʔiy* ‘enter’.

- (6.38) *ʔanh+kutyuum ʔa+ʔich porkej*
ʔanh.ku.tum ʔa+ʔich porke
 alone XABS+1PRO because
 ‘Just me alone because

ʔi+jaatunh dya+tyim tigʔiy kiʔim
ʔi+jaatunh dya+tyi+ʔam Ø+tikʔiy-W kiʔ.mi
 3PSR+father NEG+JUST+ALR 3ABS+enter-CMP LOC₃.LOC₁
 his father didn’t enter there.’ (Yerno.032)

=*kiʔ.mi* does not occur as a possessed form.

6.4.1.3 *kuk.mi* ‘middle’

The expression *kuk.mi* is composed of **kuk* ‘middle’ and *-mi*. It is observed as a free locative adverb (6.39) as well as a bound postposition (6.40).

- (6.39) *kukmi* *jemum* *?idyik* *?ity* *je?m* *tzu?ukiny*
kuk.mi jemim ?idyik Ø+?ity-W je?m tzu?ukiny
 LOC₄.LOC₁ there PAST 3ABS+be-CMP that worm
 ‘There in the middle was the worm

kun *?i+jiiluj*
 con ?i+jiiluj
 with 3PSR+thread
 with his thread.’ (GU2.060)

- (6.40) *choomo* *dya* *?i+?ix-nye?*
 choomo dya ?i+?ix-nye?-W
 old.woman NEG 3ERG+see-PERF-CMP
 ‘The old woman hadn’t seen

si?iga+ku?maynyetawon *?i+ki?ak,*
 si+?iga+kum-?a?y-ne?-taH-W+?am ?i+ki?ak
 if+COMP+bury-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR 3PSR+sandal
 if her sandals were buried

?ooktza?kukmi
 ?ook.tza?=**kuk.mi**
 cooking.stone=LOC₄.LOC₁
 in the middle of the cooking stones.’ (Elson 1947a: 200-201)

kukmi may also be possessed (6.41).

- (6.41) *?i+kukmi*
 ?i+**kuk.mi**
 3PSR=LOC₄.LOC₁
 ‘the/its center’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.kuk+m@)

6.4.1.4 *yuk.mi* ‘above’

The locative *yuk.mi* ‘above’ attaches to the noun (6.42). It has been reconstructed from the relational noun **yuk* meaning ‘upper part’ (Kaufman 1997, Wichmann 1991) and *-mi*.

- (6.42) *?i+ka?ma?yp* *?i+tzuwynyi?*
?i+ka?m-?a?y-pa *?i+tzuj-i=ni?*
 3ERG+stick-BEN-INC 3PSR+spit.NOM=water
 ‘[He] sticks (applies, rubs) his saliva

?i+pu?uyukmi
?i+pu?u=yuk.mi
 3PSR+stomach=LOC₅.LOC₁
 over [the child’s] stomach.’ (PHE.004c)

It also occurs as a free form locative (6.43).

- (6.43) *pero ?okmi ?a?mki?mpa* *yukmi*
pero ?okmi Ø+?a?m=ki?m-pa *yuk.mi*
 but after 3ABS+look=ascend-INC LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘But then they look up above.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.012)

yuk.mi may also be possessed, as shown in (6.44).

- (6.44) *tuum meetruj ?i+yuk.mi*
 one meter 3PSR+LOC₅.LOC₁
 A meter is its height. (PDLMA.lexdatabase.yuk-m@)

6.4.2 PP/RNs Formed with =*winy*

The relational noun component **winy* appears in three postpositions: =*sinh.winy* ‘upper side, end’, =*nax.winy* ‘lower end, under side’, and =*yuk.winy* ‘top side,

surface’. Etymologically, *sinh.winy* is composed of *sinh* ‘sky’ and **winy* ‘face’; *nax.winy* is composed of *nas* ‘earth, ground’ and **winy*; and *yuk.winy* is composed of **yuk* ‘upper part’ and **winy*. Each of these expressions occur as free adverbs, as shown with =*sinh.winy* ‘upper side, end’ in (6.45) and with =*nax.winy* ‘lower end, under side’ in (6.46).

- (6.45) *ʔii jeʔm jeentej ʔagi+ʔityyáj*
ʔii jeʔm jeentej ʔagi+Ø+ʔity-ya-j-W
 and that people INTENS+3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘The people are very

ʔorganisaaduj ʔich juuty
ʔorganisaaduj ʔich juuty
 organized 1PRO where
 organized where

ʔa+ʔity+yaj ***sinhwiny***
ʔa+ʔity-W+yaj ***sinh.winy***
 XABS+be-CMP+PLU_{nonsap} LOC₈.LOC₁₁
 we were in the upper part [of town].’ (PDLMA.Presidente.026)

- (6.46) *ʔich minyo+m ʔa+ʔityityam*
ʔich miny-W+ʔam ʔa+ʔity-i+tyam
 1PRO come_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+be-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We came to live

yíʔim naxwiny
yíʔim nax.winy
 here LOC₇.LOC₁₁
 here down below.’ (MAB.174)

Each of the expressions may be possessed, as shown in (6.47) through (6.49).

- (6.47) *peru jeʔm ʔan+choomo*
 pero jeʔm ʔan+choomo
 but that XPSR+grandmother
 But my grandmother
- jaʔyʔity ʔi+sinh.winy*
 jaʔy+Ø+ʔity-W ʔi+sinh.winy
 much+3ABS+be-CMP 3PSR+LOC₈.LOC₁₁
 lived up there [in the high part of town] a long time.’ (MAB.245)

- (6.48) *ʔaatebet ʔi+naxwiny*
 ʔaatebet ʔi+nax.winy
 Soteapan 3PSR+LOC₇.LOC₁₁
 ‘lower end of Soteapan’

- (6.49) *xaanytyaj ʔi+yukwiny tzuus*
 xaanytyaj ʔi+yuk.winy Ø+tzuus
 watermelon 3PSR+LOC₅.LOC₁₁ 3ABS+green
 ‘The surface of the watermelon is green.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales,
 p.c.)

These locatives may also be bound, as shown in (6.50) with *=yuk.winy* ‘surface’.

- (6.50) *xaanytyajyukwiny*
 xaanytyaj=yuk.winy
 melon=LOC₅.LOC₁₁
 ‘surface of the melon.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

6.4.3 PP/RNs Formed with *ʔanh+*

There are a handful of locatives formed with the derivational proclitic *ʔanh+*. *ʔanh+* is reconstructed from the proto-Mixe-Zoque *ʔaw ‘mouth’ (Kaufman

1963:70; 1997) (see ch. 10). *?anh+* is thought to have grammaticalized as a locative proclitic co-occurring with body parts and other relational nouns. This section describes the postpositions composed of *?anh+*.

6.4.3.1 =*?anh.joj.mi* ‘among’

The postposition =*?anh.joj.mi* (also =*?anh.joo.m*) is composed of *?anh+* and =*joj.mi* (see §6.4.1.1 above). It attaches to the noun, as shown in (6.51). It may be possessed (6.52), but it does not appear to occur as a free adverb. Attempts to elicit the expression result in ungrammatical sentences.

- (6.51) *tiganhjoom* *?i+ku?tpa* *?idyik tzoogoy*
 tik=?anh.joj.mi *?i+ku?t-pa* *?idyik tzookoy*
 house=LOC₁₄.LOC₂.LOC₁ 3ERG+eat-INC PAST liver
 ‘Among the houses he ate liver(s).’ (ESK.148)

- (6.52) *pixiny ?i+nhjoom*
 ?anh.joj.m
 man 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘among the men’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

6.4.3.2 =*?anh+ki?mi* ‘behind, outside’

=*?anh.ki?mi* occurs as a postposition meaning ‘behind’ (6.53) and as a free morpheme meaning ‘outside’ (6.54). It may not be possessed.

- (6.53) *?esik ?i+?ix* *minypa*
 jesik ?i+?ix-W \emptyset +miny-pa
 then 3ERG+see-CMP 3ABS+come-INC
 ‘Then he saw [that]

?i+tyu?unyi?anhki?im *tuum misi*
?i+tu?unyi=?anh.ki?mi *tuum misi*
 3PSR+shoulder=LOC₁₄.LOC₃.LOC₁ one cat
 a cat comes behind him.’ (PDLMA.Chaneco.005)

- (6.54) *?an+pik* *je?m ?an+?agan ?asta jemik*
?an+pik-W *je?m ?an+?aganh ?asta jemik*
 XERG+grab-CMP that XPSR+griddle until over.there
 ‘I threw my griddle as far as over there.’

?ar+ak+wi?ibi?y ***?anhki?im***
?an+?ak+wiip-?a?y-CMP ***?anh.ki?mi***
 CAUS₁+throw.out-BEN-CMP LOC₁₄.LOC₃.LOC₁
 I threw it outside.’ (Comal.018)

6.4.3.3 =*?anh.kuk* ‘in the midst’

=*?anh.kuk* is composed of *?anh+* and **kuk* ‘middle’ to convey ‘in the midst’. It appears as a bound postposition (6.55) and as a possessed form (6.56). It is not observed as a free expression.

- (6.55) *mooya ?ity* *tiganhkuk*
mooya \emptyset +?ity-W *tik=?anh.kuk*
 flower 3ABS+be-CMP house=LOC₁₄.LOC₄
 ‘There are flowers amidst the houses.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (6.56) *tik* *?i+nhkuk* *nyiptaap* *mooya*
tik *?i+?anh.kuk* \emptyset +nip-taH-pa *mooya*
 house 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₄ 3ABS+plant-PASS-INC flower
 ‘Flowers are planted amidst the houses.’ (PDLMA.lex.7anh+kuk)

6.4.3.4 =ʔanh.kuk.mi ‘between, not in the middle of’

The term =ʔanh.kuk.mi occurs as both a postposition (6.57) and as a possessed form (6.58). It may not occur as a free term.

(6.57) *jeʔm piixiny=ʔanh.kuk.mi*
 that man=LOC₁₄.LOC₄.LOC₁
 ‘amidst the men’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.7anh+kuk-m@)

(6.58) *piixiny ʔi+nhkukmi*
 piixiny ʔi+ʔanh.kuk.mi
 man 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₄.LOC₁
 ‘amidst the men’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

6.4.3.5 =ʔanh.koopaʔk ‘above, but not on top of’

The postposition =ʔanh.koobak is composed of ʔanh+ and koobak ‘head’ and means ‘above (but not on top of)’. It may be bound (6.59) and it may take inflection for possession (6.60).

(6.59) *dejpuej kóm jeʔm ʔi+tyik naxyukmi*
 despues Ø+kom-W jeʔm ʔi+tik nas=yuk.mi
 then 3ABS+fill-CMP that 3PSR+house ground=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘Afterwards the house filled up, from on the floor

tiʔanhkoobak juuty monhpa
 tik=ʔanh.kopaʔk juuty Ø+monh-pa
 house=LOC₁₄.LOC₆ where 3ABS+sleep-INC
 to the top of the house, where [people] sleep.’ (GU2.078a)

(6.60) *tan+ʔix-pa jeʔm ʔuʔksi*
 tan+ʔix-pa jeʔm ʔuʔksi
 IERG+see-INC that cloud
 ‘We see the clouds

jeʔm kootzik ʔi+nh+koobak
jeʔm kootzik ʔi+ʔanh.koopaʔk
 that mountain 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₆
 above the mountains.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.7anh+koobak)

6.4.3.6 =ʔanh.naaka ‘side, at the edge’

=ʔanh.naaka ‘beside’ (6.61) or ‘at the edge’ (6.62), is formed with ʔanh+ and naaka ‘skin, shell’.

(6.61) *koonypa+m ʔi+tyiganhnaaka*
Ø+koony-pa+ʔam ʔi+tik=ʔanh.naaka
 sit-INC+ALR 3PSR+house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 ‘She sits beside her house.’ (VYT.008)

(6.62) *ʔi jesik jeʔm piixiny nuʔkneʔum*
ʔi jesik jeʔm piixiny Ø+nuʔkneʔum
 and then that man 3ABS+arrive-PERF-W+ʔam
 ‘And then the man arrived

tzaykiʔanhnaaka tum choomokiʔim
tzayki=ʔanh.naaka tum choomo=kiʔ.mi
 town=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀ one grandmother=LOC₃.LOC₁.
 at the edge of the town where an old woman was.’ (Gutierrez and
 Wichman 2001:328)

The term may take morphology indicating possession (6.63).

(6.63) *tik ʔi+nhnaaka*
tik ʔi+ʔanh.naaka
 house 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 ‘the side of the house.’ (PDLMA.lex.7anh+naaka)

=*?anh.naaka* also occurs as an independent form.

- (6.64) *jawititz sijaap ?anhnaaka*
jawi=titz Ø+si.j.ʔaH-pa ?anh.naaka
 heat.rash 3ABS+disgust-INC LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 ‘Heat rash on the side (of the body) is disgusting.’
 (PDLMA.lexdatabase.7anh+naaka)

6.4.3.7 *?anh.siik.mi* ‘outside’

?anh.siik.mi ‘outside’ is a free locative expression (6.65). It does not occur as a bound form, nor may it be possessed.

- (6.65) *tziixi ʔityu+m ?anh+siikmi*
tziixi Ø+ʔity-W+ʔam ?anh.siik.mi
 child 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR LOC₁₄.LOC₉.LOC₁
 ‘The child is outside.’ (JOV.032)

6.4.3.8 =*?anh.winy.tyuk* ‘other side’

=*?anh.winy.tyuk* is composed of *?anh+*, **winy* ‘face’, and *tuk* (of unknown origin). In (6.66) the locative attaches to *niʔ* ‘water’. In (6.67) it also indicates location with relation to water, although the noun is not overtly expressed. The example in (6.68) shows the expression following the verb. It may also take inflection for possession, as shown in (6.69).

- (6.66) *ʔa+jaktáʔm niʔanhwinytyuk*
ʔa+jak-taʔm-W niʔ=?anh.winy.tyuk
 XABS+cross-PLU_{sap} water=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We crossed to the other side of the river.’ (VVA.014)

(6.67) *ʔoy ʔan+tinh-táʔm soʔk ʔanhwinytyuk*
 ʔoy-W ʔan+tinh-taʔmW soʔk ʔanh.winy.tuk
 go_{aux}-CMP XERG+cut-PLU_{sap} grass LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We went to cut grass on the other side [of the river].’ (VVA.045)

(6.68) *moʔim ʔajakityaʔm ʔanhwinytyuk*
 moj-W+ʔam ʔa+jak-i-taʔm ʔanh.winy.tyuk
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+cross-DEP_{ia}-PLU_{sap} LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We began to cross to the other side.’ (VVA047)

(6.69) *jeʔm tziixi teeny tunh ʔi+nhwinytyuk*
 jeʔm tziixi Ø+teeny-W tunh ʔi+ʔanh.winy.tyuk
 that child 3ABS+stand-CMP road 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘The child stood on the other side of the road.’ (200902jaf)

6.4.4 PP/RNs Formed with *ku+*

There are a handful of PP/RNs locatives formed with the proclitic *ku+*, which is reconstructed as **ko+* in proto-Mixe-Zoque. It is a derivational proclitic that occurs on a number of word classes and is reported as conveying “else” and “extensive or exocentricity” (Kaufman 1963:70) or ‘spread, extend’ (Elson 1960b:221). *ku+* is no longer a productive derivational proclitic and therefore its semantics in many lexicalized expressions, PP/RN as well as other word classes, is not always apparent. The terms formed with *ku+* are described here.

6.4.4.1 *ku.kiʔ.mi* ‘beneath’

The term *ku.kiʔ.mi* is composed of *ku+*, *kiʔ* ‘below, near’, and *-mi* ‘locative’ and conveys the meaning ‘at’. It occurs as a bound form (6.70). *ku.kiʔ.mi*

also takes morphology to indicate possession, as shown in (6.71). Based on elicitation it does not appear to occur freely.

- (6.70) *ʔokmi jeʔam kuy**ku.kiʔi.m***
 ʔok-mi jeʔm kuy=**ku.kiʔ.m**
 after that tree=LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘Afterwards beneath a tree’

nig i+chentaaj
 nikk-W ʔi+tzen-taaj-W
 go_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+tie-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 she’s taken to be tied up.’ (VTT.097)

- (6.71) *jeʔm woonyi ku+choony-pa pweentej*
 jeʔm woonyi Ø+ku+choony-pa pweentej
 that girl 3ABS+DERIV₂+hang-INC bridge
ʔi+ku.kiʔi.m
ʔi+ku.kiʔi.m
 3PSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘The girl is hanging under the bridge.’ (PDLMA.lex.ku+k@7@m)

6.4.4.2 =*ku.sinh.winy* ‘from end point and beyond’

The locative =*ku.sinh.winy* is also composed of the proclitic *ku+* and the expression *sinh.winy* (see §6.4.2 above) and conveys the meaning ‘from the end point and beyond’ (6.72). Examples have only been observed in elicitation.

- (6.72) (a) *ʔaatteʔet**ku.sinhwiny***
 ʔaatteʔet=**ku.sinh.winy**
 Soteapan=LOC₁₅.LOC₈.LOC₁₁
 ‘From where Soteapan ends and up.’

- (b) *kaam**ku.sinhwiny***
 kaam=**ku.sinh.winy**
 field=LOC₁₅.LOC₈.LOC₁₁

‘from where the field ends and up.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.ku+s@nh=winy)

As shown in examples (6.73) and (6.73), *=ku.sinh.winy* may also take nominal morphology indicating possession.

- (6.73) *tzaʔgatz ʔi+ku^sinhwiny*
rive ʔi+ku.^sinh.winy
river 3PSR+LOC₁₅.LOC₈.LOC₁₁
‘beyond the river’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

6.4.5 *=weeny.tyanh* ‘behind (inanimate)’

=weeny.tyanh is used to express ‘behind’⁶. It may be bound (6.74) and possessed (6.75).

- (6.74) *jeʔm woonyi teeny taʔanyiweenytyanh*
jeʔm woonyi teeny-W taʔanyi.i=^wweenytyanh
that girl stand-CMP fence=LOC₁₃
‘The girl stands behind the fence.’ (PDLMA.lex.weenytyanh)

- (6.75) *jesigam winykejum juuty ʔity*
jesik+ʔam Ø+winy.kej-W+ʔam juuty Ø+ʔity-W
then+ALR 3ABS+appear-CMP-ALR where 3ABS+be-CMP
‘Then he appeared from [hiding] where he was

pwertaj ʔi+wenytyan
pwertaj ʔi+^wwenytyanh
door 3ERG+LOC₁₃
behind the door.’ (Elson 1947a: pg. 208)

⁶It was recently called to my attention that *=weeny.tyanh* means ‘other side, in front of’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.), which raises interesting questions with respect to spatial relations in SP. Further work on spatial relations is necessary to tease apart the semantics of this and other locative postpositions and relational nouns.

It also occurs freely as shown in (6.76), in which the locative follows the verb *teeny* ‘stand’.

- (6.76) *jeʔm woonyi teeny weenytyanh ʔanhnaaka*
jeʔm woonyi Ø+teeny-W weenytyanh ʔanh.naaka
 that girl 3ABS+stand-CMP LOC₁₃ LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 ‘the girl is standing up on the other side’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

6.4.6 =*taay* ‘part of’

The form =*taay* ‘part of’ appears only as a bound form, as shown in examples (6.77) and (6.78). Attempts to elicit this form as a free lexical item or as a possessed form indicate that it is strictly a bound expression. It is unclear whether this term is a postposition or derived from a relational noun.

- (6.77) *nimpa jeʔm choomo ʔa+tzakʔay+nam*
 Ø+nimpa jeʔm choomo ʔa+tzak-ʔaʔy-W+nam
 3ABS+say-INC that grandmother 3ABS+leave-BEN-CMP+STILL
 ‘The grandmother says: ‘Leave me

ʔeeyam ʔusanh ʔi+mijtaay
ʔeeyam ʔusanh ʔi+mij=taay
 also little 3ERG+body=PART
 a little of his body too

ʔanh+kuʔtʔaʔypa+tyim ʔich
ʔanh+kuʔt-ʔaʔy-pa+tyim ʔich
 XERG+eat-BEN-INC+JUST+ALR 1PRO
 for me to eat.’ ” (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k 109)

- (6.78) *jeʔ* *ʔi+kukomneʔu+m* *jeʔm* *ʔi+tyiʔiny**tyaay***
 jeʔ *ʔi+ku.kom-neʔ-W+ʔam* *jeʔm* *ʔi+tyiʔiny=**taay***
 3PRO 3ERG+carry-PERF-CMP+ALR that 3PSR+garbage=PART
 ‘He had brought part of his garbage [a container].’ (PDO.034)

6.4.7 =*tyaaka* ‘without’

The postposition =*tyaaka*⁷ (also =*taaka*) ‘without’ occurs in a small number of examples that come from elicitation. Attempts to elicit =*tyaaka* in three different communities have been unsuccessful. It is likely that this is not a productive form. The lexical items known to occur with this term are shown in (6.79).

- (6.79) LEXICAL ITEMS OBSERVED WITH *tyaaka*:
- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tuʔch=tyaaka</i> | ‘without tail’ | |
| <i>kiʔi=tyaaka</i> | ‘without arm’ | |
| <i>puy=tyaaka</i> | ‘without leg’ | |
| <i>kiʔak=tyaaka</i> | ‘broken sandal’ | |
| <i>tzaʔa=tyaaka</i> | ‘rock that is split’ | |
| <i>wonh=tyaaka</i> | ‘a shortened machete’ | |
| <i>xoj=tyaaka</i> | ‘short sleeve’ | (PDLMA.lexdatabase.=tyaaka) |

It is also observed in an incorporated lexicalized expressions as *totz=taaka=ʔanh+mat* ‘to stutter’, shown in example (6.80).

- (6.80) *mi+tyotz**taaka**ʔanhmatpa*
 *mi+totz=**taaka**=ʔanh.mat-pa*
 2ABS+tongue=PRIV=speak-INC
 ‘You stutter.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.tyotz=taaka=7anh.mat)

⁷*tyaaka* comes from pMZ *takaʔ ‘naked’ (Kaufman, p.c.).

6.5 Conclusion

The expressions that serve to mark oblique arguments in SP consist of postpositions and relational nouns composed of relational and locative components. These relational and locative expressions may be possessed, a principal characteristic of relational nouns, they may occur independently, or they may attach to the nouns to which they relate. The cases encoded by these expressions include locative, instrumental, partitive and privative cases.

Chapter 7

Adverbs and Adverbial Particles

The adverb class is small, consisting of words and particles that modify events and states. They differ from the other classes (verbs, nouns and adjectives) in that they may not be inflected for person, mood, aspect, and number, and they may not be derived as verbs. Lexical adverbs, described in §7.1, occur as independent words and are most often used to locate events in time. Adverbial clitics, described in §7.2, are generally clause level particles that attach to nouns, verbs and other lexical items within the clause.

7.1 Lexical Adverbs

Adverbs make up a relatively small word class, composed of a small set of lexical adverbs and a broader set of lexicalized expressions derived from other word classes. The class may be divided into four adverb types: temporal, locative, manner and perception.

7.1.1 Time Adverbs

The largest set consists primarily of temporal adverbs. SP is a tenseless language, and as such it does not have morphology to convey tense. It does so via adverbs that locate events in time. These are listed in (7.1).

(7.1) TIME ADVERBS:

<i>?ity?ik</i>	‘general past’
<i>winyik</i>	‘distant past’
<i>peka</i>	‘distant past’
<i>peek+?am, pekam</i>	
<i>ma?kxi</i>	‘before’
<i>?okmi</i>	‘after’
<i>jesik</i>	‘then’
<i>joymi</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>ma+ti?k</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>si?ip</i>	‘now’
<i>yaginy</i>	‘almost, just now, just then’
<i>?eey+pi?k+tyi+m</i>	‘again, another time’
(also <i>?eey+pi?k</i>)	

There are three adverbs of past time *?ity?ik*, *winyik* and *peka* (or *peka+m*). *?ity?ik*, illustrated in (7.2), refers to a general past and may co-occur with the distant past adverbs or refer to events of previous days. *Winyik* (7.3) and *peka* (7.4) both refer to distant pasts, with *peka* comparatively referring to a more remote past, as illustrated in (7.5).

(7.2) *?i+ri+?ity* *?idyik* *tum* *burroj*
 ?i+na+?ity-W ?ity?ik tuum burroj
 3ERG+have-CMP PAST one donkey
 ‘He had a donkey.’ (Burro.001b)

(7.3) **winyik** *jeʔm ʔan+jaatunh=weewej*
winyik *jeʔm ʔan+jaatunh=weewej*
 long.ago that XPSR+father=grandfather
 ‘Long ago my grandfather

jeʔ ʔidyik yoxaap ʔi+kaam=jom
jeʔ ʔidyik Ø+yox.ʔaH-pa ʔi+kaam=joj.mi
 3PRO PAST 3ABS+work.VERS-INC 3PSR+field=LOC₂.LOC₁
 worked on his farm.’ (Puktuuku.002)

(7.4) *pekaʔmun ta+nimpa*
peka+ʔam+ʔun ta+n@m-pa
 long.ago+ALR+DJO IABS+say-INC
 ‘Long ago, as we say,

ʔity jeʔm yoomo
Ø+ʔity-W jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+be-CMP that woman
 there was woman.’ (GU1.009)

(7.5) *winyik jaama+ʔun ta+nimpa+ʔun*
winyik jaama+ʔun ta+nim-pa+ʔun
 long.ago day+DJO IABS+say-INC+DJO
 ‘A long time ago, it is said, as we say,

maj peek+am puej
maj peek+ʔam puej
 more long.ago then
 well, more long ago.’ (GU1.001)

Adverbs indicating sequential ordering include *maʔkxi* ‘before’, *ʔokmi* ‘after’ (7.7), (7.6), and *jesik* ‘then’ (7.8). The sequential ordering adverbs also head adverbial clauses (see ch. 23).

- (7.6) *maʔkxi* *pues nuʔkniyajum* *ʔidyik*
maʔakxi *pues* \emptyset +nuʔk-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam *ʔityʔik*
 before well 3ABS+arrive-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR PAST
 ‘Beforehand they had arrived’

ʔik+nuʔkyajum *ʔi+juktɨ*
 ʔi+ʔak+nuʔk-yaj+ʔam *ʔi+juktɨ*
 3ERG+CAUS₁+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR 3PSR+fire
 and put together their fire.’ (Cangrejo.006)

- (7.7) *ʔokmi* *tan+jaatunh ʔi+chéʔk*
ʔokmi *tan+jatunh ʔi+tzeʔk-W*
 after IPSR+father 3ERG+charge-CMP
 ‘Afterward my father charged him. (CNC.043)’

- (7.8) *jeʔm piixiny jesik*
jeʔm piixiny jesik
 that man then
 ‘That man then’

ʔi+maypam *jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyon*
 ʔi+may-pa-m *jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyon*
 3ERG+pray-INC+ALR that 3PSR+oration
 recited his incantation.’ (ESK.032)

Two adverbs have specific deictic reference with respect to days: *joymi* ‘tomorrow’ (7.9) and *ma+tiʔk* ‘yesterday’ (7.10).

- (7.9) *joymi* *mi+nyikpa*
joymi *mi+nikk-pa*
 tomorrow 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘Tomorrow you go.’ (ConvSobrePopoluca.139)

(7.10) *jesik nuʔkgakpa+m*
 jesik Ø+nuʔk-gak-pa+ʔam
 then 3ABS+arrive-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘Then she arrived

juuty ʔi+ʔix matiʔk jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 juuty ʔi+ʔix-W ma+tiʔk jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 where 3ERG+see-CMP yesterday that worm
 where she saw the worm the day before.’ (GU2.055)

The adverb *siʔip* means ‘now’ (7.11).

(7.11) *siʔip ʔii dya ʔii ʔinh+widyaaayaʔ*
 siʔip ʔii dya Ø+ʔity-W ʔin+wity=ʔaaya
 now and NEG 3ABS+be-INC 2PSR+big=male
 ‘Now? And your husband is not here?’ (He’s passed on?)
 (ConvSerPartera.209)

It is lexicalized from the inflected verb *siʔ* ‘walk’ (7.12), which has grammaticalized into an auxiliary verb construction (7.13) that conveys progressive aspect (See ch. 22). The grammaticalized form is likely to be the source of the adverb.

(7.12) *jemik+piʔk siʔiyajpa tigiskiʔim*
 jemik+piʔk Ø+siʔ-yaj-pa tik=ʔiski=kiʔ.mi
 there 3ABS+walk-PLU_{nonsap}-INC house=behind=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘There they walk among the houses.’ (GU2.105)

(7.13) *ʔa+nuʔkpa woonyi kajtzay=joom*
 ʔa+nuʔk-pa woonyi kajtzay=joj.mi
 XABS+arrive-INC girl hammock=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘I arrive; the girl in the hammock

wejpa *?i+xi?*
 Ø+wej-**pa** ?i+si?-W₃
 3ABS+cry-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 is crying.’ (SA2.016)

It may occur phrase initially (7.14) or phrase finally (7.15).

(7.14) *si?ip ?an+tziitzi ka?ane?u+m tambyenh*
 si?ip ?an+tziitz ika?-ne?-W+?am tambyenh
 now XPSR+aunt 3ABS+die-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘Now my aunt has died too.’ (MAB.138)

(7.15) *?ich ?an+choomo dya ?idyik ka?*
 ?ich ?an+choomo dya ?ity?ik Ø+ka?-W
 1PRO XPSR+grandmother NEG PAST 3ABS+die-CMP
 ‘My grandmother shouldn’t have died.’

?ity ?iga+?astaj si?ip
?ity-W ?iga+?astaj si?ip
 3ABS+be-CMP COMP+until now
 She should be here now.’ (MAB.184-5)

The adverb *yaginy* indicates ‘almost, just then/now’ with reference to utterance time or with reference to an other event (7.16).

(7.16) *?a+seeta?mi+m porkej yakiny jik*
 ?a+seet-ta?m-W+?am porkej yakiny Ø+jik-W
 XABS+return-PLU_{sap}-W+?am because just.then 3ABS+lower-CMP
 ‘We returned because [the water level] had just gone down.’ (VVA.050)

?eey+pi?k (7.17) and *?eey+pi?k+tyi+m* (7.18) ‘again, another time’ are lexicalized composites of a number of particles and clitics, including: **?eya* ‘other’ (proto-Zoque, Wichmann 1995:240), the relativizer *+pi?k*, *+tyi* ‘just’, and *?am* ‘already’.

(7.17) *?eeybi?k* *?an+tunka?mpa*
?eey+pi?k *?an+tun=ka?m-pa*
**other+REL* *XERG+put=affix-INC*
 ‘Again I put it [on the fire].’ (Pozole.013)

(7.18) *?eeybik+tyi+m* *misaa?j*
?eey+pi?k+tyi+?am *Ø+mis.?aH-W*
**other+REL+JUST+ALR* *3ABS+rotten/not.good-VERS-CMP*
 ‘Again it went bad,

pwes si? jeempik+tyi+m tzi?y
pwes si?ip jee-m+pik+tyi+?am Ø+tzi?y-W
 well now like.that+JUST+ALR *3ABS+stay-CMP*
 so now it stayed like that.’ (PQ1.009)

7.1.1.1 Location Adverbs

Location is expressed with relational and postpositional expressions (as described in ch. 6), although there are a small number of lexicalized locative adverbs, listed in (7.19). These are generally composed of a deictic root¹ and the locative suffix *-mi*. These deictically based expressions, which are essentially composed of derived relational nouns and deictic roots, serve as roots for more complex derived adverbial stems (among other word classes).

(7.19) LOCATION ADVERBS:
jeem ‘there’
jemi:m ‘right there’
 (also *jeemim*)
jemik ‘over there’
yi?im ‘here’
ju?umi ‘far’
noko ‘near’

¹See §5.2 for description of deictic roots.

The adverb *jeem* ‘there’ (7.20) is composed of the deictic root *jeʔ*, which indicates ‘there’. It also occurs as the 3rd person pronoun *jeʔ* and observed in the demonstrative *jeʔm* ‘that’, thought to be composed of the locative *-mi*.

(7.20) *jiʔyaʔytyaap*
 Ø+jiy-ʔaʔy-taH-pa
 3ABS+speak-BEN-PASS-INC
 ‘He’s spoken to;

<i>tyii</i>	<i>siʔip</i>	<i>ʔinh+wát</i>	<i>jeemʔ</i>
tyiH	siʔ-pa	ʔin+wat-W ₂	jeem
what	PROG _{aux} -INC	2ERG+do-DEP _t	there

‘What are you doing there?’ ” (REY.011)

The adverb *jemim* (7.21) is composed of the deictic root *jeʔ*, the locative *-mi* and the clitic *+ʔam*, and its meaning is subtly distinct from *jeem* in that it is slight more specific.

(7.21) *jeemum* *ʔi+chakyáj*
 je.mi+ʔam ʔi+tzakya-j-W
 there.LOC₁+ALR 3ERG+leave-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘They left him right there.’ (Cangrejo.079)

The adverb *jemik* ‘over there’ is thought to be composed of *jeʔ* ‘there’, *mi* ‘LOC₁’, and a morpheme *ik* indicating ‘farther’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress).

(7.22) *ʔajta lookolookoneʔeba* *jemik*
 ʔajta Ø+looko.looko-neʔ-pa jemik
 until 3ABS+looko.REDUP-ASSUM-INC over.there
 ‘As far as way over there she shouted: *looko looko looko.*’ (Cangrejo.129)

The adverb *yiʔim* ‘here’ (7.23) is composed of the deictic root *yiʔ* ‘here’. The root is observed in the demonstrative *yiʔm* ‘this’, composed of *yiʔ* and the locative *-mi*.

- (7.23) *yiʔim ʔity ʔidyik ʔi+koobak*
yiʔim Ø+ʔity-W ʔityʔik ʔi+kopaʔk
 here 3ABS+be-CMP PAST 3PSR+head
 ‘Here is its head.’ (ConvSerPartera.011)

The adverb *juʔumi* indicates far (7.24).

- (7.24) *dya+m juʔumi jeʔmigam ketyyáj*
dya+m juʔumi jemik+ʔam Ø+ketyaj-W
 NEG+ALR far there+ALR 3ABS+descent-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘Not far there they went down to

Ganadeeraj
 ganadeeraj
 Ganadera
 La Ganadera.’ (PQ2.073)

Noko indicates ‘nearby’. *Noko* is not derived with the locative *mi*, although it is usually marked with clitics in discourse. In (7.25) the adverb is marked with the ‘already’ enclitic *+ʔam*; in (7.26) with the enclitic *tyi* ‘just’ (described below in §7.2).

- (7.25) *duuro ʔanh+jiʔypa ʔi+miny*
duuro Ø+ʔanh+jiʔy-pa ʔi+miny-W₃
 hard 3ABS+DERIV₁+sound-INC 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 ‘Hard she sounds as she comes.

jesig i+ʔixyaju+m noko+m mínyi
jesik ʔi+ʔix-yaj-W+ʔam noko+ʔam Ø+miny-i
 then 3ERG+see-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR close+ALR 3ABS+come-PROG
 then they saw that she was coming close.’ (Cangrejo.023)

- (7.26) *ʔa laastima jeʔm ʔam+maanik, mega nokotyj*
ʔa laastima jeʔm ʔan+maanik me+ʔiga Ø+noko+tyi
 ah shame that XPSR+child if+COMP 3ABS+close+JUST
 ‘Uh, what a shame, my child, if he had just been closer,

ʔan+chiʔu+m tum jaaka yiʔp ʔaanyi
ʔan+chiʔ-W+ʔam tum jaaka yiʔp ʔaanyi
 XERG+give-CMP+ʔam one piece that tortilla
 ‘I would have given him a piece of tortilla.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

7.1.1.2 Perception Adverb *ken* ‘seem, appear as’

There is a single perception adverb *ken* (7.27), which may be loosely translated as ‘appear as, seem’. Examples are listed in (7.27) and (7.28). *Ken* is not a verb and may not be inflected for person, aspect or number.

- (7.27) *nik koonyi ken ʔuutzj+yaj*
nikk-W Ø+koony-i ken Ø+ʔuutzj+yaj
gOaux-CMP 3ABS+sit-DEP_{ia} seem 3ABS+monkey+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They went to sit like they were monkeys (squatting).’ (Cangrejo.014)

- (7.28) *ʔak+tinħ. ken kàʔneʔyáju+m*
Ø+ʔak+tinħ-W. ken Ø+kaʔ-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam
3ABS+CAUS₁+fell-CMP seem 3ABS+die-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘They fell. They appeared as if they had died.’ (Cangrejo.069)

7.1.1.3 Manner Adverbs

Manner is generally conveyed via adverbial clauses (ch. 25) or complex predicate constructions (ch. 21). There are, however, a number of lexicalized expressions that are used to convey manner. These are listed in (7.29).

- (7.29) MANNER ADVERBS:
chokoy 'slow'
jikx.kiy 'fast'
juuty+kej 'where ever'
juchix+tyam 'when ever'
tzoogo+piy 'just because'

These are predominantly composed of particles and clitics. Examples with manner adverbs are listed in (7.30) through (7.33).

- (7.30) *yi?p treenh wity-pa chokoy-mi*
yi?p treenh Ø+wity-pa chokoy-mi
 this train 3ABS+walk-INC slow-LOC₁
 'This train moves slowly;
- je?m ?abyuunh kekpa jikxkiy*
je?m ?abyuunh Ø+kek-pa jikx-kiy
 that plane 3ABS+fly-INC move.quickly-LOC_{applic}
 that plain flies fast.' (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

- (7.31) *juutykej minypa tzaany*
juuty=kej Ø+miny-pa tzaany
 where=appear 3ABS+come-INC snake
 'The snakes come everywhere.' (PDLMA Jacinto-Jomx@k.136)

- (7.32) *jesik+?am mi+wi?kta?mpa mich*
jesik+?am mi+wi?k-ta?m-pa mich
 when+ALR 2ABS+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC 2PRO
 'Then you will eat,
- pero dya juuchixkej*
pero dya juuty.ix-kej
 but NEG where.??=appear
 but not whenever you want.' (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.122)

(7.33) *?estej ?i+nyi?ma?ypa*
?estej ?i+nim-?a?y-pa
 FILL 3ERG+say-BEN-INC

“ ‘She tells her:

?iga+tyi+m tzoogopiy wejpa ?i+xí?
?iga+tyi+?am tzoogo.piy wej-pa ?i+si?-W₃
 COMP+JUST+ALR just.because cry-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 She’s crying just because.’ (MAB.016b)

7.1.1.4 Intensifier *tzam* ‘very, much, a lot, often’

Tzam (also *tzaam*) is used to convey intensity and is used to express ‘very, much, a lot’, shown in (7.34) through (7.35).

(7.34) *Nimpa tzaam ?anh=jé?k*
Ø+nim-pa tzaam 3ABS+?anh+je?k-W
 3ABS+say-INC very 3ABS+DERIV₁+be.scared-CMP
 ‘He says: I was very scared.’ (AVC.011)

(7.35) *tzam ta+waspa*
tzam ta+was-pa
 much IABS+bite-INC
 ‘It bites us a lot.’ (Burro.015)

The intensifier *tzam* comes from the verb root *tzam* ‘grow, ripen’ (7.36) and has a corresponding adjective, shown in (7.37) as a nonverbal predicate.

(7.36) *jeem+pi?k ?ak+tzamne?taap*
jeem+pi?k ?a+?ak+tzam-ne?-taH-pa
 that+REL XABS+CAUS₁+grow-PERF-PASS-INC
 ‘That is how were were raised.’ (7NH.005)

(7.37) *?ich+gak+tyi ?a+tzaam+?am*
?ich+gak+tyi ?a+tzaam+?am
 1PRO+REP+JUST XABS+old-NOM+ALR
 ‘I too am already old.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.127)

7.2 Adverbial Particles and Clitics

There are a handful of clause level adverbial particles and clitics that generally attach to phrase heads. These are described here.

7.2.0.5 *?agi+* ‘intensifier’

?agi+ is an intensifier proclitic that indicates ‘much, very’. It is synonymous with *tzam* ‘much, a lot, very’ (described above).

- (7.38) *?agi+toypa* *?am+pu?u*
?agi+Ø+toy-pa *?an+pu?u*
 INTENS+3ABS+ache-INC XPSR+belly
 ‘Her belly hurts a lot.’ (SA2.019a)

- (7.39) *peru je?m burroj ?agi+waso?ypa*
peru je?m burroj ?agi+Ø+was-?o?y-pa
 but that donkey INTENS+3ABS+ANTIP-INC
 ‘But that donkey bites a lot.’ (Burro.014)

- (7.40) *Nu?kpa* *?i+tyikimi* *?agi+?un* *maymay+?am*
Ø+nu?k-pa *?i+tik-mi* *?agi+?un* *maymay+?am*
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₁ INTENS+DJO happy+ALR
 ‘He arrives at his house very happy, it is said.’ (ESK.047)

7.2.0.6 *+?am* ‘already’

The enclitic *+?am* can be translated roughly as “already” in the sense that the Spanish “ya” can be translated as “already” and is thus called the “already”

enclitic². It occurs on all word classes, including pronouns (7.41), verbs (7.42), and particles (7.43).

- (7.41) *mich+ʔam ʔan+chiʔiba jeʔm ʔoojo*
 mich+ʔam ʔan+chiʔ-pa jeʔm ʔoojo
 2PRO+ALR 2:1+give-INC that alcohol
 ‘You (already) are doing to give me alcohol.’ (AVC.017b)

- (7.42) *ʔokmi minyi+m mi+wiʔiki*
 ʔokmi miny-i+ʔam 2ABS+eat-i
 then 3ABS+come_{aux}-IMP+ALR 2ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Then [she says]: ‘Come eat already,

si mi+nyikpa
 si mi+nikk-pa
 if 2ABS+go-INC
 if you’re going [to work].’ ” (Comal.011)

- (7.43) *niʔmaʔytyaap ʔiga+dya+m*
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa ʔiga+dya+ʔam
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC COMP+NEG+ALR
 ‘He’s told: ‘No already.’ ” (CNC.038c)

7.2.0.7 +*tyi* ‘just’

The enclitic *tyi* attaches to phrase heads to convey ‘just’, shown in (7.45) through (7.47).

²The use of a particle indicating ‘already’ is reportedly a phenomenon in other Meso-American languages, as well as “ya” in the Spanish spoken throughout Meso-America (Koike 1996). For a discussion of ‘already’ particles found in the languages of the Americas, as well as a description of Spanish *ya*, see Bishop (1979) and Koike (1996). Similar particles are observed Misantra Totonaco (Mackay 1991:193, 1999), Tepehua (Kung-Smythe 2007:458), the Zoque languages (Johnson 2000), among other languages throughout Meso-America.

- (7.44) *?a+n+sujpa+tyim*
 ?a+?anh+suj-pa+tyi+?am
 XABS+blow-INC+JUST+ALR
 ‘I just blew.’ (Comal.009a)
- (7.45) *dya+m waatyi wirnyaaya+tyim*
 dya+?am waatyi wisnyaH=?aaya+tyi+?am
 NEG+ALR some two=siblings?+STILL+ALR
 ‘There aren’t many. Just two (siblings left).’ (7NH.078)
- (7.46) *nu?kyaju+m tzu?utyim*
 Ø+nu?k-yaj-W+?am tzu?+tyi+?am
 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR night+JUST+ALR
 ‘They arrived just at night fall.’ (Cangrejo.005)
- (7.47) *manteelax+tyim ku+kej-pa*
 manteelax+tyi+?am Ø+ku+kej-pa
 napkin+JUST 3ABS+DERIV+appear-INC
 ‘Just one napkin appears.’ (ESK.019b)

7.2.0.8 *+nam* ‘still, yet’

The enclitic *+nam* occurs on phrase heads to indicate ‘still, yet’. It is shown in examples (7.48) through (7.50).

- (7.48) *si?ip dya+m ?inh+wijpa+nam*
 si?ip dya+m ?in+wij-pa+nam
 now NEG+ALR 2ERG+untie-INC+STILL
 ‘Now you still don’t untie it.’ (ConvSerPartera.176)
- (7.49) *Mi+plaakoj+nam*
 mi+plaakoj+nam
 2ABS+skinny+STILL
 ‘You’re still skinny.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:320-1)

- (7.50) *ʔiny+dya+nám* *ʔidyik* *ʔa+mijan̄h+am*
ʔich+dya+nám *ʔityʔik* *ʔa+mij.ʔanh+ʔam*
 1PRO+NEG+STILL PAST XABS+big.QUANT+ALR
 ‘I wasn’t big yet.’ (Puktuuku.083)

7.2.0.9 *+ʔun* ‘it is said; s/he says’

The enclitic *+ʔun* is used to attribute information to a source other than the speaker and means ‘it is said; s/he says’. Its use is optional and it does not directly identify a source of information. It tends to be used when reporting something that is generally known or talked about or when there is no specific source or reference. For example, (7.51) comes from a popular story traditionally told in communities where SP is spoken. The speaker has heard this story numerous times in her childhood told by a number of different storytellers. In this example *+ʔun* appears on the verb and translates simply as ‘it is said’.

- (7.51) *ta+monhpam+ʔun* *dya* *tan̄h+jodon̄h*
ta+monh-pa+ʔam+ʔun *dya* *tan+jootoʔnh*
 IABS+sleep-INC+ALR+DJO NEG IPSR+knowledge
 ‘It is said, we sleep without knowing.’ (ESK.043)

It is also used when a specific source is identified. In example (7.52) the speaker recounts a story told by her neighbor about her witnessing a *chaneque*, a mischievous, mythical creature. Here *+ʔun* attaches itself to the third person pronoun *jeʔ*, which references the neighbor who told the speaker about the experience.

- (7.52) *porkej jeʔ+ʔun ʔi+ʔix*
 porkej **jeʔ+ʔun** ʔi+ʔix-W
 because 3PRO+DJO 3ERG+see-CMP
 ‘Because according to her, she saw it; (CQS.007)

jeʔ ʔi+ʔix ʔanh+siikmi put
 jeʔ ʔi+ʔix-W ʔanh+siik-mi Ø+put-W
 3PRO 3ERG+see-CMP outside-LOC₁ 3ABS+exit-CMP
 she saw it when she went outside.’ (CQS.008)

+ʔun is a sentence level particle that may attach itself to the head of the phrase, including a range of different word classes and discourse markers. It appears on pronouns (7.52), demonstratives (7.53), verbs (7.54), non-verbal predicates (7.55), adverbs (7.56), particles (7.57), other clitics (7.58).

- (7.53) *jeʔm+ʔun yoomo yusu+m*
 jeʔm+ʔun yoomo Ø+yus-W+ʔam
 that+DJO woman 3ABS+awake-CMP-ALR
 ‘The woman woke up, it is said.’ (ESK.084)

- (7.54) *ʔii jeʔmim ʔi+paʔtpa+ʔun tunhjoom*
 ʔii jeemim ʔi+paʔt-pa+ʔun tunh+joj.mi
 and there 3ERG+find-INC-DJO road=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘And, it is said, she finds him in the road. (PDO.022)

- (7.55) *jaayanh+ʔun jeʔm tzuʔukiny*
 Ø+jaʔy.ʔanh+ʔun jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 3ABS+much+DJO that worm
 ‘There were many worms, it is said.’ (GU1.110)

- (7.56) *ʔokmi+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya*
 ʔokmi+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya
 then+DJO that 3PSR+husband
 ‘After, it is said, her husband

?agi+kiinhne?u+m
 ?agi+Ø+kiinh-ne?-W+?am
 INTENS+3ABS+fear-PERF-CMP+ALR
 was very scared. (GU1.113)

- (7.57) *nimpa* *?an+choomo* *dya+?un* *dya+?un*
 Ø+nim-pa ?an+choomo dya+?un dya+?un
 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+grandmother NEG+DJO NEG+DJO
 “My grandmother would say: ‘No no,

dya *?a+yu?ané?*
 dya ?a+hunger-?aH-ne?-W
 NEG XABS+be.hungry-PERF-CMP
 I’m not hungry.’ ” (MAB.081)

- (7.58) *Nu?kpa* *?i+tyikimi* *?agi+?un* *maymay+?am*
 Ø+nu?k-pa ?i+tik-mi ?agi+?un Ø+maymay+?am
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house INTENS+DJO 3ABS+happy+ALR
 ‘He arrives at home very happy.’ (ESK.047)

7.2.1 *+wey* ‘It is true, I say’

The enclitic *+wey* is used to indicate certainty, although it is also observed as having the reading ‘I say/said’. *+wey* occurs with much less frequency than *+?un*. It appears principally on adverbs (particularly *nuuma* ‘certain’) (7.59), the negator *dya* (7.60), *jij* ‘yes’ (7.61), and nonverbal predicates (7.61).

- (7.59) *?okmi* *?apeena* *?i+mátz* *ku+nú?k*
 ?okmi ?apeena ?i+matz Ø+ku+nu?k-W
 after just 3ERG+grab-W 3ABS+DERIV+arrive-CMP
 “Just after arriving she grabbed her [belly],

ʔaay padre nuuma+wey téeny
 ʔaay padre nuuma+wey Ø+teeny-W
 ah father certain+TRUE 3ABS+stand-CMP
 ‘Ay father, it’s true it is standing.’ ” (SerPartera.060)

(7.60) *duuro ʔan+sujpa ʔanh+ku+yempa*
 duro ʔan+suj-pa ʔan+ku+yem-pa
 long.time XERG+blow-INC XERG+DERIV+fan-INC
 ‘I blew it and I fanned it;

dya+wey ʔi+tzokpa ʔagi+jogaaba+m
 dya+wey ʔi+tzok-pa ʔagi+jooko-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 NEG+TRUE 3ERG+burn-INC INTENS+smoke-VERS-INC+ALR
 it certainly does not burn; it (only) smokes.’ (Comal.013b)

(7.61) *ʔan+nɪʔmaʔypa jɪʔi+wey*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa jɪj+wey
 XERG+say-BEN-INC yes+TRUE
 ‘I’m telling him ‘Yes, its true.’ ” (SoyPartera.053b)

(7.62) (a) *chimpa+wey*
 Ø+chimp+wey
 3ABS+dog+SAY
 ‘It is a dog, I said.’

(b) *pakʔak+wey*
 Ø+pakʔak+wey
 3ABS+cold+SAY
 ‘It is cold, I said.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

7.3 Lexical Prefixes

There are two lexical prefixes that convey adverbial information. The first is *waaga=* ‘together’ (7.63). *Waaga=* is a stress bearing morpheme that follows

person marking proclitics, as shown in (7.64). The prefix does not alter the transitivity of the verb, as shown in (7.63) with the intransitive verb *nikk* ‘go’. It occurs preceding derivation proclitics, as shown in (7.65). It is not used to indicate number as number is inflected with the suffixes *-yaj* ‘3rd person plural’ (7.63) and *taʔm* ‘1st/2nd person plural’ (7.64).

- (7.63) *wàaganikyáj*
 Ø+waaga=nikk-yaj-W
 3ABS+together=go-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘They went together.’ (PQ2.060a)

- (7.64) *Kumu mich mi+wàagasiʔityáʔmpa ʔidyik jemim*
kumu mich mi+waaga+siʔ-i-taʔm-pa ʔityʔik jemim
 like 2PRO 2ABS+walk-PROG-PLU_{sap}-INC PAST there
 ‘As you all walk together (hang out) there.’ (PQ2.139)

- (7.65) *Karloj ʔi+waaga+na+nik*
 Karloj ʔi+waaga+na+nik-W
 Carlos 3ERG+waaga+ASSOC+go-CMP
 ‘He and Carlos brought him together.’ (PQ2.128)

The second lexical prefix is *jaaya* ‘almost no’, which is a negative polarity item. It attaches to the verb to indicate ‘almost no, almost never’ (7.66). It follows person marking, as shown in (7.67).

- (7.66) *dya dya+m jàayawiʔáb am+wíty*
dya dya+ʔam jaaya=wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔan+wity-W
 NEG NEG+ALR almost.no=be.able_{aux}-ʔaH-INC XERG+walk-CMP
 ‘I almost can’t walk. (ConvSerPartera.269)

- (7.67) *dya ʔig+i+jaayakuʔtpa kaʔnpu*
dya ʔiga+ʔi+jaaya=kuʔt-pa kaʔnpu
 NEG COMP+3ERG+almost.no=eat-INC egg
 ‘She almost never eats eggs.’ (MAB.059)

Part III

Verbs and Statives

Chapter 8

Verb Classes

There are four major verb classes, which can be identified as lexically transitive, intransitive, ambitransitive (or labile), or ditransitive based on the number of arguments that they may take. The principal defining characteristic of these basic verb classes is the number of core arguments the verb may take without any morphological adjustment for valency. In addition, there are three minor classes of verb root: positionals, affectives, and auxiliary verbs. Positionals and affectives are largely defined by their derivational morphology, as well as their semantics. Auxiliary verbs are principally defined based on their syntax, occurring only in complex predicate constructions.

In this chapter I describe the verb classes in SP. Because much of verbal morphology plays a large part in defining the classes, I provide a brief description of the verbal morphology implicated in defining the verb classes here in §8.1. The remaining sections describe the four major word classes and the three minor word classes. The relevant morphology is addressed in detail

in the subsequent chapters relating specifically to verbs (or predicates), which include verbal derivation (ch. 10); nonverbal predicates, which share aspects of verbal morphology (ch. 9); alignment and number (ch. 11); aspect, mood and modality (ch. 12); voice (ch. 13); and valency increasing operations (ch. 14). The last chapter, which concludes Part V, deals with the verbal template with emphasis on affix ordering (ch. 14).

8.1 Verbal Morphology

Verbs in SP are morphologically complex and do not appear as bare stems. Minimally, the verb may consist of a verb root inflected with person prefixes and with aspect or mood suffixes (8.1)¹, the characteristic that distinguishes verbs from other word classes. Maximally, stems may consist of a number of verb roots (up to three have been observed), person marking, derivational and inflectional suffixes, and a string of enclitics and particles (8.2).

- (8.1) *?imedyaantej ?i+jakpa*
 ?imedyaantej ?i+jak-pa
 immediately 3ERG+cut-INC
 ‘It cuts it immediately.’ (SA1.008)

- (8.2) *syemprej taraku+yùma?ynyé?ebam*
 siempre tan+?ak+yum-?a?y-ne?-pa-?am
 always IERG+CAUS₁+boil-BEN-PERF-INC-ALR
 ‘We should always have it boiled for them.’ (MED.009)

¹The exception is the imperative mood, in which case verbs are not inflected with subject (S or A) agreement.

A small set of prefixes, which are for the most part clitics, precede the stem. Bound suffixes and enclitics follow the stem. The general shape of the verb is shown in Figure 8.1. Verbal morphology can be roughly grouped into six sets: Person marking proclitics, class adjusting proclitics, derivational suffixes, class adjusting suffixes, inflectional suffixes, and adverbial enclitics.

Figure 8.1: Verbal Template

Inflectional Proclitics	Valency/ Voice Proclitics	VERB STEM	Derivational/ Class Adjusting/ Inflectional Suffixes	Adverbial Enclitics
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The first set, from left to right, is the person marking proclitics. The person markers consist of ergative, absolutive, and “local” person markers (following Hockett 1966), only one of which may occur on the verb at a time. The ergative proclitics mark the A of transitive verbs; the absolutive proclitics mark the S of intransitive verbs or the O of transitive verbs. The absolutive proclitics also mark the PO (benefactive, goal, recipient) of ditransitive verbs. The local proclitics occur on transitive verbs and indicate relations between 1st person A and 2nd person O (1:2) or 2nd person A and 1st person O (2:1). The proclitics are listed in (8.3).

(8.3) PERSON MARKING PROCLITICS:

	Ergative	Absolutive	Local
1st person exclusive	<i>?an+</i>	<i>?a+</i>	
1st person inclusive	<i>tan+</i>	<i>ta+</i>	
2nd Person	<i>?in+</i>	<i>mi+</i>	
3rd person	<i>?i+</i>	\emptyset	
2:1			<i>?an+</i>
1:2			<i>man+</i>

The second set consists of three class adjusting proclitics: causative *?ak+*, associative *na+*, and reflexive/reciprocal *na+* (8.4)². I use the term class adjusting to refer to morphology used to alter voice and valency of verbs. The causative and associative proclitics are used to add an argument to the verb; the reflexive/reciprocal is used to alter the status of verbal arguments, effectively reducing the number of arguments the verb takes by one. On the verbal template, they occur immediately preceding the verb stem³

(8.4) VALENCY PROCLITICS:

<i>na+</i>	ASSOC+	associative
<i>?ak+</i>	CAUS ₁ +	causative
<i>na+</i>	RR+	reflexive/reciprocal

The third set of morphemes includes three derivational suffixes: affective *-ne?*, assumptive *-ne?*, and depositive *-wi?y* (8.5). These are strictly associated with the minor verb classes positional and affective.

(8.5) DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES IN SP:

<i>-ne?</i>	AFFECT	affective
<i>-ne?</i>	ASSUM	assumptive
<i>-wi?y</i>	DEPOS	depositive

²See ch. 14 for homophony of the associative and reflexive/reciprocal proclitics.

³There are two additional proclitics that immediately precede the verb root on the template. These are the derivational lexical prefixes *?anh+* and *ku+*. Although the proclitics are not implicated in the definition of verb classes, they are observed on a large number of verb stems. They are described in detail in ch. 10.

The fourth set of morphemes includes the valency and voice adjusting suffixes (8.6).

(8.6) CLASS ADJUSTING SUFFIXES IN SP:

<i>-kaʔ</i>	LOC _{applic}	instrumental applicative
<i>-ʔaʔy</i>	BEN	benefactive applicative
<i>-ʔoʔy</i>	ANTIP	antipassive
<i>-ʔaH</i>	PASS	passive
<i>-niim</i>	INDEF	indefinite subject
(~ <i>-Vniim</i>)		

(8.7) INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES IN SP:

<i>-yaj</i>	PLU _{nonsap}	3rd person plural
<i>-taʔm</i>	PLU _{sap}	1st/2nd person plural
<i>-i</i>	PROG	motion progressive
<i>-neʔ</i>	PERF	perfect
<i>-W</i>	CMP	completive
<i>-pa</i>	INC	incompletive
<i>-i</i>	IMP	imperative
<i>-ʔiny</i>	OPT	optative
<i>-gak</i>	REP	repetitive
<i>-toʔ</i>	DESID	desiderative
<i>-tiʔp</i>	FRUS	frustrative

8.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs take two arguments without the addition of valency changing morphology. Transitive verbs mark their subjects (A) with ergative (Set A) agreement markers and their objects (O) with absolutive (Set B) agreement markers. In the event that both arguments are speech act participants (1st or 2nd person), the transitive verb may be marked with a local (Set C) marker. It is important to note here that the alignment system in SP is hierarchically driven and that only higher ranking participants appear on the verb (see

ch. 11). Therefore, transitive verbs may be marked with a proclitic from only one of the three sets: ergative (Set A), absolutive (Set B), or local (Set C). For example, in example (8.8), the verb takes two arguments: the A (*?ich* ‘first person’) and the O (*je?m saapnyi* ‘that banana’). Only the 1st person A is marked on the verb.

(8.8) *?ich ?an+ku?tpa je?m saapnyi*
 ?ich ?an+ku?t-pa je?m saapnyi
 1PRO XERG+eat-INC that banana
 ‘I ate this banana.’ (MAB.208)

In (8.9), the A is a 3rd person referent (not lexically expressed) and the O is the 1st person, which is marked on the verb with *ta+* ‘1st person inclusive absolutive’.

(8.9) *ta+ku?tpa*
 ta+ku?t-pa
 IABS+eat-INC
 ‘It eats us.’ (VVA.028)

In example (8.10), the verb takes two arguments: 3rd person A (not lexically specified, but marked on the verb with *?i+*) and the O (*tajwiny* ‘minnows’).

(8.10) *?i+matzpa+tyi+?am tajwiny*
 ?i+matz-pa+tyi+?am tajwiny
 3ERG+grab-INC+JUST+ALR minnows
 ‘He grabs the minnows.’ (PDLMA.JJX.055)

Transitive verbs may take a single argument when they are adjusted for valency. The examples shown in (8.11a) and (8.12a) illustrate the transitive

verbs *kuʔt* ‘eat’ and *matz* ‘grab’ marked with the passive and antipassive, respectively. The verb in example (8.11a), marked with the passive *-taH*, has a single argument, the S *?aany=moʔn-i* ‘tamales’. The S is \emptyset -marked on the verb for 3rd person absolutive, indicating that there is one argument. If the verb were transitive, verb would be marked with the ergative 3rd person *?i+*, as shown in (8.11b). The verb *matz* ‘grab’ in example (8.12a) is shown detransitivized with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy*. Here the verb takes a single argument, the S *tajpi* ‘hawk’, which is \emptyset -marked on the verb. If the verb were transitive in active voice, the A would be marked on the verb with the ergative 3rd person proclitic *?i+*, as is shown in example (8.12b, repeated from 8.10).

- (8.11) (a) $\emptyset+kuʔtaap+ʔam$ *?aanyimoʔonyi*
 $\emptyset+kuʔt-taH-pa+ʔam$ *?aanyi=moʔn-i*
 3ABS+eat-PASS-INC+ALR tortilla=make.tamales-NOM
 ‘Tamales are eaten.’ (PDLMA.FIE.040)

- (b) *wisten* *kaxtyanʔaanyi* *?i+kuʔt*
 wisteen kaxtyan=ʔaanyi ?i+kuʔt-W
 two bread 3ERG+eat-CMP
 ‘He ate two bread [loafs].’ (Comer.004)

- (8.12) (a) *matzoʔypa* *tajpi* *?i+puymi*
 $\emptyset+matz-ʔoʔy-pa$ *tajpi* *?i+puy-mi*
 3ABS+grab-ANTIP-INC hawk 3PSR+feet-LOC₁
 ‘The hawk grabs with its talons.’ (PDLMA.LEX.matz)

- (b) *?i+matzpa+tyi+ʔam* *tajwiny*
?i+matz-pa+tyi+ʔam *tajwiny*
 3ERG+grab-INC+JUST+ALR minnows
 ‘He grabs the minnows.’ (PDLMA.JJX.055)

8.3 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs take only one argument and appear with absolutive (Set B) to mark the S. The examples in (8.13) and (8.14) illustrate the intransitive verb *wiʔk* ‘eat’. Example (8.13) shows the verb inflected with the 1st person inclusive proclitic *ta+* and example (8.14) with the 1st person exclusive proclitic *ʔa+*. Example (8.15) illustrates the intransitive verb *nim* ‘say’ Ø-marked for third person absolutive.

- (8.13) *siʔip ta+wiʔkpa+m*
 siʔip ta+wiʔk-pa+ʔam
 now IABS+eat-INC+ALR
 ‘Now we eat.’ (PDLMA.JJX.033)

- (8.14) *dya ʔa+wiʔknéʔ*
 dya ʔa+wiʔk-neʔ-wi
 NEG XABS+eat-PERF-CMP
 ‘I haven’t eaten.’ (CNC.056b)

- (8.15) *nimpa jeʔm piixiny*
 Ø+nim-pa jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+say-INC that man
 ‘The man says:

dya dya ʔa+yuʔanéʔ
 dya dya ʔa+yuʔ-ʔaH-neʔ-wi
 NEG NEG XABS+hunger-VERS-PERF-CMP
 ‘No, no, I’m not hungry.’ ” (ESK.016)

There is question of whether intransitive verbs may be further distinguished in terms of patientive and agentive, as is the case for Olutec (Zavala 2001b); how-

ever, no diagnostic has been established to further subdivide the intransitive subclass in SP.

Intransitive verbs may only be marked with ergative person markers in two contexts. The first is when the valency is increased with valency adjusting morphology such as the causative *?ak+*, the associative *na+*, and the benefactive applicative *-?a?y*. In example (8.16), the intransitive verb *wi?k* ‘eat’ is marked with the causative prefix *?ak+* and the valency is increased. This is evident because the verb is marked with the 1st person exclusive *?an+*.

- (8.16) *?ich ?arak+wi?kpa*
 ?ich ?an+?ak+wi?k-pa
 3PRO XERG+CAUS₁+eat-INC
 ‘I feed him.’ (CNC.028)

In example (8.17) the same verb is marked with the associative *na+* and the valency is increased. The A is the 1st person referent, and the O is the 3rd person.

- (8.17) *?ara+wi?kyajpa*
 ?an+na+wi?k-yaj-pa
 XERG+ASSOC+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘I was eating well with them.’ (PDLMA.ROD.004)

In example (8.18), the verb *nim* ‘say’ is marked with the benefactive applicative and a 3rd person argument has been added to the verb. The A is marked with the 3rd person ergative proclitic *?i+*.

- (8.18) *?i+ni?ma?ypa* *mich juuty mi+nikpa*
 ?i+nim-?a?y-pa *mich juuty mi+nikk-pa*
 3ERG+say-BEN-INC 2PRO where 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘He says to him, ‘You, where are you going?’ ’ (PDO.023)

The second context in which intransitive verbs are marked with Set-A person markers is when the intransitive verb occurs as a dependent verb in some dependent clauses (see ch. 23 for detailed description of clause combining and non-finite verbs.). In this context, the S of the intransitive verb is marked with proclitics from the ergative set (Set A) of person markers. This type of split in the alignment system is referred to as split ergativity (Dixon 1994). In example (8.19), the intransitive verb *wity* ‘walk’ is the dependent verb of the auxiliary *wi?aH* ‘be able’. Here the S of the intransitive verb is marked with the ergative proclitic *?i+*.

- (8.19) *wi?aap* *?i+wity*
 wiH.ʔaH-pa ?i+wity-W
 be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 ‘...he could walk.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.042)

8.4 Ambitransitive Verbs

Ambitransitive verbs may take one or two core arguments without the addition of valency changing morphology. That is, ambitransitive verbs have transitive and intransitive alternations. The verb may be inflected with ergative proclitics to mark As of transitive verbs and absolutive proclitics to mark Os of transitive verbs. They may also be inflected with absolutive proclitics to mark the Ss of verbs when they occur as intransitive. As indicated above, SP has a hierarchical alignment system in which only higher ranking participants are marked on the verb. While this creates ambiguities, it also provides a

useful diagnostic for determining whether a transitive verb is also ambitransitive. For example, in (8.20), the ambitransitive verb root *ket* ‘descend, lower’ is inflected with *?a* ‘1st person exclusive absolutive’. The utterance can be interpreted as either (a) ‘he/it/they lower me’, in which case the referenced argument is the patient of a transitive verb, or (b) ‘I go down’, in which case the referenced argument is the S of an intransitive verb. Similarly, the example in (8.21) shows the ambitransitive root *ne?m* ‘lick’ inflected with *mi+* ‘2nd person absolutive’. Reading (a) indicates that *mi+* marks the S of the intransitive interpretation; and reading (b) indicates that *mi+* marks the O of the transitive interpretation of the verb. If these verbs were transitive, only the (b) reading would be available.

- (8.20) AMBITRANSITIVE *ket* ‘descend, lower’
 ?*a*+*ket*-*pa*
 XABS+descend-INC
 (a) ‘I go down.’
 (b) ‘They lower me.’ (20050920erg.ket)

- (8.21) AMBITRANSITIVE *ne?m* ‘lick’
 mi+*ne?m*-*pa*
 2ABS+lick-INC
 (a) ‘You’re licking.’
 (b) ‘It’s licking you.’ (20051103erg.tak)

Ambitransitive verbs may be further classified into agentive (aka unergative, S=A) and patientive (aka unaccusative, S=O) ambitransitives. Examples (8.22) through (8.25) illustrate a number of examples in which the O of the transitive verb corresponds with the S of the intransitive verb (Reflecting an S=O pattern).

- (8.22) *hak* ‘to be cut, to snap (in half), to be split (vi); to cut, to split’ (vt):
- (a) Ø+jak-pa ti?pxi
 3ABS+cut-INC rope
 ‘The rope is going to snap’ (20050928rgr.jak)
- (b) ?an+jak-pa kuy
 3ERG+cut-INC wood
 ‘I’m going to cut wood’ (20050928rgr.jak)
- (8.23) *ji?t* ‘to be washed away (vi); ‘to wash something away (vt)’
- (a) Ø+ji?t-pa nas
 3ABS+wash.away-INC earth
 ‘The earth (ground) washes away’ (20050928rgr.jU7t)
- (b) tuj ?i+ji?t-pa nas
 rain 3ERG+wash.away-INC earth
 ‘The rain washes the earth away’ (20050928rgr.jU7t)
- (8.24) *kity* ‘to become broken (vi); to break something(vt)
- (a) Ø+kity-W ?i+puy
 3ABS+break-CMP 3PSR+leg
 ‘His leg broke.’ (PQ1.002)
- (b) ?an+kity-pa kuy
 3ERG+break-INC stick
 ‘I’m going to break the stick.’ (20050920erg.kity)
- (8.25) *muj* ‘to become wet (vi); to water, to make wet (vt)’
- (a) Ø+muj-pa+?am ?am+puktuuku
 3ABS+wet-INC+ALR 3PSR+clothes
 ‘My clothes are wet’ (20061026erg.muj)
- (b) ?i+muj-W nyiipi
 3ERG+wet-CMP sown.field
 ‘He waters the crop (sown field).’ (PDMLA.LEX.muj)

The examples in (8.26) through (8.27) illustrate an agentive ambitransitive with the verbs *kiinh* ‘fear smt, be scared’ and *?uk* ‘drink (smt)’. Here the S of the intransitive verb corresponds with the A of the transitive verb (reflecting an S=A pattern).

(8.26) *kiinh* ‘to be scared (vi)’; ‘to fear smt. (vt)’:

- (a) si?ip ta+kiinhpa
 si?ip ta+kiinh-pa
 now IABS+fear-INC
 ‘Now we’re scared.’ (GU1.134)
- (b) ?an+kiinhpa je?m kamyoon
 ?an+kiinh-pa je?m kamyoon
 XERG+fear-INC that kamyoon
 ‘I’m scared of the truck.’ (MAB.094)

(8.27) *?uk* ‘to drink (vi)’; ‘to drink smt. (vt)’:

- (a) ?an+?ukne?i+m ?oojo
 ?an+?uk-ne?-W+m ?oojo
 XERG+drink-PERF-CMP+ALR alcohol
 ‘I had drunk alcohol.’ (PDLMA.BOR.010)
- (b) ?ich piimi ?a+?ukpa
 ?ich piimi ?a+?uk-pa
 1PRO strength XABS+drink-INC
 ‘I drink a lot.’ (PDLMA.BOR.080)

There are a number of crucial differences between agentive and non-agentive ambitransitive verbs. One has to do with noun incorporation. Non-agentive ambitransitive verbs may incorporate the O. For example the verb *tuk* ‘pick’ in (8.28) is non-agentive ambitransitive. Compare the intransitive (a) and transitive (b) alternations. In (8.28c) the patient is incorporated by

the verb.

- (8.28) (a) *tuum yoomo manik=?a?y*
 tuum yoomo Ø+manik=?a?y-W
 one woman 3ABS+child=abort-CMP
 a woman's offspring miscarried;

?a?y-W je?m tziixi
 Ø+?a?y-W je?m tziixi
 3ABS+abort-CMP that child
 the child aborted;

tuk *je?m tziixi*
 Ø+**tuk**-W je?m tziixi
 3ABS+pick-CMP that child
 the child was detached.'

- (b) *?an+tukpa jay*
 ?an+**tuk**-pa jay
 XERG+pick-INC leaf
 'I pick leaves.'

- (c) *?a+?aytyukpa*
 ?a+?ay=**tuk**-pa
 XERG+leaf=pick-INC
 'I leaf pick.' (PDLMA.database.tuk)

Agentive ambitransitive verbs, on the other hand, do not incorporate their patients (8.29).

- (8.29) **?a+tzoyukpa*
 ?a+tzoy=?uk-pa
 XABS+medicine=drink-INC
 'I medicine drink' (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Another difference is that non-agentive ambitransitive verbs may take associative applicative *na+* to add an associative argument, as shown in (8.30). The associative does not occur with agentive ambitransitive verbs (8.31).

- (8.30) *pero jeʔ ʔara+kiʔimpa [koʔkmi]*
 pero jeʔ ʔan+na+kiʔm-pa [koʔk-mi]
 but 3PRO XERG+ASSOC+climb-INC [loft-LOC₁]
 ‘But I took it up into the loft.’ (coma1.030b)

- (8.31) **ʔara+ʔukpa jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 ʔan+na+ʔuk-pa jeʔm tziixi+tam
 XERG+ASSOC+drink-INC that child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I drink with the children.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

8.5 Ditransitive Verbs

The set of verbs that make up the ditransitive subclass is small, consisting of two known verb roots: *chiʔ* ‘give’ (8.32) and *yoj* ‘pay’ (8.33). Ditransitives may take three arguments without additional valency adjusting morphology.

- (8.32) *dya man+chiʔityáʔmpa kawaj*
 dya man+chiʔ-taʔm-pa kawaj
 NEG 1:2+give-PLU_{sap}-INC horse
 ‘I’m not going to give you (pl) a horse.’ (VVA.055)

- (8.33) *ʔich tresyeentoj peesoj ʔa+yóʝ ʔanh+widyaaya*
 ʔich tresyeentoj peesoj ʔa+yóʝ-W ʔan+wity=ʔaaya
 1PRO three-hundred pesos XABS+pay-CMP XPSR+big=male
 ‘My husband paid 300 pesos on my behalf.’ (CNC.045)

that take inflection for person and aspect/mood (8.35 and 8.36).

- (8.35) *?an+teenywi?yypa*
 ?an+teenywi?yypa
 XERG+stand-DEPOS-INC
 ‘I stood it up.’ (20070712JAFs6)

- (8.36) *Pwej mi+woone?eba*
 pwej mi+woH-ne?-pa
 well 2ABS+lie.down-ASSUM-INC
 ‘Well, you lie [yourself] down [now].’ (SoyPartera.095a)

Positional verbs describe the position of an entity. They are marked with either the assumptive suffix *-ne?*, which indicates that an entity has assumed a position or the depositive suffix *-wi?y*, which indicates that an entity has been placed in a position or has been affected by the action indicated by the verb. A list of positional verbs in SP is shown in (8.37) (not exhaustive).

- (8.37) POSITIONALS WITH ASSUMPTIVE *-ne?* AND DEPOSITIVE *-wi?y*:

Transitive		Intransitive	
<i>?eety-wi?y</i>	‘lean smt against smt else’	<i>?eety-ne?</i>	‘be leaning against smt’
<i>jap-wi?y</i>	‘turn smt upside down’	<i>jap-ne?</i>	‘be flipped over’
<i>nej-wi?y</i>	‘tip it over’	<i>nej-ne?</i>	‘to lie on side’
<i>ta?tz-wi?y</i>	‘stack’	<i>ta?tz-ne?</i>	‘get stacked’
<i>teeny-wi?y</i>	‘leave standing’	<i>teeny-ne?</i>	‘to stand’
<i>to?k-wi?y</i>	‘leave something hung’	<i>to?k-ne?</i>	‘be hung’
<i>tu?y-wi?y</i>	‘leave smt stretched’	<i>tu?y-nye?</i>	‘be stretched out’
<i>tun-wi?y</i>	‘set smt face up’	<i>tun-ne?</i>	‘be face up’
<i>tzen-wi?y</i>	‘leave tied up’		
<i>wo?t-wi?y</i>	‘place smt folded’	<i>wo?t-ne?</i>	‘be folded, twisted’
<i>woH-wi?y</i>	‘lie someone down’	<i>woH-ne?</i>	‘be lying down’

Positional roots may be transitive or intransitive. The assumptive and depositive suffixes may alter the transitivity of the verb. If a positional root is transitive, the assumptive suffix may be used; if the root is intransitive the depositive may be used. However, positional roots may take both suffixes regardless of their transitivity, as illustrated by the verb *nej* ‘put on side’ in (8.38).

(8.38) POSITIONAL VERB ROOT *neʔ* ‘PUT ON SIDE’:

- (a) *nejpa*
 \emptyset +nej-pa
 3ABS+put.on.side-INC
 ‘It tips over/lies on side.’
- (b) *nejneʔum*
 \emptyset +nej-neʔ-W+ʔam
 3ABS+tip.over-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘It’s tipped over/on it’s side.’
- (c) *ʔi+nyejwiʔypa*
 $\ʔi$ +nej-wiʔy-pa
 3ERG+tip.over-DEPOS-INC
 ‘He puts it on its side.’ (20070712JAF)

The assumptive may easily be confused with the perfect *neʔ*⁴. The pair of examples (8.39) and (8.40), however, illustrates the contrast between the uses of the assumptive *-neʔ* and the perfect *-neʔ*. *ʔeety* ‘lean’ is a transitive verb. It cannot occur as an intransitive verb unless derived as such with valency altering morphology. In example (8.39) the verb is \emptyset inflected for third person absolutive. The S of the verb is *jeʔm ʔi+kooso* ‘his knee’⁵, which

⁴The perfect suffix *-neʔ* is described in detail in Chapter 12.

⁵This example comes from a story about a man who can remove his body parts.

is described as being in a leaning position in the corner of his house. Here the suffix *-neʔ* is the assumptive. In example (8.40), from the same story, the verb *ʔeety* ‘lean’ is inflected with the third person ergative *ʔi+*. Therefore, the suffix cannot be the assumptive. The man is the A, and *ʔi+kooso* ‘his knee’ is the O. Here *-neʔ* is used to indicate that the man had previously placed the knee in the corner and the occurrence of *-neʔ* here is perfect.

- (8.39) *jeemum ʔeejnyéʔ* *jeʔm ʔi+kooso*
 jee-m Ø+ʔeety-neʔ-W jeʔm ʔi+kooso
 there 3ABS+lean-ASSUM-CMP that 3PSR+knee
 ‘There his knee is leaning (in the corner)’ (ESK.088)

- (8.40) *ʔi+ʔeejnyeʔeba* *jeʔm ʔiskiinaj*
 ʔi+ʔeety-neʔ-pa jeʔm ʔiskiina
 3ERG+lean-PERF-INC that corner
 ‘He has it leaning in the corner;

tuum ʔiskiinaj jeʔmum ʔi+ʔéejnyeʔ
 tuum ʔiskiina jeʔmum ʔi+ʔeety-neʔ-W
 one corner there 3ERG+lean-PERF-CMP
 in one corner he’s leaned it.’ (ESK.106)

In narrative text, positionals inflected with the assumptive frequently occur. The depositive *-wiʔy*, however, has not been observed in texts. During elicitation speakers easily provide examples, although speakers tend to demonstrate rather than translate the examples. For instance, in (8.41), the speaker is using a magic marker to demonstrate the difference between *ʔan+ʔeety-pa* ‘I lean it’ and *ʔan+ʔeetywiʔyypa* ‘I lean it.’ The difference seems to be that the use of *wiʔy* conveys a deliberate intention to place the object (in this case

the marker) in a reclining position against another object (a stack of books) and not standing straight up; whereas the utterance without *wiʔy* indicates placing the object against another object without intention. The example in (8.41) is the sentence she utters upon completion to express: ‘See. I stood it there. It’s like that.’

- (8.41) *ʔan+ʔeetywiʔyu+m*
ʔan+ʔeety-wiʔy-W+ʔam
XERG+lean-DEPOS-CMP+ALR
‘[I don’t stand it up straight; I put it like so. See.] I leaned it.’
(20070712JAF)

The suffixes are not used to derive positionals from non-positional root. They only occur on verbs that are positionals. For example the verb *kiʔm* ‘ascend, raise’ (8.42), frequently occurs in serial verb constructions to indicate trajectory (8.43). The verb, however, cannot be marked with the depositive suffix, as shown in (8.44)

- (8.42) *kiʔmyaj* *jeʔe* *kuʔyanhkoobak*
∅+kiʔm-yaj-W *jeʔ* *kuy=ʔanh.kopaʔk*
3ABS+ascend-PLU_{non-sap}-CMP 3PRO tree=LOC₁₄.LOC₆
‘They climbed to the top of the tree.’ (Cangrejo.013)

- (8.43) *ʔan+tunkiʔmtaʔmu+m* *jukti=yukmi*
ʔan+tun=kiʔm-taʔm-W+ʔam *jukti=yuk.mi*
XERG+put=ascend-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR fire=LOC₅.LOC₁
‘We already put it up in the fire.’ (PQ2.020a)

- (8.44) **ʔan+kiʔmwiʔypa*
ʔan+kiʔmwiʔy-pa
XERG+raise-DEPOS-INC
Intended reading: ‘I put it up.’ (20070712JAFs7)

8.7 Affective Verbs

Affective verbs make up a potentially open class of verbs that are recruited from three different sources. These include sound symbolic expressions (8.45), reduplicated roots and stems (8.46), or reduplicated sound symbolic expressions (21.81). Affectives are common in Mesoamerica as a verb (or root) class (England 1983:84-86), and observed in other Mixe-Zoque languages (Johnson 2000:56; Zavala 2000:90).

- (8.45) *Segiiduj* *wij* *?i+rrùunne?séet*
 segiiduj Ø+wij-W ?i+rruun-ne?=seet-W
 immediately 3ABS+untie-CMP 3ERG+spin-AFFECT=turn-CMP
 ‘It immediately became untied and spun around back to its original position.’ (SoyPartera.065)

- (8.46) *despwees* *?aranh+ja?sjaja?asa?ytya?mpa*
 despwees ?an+?anh+ja?s.ja?as-?a?y-ta?m-pa
 afterwards 3ERG+DERIV+toast.REDUP-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Afterwards, we semi-toast it

?estej juuktiyukimi
 ?estej juukti=yuk.mi
 FILL fire=LOC₅.LOC₁
 over fire.’ (SZ2.003)

- (8.47) *?ajta lookolookone?eba* *jemik*
 ?ajta Ø+looko.looko-ne?-pa jemik
 until 3ABS+sound.REDUP-AFFECT-INC there
 ‘Until he shouts there.’ (CAN.129)

Affective words are formed by reduplicated syllables, usually the entire root, often followed by the suffix *-neʔ* (8.48). Reduplication of verb roots occurs in a number of different contexts and is not limited to derivation of new words. For example in (8.49) reduplication is used to indicate intensity or frequency. Many of the affective words in their non-reduplicated forms are observed as verb roots 8.50. In SP, affective verb roots are fully inflected verbs. Observe in (8.49) that the affective verb is inflected with the first person *ʔa+*, the plural *-taʔm*, and the incomplete *-pa*.

- (8.48) *juchkej nimpa.*
juchixkej Ø+nim-pa
 all.the.time 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘It’s constant, she says.’

Ku+sijsijneʔeba nimpa.
Ø+ku+sij.sij-neʔ-pa Ø+nim-pa
 3ABS+DERIV₂+clear.up.AFFECT-PERF-INC 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘It doesn’t clear up, she says.’

- (8.49) *ʔokmi ʔich*
ʔokmi ʔich
 then 1PRO

ʔak+xikxikataʔmpa+m
ʔak+xik-xik-kaʔ-taʔm-pa+ʔam
 XABS+CAUS₁+laugh-REDUP-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{sap}-INC+ALR
 ‘Oh, how they made us laugh (at them).’ (PQ2.071)

- (8.50) *jeʔm yoomo tzaam xikpa*
jeʔm yoomo tzam Ø+xik-pa
 that woman much 3ABS+laugh-INC
 ‘The woman laughed a lot.’ (GU1.016)

Sound symbolic expressions, also referred to in the literature as “expressive vocabulary”, “affective speech” or “ideophones” (see Mithun 1982 for discussion of literature), may be derived as affective verbs with the suffix *-neʔ*. Affectives derived from sound symbolic expressions tend to encode manner or sound. They may be distinguished from other word classes by their phonology. A characteristic of affectives is that “the inventory of sounds found in expressive vocabulary differs from that found in the rest of the lexicon, but it differs in systematic ways” (Mithun 1982:51). Recall from chapter 2, that in SP palatal consonants occur only adjacent to the high front vowel [i] and other palatal segments [ty, dy, ny, x, ch, y] with few exceptions, ideophones being one such exception. In sound symbolic expressions, and derived affectives, it is common to see the palatal segments in unexpected environments, as shown in (8.51) and (8.52).

- (8.51) *Ø+laʔkach-pa* *ʔi+wity-W*
 3ABS+squelch-INC 3ERG+walk-INC
 ‘he goes along squelching; he/it squelches as he walks along, he squishes in the mud as he walks.’ (PDLMA.LEXdatabase.NGH)
- (8.52) *xokoʔokoneʔeba* *ʔi+jéʔn* *jeʔm piyu*
Ø+xoko.xoko-neʔ-pa *ʔi+jeʔn-W* *jeʔm piyu*
 3ABS+sound-REDUP-AFFECT-INC 3ERG-scratch-CMP the chicken
 ‘The chicken goes “shoko shoko” as it scratches’ (PDLMA.LEXdatabase.NGH)

Similarly, words in which alveolar consonants [n, t, d, s, tz] occur adjacent to [i] or other palatals [ty, dy, ny, x, ch, y], as in (8.53), are also considered sound symbolic.

- (8.53) *?iga+kuyyukum* *?im+matúnh*
 ?iga+kuy=yuk-mi ?im+matonh-W
 COMP+tree=LOC₅.LOC₁ 2ERG+hear.it-CMP
 ‘If on top of the tree you hear them

?anh+siitpa, *?odoy xikta?mi*
 Ø+?anh+siit-pa ?ot?oy sik-ta?m-i
 3ABS+make.tsss.sound-INC NEG laugh-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 go *tsss*, don’t laugh.’ (GU1.139/140)

Other phonemes found in sound symbolic expressions include :[r] (represented as *rr* in the orthography) (8.54), and [l] (21.81).

- (8.54) *Seguidoj* *wíj* *?i+rruunne?séet*
 seguido Ø+wij-W ?i+rruun-ne?=seet-W
 Immediately 3ABS+untie-CMP 3ERG+spin-ASSUM=return-CMP
 ‘Immediately it’s untied and spinning like a disk.’ (CSP.065)

- (8.55) *?ilinh-pa* *?an+kinkí*
 ?ilinh-pa ?an+kinkí
 soreness-INC XPSR+throat
 ‘My throat is sore.’ (PDLMA.LEXdatabase.JAF04)

It’s not clear whether the suffix *-ne?* in this role is the assumptive *-ne?* suffix described in §8.6, polysemous with the suffix, or homophonous. No diagnostic has been established to make this determination. Based on comparative reconstructions the assumptive and affective are likely to be polysemous (Kaufman 1997).

8.8 Auxiliary Verbs

There is a small set of verbs that serve as auxiliary verbs. These are listed in Table 8.56. Syntactically, they are identifiable because they occur in multi-verb constructions and they take non-finite, dependent verbs (see ch. 23 for detailed description of dependent verb constructions and non-finite verbs). There are three subclasses, Type I, Type II and *siʔ*⁶. Type I auxiliaries are distinguished from type II and *siʔ* auxiliaries by the person marking patterns associated with them: Type I shows ergative alignment; Type II and *siʔ* show accusative alignment (described below). All auxiliary types, with the exception of *siʔ* precede the main verb.

(8.56) TYPE I AUXILIARY VERBS:

<i>nikk</i>	‘go’
<i>miny</i>	‘come’
<i>ʔoy</i>	‘go and return’
<i>moj</i>	‘begin’
<i>yaj</i>	‘finish’
<i>kus</i>	‘have enough of’
<i>jaʔy</i>	‘be late at’

⁶Elson (1960a, b), Himes (1997), and Kaufman (1997) identify two subclasses, treating *siʔ* as a type II auxiliary construction because of the morphosyntactic properties associated with it. I treat *siʔ* as a third type of auxiliary because it is further distinguishable from type II auxiliary verbs based on its syntactic properties. For a detailed treatment of the auxiliary types, refer to ch. 22.

TYPE II AUXILIARY VERBS:

wiʔaH ‘be able’
jaʔy ‘be such that’
ʔanhjagoʔy ‘be first to’

Siʔ ‘PROGRESSIVE’ AUXILIARY VERB:

siʔ ‘walk’

All auxiliary types occur in first position (V1) of the multi-verb constructions. Auxiliary verbs are inflected for mood (8.57) and aspect (8.60). Each of the Type I auxiliaries is illustrated in examples (8.57) through (8.63).

(8.57) *ʔodoy nɪginy miichi*
ʔodoy nikk-ʔiny Ø+miich-i
 NEG **go**_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+play-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They should not go play.’ (CQS.005)

(8.58) *ʔóy mi+miichi+tyam*
ʔoy-W mi+miich-i+tam
go/return_{aux}-CMP 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You went to play.’ (VVA.041)

(8.59) *miny_i+ʔam mi+wiʔki*
miny-i+ʔam mi+wiʔk-i
come_{aux}-IMP+ALR 2ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Come to eat.’ (CNC.056c)

(8.60) *mojpa+m ʔi+jétz ʔi+way*
moj-pa+ʔam ʔi+jetz-W₂ ʔi+way
begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to braid her hair.’ (VYT.009)

(8.61) *yajpa+m wiʔki*
yaj-pa+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i
finish_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (ESK.073a)

- (8.62) *?ii já?y+nyam* *?a+?úuki*
 ?ii ja?y-W+nam *?a+?uk-i*
 and **stay.late**_{aux}-CMP+STILL XABS+drink-DEP_{ia}
 ‘And we stayed late drinking.’ (PDLMA.BORROCHO.053)

- (8.63) *?asta ki tuum jaama ta+nim*
 ?asta ki tuum jaama ta+nim-W
 until that one day IABS+say-INC
 ‘Until one day, as we say,

tan+yoomo kúsu+m *jo?yi*
 tan+yoomo **kus**-W+?am Ø+jo?y-i
 IPSR+woman **be.enough**_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+be.angry-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Our lady got sufficiently angry.’ (ESK.083)

Type I auxiliaries are optionally inflected for person as shown in (8.64). However, person is obligatorily inflected on the dependent verb.

- (8.64) *?a+nim*
 ?a+nim-W
 XABS+say-CMP
 ‘I say,

dya ta+níkpa *tan+?á?m* *tan+choomo?*
 dya ta+níkk-pa tan+?a?m-W₂ tan+choomo
 NEG IABS+go_{aux}-INC IERG+see-DEP_t IPSR+grandmother
 ‘Aren’t we going to see grandmother?’ ” (VVA.012a)

The Type II auxiliary verbs are illustrated in examples (8.65) through (8.68). *WiH-?aH* (8.65) and *jutz-?aH* (8.66) are derived verbs that have undergone lexicalization. *WiH-?aH* is derived from the adjective *wiH* ‘good’ derived with the versive suffix *-?aH*. *Jutz-?aH* is derived from *ju?utz* ‘how’

and with the versive *-ʔaH*. The verb *ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy* ‘be first to’ (8.67) is the most recently observed auxiliary and has not been reported in the literature. Therefore, it is unknown whether this list of auxiliaries is exhaustive.

- (8.65) *wiʔáatyi+m* *ʔi+náy* *jeʔm tziixi*
wiʔ-ʔaH-wi+tyi+ʔam **ʔi+nay-W₃** jeʔm tziixi
 3ABS+be.able-CMP+JUST+ALR 3ERG+be.born-DEP_{ib} that child
 ‘The baby could still be born.’ (PAR.039)

- (8.66) *jeʔ tambyeen ʔi+jootoʔnh*
jeʔ tambyeen ʔi+jootoʔnh
 3PRO also 3PSR+know
 ‘He also knows

jutzaap tan+moʔogíʔy
jutz-ʔaH-pa tan+moʔogíʔy-W₃
 be.such.that-INC IERG+joke-DEP_{ib}
 how it is we joke.’ (AVC.016b)

- (8.67) *ʔii ʔanhjagoʔyypa ʔi+káʔ*
ʔii ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy-pa ʔi+kaʔ-W
 and be.first-ANTIP-INC 3ERG+die-DEP_{ib}
 ‘...and he’ll die first.’ (Yerno.016b)

Siʔ auxiliaries (8.68) are further distinguished from Type II auxiliaries because they may occur in first (V1) or second (V2) position⁷.

- (8.68) (a) *jeʔeyukmi wejpa ʔi+siʔ*
jeʔ-yuk.mi wej-pa ʔi+siʔ-W₂
 3PRO-LOC₅.LOC₁ cry-INC 3ERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 ‘That is why she is crying.’ (MAB.019)

⁷These constructions are discussed in greater detail in ch. 23.

- (b) ʔagi+siʔip ʔi+miiich+yaj
 ʔagi+siʔ-pa $\text{ʔi+miiich-W}_3\text{+yaj}$
 INTENS+PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+play-DEP_{ib}+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They are playing a lot.’ (CVS.013b)

Type II auxiliary verbs are distinguished from Type I auxiliary verbs because of the behavior of the verbs that occur with them. Specifically, the alignment system of the dependent verb is non-ergative with Type II auxiliaries but not with Type I. (See ch. 11 for a detailed description of the alignment system.) For example, note in (8.65) that the S *jeʔm tziixi* ‘the child’ of the intransitive verb *nay* ‘be born’ is marked on the verb with the ergative proclitic *ʔi+*. As shown in (8.68) above, the alignment system of the V2 in *siʔ* constructions is also non-ergative.

Auxiliary verb constructions are interesting for a number of reasons and are treated in this grammar from a variety of linguistic perspectives. First, they comprise one of a number of multi-verb construction types, which are discussed in chapter 22. They take “aspectless” verbs inflected with dependent verb morphology. They are implicated in split ergativity, which is described in detail with respect to alignment in chapter 11. They are also used to convey aspectual, modal, and adverbial (purpose, result) information, described in ch. 12.

Chapter 9

Nonverbal Predicates

Nonverbal predicates function as statives. While nonverbal predicates take inflection for person (absolutive) and number (9.1), they do not take inflection for aspect or mood.

- (9.1) *jay mi+desgrasiaado+tam mi+diablos+tam*
jay mi+desgraciado+tam mi+diablos+tam
aay 2ABS+desgrace+PLU_{sap} 2ABS+devils+PLU_{sap}
'AAAAY! You're all disgraces! You're all devils!' (VVA.039)

Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and quantifiers may all occur as non-verbal predicates. The noun *piixiny* 'man' is shown acting as the predicate of the clause *kumu mi+piixiny* 'since you're a man' in example (9.2). Here *piixiny* is inflected with the 2nd person absolutive *mi+*.

- (9.2) *mich kumu mi+piixiny*
mich kumu mi+piixiny
2PRO since 2ABS+man
'You, since you are a man

<i>mi+wiʔaap</i>	<i>ʔiny+yoxʔaa</i>
mi+wiH-ʔaH-pa	ʔin+yos-i-ʔaH-W ₃
2ABS+good-VERS-INC	2ERG+work-NOM-VERS-DEP _{ib}
you are able to work.’ (GNT.109)	

The third person pronoun *jeʔ* in the role of non-verbal predicate is shown in example (9.3). Here the pronoun is inflected with the first person exclusive absolutive *ʔa+*.

(9.3) *dya ʔa+jeʔ*
dya ʔa+jeʔ
 NEG XABS+3PRO
 ‘It’s not me.’ (PDLMA.LEX.he7)

Adjectives occur as non-verbal predicates. As shown in example (9.4), the adjective *xuutyu* ‘small’ is the predicate and is inflected with the 2nd person absolutive *mi+*.

(9.4) *ʔagi+mi+xuutyu*
ʔagi+mi+xuutyu
 INTENS+2ABS+small
 ‘You’re very small.’ (PDLMA.GNT.074)

Quantifiers also occur as non-verbal predicates. In (9.5) the number *siinhkuj* ‘five’ (borrowed from the Spanish *cinco*) is inflected with the first person exclusive absolutive *ʔa+* and the number agreement *-tam* ‘first and second person’.

(9.5) *ʔa+siinkuj+tam ʔa+jàamoʔynyeʔtamwíʔib+am*
ʔa+siinkuj+tam ʔa+jaam-ʔoʔy-neʔ+tam-W-ʔpV+ʔam
 XABS+five-PLU_{sap} XABS+feel-ANTIP-PERF+PLU_{sap}-CMP+REL+ALR
 ‘There were five of us who were feeling old.’ (PRS.086)

Adverbs may also appear as non-verbal predicates, as shown in (9.6a). Here, however, the adverb *?anhsiikmi*¹ ‘outside’ is the predicate in the clause *tziixi ?anhsiikmi* ‘the child is outside’. This use of adverbs is rare; adverbs generally occur with the locative verb *?ity*. In fact, in this excerpt, in the utterances that immediately follow its occurrence as a non-verbal predicate, the same adverb occurs with the locative verb *?ity* (9.6b).

- (9.6) (a) *dya+nam nu?k ?aamtyiiy*
dya+nam Ø+nu?k-W ?aamtyiiy
 NEG+STILL 3ABS+arrive-CMP year
 ‘it’s not yet a year and

tziixi ?anh+siikmi
tziixi Ø+?anh+siik-mi
 child 3ABS+LOC₁₄.LOC₉.LOC₁
 the baby is outside [born].

- (b) *weenyi ?i+k+nu?kpa ?aamtyiiy*
weenyi ?i+?ak+nu?k-pa ?aamtyiiy
 some 3ERG+arrive-INC year
 Some arrive at a year;

weenyi dya ?i+k+nu?kpa ?aamtyiiy
weenyi dya ?i+?ak+nu?k-pa ?aamtyiiy
 some NEG 3ERG+arrive-INC year
 some don’t arrive at a year,

tziixi ?ityu+m ?anh+siikmi
tziixi Ø+?ity-W+?am ?anh+siik-mi
 child 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR LOC₁₄.LOC₉.LOC₁
 and the child is already outside.’ (JOV.029-32)

¹*?anhsiikmi* ‘outside’ is a relational noun, although unlike other relational nouns it may not be possessed and it does not attach to nouns. As such, it patterns as a locative adverb. See ch. 6 for description of relational nouns.

Nouns and adjectives may only take inflection for aspect or mood if they have been derived as verbs with derivational morphology, as described above. For example in (9.7), the noun *kii̱pi* ‘wood’ is derived as a verb with the versive suffix *-ʔaH* and is inflected with the incomplete aspect suffix *-pa*.

- (9.7) *dya kiʔi̱baap*
dya kii̱pi-ʔaH-pa
 NEG firewood-VERS-INC
 ‘He doesn’t collect firewood.’ (Comal.004b)

There are a handful of clitics that occur on both verbs and non-verbal elements serving as statives. These include the plural suffixes *+yaj* ‘3rd person plural’ and *+tam* ‘1st/2nd person plural’ and the repetitive enclitic *+gak*.

Non-verbal predicates also take inflection for number agreement. On verbs, plural agreement expressed with stress bearing suffixes that precede the aspect and mood marking. These are *-yaj* and *-taʔm*. The enclitics that occur on nouns are *+yaj* and *+tam*. Recall from Chapter 4 that the clitics occur on nouns to indicate plurality: *+yaj* indicates the plurality of non-human entities, and *+tam* indicates the plurality of human entities. When the noun occurs as a non-verbal predicate, the enclitics agree with arguments of the predicates with respect to number hierarchy: *+tam* ‘1st and 2nd person’ and *+yaj* ‘3rd person’. In example (9.8), the noun *tzi̱xi* ‘child’ is the subject of the adjective predicate *maymay* ‘happy’. Here the subject is inflected for plurality and the predicate is marked with number agreement. The enclitic indicating plurality on the noun is *+tam*, which agrees with the humanness of the noun. The enclitic on the predicate is *+yaj*, which agrees with the subject with respect

to its being 3rd person. Its verbal counterpart is shown in the same sentence with the verb *wiʔk* ‘eat’.

- (9.8) *ʔan+tzixi+tyam* *maymay+yaj*
 ʔan+tzixi+tam \emptyset +*maymay+yaj*
 XPSR+child+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+happy+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘My children were happy

porke *ʔa+na+wiʔkyajpa*
 porke *ʔa+na+wiʔk-yaj-pa*
 because XABS+ASSOC+eat-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 because we were eating (well).’ (PDLMA.Rodilla.004)

The enclitic *+tam* is shown in a non-verbal predicate construction with the quantifier *wisteen* two in (9.9). Example (9.10) illustrates its verbal counterpart, the suffix *-taʔm*, on the verb *ʔuk* ‘drink’.

- (9.9) *jii* *ʔa+wisteen+tam*
 jii *ʔa+wisteen+tam*
 yes XABS+two+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Yes, we are two.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.043)

- (9.10) *ʔaʔ+nuktáʔmpam* *ʔan+ʔuunu*
 ʔan+ʔuk-taʔm-pa+ʔam *ʔan+ʔuunu*
 XERG+drink-PLU_{sap}+ALR XPSR+*atole*
 ‘We drink our *atole* (corn based beverage).’ (Atole.020)

The third affix that has verbal and nominal counterparts is *+gak* ‘repetitive, again’. The verbal suffix *-gak* is used to indicate repetition of an event (9.11). An enclitic of the same shape *+gak* occurs on nouns to indicate ‘another, also’ (9.12).

(9.11) *?a+wi?kta?mgá?pa+m*
 ?a+wi?k-ta?m-gak-pa+?am
 XABS+eat-PLU_{sap}-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘We’re going to eat again.’ (MAB.118)

(9.12) *jesik ?i+?ix je?m karreteruj*
 jesik ?i+?ix-wBI je?m karreteruj
 then 3ERG+see-CMP that wagoner
 ‘Then the wagoner saw it,

?i+kawaj+gak+?am ?i+?ixkuy
 ?i+kawaj+gak+?am ?i+?ix-kuy
 3PSR+horse+REP+ALR 3PSR+see-LOC_{applic}
 the horse’s eyes,

si?ip ?i+tyinh?tyinhjet?á?y
 si?-pa ?i+?inh=?inh=?jet-?a?y-W
 walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+cut=cut=open-BEN-DEP_t
 now he was pecking them out also.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion.SIL.017)

When the clitic *+gak* occurs on non-verbal predicates it also conveys repetition, as shown in (9.13) with the noun *piixiny* ‘man’. This example comes from a text in which a man transforms himself into a fleshless monster; the sentence describes the moment he converts himself back into a man.

(9.13) *jesik je? piixiny+gak*
 jesik je? Ø+piixiny+gak
 then 3PRO 3ABS+man+REP
 ‘Then he’s a man again.’ (ESK.078)

9.1 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms also function as nonverbal predicates. Like other nouns, kinship terms take absolutive person markers to agree with the S, as shown in (9.14).

- (9.14) *?a+?ich* *?a+tziitzi*
 ?a+?ich *?a+tziitzi*
 XABS+1PRO XABS+aunt
 ‘I am an aunt.’ (20070719RCRs4)

They differ from other nouns, however, in that they may be inflected with ergative and local person marking proclitics, in addition to absolutive. Recall that local proclitics are used with transitive verbs to mark the relations between speech act participants. The proclitic *?an+* is used to indicate 2nd person acting on 1st (9.15); *man+* is used to indicate 1st person acting on 2nd (9.16).

- (9.15) *dya+tyi* *?any+chitya?mpa*
 dya+tyiH *?an+chi?-ta?m-pa*
 nothing 2:1+give-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘You don’t give us anything.’ (VVA.061)

- (9.16) *?ich* *man+pinhta?mpa*
 ?ich *man+pinh-ta?m-pa*
 1PRO 1:2+pick-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We are going to pick you up.’ (7NH.042c)

The relationship between speech act participants may also be expressed on kinship terms, as shown in example (9.17). On kinship terms, however, both relations are marked with the proclitic *man+*. For example in (a), the relation is between a 1st person A and a 2nd person O, whereas in (b) the relation is

between a 2nd person A and a 1st person O. The two utterances are distinguishable by the pronouns.

(9.17) KINSHIP TERMS MARKED WITH LOCAL PROCLITIC *man+*:

- (a) ?ich man+?aapa
1PRO 1:2+mother
'I am your mother.' (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)

- (b) ?ich man+tziitzi
1PRO 1:2+aunt
'I am your aunt.' (RCR20070719)

- (c) ?ich man+tiwi
1PRO 1:2+brother
'I am your brother.' (RCR20070719)

- (d) mich man+?aapa
2PRO 1:2+mother
'You are my mother.' (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)

- (e) man+jaatunh
1:2+father
'You are my father.' (Elson 1960b:208; 20070719RCR)

- (f) man+tzix+tyam
1:2+child+PLU_{hum}
'You are my children.' (Elson 1960b:208; 20070719RCR)

The use of the person marking clitic *man+* to mark nouns is observed only on kinship terms (9.18).

(9.18) POSSESSED NOMINAL PREDICATES:

(a) mich ?an+?uutzu
2PRO XPSR+monkey
'You are my monkey.'

(b) *(mich) man+?uutzu (RCR20070721)

Transitive kinship terms are observed in languages in Mesoamerica (Amith and Smith-Stark 1994a, Amith and Smith-Stark 1994b), including Olutec, a Mixe-Zoque language (Zavala 2006b).

Chapter 10

Verbal Derivation

There are a number of derivational processes in SP. Verbs may be derived from other verb stems using a handful of verbalizing suffixes (§10.1). SP has a set of lexical prefixes that occur with all word classes to derive new words within the same class or into another class, especially verbs. Lexical prefixes are described in 10.2. Verbs may also be derived into other word classes via deverbalizing morphology, which is described in §10.3.

10.1 Deriving Verbs From Other Word Classes

There are two suffixes used to derive verbs from other other word classes. These include the versive *-ʔaH* and the provisory *-ʔiʔy*.

10.1.1 *ʔaH* ‘Versive’

The versive suffix *-ʔaH* is used to derive verbs from nouns (10.1), adjectives (10.2), quantifiers (10.3), adverbs (10.4), and pronouns (10.5).

- (10.1) *duuro ʔan+sujpa ʔanh+ku+yempa*
 duro ʔan+suj-pa ʔan+ku+yem-pa
 long.time XERG+blow-INC XERG+DERIV+fan-INC
 ‘For a long time I blow and I fan,

dya+wey ʔi+tzokpa ʔagi+joʔogaaba+m
 dya+wey ʔi+tzok-pa ʔagi+**jooko**-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 NEG+I.say/said 3ERG+burn-INC INTENS+smoke-VERS-INC+ALR
 I say it doesn’t burn, it just smokes.’ (Comal.013b)

- (10.2) *lo ke ʔich ʔa+sáj jesik*
 lo ke ʔich ʔa+saj-W jesik
 it that 1PRO XABS+to.gift-CMP then
 ‘It’s what she gifted me

ʔich ʔa+mijá
 ʔich ʔa+**mij**-ʔaj-W
 1PRO XABS+**big**-VERS-CMP
 when I got big.’ (MAB.242)

- (10.3) *Pwej wiH+tyim ʔiga+ʔagi+ʔuxaʔnhaabam.*
 pues wiH+tyi+ʔam ʔiga+ʔagi+ʔuxanh-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 well good+STILL+ALR COMP+INTENS+a.little-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘Well it’s still good; he’s getting much better.’ (PQ2.188)

- (10.4) *ʔan+choomo yiksaap ʔiga+xikpa*
 ʔan+choomo **yiks**-ʔaH-pa ʔiga+Ø+sik-pa
 XPSR+grandmother **do.like.so**-INC COMP+3ABS+laugh-INC
 ‘My grandmother did this until she laughed.’ (MAB.100)

- (10.5) *jeʔm chimpa wokpa nimpa ʔity+ʔun*
jeʔm chimpa Ø+wok-pa Ø+nim-pa ʔity+ʔun
 that dog 3ABS+bark-INC 3ABS+say-INC be+say
 ‘The dog barks, he says,

tyiʔapaʔap minypa
tyiH-ʔaH-pa-ʔpV Ø+miny-pa
what-VERS-INC+REL 3ABS+come-INC
 ‘Who knows what is coming?’ ” (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.006)

The use of the versive has two possible connotations. The first indicates a transition into the state described by the derived word. For example in (10.6) the noun *yuʔk=tuuku* ‘orphan’ is inflected with the versive to convey ‘become an orphan’. The children, the S of the derived verb, undergo a transformation. Example (10.7) illustrates a similar transformation with the adjective *mij* ‘big’; the subject, a third person referent, undergoes transformation.

- (10.6) *yuktugaa tum woonyi ʔi tum jaaychiixi*
Ø+yuʔktuuku-ʔaH-W tuum woonyi ʔi tuum jay=chiixi
 3ABS+**orphan**-VERS-CMP one girl and one boy
 ‘A girl and a boy became orphans.’ (Gutiérrez-Morales and Wichmann 2001:317)

- (10.7) *jesik+ʔam mijaawu+m jesik maaʔ+tyim*
jesik+ʔam Ø+mij-ʔaH-W+ʔam jesik mas+tyim
 then+ALR 3ABS+**big**-VERS-CMP+ALR then more+JUST
 ‘Then he got a lot bigger.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jox@k.049)

The second connotation conveys an argument’s engaging in an event involving the production (or gathering) of the derived noun, rather than the argument’s undergoing a transformation. For instance (10.8) shows the noun *tik* ‘house’

derived as a verb meaning ‘building houses’. The example in (10.9) illustrates a verb derived from *soʔk* ‘grass’ with the versive to convey ‘grass cutting’. In both of these examples, the subject is not undergoing a transformation, but engaging in an activity involving the derived noun. This connotation is the most frequently observed.

- (10.8) *jeʔm piixiny tikʔayaɟpa*
jeʔm piixiny Ø+**ti**k-ʔaH-yaj-pa
 that man 3ABS+**house**-VERS-PLU_{non^{sap}}-INC
 ‘The men build houses.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.065)

- (10.9) *tzuʔuyi+m siʔ ta+soʔgabam*
tzuʔuy+ʔam siʔip ta+soʔk-ʔaH-pa-ʔam
 late+ALR now IABS+**grass**-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘Now it is late. We’re going to cut grass.’ (VVA.031)

Verbs derived with the versive generally produce intransitive verbs. Only two exceptions have been observed in the texts that I have analyzed. The example in (10.10) shows the noun *tzay* ‘lover’ derived as a verb meaning ‘become a lover’. In this example, however, the derived verb is inflected with an ergative person marker. It is not clear whether the noun *jeʔm yoomo* ‘the woman’ or *jeʔm piixiny* is the A. In discussions with speakers, two possible translations are offered: a) ‘The woman takes the man as a lover’; b) ‘The man becomes the woman’s lover.’ The verb is clearly inflected with the completive aspect and therefore we know that this is not a case of a possessed noun acting as a non-verbal predicate.

- (10.10) *jeʔm yoomo ʔi+chaʔyaawim jeʔm piixiny*
jeʔm yoomo ʔi+tzay-ʔaH-W+ʔam jeʔm piixiny
 that woman 3ERG+lover-VERS-CMP+ALR that man
 ‘The woman, the man became her lover.’ (GUS.046)

The second case of a transitive derived verb is found in Gutiérrez-Morales and Wichmann’s (2001:323) *Hem Tzitzimat*. Here the derived verb is also transitive, evident from the ergative person marker *ʔi+*. The derived stem is also inflected with mood and aspect marking, confirmation that the predicate is verbal.

- (10.11) *ʔi+yoʔomatoʔoba woonyi*
ʔi+yoomo-ʔaH-toʔ-pa woonyi
 3ERG+woman-VERS-DESID-INC girl
 ‘He wanted the girl for his wife.’ (Guterriez-Morales and Wichmann 2001:323)

The fact that the two exceptions involve kinship relations is curious because of the grammatical status of kinship terms in SP. There is evidence to suggest that kinship terms are transitive, a characteristic that has been observed in languages in Mesoamerica (Amith and Smith-Stark 1994a, Amith and Smith-Stark 1994b, Zavala 2006b). Kinship terms differ from other nouns that function as nonverbal predicates in that nouns are inflected with absolutive person proclitics to mark the S. When kinship terms function as nonverbal predicates, they may be inflected with absolutive proclitics to mark the S or with local proclitics to express kinship relations. The local set of proclitics refer to 1st and 2nd person referents: *man+* indicates 1st person S and 2nd person O;

?an+ indicates 2nd person S and 1st person O. On kinship terms the proclitic *man+* conveys both 2:1 and 1:2 relations (10.12).

(10.12) KINSHIP TERMS MARKED WITH LOCAL PROCLITIC *man+*:

- (a) *?ich man+?aapa*
 1PRO 1:2+mother
 ‘I am your mother.’ (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)
- (b) *mich man+?aapa*
 2PRO 1:2+mother
 ‘You are my mother.’ (JAF20070713/RCR20070719)
- (c) *man+jaatunh*
 1:2+father
 ‘You are my father.’ (PDLMA.jaatunh)
- (d) *man+tzix+tyam*
 1:2+child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘You are my children.’ (PDLMA.tz@@xi.NGH)

In the case of reciprocal kinship relations, such as ‘you and I are sisters’, the ergative inclusive proclitic *tan+* is used (10.13).

(10.13) RECIPROCAL KINSHIP:

- tan+ti?imi?+tam*
 IERG+sister+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You and I are sisters.’ (20070713JAF)

The transitivity of kinship terms is likely to be the reason for the exceptions in transitivity of the derived verbs.

Finally, the versive may be used with Spanish borrowings to derive verbs, as shown with the noun *mayordomo* ‘steward’ in example (10.14)¹.

¹Notice the use of *?ity* in this sentence. Here the use is a calque of the Spanish expression *estar de acuerdo* ‘be in agreement.’

- (10.14) *?entonse ?ak+ka?mtap+?am* *je?m piixiny*
?entonse Ø+?ak+ka?m-taH-pa+?am *je?m piixiny*
 then 3ABS+CAUS₁+get.stuck-PASS-INC+ALR that man
 ‘So the man is chosen’

?anh+wejaytyaap *si?iga* *mi+?ity*
 Ø+?anh+wej-?a?y-taH-pa *si=?iga* *mi+?ity-W*
 3ABS+DERIV+cry-BEN-PASS-INC if=COMP 2ABS+be-CMP
 and they yell:

di.?akweerdu mich+?am mi+mayordoomaap
 di.acuerdo *mich+?am mi+mayordomo-?aH-pa*
 in.agreement 2PRO+ALR 2ABS+steward-VERS-INC
 ‘If you are in agreement you are already the steward.’ ” (PDLMA.Fiesta.004)

10.1.2 Provisory *-?i?y*

The provisory suffix *-?i?y* derives verbs from nouns and essentially indicates ‘to provide with NOUN’ or ‘to be provided with NOUN’. For example in (10.15)², the noun *koobak* ‘head’ is derived with the provisory to convey ‘HAVE head’.

- (10.15) *poke weenyi ?i+chiganhje?kyajpa*
 porke weeny.i *?i+tzik=?anh+je?k-yaj-pa*
 because some 3ERG+fear-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Because some (young mothers) fear that they

dya koobaki?pa
 dya Ø+kopa?k-?i?y-pa
 NEG 3ABS+head-PROV-INC
 (their babies) won’t have heads.’ (Partera.031)

²This example comes from a text in which the speaker, a midwife, is explaining fears that first time mothers have about childbirth.

The derived predicate is usually intransitive, although transitive expressions are observed. The example in (10.16) shows the derived verb marked with the local proclitic *man+*. In (10.17) the verb is shown in passive voice.

- (10.16) *?aa man+tzoy?i?ypa*
 ?aa man+tzoy-?i?y-pa
 aah 1:2+cure-PROV-INC
 ‘Oh, I’m going to cure you.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.081)

- (10.17) *?ich je?m ?an+choomo*
 ?ich je?m ?an+choomo
 1PRO that XPSR+grandmother
 ‘My grandmother

dya+m tzo?yi?ytyaaj
 dya+?am Ø+tzo?y-?i?y-taH-W
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+cure-PROV-PASS-CMP
 wasn’t cured.’ (MAB.183)

Kinship terms do not result in transitive verbs when derived with *-?i?y* (10.18).

- (10.18) *...?iga+?a+yoom?i?ypa+m*
 ?iga+?a+yoomo-?i?y-pa+?am
 COMP+XABS+woman-PROV-INC+ALR
 ‘...that I [wanted] to have a wife.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.016)

Only nouns take the provisory to derive verbs.

10.2 Lexical Prefixes

SP has a set of lexical prefixes that are used to derive new words from verb roots. These have grammaticalized from body part terms and expressions

indicating parts of wholes. In SP, many word stems are composed of noun and verb roots combined with lexical prefixes. These prefixes are *?anh+*, *ku+*, *winy=*, and *kuk*, which are listed in (10.19).

(10.19) LEXICAL PREFIXES:

- ?anh+* ‘pertaining to mouth or opening’
ku+ ‘else’
kuk= ‘middle’
winy= ‘face’

?anh+ (10.20), *ku+* (10.21), *winy=* (10.22), and *kuk* (10.23) appear only in complex expressions with other verb and noun roots whose meaning vaguely reflects their reconstructed lexical source. Synchronically, the use of these prefixes is not productive, and the majority of terms formed with these expressions are largely lexicalized.

(10.20) *?anh+*:

- (a) *nikpa+m* *je?m piixiny*
 Ø+nikk-pa+?am je?m piixiny
 3ABS+go-INC+ALR that man
 ‘The man goes

jesik ?anh+jiypam+?un *?i+pak*
 jesik Ø+?anh+jiy-pa+?am+?un ?i+pak
 then 3ABS+DERIV₁+speak-INC+ALR+DJO 3PSR+bone
 then his bones sound.’ (ESK.039)

- (b) *jesik ?i+ji?ya?ypa+m* *je?m ?i+maayi+gak*
 jesik ?i+jiy-?a?y-pa+?am je?m ?i+maayi+gak
 then 3ERG+speak-BEN-INC-ALR that 3PSR+meat+REP
 ‘Then he speaks to his flesh again.’ (ESK.073b)

(10.21) *ku+*:

- (a) *jeʔm yoomo ʔi+ku+ʔix*
 jeʔm yoomo ʔi+ku+ʔix-W
 that woman 3ERG+DERIV₂+see-CMP
 ‘The woman spied/discovered

ʔiga+dya ʔi ʔokmi
 ʔiga+dya ʔity-W ʔokmi
 COMP+NEG 3ABS+be-CMP after
 that he wasn’t there.’ (ESK.086)

- (b) *kej nimpa dya ʔan+ʔix*
 kej Ø+nim-pa dya ʔan+ʔix-W
 that 3ABS+say-INC NEG XERG+see-CMP
 ‘That she says: ‘I didn’t see it.’ ’ (GU2.046)

(10.22) *winy=*:

- (a) *ʔokmi ʔeeybik+tyim*
 ʔokmi ʔeey+piʔk+tyi+ʔam
 after again+REL+STILL+ALR
 ‘Afterward, again,

ʔi+winykejáʔy taʔ+naaba+tam
 ʔi+winy=kej-ʔaʔy-W tan+ʔaapa+tam
 3ERG+face=appear-BEN-CMP XPSR+mother+PLU_{hum}
 our lady appeared

jeʔm tziix+tyam
 jeʔm tziixi+tam
 that child+PLU_{hum}
 to the children. (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:322-3)

- (b) *kej*+*m* *judy* *idy* *?i*+*koobak*
 Ø+**kej**-W+?am juuty Ø+?ity-W ?i+kopa?k
 3ABS+appear-CMP+ALR where 3ABS+be-CMP 3PSR+head
 ‘It appeared where its head was.’ (PAR.015)

- (10.23) (a) *ta+kuk?apjamwi?kpa* *tan+si?*
 ta+kuk-?aH-p=jaama=**wi?k**-pa tan+si?-W₃
 IABS+middle-VERS-INC=day=eat-INC IERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘We’re eating.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

- (b) *ta+wi?kpa* *despues* *tam+matzpa*
 ta+wi?k-pa despues tan+matz-pa
 IABS+eat-INC after IERG+grab-INC
 ‘We eat and after we’ll get [more].’ (Cangrejo.011)

Lexical prefixes, and proclitics in the case of *?anh+* and *ku+*, have combined with nouns and verbs to form nominal/adjectival (10.24) and verbal (10.25) compounds.

(10.24) NOUNS (AND ADJECTIVES) WITH LEXICAL PREFIXES:

(a)	ʔanh+:	‘mouth’		
	<i>ʔanh+kiiny</i>	‘tip, point’	<i>kiinyi</i>	‘nose’
	<i>ʔanh+maatyi.i</i>	‘word’	<i>*mat</i>	‘speak’
	<i>ʔanh+niʔ</i>	‘saliva’	<i>niʔ</i>	‘water’
	<i>ʔanh+naaka</i>	‘side, edge’	<i>naaka</i>	‘skin’
	<i>ʔanh+tzay</i>	‘row’	<i>tzay</i>	‘vine’
	<i>ʔanh+wix.i</i>	‘beard’	<i>wix.i</i>	‘rip-out.NOM’
	<i>ʔanh+sinh</i>	‘season’	<i>sinh</i>	‘sky, soul, party’
(b)	ku+:	‘other, else’		
	<i>ku+ʔixi</i>	‘slow, crazy’	<i>*ʔis.i</i>	‘back.NOM’
	<i>ku+jaam=sinh</i>	‘dry season’	<i>jaama=sinh</i>	‘day=sky’
	<i>ku+jos</i>	‘depression in flat land’	<i>jos</i>	‘hole’
				species’
(c)	winy=:	‘face, first, front’		
	<i>winy=tyitz</i>	‘front teeth, milk teeth’	<i>titz</i>	‘teeth’
	<i>winy=pak</i>	‘forehead’	<i>pak</i>	‘bone’
	<i>winy+tyik</i>	‘first house built’	<i>tyik</i>	‘house’
(d)	<i>kuk=kiʔ</i>	‘middle finger’	<i>kiʔ</i>	‘hand’

(10.25) VERBS WITH LEXICAL PREFIXES:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|-------------|----------------|
| (a) | ?anh+: | ‘mouth’ | | |
| | <i>?anh+tun</i> | ‘cover’ | <i>tun</i> | ‘put’ |
| | <i>?anh+tzim</i> | ‘test weight of load’ | <i>tzim</i> | ‘load’ |
| (b) | ku+: | ‘else, other’ | | |
| | <i>ku+juy</i> | ‘buy something
for someone else’ | <i>juy</i> | ‘buy’ |
| | <i>ku+kak</i> | ‘exchange, change
(i.e. moon cycle)’ | <i>kak</i> | ‘lend, borrow’ |
| (c) | winy=: | ‘face, front, first’ | | |
| | <i>winy=jetz</i> | ‘brush first’ | <i>jetz</i> | ‘brush’ |
| | <i>winy=kej</i> | ‘appear face
to face’ | <i>kej</i> | ‘appear’ |
| (d) | kuk=: | ‘middle’ | | |
| | <i>kuk=jak</i> | ‘cut in half’ | <i>jak</i> | ‘cut’ |
| | <i>kuk=poʔ</i> | ‘split in half’ | <i>poʔ</i> | ‘split’ |

The prefixes *?anh+*, *ku+*, *winy=* and *kuk=* do not occur as independent lexical items, and the meanings encoded by the prefixes are generally more abstract than those encoded by the their source lexical terms.

10.2.1 Lexicalization of *?anh+* Verbs

There are a number of lexicalized forms composed of a verb root with the proclitic *?anh+*. Out of some 400 verb roots, approximately 180 appear in a lexicalized complex predicate formed with *?anh+*. The proclitic has been reconstructed to proto-Mixe-Zoquean from the noun **?aw=* ‘mouth’ (Kaufman 1997). The noun is thought to have grammaticalized as a proclitic meaning ‘endocentric, inside’ (Kaufman 1963:70) or ‘pertaining to the mouth or other

opening' (Wichmann 1991:535) in proto-Mixe-Zoquean. Kaufman has assigned the meaning 'intensive' or more aptly 'endocentricity' (1963:70). *?anh+* has had a long and productive evolution, forming nouns (10.26), verbs (10.27), and postpositions (10.28).

(10.26) COMPOUND NOUNS WITH *?anh+*:

<i>?anh+ni?</i>	'saliva'	<i>ni?</i>	'water'
<i>?anh+naaka</i>	'side, edge'	<i>naaka</i>	'skin'

(10.27) COMPLEX PREDICATES WITH *?anh+*:

<i>?anh+jak</i>	'govern'	<i>jak</i>	'cut, cross'
<i>?anh+wej</i>	'shout'	<i>wej</i>	'cry'
<i>?anh+to?ks</i>	'patch up'	<i>to?ks</i>	'hold/affix face down'

(10.28) POSTPOSITIONS COMPOSED OF BODY PART COMPONENTS:

<i>?anh.joo.m</i>	'among'
<i>?anh.ki?.mi</i>	'behind, outside'
<i>?anh.koopa?k</i>	'above, not on top'
<i>?anh.kuk</i>	'in the midst'
<i>?anh.kuk.mi</i>	'between'
<i>?anh.naaka</i>	'edge, entrance'
<i>?anh.sikk.mi</i>	'outside'
<i>?anh.winy.tyuk</i>	'other side'

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

With respect to compositionality, while the meaning of many of these forms may be transparent, the derived association with 'mouth' or 'opening' is vague in many cases. Observe the examples in (10.29), in which the association with 'mouth' or 'opening' is subtle: *?anh+* and *na?m* 'die down' with respect to fire or 'quiet down' with respect to speech or actions on the part of a person; *teeny* 'stand, stop' becomes 'block passage', or block an opening; and

kej ‘appear’ becomes ‘reveal’ as in removing a cover from an opening to permit viewing.

(10.29) *?anh+* FORMS:

<i>?anh+naʔm</i>	‘keep quiet calm down’	<i>naʔm</i>	‘go out (i.e. fire)’
<i>?anh+teeny</i>	‘wait in the street, block passage’	<i>teeny</i>	‘stand, stop’
<i>?anh+kej</i>	‘uncover, show, reveal’	<i>kej</i>	‘appear’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Frequently, the meaning of the combined parts is entirely unpredictable (10.30), and often there is no discernible distinction between the root and the derived stem (10.31).

(10.30) *?anh+* FORMS:

<i>?anh+tokʔoy</i>	‘fail, not arrive’	<i>tokʔoy</i>	‘lose’
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(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(10.31) *?anh+* FORMS:

<i>?anh+jiʔty</i>	‘wash’	<i>jiʔty</i>	‘wash’
<i>?anh+jiʔp</i>	‘smash, crush’	<i>jiʔp</i>	‘smash, crush’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

In some cases, the root no longer exists independently (10.32a), although the root may appear in other lexicalized expressions, as is the case for *xich* (b), which does not occur independently.

(10.32) *?anh+* FORMS:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) | <i>?anh+xich</i> | ‘wrap’ | <i>xich</i> | doesn’t occur
independently |
| | <i>?anh+koj</i> | ‘bar passage’ | <i>koj</i> | doesn’t occur
independently |
| (b) | <i>xiich=?anh+ponh</i> | ‘wrap copal
(incense)’ | | |
- (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

10.2.2 Lexicalization of *ku+* Verbs

Lexicalized verbs formed with the proclitic *ku+* occur as frequently as *?anh+* verbs. *ku+* has been reconstructed to proto-Mixe-Zoquean from **ko-*, grammaticalizing into a derivational prefix meaning ‘self, other’ or ‘endocentricity’ (Kaufman 1963:70, 1995). It is no longer a productive derivational item, but it occurs in a number of lexicalized expressions. With respect to verbs, it was used to derive new verb stems from verb roots without affecting the transitivity of the verb (10.33).

(10.33) VERBS COMPOSED OF *ku+*:

<i>ku+?i?p</i>	‘dig, look underground’	<i>?i?p</i>	‘root up’
<i>ku+?i?tz</i>	‘vomit onto smt’	<i>?i?tz</i>	‘vomit’
<i>ku+?iks</i>	‘remove kernels’	<i>?iks</i>	‘remove corn kernels’
<i>ku+?oy</i>	‘go/return looking for smt’	<i>?oy</i>	‘go/return’
<i>ku+chij</i>	‘to cover with smt else’	<i>chij</i>	‘pound’
<i>ku+ja?p</i>	‘grind in smt else’s house’	<i>ja?p</i>	‘grind’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Nouns (10.34), adjectives (10.35) and postpositions (10.36) have been derived with *ku+*.

(10.34) NOUNS COMPOSED OF *ku+*:

<i>ku+jaam=sinh</i>	‘dry season’	<i>jaama=sinh</i>	‘day=sky’
<i>ku+jos</i>	‘depression in flat land’	<i>jos</i>	‘hole’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(10.35) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *ku+*:

<i>ku+ʔoʔoxiʔoʔoxi</i>	‘snarled, knotted’	<i>ʔo ʔos</i>	‘piled up, garbage’
<i>ku+tyiny</i>	‘lazy’	<i>tyiny</i>	‘excrement’
<i>ku+ʔixi</i>	‘slow, stupid’	<i>ʔixi</i>	unknown
<i>ku+siiki</i>	‘naked’	<i>siiki</i>	unknown

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(10.36) POSTPOSITIONS COMPOSED OF *ku+*:

<i>ku.kiʔ.mi</i>	‘below, underneath’
<i>ku.sinh.winy</i>	‘from endpoint up’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

ku+ also occurs with numerals as a specifier. Its use as a numeral specifier is illustrated in examples (10.37) and (10.38) with the numbers *wistik* ‘two’ and *tuukuteen* ‘three’. The number *tuum* ‘one’ also occurs with the specifier *ku+* and means ‘alone’ (10.39).

- (10.37) ***wisteen*** *jeʔm piyyuj*
wisteen *jeʔm piyu*
two that chicken
‘Two chickens’

<i>ʔóy</i>	<i>ʔan+juytyáʔm</i>
ʔoy-W	ʔan+juy-taʔm-W ₂
go/ret _{aux} -CMP	XERG+buy-PLU _{sap} -DEP _t

we went to buy,

ʔi+k+wistik *ʔarak+kaʔatáʔm*
ʔi+ku+wistik *ʔan+ʔak+kaʔ-taʔm-W*
 3PSR+SPECIFIER+two XERG+CAUS₁+kill-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 and we killed the two of them.’ (PQH.022/23)

(10.38) *ʔi+tzentzák* *ʔi+chimpa* *ʔi+ku+tukuteen*
ʔi+tzen=tzak-W *ʔi+chimpa* *ʔi+ku+tukuteen*
 3ERG+tie=leave-CMP 3PSR+dog 3PSR+SPECIFIER+three
 ‘He left the three dogs tied.’ (Gutiérrez and Wichmann 2004:324-5)

(10.39) *jeʔam na:maj ta+tziʔypa tanh+ku+tyuum*
jeʔam na:maj ta+tziʔy-pa tan+ku+tyuum
 that no.more IABS+remain-INC IPSR+SPECIFIER+alone
 ‘There we stayed alone.’ (Yerno.016a)

In terms of compositionality, verbs were derived with *ku+* to convey that the action denoted by the verb is realized in association with the concept of ‘other’ or ‘else’. For example, the meaning of the verb *ʔaʔm* ‘look’ is altered to express the notion of looking ‘elsewhere’ and *ʔix* ‘see’ becomes ‘spy on someone *else*’, as shown in (10.40).

(10.40) *ku+VERB:*
ku+ʔaʔm ‘look around’ *ʔaʔm* ‘look’
ku+ʔix ‘spy on someone’ *ʔix* ‘see’
ku+ʔuk ‘drink at smt else’s expense’ *ʔuk* ‘drink’
ku+woot ‘wrap smt around smt else’ *woot* ‘roll up’
 (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

10.2.3 Lexicalization of Verbs With *winy*= ‘face’

The body part **winy* does not have the productive history enjoyed by *ʔanh+* and *ku+*, although it does occur in a handful of lexicalized expressions including verbs (10.41), nouns (10.42) and postpositions (10.43).

- (10.41) *jesigam jeʔm yukuukuyaj*
 jesik+ʔam jeʔm yuʔk=tuuku-yaj-W
 then+ALR that orphan-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘Then to the orphans

ʔi+winykejʔaʔy taʔ+naaba+tam Malia
ʔi+winy=kej-ʔaʔy-W tan+ʔaapa+tam Malia
 3ERG+*face=appear-BEN-CMP IPSR+mother+PLU_{hum} Maria
 our mother Mary appeared.’ (Gutiérrez and Wichmann 2001:320-1)

- (10.42) *porkej ta+nimpa*
 porkej ta+nim-pa
 because IABS+say-INC

tum jaaka yiʔp ʔi+winypak yoomo+nam
tum jaaka yiʔp ʔi+winy=pak yoomo+nam
 one piece this 3PSR+*face=bone woman+STILL
 ‘Because, as we say, one piece of her face was still woman.’ (VYT.112)

- (10.43) *ʔa+jaktaʔm niʔanh+winytyuk*
 ʔa+jak-taʔm-W niʔ=ʔanh.winy.tuk
 IABS+cross-PLU_{sap}-W river=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We crossed to the other side of the river. (VVA.014)

winy= also occurs with *kiʔ* and attaches to nouns to form agentive nouns from verb stems (Kaufman & Himes, in progress) (also labeled ‘plural actor’ by Elson 1999:95).

(10.44) PLURAL ACTORS:

<i>ʔaʔam=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘tourists (those who look around)’	<i>ʔaʔm</i>	‘look’
<i>ʔak+ku+yuuʔ=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘those who study’	<i>ku+yuuʔ</i>	‘learn’
<i>ʔanh+maatʔ=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘those who count’	<i>mat</i>	‘count’
<i>moʔony=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘those who make tamales’	<i>moʔn</i>	‘make tamales’
<i>tuuʔ=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘those who hunt with gun’	<i>tuuʔ</i>	‘shoot’
<i>wiity=kiʔi=winy</i>	‘those who walk a lot’	<i>wity</i>	‘walk’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

10.2.4 kuk ‘middle’

The morpheme *kuk* ‘middle’ is reconstructed as a relational term. It has been used to derive a number of lexicalized stems, including verbs (10.45), nouns (10.46), postpositions (10.47), and complex expressions (10.48).

(10.45) VERBS DERIVED WITH *kuk*:

<i>kuk-ʔaH</i>	(middle=VERS)	‘become middle’
<i>kuk=jak</i>	(middle=cut)	‘cut in half’
<i>kuk=pij</i>	(middle=heat)	‘shine high in the sky’
<i>kuk=poʔ</i>	(middle=split)	‘split down middle’
<i>kuk=weʔk</i>	(middle=divide)	‘divide in equal parts’
<i>kuk=wen=jak</i>	(middle=cut.into.pieces=cut)	‘tear in half’

(10.46) NOUNS DERIVED/MODIFIED WITH *kuk*:

<i>kuk=kiʔ</i>	(middle=hand)	‘middle finger’
<i>kuk=kaay</i>	a (middle=street)	‘middle of the street’

(10.47) POSTPOSITIONS/RELATIONAL NOUNS COMPOSED OF *kuk*:

kuk-mi 'in the middle'

kuk=joj.mi 'in the middle'

(10.48) LEXICALIZED EXPRESSIONS:

kuk=winy=joo.m (middle=face=LOC₂.LOC₁) 'in the middle
of the people'

kuk-ʔaH-pa=tzuʔ (middle-VERS-INC=night) 'midnight'

kuk-ʔaH-pa=jaama (middle-VERS-INC=day) 'midday, noon'

10.3 Deriving Other Word Classes From Verbs

Verbs are frequently derived into nouns, adjectives, and other word classes with deverbalizing morphology, which include the nominalizer suffix *-i* and instrumentive nominalizer *-kuy*. The strategies used to derive adjectives involve the suffixes *-puy* and *-kiy*. Each of these strategies is described in this section.

10.3.1 Nominalizer *-i*

The most productive strategy for deverbalizing verbs is with the nominalizer suffix *-i*, which occurs on intransitive, transitive and ambitransitive verbs. With some intransitive verbs, the derived nominal may refer to the would-be subject of the verb. For instance, in example (10.49a) the verb *kaʔ* 'die' derived with *-i* yields *kaʔi* 'dead person'. With some intransitive verbs the derived noun refers to the product of the action, as shown in (10.50).

(10.49) DERIVED INTRANSITIVES (i):

<i>kaʔi</i>	'dead person'	<i>kaʔ</i>	'die'
<i>miichi</i>	'player'	<i>miich</i>	'play'
<i>weeji</i>	'crier'	<i>wej</i>	'cry'

(10.50) DERIVED INTRANSITIVES (ii):

<i>jiiyi</i>	‘voice, word’	<i>jiiy</i>	‘speak’
<i>peʔni</i>	‘nest’	<i>peʔn</i>	‘build nest’
<i>suʔkxi</i>	‘a cough’	<i>suʔks</i>	‘cough’
<i>wiʔki</i>	‘food’	<i>wiʔk</i>	‘eat’

The distribution observed here suggests that there may be a subdivision within the intransitive subclass of verbs³. Transitive verbs derived with *-i* tend to result in non-agentive nominals, as shown in (10.51) with the verbs such as *kiih* ‘to fear’ and *wan* ‘to sing’ yield *kiihi* ‘fear’ and *waanyi* ‘song’, respectively.

(10.51) DERIVED TRANSITIVES:

<i>kiihi</i>	‘fear’	<i>kiih</i>	‘fear x’
<i>waanyi</i>	‘song’	<i>wan</i>	‘sing’
<i>ku+piiʔi</i>	‘sweat’	<i>ku+pij</i>	‘sweat’
<i>ʔikxi</i>	‘corn kernel’	<i>ʔiks</i>	‘dekernel corn’
<i>poʔoty</i>	‘dust, powder’	<i>poʔt</i>	‘grind’
<i>jiixi</i>	‘thought, idea’	<i>jii</i>	‘think’
<i>ʔaanyimoʔonyi</i>	‘tamale’	<i>ʔaanyimoʔony</i>	‘make tamale’

Verbs defined as ambitransitive, or labile (Nichols 1982, 1984; Haspelmath 1993), such as *juk* ‘smoke’ which have transitive and intransitive uses also produce non-agentive nominals. Examples are listed in (10.52).

(10.52) NOUNS DERIVED FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS WITH *-i*:

<i>juuk i</i>	‘cigarette, cigar’	<i>juk</i>	‘smoke’
<i>joʔyi</i>	‘anger’	<i>joʔy</i>	‘be angry (at x)’
<i>ʔuuki</i>	‘person who drinks’	<i>ʔuk</i>	‘drink’
<i>kiʔpxi</i>	‘measurement’	<i>kiʔps</i>	‘measure’

³Requires further study.

There are a few examples of nouns derived with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* and the nominalizer *-i* (10.53). Antipassive *-ʔoʔy* and the nominalizer *-i* derive agent nouns from transitive verbs (Kaufman, p.c.). These expressions are highly lexicalized; use of the antipassive with the nominalizer to form nouns is non-productive.

(10.53) NOUNS DERIVED WITH ANTIPASSIVE *-ʔoʔy* AND NOMINALIZER *-i*:

- (a) ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy-i
DERIV+cut-ANTIP-NOM
'authority, law' (CNC.034)
- (b) koony-wiʔy-ʔoʔyi
sit-DEPOS-ANTIP-NOM
'salary' (PDLMA.lex.koonyw@7y7o7yi)
- (c) ʔak+ku+yuj-ʔoʔy-i
CAUS₁+DERIV+accustom-ANTIP-NOM
'teacher' (UDR.001)

10.3.2 Instrument Nominalizer *-kuy*

Applying the affix *-kuy* to intransitive verbs derives a nominal that can be characterized as 'NOUN that one VERBS with/on/of'. For example *miichkuy* 'what one plays with, toy'; *wiʔkkuy* 'what one eats'; *monhkuy* 'where one sleeps, bed'; and *kaʔakuy* 'what one may potentially die of, sickness'.

(10.54) *-kuy* WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

<i>miichkuy</i>	'toy, doll'	<i>miich</i>	'play'
<i>wiʔkkuy</i>	'food'	<i>wiʔk</i>	'eat'
<i>monhkuy</i>	'where one sleeps'	<i>monh</i>	'sleep'
<i>kaʔakuy</i>	'sickness'	<i>kaʔ</i>	'die'

Applying *-kuy* to transitive verbs derives a noun encoding an instrument used to perform the task expressed by the verb, as shown in (10.55).

(10.55) *-kuy* WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS:

<i>ʔix-kuy</i>	‘eye’	<i>ʔix</i>	‘see’
<i>jay-kuy</i>	‘pencil’	<i>jay</i>	‘write’
<i>yem-kuy</i>	‘fan’	<i>yem</i>	‘blow’
<i>jak-kuy</i>	‘thinking about going’	<i>jak</i>	‘cut’
<i>jetz-kuy</i>	‘brush’	<i>jetz</i>	‘comb hair’
<i>ku+tyiʔch-kuy</i>	‘stick to prop up’	<i>ku+tyiʔch</i>	‘prop up’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

According to Kaufman (p.c.), based on research on SP and the Zoques of Oaxaca, the use of *kuy* is productive with respect to intransitive verbs, however, it is non-productive on transitive verbs. That is, transitive verbs marked with *-kuy* are lexicalized expressions.

There is overlap in the case of some verbs as to whether they are nominalized with *-i* and *-kuy*. In some cases the semantic distinction is clear. For example, the transitive verb *nyip* ‘plant’ derived with the nominalizer *-i* yields *nyiipi* ‘the sowing, sown plants’, yet derived with the instrumentive nominalizer *-kuy* yields *nyipkuy* ‘dibble, planting stick’. The intransitive verb *kaʔ* ‘die’ may be derived with *-i* to yield *kaʔi* ‘dead person’, and it may be derived with *-kuy* to yield *kaʔkuy* ‘illness’. Nevertheless, the distinction between verbs derived with the nominalizer and the instrumentive is not always clear. For example, *wiʔk* ‘eat (intransitive)’ may be derived as *wiʔiki* ‘food’ or *wiʔkkuy* ‘food’. There is no apparent semantic distinction between the two “foods”, although *wiʔkkuy* occurs more frequently in texts and naturally occurring discourse.

Some transitive verbs derive nouns with a combination of the instrumental *kuy* and the antipassive *-ʔoʔy*, which reduces the valency of transitive verbs by “demoting” the patient. Examples are listed in (10.56).

(10.56) *kuy* WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS AND THE ANTIPASSIVE *ʔoʔy*:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (a) | <i>jukun</i> | ‘stir, bat’ |
| | <i>jukun-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘mixer, blender’ |
| (b) | <i>kum</i> | ‘bury (dead)’ |
| | <i>kum-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘burial’ |
| (c) | <i>ku+jaam</i> | ‘cover’ |
| | <i>ku+j̄im-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘thing to cover’ |
| (d) | <i>ku+tyiʔch</i> | ‘prop up’ |
| | <i>ku+tyiʔch-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘stick used as prop’ |
| (e) | <i>mak</i> | ‘fish with net’ |
| | <i>mak-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘shrimp net’ |
| (f) | <i>kinh</i> | ‘paint, stain’ |
| | <i>kinh-ʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘inst. for painting’ |
| (g) | <i>yan</i> | ‘spread seed’ |
| | <i>yanʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘gable cross-bar’ |
| (h) | <i>ʔanh+j̄inh</i> | ‘bar, clog, stop up’ |
| | <i>ʔanh+j̄inhʔoʔy-kuy</i> | ‘plug, cork’ |

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

There are transitive verbs that derive the instrumental both ways, deriving nouns with clear semantic differences. For example, (10.57) shows the verb *kiʔps* ‘measure’. When derived with *-kuy*, the stem encodes “measurement”. When derived with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* and the instrumental *-kuy* it encodes the instrument with which the measurement is taken “balance, ruler”.

(10.57) INSTRUMENTAL AND ANTIPASSIVE - SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE:

<i>kiʔps</i>	‘measure’
<i>kiʔps-kuy</i>	‘measurement’
<i>kiʔps-ʔoʔy-kuy</i>	‘balance, ruler’

Again, the semantic distinction is not always clear, as illustrated by the verbs listed in (10.58).

(10.58) INSTRUMENTAL AND ANTIPASSIVE - NO SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE:

(a)	<i>jepskuy</i>	‘large spoon’	<i>jeps</i>	‘serve (with spoon)’
	<i>jepsʔoʔykuy</i>	‘spoon’		
(b)	<i>jetzkuy</i>	‘brush’	<i>jetz</i>	‘brush’
	<i>jetzʔoʔykuy</i>	‘brush’		
(c)	<i>tajkuy</i>	‘tool for digging small hole’	<i>taj</i>	‘dig, excavate’
	<i>tajʔoʔykuy</i>	‘tool for digging hole (not pick)’		
(d)	<i>ku+tyiʔchkuy</i>	‘stick to prop’	<i>ku+tyiʔch</i>	‘prop up’
	<i>ku+tyiʔchʔoʔykuy</i>	‘stick to prop’		

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

10.3.3 Deriving Adjectives from Verbs

Adjectives may be derived from verbs with the affixes *ku+* (10.60), *-piy* (10.60), and *-kiy* (10.61), or formed by reduplication of the root; however, use of these affixes to derive adjectives is non-productive. The forms shown here are for the most part lexicalized, and in many cases, the meaning of the derived root is unknown.

(10.59) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *ku+*:

<i>ku+ʔoʔoxiʔoʔoxi</i>	‘snarled, knotted’	<i>ʔoʔos</i>	‘piled up, garbage’
<i>ku+tyiny</i>	‘lazy’	<i>tyiny</i>	‘excrement’
<i>ku+ʔiixi</i>	‘slow, stupid’	<i>ʔiixi</i>	unknown
<i>ku+siiki</i>	‘naked’	<i>siiki</i>	unknown

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(10.60) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *-piy*:

<i>jaʔppiy</i>	‘grindable’	<i>jaʔp</i>	‘grind’
<i>jakpiy</i>	‘crossable’	<i>jak</i>	‘cut, cross’
<i>jaypiy</i>	‘writable’	<i>jay</i>	‘write’
<i>jespiy</i>	‘same, equal’	<i>jes</i>	‘be like so’
<i>paʔapiy</i>	‘strainable’	<i>paʔ</i>	‘strain, filter’
<i>koonypiy</i>	‘sittable’	<i>koony</i>	‘sit’
<i>kiypiy</i>	‘supportable, can carry weight’	<i>kiy</i>	unknown
<i>jempiy</i>	‘possible/not possible’	?	unknown
<i>juʔtzpiy</i>	‘how much’	<i>juʔtz</i>	‘how’
<i>peeypiy</i>	‘low bassinet for baby so it doesn’t fall out’	<i>peey</i>	‘to brandish, wave, waggle’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(10.61) ADJECTIVES DERIVED WITH *-kiy*:

<i>pis-kiy</i>	‘soft, for eating’	<i>pis</i>	‘heal, spill over’
<i>sij-kiy</i>	‘densely vegetated’	<i>sij</i>	‘walk (insect)’
<i>tij-kiy</i>	‘worker, active’	<i>tij</i>	unknown
<i>wes-kiy</i>	‘which doesn’t stick well’	<i>wes</i>	unknown

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

The set of words that make up the adjective class is relatively small.

Nevertheless, SP exhibits a broad range of nominal modification strategies.

Refer to Chapter 5 for description of nominal modification.

Chapter 11

Alignment and Number

SP is an ergative/absolute, head-marking language with a hierarchical system, evident in both its alignment and number systems. It manifests split ergativity motivated by aspect, modality, and voice in contexts of subordination. Ditransitive verb constructions show a primary object alignment pattern. It has two types of external possession, one of which involves the possessors on the verb. This chapter describes the alignment system in SP, the primary object pattern, the verbal number system, as well as the hierarchical system that permeates each of these systems.

11.1 The Alignment System

The alignment system in SP is predominantly ergative-absolute. Person is inflected on the verb with a set of clitics preceding the verb stem. The person marking proclitics are shown in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1: Person Agreement Proclitics

	SET A Ergative (ERG)/ Possessor (PSR)	SET B Absolutive (ABS)	SET C “Local”
Exclusive First Person:	<i>?an+</i>	<i>?a+</i>	
Inclusive First Person:	<i>tan+</i>	<i>ta+</i>	
Second Person:	<i>?in+</i>	<i>mi+</i>	
Third Person:	<i>?i+</i>	$\emptyset+$	
2:1:			<i>?an+</i>
1:2:			<i>man+</i>

There are three sets of person markers. Ergative (Set A) proclitics mark:

- A of transitive verbs;
- possessors of nouns;
- possessors of relational nouns; and
- S of dependent verbs in some multi-verb constructions (see ch. 22).

Absolutive (Set B) proclitics are used to mark:

- S of intransitive verbs;
- O of transitive verbs;
- PO of ditransitive verbs;
- S of nonverbal predicates.

Proclitics from the “local” (Set C) set are used to mark:

- both A and O on transitive verbs when they are both speech act participants;
- possessor-possessum relation on kinship nouns.

Only one proclitic may be marked on the verb, and the distribution is determined by a hierarchical system (Silverstein 1976). The person marking prefixes are proclitics. As described in Chapter 8, the person marking proclitics occur preceding derivational proclitics that occur on the stem. The proclitics in relation to the derivational and class adjusting prefixes are shown in Table 11.2 (repeated from Table 15.1).

Table 11.2: Verbal Proclitic Template

ABS+	ASSOC+	CAUS ₁ +	STEM
ERG+	RR+		
1:2+			
2:1+			

11.1.1 The Person Marking Paradigm

The distribution of each of these sets is described here.

11.1.1.1 Ergative (Set A) Distribution

Proclitics from the ergative set of person proclitics mark A of transitive verbs. Examples (11.1) through (11.4) show the exclusive, inclusive, 2nd, and 3rd person proclitics, respectively.

- (11.1) **?an**+je?y_{pa}+m je?m ?an+ja?api
?an+je?y_{pa}+?am je?m ?an+ja?p-i
 XERG+stir-INC+ALR that XPSR+grind-NOM
 ‘I stir my dough.’ (Atole.008)

- (11.2) *nimpa* si?ip **tan**+tzenpa
 Ø+nim-pa si?ip **tan**+tzen-pa
 3ABS+say-INC now IERG+tie-INC
 ‘She says: “Now we’re going to tie it.”’ (CSP.082)

- (11.3) **?iny**+nyo?oba ?iny+widyaya
?in+no?-pa ?in+wity=?aaya
 2ERG+burn-INC 2PSR+big=male
 ‘You’ll burn your husband.’ (Comal.026)

- (11.4) ?okmi tan+jaatunh ?i+ché?k
 ?ok-mi tan+jatunh ?i+tze?k-W
 afterwards IPSR+father 3ERG+charge-CMP
 ‘Afterwards my father charged him.’ (CNC.043)

Set A proclitics also mark the possessor of nouns. Examples (11.5) through (11.8) illustrate the paradigm for possession: exclusive, inclusive, 2nd person and 3rd person.

- (11.5) *mojpam* ?an+jiityu+m je?m **?an**+?uunu
 mojpa+?am ?an+jiity-W+?am je?m **?an**+?uunu
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR XERG+move-DEP_t that XPSR+*atole*
 ‘I begin to stir my *atole* (maize gruel).’ (Atole.012)

- (11.6) *ta+togo?yá?y* **tan**+xaapun **tan**+jam **tam**+kaana
 ta+tok?oy-?a?y-W **tan**+xaapun **tan**+jam **tan**+kaana
 IABS+need/lack-BEN-CMP IPSR+soap IPSR+lime IPSR+salt
 ‘We need our soap, our lime, our salt. Jovenes 019

- (11.7) *?iny+nyo?oba* ***?iny+widyaaya***
 ?in+no?pa **?in+wity=?aaya**
 2ERG+burn-INC 2ERG+husband
 ‘You burn your husband.’ (Comal.026)

- (11.8) ***?i+koobak*** *?ich* *?an+tziga?ypa* ***?i+koobak***
?i+koopa?k ?ich ?an+tzik-?a?y-pa **?i+koopa?k**
 3PSR+head 1PRO XERG+grab-INC 3PSR+head
 ‘Its head, I grabbed its head.’ (CSP.021)

Set A proclitics mark possessors of relational nouns, as shown in (11.9).

- (11.9) *je?m tziixi teeny* *tunh* ***?i+nhwinytyuk***
 je?m tziixi Ø+teeny-W tunh **?i+?anh.winy.tyuk**
 that child 3ABS+stand-CMP road 3PSR+LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘The child stood on the other side of the road.’ (200902jaf)

Set A proclitics are also used to mark the S of intransitive dependent verbs in some multi-verb constructions. Examples (11.10) and (11.11) illustrate a case of a temporal coordination and an auxiliary (type II) verb constructions, respectively.

- (11.10) *?a+nhwejpa* ***?an+nik***
 ?a+?anh.wej-pa **?an+nikk-W**
 XABS+shout-INC XERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I cried as I went.’ (MAB.021b)

- (11.11) *dya wi?aap* ***tan+nu?k***
 dya wi?aH-pa **tan+nu?k-W**
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC IERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 ‘We can’t arrive.’ (PDO.004a)

11.1.1.2 Absolutive (Set B) Distribution

Proclitics from the absolutive set (Set B) mark the Ss of intransitive verbs and nonverbal predicates. Examples (11.12) through (11.15) illustrate intransitive verbs marked with the absolutive set of person marking proclitics. The example in (11.12) shows the intransitive verb *seet* ‘return’ inflected with the 1st person exclusive *?a+*. In (11.13) the 1st person inclusive S is expressed on the same intransitive verb with *ta+*. In example (11.14), the 2nd person S is expressed on the intransitive verb *nikk* ‘go’ with the proclitic *mi+*. Finally, in (11.15), agreement for the S of the intransitive verb *monh* ‘sleep’ is \emptyset (zero).

- (11.12) *?ich ?a+seetpam*
 ?ich ?a+seet-pa+?am
 1PRO XABS+return-INC+ALR
 ‘I return already.’ (MAB.119a)

- (11.13) *ta+seetpa+m*
 ta+seet-pa+?am
 1ABS+return-INC+ALR
 ‘We return already.’ (UDR.006)

- (11.14) *mich juuty mi+nyikpa*
 mich juuty mi+nikk-pa
 2PRO where 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘You, where are you going?’ (PDO.023)

- (11.15) *je?m yoomo monhpa*
 je?m yoomo \emptyset +monh-pa
 that woman 3ABS+sleep-INC
 ‘The woman sleeps.’ (ESK.031b)

11.1.1.3 Local (Set C) Distribution

Proclitics from the “local”¹ set are used to express the relation between speech act participants. In (11.16) the A is a 1st person referent and the O is a 2nd person referent. In (11.17) the reverse relation is expressed: the A is the 2nd person referent and the O is the 1st person referent.

- (11.16) *yoomo, ?ich manh+ku+su?nu?nye?*
 yoomo ?ich **man**+ku+sun-?a?y-ne?-W
 woman 1PRO 1:2+like-BEN-PERF-CMP
 ‘Woman, I like you.’ (GU1.040)

- (11.17) *jemum ?any+?ixpa*
 jemi+?am **?an**+?ix-pa
 there+ALR 2:1+see-INC
 ‘There you see me.’ (GU2.051)

The proclitic *man+* also appears on kinship terms to indicate relations between speech act participants, as shown in (11.18). Notice that the same proclitic is used to express both the 1:2 and the 2:1 relationship. Transitive kinship terms have been observed in other Mixe-Zoque languages, such as Olutec (Zavala 2006), as well as in Nahuatl, Huichol, and Cora (Amith and Smith-Stark 1994a, b; Zavala 2000).

- (11.18) (a) *mich man+jaaytyiiwi*
 mich **man**+jaay=tyiiwi
 2PRO 1:2+boy=sibling
 ‘You are my brother.’

¹The term “local”, attributed to Hockett (1966), is commonly used by Algonquianists to describe marking the relations between speech act participants. This grammatical feature is discussed in detail in §11.1.2 below.

- (b) *?ich man+tiwi*
?ich man+tiwi
 1PRO 1:2+sibling
 ‘I am your brother.’ (20070719rcr)

11.1.2 Hierarchical Systems

The person marking distribution in SP corresponds with systems observed in inverse languages. In an inverse language, participants are ranked according to a “deictically based hierarchy” (Zavala 1994, 2000, 2007). This hierarchy ranks speech act participants and third person referents with relation to one another. Thus, an event in which a speech act participant acts on a third person referent is expressed with one configuration, known as a “direct” configuration. When a third person referent is acting on a speech act participant, an “inverse” configuration is used to express this. A “local” configuration captures the relation between speech act participants in an event. This distinction is illustrated in Table 11.3 (the colon (:) indicates “acts on”).

Table 11.3: Person Marking Configurations in Transitive Clause (adapted from Zavala 1994:35)

	AGT	OBJ
DIRECT	SAP	: 3
INVERSE	3	: SAP
LOCAL	SAP	: SAP
DIR/INV (language specific)	3	: 3

The different configurations may be realized in different ways. Some languages that emphasize a hierarchical ranking may do so by using morphol-

ogy that indicates whether a higher ranking participant is acting on a lower ranking participant or vice versa. For example, Plains Cree (Delancey 1981b, Klaiman 1993:347) uses a “directive” marker to indicate the direct configuration (11.19); or an “inverse” marker, as shown in (11.20), to indicate the inverse.

(11.19) PLAINS CREE: DIRECT (1:3):

ni-waapam-aa-naan-ik
 1-see-DIRECT-1PLURAL-3PLURAL
 ‘We see them.’ (Klaiman 1993:347)

(11.20) PLAINS CREE: INVERSE (3:1):

ni-waapam-iko-naan-ik
 1-see-INVERSE-1PLURAL-3PLURAL
 ‘They see us.’ (Klaiman 1993:347)

Some languages, such as Huastec (Zavala 1994:4), employ a case marking system as well as exhibiting overt morphology to indicate direct and inverse relations. For example, in the direct configuration, shown in (11.21), the A of the transitive verb is overtly expressed with the ergative 1st person pronoun. The example in (11.22) illustrates an inverse configuration where a third person referent is acting on a first person. Here, it is the O, the 1st person, that is overtly expressed with the absolutive 1st person morpheme. Observe also in example (11.22) that Huastec also marks inverse constructions with the inverse marker *ti*. Therefore, in addition to a person marking strategy, the language also employs a morphological strategy.

(11.21) Huastec: Direct (1:3):

jee' u chi'-th-aal u lojoobil
here ERG1SG come-CAUS₁-INC POSSESS.1SG hoe
'Here, I brought my hoe.' (Zavala 2004:4)

(11.22) Huastec: Inverse (3:1):

ani yab Ø che'-nek u aamu
and NEG 3ABS come-PERF POSSESS.1SG boss
'My boss has not come

ti-k-in pijch-iy
INVERSE-DEPEND-ABS1SG feed-TT
to feed me.' (Zavala 2004:4)

In addition, languages that have inverse systems may further distinguish between proximate and obviative participants (Andrews 2007, Klaiman 1989). In obviative systems, there is a distinction between a proximate, the topic of the discourse, and the obviative, another participant that is less topical. When third-person participants interact the proximate participant outranks the obviative participant; when the obviative participant is the A, a special marker is used. This is illustrated with the commonly cited examples from Plains Cree (Andrews 2007:147 citing Bloomfield 1934:98 and Dahlstrom 1991:62) in (11.23) and (11.24). In (11.23) the less topical argument is marked with the obviative; the A, which ranks higher, is unmarked. In (11.24) The less topical argument, marked with obviative, is the A and therefore the verb is marked with morphology indicating inverse.

(11.23) *aya·hciyiniw-ah nisto e'=mipah-a't awa na'pe'sis*
 Blackfoot-OBVIATE three kill-DIRECT this boy
 'This boy had killed three Blackfoot.' (Bloomfield 1934:98, cited in
 Dahlstrom 1991:62)

(11.24) *osa'm e'=sa'kih-ikot ohta'wiy-ah aw o'skini'kiw*
 too much love-INVERSE his father-OBVIATE this young man
 'for this father too much cherished this young man' (Bloomfield
 1934:58, cited in Dahlstrom 1991:63)

Languages that have explicit morphology to mark a direct and/or an inverse relation have what is called "Inverse Alignment". Languages that incorporate both a person marking system and a morphological system, such as Huastec, are also identified as having "Inverse Alignment". A third type of language is one that relies on its person marking system to indicate whether constructions are direct or inverse. These languages mark only the higher ranking participant and have what is called a "Hierarchical System." SP is one such language.

Finally, languages have two possible strategies for marking local configurations. According to DeLancey (1981b), how languages capture the SAP-acting-on-SAP relation is unpredictable, and different strategies are employed. One strategy is to use the direct/inverse marking system. That is, some languages treat constructions in which 1st person acts on 2nd person and 2nd person acts on 1st person as direct configurations, while others treat the two relations as inverse. Some languages treat the 1st-acting-on-2nd relation as direct and the 2nd-acting-on-1st relation as inverse; while for others the reverse is observed. The second strategy is to treat the local configuration as a

separate subsystem altogether. In the literature this is known as the “local” configuration (Hockett 1966; Zavala 1994:38). SP takes this approach.

The hierarchical system in SP is described in the following section.

11.1.3 The Hierarchical System in SP

Transitive verbs are inflected with a person marking prefix from either the absolutive set or the ergative set. Verbal inflection for person is hierarchically motivated. 1st and 2nd person arguments rank higher than 3rd person arguments according to the saliency hierarchy², which is shown in Figure 11.1. If the A ranks higher, the ergative prefix appears on the verb. If the O ranks higher, the absolutive prefix appears on the verb.

Figure 11.1: SP Saliency Hierarchy

1st/2nd person > 3rd person

Examples (11.25) through (11.27) illustrate transitive verbs with 1st (inclusive and exclusive) and 2nd As. In (11.25) the A is the exclusive 1st person of the transitive verb *wat* ‘do, make’; the O is *karreeraj* ‘race’ (borrowed from Spanish). Example (11.26) shows the inclusive 1st person A of the verb *kuʔt* ‘eat’; the O in this example is *yiʔp kaʔnpu* ‘this egg’. In example (11.27) the 2nd person A is marked on the transitive verb *ʔinh* ‘to duck’; the O is

²This saliency hierarchy corresponds with the Animacy Hierarchy (Comrie 1989, Silverstein 1976):

1st > 2nd > 3rd > proper > humans > non-humans > inanimates
 person > person > person > names > animates

tuum yi?im ‘(this) one here’. In each of these examples the A ranks higher than the O according to the animacy hierarchy.

(11.25) 1ST PERSON EXCLUSIVE A; 3RD PERSON O:

?an+wattá?m *karreeraj*
?an+wat-ta?m-W karreeraj
 XERG+do-PLU_{sap}-CMP race
 ‘We raced.’ (VVA.016)

(11.26) 1ST PERSON INCLUSIVE A; 3RD PERSON O:

yi?p ka?npu tan+ku?tpa
 yi?p ka?npu **tan**+ku?t-pa
 this egg IERG+eat-INC
 ‘This egg, we eat.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.036)

(11.27) 2ND PERSON A; 3RD PERSON O:

mich tuum yi?im ?in+?inhpa
 mich tuum yi?im **?in**+?inh-pa
 2PRO one here 2ERG+duck-INC
 ‘You, this one here, you duck (below) it.’ (JJX.196)

When the arguments consist of a O that is higher ranked than the A, the verb is inflected with a proclitic from the absolutive set. Examples (11.28) through (11.30) illustrate transitive verbs that are inflected with the absolutive set. Here the person markers that are expressed on the verb agree with the O. In example (11.28) the A is the 3rd person referent *maachuj* ‘male’ (referring to the male of two horses) and the O is the 1st person. In example (11.29)

the O is the 1st person inclusive, referenced on the verb with the inclusive absolutive proclitic *ta+*. The A, a 3rd person referent, is a shark, which is not overtly expressed. The speaker is describing a game she played as a child with her siblings in the sea. In example (11.30), the A is the 3rd person *?ak+ku+yuj-?o?oy* ‘teacher’ and the 2nd person is expressed on the verb with the absolutive proclitic *mi+*.

(11.28) 3RD PERSON A; 1ST PERSON EXCLUSIVE O:

?ich dya ?a+pakká? maachuj
?ich dya ?a+pak.ka?-W maachuj
 1PRO NEG XABS+throw-CMP male
 ‘The male [horse] didn’t throw me.’ (VVA.017)

(11.29) 3RD PERSON A; 1ST PERSON INCLUSIVE O:

ta+ku?tpa
ta+ku?t-pa
 IABS+eat-INC
 ‘It eats us.’ (VVA.028)

(11.30) 3RD PERSON A; 2ND PERSON O:

si?ip mi+?ix je?m ?aku+yujo?oyi
si?ip mi+?ix-W₂ je?m ?ak+ku+yuj-?o?oy.i
 now 2ABS+see-DEP_t that teacher
 ‘Now the teacher is looking at you.’ (AVC.010)

When both participants are third person referents, the third person ergative proclitic *?i+* is marked on the verb, as shown in (11.31). SP does not have an obviative system and therefore does not mark proximate/obviate distinctions.

(11.31) 3RD PERSON A; 3RD PERSON O:

pero **?i**+pak-ká? ?an+tiíwi
pero **?i**+pak-ka?-W ?an+tiíwi
pero 3ERG+throw.at-CMP XPSR+brother
 ‘But it (the horse) threw my brother.’ (VVA.017)

When speech act participants (SAPs) interact with one another, one of two morphemes, labeled Set C “local” (Hockett 1966; Zavala 1994) are expressed on the verb. The proclitic *?an+* indicates interaction between a 2nd person A and 1st person O (2:1). The proclitic *man+* indicates interaction between a 1st person A and a 2nd person O (1:2). Example (11.32) illustrates a 2nd person A acting on a 1st person O; the verb is marked with *?an+*. Example (11.33) shows a 1st person A acting on 2nd person O; the verb is marked with *man+*.

(11.32) 2ND PERSON A; 1ST PERSON O (2:1): *?an+*

tyi+?iga **?any**+yiksñim
tyi+?iga **?an**+yiks=nim-W
 what+COMP 2:1+do.this-CMP
 ‘Why did you do this to me?’ (ESK.129)

(11.33) 1ST PERSON A; 2ND PERSON O (1:2): *man+*

?ich *dya* **many**+ya?achwát
?ich *dya* **man**+ya?ach=wat-W
 1PRO NEG 1:2+suffer=make-CMP
 ‘I don’t make you suffer.’ (ESK.132)

Although attempts to describe the person marking paradigm morphophonemically have been made, the “local” set cannot be accounted for as

anything but a third set of affixes. Because of morphophonological processes associated with clitics, observations about the person marking system in SP are somewhat obscure. Recall from chapter 2, that in SP, clitics do not participate in stress assignment patterns and that clitics are subject to morphophonological process not observed elsewhere in the language. When proclitics occur adjacent to one another the result is a contracted form. This can be observed with a number of derivational proclitics, including: the causative *?ak+*; the associative *na+*; the clitic *?anh+*, which derives new verbs from verb roots; and the person marking clitics. When a CV clitic precedes a clitic that begins with a glottal stop-vowel (*?V*), the onset and nucleus of the second syllable in the sequence is deleted. The contraction is expressed with the rule in (11.34).

$$(11.34) \text{ ?V} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ CV+}_{--}(\text{C})+$$

Examples (11.35) and (11.36) illustrate the contracted forms that surface when the proclitic *na+* precedes *?anh+* and *?ak+*, respectively.

(11.35) ASSOCIATIVE *na+* PRECEDES *?anh+*; RESULTS IN *nanh+*:

<i>?agi+wi\dot{j}</i>	<i>nanh+?aatai?</i>
<i>?agi+wiH</i>	<i>\emptyset+na+?anh-?aH-taH-W</i>
INTENS+good	3ABS+ASSOC+scold-PASS-CMP
‘He was scolded very well.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.011)	

(11.36) ASSOCIATIVE *na+* PRECEDES CAUSATIVE *?ak+*; RESULTS IN *nak+*:

<i>nak+wa?aktaáj</i>	<i>pwej</i>
<i>\emptyset+na+?ak+wa?k-taH-W</i>	<i>pwej</i>
3ABS+ASSOC+CAUS ₁ +ask-PASS-CMP	then
‘She asked herself, then.’ (ESK.095)	

Examples (11.37) and (11.38) show the contracted forms involving person marking proclitics. In (11.37), the third person ergative proclitic precedes the derivational proclitic *?anh+* and results in the contracted form *?inh+*. In (11.38) the third person exclusive ergative proclitic precedes the derivational proclitic *?ak+* and results in the contracted form *?ik+*.

(11.37) 3RD ERGATIVE PRECEDES DERIVED TRANSITIVE VERB:

<i>pero</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>jeentej</i>	<i>?i+tyumpiy</i>	<i>?inh+</i>	<i>tù?umawátpa</i>
pero	la	jeentej	?i+tyumpiy	?i+?anh+	tuum. ?aH=wat-pa
but	the	people	3PSR+everything	3ERG+meet.together=do-INC	

‘But all the people meet together.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.033)

(11.38) 3RD ERGATIVE PRECEDES CAUSATIVE *?ak+*; RESULTS IN *?ik+*:

<i>dya+tyim</i>	<i>?ik+ká?i?</i>	<i>je?m</i>	<i>kaapi</i>
dya+tyi+?am	?i+?ak+ka?-W	je?m	kaapi
NEG+JUST+ALR	3ERG+CAUS ₁ +die-CMP	this	arrows

‘(She says) the arrows didn’t kill him.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.172)

This contraction only occurs with proclitics, and it does not occur when a verb or noun root with a word initial *?V* sequence is inflected with the clitics. This is illustrated with examples (11.39) and (11.40) with the verbs *?a?m* ‘look’ and *?aapa* ‘mother’, respectively. These examples show that this process applies only to clitics.

(11.39) CLITIC PRECEDING NOUN ROOT *?aapa* ‘MOTHER’; NO DELETED SEGMENT:

<i>jesik</i>	<i>?a?mpút</i>	<i>je?m</i>	<i>?i+?aapa</i>
jesik	Ø+?a?m=put-W	je?m	?i+?aapa
when	3ABS+look=out-CMP	this	3PSR+mother

‘Then their mother looked out.’ (CVS.011a)

(11.40) CLITIC PRECEDING VERB ROOT ʔaʔm ‘LOOK’; NO DELETED SEGMENT:

ʔi+ʔàʔmpudáʔy
 $\text{ʔi+ʔaʔm=put-ʔaʔy-W}$
 3ERG+look=out-BEN-CMP
 ‘She looked out to see them.’ (CVS.011b)

The resulting contracted proclitics for 1:2 and 2:1 have been treated as either portmanteau forms or the result of phonological processes (Elson 1960b:30; Kaufman, p.c.). The resulting forms cannot be accounted for in terms of phonological processes as described above. Observe examples (11.41) and (11.42). The proclitics ʔa+ (XABS) and ʔin+ (2ERG) are contracted to form ʔan+ in (11.41); and the combination of the proclitics mi+ (2ABS) and ʔan+ (XERG) results in the contracted form man+ in (11.42a), not *min+ (b) as we would predict based on the morphophonemics of clitics in SP.

(11.41) 2:1 2ND A; 1ST PERSON O:

ʔan+ VERB
 ʔa+ ʔin+
 XABS+ 3ERG+

(11.42) 1:2 1ST A; 2ND O:

(a) man+ VERB
 mi+ ʔan+
 2ABS+ XERG+
 man+

(b) *min+

Looking at other proclitic combinations where the 3rd person ergative ʔi+ precedes the derivational proclitics ʔanh+ , as shown in (11.43), the result is the

predicted contraction *?im+pim*. In (11.44), when the 3rd person ergative proclitic precedes the causative proclitic *?ak+*, we get *?ik+tza?miny*. Therefore, the *man+* cannot be accounted for in terms of a sonority hierarchy.

- (11.43) *?iga+?im+pimpa+m* *je?m tzoogoy*
 ?iga+?i+?anh+pinh-pa+?am *je?m tzoogoy*
 because+3ERG+collect-INC-ALR this liver
 ‘Because he collects the livers.’ (ESK.059)

- (11.44) *?ik+tza?miny* *?i+piiyu*
 ?i+?ak+tzam-?iny *?i+piiyu*
 3ERG+raise-OPT 3PSR+chicken
 ‘They raise their chickens.’ (JOV.022)

The person marking distribution described here was first observed by Elson (1960a:317; 1960b:29-31; 1961:421), who described it as follows:

When the participant [A] or the associate [O] are indicated syntactically, either of the two may be signaled by the person prefixes. The first or the second persons, in whichever category, has priority over the third. Such a situation prevails with intransitive verbs (1960b:31)³.

Elson (1960b:30) suggests the possibility of reconstructing the morphemes as *mi-* + *?an-* > *man-* and *?a-* + *?in-* > *?an-*. He dismisses this option, however, and opts to accept a three set analysis, believing that little is gained analytically in light of the obvious [pattern].

³Translated from: “Cuando el participante y el asociado se indican sintácticament cualquiera de los dos puede ser señalado por los prefijos de persona. La primera o la segunda personas (sic), en cualquier categoría tienen prioridad sobre la tercera. Tal situación prevalece con los verbos intransitivos”.

The following section describes similar distributions observed throughout the Mixe-Zoque language family.

11.1.4 Hierarchy in the Mixe-Zoque family

Hierarchical systems have been observed in other Zoque languages, including Texistepec, San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque, and Ocotepec Zoque. This is effectively exemplified if we compare each of the four Zoquean languages. Each of these languages treats the SAP-acting-on-SAP uniquely.

The system in Texistepec⁴, as with SP, appears to employ a third set of person markers, as shown in Table 11.4.

Table 11.4: Texistepec Person Marking Paradigm (Reilly 2004:8)

	Ergative	Absolutive	Local
1exc	- ^N	-k	
1inc	-ta ^N	-tε	
2	- ^N j	-kj	
3	-j	∅	
1:2			-k ^N
2:1			-k ^N j

Like SP, the morphemes appear to be contracted forms of the ergative and absolutive morphemes in these constructions. Reilly (2004a:7-8) shows that there is no phonological explanation for the 1:2 (/k^N/) and 2:1 (/k^Nj/) forms. Like SP, he finds that /k^Nj/ can be observed as being a combination of the /k-/ (1ABS) and /^N/ (2ERG). Yet the predicted /-k^Nj/ form from /kj/ (2ABS)

⁴Reilly (2002, 2004a) uses IPA: y = j; . I preserve his convention here.

and /^N/ (1ERG) does not occur. The form that surfaces is /k^N/. A sonority-based explanation for why the 1:2 form *kj^N may have mutated and lost its /j/ is inadequate considering that “this change is not part of the regular synchronic phonology, since the inflectional /^N/ has become a non-segmental nasal feature [realized as [̃] in the phonetic transcription (following Reilly 2004a:8)]. For example, sequence[s] with /kj^N/ are possible synchronically” (Reilly 2004a:7-8), as shown in example (11.45). Example (11.46) shows the /k^Nj/ ‘2:1’ proclitic.

(11.45) TEXISTEPEC: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 1:2

kjãga?
 k^N-jaka?
 1:2-kill
 ‘I kill you.’ (Reilly 2004:8)

(11.46) TEXISTEPEC: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 2:1

- (a) *?u gɲjã.ga?*
 ?u+k^Nj-jaka?
 IMPERF+2:1-kill
 ‘You’re killing me.’
- (b) *?u gnɔ̃ɰih.nɔ̃ɰih.dɛ?*
 ?u+k^Nj-ɰih.ɰih.dɛ?
 IMPERF+2:1-punch-REDUP-PPL
 ‘You’re punching me.’ (Reilly 2004:11)

As with SP, Reilly (2004a) shows that there is no phonological explanation for the unpredicted form.

Ocotepec Zoque⁵ and Chimalapa Zoque⁶ mark both the 1:2 and 2:1

⁵Faarlund (2004) uses an unspecified orthography, likely to be a local one. I preserve his convention here.

⁶Johnson (2000) uses Americanist orthography. Her convention is preserved here.

configurations using the same morphemes. For example, in its “local” configuration, Ocotepc Zoque uses the morpheme *m-*, the 2nd person ergative marker, in both the 1:2 (11.47) and 2:1 (11.48) configurations, appearing to select the 2nd person as outranking the 1st person in these constructions (Zavala 2004c, 2004d:6).

(11.47) OCOTEPEC ZOQUE: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 1:2

maka=t *m-nü-mak-e*
 FUTURE=1ERG 2ERG-CAUS₁-go-INC_{dep}
 ‘I will bring you there.’ (Faarlund 2004; Zavala 2004d:6)

(11.48) OCOTEPEC ZOQUE: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 2:1

m-kotsok-u *'ahkü='tsi*
 2ERG-help-CMP SUBORD=1ABS
 ‘since you helped me’ (Faarlund 2004; Zavala 2004d:6)

The person paradigm is shown in Table 11.5. The choice of this morpheme to mark both the 1:2 and 2:1 relation cannot be explained phonologically.

Table 11.5: Ocotepc Zoque Person Marking Paradigm (Faarlund 2004, Zavala 2004c,d)

	Ergative	Absolutive	Local
1	n-	Ø-	
2	m-	ny-	
3	y-	Ø-	
1:2			m-
2:1			m-

In San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque, a completely distinct morpheme is used to capture the “local” relation. Chimalapa Zoque introduces a new morpheme *miš*, to mark this relation and indicate that 1st person is acting on 2nd person (11.49) or that 2nd person is acting on 1st person (11.50).

(11.49) SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 1:2

dey chanitu ya nəmmo
 now chanito ya nəm-ʔoy.ə
 now chanito NEG do-ANTIP-INC_{neg}
 ‘Now, Chanito,

miš ʔanecidammam
miš+ʔane=ciʔ-tam-wə+ʔam
 1:2+tortilla=give-PLU_{sap}-CMP+NOW
 we can’t give you tortillas anymore.’ (Johnson 2000;6.11v)

(11.50) SAN MIGUEL CHIMALAPA ZOQUE: LOCAL CONFIGURATION: 2:1

si ya miš ʔanecitədammmam
 si ya **miš**+ʔane=ciʔ=təʔ-tam-wə+ʔam
 if NEG 2:1+tortilla=give-want-PLU_{sap}-INC_{neg}-NOW
 ‘If you don’t want to give me tortillas now,

nəkə miš kumtammə
 nəkə miš+kum-tam-wə
 go-IMP 2:1+bury-PLU_{sap}-INC_{dep}
 go bury me.’ (Johnson 2000:6.11vi)

The San Miguel Chimalapa person markers are shown in Table 11.6.

Table 11.6: San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque Person Marking Paradigm (Johnson 2000)

	Ergative	Absolutive	Local
1s	ʔən	də	
2s	ʔəm	mi	
3s	ʔəy	∅	
1:2			miš
2:1			miš

Although each of these languages employs a slightly different approach to indicate the “local” relation, they all capture the SAP-acting-on-SAP relations with a different person marking system than that which is used to represent the other configurations. That is, each of these languages has a “local” configuration.

11.1.5 Split Ergativity in SP

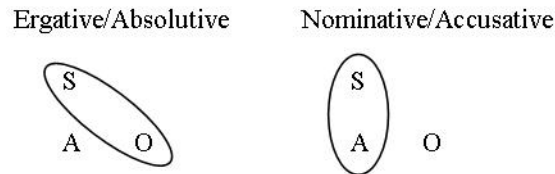
In a number of multi-verb constructions⁷, when the dependent verb is intransitive, the S is marked with Set-A person markers. The pair of examples in (11.51) and (11.52) illustrates the intransitive verb *put* ‘exit’ in finite and non-finite contexts, respectively. Example (11.51) shows the same verb inflected with a Set-B person marker in the completive aspect. (11.52) shows the same verb in V2 position-inflected with a Set-A person marker-in a dependent relation to the V1.

⁷Multi-verb constructions with dependent verb morphology are described in Ch. 22

- (11.51) *?ich* *?a+putu+m*
?ich *?a+put-W+?am*
 1PRO XABS+exit-CMP+ALR
 ‘I already went out.’ (PQ2.109b)
- (11.52) *dya* *?a+jo?ynyé?u+m* *?am+pút*
dya *?a+jo?y-ne?-W+?am* *?an+put-W₃*
 NEG XABS+be.angry-PERF-CMP+ALR XERG+exit-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I wasn’t angry when I left.’ (20060722ERG061)

This alignment pattern corresponds to a Split-S system conditioned by subordination (Dixon 1994:71 & 101-4). That is, in a simple clause verbs are marked with Set-A person markers to co-reference the A. Set B person markers are used to co-reference either the S in an intransitive clause or the O in a transitive clause. In contexts in which the verb is dependent, the S of the intransitive verb is co-referenced with a Set-A person marker. This pattern essentially corresponds to nominative/accusative alignment patterns in which As of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs are co-referenced one way, and Os of transitive verbs are co-referenced another way. This distinction is illustrated in Figure 11.2.

Figure 11.2: Ergative/absolutive and nominative/accusative alignment systems



There are a handful of multi-verb constructions that trigger the split in the alignment system in SP. These include the temporal coordinated multi-

clause constructions (11.53), the auxiliary verb constructions *wiʔaH* ‘be able’ (11.54) and *ʔanh+jagoʔy* ‘be first to’ (11.55), the progressive auxiliary *siʔ* (11.1.5), and auxiliary verb constructions involving passive voice (11.57). In each of the constructions listed in (11.53) through (11.57) the dependent verb is intransitive, yet the S is co-referenced with ergative person markers.

- (11.53) *ʔii de jeem minypa karreteruj*
 ʔii de jeʔm-mi Ø+miny-pa karreteruj
 and from that-LOC₁ 3ABS+come-INC wagoner
 ‘And there was a wagoner coming;

suspa ʔi+miny
 Ø+sus-pa ʔi+miny-W₃
 3ABS+whistle-INC 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 he was whistling as he came.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion.SIL.005)

- (11.54) *ʔiny+dya+m wiʔaabam ʔan+wity*
 ʔich+dya+ʔam wiH.ʔaH-pa+ʔam ʔan+wity-W₃
 1PRO+NEG+ALR be.able-INC+ALR XERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I can’t walk.

ʔich komo ʔa+matz yiʔp tooya ʔam+puy
 ʔich komo ʔa+matz yiʔp tooya ʔam+puy
 1PRO as XABS+grab-INC this pain XPSR+foot
 I have a pain in my foot.’ (ConvSerPartera.267b-c)

- (11.55) *ʔi+jaatunh ʔanh+jagoynyeʔ ʔi+nyik*
 ʔi+jaatunh ʔanh.jak-ʔoʔy-neʔ-W ʔi+nikk-W₃
 3PSR+father DERIV₁.cut.ANTIP_{aux}-PERF-CMP 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘Their father went first.’ (Gutiérrez-Morales & Wichmann
 2001:322-323)

(11.56) *jesig ?a?+na?mpa*
 jesik ?an+?a?m-pa
 then XERG+look-INC
 ‘Then I look to see

?iga+yumpam *?i+xi?* *je?m ?an+ni?*
 ?iga+Ø+yum-INC+ALR ?i+si?-W₃ je?m ?an+ni?
 that+Ø+boil-INC+ALR 3ERG+PROG-DEP_{ib} that XPSR+water
 if my water is boiling. (Atole.006)

(11.57) *?okmi je?am kuykuki?im*
 ?ok-mi je?m kuy=ku+ki?-mi
 after that tree-LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘Afterwards, beneath the tree

nig *?i+chentaaj*
 nikk-W ?i+tzen-taH-W₃
 go_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+tie-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 she went to be tied up. (VYT.097)

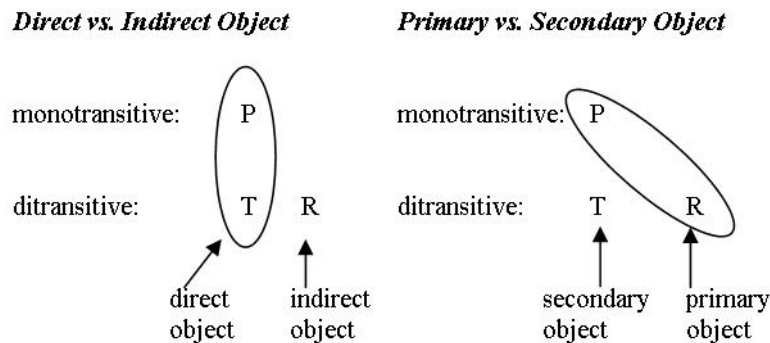
These constructions are described in greater detail in Ch. 22.

11.2 Primary and Secondary Objects

SP is a primary object language (Dryer 1986:815), meaning essentially that in monotransitive clauses person marking agrees with the theme, and in ditransitive clauses person marking agrees with the recipient. The expression “primary object language” is used to distinguish from “direct object languages”, in which verbs mark agreement with a patient argument in monotransitive

clauses and the theme in ditransitive clauses. Another way to say this: “absolute [marking] represents the subject of an intransitive verb, the object of a monotransitive verb, and the ‘indirect’ object of a ditransitive verb” (Dryer 1986:818). This distinction is illustrated in Figure 11.3 (P = patient of monotransitive clause, R = recipient of ditransitive clause, T = theme of ditransitive clause).

Figure 11.3: Direct/Indirect versus Primary/Secondary Object Alignment (Dryer 1986, 2007:256)



in SP, recipients⁸ are marked as primary objects (PO) with the absolutive⁹. For instance, in example (11.58) the S of the ditransitive verb *chiʔ* ‘give’ is the 3rd person (not overtly expressed); the PO is the 1st person, marked on the verb with the absolutive 1st person exclusive marker *?a+*; and the secondary object (SO) is *jeʔm kaʔnpu* ‘the egg’. Here the PO, the benefactive, is expressed on the verb.

⁸Other semantic roles that are marked with the absolutive on ditransitive verbs include benefactives, goals, and addressees.

⁹Also see Marlett (1986) for an analysis of “direct object” advancement, possessor ascension, passive and reflexive constructions, and split ergativity in terms of syntactic levels and multiattachment theory within the relational grammar framework.

- (11.58) *?a+chi?iba je?m ka?npu*
?a+chi?-pa je?m ka?npu
 XABS+give-INC that egg
 ‘[My grandmother] gave me this egg.’ (MAB.054b)

This is shown again in example (11.59) with the local person marker 1:2. In this example the A is the 1st person exclusive, the PO is the 2nd person referent, and the SO is *kawaj* ‘horse’.

- (11.59) *dya many+chi?ityá?mpa kawaj*
dya man+chi?-ta?m-pa kawaj
 NEG 1:2+give-PLU_{sap}-INC horse
 ‘I’m not going to give you (pl) a horse.’ (VVA.055)

This PO/SO alignment may be the result of the hierarchical system, which places human referents higher on the continuum than nonhuman referents. That is, the recipient (or beneficiary), which tend to be human, ranks higher than the theme, which tend to be nonhuman, of a transitive verb. As we saw above (§11.1), hierarchy is pervasive in the SP alignment system. In the next section on number, the pervasiveness of hierarchy is further apparent.

11.2.1 External Possessors as Primary Objects

External possession (Payne and Barshi 1999), or possessor ascension (Aissen 1987), refers to constructions in which the possessor of a possessed noun is treated as core argument of the verb. SP has two types of external possession: ascension with the applicative *-?a?y* and noun incorporation¹⁰. In SP agree-

¹⁰The second type of external possession involves noun incorporation, which is described in detail in ch. 20.

ment with the possessor of the theme may be marked on the verb. This is done with the applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* ‘applicative’, which increases the valency of intransitive and transitive verbs. The applicative serves in three capacities involving objects (primary and secondary) of the verb¹¹. The applicative is used to add a O to intransitive verbs or a PO to transitive verbs (§14.1.1); to advance SO to PO status (§14.1.2); and to advance the possessor of the O to PO status (§14.1.3). For instance, when the O is possessed, the applicative suffix may be marked on the verb, adding a participant and assigning the possessor as PO and the O as SO. The possessor is then co-referenced on the verb. In example (14.14) the verb is the transitive *ʔuk* ‘drink’ marked with the applicative *-ʔaʔy*. Observe that the first person inclusive absolutive proclitic *ta+* marked on the verb agrees in person with the 1st person inclusive possessor *tan+* of the 3rd person O *niʔipiny* ‘blood’. The possessor is the PO, in this case the malefactive, which is marked on the verb with the absolutive inclusive proclitic *ta+*.

(11.60) Third person A; first person inclusive primary object:

<i>jeʔe</i>	<i>ta+</i> <i>ʔugaʔyyajpa</i>	<i>tan+</i> <i>niʔipiny+tyam</i>
<i>jeʔ</i>	<i>ta+</i> <i>ʔuk-ʔaʔy-yaj-pa</i>	<i>tan+</i> <i>niʔipiny+tam</i>
3PRO	IABS+drink-BEN-PLU _{nonsep} -INC	IPSR+blood+PLU _{hum}

‘They drink (from us) our blood.’ (PDO.042a)

This type of external possession involving applicatives is common throughout Meso-America and has been reported for Huehuetla Tepehua (Totonacan,

¹¹The applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* and each of its functions are described in detail in Chapter 14. The discussion here is limited to alignment and possessor agreement.

Smythe Kung 2004), Papantla Totonac (Levy 2002), Oluta Popoluca (Zavala 1999), and Tzotzil (Mayan, Aissen 1987), as well as other Zoque languages such as San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Johnson 2000:139) and Texistepec (Reilly 2002).

11.3 The Number System

SP has both a plural marking system that indicates the plurality of a noun with nominal morphology and number agreement with verbal morphology. Ch. 4 describes the system of plurality in SP. This section describes the verbal agreement system. The number system in SP distinguishes between singular and plural, and plurality in SP refers to more than one entity. Singular agreement is \emptyset -marked; plural agreement is inflected with one of two suffixes: *+tam* (11.61) and *-yaj* (11.62).

- (11.61) *?a?+nuktá?mpa+m* *?a?+nuunu*
 ?an+?uk-**ta?m**-pa+?am ?an+?uunu
 XERG+drink-PLU_{sap}-INC-ALR XPSR+corn.drink
 ‘We begin drinking my corn drink already.’ (Atole.020)

- (11.62) *nu?kyáju+m* *tzu?uy+tyim*
 \emptyset +nu?k-**yaj**-W+?am tzu?u.y+tyi+?am
 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR late
 ‘They arrived late.’ (Cangrejo.005)

Number agreement is facultative. Observe in example (11.63) that the plural A does not require inflection for agreement on the verb. Here the

A, expressed anaphorically with the number *wisteen* ‘two’, is clearly plural; however, there is no plural marking on the verb *paʔt* ‘find’.

- (11.63) *mi+wisteen+tam dya ʔan+paʔtpa*
 mi+wisteen+tam dya ʔan+paʔt-pa
 2ABS+two+PLU_{hum} NEG 2:1+find-INC
 ‘You two will not find me.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.046)

Number does not have to be marked on the verb, nor does the argument require marking for plurality. For example, in (11.64), the plurality of the S *tzuʔukiny* ‘worm’ is established in context. There is no inflection for number or plurality.

- (11.64) *ʔam+pàjpaktáawu+m jeʔm tzuʔukiny*
 Ø+ʔanh+paj=pak-taH-W+ʔam jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 3ABS+lock.up=knock.down-PASS-CMP+ALR that worm
 ‘The worms were locked up.’ (GUS.122)

The number system in SP is referred to as a singular/general versus plural system (Corbett 2000:), meaning that while the default reading of an unmarked noun is singular, an unmarked noun may be used to refer to “general” interpreted as consisting of one or more. For instance, compare examples (11.66) and (11.65), which come from the same explanation describing a pile of rocks in the speaker’s back yard. In (11.65) the patient *tzaʔ* ‘rock’ is inflected with plural morphology, and the verb is inflected with morphology also indicating number agreement with the noun. In (11.66) the subject *tzaʔ* ‘rock’ is not inflected with plural morphology, although it is clear from context that the speaker is referring to more than one rock.

(11.65) *siʔp* *ʔi+kaʔm^{yáj}* *yiʔp* *tzaʔa+yaj*
siʔ-pa *ʔi+kaʔm-^{yaj}-W* *yiʔp* *tzaʔ+yaj*
 walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+affix-PLU_{nonSAP}-CMP this stone+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They are mortaring these rocks.’ (CP1.019a)

(11.66) *yiʔp* *tzaʔ* *pìnhneʔtáaj*
yiʔp *tzaʔ* *Ø+pinh-neʔ-taH-W*
 this stone 3ABS+gather-PERF-PASS-CMP
 ‘These rocks were gathered

kaamjoom+yaj
kaama=joj.mi+yaj
 cornfield=LOC₂.LOC₁+PLU_{nonhum}
 in the fields.’ (CP1.013)

11.3.1 Number Morphology and Saliency Hierarchies

Number agreement is inflected on the verb. We saw in Ch. 4 that the nominal plural system in SP distinguishes between human and non-human when referring to third persons, and the pronominal system distinguishes between speech act participants (SAP) and non-speech act participants (nonSAP). The verb number system also distinguishes between SAP and nonSAP. There are two suffixes that indicate number agreement: *-taʔm* and *-yaj*. *-taʔm* ‘-PLU_{SAP}’ indicates the plurality of arguments that are SAPs (1st and 2nd person). In example (11.67) the S of the intransitive verb *ʔoy* ‘go and return’ is a plural 1st person, and the plural agreement marker is *-taʔm*. In example (11.68), the speaker provides an impromptu public announcement to the youth, advising young men of their responsibilities to their children and their communities.

The subject of the derived verb is the second person plural (boys), and the plural suffix *-taʔm* agrees with the SAP.

- (11.67) *ʔa+ʔoytyáʔm* *yiʔp kootzik*
 ʔa+ʔoy-taʔm-W *yiʔp kootzik*
 XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-CMP this mountain
 ‘We went to the mountains.’ (AVC.002)

- (11.68) *mi+yòʔomiʔytyáʔmpa* *yóomoʔiʔytyáʔmi*
 mi+yoomo-ʔiʔy-taʔm+pa *yoomo=ʔiʔy-taʔm-i*
 2ABS+woman-PROV-PLU_{sap}-INC woman-PROV-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 ‘If you’re going to marry, then marry.’ (JOV.008)

The suffix *-yaj* ‘-PLU_{nonsap}’ indicates plurality of arguments that are nonSAPs (3rd person referents). In example (21.60) another speaker explains that her neighbor’s grandchildren play outside too often at dusk and that it is dangerous to do so. Here the S is the plural of *ʔook=maanik* ‘grandchild’, with which the plural marking *-yaj* ‘-PLU_{nonsap}’ agrees.

- (11.69) *jeʔm ʔi+ʔokmáanik+tam*
 jeʔm ʔi+ʔook=maanik+tam
 that 3PSR+grandchild+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Her grandchildren

ʔagi+miichyáʔpa
 ʔagi+Ø+miich-yaj-pa
 INTENS+3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 play too much.’ (CQS.009)

11.3.2 Agreement and Multiple Arguments

Plural marking may agree with either the A or the O of transitive verbs. Examples (11.70) through (11.72) illustrate plural agreement with the A of

transitive verbs. For example, in (11.70) the A is a 3rd person referent and the O a 1st person referent. The plural suffix *-taʔm* agrees with the SAP. In example (11.71) the speaker concludes a mock interview by addressing his audience, which is the plural 2nd person A of the matrix verb *ku+matonh* ‘listen’. The plural suffix here agrees with the plural 2nd person A. Finally, in example (11.72), the speaker recounts the time her grandmother reassured her at a young age when they saw large trucks driving by their farm. Here the plural A is a 3rd person referent (the trucks); the O is a 2nd person referent. The plural suffix *-yaj* on the verb *wat* ‘do’ agrees with the 3rd person referent.

(11.70) 1ST PERSON PLURAL A:

ʔarak+wiʔktáʔmpa *ʔanh+weewej*
 ʔan+ʔak+wiʔk-**taʔm**-pa ʔan+weewej
 XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+grandfather
 ‘We fed my grandfather.’ (MAB.038b)

(11.71) 2ND PERSON PLURAL A:

ʔentonses ʔinhku+matonhtáʔmum
 ʔentonses ʔin+ku+matonh-**taʔm**-W+ʔam
 then 2ERG+DERIV₂+hear-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘So, you’ve all heard

yíʔp piixiny+tyam nimyájpa
 yíʔp piixiny+tam Ø+nim-yaj-pa
 this man+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 [what] these men said.’ (CP5.002)

(11.72) 3RD PERSON PLURAL A:

dya+tyiH minyi+watyájpa
 dya+tyiH mi+na+wat-**yaj**-pa
 nothing 2ABS+ASSOC+do-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘[The trucks] are going to do nothing to you.’ (MAB.113b)

Examples (11.73) through (11.75) illustrate plural agreement with the patient of the transitive verb. In example (11.73), the speaker explains that when she was married her father ran her and her husband out of town. The A of the verb *?ak+poy* ‘chase (lit. make run)’ is *?an+jaatunh* ‘my father’, a 3rd person referent. The O is the 1st person plural, indicated on the verb with *?a+* ‘XABS’. The plural suffix marked on the verb agrees with the SAP, indicating that the O, the 1st person referent, is plural. In example (11.74), the speaker tells two men that she will lead them to her dwelling. In this example the plurality of the O is expressed with the SAP plural marker *-ta?m*. In example (11.75), the A is a priest, the O is his people, and the verb is the intransitive verb *nim* ‘say’, transitivized with the indirective suffix *-?a?y*¹². In this excerpt, the speaker explains that the priest is telling his people (plural referent) that it is wrong to look at the worms. Here the plural agreement suffix *-yaj* agrees with the O.

(11.73) 1ST PERSON PLURAL O:

<i>?an+jaatunh</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>?am+pík</i>	<i>je?m</i>	<i>píixiny</i>
?an+jatunh	mo	?an+pík-W	je?m	píixiny
XPSR+father	when	XERG+take-CMP	that	man

‘My father, when I married that man,

?ak+poytyá?m
?a+?ak+poy-ta?m-W
 XABS+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 he ran us off.’ (CNC.008a)

¹²The clause in (11.75) is not ditransitive.

(11.74) 2ND PERSON PLURAL O:

<i>si</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>ʔiga</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>nikk-taʔm</i>	-pa	<i>si</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>ʔiga</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>nikk-taʔm</i>	-pa
if	+	COMP	+	2ABS	+	go-PLU _{sap}	-INC	2:1	+	ASSOC	+	go-PLU _{sap}	-INC		

‘If you’re going, I’ll take you.’ (CAN.035)

(11.75) 3RD PERSON PLURAL O:

<i>jesik</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>nyíʔmaʔyyáʃ</i>
jesik	ʔi	+	nim-ʔaʔy- yaʃ -W
then	3ERG	+	say-BEN-PLU _{nonsap} -CMP

‘Then (the priest) tells

<i>jeʔm</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>tyíwi+tam</i>
jeʔm	ʔi	+	tiwi+tam
that	3PSR	+	brother+PLU _{hum}

the people...’ (GU2.112)

When the A and the O of a clause are both plural, verbs may not be double marked for number agreement. However, when both the A and the O (or the PO) are plural, number marking may agree with either the A or the O. In (11.76), both the A and the O are plural. The A is the 3rd person referent *chaneques* ‘mischievous spiritual beings’; the O is the 1st person inclusive referent. Here the number marking agrees with the 3rd person A.

(11.76)	<i>ʔiri</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>wokyaʃpa</i>	<i>porkej</i>
	ʔi	+	na-wok- yaʃ -pa	porkej
	3ERG	+	ASSOC+fight-PLU _{nonsap} -INC	because

‘They fight because

jeʔm ta+ʔixyáʔpa
jeʔm ta+ʔix-yaj-pa
 that IABS+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 they see us.’ (PDO.009a)

In example (11.77), the A is the 1st person plural inclusive, shown on the verb with the proclitic *+tan*; the O is 3rd person. The plural marking agrees with the 3rd person O.

(11.77) *tam+matzyáʔpa* *yiʔp wisten*
 tan+matz-yaj-pa *yiʔp wis-teen*
 IERG+grab-PLU_{nonsap}-INC this two
 ‘We’ll grab these two.’ (Cangrejo.120)

In example (11.78) the O is 1st person plural exclusive and the A a 3rd person referent. Here marking agrees with the O.

(11.78) *ʔanh+wèjaʔytyáʔm*
 ʔa+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-taʔm-W
 XABS+DERIV+cry-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘They called us

ʔiga+míʔnyiny+am *ʔanh+kúm*
 ʔiga+miny-ʔiny+ʔam *ʔanh+kum-W₂*
 COMP+come-OPT+ALR XERG+bury-DEP_t
 so that I would come to bury her (my mother).’ (7JH.051)

When the third person referent is non-human, however, number marking agrees with the human argument, in this case the A, as shown in (11.79).

(11.79) *ʔich ʔara+ʔitytyáʔm* *ʔidyik kaawaj*
 ʔich ʔan+na+ʔity-taʔm-W *ʔityʔik kaawaj*
 1PRO XERG+ASSOC-be-PLU_{sap}-CMP before horse
 ‘We had horses.’ (VVA.001)

When both the A and the O are plural and both the A and the O are either SAP or nonSAP ambiguity may arise. In example (11.80), both the A and O are 3rd person plural referents. It is not clear with which argument the suffix *-yaj* agrees.

- (11.80) *porkej ?i+mìichka?yájpa jay+tyam*
porkej ?i+mìich-ka?-yaj-pa jaaya+tam
porque 3ERG+play-PLU_{nonsap}-INC male+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Because the *chaneques* play with them [the children].’ (CSV.006)

Pragmatically, the plurality of both referents may be indicated; however, this comes as a result of the inclusive nature of the inclusive 1st person. The inclusive 1st person is implicitly plural, referring to at least two people: the speaker and the hearer. This is illustrated with the examples in (11.81) and (11.82), which show a plural inclusive A and O, respectively. In both of these examples, the plurality of the referents expressed with the inclusive proclitics *tan+* and *ta+* are implied.

- (11.81) *tan+mìichka?yajpa je?e+yajpigam*
tan+mìich-ka?-yaj-pa je?e-yaj+pi?k+?am
IERG+play-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{nonsap}-INC 3PRO+PLU_{nonhum}+REL+ALR
 ‘We play with them.’ (PDO.020)

- (11.82) *ta+xikka?yajpa*
ta+xik-ka?-yaj-pa
IABS+laugh-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They laugh at us.’ (SobrePopoluca.041jaf)

11.3.2.1 Primary and Secondary Object

Recall from §11.2 that SP is a primary object language. Verbs are inflected to agree in number with primary objects. Examples (11.83) through (11.85) show inflection for number agreement with the primary object of ditransitive clauses. In example (11.83), the verb is *?anh+mat* ‘tell’. In this example, the speaker is explaining that her mother told her this story. The applicative suffix -*?a?y* ‘indirective’ indicates that a participant has been added (see ch. 14). The A in this sentence is *?an+?aapa* ‘my mother’. The secondary object is the story, indicated by the demonstrative pronoun *je?m* ‘that’¹³. The PO is the 1st person (exclusive) plural: the speaker and her siblings. The plural suffix agrees with the SAP. In example (11.84), the indirective suffix is used to indicate an added participant. Here the A is the 1st person, the speaker who is explaining construction on his property. The secondary object (theme) is an unspecified 3rd person (the process of building a fence). The PO (recipient) is the audience, the 2nd person plural referent. The plural marking on the verb agrees with the 2nd person argument. Example (11.85) shows a verb marked with *-yaj* to agree with the 3rd person primary object.

¹³Recall from chapter 5 that demonstratives may be anaphoric.

(11.83) 1ST PERSON PLURAL PO:

jeʔm ʔanh+màdaʔytyáʔm ʔich+tyam
jeʔm ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-taʔm-W ʔich+tam
 that XABS+speak-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP 1PRO+PLU_{hum}

ʔan+ʔaapa
ʔan+ʔaapa
 XPSR+mother

‘That (story), my mother told us.’ (GU1.128)

(11.84) 2ND PERSON PLURAL PO:

ʔich maranh+madaʔytyaʔmpa
ʔich man+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 1PRO 1:2+speak-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘I’m going to explain it to you.’ (CP1.001a)

(11.85) 3RD PERSON PLURAL PO:

peru ʔich ʔan+choomo siʔip
pero ʔich ʔan+choomo siʔip
 but 1PRO XPSR+grandmother now
 ‘But now, about my grandmother,

ʔich ʔar+anh+màdaʔyyáʔpa ʔam+maanik+tam puej
ʔich ʔan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-yaj-pa ʔam+maanik+tam puej
 1PRO XERG+speak-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+child+PLU_{hum} then
 I tell my children.’ (MAB.191)

Verbs may take inflection to mark number agreement with SOs. In (11.86), the A is 1st person, the PO is 2nd person, and the SO is a 3rd person plural referent. The number agreement suffix *-yaj* agrees with the SO.

Number agreement is facultative, however, as shown in (11.87). Here there is no number agreement marking on the verb, although the referent is marked as plural.

- (11.86) *manh+kutzadaʔyyaj* *jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 man+ku+tzat-ʔaʔy-**yaj**-W *jeʔm tziixi+tyam*
 1:2+DERIV+send-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I sent the children to you.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (11.87) *manh+kutzadaʔy* *jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 man+ku+tzat-ʔaʔy-W *jeʔm tziixi+tyam*
 2:1+DERIV+send-BEN-CMP that child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I sent the children to you.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

11.3.3 Number and Non-Verbal Predicates

The plural marking verbal suffixes are thought to be mutually exclusive with the plural marking clitics *+tam* ‘human plural’ and *+yaj* ‘nonSAP plural’ found on nouns, pronouns and nominal modifiers (Himes 1997:6), although diachronically linked (Kaufman 1997:11). However, the enclitics *+tam* and *+yaj*, described in chapter 4, manifest a split in their agreement pattern. The clitics follow a human/non-human agreement pattern when referring to the posses- sum, and they follow a SAP/non-SAP agreement pattern when referring to the possessor. When *+tam* and *+yaj* indicate number agreement on non-verbal predicates, they follow the SAP/non-SAP pattern; the enclitic *+tam* agrees with SAPs and the enclitic *+yaj* agrees with non-SAPs. In example (11.88)¹⁴,

¹⁴This example was originally translated as “We were five, we were old.”

the non-verbal predicate is the quantifier *siinhkuj* ‘five’ (borrowed from Spanish). The S is the 1st person (exclusive). Observe that the plural marking is the enclitic *+tam*, which agrees in terms of SAP.

- (11.88) *?a+siinhkuj+tam* *?a+jaam?o?yne?tamwi?ib+am*
 ?*a+siinhkuj+tam* *?a+jaam-?o?y-ne?+tam-W-?pV+?am*
 XABS+five-PLU_{sap} XABS+feel-ANTIP-PERF+PLU_{sap}-CMP+REL+ALR
 ‘There were five of us who were feeling it.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.086)

The SAP/nonSAP pattern is also evident in (11.89) in which the non-verbal predicate is the adjective *maymay* ‘happy’. The S of the predicate is *?an+tziixi+tam* ‘my children’. Notice that on the predicate the inflectional suffix is *+yaj*, which agrees with the S in terms of its non-SAP status. If the plural marking pattern in this context agreed in terms of humanness, *+tam* would be used to indicate the plural.

- (11.89) *?an+tziixi+tyam* *máymay+yaj*
 ?*an+tziixi+tam* \emptyset +*maymay+yaj*
 XPSR+child+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+happy+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘My children were happy,

porkej *?ana+wi?kyajpa*
 porkej *?a+na+wi?k-yaj-pa*
 because XABS+ASSOC+eat-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 because we were eating (well).’ (ROD.004)

11.3.4 A Brief Note on Event Plurality

It is useful in considering plurality and number in a language to be aware of the potential for a language to indicate plurality of an event (following Corbett

2000). Thus far, there is no indication that *-yaj* and *-taʔm* refer to any non-arguments. That is, these suffixes do not appear to indicate plurality of the event encoded by the verb. However, as we will see in the next chapter, SP uses a number of methods to indicate frequency of action. These are discussed in the following chapter on aspect.

Chapter 12

Aspect, Mood, and Modality

This chapter is concerned with the interrelated categories of aspect, mood, and modality. Aspect and modality in SP are expressed both morphologically and lexically; mood is expressed morphologically only. There are seven aspect and mood formatives. The aspectual system consists of the incompletive, completive, perfect, motion progressive, and frequentative (or iterative) aspects. The mood marking system includes imperative, optative, desiderative, and frustrative. Verbs are obligatorily marked with one of four suffixes: the completive, incompletive, imperative or the optative. The remaining suffixes, the perfect, the motion progressive, the frustrative, and the desiderative, occur along with the obligatory suffixes but are not obligatory themselves. In addition, the iterative is realized by reduplicating the verb root and occurs with a combination of aspect or derivation morphemes. SP is essentially a tenseless language; time is expressed contextually or adverbially, not morphologically. Therefore, inflection for aspect and mood are independent of tense. Events conveyed by

verbs inflected with suffixes that encode aspect and mood may occur in the present, the future, or the past (recent or remote).

In addition, SP has a paradigm of dependent morphology, which is independent of aspect marking. This is significant because the dependent morphology in other Mixe-Zoquean languages corresponds to its own aspect marking system.

Beyond the morphology, SP has lexical mechanisms for conveying aspect and modality. Progressive aspect is expressed with the auxiliary verb *si?*. With respect to modality, the auxiliary verb *wiH.ʔaH* is used to express possibility in terms of event modality. Conditional sentences distinguish between counterfactuals and hypothetical conditions. And finally, SP has a set of enclitics that exhibit a type of evidential system, albeit not obligatorily.

This chapter is divided into three main sections: §12.1 Aspect, §12.2 Mood, and §12.3 Modality. The section on aspect addresses the overall aspectual system describing the aspect suffixes, as well the progressive aspect with the auxiliary verb *si?*. The section on mood deals specifically with the inflection of mood and how it interacts with aspect. The third section deals with the modal system beyond mood, describing the more complex expressions of modality.

12.1 Aspect

The aspectual system in SP consists of the completive, incompletive, perfect, motion progressive, iterative, and progressive aspects. The completive, incom-

pletive, perfect, and motion progressive are marked with verbal morphology. The frequentative is marked by reduplicating the verb root. These are listed in (12.1). The progressive is expressed via an auxiliary verb (discussed in §12.1.6.)

(12.1) ASPECTUAL MORPHOLOGY:

completive	- <i>W</i>	(CMP)
incompletive	- <i>pa</i>	(INC)
perfect	- <i>neʔ</i>	(PERF)
motion progressive	- <i>i</i>	(PROG)
iterative	-reduplicated verb root	(REDUP)

The completive and incompletive constitute the two basic aspects; verbs must be inflected with either the completive or the incompletive aspect, unless the verb is marked with one of two mood suffixes, the imperative and the optative. All other aspect and mood marking is dependent on either of the two basic aspects¹. The verbal template with respect to aspect and mood is shown in Table 12.1. The obligatory suffixes occupy the right most “slot” for verbal suffixes, preceding enclitics.

Table 12.1: Aspect and Mood Suffix Template

	Position 1 optional	Position 2 obligatory	
	-neʔ (PERF)	-pa (INC)	
VERB	-i (PROG)	-W (CMP)	+ENCLITICS
	- <i>toʔ</i> (DESID)	- <i>i</i> (IMP)	
	- <i>tiʔp</i> (FRUS)	- <i>?iny</i> (OPT)	

¹There is a single exception to this statement. The motion progressive, described in §12.1.5, may appear independently of completive or incompletive aspect when it occurs on motion verbs. However, it occurs rarely and requires further research.

The perfect suffix *-ne?* and the motion progressive suffix *-i*, as well as the two additional mood suffixes, occur closer to the stem. Aspect and mood suffixes occupy two positions with respect to one another. However, no slot corresponds directly with a grammatical category.

Semantically, aspect is concerned with the “internal temporal constituency of the one situation” as opposed to tense, which locates an event in “situation-external time” (Comrie 1976:5). Smith (1991:91) describes aspectual viewpoint as functioning:

“like the lens of a camera, making objects visible to the receiver. Situations are the objects on which viewpoint lenses are trained. And just as the camera lens is necessary to make the object available for a picture, so viewpoints are necessary to make visible the situation talked about in a sentence.”

In the description of SP aspect presented here, I adopt the notions of viewpoint and situation as viewed by Smith (1991). According to Smith (1991:93) languages may encode perfective, imperfective and neutral viewpoints, whereby

“Perfective viewpoints include both endpoints of a situation; imperfective viewpoints focus on stages that are neither initial nor final, excluding endpoints; neutral viewpoints include the initial point and at least one stage of a situation” (Smith 1991:93).

SP has two major formatives that are used to express aspect obligatorily, except in imperative and optative sentences. These are the completive and

incompletive. The completive in SP can be understood as the perfective in terms of viewpoint. The incompletive can be understood to encode the senses of both the imperfective and the neutral viewpoint, as will be shown below.

12.1.1 Completive - *W*

The suffix *-W* (and its phonological variants, discussed in §12.1.1.1 below) indicates a type of perfective aspect in that the event encoded by the verb is viewed as a single, bound event with a final endpoint². This is in keeping with Comrie’s description of perfectivity as indicating “the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation” (1976:16). The use of the term “completive” follows in the Mayanist tradition and the established conventions of documentary work throughout Meso-America. There is no formal distinction between a perfective and completive as found in other languages such as Hup (Epps 2005) and Mandarin (Smith 1997). Use of the term “completive” refers to the notion of “complete” rather than “completed” as observed by Comrie, who notes the crucial semantic distinction:

The perfective does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The use of ‘completed’, however, puts

²Semantic properties with respect to situation types (also known as ‘internal event structure’ or ‘Aktionsart’), which consist of the four verb types states, activities, achievements, semelfactives, and accomplishments, of verbs with respect to aspect requires further research (Smith 1997, Vendler 1957). While verbs denoting stative and activity are relatively straightforward to identify, tests to distinguish between verbs denoting achievement and accomplishment are less transparent in SP. This is a subject of ongoing research.

too much emphasis on the termination of the situation, whereas the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole (1976:18).

While the terminology “completive” may imply an emphasis on the endpoint, it is important to note that its use here denotes all parts of the situation as a single, bound event³. Examples (12.2) through (12.4) illustrate four distinct verbs in a number of contexts in the completive aspect: *jak* ‘cross’ (12.2), *tuk* ‘cut’ and *satz* ‘scrub’ (12.3), and *na+?ity* ‘have’ (12.4).

- (12.2) *?a+jaktá?m* *ni?anh+win?tyuk*
 ?a+jak-ta?m-**W** ni?=?anh+winy=tyuk
 IABS+CROSS-PLU_{sap}-CMP river=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We crossed to the other side of the river.’ (VVA.014)

- (12.3) *?okmi* *yajum* *je?m*
 ?ok-mi Ø+yaj-W+?am je?m
 afterwards 3ABS+finish-CMP+ALR that
 ‘After he finished [vomiting],

?an+tugá?y *?i+yaadyay*
 ?an+tuk-?a?y-**W** ?i+yaatyi=?ay
 XERG+cut-BEN-CMP 3PSR+custard.apple
 I cut him leaves of the custard apple plant

³By necessity, the examples shown here illustrate the Ø realization of the completive suffix -W. The use of examples with other allomorphs of the suffix introduce co-occurring inflectional and derivational suffixes that alter the meaning of the sentence. See 12.1.1.1 for discussion of allomorphy of -W.

ʔan+saʔtzáʔy
 ʔan+satz-ʔaʔy-**W**
 XERG+scrub-BEN-CMP
 and I scrubbed them.’ (CMD.014ab)

(12.4) ʔiri+ʔity ʔidyik tum burroj
 ʔi+na+ʔity-**W** ʔityʔik tuum burroj
 3ERG+ASSOC+be-CMP PAST one donkey
 ‘He had a donkey.’ (Burro.001b)

The completive is often used to refer to events that have occurred in the past. However, it is strictly aspectual (the temporal reference is internal to the situation, rather than external) and does not convey external temporal information. Therefore, the completive denotes a bound event regardless of whether the event occurs in the past, present, future or in hypothetical scenarios. Example (12.5) illustrates the use of the completive within the external temporal frame of the present. Here the speaker is explaining the sound that a particular worm produces. She says “you hear them going ‘tsss’”. The verb *siiit* ‘make tsss sound’ describes an unbounded event in progress (which will be described in more detail below) and is marked with the incomplete. The act of hearing this sound, expressed with the verb *matonh* ‘hear’, is a punctual event and is marked with the completive.

- (12.5) *?iga+kuyyukum* *?im+matúnh*
 ?iga+kuy=yuk.mi *?in+matonh-W*
 COMP+tree=LOC₅.LOC₁ 2ERG+hear-CMP
 “(That) in the trees you hear them

?anh+siitpa,
 Ø+?anh+siit-pa,
 3ABS+make.tssss.sound-INC
 going ‘tsss’ ” (GU1.139)

In example (12.6) the speaker, a midwife, is explaining how she treated a woman whose menstrual flow would not stop by prescribing an herbal remedy. She explains that she told the woman to drink the remedy “from now until tomorrow” at which time she would awaken and be “dry”. Here the two verbs *ku+kej* ‘awaken’ and *titz* ‘be dry’ are inflected with the completive. The speaker is describing events that will take place the following day (if all goes well); events that are “internally temporally bound”. Note that in this utterance she is using reported speech and is addressing the woman directly (evident from her use of the second person marking on both verbs), rather than recounting the scene in the past and in the third person.

- (12.6) *de si?ip ?astaj joymi*
 de si?ip ?astaj joymi
 from now until tomorrow
 ‘From now until tomorrow,
- mi+kukéj* *mi+tyitzne?u+m*
 mi+ku+kej-W mi+titz-ne?-W+?am
 2ABS+DERIV₂+awake-CMP 2ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+ALR
 when you wake up and you’ve dried,

ʔodo+m ʔuuki
ʔodoy+ʔam ʔuk-i
 NEG+ALR drink-IMP
 stop taking it already.’ (SA2.059/60)

The same can be observed of hypothetical scenarios in the present and future. Example (12.7) illustrates two verbs inflected with the completive in a hypothetical present. This example is taken from a commentary in which the speaker describes the roles of young men and woman in the community and their responsibilities to one another. Here she explains that we need not go too far to be satisfied. We, the audience, have chickens and when we’re hungry, we need only grab one and kill it. Although the event has not occurred, and the event described is a hypothetical one, the acts of grabbing a chicken and killing it are expressed as singular, bound events.

(12.7) *pero ʔity ʔityikiʔim piiyu*
pero Ø+ʔity-W ʔi+tik-kiʔ.mi piyu
 but 3ABS+be-CMP 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁ chicken
 ‘But in one’s house there’s chicken.’

ʔi+tyukmátz ʔikkaʔim
ʔi+tuk=matz-W ʔi+ʔak+kaʔ-W+ʔam
 3ERG+rip.out=grab-CMP 3ERG+CAUS₁+die-CMP+ALR
 ‘One grabs it and kills it.’ (JOV.023c/d)

Finally, in example (12.8), the speaker is describing the process of planting, growing, and harvesting corn from beginning to end. At this point in her explanation, she asserts that “when there is corn” in a hypothetical future

“[she is] going to harvest it.” Here again there is a contrast between events in completive and incomplete. The verb in the completive is *?ity* ‘be, exist’ and the scenario described is one in which the corn comes into existence or being; use of the completive indicates the specific punctual instance in which the corn comes into mature existence and is ready for the taking. It is this situation, that of readiness, that will prompt the harvesting, which can’t happen until the *process* of maturation is complete.

(12.8) *?ii jesigam ?ityum manymuk*
?ii jesik+?am Ø+?ity-W+?am many=mok
 and when+ALR 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR young=corn
 ‘and when there’s corn,

nikpam ?an+chik
nikk-pa+?am ?an+chik-W₂
go_{aux}-INC+ALR XERG+harvest-DEP_t
 I’m going to harvest it.’ (SMZ.002)

12.1.1.1 The Allomorphic Variants of -W

As indicated above, the formative -W has a number of phonological variants⁴. The five allomorphs are [wi], [i] [u], [o] and Ø (zero), and they occur in three different environments. The rules are listed in (12.9).

⁴These are described in detail with the orthography in IPA in ch. 2

- (12.9) ALLOPHONIC VARIATION OF -W:
- (a) /-W/ → [u] (also [i] & [o]) / C--[m]
- (b) /-W/ → Ø / --#
- (c) /-W/ → [wi] / V:--[m]
--?ip

The [u] alternation occurs frequently. It appears following closed syllables and preceding the shortened form [m] of the enclitic +ʔam, as shown in (12.10) and (12.11).

- (12.10) *nikkum* *jeʔm yoomo*
 Ø+nikk-**W**+ʔam jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman went.’ (VYT.070)

- (12.11) *mojum* *ʔikuwogáʔy*
 moj-**W**+ʔam ʔi+ku+wok-ʔaʔy-W
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+scold-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘He began to scold

jeʔm ʔi+jaʔyuk
jeʔm ʔi+jayʔuk
 that 3PSR+little.brother
 his little brother.’ (AVC.012)

On occasion, the segment surfaces as [i] (12.12) or as [o] (12.13). The reasons for this may be related to stress or due to influence from surrounding vowels and consonants; however, this variability is not predictable (for example, *mojum* (12.11) versus *mojom* (12.13)).

- (12.12) *ʔikkaʔim*
 ʔi+ʔak+kaʔ-**W**+ʔm
 3ERG+CAUS₁+die-CMP+ALR
 ‘He kills it.’ (JOV.023e)

- (12.13) *mojom* *tooji*
 moj-**W**+ʔam Ø+toj-i
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+hurt-DEP_{ia}
 ‘It began to hurt.’ (GUS.095)

The allomorph [wi] appears in the most limited of contexts, occurring only following open syllables with long vowels, preceding the enclitic *+ʔam* (12.14). This environment exists only following stems or affixes that end in the underlying phoneme /H/ (for discussion of segment /H/ see ch. 2). These include the derivational affixes *-ʔaH* ‘versive’ and *-taH* ‘passive’ and a hand full of roots (discussed in Chapter 2). The [wi] allomorph is also observed preceding the relativizer *-ʔpV* (12.15).

- (12.14) *ʔokmi na+minytyáawim+nam*
 ʔokmi Ø+na+miny-taH-**W**+ʔam+nam
 after 3ABS+ASSOC+come-PASS-CMP+ALR+STILL
 ‘He was still brought.’ (PQ2.206)

- (12.15) *dya ʔan+tinhaʔypa tìtzneʔwíʔip kiiipi*
 dya ʔan+tinH-ʔaʔy-pa Ø+titz-neʔ-**W**+ʔpV kiiipi
 NEG 2:1+chop-BEN-INC 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL firewood
 ‘You don’t cut me wood [that has dried].’ (Comal.021)

The Ø (zero) alternation appears as frequently as the [u, i, o] alternations, occurring in all contexts where the morpheme is word final. Evidence for

the existence of the unexpressed, underlying morpheme comes from stress patterns. Primary stress in SP falls on the penultimate syllable. This is illustrated with the paradigm in (12.16). Observe that stress falls on the penultimate syllable.

(12.16) STRESS PARADIGM; PENULTIMATE SYLLABLE:

<i>?a+chínhpa</i>	(?a+chinh-pa)	‘I bathe.’
<i>?a+chínhu+m</i>	(?a+chinh-W+?am)	‘I bathed already.’
<i>?a+chinhné?eba</i>	(?a+chinh-ne?-pa)	‘I’ve been bathing.’
<i>?a+chinhné?u+m</i>	(?a+chinh-ne?-W+?am)	‘I’ve bathed already.’

(20050416PDS)

The \emptyset alternation occurs on verbs in completive aspect when the segment occurs word finally, as shown in (12.17).

(12.17) STRESS PARADIGM; FINAL SYLLABLE:

<i>?a+chính</i>	(?a+chinh-W)	‘I bathed [yesterday]’
<i>?a+chinhné?</i>	(?a+chinh-ne?-W)	‘I had bathed.’

(20050416PDS)

Motivation for designating this morpheme as an underlying, unspecified segment of the shape *-W* comes from historical data. Kaufman (1997:7, unpublished ms) has reconstructed **wi* as the proto-MZ “independent completive” based on the occurrence of an independent completive suffix in Santa María (*-wi*) and San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (*-wi*), Eastern Zoque (*-wi*), and Sayula (*-w*). Although the morpheme is reconstructed as *-wi* in proto-Mixe-Zoque, its shape is unspecified in SP. As such, Kaufman has adopted the convention of marking the completive *-W*. Because of the allomorphy, I follow Kaufman (Kaufman & Himes, in progress) in labeling the suffix *-W*.

12.1.2 Incompletive *-pa*

The incompletive⁵ suffix *-pa* (and its phonological variants, see §12.1.2.1) conveys imperfective aspect and indicates that an event has not terminated or been completed. In contrast to the completive, whose viewpoint includes “both endpoints of a situation” (Smith 1991:93), the incompletive focuses on “stages [of the situation] that are neither initial nor final” (Smith 1991:93). Smith describes imperfectives as open “in the sense that they present situations as incomplete, with neither endpoint” (1991:100). Like the completive, it may be used to express an event that may take place in the present (hypothetical or actual), the past, or the future. Unlike the completive, the incompletive has a broader range of aspectual reference. For instance, it may be used to indicate habitual or progressive aspect; it is often used to indicate events that will take place in the immediate future; and it is used largely to indicate a “narrative present” (Comrie 1976:73). Its broad range of usage owes largely to its characteristic of lacking reference to an initial or final endpoint. These usages are described in this section.

SP does not distinguish between habitual or continuous in a formal sense; the incompletive suffix may be used to convey either aspect. Examples (12.18) and (12.19) illustrate habitual and continuous aspect using the incompletive suffix, respectively. In example (12.18) the verb *pik*, which literally means ‘take’, is inflected with *-pa* and indicates the habitual use of a particular object for medicine⁶. In example (12.19) the use of *-pa* on the verb

⁵As with the term “completive”, terminology is adopted from the Mayanist tradition.

⁶*pik* ‘take, grab’ in this example refers to the application of medicine, rather than the

sun ‘want’ refers to a situation that is continuous. Example (12.19) is taken from a text describing a woman who has become ill. Her wanting of medicine is in response to an illness and does not describe her condition habitually.

- (12.18) *?am+piktá?m***pa** *para* *tzoy*
 ?an+pi:k-ta?m-**pa** *para* *tzoy*
 XERG+take-PLU_{sap}-INC for medicine
 ‘We use it for medicine.’ (SZ1.001b)

- (12.19) *je?* *?i+xún***pa** *tum* *tzoy*
 je? ?i+sun-**pa** *tum* *tzoy*
 3PRO 3ERG+want-INC one medicine
 ‘She wants a medicine.’ (SA2.025)

The incompletive aspect may be used to describe habitual and continuous events that take place in the past, present, or future. Examples (12.20) and (12.21) illustrate habitual situations in the present and the past. In example (12.20), the speaker describes informing a family member that he drinks too much, a habitually occurring event. In example (12.21), the speaker explains that in her youth she rode horses, an event that occurred habitually in the past. Tense here is established with the adverb *?ity?ik* ‘past’, as well as through context.

- (12.20) *tzam* *mi?úk***pa**
 tzam mi+?uk-**pa**
 much 2ABS+drink-INC
 ‘You drink a lot. (YER.020)

ingestion on the part of a patient.

- (12.21) *?ara+si?ba* *?ity?ik kaawaj*
 ?an+na+si?-pa *?ity?ik kaawaj*
 XERG+ASSOC+walk-INC past horse
 ‘I rode horses.’ (Lit. I walked with horses) (VVA.003b)

Examples (12.22) and (12.23) illustrate the use of the incomplete in contexts in which it is understood to have a continuous connotation. Example (12.22) describes an unbound event, which includes no initial or final endpoint, a one time occurrence and not a habitual state.

- (12.22) *?agi+tóypa* *?am+pu?u*
 ?agi+Ø+toy-pa *?an+pu?u*
 INTENS+3ABS+ache-INC XPSR+belly
 ‘Her belly hurts a lot.’ (SA2.019a)

In example (12.23), the speaker describes the time her neighbor saw a *chaneque* (a mischevious, mythical creature). She explains that at the time her children were sleeping. When she looked outside she saw children playing naked outside. Then she realized that her children were in bed sleeping, and she concludes that she must have seen *chaneques* playing outside. Past tense is established by context.

- (12.23) *?i+tyumpiy monhyajpa*
 ?i+tyuumpiy Ø+monh-yaj-pa
 3PSR+every 3ABS+sleep-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Everyone was sleeping.’ (CVS.012b)

In example (12.24), another speaker describes when she and her late husband were married. The aspect marked on the verb *tuj* ‘shoot’ is incomplete, although she uses the *?idyik* ‘past’ to establish the temporal context. The events clearly took place habitually in the past.

- (12.24) *ʔich ʔanh+widyaaaya tzam ʔidyik tújpa*
 ʔich ʔan+widyaaaya tzam ʔidyik Ø+tuj-**pa**
 1PRO XPSR+husband much PAST 3ABS+shoot-INC
 ‘My husband often went hunting.’ (CNC.053)

The incomplete suffix may also be used to indicate that an event has not yet occurred, indicating a type of future. As shown in example (12.25), the event described by the verb marked with the incomplete refers to a future event. In this case (from a narrative text), a girl tells her father she is going to visit her grandmother. The father asks if the three of them (she and her siblings are going). She responds that the three of them will go. What is important to note here is that there is no emphasis on an initial or final endpoint.

- (12.25) *ʔanhku+trees ʔa+niktáʔm-pa*
 ʔan+ku+trees ʔa+nikk-taʔm-**pa**
 XERG+DERIV₂+three XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘The three of us will go.’ (VVA.007)

This also seems to hold for assertions made about a future in the past tense. For instance, in example (12.26), the speaker is describing what happened when she eloped and how angry her father had become. She states that at the time he was going to kill her and her husband. The father was not actively engaged in the act of killing; rather, it was an action he was poised to take (figuratively, of course). Notice that the past tense is established with the adverb *ʔidyik*, which means ‘past’.

(12.26) *ʔan+jaatunh mi ʔam+pík jeʔm piixiny*
 ʔan+jatunh mo ʔan+pík-W jeʔm piixiny
 XPSR+father when XERG+take-CMP that man
 ‘My father, when I married the man,

jeʔ ʔak+poytyáʔm
 jeʔ ʔa+ʔak+poy-taʔm-W
 3PRO XABS+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 he ran us off.

ʔigak+kaʔatáʔmpa ʔidyik
 ʔiga+ʔa+ʔak+kaʔ-taʔm-**pa** ʔidyik
 COMP+XABS+CAUS₁+die-PLU_{sap}-INC PAST
 He was going to kill us.’ (CNC.008)

Finally, the incomplete tends to be used in the sense of a “narrative present” (Comrie 1976:73). For example, note in (12.27) that the speaker uses the incomplete in the phrase *ʔi+nyíʔmaʔypa+ʔun* ‘he says to his wife’. Although the event of telling the wife is a single, bound event, which is completed, the speaker uses the incomplete aspect. It is possible to use the complete suffix here; however, the tendency is to use the incomplete.

(12.27) *ʔi+nyíʔmaʔy**pa**+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+widyay*
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-**pa**+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+wity.ʔaaya
 3ERG+say-BEN-INC+DJO that 3PSR+husband
 ‘Her husband tells her

seetum de ʔikaamjoom jeʔm piixiny
 Ø+seet-W-ʔam de ʔi+kaama+joom jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+return-CMP+ALR from 3PSR+field+in that man
 that he returned from his farm, the man.’ (ESK.014a/b)

12.1.2.1 The Allomorphic Variants of *-pa*

The incompletive suffix *-pa* has three allomorphs, [-pa], [-p], and [-ba], that occur in predictable environments. [pa] occurs following closed syllables, as shown in example (12.28). [p] occurs following open syllables, as shown in example (12.29). [ba] occurs following closed syllables with glottal stop in coda position (in which the nucleus has undergone lengthening and laryngealization), as shown in example (12.30).

- (12.28) *pút**pa*** *?idyik*
 Ø+put-**pa** ?ity?ik
 3ABS+exit-INC PAST
 ‘He went out (every night).’ (ESK.147)

- (12.29) *jeʔm nasùnyyajtá**ap*** *jeʔmum*
 jeʔm Ø+na+sun-yaj-taH-**pa** jeʔmum
 that 3ABS+ASSOC+want-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC there
 ‘They’re needed there.’ (PDO.006)

- (12.30) *?a+chí?i**ba*** *jeʔm kaʔnpu*
 ?a+chi?-**pa** jeʔm kaʔnpu
 XABS+give-INC that egg
 ‘She would give me that egg.’ (MAB.054b)

12.1.3 Perfect *-neʔ*

The suffix *-neʔ* conveys perfect aspect, which “relates some state to a preceding situation” (Comrie 1976:52). In Sotepanec, the perfect relates one event or situation to some other event or situation. An example of this is shown in (12.31). This example comes from the narrative in which the speaker explains

how as a young girl she ran off to marry her boyfriend, angering her father. This example comes from the point in the story when the father realizes that she is back in town. The two events related in this example are the father’s seeing and the couple’s returning.

- (12.31) *?i+?ix* *?iga+sèenne?ta?nhgáku+m*
 ?i+?ix-W *?iga+?a+seet-ne?-ta?m-gak-W+?am*
 3ERG+see-CMP COMP+XABS+return-PERF-PLU_{sap}-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘He saw that we had returned again.’ (CNC.038)

A narrower definition, following Smith (1997:107) specifies that “perfect sentences locate a situation prior to the [*reference time*] of a sentence”, *reference time* referring to the “temporal standpoint of a sentence” or functioning as a “secondary situation time” (emphasis mine). The example in (12.32c) illustrates another instance of the use of the perfect. In this case the preceding situation is not explicitly established by the speaker in discourse. Here the speaker explains a day in which she went to visit her grandmother. After spending most of the morning riding on horseback, she and her brothers come to a good place to stop and rest. The perfect, which is marked on the root *so?ps* ‘tire, exhaust’ relates the event of “tiring” to the time of the utterance in the narrative, the reference time.

- (12.32) (a) *?a+ním* *tzu?uyim*
 ?a+nim-W *Ø+tzu?uyi+?am*
 XABS+say-CMP 3ABS+late+ALR
 ‘I say: It’s late already.’

(b) *siʔip níkpa+m tarak+wiʔk*
siʔip ník-pa+ʔam tan+ʔak+wiʔk-W₂
 now go_{aux}-INC+ALR IERG+CAUS₁+eat-DEP_t
 Now we go feed them.

(c) *sòʔpsnyiʔyájum yiʔp kaawaj*
Ø+soʔps-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam yiʔp kaawaj
3ABS+tire-PERF-PLU_{non-sap}-CMP+ALR this horse
 The horses have tired.’ (VVA.021-2)

The perfect *-neʔ* occurs with both the completive suffix *-W* and the incomplete suffix *-pa*. When *-neʔ* occurs with the completive marker *-W*, it conveys a perfective meaning. When *-neʔ* occurs with the incomplete marker *-pa*, it conveys a durative reading. We saw above, that the completive and incomplete encode bound and unbound events (respectively) irrespective of tense. Similarly, the perfect can be used to relate events to speech utterance time, whether it is in the past or the present (hypothetical or actual)⁷. Example (12.33) illustrates the completive perfect occurring in the present. In this example, the speaker recounts a story her neighbor told her about the neighbor’s husband who always brought her damp wood with which to cook. The woman tells her husband that he never brings wood that has dried prior to his chopping it.

(12.33) *dya ʔan+tinhaʔypa títznewíʔip kiiʔi*
dya ʔan+tinh-ʔaʔy-pa Ø+títz-neʔ-W-piʔk kiiʔi
 NEG 2:1+chop-BEN-INC 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL firewood
 ‘You don’t cut me wood that has dried.’ (Comal.021)

⁷I also expect to be able to establish this relation in the future, although no examples have occurred in texts yet

Example (12.34) illustrates the completive perfect occurring in the past. Here the speaker uses an innovative way to explain how a man died in his sleep by essentially saying that at the hour when the man would have woken up (say at sunrise), he didn't because he was dead. To convey this, the verb *ku+kej* 'wake up' is inflected with the frustrative and the completive, indicating an unrealized desire to do something (see §12.2.4 in this chapter for discussion of frustrative), in this case wake up. Prior to the moment of his awakening, his death, a punctual event, had already taken place.

- (12.34) *jesik ku+kejtiʔp,*
 jesik Ø+ku+kej-tiʔp-W
 when 3ABS+DERIV₂+awaken-FRUS-CMP
 'When he wanted to wake up,
- jeʔm piixi kaʔanéʔum*
 jeʔm piixi Ø+kaʔ-neʔ-W+ʔam
 that man 3ABS+die-PERF-CMP+ALR
 he had already died.' (ESK.144)

The use of the perfect with the incompletive indicates that some event relates to a previously realized, unbound event. This relation may occur in the past or present. The example in (12.35) illustrate the use of the incompletive with the perfect in the present. Here a midwife explains that a particular remedy needs to be ready and available at all times in case a client finds herself ill. The remedy is made by boiling herbs and roots. Here the speaker relates the event of boiling to the hypothetical instance of a client coming to call on her. The verb *yum* 'boil' is inflected with the perfect and the incompletive, indicating that at any moment the medicine should have been boiled up and

ready for use. The act of boiling up the medicine, or its general preparation, is a single event that is not bound.

- (12.35) *syemprej tarak+yù?ma?ynyé?ebam*
 siempre tan+?ak+yum-?a?y-ne?-pa+?am
 always IERG+CAUS₁+boil-BEN-PERF-INC+ALR
 ‘We should always have it already prepared (boiled) for them.’ (MED.009)

A similar scenario is described in example (12.36), which illustrates the use of the perfect with the incompletive in the past. Here the speaker is explaining that whenever she went to visit her grandmother, her grandmother always had sweet plantain roasting for her. The event, roasting in coals, had begun prior to the speaker’s arrival but was still in progress when she arrived.

- (12.36) *ja?yanh saamnyi ?ichaynye?ebam*
 jay.?anh saapnyi ?i+tzay-ne?-pa+?am
 much.DERIV₁ plantain 3ERG+roast.in.coals-PERF-INC+ALR
 ‘[Whenever I arrived] she always had lots of plantain already roasting in coals.’ (MAB.203)

12.1.4 Reduplication and frequency

When *-ne?* occurs with reduplicated roots it indicates the perfect aspect with relation to a frequentive event. For instance, observe example (12.37). In this example the verb (or the V1 of the compound) is reduplicated, conveying a frequentive meaning. The stem is inflected with the perfect and the completive, indicating that the action, which had been frequent, occurred up the point of utterance and had reached its endpoint. Reduplicated roots are discussed in §12.1.4 below.

- (12.37) *ʔich man+ʔaʔmʔaʔmpakneʔ*
 ʔich mi+ʔan+ʔaʔm-ʔaʔm=pak-neʔ-W
 1PRO 1:2+see-REDUP=throw.down-PERF-CMP
 ‘I have been watching you.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny .047)

Reduplicated roots also occur with the ambulative suffix *-ʔoʔy*⁸. This verb formation expresses the sense of walking or going around repeating the action expressed by the reduplicated verb.

- (12.38) *poyboyyajpa* *ʔany+yommaanik*
 Ø+poy.poy-ya.j-pa ʔan+yoomo=maanik
 3ABS+run.REDUP-PLU_{nonsap}-INC XPSR+woman=child
 ‘My daughter ran him off.’

jemik ku+mònh.monhóʔyapa *jimnynyóom*
 jemik Ø+ku+monh.monh=ʔoʔy-pa jimnyi=joj.mi
 there 3ABS+sleep.REDUP=AMBUL-INC forest=LOC₂.LOC₁
 There he goes around sleeping from place to place in the forest.
 (Yerno.004c)

Reduplicated verb roots generally convey emphasis. When paired with suffixes such as the perfect, the motion progressive, or compounded with the ambulative *ʔoʔy*, the reduplicated roots express frequency of action with subtle semantic variations between each of the forms. Reduplication, which constitutes a type of sound symbolic expressiveness, is a subject of ongoing research.

12.1.5 Motion verb progressive *-i*

There is a progressive marker *-i* that occurs rarely and typically in contexts in which motion is implied. It is most frequently observed on verbs of motion,

⁸See §21.3.2.3 for etymology of the suffix.

such as *seet* ‘return’ (12.39).

- (12.39) *ʔa+sèetyityáʔm* *ʔidyik*
 ʔa+seet-i-taʔm-W *ʔityʔik*
 XABS+return-PROG-PLU_{sap}-CMP past
 ‘We were on our way back.’ (UDR.011)

Other roots that convey motion which have appeared with the progressive suffix *-i* are listed in (12.40).

- (12.40) VERBS OF MOVEMENT THAT OCCUR WITH PROGRESSIVE *-i*:
- | | |
|---------------|-----------|
| <i>jooy</i> | ‘walk’ |
| <i>kety</i> | ‘descend’ |
| <i>kiʔm</i> | ‘ascend’ |
| <i>nas</i> | ‘pass’ |
| <i>put</i> | ‘exit’ |
| <i>tikʔiy</i> | ‘enter’ |
| <i>wity</i> | ‘walk’ |

The suffix *-i* occurs with both the completive (12.41) and the incomplete (12.42) suffixes.

- (12.41) *ʔa+nìkityáʔm* *mosteen ʔestej*
 ʔa+nikk-i-taʔm-W *mosteen ʔestej*
 XABS+go-PROG-PLU_{sap}-CMP five FILL

ʔan+tiiwi+tam
 ʔan+tiiwi+tam
 XPSR+brother+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Five of us brothers were going.’ (AVC.005)

- (12.42) *minyipa* *makiinaj raatuj*
 Ø+miny-i-pa *makiinaj raatuj*
 3ABS+come-PROG-INC machine a.while
 ‘The machine is coming in a little while.’ (CP2.003)

The motion progressive may occur independently of inflection for completive and incompletive, which is evident by stress marking on the verb. For example in (12.43) the vowel of the verb roots is stressed and lengthened, indicating it is the stress bearing penultimate syllable (see ch. 2).

- (12.43) *míinyi+ʔam* *jeʔm yoomo*
 Ø+miny-i+ʔam jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+come-PROG+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman is coming.’

juʔumi míinyi+ʔam *plak plak plak plak plak*
juʔumi Ø+miny-i+ʔam plak plak plak plak plak
 far 3ABS+come-PROG+ALR plak plak plak plak plak
 She’s coming from far away; [you hear her] plak plak plak.’ (Cangrejo.017)

12.1.6 The Progressive Auxiliary *siʔ*

SP has a progressive aspect, although it is lexically expressed, rather than morphologically marked on the verb. The auxiliary verb *siʔ*⁹ occurs with another verb root to indicate progressive aspect, as shown in example (12.44).

⁹See ch. 22 for a description of auxiliary and other dependent verb constructions.

- (12.44) *nimpa* *siʔip* *mi+ʔix*
 Ø+nim-pa siʔ-pa mi+ʔix-W₂
 3ABS+say-INC walk_{aux}-CMP 2ABS+see-DEP_t

jeʔm ʔakku+yujjoʔyi
 jeʔm ʔak+ku+yuj-ʔoʔy-i
 that CAUS₁+DERIV₂+teach-ANTIP-NOM
 ‘He says: ‘The teacher is looking at you.’ ’ (AVC.015)

The auxiliary verb may occur in two positions, as illustrated by examples (12.45) and (12.46). In example (12.45), *siʔ* occurs in first position and it is inflected with the incomplete suffix *-pa*. The semantic main verb occurs, in second position, is the transitive verb *jíps* ‘burn’, which is inflected with dependent verb morphology. In example (12.46), *siʔ* occurs in second position. Here *siʔ* takes the morphology for person and dependent status. The main verb in first position is *wej* ‘cry’, which is marked with the incomplete.

- (12.45) *siʔip* *ʔi+jíps* *ʔi+tyik*
 siʔip ʔi+jips-W₃ ʔi+tik
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+burn-DEP_{ib} 3PSR+house
 ‘The house is burning.’ (GU2.108)

- (12.46) *jeʔeyuk* *wéjpa* *ʔi+xíʔ*
 jeʔ.yuk.mi wej-pa ʔi+siʔ-W₃
 3PRO.LOC₅.LOC₁ for.this cry-INC
 ‘That’s why she’s crying.’ (MAB.019)

In both examples (12.45) and (12.46), the use of *siʔ* as an auxiliary conveys the sense that an action is in progress, usually at the time of utterance or with respect to reference time. In this sense the progressive is similar to the

incompletive described above in that it views a situation without reference to an initial or final endpoint. This is in keeping with the definition of progressive viewpoint as presented by Smith (1997:174) in which “the viewpoint presents an interval of an event that includes neither its initial nor final endpoint, and that precedes the final endpoint.” A crucial difference, however, is that the incompletive may be used to convey habitual action, whereas the progressive cannot (following Palmer 1976:33). Compare the use of the verb *put* ‘exit’ in examples (12.47) and (12.48). In (12.47) the use of the progressive clearly expresses an ongoing event without reference to an initial or final endpoint that takes place. In (12.48) on the other hand, the same verb inflected with the incompletive refers to a habitually occurring event.

- (12.47) (a) *maʔkxi pues nuʔkneyájum* *ʔidyik*
maʔakxi pues nuʔk-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam *ʔityʔik*
 beforehand well arrive-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR PAST
 ‘Well, they had arrived earlier

ʔik+nuʔkyájum *ʔi+juktì*
ʔi+ʔak+nuʔk-yaj-W+ʔam *ʔi+juktì*
ʔi+CAUS₁+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR *3PSR+fire*
 and made their fire.

- (b) *pútpa+m* *ʔi+xíʔ* *ʔeexi*
Ø+put-pa+ʔam *ʔi+siʔ-W* *ʔeexi*
3ABS+exit-INC+ALR *3ERG+walk_{aux}-DEP_t* *crab*
 The crabs were coming out.

- (c) *ʔi+matzyáju+m*
ʔi+matz-yaj-W+ʔam
3ERG+grab-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR
 They grabbed them

mojom *?i+chà?ayiyáj*
 moj-W+?am ?i+tzay-yaj-W
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+roast-PLU_{non sap}-DEP_t
 and began to roast them. (Cangrejo 007-9)

(12.48) *duuro pútpa* *tìganhjoom*
 duuro Ø+put-pa tik=?anh.joj.mi
 always 3ABS+exit-INC house=LOC₁₄.LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He always went out among the houses.

?ii duuro jesáaj *je?m pìixiny*
 ?ii duuro Ø+je.s.?aH-W je?m pìixixiny
 and always 3ABS+do.like.so-CMP that man
 He always did this.’ (ESK.082-3)

The verb *si?* also occurs as an independent verb meaning ‘to walk’, as illustrated by the example in (12.49).

(12.49) *?ich ?an+anh+jáam* *?iga+dya ju?umi*
 ?ich ?an+?anh+jaam-W ?iga+dya ju?umi
 1PRO XERG+feel-CMP that+NEG far
 ‘I felt that it was not far

juuty ?a+si?iba
 juuty ?a+si?-pa
 where XABS+walk-INC
 where I was walking.’ (PDLMA.VIA.038)

The inflected form of the auxiliary verb *si?* (*si?-pa* ‘walk-INC’) has lexicalized as the adverb *si?ip* meaning ‘now’ as shown in (12.50). Therefore it is often difficult to tell when the occurrence of *si?ip* is that of the adverb or that of the verb inflected with the incompleted, which depending on prosody may surface as [si?ip], [si?p] or [si?iba].

- (12.50) *siʔip ʔan+tziitzi kaʔanéʔu+m tambyenh*
siʔip ʔan+tziitzi Ø+kaʔ-neʔ-W+ʔam tambien
 now XPSR+aunt 3ABS+die-PERF-CMP+ALR also
 ‘Now my aunt has died also.’ (MAB.138)

We know, however, that *siʔ* in these constructions is a verb, and not the lexicalized adverb because of examples such as that in (12.51). As noted above, the auxiliary *siʔ* may occur in either first or second position; in first position it is inflected with aspect, in second position it is inflected with dependent morphology. In (12.51) the main verb in second position is marked with dependent verb morphology and person is marked with ergative person markers, rather than absolutive. Here the main verb [kiʔiba] /kiipi-ʔaH/ ‘be chopping firewood’ is dependent and inflected as such. If this were a verb in an independent clause, it would be marked with absolutive person marking, not ergative, and it would take the dependent suffix *-i*, used to mark intransitive dependent verbs.

- (12.51) *siʔp ʔi+kíʔiba*
siʔ-pa ʔi+kiipi-ʔaH-W
 walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+firewood-VERS-DEP_{ib}
 ‘He’s cutting firewood.’ (VYT.056)

12.1.7 Aspectless Verbs

SP has a number of dependent verb constructions¹⁰, which include auxiliary verb constructions (12.52) and temporal subordinator constructions (12.53).

¹⁰Dependent verb constructions are defined as such based on a number of interrelated properties, which take into consideration syntax, morphosyntax, and morphophonemics. For a detailed description of dependent verb constructions and a thorough treatment of their defining characteristics, refer to ch. 22.

(12.52) *ʔich mójom ʔa+púʔunyi*
 ʔich moj-W+ʔam ʔa+puʔn-i
 1PRO begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+swim-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I began to swim

jeʔm niʔikiʔim
 jeʔm niʔ=kiʔ.mi
 that water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the water.’ (MAB.027)

(12.53) *ʔich ʔa+jooppa+m ʔan+ník*
 ʔich ʔa+joop-pa+ʔam ʔan+nikk-W
 1PRO XABS+roll-INC+ALR XERG+go-DEP_t
 ‘I go rolling along (playing).’ (MAB.097)

The dependent verbs in these contexts are dependent on another for their aspect/mood information and are marked with one of three suffixes. These suffixes are listed in 12.54.

- (12.54) DEPENDENT VERB MORPHOLOGY:
- i ‘dependent intransitive-a’ (on AUX I constructions)
 - W₂ ‘dependent transitive’ (all constructions)
 - W₃ ‘dependent intransitive-b’ (AUX I passives, AUX II, *siʔ*,
and subordinator constructions)

Dependent verbs are marked with one of these suffixes based on two factors: (1) the type of auxiliary verb or subordinator morpheme and (2) the transitivity of the semantic main verb. In type I auxiliary constructions in which the main verb is intransitive, the main verb is marked with the suffix *-i* ‘dependent intransitive-a’ (12.55). When the main verb is transitive regardless of which auxiliary or subordinator it occurs with, it is marked with the marker *W₂*

‘dependent transitive’ (12.56). When the main verb is intransitive and occurs with type II auxiliaries, the *siʔ* auxiliary, or either the \emptyset or the *mo* subordinator, it is marked with morpheme $-W_3$ ‘dependent intransitive-b’, and its subject is co-referenced with Set-A (ergative) person markers (12.57).

(12.55) *yájpam* *wíʔiki*
 ya.j-pa+ʔam \emptyset +wiʔk-**i**
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (ESK.073a)

(12.56) *mojpa+m* *ʔi+jétz* *ʔi+way*
 moj-pa+ʔam ʔi+jetz-**W**₂ ʔi+way
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to braid her hair.’ (VYT.009)

(12.57) *siʔip* *ʔi+jíps* *ʔi+tyik*
 siʔ-pa ʔi+jips-**W**₃ ʔi+tik
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+burn-DEP_{ib} 3PSR+house
 ‘The house is burning.’ (GU2.108)

The main characteristics that distinguish the dependent verbs in the multi-verb constructions described here from verbs in independent clauses is that the dependent verbs are inflected with person but not aspect/mood¹¹. In dependent verb constructions, inflection for aspect/mood and dependent marking are independent of one another. The dependent morphology of the dependent verb is determined by the type of subordination and the transitivity of the verb. The following examples illustrate constructions with the

¹¹In the Mayanist descriptive tradition such clauses are identified as “aspectless”. England (1983b), Craig (1977), Mateo-Toledo (2008:82), Zavala (1992), among others, adopt the term “aspectless”.

V1 in completive aspect (22.34), incomplete aspect (12.59), and optative mood (22.36). (12.58a) shows an intransitive dependent verb marked with *-i*, (12.58b) shows a transitive dependent verb \emptyset -marked but bearing person marking, which is shared with the V1, and (22.34c) shows an intransitive dependent verb \emptyset -marked as dependent but whose S is marked with a Set A person marker. Illustrating incomplete aspect, (12.59a) shows an intransitive dependent verb inflected with *-i*, (12.59b) shows a transitive dependent verb \emptyset -marked as dependent, and (12.59c) shows an intransitive dependent verb \emptyset -marked as dependent but whose subject is referenced with a Set A person marker. Finally, to illustrate inflection for mood, (22.36a) shows an intransitive dependent verb with *-i* and (22.36b) shows a transitive dependent verb that is \emptyset -marked and bearing person marking co-referencing the subject shared by the V1 and V2. (There are no combinations of optative V1 with dependent clauses showing split ergativity, although other moods are attested.)

(12.58) COMPLETIVE:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| (a) | <i>moj</i> o + <i>m</i> | <i>toy-i</i> | <i>?i+pu?u</i> |
| | moj- W +?am | \emptyset +toy-i | ?i+pu?u |
| | begin _{aux} -CMP+ALR | 3ABS+ache-DEP _{ia} | 3PSR+belly |
| | ‘Her belly began to hurt.’ (SA2.009b) | | |
| | | | |
| (b) | <i>moj</i> u + <i>m</i> | <i>?i+ku+woga?y</i> | |
| | moj- W +?am | ?i+ku+wok-?a?y-W ₂ | |
| | begin _{aux} -CMP+ALR | 3ERG+scold-BEN-DEP _t | |
| | ‘He began to scold | | |

jeʔm ʔi+jaʔyuk
jeʔm ʔi+jayʔuk
 that 3PSR+brother
 his little brother.’ (AVC.012)

- (c) *komo dya+m wiʔáaj*
komo dya+ʔam wiH.ʔaH-W
 like NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-CMP
 ‘As she could not

ʔi+yòʔomaséet
ʔi+yoomo.ʔaH=seet-W₃
 3ERG+woman-VERS=return-DEP_{ib}
 transform into woman.’ (VYT.109)

(12.59) INCOMPLETEIVE:

- (a) *ʔii jemum ʔestej mojpam*
ʔii jemiʔam ʔestej moj-pam+ʔam
 and right.there FILL begin_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘And there it begins

wiitzíʔyi
Ø+wii=tziʔy-i
 3ABS+good=remain-DEP_{ia}
 to turn out well.’ (CP2.006)

- (b) *miny-pam ʔan+ʔaʔmtáʔm*
miny-pam+ʔam ʔan+ʔaʔm-taʔm-W₂
 come_{aux}-INC+ALR 2:1+see-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Are you (two) coming to see me?’ (Cangrejo.040)

- (c) *ʔagi+siʔp ʔi+miiichyáj*
ʔagi+siʔ-pam ʔi+miiich-yaj-W₃
 very+walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+play-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘They’re playing a lot.’ (CQS.013b)

(12.60) OPTATIVE:

- (a) *ʔokmi ʔaranh+wejaʔypa*
ʔokmi ʔan+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-pa
afterwards 3ERG+DERIV₁+shout-BEN-INC
‘Afterwards we called to him (to ask)’

niginy wiʔiki
nikk-ʔiny Ø+wiʔk-i
go_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
‘if he was going to eat.’ (CNC.054b)

- b) *ʔagakuʔaʔmyájpa ʔiga+ʔich*
ʔagi+ʔa+ku+ʔaʔm-yaj-pa ʔiga+ʔich
very+3ABS+seek.out-PLU_{nonsap}-INC COMP+1PRO
‘They look for me a lot, that I

niginy ʔarak+poʔoyáj
nikk-ʔiny ʔan+ʔak+poʔ-yaj-W₂
go_{aux}-OPT XERG+CAUS₁+give.birth-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
‘that I go help them give birth.’ (Partera.029/30)

This differs from aspectual inflection in Olutec, which has two aspect paradigms, one which occurs in independent clauses and one that occurs only in dependent clauses (Zavala 2000:148). That is, in Olutec, dependent clauses do mark aspect. In San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque the dependent verb also carries aspectual information. Like SP, auxiliary verbs in San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque take dependent verbs; however, dependent morphology does distinguish between completive -E and incomplete aspect -wə. Dependent marking of NFVs in V2 agrees in terms of aspect with the V1: -E if V1 is completive

(12.61); *-wə* if incompletive (12.62) or in non-declarative mood (12.63) (i.e. imperative or hortative).

(12.61) *nək-tam-wə* *ʔən+juy-E* *boleto*
 go-12PL-COM 1A+buy-dCOM ticket
 ‘We went to buy the tickets.’ (Johnson 2000:206)

(12.62) *jemji gaji nək-pa ʔəy-pək=con-wə*
 all there go-INC 3A+get=join-dINC
 ‘They all go there to receive them.’ (Johnson 2000:203)

(12.63) *min-ʔo ʔəm+pək=coN-tam-wə+ʔam*
 come-IMPV2 2A+get=join-12PL-dINC+NOW
 ‘Now come meet

haxake+haaʔ
 female.in.law+NPL2
 your mothers-in-law.’ (Johnson 2000:209)

12.2 Mood

There are four suffixes that convey mood in SP. These are listed in (12.64).

(12.64) MOOD SUFFIXES:
 imperative **-i** (IMP)
 optative **-ʔiny** (OPT)
 desiderative **-toʔ** (DESID)
 frustrative **-tiʔp** (FRUS)

They are shown in bold in Table 12.2 (repeated from above). The imperative **-i** and the optative **-ʔiny** are two of the four suffixes that mark verbs obligatorily, and occur independently of aspect morphology. The desiderative

and frustrative do not appear independently and must co-occur with either the completive or the incomplete suffixes.

Table 12.2: Aspect and Mood Suffix Template

	Position 1 (optional)		Position 2 (obligatory)		
	-neʔ	(PERF)	-pa	(INC)	
VERB	-i	(PROG)	-W	(CMP)	+ENCLITICS
	-toʔ	(DESID)	-i	(IMP)	
	-tiʔp	(FRUS)	-ʔiny	(OPT)	

12.2.1 Imperative

The imperative *-i* is used to express commands and occurs only in the second person. An example illustrating the imperative is shown in (12.65).

- (12.65) *yɪʔim koonyiʔ yɪʔp koonykoyyukumi*
yɪʔi-m koony-iʔ yɪʔp koony-kuy=yuk.mi
 here sit-IMP this sit-LOC_{applic}=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘Here, sit in this seat.’ (D3V.003)

When the verb is transitive, and the O is first person, it is marked on the verb (12.66).

- (12.66) *ʔara+nikiʔ* *ʔeeyanh*
ʔa+na+nikk-iʔ *ʔeeyanh*
 XABS+ASSOC+go-IMP also
 ‘Take me too.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.035)

12.2.2 Optative

The optative¹² *-?iny* is used to express hope, desire, or wish (12.67).

- (12.67) *?ik+tzá?miny* *?i+piyu*
 ?i+?ak+tzam-?iny *?i+piyu*
 3ERG+raise-PLU_{sap}-OPT 3PSR+chicken
 ‘She should raise her chickens.’ (JOV.022)

The optative may occur with all persons, including 2nd. Example (12.68) illustrates the optative occurring with a 1st person A; example (12.69) illustrates the optative occurring with a first person O.

- (12.68) *je?eyukimi* *nimya?pa* *je?m*
 je?.yuk.mi \emptyset +nim-yaj-pa *je?m*
 3PRO.LOC₅.LOC₁ 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC this
 tan+tiiwi+tam
 tan+tiiwi+tam
 tan+brother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘That’s why our brothers say,

je?m tan+?abweeløj *winyik+pi?k*
je?m tan+?abweeløj *winyik+pi?k*
 that IPSR+grandparents before+REL
 our ancestors,

tan+matunhta?miny *ta+?ich+tyam*
 tan+matonh+ta?m-**?iny** ta+?ich+tam
 IERG+listen-PLU_{sap}-OPT IABS+1PRO+PLU_{hum}
 that we should listen to them.’ (PDO.017)

¹²The optative is also referred to in the literature as “jussive” or “hortative” (Palmer 2001).

- (12.69) *para.ki ?odoy ?estej ?ana+tzi?yiny ?anhje?eki*
 para.ki ?ot?oy ?estej ?a+na+tzi?y-**?iny** ?anh+je?k-i
 so.that NEG FILL XABS+ASSOC+stay-OPT DERIV₁+fear-NOM
 ‘So that I don’t get sick with fear.’
 (Lit. ‘So that fear doesn’t stay with me’.) (AVC.017)

Example (12.70) illustrates the optative occurring with a second person. Here the second person is someone who wanted to give up drinking.

- (12.70) *nimpa je?m widyaaya*
 Ø+nim-pa je?m widyaaya
 3ABS+say-INC that old.man
 ‘The old man says,
?inh+wá?k ?iga+?iny+chak?iny ?oojo
 ?in+wa?k-W ?iga+?in+tzak-**?iny** ?oojo
 2ERG+ask-CMP COMP+2ERG+leave-OPT alcohol
 ‘You asked that you quit alcohol.’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.111)

In example (12.71)¹³ the A is a 3rd person referent and the O is a second person referent, inflected on the verb with the 2nd person absolutive proclitic.

- (12.71) *?ii ?odoy mi+machiny je?m ?i+ka?akuy*
 ?ii ?ot?oy mi+matz-**?iny** je?m ?i+ka?a-kuy
 and NEG 2ABS+grab-OPT that 3PSR+die-LOC_{applic}
 ‘and that you don’t get diabetes.’
 (lit. ‘that illness doesn’t grab you.’) (AVS.020b)

12.2.3 Negation of Imperative and Optative Moods

The negator *?ot?oy* is used to negate both the imperative (12.72) and the optative (12.73) moods. *?ot?oy* occurs only with these two moods.

¹³A note on health and healing: Notice that the verb *matz* ‘grab’ is transitive. In this case, the second person absolutive marking on the verb indicates that the 2nd person is the O. The A here is the illness. In SP, you don’t catch colds; they catch you.

- (12.72) *ʔodoy miichkaʔtáʔmiʔ woonyi.*
ʔotʔoy Ø+miich-kaʔ-taʔm-**iʔ** woonyi
 NEG 3ABS+play-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{sap}-IMP girl
 ‘Don’t play games with the girls.’ (JOV.009a)

- (12.73) *tam+manik ʔodoy miichyajiny*
 tan+manik *ʔotʔoy* Ø+miich-yaj-**ʔiny**
 IPSR+child NEG 3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-OPT
 ‘Our children should not play (there).’ (CVS.004)

12.2.4 Desiderative *-toʔ* and Frustrative *-tiʔp*

The desiderative¹⁴ *-toʔ* (12.74) and the frustrative *-tiʔp* (12.75) are mood suffixes.

- (12.74) *jesig ʔich ʔar+ak+nuʔkum ʔan+jukti*
 jesik ʔich ʔan+ʔak+nuʔk-W+ʔam ʔan+jukti
 then 1PRO XERG+CAUS₁+arrive-CMP+ALR XPSR+fire
 ‘Then I gathered my wood,

[pero] dya nuʔktóʔoba
 pero dya Ø+nuʔk-toʔ-pa
 but NEG 3ABS+arrive-DESID-INC
 but it would not light.’
 (lit. ‘It did not want to arrive.’) (Comal.008)

- (12.75) *ʔi+maytyíʔp+nam jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyon*
 ʔi+may-tiʔp-W+nam jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasion
 3ERG+recite-FRUS-CMP+STILL that 3PSR+incantation
 ‘The woman still tried to recite her incantation.’ (ESK.140a)

They differ from the imperative and optative forms in that they must occur with the completive or incompletive aspect. The desiderative suffix is

¹⁴The desiderative is also referred to as the “volitive” (Palmer 2001:31).

used to express the desire to do the action expressed by the verb and occurs only with the incomplete marker (12.76).

- (12.76) *si tanh+kuʔttóʔoba piyu*
 si tan+kuʔt-toʔ-pa piyu
 if IERG+eat-DESID-INC chicken
 ‘If we want chicken,

jeʔ wiʔap tarak+tzám
 jeʔ wiH.ʔaH-pa tan+ʔak+tzam-W
 3PRO be.able-INC IERG+CAUS₁+raise-DEP_t
 we can raise them.’ (JOV.021)

The frustrative *-tiʔp* is used to convey a desire was not realized or that an action took place “in vain”. This suffix occurs only with the completive marker *-W* (12.77).

- (12.77) *ʔan+tzen-tiʔp*
 ʔan+tzen-tiʔp-W
 XERG+tie-FRUS-CMP
 ‘I wanted to tie it (but it got away).’ (PQH.005)

12.3 Modality

Modality is concerned with a speaker’s attitude or opinion (Palmer 1986:2, citing Lyons 1977:452), or with the “status of a proposition” (Palmer 2001:01) irrespective of internal or external temporal reference. This notion of status may be broken down into epistemic (involving speaker judgements), deontic (relating to externally exerted conditions such as obligation or permission), or

dynamic (relating to internal forces such as willingness or ability). Traditionally evidentiality was analyzed as a type of epistemic modality, but has recently been teased apart from epistemic modality (Aikhenvald 2005, de Haan 2008). While the study of modality continues to evolve, a number of observations can be made about constructions relating to modality in SP. This section aims to highlight forms that are associated with modality.

12.3.1 Auxliary verb *wiH-ʔaH* ‘be able’

The auxiliary verb *wiH-ʔaH* ‘be able’ is used to indicate ability, as illustrated with the declarative in (12.78) and the negative (12.79). In both examples the speaker refers to instances in which speakers have abilities. In (12.78) the speaker expresses a knowledge of curing; in (12.79) the speaker refers to a horse physically unable to see.

- (12.78) *ʔich wiʔap ʔan+tzoʔyiʔyoʔy*
 ʔich wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔan+tzoy-ʔiʔy-ʔoʔy-W
 1PRO be.able_{aux}-INC XERG+medicine-PROV-ANTIP-CMP
 ‘I can cure.’ (OJO.001)

- (12.79) *dya wiʔap ʔi+ʔixóʔy*
 dya wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔi+ʔix-ʔoʔy-W
 NEG be.able-INC 3ERG+see-ANTIP-CMP
 ‘He can’t see.’ (OJO.021b)

In terms of event modality, which refers to events that are not actualized and considered potential, this usage may be described as dynamic modality, which “relates to ability or willingness” of a participant (Palmer 2001:76-77).

Dynamic modality refers to ability that may be internal to the participant or to events that are subject to circumstances beyond the participants' actual physical ability. Dynamic modality differs from deontic modality in that deontic modality refers to events that are external to the participant with respect to permission or obligation (Palmer 2001:70)¹⁵. Examples (12.80) and (12.81) illustrate potential scenarios affecting the possibilities of the participants.

(12.80) *porkej siga ku+nipinyʔaʔaʔypa*
 porkej si+ʔiga Ø+ku+nipiny-ʔaʔy-pa
 because if+COMP 3ABS+DERIV₂+blood-BEN-INC
 'Because if she hemorrhages,

jeʔm yoomo wiʔap ʔi+kaʔ
 jeʔm yoomo wiʔaH-pa ʔi+kaʔ-W
 that woman be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+die-DEP_{ib}
 the woman could die.' (MED.005)

(12.81) *tzam gaastuj. jeʔeyukmi nimyajpa*
 tzam gaastuj. jeʔ=yuk.mi Ø+nim-yaj-pa
 much expense. 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ 3ABS+say-PLU_{non-sap}-INC
 'It's very expensive. That is why they say

ʔiga+dya wiʔaap ʔiriʔijyaj
 ʔiga+dya wiʔ-ʔaH-pa ʔi+na+ʔity-yaj-W
 COMP+NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+ASSOC+be-PLU_{non-sap}-CMP

jaʔyanh
 jay.ʔanh
 many
 that they can't have too many [children]. (CSPartera.327)

¹⁵Both dynamic and deontic modality differ from epistemic modality in that epistemic modality involves that "speakers express judgments about the factual status of [a] proposition" (Palmer 2001:8)

12.3.2 Real and Unreal Conditionals

Conditional sentences in SP are formed with one of three particles: *si*, *meʔiga+*, and *si+ʔiga+*. Examples are shown in (12.82), (12.83), and (12.90). *si* ‘if’, which is borrowed from Spanish, is occasionally used. Although it appears predominantly with *ʔiga+*, it is observed independently serving the same function as *si+ʔiga+*, as shown in (12.82). *siʔiga+* is formed with the *si+*, borrowed from the Spanish *si* meaning ‘if’, and *ʔiga+*, a complementizer borrowed from Nahuatl. (The complementizer *ʔiga+* is discussed in detail in ch. 23.1.) *meʔiga* is thought to be composed of the complementizer as well, however, the etymology of the particle *me* is unknown¹⁶. *meʔiga+* and *siʔiga+* occur more frequently than *si*.

- (12.82) *ʔokmi minyi+m mi+wiʔiki*
 ʔokmi miny-i+ʔam mi+wiʔk-i
 then come_{aux}-IMP+ALR 2ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Then (she tells him) ‘Come eat already,

si mi+nyikpa
si mi+nikk-pa
 if 2ABS+go-INC
 if you’re going (to work).’ ” (Comal.011)

- (12.83) *meʔiga dya manh+ku+pujpa*
meʔiga dya man+ku+puj-pa
 if NEG 1:2+DERIV+defend-INC
 ‘If I didn’t save you,

¹⁶Kaufman (p.c.) notes that similar forms are found in other languages, as in Tzeltal *me+* and *te+ me+* ‘if’.

mi+kuʔt *?idyik*
 mi+kuʔt-W ?ityʔik
 2ABS+eat-CMP PAST
 he would have eaten you.’ (Chaneco.SIL.025)

(12.84) ***si*** *kinhu+m* *saamnyi*
 ʔiga Ø+kinh-W+ʔam saapnyi
 if+COMP 3ABS+ripen-CMP+ALR plantain
 ‘If there was ripe plantain,

?ich *jeʔm* *?an+choomo* *?a+nh+wejaʔypa+m*
 ?ich jeʔm ?an+choomo ?a+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔam
 1PRO that XPSR+grandmother XABS+shout-BEN-INC+ALR
 my grandmother would call me.’ (MAB.199)

Conditionals essentially indicate “the dependence of the truth of one proposition upon the truth of another” (Palmer 1986:189). Typologically, conditionals are associated with real and unreal conditions. Following Palmer (1986): “most real conditions refer to future events, and predict that if one takes place, some other will follow” (190); unreal conditions may be “used to refer to events about which the speaker expresses some belief” (189)¹⁷.

SP distinguishes between real and unreal conditions. *meʔiga+* appears in conditional sentences in which speakers express a counterfactual condition and a judgment or belief; whereas *siʔiga+* appears in conditional sentences that make a prediction or assertion, following from the proposition. For instance in (12.85) the speaker presents a counterfactual claim and offers a judgment based on that claim.

¹⁷Also see Palmer 2001:207-16 for discussion of correlations between real and unreal conditions and time.

- (12.85) *mega dya kiʔiʔy*
meʔiga dya Ø+kiʔ-ʔiʔy-W
 COND NEG 3ABS+hand-PROV-CMP
 ‘If he had no hand,

dya yoxaap [ʔii] dya wiʔkpa
 dya Ø+yooxi-ʔaH-pa [ʔii] dya Ø+wiʔk-pa
 NEG 3ABS+work.VERS-INC [and] NEG 3ABS+eat-INC
 he could not work and eat.’ (Yerno.059)

In example (12.86), the speaker presents a scenario based on a past event, and speculates as to the possible outcome of that event. This is a judgment on the part of the speaker.

- (12.86) *peru megatzoʔyiʔytyáaj*
 pero **meʔiga**+Ø+tzoy-ʔiʔy-taH-W
 but if+3ABS+cure-PASS-CMP
 ‘If they had cured her,

dya ʔidyik kaʔ
 dya ʔityʔik Ø+kaʔ-W
 NEG PAST 3ABS+die-CMP
 she would not have died.’ (MAB.179)

In contrast, conditional sentences with *siʔig+a* tend to correspond with facts or predictions about real world events. In example (12.90) the speaker presents a hypothetical scenario and offers a prediction based on that scenario. In this case, the statement is factual; if one loses too much blood, she could die.

- (12.87) *porkej si+ʔiga ku+nipinyaʔaʔypa*
 porkej **si+ʔiga** Ø+ku+nipiny-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-pa
 because if+COMP 3ABS+DERIV₂+blood-VERS-BEN-INC
 ‘Because if she bleeds [too much].

jeʔm yoomo wiʔaap ʔi+kaʔ
 jeʔm yoomo wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔi+kaʔ-W₃
 that woman be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+die-DEP_{ib}
 the woman could die.’ (MED.005)

In example (12.88) the speaker presents a hypothetical scenario and offers a course of action in response to that scenario.

(12.88) *siɡa+ʔa+yuʔaap*
si+ʔiɡa+ʔa+yuʔ-ʔaH-pa
 if+XABS+hunger-VERS-INC
 ‘If I am hungry,

ʔanh+waayi+tyim ʔaʔ+nukpa
ʔan+waayi+tyim ʔan+ʔukpa
 XPSR+pozole+JUST XERG+drink-INC
 I just drink my *pozole* [corn broth].’ (Pozole.046)

Similarly in (12.89), the speaker presents a scenario ‘if I walk’ and the result of that action ‘my foot hurts’, referring to a conversation about an injury.

(12.89) *toypam* *yiʔb am+puy ʔi*
Ø+toypa+ʔam yiʔp ʔan+puy ʔi
 3ABS+hurt-INC+ALR this XPSR+foot FILL
 ‘My foot hurts,

siɡa+witypa
si+ʔiɡa+ʔa+wity-pa
 if+XABS+walk-INC
 if I walk.’ (ConvSerPartera.268)

siʔiɡa+ appears in the context of the future (12.90), as well as with imperatives, as shown in (12.91). *Meʔiɡa+* has not been observed in future or imperative contexts.

- (12.90) *siġa* *mi+nyikta?mpa* *mara+nikta?mpa*
si+?iġa mi+nyik-ta?m-pa man+na+nik-ta?m-pa
 if 2ABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC 1:2+ASSOC+goPLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘If you’re going, I’ll take you.’ (Cangrejo.035)

- (12.91) *ma?yi+m* **si+?iġa** *?in+ma?yypa*
 ma?y-i+?am **si+?iġa** ?in+ma?y-pa
 sell-IMP+ALR si+COMP 2ERG+sell-INC
 ‘Sell it, if you’re going to sell it.’ (VVA.057)

Simple conditions (If it rains, I get wet) pattern like real conditions and are formed with *si?iġa+*, as shown in (12.92).

- (12.92) *Si?iġa+chijo?yypa* *?a+mujpa*
 si?iġa+Ø+chij-?o?y-pa ?a+muj-pa
 si+?iġa+3ABS+rain.hard-ANTIP-INC XABS+get.wet-INC
 ‘If it rains, I get wet.’

12.3.3 Enclitics That Identify Source Of Information

SP has two enclitics that express evidential-like information. They are not formally classed as evidentials (following Aikhenvald 2005) as they are not completely grammaticalized and they are not obligatory. The enclitics are *+?un* ‘it is said; s/he says’ and *+wey* ‘it is true; I say’. These enclitics are described here.

12.3.3.1 Enclitic *?un* ‘it is said; s/he says’

SP has the enclitic *+?un* ‘it is said; s/he says’, which is implicated in attributing information to a source other than the speaker.

+ʔun is optionally marked. It does not directly identify a source of information; often it suggests that the source of information is not obtained from first hand observation or experience. That is, it tends to be used when reporting something that is generally known or talked about or when there is no specific source or reference. For example, (12.93) comes from a popular story traditionally told in communities where SP is spoken. The speaker has heard this story numerous times in her childhood by a number of different storytellers. In this example *+ʔun* appears on the verb and translates simply as ‘it is said’.

- (12.93) *ta+monhpam+ʔun* *dya tanh+joodonh*
 ta+monh-pa+ʔam+ʔun *dya tan+jootoʔnh*
 IABS+sleep-INC+ALR+DJO NEG IPSR+knowledge
 ‘It’s said, we sleep without knowing.’ (ESK.043)

Nevertheless, it may be used when a specific source is identified. In example (12.94) the speaker recounts a story told by her neighbor about her witnessing a *chaneque*, a mischievous creature (considered to be a “guardian of nature”). Here *+ʔun* attaches itself to the third person pronoun *jeʔ*, which references the neighbor who told the speaker about the experience.

- (12.94) *porkej jeʔ+ʔun ʔi+ʔix*
 porkej **jeʔ+ʔun** ʔi+ʔix-W
 because 3PRO+DJO 3ERG+see-CMP
 ‘Because according to her, she saw it; (CQS.007)

jeʔ ʔi+ʔix ʔanh+siikmi put
jeʔ ʔi+ʔix-W ʔanh+siik-mi Ø+put-W
 3PRO 3ERG+see-CMP outside-IN 3ABS+exit-CMP
 she saw it when she went outside.’ (CQS.008)

+ʔun is a sentence level particle that tends to attach itself to the head of a phrase, including a range of different word classes and discourse markers. As we saw above in (12.94), it occurs on pronouns. The enclitic also occurs on verbs (12.95).

- (12.95) *ʔii jeʔmim ʔi+paʔtpa+ʔun tunhjoom*
ʔii jee-m-im ʔi+paʔt-pa+ʔun tunh+joj.mi
 and there 3ERG+find-INC-DJO road=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘And, it is said, she finds him in the road. (PDO.022)

It attaches to non-verbal predicates; in the case of (12.96), *+ʔun* appears on a quantifier.

- (12.96) *jaʔyanh+ʔun jeʔm tzuʔukiny*
Ø+jaʔy.ʔanh+ʔun jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 3ABS+much+DJO that worm
 ‘There were many worms, it is said.’ (GU1.110)

+ʔun attaches to the negator in negative clauses (12.97).

- (12.97) *nimpa ʔan+choomo dya+ʔun dya+ʔun*
Ø+nim-pa ʔan+choomo dya+ʔun dya+ʔun
 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+grandmother NEG+DJO NEG+DJO
 ‘My grandmother would say: ‘No no,

dya ʔa+yùʔanéʔ
dya ʔa+yuʔ-ʔaH-neʔ-W
 NEG XABS+hunger-VERS-PERF-CMP
 ‘I’m not hungry.’ ” (MAB.081)

It attaches to demonstratives heading noun phrases (12.98).

- (12.98) *ʔeʔm+ʔun yoomo yusum*
ʔeʔm+ʔun yoomo Ø+yus-W+ʔam
 that+DJO woman 3ABS+awake-CMP-ALR
 ‘The woman woke up, it is said.’ (ESK.084)

+ʔun attaches to the intensifier clitic *ʔagi+*.

- (12.99) *Nuʔkpa ʔi+tyikmi*
Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik-mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₁
 ‘He arrives at home

ʔagi+ʔun maymay+ʔam
ʔagi+ʔun Ø+maymay+ʔam
 INTENS+DJO 3ABS+happy+ALR
 very happy.’ (ESK.047)

It also occurs on adverbs, as shown in (12.100) with the time adverb *ʔokmi*, among other word classes.

- (12.100) *ʔokmi+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya*
ʔokmi+ʔun jeʔm ʔi+wity=ʔaaya
 then+DJO that 3PSR+big=male
 ‘After, it is said, her husband

ʔagi+kiihneʔu+m
ʔagi+Ø+kiih-neʔ-W+ʔam
 INTENS+3ABS+fear-PERF-CMP+ALR
 was very scared. (GU1.113)

12.3.4 Enclitic *+wey* ‘it is true; I say’

The enclitic *+wey* is used principally to indicate certainty, although it is also observed as having the reading ‘I say/said’. *+wey* occurs with much less

frequency than *+ʔun*. It appears principally on adverbs, including the negative particle *dya* (12.101), *ʃiʃ* ‘yes’ (12.102), and *nuuma* ‘certain’ (12.103).

(12.101) *duuro ʔan+sujpa ʔanh+ku+yempa*
 duro ʔan+suj-pa ʔan+ku+yem-pa
 long.time XERG+blow-INC XERG+DERIV+fan-INC
 ‘I blew it and I fanned it;

dya+wey ʔi+tzokpa ʔagi+jogaaba+m
 dya+wey ʔi+tzok-pa ʔagi+jooko-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 NEG+TRUE 3ERG+burn-INC INTENS+smoke-VERS-INC+ALR
 it certainly does not burn; it (only) smokes.’ (Comal.013b)

(12.102) *ʔan+nimʔmaʔypa ʃiʔi+wey*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʃiʃ+wey
 XERG+say-BEN-INC yes+TRUE
 ‘I’m telling him ‘Yes, its true.’ ” (SoyPartera.053b)

(12.103) *ʔokmi ʔapeena ʔi+mátz ku+núʔk*
 ʔokmi ʔapeena ʔi+matz Ø+ku+nuʔk-W
 after just 3ERG+grab-W 3ABS+DERIV+arrive-CMP
 ‘Just after arriving she grabbed her [belly],

ʔaay padre nuuma+wey téeny
 ʔaay padre nuuma+wey Ø+teeny-W
 ah father certain+TRUE 3ABS+stand-CMP
 ‘Ay father, it’s true it is standing.’ ” (SerPartera.060)

The enclitic *+wey* also has the reading ‘I said’, shown in (12.104) and (12.105).

(12.104) *nikpa+wey*
 Ø+nikpa+wey
 3ABS+go-TRUE
 ‘I said that he was going.’ (Elson 1999:176)

- (12.105) (a) *chimpawey*
 Ø+chimpawey
 3ABS+dog+SAY
 ‘It is a dog, I said’
- (b) *pakʔakwey*
 Ø+pakʔakwey
 3ABS+cold+SAY
 ‘It is cold, I said’
- (c) *tzapʔatzwey*
 Ø+tzapʔatzwey
 3ABS+cold+SAY
 ‘It is red, I said.’
- (d) *seetpawey*
 Ø+seet-pawey
 3ABS+return-INC+SAY
 ‘S/he returns, I said.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Chapter 13

Voice and Other Argument-Event Relationships

SP has a number of constructions that deal with the relationship between the action expressed by a verb and the role of its arguments. Two constructions that affect the valency of the verb are the passive and antipassive. The two marked voice constructions operate in contrast to the unmarked active voice in which a transitive verb co-references its A with an ergative person marker and its O with an absolutive person marker. The third construction, which affects intransitive verbs, does not affect the valency of the verb, but rather it serves to suppress the specificity of the subject. This process is referred to as indefinite subject. This chapter deals with voice in SP, which includes the passive and antipassive. It also includes description of indefinite subjects, as well as reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

13.1 Passive *-taH*

Passive constructions are used for foregrounding the patient and as such serve to indicate the topic¹ of a sentence, disambiguate its arguments, or emphasize the action expressed by the verb. In SP passive constructions, the transitive verb is marked with suffix *-taH*, its valency is reduced, and its O is marked as the S. The example in (13.1) shows the transitive verb *suy* ‘lasso’, which is inflected with the third person ergative proclitic *?i+*. In this example the 3rd person ergative proclitic co-references the NP ‘husband’, the A of the verb. In example (13.2), the same verb *suy* ‘lasso’ is marked with the passive *-taH*. Here *je?m yoomo* ‘the woman’ is marked as S of the verb. Agreement with the S is expressed by \emptyset -marked third person absolutive.

- (13.1) *?i+xúy* *je?m ?i+widyaaaya*
?i+suy-W *je?m ?i+wity=?aaya*
 3ERG+lasso-CMP that 3PSR+big=male
 ‘Her husband lassoed her.’ (VYT.082b)

- (13.2) *suytyáj* *je?m yoomo*
 \emptyset +suy-**taH**-W *je?m yoomo*
 3ABS+lasso-PASS-CMP that woman
 ‘The woman was lassoed.’ (VYT.079)

Because SP is an ergative language, person marking does not change. That is, in an active, transitive sentence the agent (A) is marked on the verb as ergative and the patient (O) is marked as absolutive. In a passive construction, the patient is marked as S of the detransitivized verb with the absolutive.

¹Topic and focus in SP are described in further detail in Chapter 19.

Recall from Chapter 11 that the alignment system in SP is hierarchical and that only higher-ranking participants are co-referenced on the verb. For example, if the O of a transitive verb is 1st or 2nd person and the A is 3rd person, the O is marked with an absolutive proclitic, and the A is not marked. This distribution is shown in examples (13.3) through (13.5). In (13.3) the A of the transitive verb is the 1st person referent, marked on the verb with the ergative *?an+*. In (13.4) the O, the higher ranking participant, is marked on the verb with the absolutive proclitic *?a+*. In (13.5) the patient is marked as S with the absolutive *?a+*. The only difference in morphology between the verbs in (13.4) and (13.5) is that in the latter the verb takes the passive suffix *-taH*.

- (13.3) *?okmi ?aranh+weja?yypa nīginy wi?iki*
?okmi ?an+?anh.wej-?a?y-pa nikk-?iny Ø+wi?k-i
 then XERG+DERIV₁.call-BEN-INC go_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Then I was calling to him to go eat. (CNC.054b)

- (13.4) *?anh+weja?yyajpa ?a+nīginy*
?a+?anh+wej-?a?y-yaj-pa ?a+nikk-?iny
 XABS+DERIV₁+call-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-INC XABS+go_{aux}-OPT
 ‘They call for me to come

?a?n+a?m ko?tztáap
?an+?a?m-W Ø+ko?tz-taH-pa
 XERG+look-DEP_t 3ABS+hit-PASS-INC
 look [that] she’s been hit. (Yerno.006)

- (13.5) *?anh+weja?ytyáj*
?a+?anh.wej-?a?y-taH-W
 XABS+DERIV₁.cry-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘We were called

ʔiga+míʔnyiny+am *ʔanh+kúm*
 ʔiga+miny-ʔiny+am ʔan+kum-W₂
 COMP+come_{aux}-OPT+ALR XERG+bury-DEP_t
 to come bury [my mother].’ (7NH.051)

Active voice sentences in which the patient is a higher ranking participant differ from passive voice sentences in that the active sentences have an A, whether overtly realized or not, while the passive sentences do not. For instance, example (13.6b) shows two verbs in active voice. Here the 3rd person A, referenced with the pronoun *jeʔ*, is the topic of the sentence; the 1st person O, which is higher ranking, is marked on the verb with the absolutive *ta+*. Example (13.7b) shows a verb marked with the passive. Here the speaker is the patient marked as S with the absolutive; the unspecified A is suppressed.

- (13.6) (a) *myentraj kij tara+ʔityu+m*
 myentraj kij tan+na+ʔity-W+ʔam
 while that IERG+ASSOC+be-CMP+ALR
 ‘While we have
- taranh+pakmooki*
 tan+ʔanh.pak.mooki
 IPSR+spouse
 our spouse,
- (b) *jeʔ ta+k+wiʔkpa ta+ku+tzeʔaʔypa*
 jeʔ ta+ʔak+wiʔk-pa ta+ku.tzeʔ-ʔaʔy-pa
 3PRO IABS+CAUS₁+eat-INC IABS+DERIV₂.wash-BEN-INC
 she feeds us, she washes [our clothes] for us.’ (JOV.013-4b)
- (13.7) (a) *tzuʔuyim ʔa+seettaʔm*
 tzuʔuy+tyim ʔa+seet-taʔm-pa
 night+JUST+ALR IABS+return-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘At night we returned.

- (b) *ta+k+wi?kmonhtaap+?am*
ta+?ak+wi?k=monh-taH-pa+?am
 IABS+CAUS₁+eat=sleep-PASS-INC+ALR
 'We were given dinner.' (PDLMA.Viaje.005-7)

In passive constructions in SP, there are no instances of agent phrases (or “by” phrases, i.e. ‘John was hit *by Mary*’). In SP, if the agent associated with the passive is expressed at all, it will be in an adjacent clause. The sentences in example (13.8) illustrate this point. In (13.8a) a woman grabs an ax; in (13.8b) a man’s neck is chopped off. Implied here is that the woman in (a) did the chopping of the neck in (b) with the ax from (a).

- (13.8) (a) *?ii ?i+pikpa* **yoomo** *?aacha*
 ?ii ?i+pik-pa **yoomo** *?aacha*
 and 3ERG+grasp-INC woman ax
 ‘The woman grabbed the ax.’

- (b) *tinhjak?aytyaa?* *je?m piixiny ?i+?iski*
 Ø+tinh=jak-?a?y-taH-W *je?m piixiny ?i+?iski*
 3ABS+cut=cut-BEN-PASS-CMP that man 3PSR+neck
 ‘The man’s neck was chopped off.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion.030a)

The agent may be established early in the discourse or through context. For instance, in the excerpt shown in (13.9) the speaker describes preparations for a festival in the town where he lives. From context it is clear that the town’s people are the agent, albeit unspecified.

- (13.9) (a) *jesik ?ak+ka?atap+?am* *yooya*
 jesik Ø+?ak+ka?-taH-pa+?am *yooya*
 then 3ABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-INC+ALR pig
 Then the pigs are killed,

- (b) *na+wattap+ʔam* *ʔan+moʔonyi*
 Ø+na+wat-**taH**-pa+ʔam ʔan+moʔn-i
 3ABS+RR+do-PASS-INC+ALR 3PSR+make.tamales-NOM
 our tamales are made for us,
- (c) *ʔak+kaʔataap* *xix*
 Ø+ʔak+kaʔ-**taH**-pa xix
 3ABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-INC cattle
 and the cattle are killed.
- (d) *ʔitypa* *wiʔkkuy*
 Ø+ʔity-pa wiʔk-kuy
 3ABS+be-INC eat-LOC_{applic}
 There is food.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.031-2)

Often no agent is specified at all, as is the case in the excerpt in (13.10). This example comes from a description about a piece of land that is thought to be possessed by supernatural entities. Although no reference is made to these entities explicitly, there is an implication that the death described here was at the hands of fellow party-goers under the influence of supernatural entities.

- (13.10) *ʔak+kaʔatáaj* *tuum traʔityi pñixiny*
 Ø+ʔak+kaʔ-**taH**-W tuum traʔityi pñixiny
 XABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-CMP one kid man
 ‘A young man was killed,

juuty tzam ʔagi+siʔip
juuty tzam ʔagi+siʔip
 where many INTENS+now
 where many now

siʔnhaniimpa *ʔi+xiʔaniim+am*
 Ø+sinh-ʔaH-niim-pa ʔi+siʔ-niim-W+am
 3ABS+fiesta-VERS-INDEF-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-INDEF-DEP_t+ALR
 are partying.

ʔak+kaʔtaaj *jeʔm traaytyi*
 Ø+ʔak+kaʔ-taH-W jeʔm traaytyi
 XABS+die-PASS-CMP that kid
 'This young man was killed.' (Duenyo.030-2)

In addition to having a hierarchical system, SP is a primary object language², which means that in a ditransitive sentence the recipient shares the same properties of the O of monotransitive clauses (Dryer 1986). In SP when a ditransitive verb is in passive voice, only the recipient is marked on the verb. These properties are illustrated with examples (13.11), (13.12), and (13.13). In (13.11) the A of the ditransitive verb *chiʔ* 'give' is the 1st person inclusive, marked with *tan+*; the PO (the recipient) is a 3rd person referent, which is Ø-marked; and the SO (the theme) is not marked on the verb.

(13.11) *tan+chiʔityaʔmpa* *ʔusanh mok*
 tan+chiʔ-taʔm-pa ʔus.ʔanh mok
 IERG+give-PLU_{sap}-INC little corn
 'We'll give him a little corn.' (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.022)

Example (13.12) illustrates a case in active voice in which the A is 2nd person and the PO is 1st person, a grammatical relation that is marked with the proclitic *ʔan+* '2:1'; the SO *ʔoojo* 'alcohol' is not marked on the verb.

(13.12) *mich+am* *ʔan+chiʔiba jeʔm ʔoojo*
 mich+ʔam *ʔan+chiʔ-pa jeʔm ʔoojo*
 2PRO+ALR 2:1+give-INC that alcohol
 'You're going to give me alcohol.' (AVC.017b)

²For a detailed description of the SP alignment system, including discussion of the hierarchical and primary/secondary object marking systems refer to Chapter 11.

In (13.13) the A is a 3rd person referent and the PO is 1st person. Corresponding to the hierarchy, only 1st person (the higher ranking participant) is marked on the verb; here the PO is marked with *?a+* ‘XABS+’. Again, the SO *ka?npu* ‘egg’ is not referenced on the verb.

- (13.13) *?a+chi?iba je?m ka?npu*
?a+chi?-pa je?m ka?npu
 XABS+give-INC that egg
 ‘She gave me the egg.’ (MAB.054b)

In constructions in which a ditransitive verb is passivized, the recipient is marked as S with the absolutive (Set-A) proclitics, supporting evidence for the PO status of recipients. The theme is not marked on the verb. Example (13.14) shows the same ditransitive verb. Here the A (agent) has been suppressed; the 1st person PO (the recipient) is marked on the verb with the absolutive *?a+*; and the SO (the theme *trej peesoj* ‘three pesos’) is unmarked.

- (13.14) *?ich ?a+chi?ityáaj trej peesoj*
?ich ?a+chi?-taH-W trej peesoj
 1PRO XABS+give-PASS-CMP three pesos
 ‘I was given three pesos.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.014)

13.1.1 Pragmatics of the Passive

Pragmatically, the use of passive serves to foreground or topicalize³ non-agentive participants (Keenan and Dryer 2007). The passive is used to indicate the topic of discourse, either to introduce a new referent (switch) or

³Topic and focus in SP are described in further detail in Chapter 19.

to re-establish a referent already mentioned in the discourse (tracking). The example in (13.15) illustrates a case of switching. For seven clauses, lines (a) through (f), the speaker describes a man. In line (g), the woman (last mentioned 10 clauses earlier) is co-referenced again as patient of an active clause, although she is not overtly expressed; the man remains the topic of the clause. In (h) the speaker then switches topic to the woman with a passive construction.

- (13.15) (a) *Nuʔgun* *jeʔm piixiny*
 Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔun jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+arrive-CMP+DJO that man
 ‘A man arrived.
- (b) *wii+bik,* *ʔun piixiny yoʔnnéʔ*
 Ø+wii+piʔk ʔun piixiny Ø+yoʔn-neʔ-W
 3ABS+pretty+REL a man 3ABS+grow-PERF-CMP
 Handsome, he was a tall man.
- (c) *ʔagi+poopo* *jeʔm piixiny*
 ʔagi+Ø+poopo jeʔm piixiny
 INTENS+3ABS+white that man
 Very white was the man.
- (d) *piixiny dya yíknaʔagíʔy*
 piixiny dya Ø+yík=naaka-ʔiʔy-W
 man NEG 3ABS+black=skin-PROV-W
 The man didn’t have dark skin.
- (e) *ʔagi+wij* *ʔi+ʔixkuy*
 ʔagi+Ø+wíH ʔi+ʔix-kuy
 INTENS+3ABS+good 3PSR+see-LOC_{applic}
 Very pretty were his eyes.

- (f) *wiibik* *jeʔm piixiny nuʔk*
 Ø+wiH=piʔk jeʔm piixiny Ø+nuʔk-W
 3ABS+good+REL that man 3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘Handsome was the man that arrived.’
- (g) *ʔi+jiʔyaʔy*
 ʔi+jiy-ʔaʔy-W
 3ERG+speak-BEN-CMP
 He spoke [to her].
- (h) *jiʔyaʔytyáap* *jeʔm yoomo*
 Ø+jiy-ʔaʔy-taH-pa *jeʔm yoomo*
 3ABS+speak-BEN-PASS-INC that woman
 ‘The woman was spoken to.’ (GU1.030-5)

Example (13.16a-e) illustrates a case of topic tracking. In (13.16a-e) the topic is the man (mentioned 6 clauses earlier). In (a) through (c), the man is preserved as topic with the use of the passive. In (d) the man remains the topic of the clause, which consists of an intransitive verb. The man is again preserved as topic in (e) where the verb is the transitive *na+nikk* ‘bring, carry’ which appears in passive voice.

- (13.16) (a) *nimʔaytyaa*
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘He’s told:
- si+ʔiga+ʔinh+wiʔanhjaam*
 si=ʔiga+ʔin+wiH=ʔanh+jaam-W
 if+COMP+2ERG+good=mouth+feel-CMP
 ‘If you want,

- (b) *man+na+nɪkpa* *ʔan+tɪkmi*
 man+na+nɪkk-pa ʔan+tɪk-mi
 1:2+ASSOC+go-INC XPSR+house-LOC₁
 I will take you to my house.’
- (c) *nɪmaytyaa* *ta+nɪkpa*
 Ø+nɪm-ʔaʔy-taH-W ta+nɪkk-pa
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP IABS+go-INC
 He’s told: ‘We’re going.’
- (d) *ket* *jeʔm piixiny*
 Ø+ket-W jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+go.down-CMP that man
 The man went down
- (e) *naniktaa* *ʔi+tyikmi*
 Ø+na+nɪkk-taH-W ʔi+tɪk-mi
 3ABS+ASSOC+go-PASS-CMP 3PSR+house-LOC₁
 [and] was taken to his house.” (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.020-2)

In addition, it is thought that the passive voice is used to disambiguate potentially confusing clauses (Elson 1984). Because SP is an ergative, head-marking language and word order may be pragmatically determined, ambiguities often arise as to which participant is agent and which is patient. Passive voice may be used to clarify. Occasionally during elicitation a speaker may provide an utterance consisting of a transitive clause and two overtly expressed lexical nouns. In these cases when asked to elaborate, the speaker may use the passive to highlight the patient. Elson (1984) provides an example in which a native speaker shouts that ‘x hit y’, and another speaker asks ‘who hit who?’. However, I would argue that the speakers are using topicalization to disambiguate. For instance, if we refer to example (13.15). After (7) lines of describing the man, in line (g) the speaker states “AGENT spoke to PATIENT”.

It is not clear from this statement, however, who the patient is and who the agent is. In the clause immediately following (h), the woman is topicalized using the passive. Elson argues that the passive is used to topicalize and to disambiguate. I argue, however, that the passive is used to topicalize, in turn topicalization is used to disambiguate.

Finally, Elson identifies a fourth function of the passive, which is to emphasize an event. Example (13.17) illustrates a case in which the events *wiH=tzak* ‘leave well’ (e) and *to?p* ‘mend’ (f) are emphasized. In this example the topic has switched repeatedly: in (a) it is *puy* ‘leg’; in (b) it is *kaawa* ‘horse’; in (c) it is the man that the story is about; in (d) the agent is the man’s family, which is implied, but the topic is the overtly expressed *weseeruj* ‘bone doctor’. In (e) and (f) the topic switches to the man with the broken leg, although he is not overtly expressed. This is understood from context. It is the events in each that are the point of interest.

- (13.17) (a) *kity* *?i+puy*
 Ø+kity-W *?i+puy*
 3ABS+break-CMP 3PSR+leg
 ‘His leg broke.
- (b) *?i+pakka?* *kaawaj*
?i+pak-ka?-W *kaawa*
 3ERG+knock.over-LOC_{applic}-CMP horse
 A horse threw him.
- (c) *de.jemim* *?oy* *?i+tzo?yi?y+tyaa*
de.jemum *?oy-W* *?i+tzoy.?i?y-taH-W*
 from.there go_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+cure-PASS-DEP_t
 From there he went to be cured.

- (d) *ʔii wiH ʔi+meʔtzaʔyáj*
 ʔii wiH ʔi+meʔtz-ʔaʔy-yaj-W
 and good 3ERG+look.for-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 And, well, they looked for
- (e) *tum [wiH] weseeruj*
 tuum [wiH] weseeruj
 one good bone.doctor
 a good bone doctor.
- (f) *witzagaʔytyaaaj*
 Ø+wiH=tzak-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ABS+well=leave-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘He was fixed.’
- (g) *tobaʔytyaaaj*
 Ø+toʔp-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ABS+mend-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘He was mended.’ (PQ1.002-6)

While the passive may be used in this context, SP can accomplish this goal with active voice constructions as well. For instance, in example (13.18) the topic in (b) through (d) is *puuki* ‘cotton’; what is emphasized in (c) and (d) are the events: *nyip* ‘plant’ and *ku.wiH=wat* ‘clean’. Here the verbs are in active voice and the topics are the patients.

- (13.18) (a) *yoxaap* *ʔidyik kaama=joom*
 Ø+yoox.ʔaH-pa ʔityʔik kaama=joj.mi
 3ABS+work.VERS-INC PAST field=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He worked in his field.
- (b) *jeʔ ʔi+nyippa* *ʔidyik jeʔm puuki*
 jeʔ ʔi+nip-pa ʔityʔik jeʔm puuki
 3PRO 3ERG+plant-INC past that cotton
 He planted cotton.

(c) *?i+nyippa je?m puuki*
?i+nip-pa je?m puuki
 3ERG+plant-INC that cotton
 He planted cotton.

(e) *?i+ku+wiiwatpa*
?i+ku+wiH=wat-pa
 3ERG+DERIV₂+good=do-INC
 He cleaned it.' (Puktuuku.003-006)

In (13.19) the events are emphasized in (b) through (d) with the verbs in active voice; the topic however is the secondary object referenced with the pronoun *je?am* 'that'.

(13.19) (a) *je?m kuytyim ?i+pak no.maj kon tyum jaaka*
je?m kuy=tim ?i+pak no.maj kon tum jaaka
 that tree=fruit 3PSR+seed no.more with one piece
 the avocado seed, no more than one piece,

tar+ak+yumpa kon kaachyaatyi ?i+?ay
tan+?ak+yum-pa kon kaach=yaatyi ?i+?ay
 IERG+CAUS₁+boil-INC with custard.apple 3PSR+leaf
 we boil with a custard apple leaf

?ii jonyaatyi ?i+?ay
?ii jon=yaatyi ?i+?ay
 and bird=custard.apple 3PSR+leaf
 and the *anona* leaf

(b) *je?+am tar+ak+yumpa*
je?+?am tan+?ak+yum-pa
 3PRO+ALR IERG+CAUS₁+boil-INC
 That [is what] we boil.

(c) *je?+am tany+chi?iba*
je?+?am tan+chi?-pa
 3PRO+ALR IERG+give-INC
 That [is what] we give to her.

- (d) *jeʔ+am tar+ag+ukpa*
jeʔ+ʔam tan+ʔak+ʔuk-pa
 3PRO+ALR IERG+CAUS₁+drink-INC
 That [is what] we give her to drink. (SA1.003-7)

13.1.2 The Passive in Dependent Clauses

In simple clauses, the subjects of verbs in passive voice are marked with absolutive (Set-B) proclitics. The alignment pattern changes in complex predicate constructions, however, and the subject of the passive verb is co-referenced with ergative (Set-A) proclitics.

Auxiliary verb constructions make up three of five complex predicate constructions involving dependent verbs. They are composed of an auxiliary verb, which is inflected with aspect, and the dependent verb, which is inflected with person and dependent morphology. There are three types of auxiliary verb constructions: Type I, type II, and *siʔ* auxiliaries. The split in alignment is most readily identifiable in auxiliary type I verb constructions⁴. The auxiliary verbs are listed in (13.20).

⁴Each of these auxiliary verb construction types are described in detail in ch. 22.

(13.20) TYPE I AUXILIARY VERBS:

<i>nikk</i>	‘go’
<i>miny</i>	‘come’
<i>ʔoy</i>	‘go and return’
<i>moj</i>	‘begin’
<i>yaj</i>	‘finish’
<i>kus</i>	‘have enough of’
<i>jaʔy</i>	‘be late at’

TYPE II AUXILIARY VERBS:

<i>wiʔaH</i>	‘be able’
<i>jaʔy</i>	‘be such that’
<i>ʔanhjagoʔy</i>	‘be first to’

Siʔ ‘PROGRESSIVE’ AUXILIARY VERB:

<i>siʔ</i>	‘walk’
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There are three dependent suffixes, which are listed in (13.21).

(13.21) DEPENDENT VERB MORPHOLOGY:

<i>-i</i>	‘dependent intransitive-a’
<i>-W₂</i>	‘dependent transitive’
<i>-W₃</i>	‘dependent intransitive-b’

Two factors determine which suffix appears on the dependent verb: the type of auxiliary verb or subordinator morpheme and the transitivity of the semantic main verb. When the auxiliary verb is type I and the dependent (or the semantic main) verb is intransitive, the dependent is marked with the suffix *-i* ‘dependent intransitive-a’ (13.22). When the dependent verb is transitive (regardless of which auxiliary or subordinator it occurs with), it is marked with the marker *W₂*⁵ ‘dependent transitive’ (13.23). When the main verb

⁵For description of morphophonemic properties of the dependent suffixes, refer to ch. 22.

is intransitive and occurs with type II auxiliaries (as well as in a number of other dependent verb constructions, see ch. 22), it is marked with the suffix $-W_3$ ‘dependent intransitive-b’, and its subject is co-referenced with Set-A (ergative) person markers (13.24).

- (13.22) *ʔich míny+am ʔa+ʔityi+tyam*
ʔich miny-W+ʔam ʔa+ʔity-i+tam
 1PRO come_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+be-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We came to live

yíʔim naxwiny
yíʔim nax=winy
 here below
 down here.’ (MAB.174)

- (13.23) *nikpa ʔi+pík niʔ*
nikk-pa ʔi+pik-W₂ niʔ
 go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+take-DEP_t water
 ‘She went to get water.’ (GU2.003a)

- (13.24) *wiʔáaty+m ʔi+náy jeʔm tziixi*
wiʔ-ʔaH-wi+tyi+ʔam ʔi+nay-W₃ jeʔm tziixi
 3ABS+be.able-CMP+JUST+ALR 3ERG+be.born-DEP_{ib} that child
 ‘The baby could still be born.’ (PAR.039)

When the auxiliary verb construction is in passive voice, the subject is marked on the verb with the ergative proclitic *ʔi+*. As such passive verbs condition a type of split ergativity in auxiliary verb constructions (Dixon 1994).

- (13.25) *ʔokmi jeʔam kuykukiʔim níg*
ʔokmi jeʔm kuy=ku.kiʔ.mi nikk-W
 afterwards that tree=LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁ go_{aux}-CMP
 ‘Afterward, she went under the tree

?i+chentáaj
 ?i+tzen-taH-W₃
 3ERG+tie-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 'to be tied.' (VYT.097)

13.2 Antipassive -?o?y

SP has an antipassive construction in which a transitive verb is marked with the suffix *-?o?y*. In antipassive sentences, transitivity is reduced and the patient is suppressed. Compare examples (13.26) and (13.27). In (13.26) the transitive verb is *wiit* 'massage'. The verb is inflected with the ergative proclitic *?i+*, marking the A. In (13.27) the same verb is marked with the antipassive suffix *-?o?y*. The verb is \emptyset -marked for 3rd person absolutive; there is no O.

(13.26) *nikpa* *?i+wiit* *je?m yom+tam*
 nikk-pa ?i+wiit-W je?m yoomo+tam
 go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+massage-DEP_t that woman+PLU_{hum}
 'She (the midwife) goes to massage these (pregnant) woman.' (MAB.040)

(13.27) *?agi+wi?ido?ypa*
 ?agi+ \emptyset +wiit-?o?y-pa
 INTENS+3ABS+massage-ANTIP-INC
 'She massaged a lot.' (MAB.169)

This is further illustrated with the 1st person absolutive in example (13.28), in which the transitive verb *jaam* 'feel, sense' is marked with the antipassive suffix *-?o?y*. The 1st person argument is referenced on the verb with the absolutive proclitic *?a+* '1st person exclusive absolutive'. Example (13.29)

shows the same verb *jaama* as transitive, complement taking verb; here it is inflected with the 3rd person ergative proclitic *?i+*.

- (13.28) *?iga+?iga+?este* *?a+mij?anh+?am* *pues*
?iga+?iga+?este *?a+mij. ?anh+?am* *pues*
 COMP+COMP+FILL XABS+big.QUANT+ALR then

‘[false start] Well, I was big already;

- ?iga+?a+* ***?a+jà?amo?ynyé?u+m***
?iga+?a+ ***?a+jaam-?o?y-ne?-W+?am***
 COMP+XABS+ XABS+feel-ANTIP-PERF-CMP+ALR

‘[false start], I had felt [it] strongly.’ (MAB.257)

- (13.29) *?ii* *jesik+?am* *jigaantej* ***?i+jaam***
?ii *jesik+?am* *jigaantej* ***?i+jaam-W***
 and then+ALR giant 3ERG+feel-CMP

‘And then the giant felt

- ?iga+put* *?i+nyi?ipiny*
?iga+Ø+put-W *?i+ni?iny*
 that+3ABS+exit-CMP 3PSR+blood

that his blood came out.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.090)

Unlike auxiliary verb constructions in which the dependent verb is passive and marks its S with ergative proclitics, dependent verbs marked with the antipassive suffix take absolutive proclitics to mark the S. That is, antipassive dependent verbs exhibit ergative-absolutive alignment, whereas passive dependent verbs exhibit nominative-accusative alignment⁶.

- (13.30) *tikkilim* *nikpa* *wi?idyol?yi*
tik=ki?.mi *nikk-pa* *Ø+wit-?o?y-i*
 house=LOC₃7.LOC₁ go_{aux}-INC 3ABS+massage-ANTIP-DEP_{ia}

‘She’s going to massage at a house. (MAB.068)

⁶Alignment with respect to dependent verb constructions is described in detail in ch. 22

13.2.1 Pragmatics of the Antipassive

The antipassive suffix appears in two contexts. Antipassive voice is used to foreground the agent or background the patient. This is illustrated in example (13.31) in which the donkey (*jeʔm burroj*) is described as a biter (c). The implication is that the donkey bites indiscriminately, making anyone its target. As such the antipassive is used when the patient is unknown or unspecified.

- (13.31) (a) *na+nɪkki jeʔm burroj*
 na+nɪkk-i jeʔm burroj
 ASSOC+go-IMP that donkey
 “Take the donkey.

- (b) *tarak+tziʔimaap*
 tan+ʔak+tzim-ʔaʔy-pa
 IERG+CAUS₁+load-BEN-INC
 We’re going to make [the donkey] carry [the load],’ (says my son).

- (c) *peru jeʔm burroj ʔagi+wasoʔypa*
 peru jeʔm burroj ʔagi+Ø+was-ʔoʔy-pa
 but that donkey INTENS+3ABS+bite-ANTIP-INC
 But the donkey bites *a lot*.

This is also illustrated in (13.32c) with the verb *jɪis* ‘think’. In the example the speaker is describing an illness brought about by worry. Here emphasis is placed on the concern itself, rather than the source of concern. The transitive verb is marked with the antipassive and the source of concern is suppressed.

- (13.32) (a) *jesik mimneʔʔak+tinhpɑ tuum tziixi*
jesik Ø+mim.neʔ=ʔak+tinhpɑ tuum tziixi
 when 3ABS+be.sick=CAUS₁+fall-INC one child
 ‘When a child becomes ill
- (b) *nimyajpa tan+taadaweewej+tam*
Ø+nim-yaj-pɑ tan+taada=weewej+tam
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC IPSR+creature=grandparent+PLU_{hum}
 our grandparents say
- (c) *ʔiga+ʔi+jaatunh tzaam j̣iisoỵnyéʔ*
ʔiga+ʔi+jaatunh tzaam Ø+j̣iis-ʔoỵ-neʔ-W
 COMP+3PSR+father much 3ABS+think-ANTIP-PERF-CMP
 that the father is preoccupied (lit. thinking).’ (PHE.001)

13.2.2 Incorporation as Antipassivization

Incorporation is generally considered a type of antipassive construction in which the O of a transitive verb is incorporated into the verb, effectively reducing the valency of the verb (Foley and Van Valin 1985:338-47, Givón 1991:626, among others). As such the A of the verb is marked as absolutive. This strategy requires no additional morphology. The example in (13.33) shows the transitive verb *pij* ‘heat up’ with two arguments: the A (1st person) is marked on the verb with the ergative *ʔan+*; the O *ʔuunu* ‘atole’ follows the verb. The sentence in (13.34) illustrates the same verb with the same O incorporated. Here the verb takes a single argument, the S, which is marked as absolutive with *ʔa+*.

- (13.33) *ʔam+pijpa* *ʔuunu*
 ʔan+pij-pa *ʔuunu*
 XERG+heat.up-INC *atole*
 ‘I going to make *atole*.’ (Atole.002)

- (13.34) *ʔich* *ʔa+ʔuunpijpa*
 ʔich *ʔa+ʔuunu=pij-pa*
 1PRO XABS+*atole*=heat.up-INC
 ‘I’m going to make *atole* (corn beverage).’ (Atole.001)

Incorporation is productive in SP. A description of SP noun incorporation is found in ch. 20.

13.3 Indefinite (or defocused) Subject *-niim*

The morpheme *-niim*⁷ is used to defocus the subject of intransitive verbs, a process that can be likened to that of the passive *-taH* with transitive verbs to indicate an indefinite or unspecified subject⁸. For instance, in (13.35) the speaker describes the scene during a festival in his town. Here the speaker describes the general activities throughout the day, with no specific reference to people, and indicates that there was eating, drinking, dancing, etc.

⁷The suffix is of the shape *-Vniim*, where V represents an unspecified vowel; it affects the length of the root to which it attaches, as shown in (i) (Kaufman, p.c.).

(i) *kiʔimniimpa* *kiʔm-Vniim-pa*
 naasniimpa *nas-Vniim-pa*

⁸Keenan and Dryer (2007:345-8) discuss “impersonal passives (passives of intransitives)”, noting that languages such as Dutch, German, Latin, Classical Greek, North Russian dialects, Shona (Bantu), Turkish, and Tarahumara (Uto-Aztecan), use the syntax and morphology of the basic passives to form impersonal passives from intransitive verbs.

- (13.35) *wiʔikniimpa* *ya* *tzuʔanh*
 Ø+wiʔk-**niim**-pa ya tzuʔ.ʔanh
 3ABS+eat-INDEF-INC already afternoon
 ‘[They] ate into already the afternoon.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.041)

Because the third person absolutive is Ø-marked, there is a question as to the subject status of the unspecified participants. Evidence that the unspecified subject is a third person participant comes from dependent verb constructions. Complex predicate constructions, consisting of auxiliary verbs and subordinators, are composed of two (or more) lexically independent verbs that share arguments and aspect/mood. Auxiliary verb constructions include type I, type II and *siʔ* auxiliaries. In each of these constructions, illustrated in (13.36) through (13.38) respectively, the auxiliary verbs (in 1st position) take inflection to indicate aspect and the semantic main verb (in 2nd position) take inflection to indicate person.

(13.36) AUXILIARY I:

ʔich *moj***o**+*m* *ʔa*+*puʔunyi*
 ʔich moj-**W**+ʔam **ʔa**+puʔn-i
 1PRO begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+swim-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I began to swim

jeʔm *niʔi=kiʔim*
 jeʔm niʔ=kiʔ.mi
 that water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the water.’ (MAB.027)

(13.37) AUXILIARY II:

jeʔm yoom+tam wiʔaap
jeʔm yoomo+tam wiH.ʔaH_{aux}-pa
that woman+PLU_{hum} be.able_{aux}-INC
'These woman can

ʔi+nyùndajìyyá
ʔi+nunta=jìy-yaj-W₃
3ERG+truth=speak-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
speak Popoluca.' (SobrePopoluca052.JAF)

(13.38) PROGRESSIVE *Siʔ* AUXILIARY:

siʔip *ʔi+jíps* *ʔi+tyik*
siʔ-pa ʔi+jips-W₃ ʔi+tik
PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+burn-CMP 3PSR+house
'The house is burning.' (GU2.108)

Type I and *siʔ* auxiliary verb constructions differ from type I auxiliary constructions in that dependent verbs that are intransitive co-reference their subjects with ergative proclitics. This is illustrated above in (13.37) and (13.38) with the intransitive verbs *nunda=jìy* 'Popoluca=speak' and *jíps* 'burn', which both co-reference their subjects with the ergative 3rd person *ʔi+*. That is, type II and *siʔ* auxiliary (among other dependent verb⁹) constructions condition split ergativity.

Additionally, *siʔ* auxiliaries may occur in 1st position (as in 13.38 above) or in 2nd position (13.39). Regardless of whether the auxiliary verb occurs in 1st position or 2nd position, it is the verb that takes inflection for aspect.

⁹See ch. 22 for a detailed description.

- (13.39) *jeʔeyukmi* *wéjpa* *ʔi+xíʔ*
 jeʔe.yukmi *wej-pa* *ʔi+siʔ-W₃*
 3PRO.LOC₅.LOC₁ cry-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘That’s why she’s crying.’ (MAB.019)

When an intransitive verb occurs in a dependent verb construction that conditions split ergativity, the third person referent is co-referenced overtly with the 3rd person ergative *ʔi+*. Example (13.40) shows the derived intransitive verb *sinh-ʔaH* ‘party-VERS’ in the *siʔ* auxiliary construction. In this case, the derived verb occurs in 1st position and both verbs are marked with the indefinite suffix *nim*. The verb in 1st position takes inflection for aspect and the auxiliary verb in 2nd position takes inflection for person, which is marked with the ergative *ʔi+*.

- (13.40) *ʔak+kaʔatáaj* *tuum* *traʔytyi* *piixiny*
 \emptyset +ʔak+kaʔ-taH-W tuum traʔytyi piixiny
 XABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-CMP one kid man
 ‘A young man was killed

juuty *tzam* *ʔagi+siʔip*
juuty *tzam* *ʔagi+siʔip*
 where many INTENS+now
 where many now

sinhaniimpa *ʔi+xíʔaním+am*
 \emptyset +sinh-ʔaH-nim-pa *ʔi+siʔ-nim-W+ʔam*
 3ABS+fiesta-VERS-INDEF-INC 3ERG+walk_{aux}-INDEF-DEP_t+ALR
 are partying.

ʔak+kaʔtáaj *jeʔm* *traʔytyi*
 \emptyset +ʔak+kaʔ-taH-W jeʔm traʔytyi
 XABS+die-PASS-CMP that kid
 This young man was killed.’ (Duenyo.030-2)

Indefinite subject marking is common throughout North and Meso-America. Mithun (1999:71) reports that in Caddo (spoken in Oklahoma) indefinite pronouns, expressed with pronouns meaning ‘someone’ or with the indefinite marker *di-*, are used with inclusives. Achumawi has two 3rd persons, a basic and an indefinite ‘one’ (Mithun 1999:71). Tepehua, spoken in Mexico, has a indefinite subject marking suffix *-kan*, which occurs on transitive verbs to indicate an indefinite subject (Smythe Kung 2007:186). All the Zoquean languages have a cognate suffix (Kaufman, unpublished ms). Keenan and Dryer (2007:354-6) describe the same phenomena (and its surrounding controversy) occurring in Kutenai, Oneida, Plains Cree (Dahlstrom 1991, Wolfart 1973), Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958, Hockett 1958, Dryer 1997), Tlingit (Boas 1917, Naish 1979, Story 1979), Misantra Totonac (Mackay 1999).

In SP the indefinite subject suffix *-niim* occurs only with intransitive verb roots and verbs derived with the versive, as shown with the derived verb *tik-ʔaH* ‘house build’ in (13.41).

- (13.41) *ʔich ʔanh+kuʔix-pa juuty+piʔk*
ʔich ʔanh+kuʔix-pa juuty+piʔk
 1PRO XERG+DERIV₂.see-INC where+REL
 ‘I want to see where

tik-ʔaH-niim-pa
 Ø+tik-ʔaH-niim-pa
 3ABS+house-VERS-INDEF-INC
 they build houses.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.064)

Transitive verb roots that have been detransitivized may not take *-niim*. Attempts to elicit such forms result in judgments that the forms are ungram-

matical (13.42). This restriction is expected considering that detransitivizing strategies such as passivization and antipassivization serve to foreground participants and the indefinite subject particle serves to defocus the subject.

- (13.42) (a) **wattaniim*
 Ø+wat-taH-niim-W
 3ABS+do-PASS-INDEF-CMP
 Intended reading: ‘[Houses] were made.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)
- (b) **kuʔttaniim*
 Ø+kuʔt-taH-niim-W
 3ABS+eat-PASS-INDEF-CMP
 Intended reading: ‘[Food, meat, pork] is eaten here.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)
- (c) **ʔixoʔynyiim*
 Ø+ʔixoʔynyiim-W
 3ABS+see-ANTIP-INDEF-CMP
 Intended reading: ‘[They] see.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

13.4 Reflexives and Reciprocals

The formation of reflexive and reciprocal constructions utilizes a number of morphological resources: the proclitic *na+* ‘RR’, the passive suffix *-taH*, and the plural suffixes *-yaj* and *-taʔm*. The proclitic *na+* co-occurs on the verb with the passive *-taH*¹⁰ to indicate that the action is either reflexive (13.43) or reciprocal (13.44).

¹⁰There is evidence to suggest that the suffix *-taH* is underlyingly of the shape *-VtaH*, where V represents an unspecified vowel (Kaufman, p.c.). The analysis presented here is preliminary and further study on reflexive/reciprocal constructions in SP is required.

- (13.43) *ním* *je?* **na+?***ak+wa?**k+táaj* *puej*
 Ø+nim-W je? Ø+na+?*ak+wa?**k-taH-W* puej
 XABS+say-CMP 3PRO 3ABS+RR+CAUS₁+request-PASS-CMP
 ‘She says, well she asks herself:’

tyii *si?* *?i+ku?**tpa* *yi?**p* *?an+?**aanyi*
 tyiH si?ip ?i+ku?t-pa yi?p ?an+?aanyi
 what now 3ERG+eat-INC that XPSR+tortilla
 ‘Now, what’s eating my tortilla?’ ” (ESK.095-6)

- (13.44) *?ich* *?ara+?**pikta?**mtáap* *?an+widyaaaya*
 ?ich ?a+na+?*pik-ta?**m-taH-pa* ?an+wity=?aaya
 1PRO XABS+RR+take-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC XPSR+big=male
 ‘My husband and I married each other.’ (CNC.001)

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions, logically, occur only with transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs whose valency has been increased with other valency changing operations may also occur in reflexive/reciprocal relations. For example in (13.45) the intransitive verb *poy* ‘run’ occurs as transitive derived with the causative *?ak+* to express ‘chase’.

- (13.45) *?ich* *?anak+pòy**tya?**mtáap*
 ?ich ?a+na+?*ak+poy-ta?**m-taH-pa*
 1PRO XABS+ASSOC+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘We chased each other.’ (VVA.026b)

The correlation between passive, reflexive and reciprocal constructions is typologically common. Shibatani (1985:40) observes a shared semantic property in which the subjects are all affected, noting that “in the passive, the subject is affected by an external agent; in the reflexive, by itself; in the reciprocal, by the partner.” A paradigm illustrating this point for SP is shown in (13.46).

Example (13.46a) shows the transitive verb *?ix* ‘see’; the agent is marked on the verb with the ergative proclitic *?i+*. In (b) the same verb is shown in the passive, with *xiwan* as the subject of the detransitivized verb \emptyset -marked as absolutive 3rd person; here the subject is affected by an unexpressed entity. In (c) *?ix* ‘see’ occurs in a reflexive construction with a 1st person subject; here the subject is affected by itself. (d) shows *?ix* ‘see’ in a reciprocal construction in which the plural subjects are affected by each other.

(13.46) (a) *xiwan ?i+?ix ?i+?aapa*
 xiwan ?i+?ix-W ?i+?aapa
 John 3ERG+see-CMP 3PSR+mother
 ‘John saw his mother.’

(b) *xiwan na+?ixtyáaj*
 xiwan \emptyset +na+?ix-taH-W
 John 3ABS+RR+see-PASS-CMP
 ‘John was seen.’

(c) *?ich ?ara+?ixtyáaj*
 ?ich ?a+na+?ix-taH-W
 1PRO XABS+RR+see-PASS-CMP
 ‘I saw myself.’

(d) *na+?ixyajtáaj*
 \emptyset +na+?ix-yaj-taH-W
 3ABS+RR+seePLU_{nonsap}-PASS-CMP
 ‘They saw each other.’ (20050706brn)

13.4.1 Reflexive

Reflexive constructions are formed by marking the verb with both the reflexive/reciprocal proclitic *na+* and the passive suffix *-taH*.

- (13.47) *jeʔ kiʔiʔy*
jeʔ Ø+kiʔ-ʔiʔy-W
 3PRO 3ABS+hand-PROV-CMP
 ‘She has hands

para na+màtzpaktáap
 para Ø+na+matz=pak-taH-pa
 for 3ABS+RR+grab=knock.down-PASS-INC
 so she supports herself.’ (Yerno.060)

In the reflexive construction the valency of a transitive verb is reduced, as illustrated with the transitive verb *ʔix* ‘see’ in examples (13.48) and (13.49). In (13.48) *ʔix* ‘see’ is inflected with *ʔan+*, indicating a 2nd person A and a 1st person O. In (13.49) the valency of the verb is reduced, and the verb is inflected with the 1st person absolutive *ʔa+*.

- (13.48) *jemu+m ʔany+ʔixpa*
jemiʔ+m ʔan+ʔix-pa
 right.there 2:1+see-INC
 ‘Right there you’re going to see me.’ (GU2.051)

- (13.49) *ʔiʔ ʔa+na+ʔixtyáaj*
ʔiʔ ʔa+na+ʔix-taH-W
 1PRO XABS+RR+see-PASS-CMP
 ‘I saw myself.’ (20050706BRNn74)

Ambiguities may arise, however, when a construction is formed with the *associative na+* and the passive *-taH*. As noted elsewhere, the suffixes *na+* ‘associative’ and *na+* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ are homophonous¹¹ (Kaufman 1997),

¹¹The proclitic *na+* is homophonous with the associative proclitic *na+* (ch. 14). The reflexive-reciprocal proclitic is reconstructed as **na:y+* in proto-MZ; the associative, on the other hand is reconstructed from **ni-* in proto-Zoque (and **mi-* in proto-Mixe) (Kaufman 1997).

and therefore there are cases in which the use of *na+* and *-taH* indicate a passivized associative construction, rather than a reflexive or reciprocal construction. For example in (13.50) the intransitive verb *nikk* ‘go’ is marked with the associative *na+* to form the transitive verb stem *na+nikk* ‘take’ and occurs in the passive voice, indicated by *-taH*. In this example a man is taken by an unexpressed agent (a cow) to where the wife is being held. In this example the reading is not reflexive.

- (13.50) *?ii na+niktáaj*
 ?ii Ø+na+nikk-taH-W
 and 3ABS+RR+go-PASS-CMP
 ‘And he was taken.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.023)

Additional ambiguities arise with respect to plural morphology, which is facultative. Reflexive constructions may also involve plural participants. For example in (13.51) the subject¹² is plural, a brother and sister who are getting fat; they are not fattening each other up.

- (13.51) *si?* *?inyi+piitamtaap*
 si?-W *?in+na+piH-ta?m-taH-pa*
 walk_{aux}-CMP 2ERG+RR+fatten-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘You are fattening yourselves up.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:320-1)

¹²In this construction, the subject is marked with an ergative proclitic. This example illustrates a case of split ergativity conditioned by subordination (refer to ch. 22). It is the only example from naturally occurring texts in which the subject of a reflexive construction is plural.

13.4.2 Reciprocal

To indicate reciprocal relations, the verb is marked with the proclitic *na+* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’, the passive suffix *-taH* and number morphology. In the case of 3rd person referents, the verb is marked with the 3rd person plural suffix *-yaj* (13.52). In the case of 1st and 2nd person referents, the verb is marked with the plural suffix *-taʔm* (13.53).

- (13.52) *na+ʔixpikyajtáa+m*
 Ø+**na**+ʔix=pi**k+yaj-taH**+ʔam
 3ABS+RR+see=grab-PLU_{non_{sap}}-PASS+ALR
 ‘And they recognized each other

ʔentrej ʔanimat tzuʔukiʔim
 ʔentrej ʔanimat tzuʔ=kiʔ.mi
 between animal night=LOC₃.LOC₁
 as animals in the night.’ (VYT.005)

- (13.53) *dedo.kej ʔa+ra+pìktaʔmtáap*
 desde.kej ʔa+**na**+pi**k-taʔm-taH**-pa
 since.that XABS+RR+grab-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘Since we took each other (got married),

dya ʔa+ra+tzàktaʔmtáap
 dya ʔa+**na**+tzak-**taʔm-taH**-pa
 NEG XABS+RR+leave-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 we haven’t left each other. (Yerno.014/20060717JAF)

As with reflexive constructions, the valency of the verb is reduced. This is illustrated with the transitive verb *yoox=paʔt* ‘help’, shown marked with the ergative proclitic in (13.54). In (13.55) the verb is marked with the absolutive

inclusive *ta+* indicating that the agent and the patient are acting on one another.

- (13.54) *tan+yooxpaʔtpa mej ta+ʔich piixiny*
 tan+yoox=paʔt-pa meej ta+ʔich piixiny
 IERG+work=find-INC also XABS+1PRO man
 ‘We also help our husbands.’ (JOV.026)

- (13.55) *ta+na+yòoxpaʔattaʔmtáap*
 ta+na+yoox=paʔt-taʔm-taH-pa
 IABS+RR+work=find-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘We help each other out.’ (20050706BRNn63)

As previously noted, the inclusive proclitics *ta+* and *tan+* imply plurality because they refer to the addressee as well as the speaker. As such, reciprocal constructions that refer to the speaker and addressee do not require the plural suffix. For example in (13.56), the proclitic is inclusive of 1st and 2nd person. Although the verb is not marked with number morphology, a reciprocal relation is implied.

- (13.56) *ta+na+yòoxpaʔttáap*
 ta+na+yoox=paʔt-taH-pa
 IABS+RR+work=find=PASS-INC
 ‘We help each other, you and I.’ (20050706BRNn59)

Chapter 14

Valency Increasing

SP has a number of strategies for reducing or increasing the number of arguments a verb takes. In addition to the valency reducing functions of the passive and the antipassive described in ch. 13, the strategies for increasing valency or adjusting argument relations include three applicatives—benefactive, associative, and locative— and the causative operations.

14.1 Applicative *-ʔaʔy*

The applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* serves in four capacities that are associated specifically with the object of the verb. The applicative is used to add an O to intransitive verbs or a PO to transitive verbs. It is used to advance the possessor of the O to PO status. The applicative also occurs in a reduplicated form to indicate a malefactive argument. These are listed in (14.1) for ease of reference.

(14.1) FUNCTIONS OF *-ʔaʔy* ‘APPLICATIVE’:

- i. adds an O to intransitive verbs;
- ii. adds a PO (benefactive, addressee, recipient, goal) to transitive verbs;
- iii. advances possessor of an O to PO status;
- iv. in reduplicated form, adds malefactive argument.

Each of these functions are described throughout this section.

14.1.1 *-ʔaʔy* as Transitivizer

When affixed to an intransitive verb, the applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* adds an O. For example in (14.2) the intransitive verb *wan* ‘sing’ is marked with the suffix *-ʔaʔy* increasing the transitivity of the verb, adding a 2nd person O, in this case an addressee. In (14.3) the valency of the intransitive verb *winy=kej* ‘appear’ is increased. Here the O is *yuʔktuuku+yaj* ‘orphans’, which are added as benefactive arguments.

- (14.2) *choomo choomo manh+waʔnaʔyypa*
 choomo choomo man+wan-ʔaʔy-pa
 grandmother grandmother 1:2+sing-BEN-INC
 ‘Grandmother, grandmother, I’m going to sing to you.’

- (14.3) *jesiq+ʔam jeʔm yuʔktuuku+yaj ʔi+winykejʔaʔy*
 jesik+ʔam jeʔm yuʔk=tuku+yaj ʔi+winy=kej-ʔaʔy-W
 then+ALR that orphan+PLU_{nonsap} 3ERG+face=appear-BEN-CMP
 ‘Then to the orphans appears’

taʔ+naaba+tam *Malia*
 tan+ʔaapa+tam Maria
 IPSR+mother+PLU_{sap} Maria
 our mother Mary.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:320-1)

In (14.4) the intransitive verb *poy* ‘run’ is marked with *-ʔaʔy*, increasing its transitivity and adding a malefactive argument.

(14.4) *ʔii dya ʔi+poyʔaʔyyaj*
 ʔii dya ʔi+poy-ʔaʔy-ya.j-W
 and NEG 3ERG+flee-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 And they didn’t flee [from them]. (PDLMA.Presidente.080)

The example in (14.5) illustrates the intransitive verb *tzokʔoy* ‘lose’ marked with the applicative. In this example the malefactive argument is the 1st person O, marked with the absolutive proclitic *ta+*.

(14.5) *wiʔkkuyyaj* *tyii tyii ta+tògoʔyáʔy*
 wiʔk=kuy+yaj tyiH tyiH ta+tokʔoy-ʔaʔy-W
 eat=LOC_{applic}+PLU_{nonhum} what what IABS+lose-BEN-CMP
 ‘Food that we lack

 kusiinaj
 kusiinaj
 kitchen
 in the kitchen.’ (JOV.018)

14.1.2 *-ʔaʔy* Adds Primary Object

SP is a primary object language (Dryer 1986:815). In primary object languages, the recipient of ditransitive verbs shares the O properties of the O of monotransitive verbs, whereas the theme assumes SO status. This differs

from direct/indirect object languages (such as English) in that the direct object (DO) of ditransitive verbs shares properties with the \emptyset of monotransitive verbs. That is, the theme is treated as DO, and the recipient as indirect object (IO), often marked as dative. An example with PO and SO is shown in (14.6). In this example, the A is a 3rd person referent, the PO (the recipient) is a 1st person referent, and the SO (the theme) is the 3rd person referent *jeʔm ʔan+ʔaanyi* ‘my tortilla’. Recall that SP has a hierarchical alignment system (see ch. 11), and therefore only the higher ranking participant is marked on the verb. In this case the PO is marked on the verb with the absolutive *ʔa+*.

- (14.6) *ʔa+chiʔiba jeʔm ʔan+ʔaanyi*
ʔa+chiʔ-pa jeʔm ʔan+ʔaanyi
 XABS+give-INC that XPSR+tortilla
 ‘She gave me my tortilla.’ (MAB.086b)

In example (14.7) the A and the PO are both marked on the verb with the local proclitic *ʔan+* ‘2:1’ (see ch. 11).

- (14.7) *mich+ʔam ʔan+chiʔiba jeʔm ʔoojo*
mich+ʔam ʔan+chiʔ-pa jeʔm ʔoojo
 2PRO+ALR 2:1+give-INC that alcohol
 ‘You’re going to give me alcohol.’ (AVC.017b)

When the verb is transitive, the applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* adds a PO, and the O assumes SO status. Example (14.8) shows a transitive compound verb *maanyxuj=wat* ‘to break in, make tame’. In this example the speaker quotes her brother telling their father that he is not going to break in a horse; the 1st person referent is A, and the O is his horse (not overtly expressed).

- (14.8) *dya* **?am**+*maanxujwatpa*
 dya **?an**+*maanxuj*=*wat-pa*
 NEG XERG+tame=make-INC
 ‘I’m not going to break it in.’ (VVA.060)

In (14.9) the same verb is marked with the applicative. Here the boy is quoted as telling his father that he is not going to break the horse in for him. The A is 1st person, and the PO is 2nd person (the father, the recipient); the 1:2 relation is indicated with the local proclitic *man+*. In this case the horse is the SO.

- (14.9) *dya* **mam**+*maanxujwada?ypa*
 dya **man**+*maanxuj*=*wat-?a?y-pa*
 NEG 1:2+tame=make+BEN-INC
 ‘I’m not going to break it in for you.’ (VVA.058)

The semantic roles that appear in primary object status are addressees (14.10), benefactives (14.11), recipients (14.12) or targets (or goals) (14.13)

- (14.10) *?inh+weja?y* *yommaanik* *seet*
 ?i+?anh+wej-?a?y-W *yoomo=maanik* \emptyset +seet-W
 3ERG+DERIV₁+cry-BEN-CMP *woman=child* 3ABS+return-CMP
 ‘She called to the child to return.’ (ConvSerPartera.118b)

- (14.11) *numaj* *?a+wiitzaga?y+nyam*
 numaj *?a+wiH=tzak-?a?y-W+nyam*
 no.more XABS+good=leave=APPLIC-CMP+STILL
 ‘Nothing more, she still fixed it for me.’ (ConvSerPartera.114)

- (14.12) *je?m buurruj saja?yajtáaj* *doktor*
 je?m buurruj \emptyset +saj-?a?y-taH-W *doktor*
 that donkey 3ABS+gift-BEN-PASS-CMP doctor
 ‘The doctor was gifted the donkey.’ (Burro.003)

- (14.13) *ʔanh+ku+koʔmaʔypa* *niʔi*
 ʔan+ku+kom-ʔaʔy-pa niʔ
 XERG+DERIV₂+fill-APPLIC-INC water
 ‘I filled the pot with water.’ (Atole.005)

14.1.3 *-ʔaʔy* Advancer of Possessor to Primary Object

When the O is a possessed noun, the applicative *-ʔaʔy* reassigns the possessor as PO and the O (the possessum) assumes SO status. Possessor ascension (Aissen 1987), a type of external possession (Payne and Barshi 1999), refers to constructions in which the possessor of a possessed noun is treated as core argument of the verb. Possessor ascension is typologically common and found in many languages spoken throughout Mesoamerica, including Huehuetla Tephua (Smythe Kung 2004), Papantla Totonac (Levy 2002), Oluta Popoluca (Zavala 1999), and Tzotzil (Aissen 1987), as well as other Zoque languages such as San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Johnson 2000:139) and Texistepec (Reilly 2002).

This type of external possession is illustrated in example (14.14). Here the noun *niʔipiny* ‘blood’ is marked for possession with the inclusive Set-A proclitic *tan+*. The verb is inflected with the inclusive absolutive *ta+*, which agrees with the possessor of the NP. In this example, the possessor is marked as PO on the verb. *niʔipiny* ‘blood’ (the theme) is the SO in the clause.

- (14.14) *jeʔe ta+ʔugaʔiyajpa* *tan+niʔipiny+tyam*
 jeʔe **ta+**ʔuk-ʔaʔy-yaj-pa **tan+**niʔipiny+tam
 3PRO IABS+drink+BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-INC IPSR+blood+PLU_{hum}
 ‘They drink (from us) our blood.’ (PDO.042a)

In example (14.15), the verb *wat* ‘do’ is inflected with the imperative suffix *-i*. Observe that the secondary object *sik=kaama* ‘bean field’ is marked for possession with the exclusive Set-A proclitic *?an+*, which agrees with absolutive proclitic *?a+* marked on the verb. Here the possessor is marked as PO, the SO is the possessum (the bean field).

- (14.15) *no mas ?a+wat?a?ayi tuum ?an+sikkaama*
 no mas ?a+wat-?a?y-i tuum ?an+sik=kaama
 no more XABS+do+BEN+IMP one XPSR+bean=cornfield
 ‘Just make me my beanfield.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.068)

14.1.4 Malefactive *-?a?y.?a?y*

The applicative suffix *-?a?y* also appears in reduplicated form to indicate that the added argument is malefactive. Compare the examples in (14.16), (14.17), and (14.18). The transitive verb *top* ‘extract’ is shown in (14.16). The speaker is describing how her grandparents harvested and prepared corn. The A is her grandmother and the O is cotton, neither of which are lexically expressed. The A is marked with the proclitic *?i+* ‘3ERG’.

- (14.16) *jesik je? ?i+tyoppa+m jaamjoom*
 jesik je? ?i+top-pa+?am jaama=joj.mi
 then 3PRO 3ERG+extract-INC sun=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘Then she took it out into the sun.’ (Puktuuku.014a)

In (14.17) the same verb is shown with the suffix *-?a?y* and an additional argument. The A is *?animat+yaj* ‘animals’; the PO (the external possessor) is 1st person (marked with the absolutive *?a+*); and the SO is *?an+wichoomo* ‘my wife’ (the possessum).

- (14.17) *mij+tam+pi:k* *?animat+yaj* *dya wi?aap*
 mij+tam+pi?k *?animat+yaj* *dya wiH-?aH-pa*
 big+PLU_{sap}+REL animal+PLU_{nonhum} NEG good-VERS-INC
 ‘The big animals are not able

?a+top?á?y *?anh+wichoomo*
?a+top-?a?y-W *?an+wichoomo*
 XABS+extract-BEN-DEP_t XPSR+wife
 to take my wife back *for* me.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.068)

In (14.18), the same verb is shown with the double suffix *?a?y.?a?y*. In this example the A is *jigaantej* ‘giant’, and the SO is *?anh+wichoomo* ‘my wife’. Notice, however, that the 1st person PO is a malefactive argument, having had his wife taken *from* him, rather than taken *for* him (as in 14.17 above).

- (14.18) *nimpa* *?ich* *?a+wejpa* *porkej*
 \emptyset +nim-pa *?ich* *?a+wej-pa* *porkej*
 3ABS+say-INC 1PRO XABS+cry-INC because
 ‘He says: ‘I’m crying because

?a+tòp?a?y?á?y *jigaantej* *?anh+wichoomo*
?a+top-?a?y.?a?y-W *jigaantej* *?an+wichoomo*
 XABS+extract-MALF-CMP giant XPSR+wife
 the giant took my wife away *from* me.’ ” (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.017)

The reduplicated applicative suffix is illustrated again in (14.19) with *ja?p* ‘grind’. Here the A (1st person) performs the action encoded by the verb on behalf of the PO, which is 2nd person.

- (14.19) *man+ku+ja?p-?a?y.?a?y-pa* *?in+mo?ox.i*
 1:2+DERIV₂+grind-MALF-INC 2PSR+leached.corn-NOM
 ‘I’m going to grind all your leached corn from you (on your behalf).’
 (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Ditransitive verbs also take the reduplicated applicative, which increases the number of arguments to four. In (14.20) the verb *chi?* ‘give’ is marked with the imperative. Here the PO is the 1st person referent (the malefactive argument), marked on the verb with the absolutive *?a+*. There are two SOs: a recipient and a theme.

- (14.20) *?a+chi?a?ya?yi*
?a+chi?-?a?y. ?a?y-i
 XABS+give-BEN.BEN-IMP
 ‘Give it to him from me (on my behalf).’ (20050706BRN193)

14.2 Causatives

Causation expresses a situation in which an external “causer” prompts a “causee” to realize an action or state encoded by a verb, transitive or intransitive. SP has two morphological strategies for expressing causation. One strategy consists of forming a verb compound with the verb *tzik* ‘touch’, shown in (14.21). The verb *?anh+wej* ‘cry, shout’ in its intransitive form is shown in (14.22).

- (14.21) *tyi+?iga* *?i+**tzik**?anhwejpa*
 tyiH+?iga ?i+**tzik**=?anh+wej-pa
 what+COMP 3ERG+CAUS₂+DERIV₁+shout-INC
 ‘Why do you make her cry?’ (MAB.015b)

- (14.22) *?anhwejpam*
 Ø+?anh+wej-pa+?am
 3ABS+DERIV₁+shout-INC+ALR
 ‘He was crying:

<i>ʔiga+saʔawiʔy</i>	<i>saʔawiʔy</i>
ʔiga+Ø+saawa-ʔiʔy-W	Ø+saawa-ʔiʔy-W
COMP+3ABS+air-PROV-CMP	3ABS+air-PROV-CMP

‘I got air, I got air.’ ” (Comer.007)

The second strategy, which occurs more frequently, uses the causative proclitic *ʔak+* to introduce a causer into the clause. This is shown in (14.23) and (14.24) with the intransitive verb *kaʔ* ‘die’. In (14.23) the verb root is shown as intransitive with *jeʔm piixiny* ‘the man’ as its subject. In (14.24) it is marked with the proclitic *ʔak+*. The causer is the 1st person A, marked on the verb with *ʔan+* the 1st person referent; the causee is the 3rd person referent.

(14.23) *jeʔm piixiny kaʔum*
jeʔm piixiny Ø+kaʔ-W+ʔam
 that man 3ABS+die-CMP+ALR
 ‘The man died.’ (ESK.145)

(14.24) *ʔii ʔik+wistik ʔarak+kaʔatáʔm*
ʔii ʔi+ku+wistik ʔan+ʔak+kaʔ-taʔm-W
 and 3ERG+DERIV₂+two XERG+CAUS₁+die-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘And we killed the two [chickens].’ (PQH.023)

There are two main differences between the two causativizing strategies. The first is that *tzik* only forms compounds with intransitive verbs, whereas the causative proclitic *ʔak+* occurs with all verb classes. The second difference is that *tzik* is used to indicate indirect causation and *ʔak+* is used to indicate direct causation. Compare the examples in (14.25). (14.25a) illustrates the intransitive verb *yus* ‘awaken’. (14.25b) shows the same verb root marked with *ʔak+* to introduce a causer who actively wakes the causee up by touching

or shaking. (14.25c) also introduces a causer, however in this case the causee wakes up as a result of the causer talking in the same room.

(14.25) DIRECT VS INDIRECT CAUSATIVES:

- (a) *yus*
Ø+yus-W
3ABS+awaken-CMP
'She woke up.'

- (b) *?ikyus*
?i+?ak+yus-W
3ERG+CAUS₁+awaken-CMP
'She woke her up.'

- (c) *?i+chikyús*
?i+tzik=yus-W
3ERG+CAUS₂=awaken-CMP
'She woke up (because of the talking).' (20060712erg)

The two strategies are described here.

14.2.1 Indirect Causative with *tzik=*

Indirect causative constructions in SP describe a situation in which an agent's actions (event A) lead to a patient's realizing an unrelated action or state (event B) (see Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002 for discussion). For instance, in (14.26) the speaker explains how the stories she tells (event A) causes her children to be scared (event B).

- (14.26) (a) *jeʔm tan+ʔabweelo+yaj+piʔk*
jeʔm tan+ʔabweelo+yaj+piʔk
 that IPSR+grandparent+PLU_{non sap}+REL
 ‘Those who were our brothers

ʔi+watyjáj winyyik
ʔi+wat-yaj-W winyyik
 3ERG+do-PLU_{non sap}-CMP long.ago
 did it [told this story] long ago...

- (b) *ʔich jemum ʔan+tzìganhjéʔkpa*
ʔich jemiʔam ʔan+tzik=ʔanh+jeʔk-pa
 1PRO right.there XERG+CAUS₂=get.scared-INC
 That’s how I scare

ʔam+maanik+tam
ʔan+maanik+tam
 XPSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 my children.’ (PuraCarne.035-6)

Indirect causative expressions are formed by compounding the verb *tzik* ‘touch, move’¹ with an intransitive verb. The verb *tzik* ‘touch, move’ occurs independently, as shown in example (14.27).

- (14.27) *ku+kej jaama ʔan+tzikpa*
Ø+ku+kej-W jaama ʔan+tzik-pa
 3ABS+DERIV₂+day.break-CMP day XERG+touch-INC
 ‘The next day, I touched [her belly].’ (SoyPartera.097a)

Complex verb words are formed by combining two or more roots with no morphological subordination. The verbal complex, also referred to as a serial verb construction², make up the same phonological and grammatical word,

¹*tzik+* is cognate with Zoque *tzik* ‘to do/make’ (Kaufman, p.c.).

²See ch. 21 for description of serial verb constructions.

constituting a formal unit. Verbs in the complex share aspect/mood marking and core argument referencing. In complex causative constructions formed with *tzik*, the verbal complex is formed with the verb *tzik* in first position and the intransitive verb in second position. Example (14.28) shows the verbal complex with an intransitive verb *tokʔoy* ‘lose’. The compound is bracketed by the person marking proclitic *ʔi+* on the left and the plural and aspectual suffixes *-yaj* and *-W* on the right. The intransitive verb *tzokʔoy* ‘lose’ is shown without derivational morphology in example (14.29).

- (14.28) *pero kumu miichamiichaneʔyajpa jeʔm*
 Pero kumu Ø+miich.miich-neʔ-yajpa-neʔ-yaj-pa jeʔm
 but as 3ABS+play-REDUP-VERS-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-INC that
 ‘Because they play games,

tzistyam ʔi+chiktogoyyaj jeʔm tzuk ʔi+tyuʔch
tziix+tam ʔi+tzik=tokʔoy-yaj-W jeʔm tzuk ʔi+tuʔch
 child+PLU_{hum} 3ERG+CAUS₂=lose-PLU_{nonsap} that rat 3PSR+tail
 the kids lost the rat’s tail.’ (Gutiérrez and Wichmann 2001:320-1)

- (14.29) *togóy ʔi+tyitz*
 Ø+tokʔoy-W ʔi+tyitz
 3ABS+be.lost-CMP 3PSR+tooth
 ‘His tooth got lost.’ (200707jaf)

Causative constructions formed with *tzik* indicate indirect causation in which the causee undergoes an event or change of state as an indirect result of some other event realized by the causer. That is, the causer’s actions result in the change of state of the causee. For instance, in example (14.28 above) the children’s games result in their losing a rat’s tail. In (14.30) the mothers’ fear is that their babies will be born injured as a result of the birthing process.

- (14.30) *porke weenyi ?i+chìganhje?kyájpa*
 porke weenyi ?i+**tzik**=**?anh+je?k**-yaj-pa
 because some 3ERG+CAUS₂=DERIV₁+fear-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Because some fear that (their babies)

dya kòobagí?yapa
 dya Ø+kopa?k. ?i?y-pa
 NEG 3ABS+head-PROV-INC
 won’t have a head.’ (PAR.031)

In (14.31) the chickens tired as a result of the children chasing them around the yard.

- (14.31) *peroj ?agi+chìkso?psyáj je?m piyu*
 peroj ?agi+?i+**tzik**=**so?ps**-yaj-W je?m piyu
 but much+3ERG+CAUS₂=tire-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that chicken
 ‘but they made the chicken really tired.’ (PQH.014)

In (14.32) the speaker describes going through labor and how when they made her push she had to sit up.

- (14.32) *?okmi ?ich ?a+tzikkó?m*
 ?okmi ?ich ?a+**tzik**=**ko?m**-W
 after 1PRO XABS+CAUS₂=half.sit.up-CMP
 ‘Afterward I had to half sit up.

?arak+yà?agá?yapa
 ?a+?ak+ya?k-?a?y-pa
 XABS+touch+push-BEN-INC
 They made me push it [in labor].’ (SoyPartera.015)

Indirect causative constructions with *tzik* occur only with intransitive verbs. *Tzik* causative serials do not occur with transitive verbs (14.33).

- (14.33) *ʔi+tzigaʔm
 ʔi+tzik=ʔaʔm-W
 3ERG+CAUS₂=BEN-CMP

Intended reading: ‘It made him look.’ (Context: The noise caused him to look.) (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

14.2.2 Causative ʔak+

The proclitic ʔak+ ‘causative’ occurs with intransitive and transitive verbs and increases the number of arguments that a verb takes by one, adding a “causer”. The proclitic occurs with all verb types: intransitive, transitive, agentive and non-agentive ambitransitive verbs, ditransitive, and derived statives (nouns and adjectives). Generally, the use of the causative ʔak+ indicates direct causation, although the semantics vary subtly with respect to the different verb subtypes.

14.2.2.1 Causative ʔak+ with Intransitive Verbs

In the pair of examples in (14.34) and (14.35), the causative derives a transitive from an intransitive. In (14.34) the intransitive verb is *poy* ‘run’ with *jeʔm piiyuj* ‘the chicken’ as its S. In (14.35) a causer is introduced with the proclitic ʔak+ resulting in the reading ‘they began to make the chickens run’ or ‘they chased the chickens’.

- (14.34) *póy* *jeʔm piiyuj*
 Ø+**poy**-W jeʔm piiyuj
 3ABS+run-CMP that chicken
 ‘The chickens ran away.’ (PQH.009)

- (14.35) *mój* *?ik+póy*
 moj-W ?i+?ak+poy-W₂
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+CAUS₁+run-DEP_t
 ‘They began to chase them (the chickens).’ (PQH.010)

In causativized constructions with intransitive verbs, the causer is marked as A, and the would-be S of the intransitive verb is marked as O of the causativized verb. For example, compare the constructions in (14.36) and (14.37). Example (14.36) shows the intransitive verb *wi?k* ‘eat’ with the 1st person S marked with *?a+*. Example (14.37) shows the same verb inflected with the 1st person ergative proclitic *?an+*, referring to the A (the causer).

- (14.36) *?ich* *?a+wi?kne?ta?mu+m*
 ?ich ?a+wi?k-ne?-ta?m-W+?am
 1PRO XABS+eat-PERF-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘We’ve already eaten.’ (Cangrejo.042)

- (14.37) *?ar+ak+wi?kta?mpa* *?anh+weewej*
 ?an+?ak+wi?k-ta?m-pa ?an+weewej
 XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+grandfather
 ‘We fed my grandfather.’ (MAB.038b)

14.2.2.2 Causative *?ak+* with Transitive Verbs

The causative *?ak+* forms causative expressions with transitive verbs³. The pair of examples in (14.38) and (14.39) illustrates the transitive verb *ku?t* ‘eat’. Example (14.38) shows the verb in its underived form. Example (14.39) shows

³Transitive verbs are those verbs that appear intransitive only when derived with valency reducing morphology, as opposed to ambitransitive verbs, which have transitive and intransitive uses (see ch. 8 for definition of verb classes in SP).

the verb marked with *?ak+* to indicate ‘feed’; the mother ‘caused her children to eat the food’.

- (14.38) *duuroj ?i+ku?t je?m tzoogoy*
 duuroj ?i+ku?t-W je?m tzoekoy
 siempre 3ERG+eat-INC that liver
 ‘He always eats the liver.’ (ESK.081c)

- (14.39) *?ii je?am je?am ta+nimpa wi?kkuy*
 ?ii je?am je?+?am ta+nim-pa wi?k.kuy
 and this this IABS+say-INC eat-LOC_{applic}
 ‘And this, this, as we say, food,

?an+wattá?m yi?p jaama para ya
 ?an+wat-ta?m-W yi?p jaama para ya
 XERG+make-PLU_{sap}-W this day para already
 we made it today so that

?arak+ku?ttá?m?iny ?am+manik+tam
 ?iga+?an+?ak+ku?t-ta?m-?iny ?an+manik+tam
 COMP+XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-OPT XPSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I could feed it to my children.’ (PQH.017-8)

The causative also occurs in constructions in which the valency of the verb is altered. For instance, examples (14.40) shows the transitive verb *ku?t* marked with both the causative and the passive. Here the causer is suppressed; the causee is marked as S of the passive verb; and the theme is overtly expressed.

- (14.40) *?a+k+ku?ttamtáawu+m*
 ?a+?ak+ku?t+tam-taH-W+?am
 XABS+CAUS₁+eat+PLU_{sap}-PASS-CMP+ALR
 ‘We were fed

ʔaanymoʔonyi
 ʔaanyi=moʔn-i
 tortilla=make.tamales-NOM
 tamales.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.075)

14.2.2.3 Causative *ʔak+* with Ambitransitive Verbs

Ambitransitive verbs, which have intransitive and transitive uses, may take one or two core arguments without the addition of valency changing morphology. Ambitransitive verbs fall into two categories: agentive and non-agentive. Agentive intransitive verbs (or the intransitive use of ambitransitives) are also referred to as unergative verbs; the S of the intransitive use corresponds to the A of the transitive use (S=A). Non-agentive intransitive verbs (or the intransitive use of ambitransitives) are also known as unaccusative or inchoative; the S of the intransitive use corresponds to the O of the transitive use (S=O). Both of these subtypes occur in causative constructions with the proclitic *ʔak+*.

In an agentive ambitransitive verb construction the S of the intransitive use corresponds to the A of the transitive use. This use is illustrated with the agentive ambitransitive verb *ʔuk* ‘drink’ in examples (14.41) and (14.42). In (14.41) the verb is shown in its intransitive use, indicating ‘S drinks’. In (14.42) *ʔuk* is shown in its transitive use, indicating ‘A drinks O’.

- (14.41) *tzam mi+ʔukpa*
 tzam mi+ʔuk-pa
 much 2ABS+drink-INC
 ‘You drink too much.’ (Yerno.020)

- (14.42) *?i+wiinyiwí?ypa*
 ?i+wiH=nyiiwi-?i?y-pa
 3ERG+good=chili-PROV-INC
 ‘He spices it up good with chili,

?agi+?ukpa+m *je?m ?i+kaldo*
 ?agi+?i+?uk-pa+?am je?m ?i+kaldo
 INTENS+3ERG+drink-INC+ALR that 3PSR+broth
 and oh how he drinks his broth.’ (ESK.070)

In an agentive, ambitransitive, causative construction, a causer is introduced into the clause, resulting in the reading ‘A_{causer} causes PO_{causee} to drink SO’. The same verb *?uk* ‘drink’ is shown in (14.43). This example describes a case in which a midwife makes her patient drink a medicine.

- (14.43) *je?+am tar+agukpa*
 je?+?am tan+?ak+?uk-pa
 that IERG+CAUS₁+drink-INC
 ‘That [the medicine] we give her to drink.’ (SA1.007)

A similar example (from elicitation) is shown in (14.44), in which the PO *je?m yoomo* ‘that woman’ and the SO *yi?p tzoy* ‘this medicine’ are overtly expressed.

- (14.44) *?a+ragukpa* *je?m yoomo yi?p tzoy*
 ?an+?ak+?uk-pa je?m yoomo yi?p tzoy
 XERG+CAUS₁+drink-INC that woman this medicine
 ‘I’m going to make the woman drink the medicine.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

On the other hand, non-agentive ambitransitive verbs are inherently causative (Haspelmath 1993:103). In non-agentive ambitransitive clauses the

S of the intransitive use corresponds with the O of the transitive use (S=O). This essentially means that in the intransitive use the S undergoes a change of state, location or condition ('S breaks') as shown in (14.45). In the transitive use the A causes the O to undergo a change of state, location or condition ('A causes O to break'), shown in (14.46).

- (14.45) *peru ?ich ?an+choomo ?oku*
 pero ?ich ?an+choomo ?okmi
 but 1PRO XPSR+grandmother after
 'But my grandmother, afterwards,

kity *je?m ?i+ki? ?an+choomo yi?im*
 Ø+**kity**-W je?m ?i+ki? ?an+choomo yi?im
 3ABS+break-CMP that 3PSR+hand XPSR+grandmother here
 my grandmother's wrist broke, here.' (MAB.122)

- (14.46) *?i+kity yi?b i+yi?im*
 ?i+**kity**-W yi?p ?i+yi?im
 3ERG+break-CMP this 3PSR+here
 'She broke [her wrist] here' (pointing to wrist). (MAB.155)

This use is further illustrated with the verb *ki?m* 'ascend' and a 1st person referent in examples (14.47) and (14.48). In (14.47) *?a+* co-references the S of the intransitive use of *ki?m* 'ascend, climb'. In (14.48) *?a+* co-references the O of the transitive use 'raise, lift'.

- (14.47) *yi?im ?a+ki?mpa katimaakuj*
 yi?im ?a+**ki?m**-pa katimaakuj
 here XABS+ascend-INC Catemaco
 'Here I get on [the bus] in Catemaco. (SobrePopoluca.154jaf)

- (14.48) *?a+ka?m* *tze?esmi*
 ?*a+ka?m-W* *tze?es-mi*
 XABS+ascend-CMP cot-LOC₁
 ‘They raised me into the bed.’ (CSerPartera.059)

In non-agentive ambitransitive constructions both the intransitive and transitive uses may undergo causativization. The causative constructions express events that result in the change of state, location, or condition of the patient. This is shown with the non-agentive ambitransitive verb *ka?m* ‘affix’, which has both intransitive (14.49) and transitive (14.50) uses.

- (14.49) *?i+pàga?ytyí?p+nam* *ka?mti?p*
 ?*i+pak-?a?y-tyip-W+nam* \emptyset +*ka?m-ti?p-W*
 3ERG+heal-BEN-FRUS-CMP+STILL 3ABS+affix-FRUS-CMP
 ‘As much as he wanted it to stick,

dya+mum *ka?m*
dya+?am+?um \emptyset +*ka?m-W*
 NEG+ALR+DJO 3ABS+affix-CMP
 it didn’t stick.’ (ESK.124b)

- (14.50) *je?mim piixiny ta+nimpa* *?i+ka?mpa*
 je?mim piixiny ta+nim-pa *?i+ka?m-pa*
 that man IABS+say-INC 3ERG+affix-INC
 ‘That man, as we say, stuck it on.’ (ESK.102)

The same verb *ka?m* is marked with the causative proclitic *?ak+* in (14.51). Here the intransitive use is causativized, the O is the would-be S (story), which is not overtly expressed.

- (14.51) *jeʔ ʔi+k+kaʔmyajpa*
jeʔ ʔi+ʔak+kaʔm-yaj-pa
 3PRO 3ERG+CAUS₁+affix-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They are writing it.’
 (lit. ‘They are causing it to stick’ [by writing it down].)
 (PDLMA.Borracho.137)

The transitive use of the verb may also be causativized. This is shown with the verb *pij* ‘heat up’. The verb *pij* ‘heat’ is a non-agentive ambitransitive, having both intransitive (14.52) and transitive (14.53) uses.

- (14.52) *ʔagi+wiiʔijnyéʔ* *jaama*
ʔagi+Ø+wiiH=ʔij-neʔ-W *jaama*
 INTENS+3ABS+good=be.hot-PERF-CMP sun
 ‘The sun has gotten good and hot’

ʔa.las doosej ʔempuuntuʔ
ʔa.las dose ʔempuuntuʔ
 at twelve on.point
 at twelve on the dot.’ (GU1.028)

- (14.53) *ʔam+pijpa ʔuunu*
ʔan+ʔij-pa ʔuunu
 XERG+heat.up-INC corn.broth
 ‘I heat up corn broth.’ (Atole.002)

The same verb *pij* is marked with the causative proclitic *ʔak+* in (14.54). Here the added argument (the causer) causes the PO (the causee) to affect the SO (the would-be O).

- (14.54) *jeʔm yoomo*
jeʔm yoomo
 that woman
 ‘The woman’

ʔik+pijpa *ʔaanyi ʔi+maanik*
ʔi+ʔak+pij-pa *ʔaanyi ʔi+maanik*
 3ERG+CAUS₁+heat-INC tortilla 3PSR+child
 makes her child heat up the tortillas.’ (Elson 1999,
 PDLMA.database.7ak+pij)

Example (14.54) illustrates another point. Non-agentive ambitransitive causative constructions permit SO. Here the primary object is *ʔi+maanik* ‘her child’ and the SO is *ʔaanyi* ‘tortilla’.

14.2.2.4 Causative *ʔak+* with Ditransitive Verbs

The causative proclitic occurs with ditransitive verbs, as shown in (14.55) with the verb *chiʔ* ‘give’. The ditransitive clause, which has three arguments, has a causer added, raising the number of participants to four. In this example, *jeʔm piixiny* ‘the man’ (the causee) is PO; there are two SOs: *piirmaj* ‘signature’ and *jeʔm tooto* ‘the paper’.

(14.55) *jeʔm piixiny ʔi+k+chiʔiba*
 jeʔm piixiny ʔi+k+chiʔ-ba
 that man 3ERG+CAUS₁+give-INC
 ‘They made the man give

piirmaj jeʔm tooto
piirmaj jeʔm tooto
 signature that paper
 his signature to the paper.’ (Elson 1999, PDLMA.database)

14.2.2.5 Causative *?ak+* with Statives

The causative proclitic also occurs with nouns and adjectives that are derived as stative verbs. For example in (14.56) the noun *jooto?nh* ‘knowledge’, which frequently occurs as a non-verbal predicate meaning ‘know’, occurs in a causative construction. Here the speaker quotes a town official stating that he has come to inform the town’s people. In order to form the causative, however, the noun must be derived as a verb with the versive suffix *-?aH*.

- (14.56) ...?iga+miny mar+**ak**+jòodo?nhatá?m
 ?iga+miny-W man+**?ak**+jooto?nh-**?aH**-ta?m-W
 COMP+come-CMP 1:2+CAUS₁+knowledge-VERS-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘...that ‘I came to inform you that

 ?ich ?am+mo?osba
 ?ich ?an+mo?os-pa
 1PRO XERG+cook.corn-INC
 I will cook corn.’ ” (PDLMA.Fiesta.020)

In example (14.57) the adjective *mij* ‘big’ is also derived as a verb with the versive suffix *-?aH* and the causative proclitic *?ak+*.

- (14.57) mejor tan+**ak**+**mij**aap
 mejor tan+**?ak**+**mij**-**?aH**-pa
 better IERG+CAUS₁+big-VERS-INC
 ‘It’s better if we make him bigger.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.048)

14.3 Associative *na+*

The associative proclitic *na+* increases the valency of the verb by adding an O. The S/A realizes the action encoded by the verb accompanied by some-

one/something. This is shown with an animate associative participant in the pair of examples in (14.58) and (14.59). In (14.58) the verb is shown as an intransitive verb whose S is marked with the absolutive 1st person ?a+ . In (14.59)⁴ the verb, marked with the associative na+ , is now inflected with the ergative proclitic ?an+ marking the A. The associative argument ?an+choomo ‘my grandmother’ is the O.

(14.58) ?a+miichtya?mpa
 ?a+miich-ta?m-pa
 XABS+play-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We played

pero ?ich ?a+yooxata?mpa
pero ?ich ?a+yoox.?aH-ta?m-pa
 but 1PRO XABS+work.VERS-INC
 but we worked.’ (7NH.019)

(14.59) $\text{?ich ?an+choomo ?agi+?ara+miichpa}$
 $\text{?ich ?an+choomo ?agi+?an+na+miich-pa}$
 1PRO XPSR+grandmother INTENS+XERG+ASSOC+play-INC
 ‘I played with my grandmother so much.’ (MAB.215)

The associative occurs with intransitive, transitive, non-agentive ambitransitive, and ditransitive verbs. The intransitive verb nu?k ‘arrive’ is shown in (14.60). The same verb is shown in (14.61) with the associative proclitic na+ .

(14.60) nu?kyáj
 Ø+nu?k-yaj-W
 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘They arrived.’ (PDO.026b)

⁴The associative proclitic na+ is implicated in a stylistic alternation in which it surfaces as r when it occurs adjacent to a handful of other proclitics. A description of this alternation is found in ch. 2.

- (14.61) *?ara+nu?kim* *?antikki?im*
 ?an+na+nu?k-W+?am ?an+tik=ki?-mi
 XERG+ASSOC+arrive-CMP+ALR XPSR+house-LOC₁
 ‘I arrived at my house with it (the chicken).’ (PQH.004)

The pair in (14.62) and (14.63) illustrate the transitive verb *ku?t* ‘eat’. (14.62) shows the underived verb. (14.63) shows *ku?t* ‘eat’ marked with the associative *na+*. The associative participant (not overtly expressed) in this example is the grandmother’s clients.

- (14.62) *wisten* *kastyan?aanyi* *?i+ku?t*
 wisteen kastyan=?aanyi ?i+ku?t-W
 two Castilian=tortilla 3ERG+eat-CMP
 ‘He ate two pieces of bread.’ (CMD.004)

- (14.63) *?an+choomo* *dya* *?i+ri+ku?tpa*
 ?an+choomo dya ?i+na+ku?t-pa
 XPSR+grandmother NEG 3ERG+ASSOC+eat-INC
 ‘My grandmother didn’t eat it with them.’ (MAB.046)

When the verb is transitive, the associative argument is added as PO, as shown in (14.64).

- (14.64) *?ich* *si* *mana+tóp* *?inh+wichoomo*
 ?ich si man+na+top-W ?in+wichoomo
 1PRO yes 1:2+ASSOC+extract-CMP 2PSR+wife
 ‘I took your wife out for you.’ (lit. ‘I got your wife out with you.’)
 (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.106)

With transitive verbs, the would-be O may be incorporated (14.65).

- (14.65) *?okmi* *ma+?am* *?i+ri+mànikwát*
 ?okmi ma+?am ?i+na+manik=wat-W
 after also+ALR 3ERG+ASSOC+child=make-CMP
 ‘She made a child with him.’ (GU1.068)

An example of a non-agentive ambitransitive verb marked with the associative proclitic is shown in (14.66). Here the verb *kiʔm* ‘ascend’ is marked with the associative. An affected O is added to the intransitive verb, and the reading is causative. Example (14.67) shows the underived form in its intransitive alternation.

- (14.66) *pero jeʔ ʔara+kiʔmpa [koʔkmi]*
 pero jeʔ ʔan+na+kiʔm-pa [koʔk-mi]
 but 3PRO XERG+ASSOC+climb-INC [loft-LOC₁]
 ‘But I took it up into the loft.’ (comal.030b)

- (14.67) *kiʔmyáj jeʔe kuʔyanhkoobak*
 Ø+kiʔm-yaj-W jeʔe kuy=ʔanh.kopaʔk
 3ABS+ascend-PLU_{non.sap}-CMP 3PRO tree=LOC₁₄.LOC₆
 ‘They climbed to the top the tree.’ (Cangrejo.013)

The associative does not occur with agentive ambitransitive verbs (14.68).

- (14.68) **ʔara+ʔukpa jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 ʔan+na+ʔuk-pa jeʔm tziixi+tam
 XERG+ASSOC+drink-INC that child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I drink with the children.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

The usage of the proclitic is somewhat more broad than just having an associative or comitative connotation. In most cases the role of the added participant is understood to be of an associative (14.63 above) or comitative (14.69) nature. It may also convey an instrumental reading (14.70).

- (14.69) *ʔiga+dya+tyiim ta+nimpa*
 ʔiga+dya+tyiH+ʔam ta+nim-pa
 COMP+NEG+what+ALR IABS+say-INC
 ‘Because nothing, as we say,

ʔi+ri+poypa *jeʔm ʔan+manteelax*
ʔi+na+poy-pa *jeʔm ʔan+manteelax*
 3ERG+ASSOC+run-INC that XPSR+tablecloth
 he doesn't run off with the tablecloth. (ESK.098)

- (14.70) *tunhgak ʔiri+kaʔmpa* *puktuuku*
tunhgak ʔi+na+kaʔm-pa *puktuuku*
 another 3ERG+ASSOC+affix-INC cloth
 'She tied it down with another cloth.' (200707erg.CSP196)

When the verb is a verb of motion, the associative adds an affected O to the intransitive verb, resulting in a causative reading. The examples in (14.71) and (14.72) illustrate a case with the intransitive verb *nikk* 'go' and an affected O argument. Example (14.71) shows the verb in its underived intransitive form with its subject marked with the absolutive *ʔa+*. In (14.72b) the verb takes the associative *na+*, the affected object is *nas* 'earth, ground'.

- (14.71) *ʔok ʔich ʔa+ník* *tikkiʔim*
ʔokmi ʔich ʔa+nikk-W *tik=kiʔ.mi*
 after 1PRO XABS+go-CMP house=LOC₃.LOC₁
 'Afterward I went to my house.' (SA2.036a)

- (14.72) (a) *para ke ʔestej yiʔp tiktzaaji*
para ke ʔestej yiʔp tik.tzaaj.i
 so that FILL this cement
 '...So that this wall...

- (b) *ʔodoy ʔinya+niginy*
ʔotʔoy ʔi+na+nikk-ʔiny
 NEG 3ERG+ASSOC+go-OPT
 [so that the water] doesn't carry [the ground] away;

- (c) *?estej ?i+nya?idyiny* *?estej nas*
?estej ?i+na+?ity-?iny *?estej earth*
 FILL 3ERG+ASSOC+be-OPT this earth
 [so] that it keeps the earth;
- (d) *?i+nya+tzi?yiny*
?i+na+tzi?y-?iny
 3ERG+ASSOC+stay-OPT
 [so] that it holds it.’ (CP1.008/9)

The causative semantics is illustrated with the pair of examples in (14.73) and (14.74). The intransitive, motion verb *miny* ‘come’ is shown in (14.73). In (14.74) the motion verb is shown with the associated. The unaffected O is *tza?* ‘rock’.

- (14.73) *?ii jesig+am minyyaju+m* *je?m ?i+tyiiwi*
?ii jesik+?am Ø+minyyaju+?am *je?m ?i+tyiiwi*
 and then+ALR 3ABS+come-PLU_{nonsap}+ALR that 3PSR+brother
 ‘And then their brothers came.’ (Cangrejo.097)

- (14.74) *?iri+miny* *je?m tza?*
?i+na+miny-i *je?m tza?*
 3ERG+ASSOC+come-PROG that rock
 ‘He is bringing that rock.’

The same distribution is observed in Olutec (Zavala 2002).

14.4 Applicative *-ka?*

The applicative suffix *-ka?* occurs with intransitive stems to form transitive ones, adding peripheral participants as core arguments. It patterns to some

extent as an instrumental applicative, albeit non-canonical. It adds a O argument and conveys that an action is realized “with”, “on”, “about”, “at” or “by” the added participant. The intransitive verb *miich* ‘play’ (14.75) is made transitive with the affix *-kaʔ* to yield the transitive ‘play with’ (14.76), in this case ‘playing with, taking advantage of, or using’.

- (14.75) *pues ta+miichpa*
 pues ta+**miich**-pa
 well IABS+play-INC
 ‘Well, let’s play.’ (VVA.013)

- (14.76) *weenyi ʔidyik namaj ʔi+miichkaʔyáʔpa*
 weenyi ʔityʔk namaj ʔi+**miich-kaʔ**-yaj-pa
 some PAST no.more 3ERG+play-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Some just play with them.’ (JOV.005a)

The pair of examples in (14.77) and (14.78) illustrate the verb *nas* ‘pass’: (14.77) shows the verb in its underived form; (14.78) illustrates the verb marked with *-kaʔ* to express ‘pass by, happen upon’.

- (14.77) *karreteraj nasyáʔ jeʔm kamyoonh*
 karreteraj Ø+**nas**-yaj-W jeʔm kamyoonh
 high.way 3ABS+pass-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that truck
 ‘On the road the trucks pass.’ (MAB.093)

- (14.78) *waatyi ʔi+nyaskaʔyáʔ*
 waatyi ʔi+**nas-kaʔ**-yaj-W
 various 3ERG+pass-APPLIC-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘They happened upon many things/situations.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.082)

The pair of examples in (14.79) and (14.80) illustrate the verb *joʔy* ‘be angry’: (14.79) shows the underived verb root; (14.80) shows the verb with *-kaʔ* to express ‘angry at’.

- (14.79) *?a+nimpa peroj ?iga+jo?yom*
 ?a+nim-pa peroj ?iga+?a+jo?y-W+?am
 XABS+say-INC but COMP+XABS+be.angry-CMP+ALR
 ‘I say, but I was very angry.’ (CML.020a)

- (14.80) *?i+?ix+tyim*
 ?i+?ix+tyi+?am
 3ERG+see+JUST+ALR
 ‘He saw

?iga+?ich dya ?anh+jo?yka?
 ?iga+?ich dya ?an+jo?y-ka?-W
 COMP+1PRO NEG XERG+get.angry-LOC_{applic}-CMP
 that I didn’t get angry at him.’ (CNC.049b)

The pair of examples in (14.81) and (14.82) illustrate the derived verb *?anh+mat* ‘speak’, shown in its underived form in (14.81), derived with *-ka?* to express ‘talk about’ (14.82).

- (14.81) *?iga+si?ip ta+xutyu?anhja?+yam*
 ?iga+si?ip ta+xutyu=?anh.jay-?anh+?am
 COMP+now IABS+little=DERIV₁.much.QUANT+ALR
 ‘Now, we’re a little better,

tan+?anhmát
 tan+?anh.mat-W
 IERG+DERIV₁.speak-CMP
 we can talk.’ (ESK.007)

- (14.82) *?agi+?ity*
 ?agi+Ø+?ity-wi
 INTENS+3ABS+be-CMP
 ‘There is so much

pakej taranh+matka?aba
 para.kij tan+na+?anh.mat-ka?-pa
 for.that IERG+ASSOC+DERIV₁.talk-LOC_{applic}-INC
 for us to say about it.’ (JOV.001)

Non-agentive ambitransitive verbs may also take instrumental *-ka?*, however, only the intransitive alternation is available with *-ka?*. Example (14.83) and (14.84) show the intransitive and transitive alternations respectively.

(14.83) *todo je?m ?i+ji?ya?ypa* *?i+ya?ag+am*
 todo je?m ?i+jiy-?a?y-pa ?i+ya?ak+?am
 all that 3ERG+speak-BEN-INC and
 ‘All [he did was] that speak to it, and on its own

ki?mpa *je?m ?i+maayi*
 Ø+**ki?m**-yaj-pa je?m ?i+maayi
 3ABS+ascend-PLU_{non.sap}-INC that 3PSR+meat
 the meat climbed up.’ (ESK.103a)

(14.84) *?a+ki?m* *tze?esmi*
 ?a+**ki?m**-W tze?es-mi
 XABS+ascend-CMP cot-LOC₁
 ‘They raised me into the bed.’ (CSP.059)

Example (14.85) shows the same verb marked with the suffix *-ka?* to express ‘climb on’. In this example, the only reading available is one with two participants: the A and O. An interpretation with three core arguments is not possible.

(14.85) *tyi+?iga* *?iny+ki?mka?aba*
 tyiH+?iga ?in+ki?m-ka?-pa
 what+COMP 2ERG+ascend-LOC_{applic}-INC

‘Why did you get on [the horse]?’

*‘Why did you put him on [the horse]?’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales,
p.c.)

Transitive, ditransitive, and agentive ambitransitive verbs do not take the
instrumental applicative *-kaʔ*.

Chapter 15

The Verbal Template and Affix Ordering

The verbal morphology in SP—which as described in the previous chapters serves to mark person, number, and aspect/mood, derive new words from other word classes, as well as manipulate the status of verbal arguments—is complex. Minimally, verbs cannot appear bare, and may consist of a verb root inflected with person marking proclitics (or \emptyset) and with aspect or mood suffixes (15.1)¹.

- (15.1) *?imedyaantej ?i+jakpa*
 ?imedyaantej ?i+jak-pa
 immediately 3ERG+cut-INC
 ‘It cuts it immediately.’ (SA1.008)

¹Person marking is not obligatory when the verb is inflected with the imperative, the only exception.

Maximally, stems may consist of a number of verb roots (up to three have been observed), person marking, derivational, valency adjusting and inflectional suffixes, and a string of enclitics and particles (15.2a, b & c).

- (15.2) (a) *jesik ?a?+na?mpa*
 jesik ?an+?a?mpa
 then XERG+look-INC
 ‘When I look to see

?iga+?i+wi?kinhne?u+m
?iga+?i+wij=kinh-ne?-W+?am
 COMP+3ERG+good=cook-PERF-CMP+ALR
 that it is well cooked,

- (b) *?iga+tojtoj?anhsajne?u+m*
?iga+toj.toj=?anh+saj-ne?-W+?am
 COMP+3ABS+split.REDUP=DERIV₁+open-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘that [the corn] is all split open,

- (c) *jesik ?am+pikpa* *?anh+ku+tze?a?ygakpa*
 jesik ?am+pikpa **?an+ku+tze?-?a?y-gak-pa**
 then XERG+take-INC XERG+DERIV₂+wash-BEN-REP-INC
 the I take it and wash it again.’ (Pozole.024-5)

The general shape of the verb is shown in Figure 15.1.

Figure 15.1: Schema Reflecting the Shape of Inflected Verb Stem

Inflectional Proclitics	Derivational & Class adjusting Proclitics	VERB STEM	Derivational, Class adjusting, & Inflectional Suffixes	Adverbial Enclitics
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The morphology consists of a handful of inflectional, derivational and class adjusting suffixes. Inflectional suffixes refer to morphology that indicates

person, number, aspect/mood and in some cases the type of event (i.e. repetitive, motion, etc.). Derivational suffixes refer to those that alter the word class (i.e. nouns to verbs, verbs to nouns, etc.) I use the term class adjusting here, to refer to morphology that manipulates the valency of the verb and manipulates the states of its arguments through voice and valency adjusting operations. To some extent the derivational and class adjusting morphology is determined by verb class, whereas inflectional morphology is not generally restricted by word or verb class. The enclitics that attach following inflectional morphology convey information that is largely adverbial. This section describes prefixes, suffixes, and enclitics with respect to their ordering. Detailed description of the grammatical functions of the individual formatives can be found in their corresponding chapters on aspect, mood, alignment, etc.

This chapter serves to contextualize the verbal morphology that has thus far been described with respect to grammatical function, and to situate it on the verbal template.

15.1 Verbal Prefixes and Proclitics

The formatives that occur before the verb include person markers, valency changing prefixes, and a pair of non-productive derivational morphemes. The formatives are for the most part clitics, although classifying them as clitics or bound prefixes is complex. Person markers, which occur at the left-most edge, satisfy the criteria for classification as clitics² (following Klavans 1982;

²see chs. 2 and 3 for definition of clitics.

Zwicky and Pullum 1983; Zwicky 1977, 1985): they occur on different word classes; they do not participate in stress assignment patterns; and as such they are subject to morphophonological processes unique to clitics. The set of valency changing morphemes—the reflexive/reciprocal, the associative, and the causative—that follow the person marking morphemes are clitics. These morphemes do not participate in stress and are subject to morphophonological processes associated with clitics. The set of derivational morphemes *?anh+* and *ku+*, which appear immediately adjacent to the verb, are classified as clitics based on three criteria: they do not participate in stress assignment patterns, they are subject to morphophonological alternations only associated with clitics, and they occur on a number of word classes, including nouns and adjectives. The proclitic template is shown in Table 15.1.

Table 15.1: Verbal Proclitic Template

ABS+		ASSOC+	<i>?anh+</i>	<i>ku+</i>	STEM
ERG+	RR+	CAUS ₁ +			
1:2+					
2:1+					

The person markers consist of ergative, absolutive, and local person markers (Hockett 1966), only one of which may occur on the verb at a time. The ergative proclitics mark the A of transitive verbs; the absolutive proclitics mark the S of intransitive verbs or the O of transitive verbs. The local proclitics occur on transitive verbs and indicate relations between 1st person A and 2nd person O (1:2) or 2nd person A and 1st person O (2:1). The person markers are listed in Table (15.2).

Table 15.2: Person Marking Proclitics:

	Ergative:	Absolutive:	Local:
First person exclusive	<i>?an+</i>	<i>?a+</i>	
First person inclusive	<i>tan+</i>	<i>ta+</i>	
Second Person	<i>?in+</i>	<i>mi+</i>	
Third person	<i>?i+</i>	\emptyset	
2:1			<i>?an+</i>
1:2			<i>man+</i>

The applicative and valence adjusting proclitics *na+* ‘associative’ (15.3), *na+* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ (15.4), *?ak+* ‘causative’ (15.5) immediately follow the person marking proclitics.

- (15.3) *?inya+si?iba+m* *je?m ?i+galúnh*
?i+na+si?-pa+?am *je?m ?i+galúunh*
 3ERG+ASSOC+walk-INC+ALR that 3PSR+galón
 ‘He brought his gallon [container].’ (PDO.035)

- (15.4) *?a+nimpa* *puj ?ich nikkpa*
?a+nim-pa *puj ?ich nikk-pa*
 XABS+say-INC well 1PRO go-INC
 ‘I say, ‘Well, I’m going

?ara+tzoy?i?ytyaaji
?a+na+tzoy-?i?-taH-i
 XABS+RR+remedy-PROV-PASS-DEP_{ia}
 to get myself cured.’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.061)

- (15.5) *Mich+am* *yi?im ?arak+togóy*
mich+?am *yi?im ?an+?ak+tok?oy-W*
 2PRO+ALR here 2:1+CAUS₁+lose-CMP

‘You made me lose here.’ (ESK.136)

The reflexive/reciprocal proclitic *na+* is homophonous³ with the associative proclitic *na+*. It co-occurs with the passive suffix *-taH* to convey a reflexive meaning (15.6) and with the passive and either of the plural suffixes to convey a reciprocal meaning.

- (15.6) *nim* *je?* *nak+wa?k+taaj* *puej*
 Ø+nim-W je? Ø+na+?ak+wa?k-taH-W *puej*
 3ABS+say-CMP 3PRO 3ABS+RR+ask-PASS-CMP well
 ‘She says, well she asks herself:

tyii *si?* *?i+ku?tpa* *yi?p* *?an+?aanyi?*
 tyii si?ip ?i+ku?t-pa yi?p ?an+?aanyi
 what now 3ERG+eat-INC that XPSR+tortilla
 ‘Now, what’s eating my tortilla?’ ” (ESK.095/6)

The associative *na+* and the causative *?ak+* do not co-occur. The reflexive/reciprocal and the causative, however, do co-occur, as shown in (15.7).

- (15.7) *?ich* *?arak+poytyamtaap*
 ?ich ?a+na+?ak+poy-ta?m-taH-pa
 1PRO XABS+RR+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘We chased each other around.’ (VVA.026a)

Finally, there is a closed class of nominal and verbal proclitics that are grammaticalized from body-part terms. These are *?anh+* and *ku+*. These proclitics are referred to in the literature as “lexical affixes” (Mithun 1997; Gertz

³Kaufman (1997, unpublished) has reconstructed the two prefixes *na+* ‘associative and *na+* ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ as originating from two distinct diachronic sources. The reflexive reciprocal originates from **na:y*, thought to have been a pronoun meaning ‘self’ in proto-Mixe-Zoquean. The associative is reconstructed from **ni* in proto-Zoquean.

1998). Such sets are observed in Middle-American languages such as Tarascan, Totonac, Nahuatl, Tlapanec, and all Mixe-Zoquean languages (Campbell et al 1986:551; Zavala 2000:604). Although they are no longer productive, and they occur only as part of lexicalized stems, most of the verbs with which they appear continue to occur independently. These proclitics are discussed in detail in ch. 10.

Examples (15.8) and (15.9) illustrate the ordering of proclitics from the three sets described here. Example (15.8) shows the verb marked with *?anh* to its immediate left, with the causative *?ak+* preceding *?anh+*, with the ergative *?an+* furthest to the left. In (15.9) the order of the proclitics is ERG+ASSOC+DERIV₁+verb.

- (15.8) *?ich jeempigam ?a+g+anh+wijáam*
 ?ich jeem+pi?k+?am ?an+?ak+?anh+wiH=jaam-W
 1PRO there+REL+ALR XERG+CAUS₁+DERIV₁+good=feel-CMP
 ‘That’s how I like

je?m yoomo ?iga+jeex
je?m yoomo ?iga+Ø+jeex
 that woman COMP+3ABS+like.that
 the woman (referring to wife), like that.’ (Comal.019b)

- (15.9) *tyi+ʔiga+ʔich*
 tyiH+ʔiga+ʔich
 what+COMP+1PRO
ʔiga+ʔa+ra+nh+yujunéʔ
 ʔiga+ʔa+na+ʔanh+yuj-neʔ-W
 COMP+XABS+ASSOC+DERIV₁+live.with-PERF-CMP
 ‘Because she took me to live with her,
- ʔan+choomo*
 ʔan+choomo
 XPSR+grandmother
 my grandmother.’ (MAB.136)

15.2 Verbal Suffixes

The suffix ordering itself is somewhat complex, and the assortment of suffixes somewhat heterogeneous. There are 28 derivational, class changing and inflectional suffixes⁴. Overall, with relation to one another, the suffixes can occupy 12 possible postverbal “slots” (not including enclitics). The suffixes are shown in Table 15.2, listed according to their relative ordering.

There are pragmatic restrictions with respect to which suffixes may co-occur. an obvious restriction is that the antipassive and passive suffixes do not co-occur. To some extent, the verb root (or stem) determines which derivational or class changing suffix may occur on the verb. For example, passive and antipassive suffixes may not occur on an intransitive verb root. Nevertheless, if the valency of the intransitive root is altered with an applicative or a causative, the verb may take a passive suffix. As such, there are few limita-

⁴Three of the 28 suffixes are dependent suffixes, which are addressed in ch. 22.

Table 15.3: Suffixes in SP

*	-i	NOM	nominalizer
1	-ʔiʔy	PROV	provisory
	-ʔaH	VERS	versive
	-neʔ	AFFECT	affective
	-neʔ	ASSUM	assumptive
	-wiʔy	DEPOS	depositive
	-ʔoʔy	AMBUL	ambulative
2	-ʔoʔy	ANTIP	antipassive
3	-kaʔ	LOC _{applic}	instrumental applicative
4	-ʔaʔy	BEN	benefactive applicative
5	-i	PROG	motion progressive
6	-neʔ	PERF	perfect
7	-yaj	PLU _{nonsap}	3rd person plural
	-taʔm	PLU _{sap}	1st/2nd person plural
8	-taH	PASS	passive
	-niim	INDEF	indefinite subject
9	-gak	REP	repetitive
10	-toʔ	DESID	desiderative
	-tiʔp	FRUS	frustrative
11a**	-W	CMP	completive
	-pa	INC	incompletive
	-i	IMP	imperative
	-ʔiny	OPT	optative
11b†	-i	DEP _{ia}	dependent intransitive-a
	-W ₃	DEP _{ib}	dependent intransitive-b
	-W ₂	DEP _t	dependent transitive
12	-ʔVp	REL	relativizer (verbs)
	-mi	SUBORD	subordinator

*Exhibits greatest variability of order with respect to other suffixes.

**Independent verbs are obligatorily inflected with one suffix from this set.

†Dependent verbs are obligatorily inflected with one suffix from this set.

tions as to which suffixes can co-occur, and inflected verbs can become quite complex.

15.2.1 Derivational Suffixes

It is widely observed that derivational morphology occurs close to the verb and inflectional morphology occurs peripherally with respect to derivation, an observation that is reflected in Greenberg's (1963) Universals. This pattern generally holds for SP. Although derivational suffixes do occur closer to the root than most other morphology, there is some level of variability with class altering suffixes. The set of derivational suffixes consists of *-ʔaH* 'versive' (verbalizer), *-ʔiʔy* 'provisory' (deverbalizer), and *-i* 'nominalizer' (deverbalizer)⁵. Derivational suffixes interact with class adjusting suffixes, such as the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* ("demotes" the O of transitive verbs, see §13.2). For example, in (15.10) the nominalizer follows the antipassive; in (15.11) both the nominalizer and the versive follow the antipassive.

- (15.10) *jeʔe dya ʔi+kiinhpa ʔanh+jagoʔoyi*
 jeʔ dya ʔi+kiinh-pa ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy-i
 3PRO NEG 3ERG+fear-INC DERIV+cut-ANTIP-NOM
 'He doesn't fear authority' (Yerno.024b)

- (15.11) *ʔich ʔanh+jakʔoʔyʔaap*
 ʔich ʔa+ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy-i-ʔaH-pa
 1PRO XABS+govern-ANTIP-NOM-VERS-INC
 'I want to govern.' (PDLMA.Presidente.012)

⁵I include the nominalizer suffix in the verbal template because it does occur in complex derived verb stems (see example 15.12).

The examples in (15.10) and (15.11) illustrates a process in which the verb stem is built up step by step from the verb root or derived stem. In this respect, there is some variability in morpheme ordering, although to a limited extent. The variability tends to involve derivational morphology, a tendency that is observed cross-linguistically (Harris 2008, Scalise 1986). For example, the pair in (15.12) illustrate the suffixes *-i* ‘nominalizer’ and *-ʔaH* ‘versive’ in different positions with relation to one another. In (15.12a) the verb *ʔuk* is marked with *-i* to derive a noun, which is then derived as a verb with the versive. In (15.12b) the reverse takes place: the noun *niʔipiny* ‘blood’ is derived as a verb with the versive to mean ‘bleed’ and then derived with *-i* to mean ‘hemorrhage’.

(15.12) DERIVATION OF VERB AND NOUN WITH NOMINALIZER *-i* AND

VERSIVE *-ʔaH*:

(a) **verb root**

ʔùkiʔáaj

Ø+ʔuk-**i-ʔaH**-W

3ABS+drink-NOM-VERS-CMP

‘he became drunk’

(b) **noun root**

nìʔipinyʔáaji

niʔipiny-ʔaH-i

blood-VERS-NOM

‘hemorrhage’

This variability is also observed in the co-occurrence of derivational suffixes and the class adjusting suffix *-ʔoʔy*, described in detail below. The example in (15.13) shows the two derivational suffixes *-i* and *-ʔaH* preceding the antipassive *-ʔoʔy*. Compare (15.13) with example (15.11) in which the antipassive precedes the derivational suffixes.

- (15.13) *Ku+tzadaʔytyaa* *yoʔotyí kiʔak* *ʔi* *piixiny ke*
 Ø+kutzat-ʔaʔy-taH-W *yoʔotyí kiʔak* *ʔi* *piixiny ke*
 3ABS+send-BEN-PASS-CMP shirt sandals and man that
 ‘A shirt and shoes were sent for and a man

Reduplication is also associated with inflectional morphology to convey frequency of action and to convey a sense of wandering around repeating an action, referred to as “ambulative” (Kaufman 1963). These contexts are discussed in the next section.

15.2.2 Class Adjusting Suffixes

The class altering suffixes that are involved in valency and voice consist of the assumptive *-neʔ*, depositive *-wiʔy*, antipassive *-ʔoʔy*, passive *-taH*, instrumental *-kaʔ*, applicative *-ʔaʔy*, and the indefinitizer *-nim*. With the exception of the passive and the indefinitizer, the class adjusting suffixes occur closest to the verb stem.

The assumptive *-neʔ* and depositive *-wiʔy* suffixes occur closest to the verb root, but are restricted in that they occur only on positional verb roots. They alter the semantics of the verb with respect to valency.

- (15.16) *ʔa+ʔeenynyéʔeba*
 ʔa+ʔeety-neʔ-pa
 XABS+lean-ASSUM-INC
 ‘I lean myself back.’ (20070712JAF)

- (15.17) *ʔan+ʔeetywiʔypa*
 ʔa+ʔeety-wiʔy-pa
 XERG+lean-DEPOS-INC
 ‘I lean it carefully (deliberately) [against the wall].’ (20070712JAF)

The ambulative is formed with the ambulative suffix *-ʔoʔy*⁶ and a redu-

⁶The antipassive *ʔoʔy* and the ambulative *ʔoʔy* are likely to be diachronically related, although evidence is inconclusive at this point.

There are three voice adjusting suffixes: passive *-taH*, antipassive *-ʔoʔy*, and indefinitizer *-niim*. The distribution of the antipassive and passive suffixes shows that there is no single “slot” associated with grammatical category. The antipassive⁷ suffix occurs close to the verb with relation to both the instrumentive and the applicative and the inflectional suffixes. The example in (15.22) illustrates the antipassive preceding the instrumental *-kaʔ*.

- (15.22) *ʔi+jiʔnʔoʔykaʔaba* *mepskuy*
 ʔi+jiʔn-ʔoʔy-kaʔ-pa *mepskuy*
 3ERG+cut-ANTIP-LOC_{applic}-INC scissors
 ‘He cuts with scissors.’ (PDLMA.LEX.jU7n)

Example (15.23) shows the antipassive preceding the perfect and number agreement suffixes.

- (15.23) *ʔa+siinhkuj+tam*
 ʔa+siinhkuj+tam
 XABS+five+PLU_{sap}
 ‘There were five of
- ʔa+jaʔamoynyetamwip+ʔam*
 ʔa+jaam-ʔoʔy-neʔ+taʔm-W-ʔpV+ʔam
 XABS+feel-ANTIP-PERF+PLU_{sap}-CMP+REL+ALR
 us that were old. (lit. that were feeling it)’ (PDLMA.Presidente.086)

The passive occurs further out, following the perfect and number agreement suffixes, as shown in (15.24).

⁷With respect to the antipassive morpheme, the ordering I present here differs from that presented by Himes (1997:6-7). In her thesis she shows the antipassive occurring in the same “slot” as the passive *-taH* and the indefinite *-niim*, however she does not provide examples to support the template. The ordering of the three suffixes (antipassive, instrumental, applicative) described here corresponds with Elson’s (1950:81).

- (15.24) *jeʔeyukimi siʔip*
 jeʔ=yuk.mi siʔip
 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ now
 ‘That is why now

ʔagi+nɨʔmaʔynyiʔyajtáawɨ+m
 ʔagi+Ø+nɨm-ʔaʔy-neʔ-yaj-taH-W+ʔam
 INTENS+3ABS+say-BEN-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-CMP-ALR
 they’re told so much

klinikaj woonyijaytyiix+tyam
 clinica woonyi-jay-tyiix+tam
 clinic girls-boys-children+PLU_{hum}
 in the clinic, the boys and girls.’ (Jovenes.007)

The function of the indefinitizer *-nɨm* is to demote the subject of intransitive verbs, and it conveys that an event takes place without reference to a specific argument, generally referring to a large number of people and always a third person referent. It appears only on intransitive verbs.

- (15.25) *wiʔknɨmpa ya tzuʔanh*
 Ø+wɨʔk-nɨm-pa ya tzuʔanh
 3ABS+eat-INDEF-CMP already afternoon
 ‘They ate until late.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.041)

That the verb marked with the indefinitizer is inflected for person is evident when it occurs in dependent clauses. As shown in (15.26), the verb in the second position is marked with *-nɨm* and takes ergative person marking.

- (15.26) *ʔak+kaʔataa tuum traʔityi piixiny juuty tzam*
 Ø+ʔak+kaʔ-taH-W tuum traʔityi piixiny juuty tzam
 3ABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-CMP one boy man where much
 ‘A young guy was killed where many

ʔagi+siʔip *siʔnhaníimpa*
 ʔagi+siʔip Ø+sinh.ʔaH-niim-pa
 INTENS+now 3ABS+party-VERS-INDEF-INC

ʔi+xiʔiníim+am
 ʔi+xiʔ-niim-DEP_{ib}+ʔam
 3ERG+prog_{aux}-INDEF-DEP_t+ALR
 are now partying.’ (PDO.031/2)

The relative order of the indefinitizer to other suffixes places the suffix in the same slot as the passive, following the perfect *neʔ* (15.27a) and the number agreement suffixes (15.27b).

- (15.27) (a) *chìnhneníim*
 Ø+chinh-neʔ-niim-W
 3ABS+bathe-PERF-INDEF-CMP
 ‘Some had been singing.’
- (b) *wiʔkyajniimpa*
 Ø+wiʔk-yaj-niim-pa
 3ABS+eat-PLU_{nonsap}-INDEF-INC
 ‘People are eating.’ (Elson 1956:75)

15.2.3 Inflectional Suffixes

The inflectional suffixes include markers of aspect, number, mood, and subordination, which are listed in (15.28).

(15.28) INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES:

Aspect:	-i	‘progressive,’
	-neʔ	‘perfect’ (not perfective)
	-gak	‘repetitive’
	-pa	‘incompletive’
	-W	‘completive’
	-ʔoʔy	‘ambulative’
Number:	-taʔm	‘SAP plural’
	-yaj	‘3 plural’
Mood:	-tiʔp	‘frustrative’
	-toʔ	‘desiderative’
	-i	‘imperative’
	-ʔiny	‘optative’
Subordinators:	-piʔk	‘relativizer’
	-mo	‘subordinator’

For the most part, these suffixes exhibit fewer restrictions with respect to their occurring together and manifest no variability in terms of their ordering. Although there are no instances in which a suffix from each “slot” occurs, the relative order of the suffixes can be established by transitivity (i.e. A precedes B, B precedes C, therefore A precedes C). The order of the perfect suffix *-neʔ* with relation to the applicative *-ʔaʔy* is shown in (15.29).

(15.29)	<i>wàdaʔynyeʔtáawi+m</i>	<i>jeʔ</i>	<i>ʔi+tyiʔpxi</i>
	Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam	jeʔ	ʔi+tiʔpxi
	3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR	3PRO	3PSR+rope
	‘Her rope had already been made [for her].’ (VYT.106)		

Example (15.30) shows the order of *-neʔ* ‘perfect’ with relation to the plural suffix *-taʔm* ‘12PL’.

- (15.30) *?i+?ix* *?iga+sèe?ne?ta?nhgáku+m*
 ?i+?ix-W *?iga+?a+seet-ne?-ta?m-gak-W+?am*
 3ERG+see-CMP COMP+XABS+return-PERF-PLU_{sap}-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘He saw that we had returned again.’ (CNC.038)

Example (15.31, extracted from 15.24 above) shows that the third person plural agreement suffix *-yaj* occupies the same position as the first and second person number agreement suffix *-ta?m* with relation to *-ne?*.

- (15.31) *...?agi+nì?ma?ynyi?yajtáawim...*
 ?agi+Ø+nim-?a?y-ne?-yaj-taH-W+?am
 INTENS+3ABS+say-BEN-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-CMP-ALR
 ‘...they’re told so much...’ (JOV.007)

The example in (15.32) illustrates the passive suffix *-taH* in relation to the plural suffix *-ta?m*. The order of taH with relation to the plural *-yaj* is established in (15.24) above. Verbs only mark number agreement with one argument (A or O), and only one agreement suffix may be marked on the verb.

- (15.32) *?a+pàjta?mtáap*
 ?a+paj-ta?m-taH-pa
 XABS+enclose-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘They locked us up.’ (CNC.019b)

Example (15.33) illustrates the passive suffix in relation to *-gak* the repetitive suffix.

- (15.33) *?ii matztaagakwo+m*
 ?ii Ø+matz-taH-gak-wi+?am
 and 3ABS+grab-PASS-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘And he was also grabbed.’ (PDLMA.GiantSIL.061)

The motion progressive *-i*, which encodes progressive motion, attaches itself immediately to the verb root and precedes number and other aspect markers. The suffix is shown in (15.34) with number agreement morphology and in (15.35) with *-gak*.

- (15.34) *ʔa+nikityáʔm* *mosteen este*
 ʔa+nik-i-taʔm-W *mosteen este*
 XABS+go-PROG-PLU_{sap}-CMP five this
 ʔan+tiwi+tam
 ʔan+tiwi+tam
 XPSR+brother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Five of our brothers were going.’ (AVC.005)

- (15.35) *yaʔpam* *seetyigakum*
 Ø+yaʔ-pa+ʔam $\text{Ø+seet-i-gak-W+ʔam}$
 3ABS+finish-INC+ALR 3ABS+return-PROG-REP+ALR
 ‘He finished. He was returning again.’

ʔi+kaʔmgakum *dya+tyim tyii*
 ʔi+kaʔm-gak-W+ʔam dya+tyim tyiH
 3ERG+affix-REP-CMP+ALR NEG+JUST what
 He affixed his bones, as if nothing,

dya+tyim *ʔi+watnéʔ*
 dya+tyiH+ʔam ʔi+wat-neʔ-W
 nothing+ALR+JUST 3ERG+do-PERF-CMP
 as if it were nothing he did it. (Carne.016)

The two mood suffixes, *-toʔ* ‘desiderative’ and *-tiʔp* ‘frustrative’ precede the aspect suffixes *-W* ‘completive’ and *-pa* ‘incompletive’. These mood suffixes obligatorily occur with the incompletive or the completive. In fact, the desiderative occurs with the incompletive; the frustrative generally only occurs with the completive. Examples of the desiderative preceding the incompletive

and the frustrative preceding the completive are shown in (15.36) and (15.37), respectively.

- (15.36) *?itytyá?m* *kon el deber*
 Ø+?ity-ta?m-W kon el deber
 3ABS+live-PLU_{sap}-W with the duty
 ‘Live with the obligation

?iga+mi+yòoxata?mtó?oba
 ?iga+mi+yooxa-ta?m-to?-pa
 COMP+2ABS+work-PLU_{sap}-DESID-INC
 to want to work.’ (Jovenes.010)

- (15.37) *nikyajti?p* *jiimnyi+tyim*
 Ø+ník-yaj-ti?p-W jiimnyi+tyim
 3ABS+go-PLU_{non-sap}-FRUS-CMP forest+JUST
 ‘They tried to go to the forest.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.037)

The suffixes occurring at the periphery of the inflected verb consist of aspect, mood, subordinator or dependent suffixes. The aspect and mood suffixes include *-W* ‘completive’, *-pa* ‘incompletive’, *-i* ‘imperative’, and *-?iny* ‘optative’. These suffixes are distinguished from the other suffixes because they are obligatory. That is, an inflected independent verb must minimally be marked with one of these four suffixes. Examples (15.38) and (15.39) illustrate the completive *-W* and the incompletive *-pa* following *-gak* ‘repetitive’⁸.

- (15.38) *?a+seetta?mgaku+m* *je?m ni?iki?im*
 ?a+seet-ta?m-gak-W+?am je?m ni?=ki?.mi
 XABS+return-PLU_{sap}-REP-CMP that water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘We returned to the river again.’ (UDR.013)

⁸See ch. 12 for discussion of aspect and a detailed description of these suffixes.

- (15.39) *?a+wi?kta?mgakpa+m*
 ?a+wi?k-ta?m-gak-pa+?am
 XABS+eat-PLU_{sap}-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘We’re going to eat again.’ (MAB.118)

The following examples illustrate the imperative *-i* and the optative *-?iny* suffixes. In (15.40), *-i* ‘imperative’ is the outermost suffix on the verb; in (15.41), *-?iny* ‘optative’ is the outermost suffix. In both examples, the suffixes are shown following plural inflectional morphology.

- (15.40) *?odoy xikta?am-i*
 ?odoy xik-ta?m-**i**
 NEG laugh-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 ‘Don’t laugh.’ (GU1.140)

- (15.41) *tam+matunhta?miny ta+?ich+tyam*
 tan+matonh+ta?m-**?iny** ta+?ich+tam
 IERG+listen-PLU_{sap}-OPT IABS+1PRO+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We should listen.’ (PDO.017b)

The aspect and mood suffixes may be followed by the relativizer *-?pV* or the subordinator *mo*, as well as a small set of enclitics (described in §15.3 below). An example of the relativizer *-?pV* is shown in (15.42).

- (15.42) *miny+dya wi?áap ?iny+wát kweentaj*
 mich+dya+?am wi?-?aH-pa ?in+wat-W kweentaj
 2PRO+NEG+ALR be.able-INC 2ERG+do-CMP account
 ‘You couldn’t take care of

je?m wi?kkuy ?iny+kù?tta?mwí?ip
 je?m wi?k-kuy ?in+ku?t-ta?m-W-**?pV**
 that eat-DERIV 2ERG+eat-PLU_{sap}-CMP-REL
 the food that you eat.’ (Rey.019)

Examples with *-mo* occurring as an attached suffix are rare. The only examples that I am aware of are described by Elson (1967:286). He includes two distinct examples, which are also included in Himes (1997). An example is shown in (15.43). Attempts to elicit these constructions result in alternative construction types, including *mo* subordinator constructions (see ch. 22 for description of dependent clauses and associated morphology).

- (15.43) *jesik* *ʔan+nikpaam*, *ʔan+ʔix* *miʔa*
 jesik *ʔan+nik-pa-mi*, *ʔan+ʔix-W* *miʔa*
 when XERG+go-INC-SUBORD *ʔan+see-CMP* deer
 ‘As I was going along, I saw a deer.’ (Elson 1967:286)

15.3 Enclitics

There are a handful of enclitics that occur on verbs. These formatives are classified as clitics for three reasons: They do not participate in stress assignment patterns, they are subject to phonological processes unique to non-stress bearing segments, and they attach to a number of word classes, as well as on verbs. It’s rare for more than two enclitics to occur on a word, yet the order of the enclitics relative to one another may be established by way of transitivity. As such, there are three possible positions that enclitics can occupy with relation to one another. The enclitics are listed in Table 15.4.

Table 15.4: Enclitic Template

1:	<i>+tam</i>	(PLU _{sap})	12 plural
	<i>+yaj</i>	(PLU _{nonsap})	3 plural
	<i>+gak</i>	(REP)	again/another/also (repetitive)
	<i>+pi?k</i>	(REL)	relativizer*
2:	<i>+?am</i>	(ALR)	already
	<i>+nam</i>	(STILL)	still/yet
	<i>+tyi</i>	(JUST)	just
3:	<i>+?un</i>	(DJO)	he says, it is said
	<i>+wey</i>	(TRUE)	true

*The relativizer *pi?k* exhibits some variability with respect to the plural suffixes.

The first position enclitics *+tam*, *+yaj*, *+gak* and *+pi?k* differ from the second and third position enclitics in that they have verbal counterparts. That is, each of the first position enclitics has a corresponding suffix that occurs on verb stems. The correspondences are listed in Table 15.5. The enclitics appear only with non-verbal elements, such as nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, and in some contexts with dependent verbs; the suffixes appear with verbs. The semantics of each pair are essentially the same. The second and third position enclitics occur on both verbal and non-verbal elements.

Table 15.5: Suffix-Enclitic Pairs

Non-verbal	Verbal		
<i>+tam</i>	<i>-ta?m</i>	12 plural	(PLU _{sap})
<i>+yaj</i>	<i>-yaj</i>	3 plural	(PLU _{nonsap})
<i>+gak</i>	<i>-gak</i>	again/another/also (repetitive)	(REP)
<i>+pi?k</i>	<i>-?pV</i>	relativizer*	(REL)

The number enclitics *+tam* and *+yaj* occur on nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and quantifiers that function as non-verbal predicates (and in some contexts on verbs) to mark number agreement with the arguments. These number enclitics also occur on nouns to indicate the plurality of the noun (see ch. 4 for detailed description of nominal morphology). *+tam* agrees with 1st and 2nd person referents (15.44); *+yaj* agrees with 3rd person referents (15.45).

- (15.44) *?aa mi+mich+tyam man*
?aa mi+mich+tam maanik
 ah 2ABS+2PRO+PLU_{hum} child
 ‘Ah, it’s you, children.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 20012001:320)

- (15.45) *suldaaduj+yaj kamyoonhjoom*
 Ø+suldaaduj+yaj kamyoonh=joom
 3ABS+soldiers+PLU_{nonhum} truck=in
 ‘They are soldiers in the truck.’

The enclitic *+gak*, which also has a verbal suffix counterpart, occurs on non-verbal elements. When it occurs on nouns it may convey the meaning ‘another’. When it occurs on nouns and other word classes that serve as non-verbal predicates, the semantics of the enclitic *+gak* are essentially the same as the verbal suffix *-gak*, conveying ‘also, again’. Example (15.46) shows *+gak* on the noun *piixiny* ‘man’ functioning as a non-verbal predicate. *+gak* may also occur on nouns and indicate ‘again’ (15.47).

- (15.46) *jesik je? piixinh+gak*
 jesik je? Ø+piixiny+gak
 then 3PRO 3ABS+man+REP
 ‘Then he’s a man again. (ESK.078)

- (15.47) *jesik* *?i+ji?ya?yapa+m* *je?m* *?i+maayi+gak*
jesik *?i+jiy-?a?y-pa+?am* *je?m* *?i+maayi+gak*
 when 3ERG+hablar-BEN-INC-ALR that 3PSR+meat+REP
 ‘Then he speaks to his flesh again.’ (ESK.073b)

The plural clitics *+tam*, *+yaj* and *+gak* are first position enclitics.

The enclitic *+pi?k* is a relativizer. Like the other first position enclitics it has a verbal suffix counterpart (-?pV), and therefore it occurs only on non-verb words⁹. An example is shown in (15.48).

- (15.48) *?i+che?ná?y* *?i+mijpak*
?i+tzen-?a?y-W *?i+mij=pak*
 3ERG+tie-BEN-CMP 3PSR+waist
 ‘She tied around his waist

kun tum pi?ityi [*tzabatz+pi?k*]
kon tuum pi?ity-i [*Ø+tzap?atz+pi?k*]
 with one thread [*3ABS+red+REL*]
 a thread that was red.’ (GU2.041/2)

Establishing the relative order of the relativizer *+pi?k* is problematic because it exhibits some variability with respect to the other first position enclitics. Compare examples (15.49) and (15.50), and observe that the relativizer may precede or follow the plural enclitic *+yaj*.

- (15.49) *...yi?p piixiny+tyam dya yi?im+pi?k+yaj*
yi?p piixiny+tyam dya Ø+yi?im+pi?k+yaj
 this man+PLU_{hum} NEG 3ABS+here+REL+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘...these men who aren’t from here.’ (CP1.014)

⁹See Chapter 5 for complete description of SP relativizers and relative clauses.

- (15.50) *ʔiga+winyɨk ʔidyɨk ʔeste, ta+nimpa,*
ʔiga+winyɨk ʔityʔik ʔeste, ta+nim-pa,
 that+long.ago past FILL IABS+say-INC
 ‘Because long ago, we say,

jeʔ ʔi+joodonh+yaj+piʔk
jeʔ Ø+ʔi+jootoʔnh+yaj+piʔk
 3PRO 3ABS+3PSR+knowledge+PLU_{non-sap}+REL
 there were those who had knowledge.’ (VYT.003)

The second position enclitics include *+ʔam*, *+tyim*, and *+nam*. Adverbial in nature, the three enclitics occur as clitics on all word classes. The enclitic *+ʔam* conveys the meaning ‘already’. Its semantics are comparable to the Spanish *ya*, which also means ‘already’. Example (15.51)¹⁰ illustrates the use of *+ʔam* to indicate a sense of ‘hurry up’. Example (15.52) shows *+ʔam* in a slightly different context in which the enclitic conveys a sense of ‘finally’.

- (15.51) *ʔan+nɨʔmáʔy pus keti+m di ʔiny+cheʔesmi*
ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-CMP pues ket-i+ʔam di ʔin+tzeʔes-mi
 XERG+say-BEN-CMP well descend-IMP+ALR of 2PSR+cot-LOC₁
 ‘I tell him, ‘Well, get down from your bed already.’ ” (ComerDemasiado.008)

- (15.52) *kun jeʔe wiʔa+m*
kun jeʔ wiʔ.ʔaH-W+ʔam
 with 3PRO be.able-CMP+ALR
 ‘With this he was finally able to.

monhʔanh+jaku+m
 Ø+monh=ʔanh+jak-W+ʔam
 3ABS+sleep=DERIV₁+cut-CMP+ALR
 He finally slept.’ (ComerDemasiado.018)

¹⁰The enclitic *+ʔam* has three allomorphs: [ʔam], [am], and [m]. The allomorphy of *ʔam* is described in detail in ch. 3.

+ʔam occurs on all word classes including nouns (15.53).

- (15.53) *jesik piixiny+am jeʔm yuʔktuuku*
 jesik Ø+piixiny+ʔam jeʔm yuʔktuuku
 when 3ABS+man+ALR that orphan
 ‘When the boy was a man already,

ʔi+yoomtiwi woonyi mij+pik
 ʔi+yoomo=tiwi woonyi mij+pik
 3PSR+woman=sister girl big+REL
 his sister was a big girl (all grown up).’ (Gutiérrez Morales and
 Wichmann 2001:323)

The enclitic *+tyim* conveys the meaning ‘just, only, simply’. It occurs on verbs, as shown in (15.54), nouns (15.55) and nominal modifiers (15.56).

- (15.54) *jeʔm ʔi+yoomo ʔi+ku+pik+tyim*
 jeʔm ʔi+yoomo ʔi+ku+pik-W+tyim
 that 3PSR+woman 3ERG+understand-CMP+JUST
 ‘The woman just understood.’ (ESK.115)

- (15.55) *manteelax+tyim ku+kej-pa*
 manteelax+tyim Ø+ku.kej-pa
 mantel+JUST 3ABS+appear-INC
 ‘Just the tablecloth appeared.’ (ESK.019b)

- (15.56) *nimyajpa jeʔm ʔanh+kompanyaaj*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa jeʔm ʔanh+kompanyaaj
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC that XPSR+friend
 ‘My friends would say

yiʔp dya jeʔ ʔoojo yiʔp tum+tyim refreeskuj
 yiʔp dya jeʔ ʔoojo yiʔp tum+tyim refreeskuj
 that NEG 3PRO alcohol that one+JUST soft.drink
 this isn’t alcohol this is just a soft drink.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.002)

Diachronically, the enclitic *+tyim* is composed of two enclitics *+tyi* and *+ʔam* (Kaufman 1997). Synchronically, it appears to be a single item *+tyim*, as *tyi* does not appear independently. The template here places the enclitic *tyi* in the the same “slot” as *+ʔam* and *+nam*.

The enclitic *+nam* is also adverbial in natural and conveys ‘still, yet’, as illustrated by the example in (15.57). *+Nam* also occurs on non-verb words, as shown in (15.58).

- (15.57) *pero dya mi+yaʔachaab*
 pero dya mi+yaʔachaH-pa
 but NEG 2ABS+suffer-INC
 ‘But you’re not going to suffer.’

ʔa+tziʔytyaʔmpa+nam *ʔich*
 ʔa+tziʔy-taʔm-pa+**nam** ʔich
 XABS+stay-PLU_{sap}-INC+STILL 1PRO
 ‘We’re still going to stay.’ (7NH.042)

- (15.58) *porkej tanimpa tum jaaka*
 porkej ta+nim-pa tum jaaka
 because IABS+say-INC one piece
 ‘because, as we say, one piece

yɨʔp ʔi+winyipig yoomo+nam
 yɨʔp ʔi+winy.pak Ø+yoomo+**nam**
 this 3PSR+face 3ABS+woman+STILL
 of her face is still woman.’ (VYT.112)

Contexts through which we can determine the relative order of the first and second position enclitics are limited. Because the plural and repetitive enclitics have suffix counterparts that occur on verbs, the first and second

position enclitics do not co-occur on verbs. Observe in (15.57 above) that the plural suffix *-taʔm* occurs within the inflected verb complex preceding the incomplete suffix *-pa*, whereas the second position enclitic *+nam* follows *-pa*. The co-occurrence of the first position enclitics with second position enclitics is limited to non-verb lexical items. For example in (15.59) the plural enclitic *+yaj* precedes the second position enclitic *+nam*.

- (15.59) *ʔiga+ʔun tyeempuj ta+nimpa,*
ʔiga+ʔun tyeempuj ta+nim-pa
ʔiga+one time IABS+say-INC
 ‘Because at one time, we say,

ʔi+joodonh+yaj+nam maanyaaj
ʔi+jootoʔnh+yaj+nam maanyaaj
 3PSR+know+PLU_{nonsap}+STILL skill
 they still had special skills.’ (GU1.002)

In example (15.60), the plural enclitic *+yaj* precedes second position enclitic *+tyim*.

- (15.60) *yɨʔp ʔan+tzix+tyam ʔuʔukʔuy+yaj+tyim*
yɨʔp ʔan+tzix+tyam Ø+ʔuʔukʔuy+yaj+tyim
 this XPSR+child+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+sad-PLU_{nonsap}+JUST+ALR
 ‘These children were sad.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.058)

In example (15.61) the enclitic *+gak* precedes the second position enclitic *+ʔam*.

- (15.61) *núʔk trej diiyaj jeʔ ʔuuki+gagam*
núʔk trej diiyaj jeʔ Ø+ʔuk-i+gak+ʔam
 arrive-CMP three day 3PRO 3ABS+drink-NOM+REP+ALR
 ‘He arrives, and three days [later] he’s already drunk again.’ (Yerno.073)

The third position enclitics are *+ʔun* and *+wey*. *+ʔun* means ‘it is said, he says’, as shown in (15.62). It frequently occurs on non-verb words such as the negator *dya* as shown in (15.63) or demonstratives as in (15.64).

- (15.62) *ta+tobaʔypa+ʔun* *jeʔm tuum*
 ta+top-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔun jeʔm tuum
 IABS+extract-BEN-INC+DJO that one
 ‘He extracts this one,

jaaka jeʔm tan+tzogoy
 jaaka jeʔm tan+tzokʔoy
 piece that IPSR+liver
 a piece of our liver, it is said.’ (ESK.046)

- (15.63) *dya+ʔun ʔiny+tzakpa puuchi*
 dya+ʔun ʔin+tzak-pa puuchi
 NEG 2ERG+leave-INC garbage
 ‘It’s said, you shouldn’t leave garbage.’ (PDO.008)

- (15.64) *jeʔm+ʔun yoomo yusum*
 jeʔm+ʔun yoomo Ø+yus-W+ʔam
 that+DJO woman 3ABS+wake.up-CMP-ALR
 ‘It’s said the woman woke up.’ (ESK.084)

The enclitic *+wey* occurs predominantly on adverbs and the negator *dya*, appearing only to a limited extent on verbs. It has two reported meanings: ‘it’s true’ and ‘I say’. An example is shown in (15.65). In this example, the speaker has translated it as ‘it’s true.’ The example in (15.66) provides an example in which *+wey* is translated as ‘I say’.

- (15.65) *tara+ʔoynyeʔum+wey*
 tan+na+ʔoy-neʔ-W+ʔam+wey
 IERG+ASSOC+go/return-PERF-CMP+ALR+TRUE
 ‘It’s true we carried it.’ (Gutiérrez-Morales, p.c.)

- (15.66) *ʔa+nɪk-pa+wey*
 ʔa+nɪk-pa+wey
 XABS+go-INC+TRUE
 ‘I’m going, I said.’ (PDLMA.lexdatabase.WEY)

Both enclitics follow the second position enclitics *+ʔam*, *+tyim*, and *+nam*. Example (15.65) shows *+wey* following *+ʔam*. Example (15.67) shows *+ʔun* following *+tyim*.

- (15.67) *pero jeʔmun yoomo jeʔam*
 pero jeʔm+ʔun yoomo jeʔ+ʔam
 but that+DJO woman that+ALR
 ‘But it’s said this woman, this (false start)

jeʔm yoomo ʔi+pɪktzonh+tyim+un
 jeʔm yoomo ʔi+pɪk=tzonh+tyim+ʔun
 that woman 3ERG+take=receive+JUST+DJO
 the woman just accepted him.’ (GU1.041)

Part IV

Sentence Structure

Chapter 16

The Basic Clause

SP is a polysynthetic, head marking language. As a head-marking language (Nichols 1986), the head of the phrase takes inflectional and derivational morphology. For example in (16.1) the clause consists of a transitive verb *tzeʔk* ‘charge, collect’ and its A argument. The verb takes person inflection to mark the A, marked on the verb with *ʔi+* ‘3rd person ergative’. In addition, the A consists of a possessed noun. The possessum, the head of the NP, is inflected with person marking indicating possession.

- (16.1) *ʔokmi tan+jaatunh ʔi+chéʔk*
 ʔokmi **tan**+jatunh **ʔi**+tzeʔk-W
 afterwards IPSR+father 3ERG+charge-CMP
 ‘Afterward my father charged him.’ (CNC.043)

Minimally, the basic clause may consist of as little as a predicate, as shown in (16.2) with the intransitive verb *seet* ‘return, turn into’. The verb is inflected for 1st person with the proclitic *ʔa+* and for aspect with the incomplete

suffix *-pa*. Example (16.3) shows this with a transitive complex predicate, whose A argument is marked with the proclitic *?an+* to indicate 1st person.

(16.2) *?a+seetpa*
 ?a+seet-pa
 XABS+return-INC
 ‘I return.’ (SoyPartera.095b)

(16.3) *?an+tekkulmpa*
 ?an+tek=ku?m-pa
 XERG+empty=bury-INC
 ‘I empty [the batter] [into the water].’ (Atole.010)

Maximally the clause may include an inflected complex predicate, up to three arguments (albeit rare), their modifiers, and as extension of the clause, more than one adverbial adjunct. Example (16.4) illustrates a case consisting of the ditransitive compound predicate *ma?y=chi?* ‘sell=give’ with three arguments: *?an+jaatunh* ‘my father’ (A), *tunh+gak piixiny* ‘another man’ (PO), *je?m ?an+yooya* ‘my pig’ (SO) (from elicitation).

(16.4) *?i+jaatunh ?i+ma?ychi?* *tunh+gak piixiny*
 ?an+jaatunh ?i+ma?ychi?-W tunh+gak piixiny
 XPSR+father 3ERG+sell=give-CMP another man
 ‘My father sold another man

je?m ?any+yooya
 je?m ?any+yooya
 that XPSR+pig
 my pig.’ (20070720)

16.1 Constituent order

SP is a verb initial language whose word order is largely pragmatically determined. In monotransitive clauses, when arguments are expressed overtly (via nouns or pronouns), all word orders are attested, as shown in (16.5).

(16.5) (a) vso:

ʔooko ʔi+maʔy ʔan+tiiwi jeʔm puutruj
 ʔok-mi ʔi+maʔy-W ʔan+tiiwi jeʔm puutruj
 after 3ERG+sell-CMP XPSR+brother that colt
 ‘After my brother sold the mare.’ (VVA.067)

(b) vos:

ʔi+ʔix kaʔnpu jeʔm choomo niʔikiʔim
 ʔi+ʔix-W kaʔnpu jeʔm choomo niʔ=kiʔ.mi
 3ERG+see-CMP egg that grandmother water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘The old woman saw the egg in the water.’ (Elson 1947a:195)

(c) svo:

jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+ʔi+ʔaʔm jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+ʔi+ʔaʔm-W jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 that woman INTENS+3ERG+look-CMP that worm
 ‘That woman looked intensely at the worm.’ (GU2.008)

(d) sov:

jay=tziix+tyam+yaj woonyi+tyam
 jay=tziix+tyam+yaj woonyi+tyam
 boy=child+PLU_{hum}+PLU_{nonhum} girls+PLU_{hum}

ʔi+mugiʔyoʔyyajpa
 ʔi+muk.iʔy.ʔoʔy-yaj-pa
 3ERG+cheat-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘The boys cheat the girls.’ (JOV.036)

(e) OVS:

yiʔp manymok ʔi+ri+miny+u+m
yiʔp many=mok ʔi+na+miny-W+ʔam
this corn 3ERG+ASSOC+come-CMP+ALR

ʔim+miʔit
ʔin+miʔit
2ERG+son-in-law
'Your son in law brought this corn.' (PQ2.007)

(f) OSV:

mich ʔiny+choomo dya jeʔm+pik
mich ʔin+choomo dya jeʔm+piʔk
2PRO 2PSR+grandmother NEG that+REL
'Your grandmother

mi+tyoytyaʔmpa
mi+toy-taʔm-pa
2ABS+love-PLU_{sap}-INC
doesn't love you.

ʔa+ʔich ʔa+toytyaʔmpa
ʔa+ʔich ʔa+toy-taʔm-pa
XABS+1PRO XABS+love+PLU_{hum}-INC
'Ours loves us.' (MAB.193)

Pragmatically motivated word order in naturally occurring speech poses a problem for determining basic word order(s) in SP. Some word orders might be explained syntactically in terms of topic or focus. To establish a basic word order, however, I evaluated word order based on relative word order, statistical frequency, ambiguity tests (Mithun 1992). These diagnostics are discussed here.

16.1.1 Relative word order

With respect to word order correlations, SP exhibits four (4) structural features commonly found in verb final (OV) languages (Campbell et al. 1986; Comrie 1989; Dryer 1992, 1997, 2007; Greenberg 1963; Zavala 2000:15-32).

First, possessors in SP precede possessums (16.6).

(16.6) POSSESSOR PRECEDES POSSESSUM:

*ʔich ʔa+tigʔiʔyiny **diabloj** ʔi+josoom*
 ʔich ʔa+tik-iʔy-ʔiny **diabloj** ʔi+jos=joj.mi
 1PRO XABS+enter-OPT devil 3PSR+hole=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He went around saying that I should go to hell.’ (lit. ‘...enter the devil’s hole’) (CNC.012)

Second, SP has postpositions (16.7).

(16.7) POSTPOSITION:

miny-pa+m ʔi+tikkʔmi
 Ø+miny-pa+m ʔi+tik=**kiʔ.mi**
 3ABS+come-INC+ALR 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He comes in their houses.’ (ESK.060)

Third, dependent nouns precede head nouns (16.8).

(16.8) DEPENDENT NOUN PRECEDES HEAD NOUN:

i. DEP= HEAD	ii. DEP=HEAD	iii. DEP=HEAD
<i>kaxtyan=ʔaanyi</i>	<i>mik=tuj</i>	<i>ʔanh=nʔiʔ</i>
Castillian=tortilla	mist=lluvia	mouth=water
‘bread’	‘drizzle’	‘saliva’

Fourth, incorporated nouns precede verb roots (16.9).

(16.9) INCORPORATED NOUN PRECEDES VERB ROOT:

ʔich ʔa+kippoʔoba
 ʔich ʔa+kii̯pi=poʔ-pa
 1PRO XABS+wood=split-INC
 ‘I wood-split.’ (CNC.004)

SP exhibits three (3) structural features typically associated with verb initial (VO) languages. In auxiliary verb constructions, the auxiliary verb precedes the main clause (16.10).

(16.10) AUXILIARY VERBS PRECEDE MAIN VERB:

p̄ixiny moj wéji
 p̄ixiny moj-W Ø+wej-i
 man begin-CMP 3ABS+cry-DEP_{ia}
 ‘The man began to cry.’ (ESK.126)

In complement clauses, the complementizer (*ʔiga+*) occurs at the beginning of the complement clause (16.11).

(16.11) *ʔi+ʔix+tyim*
 ʔi+ʔix-W+tyi+ʔam
 3ERG+see-CMP+JUST+ALR
 ‘He saw

ʔiga+ʔich dya ʔanh+joʔykáʔ
 ʔiga+ʔich dya ʔan+joʔy-kaʔ-W
 COMP+1PRO NEG XERG+be.angry-CMP
 that I wasn’t angry.’ (CNC.049b)

In subordinate clause constructions, the subordinate clause follows the main clause (16.12).

(16.12) MATRIX VERB PRECEDES PURPOSE CLAUSES:

ʔagaku+waʔmyajpa
 ʔagi+ʔa+ku+ʔaʔm-ya.j-pa
 INTENS+XABS+look.for-PLU_{non-sap}-INC
 ‘They seek me out often

ʔiga+ʔich niginɣ ʔa+rak+poʔo+yaj
 ʔiga+ʔich nikk-ʔiny ʔan+ʔak+poʔ-ya.j-W
 COMP+1PRO go-OPT XERG+CAUS₁+give.birth-PLU_{non-sap}-DEP_t
 for me to go to deliver (babies).’ (PAR.029)

In addition, SP shows variability with respect to two features that correlate with word order cross-linguistically. These include the position of adverbial phrases with relation to the verb and the position of relative clauses with relation to their head nouns. Adpositional phrases may precede (16.13) or follow (16.14) the verb.

(16.13) *jeʔm witykotzikyukmi ʔity*
 jeʔm wity=kotzik=yukmi Ø+ʔity-W
 that big=forest=LOC₅.LOC₁ 3ABS+be-CMP
 ‘There he lives in the mountains.’ (REY.005)

(16.14) *ʔan+tunkaʔmpa juktiyukmi*
 ʔan+tun=kaʔm-pa jukti=yuk.mi
 XERG+put=stick-INC fire=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘I put [my pot] in the fire.’ (Atole.004)

Relative clauses may precede (16.15) or follow (16.16) the head noun.

- (16.15) *dya ʔan+tinhaʔypa*
dya ʔan+tinɦ-ʔaʔy-pa
 NEG XERG+chop-BEN-INC
 ‘He doesn’t cut me

[titzneʔwiʔip] *kiipi*
 [Ø+titz-neʔ-W+ʔpV] *kiipi*
 [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL] firewood
 wood [that has dried].’ (Comal.021)

- (16.16) *ʔam+pinhpa* *kiipi* *[titzneʔwiʔip]*
ʔan+pinɦ-pa *kiipi* [Ø+titz-neʔ-W-ʔpV]
 XERG+gather-INC firewood [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL]
 ‘I’m going to gather firewood that’s dry.’ (20070712jaf)

Manner adverbs as lexical expressions are rare as SP uses adverbial clauses and other conventions to convey adverbial information. Thus manner adverbs do not serve as a criterion for word order correlation in SP.

In sum, in terms of word order correlations, out of 9 possible word order correlations, SP showed 4 structural features that correspond with OV order, 3 that correspond with VO features, and 2 that are inconclusive.

16.1.2 Statistical frequency

In order to establish word order based on statistical frequency 4049 clauses from 40 texts were evaluated¹. Of the 4049, 849 were transitive. 149 (24%)

¹The measures of statistical frequency of constituent word order were calculated in 2006. At the time of completion of this grammar, the corpus consists of 54 texts, approximately 5500 clauses

showed both arguments and 472 (76%) showed either the A or the O. In the case of intransitive verbs, 513 had overtly expressed Ss.

Table 16.1: Transitive and Intransitive Clauses with Overt Nominals

	Transitive		Intransitive	
2 overt arguments:	149	24%	—	
1 overt argument:	472	76%	513	
Total	621		513	100.00%

16.1.2.1 Monotransitive Clauses

In clauses in which both arguments appeared, the most common word order was AVO (73.15%). This is illustrated in Table 16.2.

Table 16.2: Transitive Clause with Two Arguments Expressed

	Nouns		Pronouns		Total	
AVO	55	72.37%	54	73.97%	109	73.15%
VAO	4	5.26%	1	1.36%	5	3.36%
VOA	6	7.89%	0	0%	6	4.03%
OVA	5	6.58%	5	6.84%	10	6.71%
OAV	2	2.63%	8	14.81%	10	6.71%
AOV	4	5.26%	5	6.84%	9	6.04%
Total	76		73		149	

In monotransitive clauses in which only the A was overtly expressed with a lexical noun, AV and VA orders were almost equal. In clauses in which the argument was expressed with a pronoun, however, AV was the preferred order (66.09%). This is shown in Table 16.3.

Table 16.3: Transitive Clauses with One Argument Expressed: Agents

	Nouns		Pronouns		Total	
AV	40	51.28%	36	97.30%	76	66.09 %
VA	38	48.72%	1	2.70%	39	33.91%
Total	78		37		115	

In monotransitive clauses in which only the O was overtly expressed and the argument was expressed with a lexical noun VO order was preferred (89.28%). There were only 12 constructions in which the O was expressed with a pronoun; the majority were OV word order (75%). This is shown in Table 16.4.

Table 16.4: Transitive Clauses with One Argument Expressed: Os

	Nouns		Pronouns		Total	
OV	37	10.72%	9	75%	46	12.89%
VO	308	89.28%	3	25%	311	87.11%
Total	345		12		357	

16.1.2.2 Intransitive Clauses

In intransitive constructions, both SV (16.18) and VS (16.18) word orders are frequent.

- (16.17) *jeʔm tuuruj tzaʔa=kiʔim núʔkpa*
jeʔm tuuruj tzaʔ=kiʔim Ø+nuʔk-pa
 the bull stone=LOC₃.LOC₁ 3ABS+arrive-INC
 ‘The bull arrives at the rock.’ (VYT.002)

- (16.18) *núʔku+m jeʔm yoomo*
Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔam jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+arrive-CMP+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman arrives.’

ʔàʔmaʔmóʔyɔpa
 Ø+ʔaʔm.ʔaʔm=ʔoʔy-pa
 3ABS+look.REDUP=AMBUL-INC
 'She looks around.' (Cangrejo.081)

Of intransitive verb clauses², 513 had a S overtly expressed with a lexical noun or a pronoun. The preferred word order in the case of lexical nouns was VS (65.14%), whereas the preferred word order clauses with pronouns was SV (84.71%). The distribution is shown in Table 16.5.

Table 16.5: SV Word Order in Intransitive Clauses

	Nouns		Pronouns		Total
SV	152	34.86%	66	85.71%	218
VS	284	65.14%	11	14.29%	295
Total	436		77		513

16.1.2.3 Non-Verbal Predicate Clauses

Nonverbal predicate clauses with overt lexical nouns are somewhat rare. An example is shown in (16.19).

(16.19) *ʔan+tzixi+tyam* *maymay+yaj*
 ʔan+tzixi+tam Ø+maymay+yaj
 XPSR+child+PLU_{hum} 3ABS+happy+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘My children were happy’

²The existential/locative verb *ʔity* ‘be’ is included here because it shows the same word order distribution as other intransitive verbs.

porke *ʔa+na+wiʔkyajpa*
 porke ʔa+na+wiʔk-**yaj**-pa
 because XABS+ASSOC+eat-PLU_{non^{sap}}-INC
 because we were eating (well).’ (ROD.004)

Only 25 out of 4049 sentences consisted of nonverbal predicates with overtly expressed nouns. Of those 25, 15 had SV word order (SV 60% and VS 40%), shown in Table 16.1.2.3.

Table 16.6: Word Order in Non-verbal Predicate Clauses

	Nouns		Pronouns		Total	
SV	15	60%	6	85.71%	21	65.63%
VS	10	40%	1	14.29%	11	34.37%
Total	25		7		32	

16.1.2.4 Summary of Frequency Distributions

The distribution of As, Os and Ss to verbs shows a number of tendencies. The preferred position for nominal As is preverbal (77.27%); the preferred position of nominal Os is postverbal (89.28%). The word order tendencies are shown in Table 16.7. Similarly, in intransitive clauses, the tendency is for Ss to occur postverbally (65.14%).

Table 16.7: Word Order Preferences for Noun and Pronoun A, O, & S

	Preverbal		Postverbal		Total
Agents:	204	77.27%	60	22.73%	264
Objects:					
nouns	37	10.72%	308	89.28%	
pronouns	9	75%	3	25%	
Subjects:					
nouns	152	34.86%	284	65.14%	436
pronouns	66	85.71%	11	14.29%	77

16.1.3 Ambiguity Tests

While frequency distributions were useful to establish word order relations between verbs and their arguments, ambiguity texts were useful in establishing word order relations between A and Os. Ambiguity tests highlighted the preference for the A to precede the O, regardless of its position with respect to the verb.

In order to establish word order preference, speakers were presented with example sets. Four different example sets were used; two originated from natural speech, and two were contrived. Examples of each are listed in (16.20).

- (16.20) (a) *[jaytziɪx+tyam]_A* *[wony+tyam]_O* *[pause]*
 jay=tzɪɪxi+tam woonyi+tam
 boy=child+PLU_{hum} girl+PLU_{hum}

[ʔi+miʔgiʔǎʔyyajpa]_V
 ʔi+mik-ʔiʔy-yaj-pa
 3ERG+lie-ANTIP-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘The boys trick the girls.’ (JOV.036)

- (b) *[ʔi+kúʔt]_V* *[jeʔm miisi]_A* *[jeʔm tiʔipi]_O*
 ʔi+kuʔt-W jeʔm miisi jeʔm tiʔipi
 3ERG+eat-CMP that cat that fish
 ‘The cat ate the fish.’ (20050706BRN032)

- (c) *[yiʔp piiyuj]_A* *[ʔi+tyinhpa]_V* *[(yiʔp) tuʔunu]_O*
 yiʔp piiyuj ʔi+tyinh-pa (yiʔp) tuʔunu
 this chicken 3ERG+peck-INC (this) turkey
 ‘The chicken pecked the turkey.’ (20090227RGA)

- (d) *[jose]_A* *[ʔinh+weʔjaʔypa]_V* *[Rigoberto]_O*
 jose ʔinh+weʔjaʔypa Rigoberto
 Jose ʔi+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-pa Rigoberto
 ‘Jose calls Rigoberto.’ (20090227RGA)

The judgments for each of the four sets were relatively consistent. In all cases, when speakers were presented with SVO and VSO word order, the utterances were unmarked and speakers confirmed the intended readings. When presented with SOV word order, speakers hesitated, but judged the sentences as grammatical. In all cases the arguments were interpreted as having the intended role; the intended A was interpreted as A. When speakers were presented with OSV, OVS and VOS orders, judgments were mixed. Initially, speakers judged the sentences as either ungrammatical or nonsensical. On further discussion, speakers indicated that alternate readings were possible. The

alternate readings consistently interpreted the first argument in the clause as A. When asked to “correct” the sentences, speakers changed intonation, inserted pauses or offered paraphrased variations.

16.1.4 Summary of Constituent Order

Word order in SP is influenced to a great extent by pragmatics. SP has features of both OV and VO word order. Based on frequency distributions, which show tendencies for AV, VP, and VS order, the predominant word order is VO. The verb final characteristics are thought to be traces of the verb final word order reconstructed for Proto-Mixe-Zoquean (Kaufman and Justeson 2000; Zavala 2000:32). The VO word order is thought to be an innovation resulting from contact with Mayan and other verb initial languages in the region (Campbell et al 1986, Zavala 2000:32). Ambiguity tests show that, barring effects of intonation, when both arguments in a transitive clause are overtly expressed the first is interpreted as A, regardless of the position of the verb.

16.1.5 Ditransitive Clause

Example (16.21) illustrates a case with a ditransitive compound verb, two arguments (both objects) and the adverb *jesik* ‘then, when’.

(16.21) *porkej jesik ?+pàtznigá?y*
porkej jesik ?i+patz=nikk-?a?y-W
because then 3ERG+throw=go-BEN-CMP
‘Because then he threw

je?m chiima ?i+maanik
je?m chiima ?i+maanik
that 3PSR+plate 3PSR+child
his plate at his child.’ (Yerno.083a)

However, this is rare. That much information tends to be broken down into a series of clauses.

Chapter 17

Negation

SP has two negative particles: *dya* (17.1) and *?ot?oy* (17.2). *?ot?oy* is used to negate imperative and optative constructions. *dya* is used in all other negative constructions (§17.1).

- (17.1) ***dya*** *?a+?ikxju?ypa*
dya *?a+?iks.i=ju?y-pa*
NEG XABS+corn.grain=buy-INC
'We didn't buy corn.' (7NH.032)

- (17.2) ***?odoy*** *?a?mseetta?mi*
?ot?oy *?a?m=seet-ta?m-i*
NEG look=return-PLU_{sap}-IMP
'Don't look back.' (GU1.141)

17.1 Negative Particle *dya*

Negation may take scope over a predicate, in which case it takes scope over the clause, or the verbal constituents within the clause. When negation takes

scope over the clauses, the negative particle *dya* precedes the predicate, verbal (17.3) or nonverbal (17.4).

- (17.3) *dya nuʔku+n ʔi+juktĩ*
dya Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔun ʔi+juktĩ
 NEG 3ABS+arrive-CMP+DJO 3PSR+fire
 ‘It didn’t light.’ (lit. ‘The fire didn’t arrive.’) (Coma1.002b)

- (17.4) *dya káamam.*
dya Ø+kamam
 NEG 3ABS+duro
 ‘It’s not hard.’ (GUS.080)

17.1.1 Clausal Negation

When the negative particle precedes the verb, lexically expressed arguments occur in three possible positions. The first observed position is following the verb. The following examples show an A (17.5), S (17.6) and O (17.7) following the verb in negated clauses. There are no examples in which both arguments appear in a negated monotransitive clause.

- (17.5) *dya ʔiri+míny jeʔm piixiny*
dya ʔi+na+miny-W jeʔm piixiny
 NEG 3ERG+ASSOC+come-CMP that man
 ‘The man didn’t bring it.’ (REY.052a)

- (17.6) *dya+m kaʔm jeʔm ʔi+kooso*
dya+ʔam Ø+kaʔm-W jeʔm ʔi+kooso
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+attach-CMP that 3PSR+knee
 ‘His knee didn’t attach.’ (ESK.140b)

- (17.7) *dya ʔi+kuʔtpa jeʔm kaʔnpu*
 dya ʔi+kuʔt-pa jeʔm kaʔnpu
 NEG 3ERG+eat-INC that egg
 ‘She did not eat the egg.’ (MAB.062)

The second observed position for lexically expressed arguments (in naturally occurring speech) is preceding the negative particle. This is shown with the S of an intransitive verb in (17.8) and the O of a transitive verb in (17.9). In (17.8), the clause initial NPs are followed by a pause, indicating the argument has been topicalized. In the case of (17.9), the pause following the NP is almost inaudible, but the clause initial noun is emphasized, an indication that the NP is topicalized.

- (17.8) *ʔich yiʔp ʔan+maanik [pause]*
 ʔich yiʔp ʔan+maanik
 1PRO this XPSR+child
 ‘My child
- dya wiʔanéʔ*
 dya Ø+wiH-ʔaH-neʔ-W
 NEG 3ABS+good-VERS-PERF-CMP
 is not well.’ (Partera.006)

- (17.9) *yoomo dya tam+maʔyypa*
 yoomo dya tan+maʔy-pa
 woman NEG IERG+sell-INC
 ‘We don’t sell women.’ (CNC.032c)

The third position observed is following the negator and preceding the verb, as shown in (17.10) through (17.11). These examples come from elicitation, and this position has not been observed in a main clause in naturally occurring speech.

(17.10) *dya jeʔm tziixi nikpa*
 dya jeʔm tziixi Ø+nɪkpa
 NEG that child 3ABS+go-INC
 ‘The child didn’t go.’ (20090227JAF)

(17.11) *dya jeʔm tziixi ʔi+watpa niʔikuy*
 dya jeʔm tziixi ʔi+watpa niʔk.kuy
 NEG that child 3ERG+make-INC coffee
 ‘The child doesn’t make coffee.’ (20090227JAF)

(17.12) *dya niʔikuy ʔi+watpa jeʔm tziixi*
 dya niʔk.kuy ʔi+watpa jeʔm tziixi
 NEG coffee 3ERG+make-INC that child
 ‘The child doesn’t make coffee.’ (20090227JAF)

It is observed, however, in subordinate clauses (17.13).

(17.13) *waatyi nuʔkyajpam*
 waatyi Ø+nuʔk-yaj-pa+ʔam
 some 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-INC+ALR
 ‘Some arrive,

jeʔm ʔa+wiittaʔm
 jeʔm ʔa+wiittaʔm
 that XABS+massage-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 they message us

porkej dya ʔam+maanik wisaneʔ
 porkej dya ʔan+maanik Ø+pis-a-neʔ-W
 because NEG XERG+child 3ABS+heal-?-PERF-CMP
 because my child is not healthy.’ (ConvSerPartera.225)

In negated non-verbal predicate constructions, pronouns may follow the negator (17.14) and (17.15).

- (17.14) *dya jeʔe negoosyoj*
 dya jeʔ Ø+negoosyo
 NEG 3PRO 3ABS+business
 ‘It’s not a business.’ (CNC.032d)

- (17.15) *yiʔp dya jeʔ tziixi*
 yiʔp dya jeʔ Ø+tziixi
 this NEG 3PRO 3ABS+child
 ‘This, this is no child.’ (GUS.079)

17.1.2 Negation in Subordinate Clauses

In multiverb constructions, when the subordinate clause is negated, the negator follows the complementizer. As shown in (17.16) the subordinate clause is negated independently of the matrix clause.

- (17.16) *pero ʔokmi ʔan+jiiis*
 pero ʔokmi ʔan+jiiis-W
 but after XERG+think-CMP
 ‘But afterward I think

ʔiga+dya ʔarak+kaʔaba
 ʔiga+dya ʔa+ʔak+kaʔ-*pa*
 COMP+NEG XABS+CAUS₁+die-INC
 it’s not going to kill me.’ (Suenyo.064)

- (17.17) *ʔi+ʔix+tyim*
 ʔi+ʔix-W+tyi+ʔam
 3ERG+see-CMP+YET+ALR
 ‘He sees

ʔiga+ʔich dya ʔanh+joʔykáʔ
ʔiga+ʔich dya ʔan+joʔy-kaʔ-W
 COMP+1PRO NEG XERG+angry-LOC_{applic}-CMP
 ‘that I’m not angry at him.’

The matrix verb may be negated independently of the subordinate clause.

That is, negation does not take scope over subordinate clause (17.18).

(17.18) *dya ʔany+ʔix ʔiga+nuʔkyáj*
dya ʔan+ʔix-W ʔiga+Ø+nuʔk-yaj-W
 NEG XERG+see-CMP COMP+3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘I didn’t see that they arrived.’ (20070705JAF)

This is shown with multi-verb constructions involving nonverbal predicates in the following pair of examples. In (17.19) the non-verbal predicate in the matrix clause is negated, the scope of negation is restricted to the matrix clause. In (17.20) the non-verbal predicate in the subordinate clause is negated independently of the matrix clause.

(17.19) *ʔiga+dya wi̯i nik ta+m̯iichi*
ʔiga+dya Ø+w̯iH nikk ta+m̯iich-i
 COMP+NEG 3ABS+good go_{aux}-W IABS+play-DEP_{ia}
 ‘...because it’s not good for us to go play [there].’ (PDO.014c)

(17.20) *ta+monhpa+mun dya tanh+jodonh*
ta+monh-pa-ʔam+ʔun dya tan+jootoʔnh
 IABS+sleep-INC+ALR+DJO NEG IPSR+knowledge
 ‘We sleep not knowing.’ (ESK.043)

17.1.3 Constituent Negation

There are two strategies for negating constituents. The first strategy is to bring the constituent to focus position, in which case it is realized as a non-verbal predicate. The example in (17.21) illustrates a case in which the O of the main clause has been negated. In this example the argument has been advanced to precede the verb, and the pronoun *jeʔ* ‘3PRO’ is the S of the nonverbal predicate *piixiny* ‘man’. Although there is no overtly expressed trace of the argument, the verb is transitive (marked with the ergative proclitic *?i+*) indicating there is a O not overtly expressed.

- (17.21) *porkej dya jeʔ ?idyik piixiny*
 porkej dya jeʔ ?ity?ik Ø+piixiny
 because NEG 3PRO PAST 3ABS+man
 ‘Because it wasn’t a man

?oy ?i+?á?m
?oy-W ?i+?a?m-W₂
go/ret_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+look-DEP_t
 she went to see.’ (GU2.064)

Example (17.22) shows the A of the transitive verb in focus position. In this case, the predicate of the main clause is marked as a relative clause. Again, the verb is transitive, marked with the absolutive *?a+* co-indexing the 1st person O, indicating an A that is not overtly expressed.

- (17.22) *dya jeʔ ?a+ku+pujwi?ip!*
dya Ø+jeʔ ?a+ku+puj-wi-?pV
 NEG 3ABS+3PRO 3ABS+DERIV+defend-CMP-REL
 ‘It is not he who defended me!’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:328-9)

This is observed in nonverbal predicate constructions, as well. Example (17.23) shows a nonverbal predicate. The S is co-indexed in focus position with the demonstrative *peʔm* preceding the negator; the nonverbal predicate in the main clause is marked as a relative clause.

- (17.23) *peʔm* *dya* *jeʔ* *wibiʔk* *yoomo*
 peʔm dya jeʔ Ø+wiH+piʔk yoomo
 that.yonder NEG 3PRO 3ABS+good+REL woman
 ‘That (woman), she is not a good woman. (Cangrejo.057)

The second strategy is for the constituent to stand in isolation, not as an argument of a predicate. For example in (17.24) the negator takes scope over the 2nd person pronoun; in (17.25) it takes scope over a 3rd person pronoun.

- (17.24) *nimpa* *dya* *mich*
 Ø+nim-pa dya mich
 3ABS+say-INC NEG 2PRO
 ‘He says: ‘Not you.

ʔoojo+m *ʔim+miʔichi*
 ʔoojo+m ʔin+miʔtz-i
 alcohol+ALR 2PSR+bring.face.to.face-NOM
 Alcohol is your owner;

jeʔ+ʔam *mi+ri+nikpa*
 jeʔ+ʔam mi+na+Nikk-pa
 3PRO+ALR 2ABS+ASSOC+go-INC
 it carries you.’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.023)

- (17.25) *dya* *jeʔ*. *ʔeste* *ʔi+k+wiʔkpa* *jeʔm* *muunsuj*.
 dya jeʔ ʔeste ʔi+ʔak+wiʔk-pa jeʔm muunsuj
 NEG 3PRO FILL 3ERG+CAUS₁+eat-INC that hired.hand
 ‘Not her. She feeds the farm workers.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.030)

The only constituent that may be negated directly without the use of either strategy described above is the quantifier *tyumpiy* ‘everyone’, as shown in (17.26).

- (17.26) *dya, dya ?i+tyumpiy ku+nu?kyajpa*
dya dya ?i+tum.piy Ø+ku+nu?k-yaj-pa
 NEG NEG 3PSR+all 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{non^{sap}}-INC
 ‘No, not everyone arrives [there].’ (PDO.013)

17.1.4 Alternations Triggered by Negator *dya*

The pronouns *?ich* ‘1PRO’ and *mich* ‘2PRO’ undergo a morphophonemic alternation when they occur with the negative particle *dya*. The alternation is described by the rule in (17.27). This alternation occurs only with these pronouns, illustrated in (17.28) and (17.29).

- (17.27) PRONOUN+*dya* ALTERNATION:

$tʃ \rightarrow \text{ɲ} / \text{--}ʃ$

- (17.28) *?iny+dya+m wi?aaba+m ?an+wítý*
?ich+dya+?am wiH.?aH-pa+?am ?an+wity-W
 1PRO+NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-INC+ALR XERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I can’t walk.’ (CSP.267b)

- (17.29) *miny+dya+m wi?aap ?iny+wát kweentaj*
mich+dya+?am wi?-?aH-pa ?iny+wat-W kweentaj
 2PRO+NEG+ALR be.able-INC 2ERG+do-CMP account
 ‘You couldn’t take care

jeʔm wiʔkkuy
 jeʔm wiʔk-kuy
 that eat-LOC_{applic}
 of the food.’ (Rey.019)

17.1.5 Negative Pronouns

The negative particle *dya* occurs with the interrogative pronouns *tyiH* ‘what’ and *ʔiH* ‘who’ to form *dya+tyiH* ‘nothing’ and *dya+ʔiH* ‘no one’. The pair in (17.30) and (17.31) shows the negated pronominal forms *dya+tyiH* ‘nothing’ and *dya+ʔiH* ‘no one’ occurring as an A and a O, respectively.

(17.30) *ʔiʔny+**dya+tyi** ʔan+jiispa*
 ʔich+**dya+tyiH** ʔan+jiis-pa
 1PRO+NEG+what XERG+think-INC
 ‘I think nothing/I don’t think anything.’ (CNC.027a)

(17.31) *jeʔm toro **dya+ʔii** ʔi+k+tziʔy*
 jeʔm toro **dya+ʔiH** ʔi+ʔak+tziʔy-W
 that bull NEG+who 3ERG+CAUS₁+remain-CMP
 ‘The bull, no one caught up to.’ (VYT.080a)

The negative particle and the pronouns cliticize to one another as a result of proximity. As shown by example (17.32), *dya* and *tyiH* are independent particles.

(17.32) *dya+wey tyii mi+ri+watpa*
 dya+wey tyiH mi+na+wat-pa
 NEG+TRUE what 2ABS+ASSOC+do-INC
 ‘It won’t do anything to you, it’s true.’ (MAB.104)

The pronouns always follow the negator and precedes the predicate. The negative pronouns do not follow the verb.

17.2 Imperative and Optative Negator *?ot?oy*

The negative particle *?ot?oy* is used to negate imperative (17.33) and optative (17.34) constructions.

- (17.33) *?odoy xikta?ami?*
?ot?oy sik-ta?m-i
 NEG laugh-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 ‘Don’t laugh.’ (GU1.140)

- (17.34) *mojpam ?an+jiityu+m je?m ?an+?uunu*
moj-pa+?am ?an+jiity-W+?am je?m ?an+?uunu
 begin-INC+ALR XERG+stir-DEP_t that XPSR+*atole*
 ‘I began to stir my *atole*.’

porkej ?odo+m jipxiny
porkej ?odoy+?am Ø+jips-?iny
 because NEG+ALR 3ABS+burn-OPT
 so that it wouldn’t burn.’ (Atole.012-3)

?ot?oy is used only to negate predicates; it does not negate statives or verbal arguments.

In imperative constructions the particle always precedes the predicate (17.35). The word order in negated imperative constructions generally follows that of affirmative imperative clauses with the O following the predicate. No instances of topicalized O arguments occur in naturally occurring speech.

- (17.35) *?odoy tzikta?mi+m*
?ot?oy tzik-ta?m-i+?am
 NEG touch-PLU_{sap}-IMP+ALR
 ‘Don’t touch it.’ (Suenyo.045)

- (17.36) *ʔodoy joʔyixɬyaʔmi ʔiny+yoomo*
 ʔotʔoy joʔy=ʔix-taʔm-i ʔin+yoomo
 NEG be.angry=see-PLU_{sap}-IMP 2PSR+women
 ‘Don’t mistreat your women.’ (JOV.015B)

Word order in negated optative sentences follows that of the order for simple optative clauses with Ss (17.37), As (17.38), and Os (17.39) following the predicate.

- (17.37) *ʔodom jipxiny jeʔm ʔan+ʔuunu*
 ʔodoy+ʔam Ø+jips-ʔiny jeʔm ʔan+ʔuunu
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+burn-OPT that XPSR+corn.broth
 ‘That the corn broth doesn’t burn.’ (Atole.014)

- (17.38) *ʔodoy ʔi+ku+jiʔdaʔyʔiny niʔ*
 ʔotʔoy ʔi+ku+jiʔt-ʔaʔy-ʔiny niʔ
 NEG 3ERG+DERIV+drag.by.current-BEN-OPT water
 ‘That the water doesn’t drag [the earth] away.’ (CP1.010)

- (17.39) *jesik wɨɖyaaya niɱpa,*
 jesik wɨɖyaaya Ø+nɱm-pa,
 then old.man 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘Then old-man he-says,

ʔodoy moʔogiʔiyi tam+maanik,
 ʔodoy moʔok.ʔiʔiy-i tan+maanik
 NEG bother-IMP IPSR+child
 ‘Don’t bother our-son.

sosaʔayi wɨsteen, ʔak+wiʔiki
 sos-ʔaʔy-i wɨsteen ʔak+wiʔk-i
 cook-BEN-IMP two CAUS₁+eat-IMP
 Cook him two [fish]; feed him.’ ” (Elson 1947a:197-8)

As with the particle *dya*, arguments may precede the negator, as shown in (17.40). Again, this is due to topicalization, described in ch. 19.

(17.40) *nimpa* *jeʔm yoomo*
 Ø+nim-pa jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+say-INC that woman
 ‘The woman says,

siʔip+tyim *ʔa+ʔanh+madáʔy* *tzuʔi=kiʔim*
siʔip+tyim *ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W* *tzuʔ=kiʔim*
 now+JUST+ALR XABS+DERIV+speak-BEN-CMP night=LOC₁
 just now she told me, in the night

tan+maanik ʔodoy miichyajiny
tan+maanik ʔotʔoy Ø+miich-yaj-ʔiny
 IPSR+child NEG 3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-OPT
 our children shouldn’t play.’ (CVS.004)

17.3 Negative Polarity Items

Two terms are observed in SP that can be described as negative polarity items, terms that may only occur in negative contexts. These are the prefix *jaaya* ‘almost no, never’ and *keemam* ‘never’. These are described here.

17.3.1 *jaaya* ‘almost never’

The term *jaaya* attaches to the verb to indicate ‘almost no, almost never’ (17.41). It attaches to the verb and is preceded by person marking, as shown in (17.42).

- (17.41) *dya dya+m jàayawi?áb am+wíty*
dya dya+?am jaaya=wiH-?aH-pa ?an+wity-W
 NEG NEG+ALR almost.no=be.able_{aux}-?aH-INC XERG+walk-CMP
 ‘I almost can’t walk. (ConvSerPartera.269)

- (17.42) *dya ?ig+i+jaayaku?tpa ka?npu*
dya ?iga+?i+jaaya=ku?t-pa ka?npu
 NEG COMP+3ERG+almost.no=eat-INC egg
 ‘She almost never eats eggs.’ (MAB.059)

17.3.2 *Keeman* ‘never’

The term *keeman* ‘never’ is restricted to negative clauses. The example in (17.43) shows the adverb *keeman* ‘never’ following the negative particle. *keeman* is a negative polarity item that is observed only with the negative particle *dya* and *?odoy* (17.44). It is not in and of itself a negator. That is, it does not occur without the negators *dya* or *?odoy*.

- (17.43) *?indya keeman ?a+?oy*
?ich+dya keeman ?a+?oy-W
 1PRO+NEG never XABS+go/return-INC
 ‘I’ve never been [there].’ (SobrePopoluca.157)

- (17.44) *?odoy keeman minyi*
?odoy keeman miny-i
 NEG never come-IMP
 ‘Never come!’ (20090227JAFs23)

17.4 Negator *ni* ‘neither, not even’

Occasionally appearing in texts is the negative particle *ni*. The particle *ni*, shown in (17.45) and (17.46) tends to occur with topicalized (and possibly postposed) phrases. It does not serve as a negator of the clause, but only the constituent it precedes, and its usage tends to be emphatic.

- (17.45) *ni* *?i+maanik dya ?i+piktzónh*
ni *?i+maanik dya Ø+pik=tzonh-W*
 not.even 3PSR+son NEG 3ABS+take=receive-CMP
 ‘Not even her child does she accept.’ (Jovenes.006b)

- (17.46) *?okmi ni tum je?m ?i+?okmaanik*
?okmi ni tum je?m ?i+?okmaanik
 afterwards no.even one that 3PSR+grandchild
 ‘Afterwards not even one of her grandchildren

dya teenykejyajpa
dya Ø+teeny=kej-ya.j-pa
 NEG 3ABS+stop=appear-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 stopped by to visit.’ (MAB.271)

Wichmann (1995:288) has reconstructed the particle back to proto-Mixe and proto-Zoquean. Kaufman (p.c.) claims that the particle is borrowed from the Spanish *ni* ‘neither, not even’, arguing that based on the phonology of the language /ni/ would surface [*nyi*] if it were a native Mixe-Zoquean particle.

Chapter 18

Interrogative Clauses

SP has two types of interrogatives: content (information) questions (18.1) and polarity (yes-no) questions (18.2). Content questions are formed with question words. They may also be marked with rising intonation, although this is not always the case. Polar questions have no morphological marking, and they are usually marked by rising intonation.

- (18.1) *mich tyi+ʔam ʔinh+wajneʔʔ*
mich tyiH+ʔam ʔin+wat-neʔ-W
2PRO what 2ERG+do-PERF
'You, what have you done?' (ESK.134a)

- (18.2) *mi+jejneʔi+mʔ*
mi+jej-neʔ-W+ʔam
2ABS+rest-PERF-CMP+ALR
'Have you rested?' (20050404RCRn064)

18.1 Content Questions

Information interrogatives incorporate constituent or “question words” to solicit specific information. Question words consist of pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The question words found in SP are listed in (18.3). There are no interrogative words, although the auxiliary verb *jutz-ʔaH* ‘be such that, how is it that’ is frequently used to elicit questions (see §18.1.1 below).

(18.3) Interrogative pronouns (questions words) in SP:

<i>tyiH</i>	‘what’
<i>ʔiH</i>	‘who’
<i>juuty</i>	‘where’
<i>juusanh</i>	‘when’
<i>juʔtz.anh</i>	‘how much’
<i>juuty+piʔk</i>	‘how’
<i>juʔp</i>	‘which’

The interrogative words occur clause initially in questions¹. This is illustrated with the pronouns *tyiH* ‘what’ and *tyiH+ʔiga* ‘why’ in examples (18.4) and (18.5), respectively.

¹Elson (1989:185) notes that occasionally a question word follows the verb, and provides the examples shown in (1).

- (i) *nikpa* *xiwan* *juuty*
 Ø+nik-pa xiwan juuty
 3ABS+go-INC John where
 ‘Where is John going?’ (Elson 1989:185)
- (ii) *mi+ʔoy* *juucha*
 mi+ʔoy-W juucha
 2ABS+go-CMP when
 ‘When did you go?’ (Elson 1989:185)

- (18.4) *tyii* *?inh+wanne?*?
 tyiH *?in+wat-ne?-W?*
 what 2ERG+do-PERF-CMP
 ‘What have you done?’ (PQ2.090)
- (18.5) *tyi?iga* *?i+tzìganhwéjpa?*
 tyiH+?iga *?i+tzìk=?anh+wej-pa*
 what+COMP 3ERG+CAUS₂=DERIV₁+cry-INC
 ‘Why is she crying.’ (MAB.015b)

The interrogative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ is used as a non-human referent to question core arguments: Ss (18.6), As (18.7), Os (18.8), and SOs (18.9).

- (18.6) *tyii* *nasné?*?
 tyiH *Ø+nas-ne?-W*
 what 3ABS+pass-PERF-CMP
 ‘What has happened?’ (20050405RCRn21)
- (18.7) *tyii* *si?ip* *?i+ku?tpa* *yi?p* *?an+?aanyi*
 tyiH *si?ip* *?i+ku?t-pa* *yi?p* *?an+?aanyi*
 what now 3ERG+eat-INC this XPSR+tortilla
 ‘Now what is eating my tortilla?’ (ESK.096)
- (18.8) ***tyii*** *si?ip* *?inh+wát?*
tyiH *si?ip* *?in+wat-W*
 what now 2ERG+do-CMP
 ‘What are you doing now?’ (CNC.032b)
- (18.9) *tyii* *si?ib* *an+wadá?y*
 tyiH *si?-pa* *?a+wat-?a?y-W₂*
 what PROG_{aux}-INC XABS+do-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘What is she making for me?’ (20090228RGA)

SP has a hierarchical system, which places human referents higher on the continuum than nonhuman referents. That is, a benefactive referent (PO) ranks higher than the theme (SO) of a ditransitive verb. No examples are available in which *tyiH* ‘what’ refers to a primary object. We do know, however, that primary objects may be questioned, with the interrogative pronoun *?iH* ‘who’ (see ex. 18.18 below).

tyiH also indexes Ss of nonverbal predicates, in the case of (18.10) the 3rd person pronoun *je?*.

- (18.10) *tyii si?ip je?*
 tyiH si?ip Ø+je?
 what now 3ABS+3PRO
 ‘What is it now?’ (ESK.099)

Oblique arguments may also be questioned, as shown in (18.11) for an instrumentive argument and (18.12c) for a locative argument.

- (18.11) LOCATIVE OBLIQUE:

tyiimi *?iny+cho?yí?y* *yí?p ?inh+kawaj*
tyiH-mi *?in+tzoy-?i?y-W* *yí?p ?in+kawaj*
 what-WITH 2ERG+medicine-PROV-CMP this 2PSR+horse
 ‘With what are you going to cure this horse?’ (OJOS.025b)

- (18.12) INSTRUMENTAL OBLIQUE:

(a) *?a+nim* *wi?ap* *niginy* *?iny+chák*
 ?a+nim-W wiH.?aH-pa nik-?iny ?in+tzak-W
 XABS+say-INC be.able-INC go-OPT 2ERG+leave-DEP_t
 ‘I say: ‘Can you go leave

- (b) *jwaan?* *Porkej* *kijnnyé?*
 jwaan porkej Ø+kity-ne?-W
 Juan because 3ABS+break-PERF-CMP
 Juan? Because he's broken.'
- (c) *nimpa,* *peeroj* *tyijóom?*
 Ø+nim-pa pero **tyiH=joj.mi**
 3ABS+say-INC but what=LOC₂.LOC₁
 He says, 'But in what?'
- (d) *Nimpa,* *dya* *?ity* *?an+kaaruj*
 Ø+nim-pa dya Ø+?ity-W ?an+kaaruj
 3ABS+say-INC NEG 3ABS+be-CMP XPSR+car
 He says, 'My car isn't here.' ” (PQ2.110-3)

- (18.13) *si?ip tziimi tan+tzenpa?*
 si?ip tyiH-mi tan+tzen-pa
 now what-LOC₁ IERG+tie-INC
 'Now what do we tie it with?' (ConvSerPartera.170)

tyiH may be derived as verbs with the versive *-?aH* and the relativizer suffix *-?pV* (18.14).

- (18.14) *tyi?apá?ap?*
 tyiH-?aH-pa-?pV?
 what-VERS-INC-REL
 'What is it?' (Cangrejo.019)

The interrogative pronoun *?iH* 'who' serves as a human referent and may index Ss (18.15), As (18.16), Os (18.17), and POs (18.18). POs tend to be recipient (benefactive, addressee) arguments and are therefore human, whereas SOs tend to be nonhuman arguments, therefore while it is likely that *?iH* can question SOs, no examples are available at this time. *tyiH* 'what', however, has been observed questioning SOs (18.9 above).

- (18.15) *siʔip ʔii minypaʔ*
 siʔip ʔiH Ø+miny-paʔ
 now who 3ABS+come-INC
 ‘Now who comes?’ (20060726ERGs)
- (18.16) *siʔip ʔii mi+matzpagaʔypa*
 siʔip ʔiH mi+matz=pak-ʔaʔy-pa
 now who 2ABS+hold=knock.down-BEN-INC
 ‘Now, who is going to take care (maintain)
- yɨʔp tziix+tyam+yajʔ*
 yɨʔp tziix+tyam+yaj
 this child+PLU_{hum}+PLU_{nonhum}
 these children for you?’ (PQ2.100)
- (18.17) *ʔii ʔiri+ník*
 ʔiH ʔin+na+ník-W
 who 2ERG+ASSOC+go-INC
 ‘Who did you take?’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)
- (18.18) *pa ʔii siʔ inh+wadáʔy*
 pa ʔiH siʔ-W inh+wat-ʔaʔy-W₂
 for who PROG_{aux}-CMP 2ERG+make-BEN-CMP
 ‘For whom are making it?’ (20090227RGA)

The possessor may be questioned, as in (18.19).

- (18.19) *ʔiʔ ʔi+chimpa yɨʔpʔ*
 ʔiH ʔi+chimpa yɨʔp
 who 3PSR+dog this
 ‘Whose dog is this?’ (Gutierrez & Wichmann 2001:330-1)

ʔiH may be inflected with person when it occurs as the predicate in non-verbal clause, as shown in (18.20).

- (18.20) *mich mi+ʔiʔ*
 mich mi+ʔiH
 2PRO 3ABS+who
 ‘Who are you?’ (GU2.028)

Like *tyiH*, *ʔiH* may be derived with the versive *-ʔaH* and the relativizer *-ʔpV*. In the example in (18.21) it occurs as the predicate in a relative clause, not as an interrogative pronoun.’

- (18.21) *ʔokmi niki+m ʔi+ku+sutz*
 ʔok-mi nikk-W+ʔam ʔi+ku+sutz-W
 after go_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+DERIV₂+wait.for-DEP_t
 ‘Afterward he goes to wait for

ʔiiʔapaʔap ʔi+kuʔtpaʔap jeʔm tzas ʔi+tyuʔtz
ʔiH-ʔaH-pa+ʔpV ʔi+kuʔt-pa-ʔpV jeʔm tzas ʔi+tuʔtz
 3PRO-VERS-INC-REL 3ERG+eat-INC+REL that shrimp 3PSR+tail
 whoever it is that is eating his shrimp tails.’ (PDLMA.JUUNYCHU7TZ.011)

Multiple arguments may not be questioned in a single clause (i.e. ‘Who ate what?’). That is, multiple interrogative pronouns do not occur in the same clause. Such constructions have not been observed in naturally occurring speech. In elicitation such constructions are subject to mixed interpretations. Speakers seek to correct the offending utterance or paraphrase using multiple independent clauses.

The adverb *juuty* ‘where’ is used to question location (18.22). The adverb is also used to head adverbial clauses indicating location (18.23) (see ch. 25).

(18.22) *mich juuty mi+nyikpa?*
 mich **juuty** mi+nikk-pa
 2PRO where 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘You, where are you going?’ (PDO.023)

(18.23) *nikipam juuty rropsné?*
 Ø+nikk-pa-m *juuty* Ø+rrops-ne?-W
 3ABS+go-INC+ALR where 3ABS+slip.off-PERF-CMP
 ‘He goes to where had slipped off

je?m ?i+maayi
 je?m ?i+maayi
 that 3PSR+meat
 his flesh.’ (ESK.074)

The manner adverb *juuty+pi?k* is a lexicalized expression composed of *juuty* ‘where’ and the relativizer *+pi?k*, and functions as an interrogative meaning ‘how’ (18.24). The adverb is also used to head adverbial manner clauses (18.25).

(18.24) *juuty.pi?k ?iη+kinhpa?*
juuty.pi?k ?in+kiη-pa
 where.REL 2ERG+paint-INC
 ‘How are you going to paint it?’ (060724.ERG)

(18.25) *jeemum ?a?+nyixpa juuty+pi?k ?a+wi?kpa*
 jeemum ?an+?ix-pa **juuty+pi?k** ?a+wi?k-pa
 there XERG+see-INC where+REL XABS+eat-INC
 ‘There I’m going to see how I’m going to eat.’ (7NH.038)

The interrogative pronoun *juusinh* is used to question ‘when’ (18.26). It has not been observed in texts. It is composed of *ju* ‘which’ and *sinh* ‘time’ (Kaufman p.c.) .

- (18.26) *juusinħ ta+nik-pa*
 when XABS+go-INC
 ‘When do we go?’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

The pronoun *juʔtzanħ* is a lexical expression composed of the terms *juʔtz* ‘how’ and the morpheme *ʔanh*, which is used to derive quantifiers.

- (18.27) *ʔa+nim juʔtzanħ ʔiʔ+nyúkʔ*
ʔa+nim-W juʔ.tzʔanh ʔin+ʔuk-W
 XABS+say-CMP how.much 2ERG+drink-CMP
 ‘I say: ‘How much did you drink?’ ’ (SA2.045c)

The pronoun *juʔp* ‘which’—composed of *ju* ‘which’ and the relativizer *piʔk*—modifies the referent being questioned. The arguments modified by *juʔp* include As (18.28), Os (18.29), and Ss (18.30).

- (18.28) *juʔp siʔip chimpa minypa ʔi+kíʔtʔ*
juʔp siʔip chimpa miny-pa Ø+ʔi+kuʔt-W₂
 which now dog come-INC 3ERG+eat-DEP_t
 ‘Which dog is it that’s eating them [my tortilla]?’ (ESK.097)

- (18.29) *juʔp graaduj mi+ku+yújʔ*
juʔp graaduj mi+ku+yuj-Wʔ
 which grade 2ABS+DERIV₂+become.accustomed-CMP
 ‘Which grade did you study?’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress.ju7p)

- (18.30) *juʔp piixiny nikpa*
juʔp piixiny Ø+nik-pa
 which man 3ABS+go-INC
 ‘Which man is going?’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress.ju7p)

- (18.31) *juʔp+ʔam mich ʔan+chiʔiba*
juʔp+ʔam mich ʔan+chiʔ-pa
 which+ALR 2PRO 2:1+give-INC
 ‘Which do you give me?’

- (18.32) *juʔp lugaar mi+ʔity*
juʔp lugaar mi+ʔity-W
 which place 2ABS+be-CMP
 ‘Which place do you live in?’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress.ju7p)

The term also functions as a relative pronoun (18.33).

- (18.33) *ʔany+ʔixpa juʔp títzneʔwíʔip*
 ʔan+ʔix-pa **juʔp** Ø+títz-neʔ-W+ʔpV
 3ERG+see-INC which 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL
 ‘I’m going to see what [wood] has dried.’ (Comal.029)

Finally, the term *tyiH+ʔiga* ‘why’ is a lexicalized expression composed of *tyiH* ‘what’ and the complementizer *ʔiga+*, a particle borrowed from Nahuatl. *tyi+ʔiga*, composed of the interrogative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ and the complementizer *ʔiga+*, is also heads adverbial reason clauses (18.35).

- (18.34) *tyiiʔiga ʔany+yaʔachwát*
tyiH+ʔiga ʔan+yaʔach=wat-W
 what+COMP 2:1+suffer=make-CMP
 ‘Why did you make me suffer?’ (ESK.130)

- (18.35) *jesik pút tzaam tzootyim*
 jesik Ø+put-W tzaam tzooty+ʔam
 when 3ABS+go.out-CMP much bravo+ALR
 ‘When he got out he was mad

tyiʔiga jèsnimtáaj
tyiH+ʔiga Ø+jes=nim-taH-W
 what+COMP 3ABS+do.like.so-PASS-CMP
 because it had been done to him.’ (UDR.029)

In reported speech, the structure of content question is the same as direct questions with the interrogative pronoun occurring clause initial.

- (18.36) *ʔa+niʔmáʔy* *tyii* *ʔiny+choywatpa*
 ʔa+nimʔaʔy-W *tyiH* *ʔin+tzoy=wat-pa*
 XABS+say-BEN-CMP what 2ERG+medicine=make-INC
 ‘He said to me: ‘What do you use for medicine.’ ’ (Ojos.003b)

18.1.1 ‘How is it that’ Auxiliary Construction

The auxiliary verb *jutzaaH* is frequently used to ask ‘how something is done’ or ‘how is it the case that’. The construction is illustrated in (18.37) and (18.38)².

- (18.37) *jutzaba+m*
 juʔtz-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 be.such.that_{aux}-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘How is it

<i>ʔiginya+mànikwát</i>	<i>jeʔm tzuʔukiny</i>
<i>ʔiga+ʔi+na+manik=wat-W₂</i>	<i>jeʔm tzuʔukiny</i>
COMP+3ERG+ASSOC+child=make-DEP _t	this worm
that she became pregnant with a worm?’ (GUS.119)	

- (18.38) *juutzá* *ʔiny+ʔixʔ*
 juutz.ʔaH-W *ʔin+ʔix-W₂*
 be.such.that_{aux}-VERS-CMP 2ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘How is it you saw it?’ (CSP.020a)

²For a detailed description of auxiliary verb construction, refer to ch. 22.

18.2 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives solicit yes/no answers. Polar questions have the same structure as declarative clauses, requiring no special morphology or changes in word order. They are marked by rising intonation, although this is not always the case.

- (18.39) *mi+wiʔknéʔu+m paj?*
 mi+wiʔk-neʔ-W+ʔam pa
 2ABS+eat-PERF-CMP+ALR dad
 ‘Have you eaten, dad?’ (CNC.056a)

- (18.40) *mich ʔiʔny+ixpík?*
 mich ʔin+ʔix=pik-W
 2PRO 2ERG+recognize-CMP
 ‘Did you recognize him?’ (RCR.20050402.028)

- (18.41) *jemik ʔi+tyumpuy laj jentej nùundajuyyájpá?*
 jemik ʔi+tum.puy laj jentej Ø+nuunta=juy-ya.j-pa
 there 3PSR+every.one all the people
 ‘Does everyone speak Popoluca there?’ (CSPopoluca.008erg)

Negative polar questions begin with the negator *dya*. Examples are shown in (18.42) through (18.44).

- (18.42) *ʔa+nim*
 ʔa+nim-W
 XABS+say-CMP
 ‘I said:

dya ta+níkpa tan+ʔáʔm tan+choomo?
 dya ta+nikk-pa ʔan+ʔaʔm-W tan+choomo
 NEG IABS+go-INC IERG+see-DEP_t IPSR+grandmother
 ‘Were we not going to see our grandmother.’ (VVA.012)

- (18.43) *dya mi+nyimpa ?iga+dya mi+wejpa?*
dya mi+nim-pa ?iga+dya mi+wej-pa?
 NEG 2ABS+say-INC COMP+NEG 2ABS+cry-INC
 ‘Did you not say that you were not going to cry?’ (Yerno.091)

- (18.44) *wii ta?na?m yi?p tzu?ukiny ?u dya wii*
wiH tan+?a?m-W yi?p tzu?ukiny o dya wiH
 good IERG+look-CMP that worm or NEG good
 ‘Is it good to look at the worms or isn’t it good?’ (GU2.092)

Chapter 19

Topic and Focus

As stated above, word order is pragmatically determined. Cases in which arguments occur in clause initial position may be accounted for in terms of topic or focus. I distinguish between topic and focus on simplistic grounds. Topic is essentially what the sentence is about (Aissen 1992:50, citing Norman 1977; Lambrecht 1994:118). Focus, on the other hand, serves to present an assertion that differs from a presupposition established either from the narrative or from context (Aissen 1992:50, Lambrecht 1994:207).

Topic is established in three ways: explicitly stating the argument lexically, using a passive construction, or placing the argument in clause initial (or topic) position. Establishing topic serves to either re-establish a referent already mentioned in the discourse (track) or to introduce a new referent (switch). There is no formal marking of topic; when it occurs in clause initial position it is distinguishable because of a pause following the topicalized element. Focus is established in two ways: Dislocation, often with a resumptive

pronoun, and clefting with relativization.

19.0.1 Topic

Topic refers to what the sentence is about. Placing an argument in topic position serves to either track a referent or to switch referents. Topic is established in three ways in SP. First, and quite significantly, SP is an ergative, head-marking language, which means that arguments do not need to be expressed overtly or pronominally. Therefore, the overt expression of an argument at all is an explicit statement of the topic of the clause. Second, the topic occurs in clause initial position¹. Third, the clause may occur in passive voice², in which the patient takes the role of S of the passivized verb.

The three strategies are illustrated in the excerpt shown in (19.1). The excerpt comes from a narrative in which a woman and a man transform themselves into a cow and a bull, respectively, in order to engage in extramarital activities. The excerpt begins with reference to a woman who is explicitly stated with an overt lexical item seven clauses earlier in the narrative. In (19.1c) a new topic *jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi* ‘her rope’ is introduced with the passive voice. In (d) the same topic is elaborated on further, also with the passive³.

¹This strategy is slightly problematic because the same strategy may be used to focus arguments. Focus is discussed in §19.1.

²This is in keeping with Elson’s (1984) observation that passives in discourse are used (among other purposes) to keep in focus the principal participant in the discourse; to put into prominence a participant that has hitherto been playing a subordinate role in the discourse, or that has not been mentioned at all; or to emphasize a result of action, rather than the doer of the action.

³In (c) through (d), the verbs are marked with the benefactive applicative *-ʔaʔy*, as well as the passive suffix *-taH*. In the three clauses it is the possessor of the that is advanced to S (via external position, see ch. 14). While the theme is topicalized, the woman is still a

Notice that in (c) and (d) the topic is the S of a passive verb. The topic switches again in (e) in which a new topic is introduced *jeʔm ʔi+ʔurasyyuunh* ‘her incantation’; here the topic is the S of a passive verb. In (f) the topic switches back to *jeʔm yoomo* ‘the woman’, which occurs clause initially. She is S of (g), although she is not overtly expressed. In (h) a new topic is introduced *jeʔm la jentej* ‘the people’, which is overtly expressed post-verbally. But the topic switched back to *jeʔm yoomo* ‘the woman’ immediately in the following clause (i) in clause initial position.

(19.1) EXCERPT 1:

- (a) *dyam wiʔaaj ta+nimpa*
 dya+ʔam Ø+wiʔaH-W ta+nim-pa
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+be.able-CMP IABS+say-INC
 ‘She couldn’t, as we say,

dya+m yòʔomaséet
 dya+ʔam Ø+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-W
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+woman-VERS=return-CMP
 she didn’t transform into a woman.’

- (b) *porkej ta+nimpa*
 porke ta+nim-pa
 because IABS+say-INC
 ‘Because, we say,

tzuʔaʔynyetaawi+m ʔidyik
 tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam ʔityʔik
 night-VERS-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR PAST
 a vigil had been held.’

- (c) *wadaʔynyiʔtaawi+m*
 Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam
 3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR

topic throughout the three clauses, although she is not overtly expressed.

jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi
jeʔm ʔi+tiʔps-i
 that 3PSR+twist-NOM
 ‘Her rope had been made.’

- (d) *ta+nimpa*
 ta+nim-pa
 IABS+say-INC
 ‘As we say,

tiʔpsaʔityá *jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi*
 Ø+tiʔps-ʔaʔy-taH-W **jeʔm ʔi+tiʔps-i**
 3ABS+twist-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3PSR+twist-NOM
 her rope had been twisted.’

- (e) *komo wàdaʔynyiʔtáawim*
 komo Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam
 como 3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR

jeʔm ʔi+ʔurasyuunh
jeʔm ʔi+ʔurasyuunh
 that 3PSR+incantation
 ‘As her incantation had been performed,

- (f) *jeʔm yoomo tzam wéj*
jeʔm yoomo tzam Ø+wej-W
 that woman much 3ABS+cry-CMP
 the woman cried a lot.’

- (g) *dya+m wiʔáa ʔi+yòʔomaséet*
 dya+ʔam wiʔaa-W ʔi+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-W
 NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+woman-VERS=return-DEP_{ib}
 ‘She couldn’t transform back into woman.’

- (h) *jesik kukéj*
 jesik Ø+ku+kej-W
 when 3ABS+day.break-CMP
 ‘When day broke,

núʔk *jeʔm lajeentej*
 Ø+nuʔk-W *jeʔm la.jeentej*
 3ABS+arrive-CMP that the.people
 the people came.'

- (i) *jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+tzaʔanéʔu+m*
jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+Ø+tzaʔ-ʔaH-neʔ-W+ʔam
 that woman INTENS+3ABS+rock-VERS-PERF-CMP+ALR
 'The woman was so ashamed,

tzaam wejpa
 tzaam Ø+wej-pa
 much 3ABS+cry-INC
 she cried a lot.' VYT.101-11

19.1 Focus

Focus is used for contrastive emphasis, essentially presenting an assertion that differs from a presupposition established either in the narrative or from context (Aissen 1992:50, Lambrecht 1994:207). SP has two strategies to focus an argument: Dislocation and clefting.

19.1.1 Dislocation: Left and Right

In a dislocated construction, the focused argument generally occurs in clause initial position and is co-referential with a pronoun in the main clause. An example is shown in (19.2).

- (19.2) *jemum ʔeste jeʔm piixiny*
 jemim ʔeste *jeʔm piixiny*
 there FILL that man
 There, the man,

Focused arguments that are post-posed are also observed, although to a lesser extent. In (19.6) the argument, the emphatic ‘not one of her children’ is postposed and clearly distanced from the main clause by a pause.

(19.6) *pero dya+ʔii ʔi+tzoyʔyíʔy*
 pero dya+ʔiH ʔi+tzoy-ʔiʔy-W
 but NEG+who 3ERG+cure-PROV-CMP
 ‘No one cured her,

ni tum jeʔm ʔi+jaymaanik+tam
 ni tuum jeʔm ʔi+jay=maanik+tam
 not one that 3PSR+male=child+PLU_{hum}
 not one of her children.’ (MAB.260)

19.1.2 Cleft Constructions

In a cleft construction, the argument in focus occurs in clause initial position and either the clefted phrase or the main clause may be relativized. For example in (19.7), the clefted argument, the S of the non-verbal predicate *tan+tiiwi+tam* ‘our brothers’ in the main clause is relativized. In (19.8) the clefted argument is the O of the verb in the main clause.

(19.7) *jeʔe dya+piʔk ta+ʔich jeʔe dya tan+tiiwi+tam*
 jeʔe dya+piʔk ta+ʔich jeʔe dya tan+tiiwi+tam
 3PRO NEG+REL IABS+1PRO 3PRO NEG IPSR+brother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Those who are not of us, they’re not our brothers.’ (PDO.039)

(19.8) *ʔestej yiʔp yoomo dya yiʔim+piʔk*
 ʔeste yiʔp yoomo dya yiʔim+piʔk
 FILL this woman NEG here+REL
 ‘This woman who’s not from here,

siʔip ʔaranh+madáʔy yiʔp
siʔip ʔan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W yiʔp
 now XERG+DERIV+speak-BEN-CMP this
 now I'm telling her this.' (PQH.025)

Alternatively in SP, the main clause may consist of the relativized predicate. For instance in (19.9) the argument occurs in focus position, which is followed by the main clause containing the relativized predicate.

(19.9) *jeʔam jeʔ ʔi+weʔkxi jeʔam*
jeʔ+ʔam jeʔ ʔi+weʔks.i jeʔ+ʔam
 that 3PRO 3PSR+braid that
 'These were her braids

jeʔm ʔi+waanhpapaʔap ʔidyik
jeʔm ʔi+waanhpa+ʔpV ʔityʔik
 that 3PSR+horn+REL PAST
 that had become her horns.' (VYT.115)

Part V

Complex Structures

Chapter 20

Complex Predicates I: Noun Incorporation

Complex verb words are formed by combining two or more roots with no morphological subordination. There are three types of complex predicate expressions: noun incorporation (NI), which combines noun and verb roots; serial verb constructions (SVC), which combines two or more verb roots; and compounds formed with adverbs and other modifiers. This chapter describes the process of noun incorporation. The description of verb serialization is given in ch. 21. Discussion of incorporated modifiers can be found in the chapter on adverbs (ch. 7).

Noun incorporation describes a process that forms complex predicates by compounding a noun and a verb (Mithun 1984; Sapir 1911:257). For instance in (20.1), the noun *kapeel* ‘coffee’ and *jaʔp* ‘grind’ combine to form the compound ‘coffee=grind’. Examples of the noun and verb occurring as

independent lexical items are shown in (20.2) and (20.3).

(20.1) *ʔa+kapeeljaʔppa*
 ʔa+kapeel=jaʔp-pa
 XABS+coffee=grind-INC
 ‘I’m going to coffee grind.’ (20070705jaf)

(20.2) *ʔi+pinhpa kapeel*
 ʔi+pinh-pa kapeel
 3ERG+pick-INC coffee
 ‘He collects coffee.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.017)

(20.3) *ʔokmi ʔoy ʔanh+wiktáʔm*
 ʔokmi ʔoy ʔan+wik-taʔm-W
 after go/return_{aux}-CMP XERG+scrape-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘Afterward we went to scrape off

jeʔm maanyimok ʔan+jaʔptáʔm
 jeʔm maanyi=mok ʔan+jaʔp-taʔm-W
 that young=corn XERG+grind-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 the corn [kernels from cob] and grind it. (PQ2.010)

Noun incorporation, considered a major criterion in defining polysynthetic languages (Baker 1996), is highly productive in SP, a polysynthetic language. It is generally used to narrow the scope of the denotation of the verb, i.e. chopping → wood-chopping.

This chapter describes the features of NI, including its morphosyntax, phonology and semantics (§20.1); the two types of noun incorporation observed in SP (§20.2); and body part prefixes, which have grammaticalized from body part terms (§10.2).

20.1 Features of Noun Incorporation

In complex predicates in which a noun is incorporated, the noun stem and verb stem together form a phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic unit.

20.1.1 Morphosyntactic Slot of Incorporated Noun

The basic incorporated noun construction will consist of a noun root and a verb root, with the noun preceding the verb. Person markers attach to the left of the verbal complex, aspect/mood marking to the right, as shown in (20.4).

(20.4) PERSON+**noun=verb**-ASP/MOOD

An example with an inflected NI verb complex is shown in (20.5). The absolutive person marker *?a+* precedes the noun, and the incomplete aspect suffix *-pa* follows the verb.

(20.5) *?ich ?a+?uunpijpa*
?ich ?a+?uunu=pij-pa
1PRO XABS+*atole*=heat.up-INC
'I heat up atole (corn beverage).' (Atole.001)

In constructions in which the noun occurs as a free lexical item, person and aspect/mood inflection flank the verb. Compare examples (20.6) and (20.7). Example (20.6) illustrates a case in which the verb and the noun are both independent lexical items. The verb is inflected with an ergative person marker, indicating that the verb is transitive, and the incomplete suffix *-pa*. The \emptyset *?ikxi* 'corn' follows the inflected verb. Example (20.7) shows an

incorporated noun. Here the noun precedes the verb and follows the person marking proclitic. The person marker is absolutive, indicating that the verb complex is intransitive.

- (20.6) *todo el tyeempoj ?a+wi?kpa*
 todo el tyeempoj ?a+wi?k-pa
 all the time XABS+eat-INC
 ‘All the time we ate.’

?an+juypa ?ikxi
 ?an+juy-pa ?iks-i
 XERG+buy-INC dekernel-NOM
 [Now] we buy corn.’ (7NH.037)

- (20.7) *dya ?a+?ikxjuypa*
 dya ?a+?iks-i=juy-pa
 NEG XABS+dekernel-NOM=buy-INC
 ‘We didn’t buy corn.’ (7NH.032)

A complex verb word consisting of an incorporated noun may occur in constructions that are further adjusted with valency adjusting morphology, including applicatives, causatives and associatives. As we saw in ch. 14, causative and associative morphology consist of proclitics that attach at the left edge of the verb following person marking, shown in (20.8) and (20.9) respectively.

- (20.8) *?ar+ak+wi?kta?mpa ?anh+weewej*
 ?an+?ak+wi?k-ta?m-pa ?an+weewej
 XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+grandfather
 ‘We fed my grandfather.’ (MAB.038b)

- (20.9) *jesik dya ?a+ra+níkpa*
 jesik dya ?a+na+níkk-pa
 then NEG XABS+ASSOC+go-INC
 ‘Then they didn’t take me.’ (MAB.042b)

When the noun is incorporated in this context, the derivational morphology occurs to the left of the noun, resulting in the shape shown in (20.10).

- (20.10) PERSON+DERIV+noun=verb-ASP/MOOD

Example (20.11) illustrates a case in which *tzoy* ‘medicine’ has been incorporated into the verbal complex that occurs with the causative proclitic *?ak+*. Here the noun follows the proclitic.

- (20.11) *?arak+tzoy?ukpa* *je?m yoomo*
 ?arak+tzoy=?ukpa je?m yoomo
 XERG+CAUS₁+medicine=drink that woman
 ‘I’m going to make the woman drink the medicine.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

The example in (20.12) shows the incorporated noun *maaník* ‘child’ preceded by the associated proclitic *na+*.

- (20.12) *?okmi ma?am ?i+ri+mànikwát*
 ?okmi ma+?am ?i+na+maaník=wat-W
 afterward earlier+ALR 3ERG+ASSOC+child=make-CMP
 ‘Afterwards, he got her pregnant.’ (GU1.068)

It is possible, however, for the noun to precede derivational prefixes within the complex verb word, in which case the shape of the NI complex appears as in (20.13).

(20.13) PERSON+noun=DERIV+verb-ASP/MOOD

In cases in which the noun precedes the derivational proclitics, the verbs are in fact lexicalized verb stems. For example in (20.14), the noun *jukti* ‘fire, hearth’ is incorporated by the verb *?ak+nu?k* ‘assemble, gather smt together’, a lexicalized verb formed with the causative *?ak+* and the verb root *nu?k* ‘arrive’. Similarly in (20.15) the verb *na+si?* ‘ride smt’ formed with the associative *na+* and *si?* ‘walk’, incorporates the noun *kawaj* ‘horse’. These are clear cases of incorporation because the absolutive person markers attach to the left of the verb, preceding the noun.

(20.14) *minypa+m* *jukti?aknú?uki*
 miny-pa+?am Ø+jukti=?ak+nu?k-i
 come_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ABS+fire=CAUS₁+arrive-DEP_{ia}
 ‘He comes to put his fire together.’ (ESK.061)

(20.15) *?a+kawajna+si?ba*
 ?a+kawaj=na+si?-pa
 XABS+horse=ASSOC+walk-INC
 ‘I horse rode.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

20.1.1.1 Nominalized NI Compounds

In addition, derived nouns may be incorporated into the verbal complex. For example in (20.16) the noun *?ikx.i* ‘corn kernels’, derived from the verb root *?iks* ‘dekernel corn’ with the nominalizer suffix *-i*, is incorporated by the verb *juy* ‘buy’. In (20.17) the noun *monh.kuy* ‘sheets’, derived from the verb *monh* ‘sleep’ and the instrumental nominalizer *kuy*, is incorporated by the verb *pik* ‘take’.

(20.16) *dya* ʔa+ʔikxjuypa
 dya ʔa+ʔiks-i=juy-pa
 NEG XABS+dekernel-NOM=buy-INC
 ‘We didn’t buy corn.’ (7NH.032)

(20.17) *jeʔm piixinh wiimonhkuypikeyajpa*
 jeʔm piixiny Ø+wiH=**monh-kuy=pi**k-yaj-pa
 that man 3ABS+good=sleep-LOC_{applic}=take-INC
 ‘The man goes to bed. (lit. takes sheets)’ (ESK.026)

20.1.2 Prosody and Complex NI Verbs

The NOUN=VERB complex comprises a single phonological word, which is evident from the stress¹. SP has three degrees of stress, assigned from right to left. Primary stress falls on the penultimate or ultimate syllable (depending on syllable weight or the presence of underlying segments); secondary stress falls on the leftmost syllable following proclitics, which are non-stress bearing; and tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable preceding primary stress. Clitics are extrametrical and do not bear stress. This distribution is illustrated by the paradigm shown in (20.18), repeated from table 2.130.

¹See chapter 2 for description of stress system with examples in IPA.

(20.18) PRIMARY-PENULTIMATE:			
/Ø+nim-pa/	ním.pa		‘He says.’
/Ø+nim-yaj-pa/	ním.yáj.pa		‘They say.’
PRIMARY-ULTIMATE:			
/nim-neʔ-W/	nimnéʔ		‘He had said.’
/nim-yaj-W/	ním.yáj		‘They said.’
SECONDARY:			
/Ø+nim-neʔ-yaj-pa/	nímneʔ.yájpa		‘They have said.’
/Ø+nim-neʔ-yaj-gak-pa/	nímneʔ.yáj.gák.pa		‘They have said again.’
TERTIARY:			
/Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam/	nìʔmàʔy.yaj.táabam		‘They are told.’
/Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-neʔ-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam/	nìʔmàʔy.neʔ.yaj.táabam		‘They are told.’
EXTRAMETRIC PROCLITIC:			
/ʔan+jak-ʔaʔy-pa/	ʔan+jagáʔy.pa		‘I’m going to cut it.’
/Ø+na+ku+wij-ʔaʔy-taH-pa/	na+ku+wìʔjaʔy.tyáap		‘It unties itself.’
EXTRAMETRIC ENCLITIC:			
/ta+chinh-pa+nam/	ta+chínhpa+nam		‘we still bathed’
/Ø+piixiny+gak/	piixinh+gak		‘He’s a man again.’

The stress patterns that occur on complex predicates composed of a verb and an incorporated noun exhibit the same distribution, showing that these forms make up a single phonological word. The examples in (20.19) illustrate stress associated with NOUN=VERB compounds. (a) and (b) show primary and secondary stress on stems of 3 and 4; (c) shows primary, secondary and tertiary stress on a 5 syllable stem.

(20.19) STRESS ASSOCIATED WITH NOUN=VERB COMPOUNDS:

- (a) ?a+tì?im₅mátz
 ?a+tì?ipi=matz-W
 XABS+fish=catch-W
 ‘I fish catch.’ (20070704jaf)

- (b) ?a+kòobaktóypa
 ?a+koopa?k=toy-pa
 XABS+head=hurt-INC
 ‘I have a head ache.’ (20070710jaf)

- (c) ?a+kàamnàksse?edó?ypa
 ?a+kaama=naks=seet-?o?y-pa
 XABS+field=beat=return-ANTIP-INC
 ‘I clear the fields.’ (20070710jaf)

20.2 Types of Noun Incorporation

There are four types of noun incorporation (following Mithun 1984): Lexical compounding (I), manipulation of case (II), manipulation of discourse structure (III), and classificatory noun incorporation (IV). Each of these are generally distinguishable based on their discourse functions, although they have unique formal properties that distinguish them syntactically. SP has types I and II. Types III and IV have not been observed in SP, although they occur

in other Mixe-Zoque languages (Zavala 2001).

20.2.1 Type I: Compounding

Type I compounding is the most basic and commonly observed example of noun incorporation. In fact, Mithun (1984:874) recognizes an “implicational hierarchy” for the four NI structures such that, if a language has type II, it will have type I, and if a language has type III, it will have types I and II, etc. If a language incorporates at all, it will have type I incorporation.

In type I incorporated noun constructions, the noun loses its syntactic status as an argument (Mithun 1984:849, Rosen 1989:309). For instance, compare examples (20.20) and (20.21). The verb *pinh* ‘pick, gather’ is a transitive verb that takes an A and a O, as shown in (20.20). This is indicated by the ergative person marker *?an+*. When the noun is incorporated into the verbal complex, the transitivity of the verb is reduced. In (20.21) the same verb *pinh* is compounded with the noun *tziixi* ‘child’ to convey a ‘delivering babies’. Here there is a single participant, the midwife (not overtly expressed) who delivers babies, which is \emptyset -marked as absolutive.

- (20.20) *?ich ?am+pinh ?am+pinh tan+?aapa*
?ich ?an+pinh-W ?an+pinh-W tan+?aapa
 1PRO XERG+pick-CMP XERG+pick-CMP IPSR+mother
 ‘We picked her up; we picked up our mother.’ (7HN.046)

- (20.21) *pues nikkpa ?i+yojta?ám*
pues nikk-pa ?i+yoj-ta?m-W
 then go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+pay-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Their going to pay her

ʔidyik ʔiga+tzixipinhpa
 ʔityʔik ʔiga+Ø+tzixi=**pinh**-pa
 PAST COMP+3ABS+child=gather-INC
 for delivering babies.’ (MAB.274)

Noun incorporation is productive in SP, and both As and Os may be incorporated. The most commonly incorporated participant is the O argument, shown in (20.22) and (20.23).

(20.22) *jesik dyam jamkiʔispa*
 jesik dya+ʔam Ø+**jam=kiʔis**-pa
 then NEG+ALR 3ABS+lime=eat-INC
 ‘Then so that it doesn’t get limey (lime-absorb),

ʔiga+ʔan+jam ʔan+toppom
 ʔiga+ʔan+jam ʔan+top-W+ʔam
 COMP+XPSR+lime XERG+extract-CMP+ALR
 I take out my lime.’ (Pozole.017-8)

(20.23) *ʔa+yooxataʔmpa ʔa+kuytyinhataʔmpa*
 ʔa+yooxataʔmpa ʔa+**kuy=tyinh**-taʔm-pa
 XABS+work-VERS-PLU_{sap}-INC XABS+tree=fell-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We work and we fell trees.’ (7NH.006)

The semantic roles that may be incorporated include instrument (20.24) and locative (20.25) arguments.

(20.24) *ʔi+tzàʔaku+chíj*
 ʔi+**tzaʔ=ku+chij**-W
 3ERG+rock=DERIV₂+hit-W
 ‘He hit [the shoes] with a rock.

niʔikiʔim ʔak+tính
 niʔ=kiʔ-mi Ø+ʔak+tinh-W
 agua=LOC₃.LOC₁ 3ABS+CAUS₁+fall-CMP
 They fell in the water.’ (UDR.024-5)

- (20.25) *ta+nimpa* *?i+nyi??ak+kinhpa+m*
 ta+nim-pa *?i+ni?=?ak+kinh-pa+?am*
 IABS+say-INC 3ERG+water=cook-INC+ALR
 ‘She cooks it in water.’ (MAB.071)

The A may be incorporated, as shown in (20.26); although this is rare. (The example shown here comes from elicitation, no examples are available from the corpus of naturally occurring speech.) Agent incorporation is observed throughout North and Central America, having been described in the Tanoan languages (Allen et al 1984), Athapaskan languages, as well as other Mixe-Zoque languages (Zavala 2000). Mithun 1999)

- (20.26) *?a+tzaanywás*
 ?a+tzaanyi=was-W
 XABS+snake=bit-CMP
 ‘I was bitten by a snake.’ (‘I was snake-bit.’) (200707jaf)

Non-core arguments may also be incorporated, in which case the valency of the verb is unchanged. In (20.27) the transitive verb *ku+woot* ‘wrap around’ forms a compound with the noun *?aanyi* ‘tortilla’, with which she wraps an egg. The transitivity of the verb is not affected; the verbal complex is inflected with the ergative person marker *?i+* ‘3ERG’. The O in this clause is *ka?npu* ‘egg’ (not overtly expressed).

- (20.27) *?i+pikpa* *?an+choomo*
 ?i+pik-pa *?an+choomo*
 3ERG+take-INC XPSR+grandmother
 ‘My grandmother takes it

?i+?àanyikwóotpa
?i+?aanyi=ku+woot-pa
 3ERG+tortilla=wrap.around-INC
 and tortilla wraps it.’ (MAB.047)

Incorporated nouns must be non-specific, generic nouns (20.28). Proper nouns may not be incorporated (20.29), a characteristic widely observed in noun incorporating languages (Zavala 2000:444, citing Mardirussian 1975).

(20.28) *?a+tikwatpa*
?a+tik=watpa
 IABS+house=make-INC
 ‘I house-build.’

(20.29) PROPER NOUNS ARE UNGRAMMATICAL:
 ?a+jwan=metzpa* intended reading: ‘I’m looking for **Juan.’
 ?a+jwan=kiinhpa* intended reading: ‘I fear **Juan.’
 (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

The incorporated nouns may not be modified. Nouns may be modified in a number of ways, one of which is via compounding, as shown in (20.30). Another method for modifying nouns is via relativization (20.31). Modified nouns may not be incorporated into the verbal complex, as shown by examples (20.32) and (20.33).

(20.30) *?an+watpa* *tum* *?an+suyattik*
?an+wat-pa *tum* *?an+suyat=tik*
 XERG+make-INC one XPSR+palm=house
 ‘I’m going to make a house of palm leaves.’

- (20.31) *?am+pinhpa* *?an+kiipi* *titzni?wi?ip*
 ?an+pinh-pa ?an+kiipi Ø+titz-ne?-W+?pV
 XERG+gather-INC XPSR+wood 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL
 ‘I’m gathering wood that’s dry.’

- (20.32) **?a+suyattikwatpa*
 ?a+suyat=tik=wat-pa
 XABS+palm=house=make-INC
 Intended reading: ‘I build palm houses.’

- (20.33) **?a+titzkiipinh-pa*
 ?a+titz=kiipi=pinh-pa
 XABS+dry=wood=pick-INC
 Intended reading: ‘I’m gathering dry wood.’

20.2.1.1 Verbs That Incorporate

Verb types that incorporate nouns include transitive and ambitransitive verbs. Transitive verbs incorporate, as shown in (20.34) with the verb *metz* ‘search’.

- (20.34) *loj mijmoj ?a+mokmetzpa*
 loj mijmoj ?a+mok=metz-pa
 the same XABS+corn=search-INC
 ‘The same, I’m looking for maize.’ (Sammons.KDK.049)

Non-agentive ambitransitive verbs incorporate nouns. For instance, compare examples (20.35) and (20.36). The ambitransitive verb *pij*, which as an intransitive alternation ‘be hot’ (20.35a) and a transitive alternation ‘heat, heat up’ (b), incorporates nouns (20.36).

(20.35) *pij* ‘be hot (vi)’, ‘heat up (vt)’:

(a) *jesik tzaam pijpa+m jaama*
 jesik tzaam Ø+pij-pa+ʔam jaama
 when much 3ABS+heat-INC+ALR sun
 ‘...when the sun is very hot,

mam+mujaʔypa ʔinh+koobak
 man+muj-ʔaʔy-pa ʔin+kopaʔk
 1:2+wet-BEN-INC 2PSR+head
 ‘I’ll wet your head.’ (Elson 1947a:212)

(b) *ʔam+pijpa ʔuunu*
 ʔan+pij-pa ʔuunu
 XERG+heat.up-INC *atole*
 ‘I going to heat up *atole*.’ (Atole.002)

(20.36) *ʔich ʔa+ʔuunpijpa*
 ʔich ʔa+ʔuunu=pij-pa
 1PRO XABS+*atole*=heat.up-INC
 ‘I heat up *atole* (corn beverage).’ (Atole.001)

Agentive ambitransitive verbs also incorporate. Recall from ch. 8 that *ʔuk* ‘drink’ is an agentive ambitransitive verb, as shown in (20.37), having both transitive (a) and intransitive (b) alternations. The verb *ʔuk* ‘drink’ also permits incorporation of nouns (20.38).

(20.37) *ʔuk* ‘to drink (vi)’, ‘to drink smt. (vt)’:

(a) *ʔan+ʔuknéʔi+m ʔoojo*
 ʔan+ʔuk-neʔ-W+m ʔoojo
 XERG+drink-PERF-CMP+ALR alcohol
 ‘I had drunk alcohol.’ (PDLMA.BOR.010)

- (b) *ʔich piimi ʔa+ʔukpa*
 ʔich piimi ʔa+ʔuk-pa
 1PRO strength XABS+drink-INC
 ‘I drink a lot.’ (PDLMA.BOR.080)

- (20.38) *ʔa+nɪʔkuyukpa+nam*
 ʔa+nɪʔ.kuy=ʔuk-pa+nam
 XABS+water-LOC_{applic}=drink-INC+STILL
 ‘I still will have coffee.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

The verb *kiih* ‘fear’, also an agentive ambitransitive (20.39) permits noun incorporation, as shown in (20.40).

- (20.39) *kiih* ‘to be scared (vi)’; ‘to fear smt. (vt)’:

- (a) *siʔip ta+kiihpa*
 siʔip ta+kiih-pa
 now IABS+fear-INC
 ‘Now we’re scared.’ (GU1.134)
- (b) *ʔan+kiihpa jeʔm kamyunnh*
 ʔan+kiih-pa jeʔm kamyuunh
 XERG+fear-INC that truck
 ‘I’m scared of the truck.’ (MAB.094)

- (20.40) *ʔa+tzaanykiih*
 ʔa+tzaany=kiih-W
 XABS+snake=fear-CMP
 ‘I fear snakes.’ (20070710JAF)

Salomé Gutiérrez Morales (p.c.) notes that while these forms are grammatically correct, they are not generally used. Instances of incorporated nouns with agentive ambitransitive verbs are rare in the text corpus.

Intransitive verbs have not been observed incorporating nouns in naturally occurring speech, although NIs with intransitives are reported in Olutec (Zavala 2000).

20.2.1.2 Compositionality of the NI Compound

Semantically, compounds made up of NOUN=VERB pairs denote unitary concepts or institutionalized activities or states that are culturally relevant (Mithun 1984:856). The repertoire of NOUN=VERB combinations in SP is extensive and productive. Some examples are listed in (20.41).

(20.41) COMPOUND FORMED WITH INCORPORATED NOUNS:

<i>ʔikx=maʔy</i>	‘sell corn’
<i>ʔikx=piH</i>	‘soak corn’
<i>ʔikx=poʔt</i>	‘grind corn’
<i>ʔikx=seʔt</i>	‘toast corn’
<i>ʔaanyi=toj</i>	‘make tortilla’
<i>kaama=naks</i>	‘beat fields’
<i>kapel=poʔt</i>	‘grind coffee’
<i>kapel=seʔt</i>	‘toast coffee’
<i>kawaj=noʔ</i>	‘brand horse’
<i>kuy=jak</i>	‘chop wood’
<i>kuy=poʔ</i>	‘split wood’
<i>kuy=tinh</i>	‘fell trees’
<i>kuy=woot</i>	‘bend branches’
<i>maawiny=ʔix</i>	‘see in dream’
<i>maay=jaʔas</i>	‘roast meat’
<i>maay=jaʔp</i>	‘grind meat’
<i>maay=kiʔps</i>	‘weigh meat’
<i>maay=maʔy</i>	‘sell meat’
<i>manik=kom</i>	‘be with child’ (child= fill)
<i>manik=wat</i>	‘Impregnate, become pregnant’ (child= make)
<i>niʔpiny=chem</i>	‘urinate blood’
<i>niʔpiny=tyop</i>	‘extract blood’

<i>pak=kity</i>	‘break bone’
<i>pak=toy</i>	‘ache bone’
<i>pooy=?ix</i>	‘menstruate (moon=see)’
<i>sik=naks</i>	‘beat bean [plants]’
<i>sik=nyip</i>	‘plant beans’
<i>saantuj=?o?m</i>	‘burn incense for saint’
<i>saawa=matz</i>	‘have gas (air=grab)’
<i>ti?ip=matz</i>	‘catch fish’
<i>tik=wat</i>	‘make house’
<i>tik=neks</i>	‘roof house’
<i>tik=pet</i>	‘sweep house’
<i>toot=?ix</i>	‘read (paper)’
<i>toot=jay</i>	‘write (on paper)’
<i>toot=no?</i>	‘stamp, burn paper’
<i>toot=woot</i>	‘roll up paper’

In most cases the meaning of the NOUN=VERB compound may be inferred by the meaning of its parts. For example with verbs such as *?ikx=po?t* ‘grind corn’ and *kapel=po?t* ‘grind coffee’ the meaning of the compound is clear. However, in some cases the meaning is not completely transparent. For example expressions such as *saaw=matz* ‘be bloated, have gas’, composed of *saawa* ‘air’ and *matz* ‘grab’, and *pooy=?ix* ‘menstruate’, composed of *pooya* ‘moon’ and *?ix* ‘see’, may not necessarily be inferred by the meaning of its parts.

20.2.1.3 Noun Incorporation as Antipassivization Strategy

Because these constructions are formally intransitive (Hopper and Thompson 1980:257-259) type I NIs are considered a type of antipassive (Foley and Van Valin 1985:338-347; Givón 1991:626, among others). In antipassive constructions, the transitivity of the verb is reduced and the O argument is suppressed. SP has two antipassive strategies. The first is morphological, employing the

suffix *-ʔoʔy*, illustrated with the transitive verb *ʔix* ‘see’ in (20.42) and (20.43). In (20.42) the verb is shown as a transitive verb inflected with the ergative proclitic *ʔi+* ‘3ERG’ which marks the A; the O is also a third person referent. In (20.43) the same verb is marked with the antipassive suffix *-ʔoʔy*.

- (20.42) *jesik ʔi+ʔix mij+ʔam*
jesik ʔi+ʔix-W Ø+mij+ʔam
 then 3ERG+see-CMP 3ABS+big+ALR
 ‘Then he saw it, it is big.’ (PDLMA.Chaneco.SIL.012)

- (20.43) *tyumpiy jok*
tum.ʔiy Ø+jok-W
 everything 3ABS+see.dark-CMP
 ‘Everything is obscured.’

tum dya ʔixoʔypa
tuum dya Ø+ʔix-ʔoʔy-pa
 one NEG 3ABS+see+ANTIP-INC
 ‘One does not see.’ (MAB.266)

The second strategy is syntactic, incorporating the O into the verbal complex, thus reducing the transitivity of the verb. This is shown with the transitive verb *ʔik* ‘take’ in (20.44) and (20.45). Example (20.44) shows *ʔik* as a transitive verb inflected with *ʔi+* ‘3ERG’. In (20.45) the same verb is shown with the O *kuy* ‘stick’ incorporated; here the verbal complex is intransitive, evident from Ø-marking for 3rd person absolutive on the compound.

- (20.44) *ʔam+ʔikpa ʔusanh jeʔm niʔ pagak niʔ*
ʔam+ʔik-pa ʔus.ʔanh jeʔm niʔ pakʔak niʔ
 XERG+take-INC a.little that water cold water
 ‘I take some water, cold water.’ (Atole.007)

the A or O is incorporated into the verb and an oblique argument takes its place as core argument. The transitivity of the verb is left unchanged, the key difference between type I and type II NOUN=VERB constructions. The reshuffling of arguments is referred to as a “manipulation of case”, and according to Mithun (1984), instrument, location and possessors are brought into the role of object status.

SP permits the incorporation of possessums, typically bodyparts, in which case the possessor is marked as a core argument on the verbal complex. The discussion on the possessor of a core argument being co-referenced as a core argument (instead of its possessum), whereby the possessum loses its status as argument (or whose status is demoted), is a topic of special consideration in the literature on noun incorporation. This type of manipulation of case has been referred to as “possessor ascension”, “possessor raising”, “possessor promotion” or “external possession” (Aissen 1987; Allen et al 1984, 1990; Mithun 1984; Velázquez-Castillo 1995, 1996; Payne and Barshi 1999).

SP has two types of external possession (following Payne and Barshi 1999): noun incorporation and possessor ascension with the applicative *-ʔaʔy²*. In NI external possession constructions, the semantic possessum is incorporated into the verbal complex and the possessor occurs as a core argument. As type II constructions, the valency of the verb does not change. Compare the sentences in (20.46) and (21.91). In (20.46) the verb is intransitive *ku+wiʔks* ‘twist’. The verb has one core argument, the subject *puʔy* ‘foot’,

²Possessor ascension with the applicative *-ʔaʔy* is described in chapters 11 and 14.

which is possessed and marked as such with the proclitic *?an+* ‘XPSR’. Here the possessed noun is the subject of the intransitive verb. Example (21.91) illustrates a case of external possession. Here the possessum is incorporated, the verbal complex remains intransitive, and the subject (the possessor) is marked with the absolutive *mi+* ‘2ABS’.

- (20.46) *?an+puy ku+wi?ks*
 ?an+puy Ø+ku+wi?ks-W
 XPSR+foot 3ABS+DERIV₂+twist-CMP
 ‘My foot twisted.’ (20090227JAF)

- (20.47) *mi+puy=ku+wi?ks*
 mi+puy=ku+wi?ks-W
 2ABS+foot=DERIV₂+twist-CMP
 ‘You twisted your foot.’ (20090227JAF)

There are restrictions as to which nouns may be incorporated. Body parts occur most frequently. Terms denoting the excretion of bodily fluids also occur to a limited extent, as shown in (20.48) through (20.50).

- (20.48) *?a+tzem?anhnu?kné?*
 ?a+tzem=?anh+nu?k-ne?-W
 XABS+urine=DERIV₁+arrive-PERF-CMP
 ‘I can’t urinate.’ (lit. ‘My urine has been cut off.’) (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

- (20.49) *ni?pinykotpa; ?i+ku+kompa su?unhjoom*
 Ø+ni?piny=kot-pa ?i+ku+kom-pa su?unh=joj.mi
 3ABS+blood=insert-INC 3ERG+DERIV₂+fill-INC pot=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘He saves the blood. He puts it in a pot.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(20.54) *?a+?apitytzenhpa je?m pejtak*
?a+?apity=tzenh-pa je?m pejtak
 XABS+thorn=prick-INC that cactus

‘The cactus thorn-pricked me.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

20.2.2.1 Summary of Type II NIs

SP has type II incorporation, however, it is limited to external possessor constructions. That is, only body parts, excretions, kinship terms, and to a limited extent parts of wholes may be incorporated by the verb. Both transitive and intransitive verbs incorporate these nouns. The valency of the verbs in these constructions is left unaltered.

20.2.3 Types III and IV in Mixe-Zoque

Type III noun incorporation, as described by Mithun (1984:859), is used to “background known or incidental information within portions of discourse.” Mithun notes that types I, II, and III all background information, but that the functions are subtly different: “Type I serves to reduce its salience within the V, Type II within the clause, and Type III within a particular portion of the discourse” (1984:862). Type IV noun incorporation is similar to type III incorporation in that the scope of the V is narrowed with an incorporated noun, however, a more specific argument accompanies the verbal complex. The incorporated noun essentially acts as a classifier (Mithun 1984:864).

There are no examples of type III and IV noun incorporation in the SP corpus of naturally occurring speech, however, as noted by Mithun (1986:33)

“incorporation as a stylistic device is notoriously fragile—in unpredictable ways—under elicitation”. Attempts at eliciting these forms in SP have been unsuccessful, although both types are observed in Olutec (Zavala 2000:590-7). It is not unusual for different languages within a family to have different NI types. In addressing the implicational hierarchy of NI constructions types found cross-linguistically, Mithun (1984:874) notes a lack of congruity in the NI repertoire with single language families, of which she states:

...a comparison of NI types across related languages indicates that this hierarchy is not simply a static structural universal. Many families contain languages with different repertoires of NI. Thus Mayan includes languages with no NI, e.g. Ixil and Aguacatec (Robertson 1980); with only Type I, e.g. Kanjobal, Mam, and Chuj (Dayley 1981); and at least one language with both Types I and II, Yucatec (Bricker 1978).

Research based on a larger corpus may provide more information on type III and IV NIs in SP.

20.3 Summary of Noun Incorporation

Noun incorporation refers to the process by which nominal arguments are incorporated into the verb to form complex predicates. In SP NI predicates are distinguishable on morphosyntactic and phonological grounds. All four NI types are observed in SP. Type I incorporation consists of incorporating

a core argument of the verb, reducing the transitivity of the verb. Type II incorporation consists of incorporating a core argument and allowing the slot to be filled by a new argument, thus leaving the transitivity of the verb unaltered. The type II incorporation found in SP illustrates a type of external possession whereby possessed body parts are incorporated by the verb, and the possessor is marked as a core argument of the verb. Type III and IV incorporation are not observed in SP, although they are attested in the Mixe-Zoque family.

Chapter 21

Complex Predicates II: Verb Serialization

Verb compounding is highly productive in SP. Broadly speaking, there are two types of compound verbs in SP. The first, described in ch. 20, consist of NOUN=VERB compounds. The second type, and the topic of this chapter, consist of VERB=VERB compounds. These complex verb words are formed by combining two or more stems with no morphological subordination. Verbal complexes make up the same phonological and grammatical word, constituting a formal unit that encode a unitary event. Verbs in the complex share aspect/mood marking, as well as core arguments. These complex predicates are referred to in the literature as serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Foley and Olson 1985, Li and Thompson 1981, and Zavala 2000, 2006). Those found in SP are of the type referred to as “nuclear serial verbs” by Foley and Olson (1985). In Meso-America, complex predicates of this type have been

described for Olutec (Mixe-Zoque, Zavala 2000, 2006) and Q'anjob'al (Mayan, Mateo Toledo 2008). The formal criteria for defining serial verb constructions (SVCs) are listed in (21.1) Aikhenvald (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006:338-344).

(21.1) FORMAL CRITERIA OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:

- Composed of two or more verbs denoting a single event;
- Each of the verbs comprising the verbal complex may occur independently;
- There is no marking for subordination;
- At least one argument must be shared by the verbs of the complex;
- Inflection for tense, aspect, and mood are marked once in the complex;

Serial verb constructions in SP are distinguishable from other multi-verb constructions in the language based on these criteria. For instance, example (21.2) illustrates a complex predicate composed of the transitive verbs *jetz* 'brush' and *t̃im* 'stretch out'. The compound verb encodes a single action 'brushing out by extending'. The verbal complex shares the A, an unspecified 3rd person referent, and the O, the 3rd person referent *way* 'hair'. The verbs comprise a single phonological and morphological word. Phonologically, stress falls on the penultimate syllable¹. Morphologically, the verbal complex is flanked by inflectional morphology, person marking to the left and aspect marking to the right. The 3rd person ergative marker occurs preceding the V₁

¹See ch. 2 for a detailed description of stress in SP.

jetz ‘brush’ and the inflection for aspect occurs following the V_2 *tiiim* ‘stretch out’. There is no marking to indicate subordination, as is observed for other multi-verb constructions².

- (21.2) *?i+jetztiiimpa* *je?m ?i+way*
?i+jetz=tiiim-pa *je?m ?i+way*
 3ERG+brush=stretch.out-INC that 3PSR+hair
 ‘She untangles her hair. (VYT.135)

Serial verb constructions are composed of verbs that occur independently. As shown in examples (21.3) and (21.4), the verbs *jetz* ‘brush’ and *tiiim* ‘stretch out’ (respectively) from the serial verb in example (21.2) are shown independently.

- (21.3) *tzu?uyi+m* *dya+m* *dya+m* *?an+jetztá?mpa*
tzu?uyi+?am *dya+?am* *dya+?am* *?an+jetz-ta?m-pa*
 late+ALR NEG+ALR NEG+ALR XERG+brush-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘When it’s late we don’t brush [our hair].’ (VYT.131)

- (21.4) *?i+tyiiimpa* *?alaambraj.*
?i+tiiim-pa *?alaambraj*
 3ERG+stretch.out-INC wire
 ‘He stretches out the cable.

?i+watpa *?i+tya?anyi.*
?i+wat-pa *?i+tya?n-i*
 3ERG+do-INC 3PSR+fence.in-NOM
 ‘He’s going to make his fence.’ (20051102erg)

²A number of multi-verb constructions in SP do show marking to indicate some level of subordination. Refer to chapters 23 and 22 for detailed description of clause combining, complementation, auxiliary verb constructions and subordination.

21.1 Properties of Serial Verbs in SP

Serial verb constructions, especially nuclear serial verbs, make up a unique type of multi-verb construction in that, as stated above, more than one verb forms a complex, tightly bound unit requiring no special linking morphology that denotes a single event such that they share arguments, aspect, tense and mood. Each of these properties are described here.

21.1.1 Prosody

Soteapanec has three degrees of stress, which are assigned from right to left. Primary stress may fall on the penultimate or ultimate syllable, depending on syllable weight. Secondary stress is assigned to the leftmost syllable following proclitics, which are extrametrical. Tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable (i.e. containing long vowel or a closed syllable) preceding primary stress. Clitics are extrametrical and do not bear stress. This distribution is illustrated by the paradigm shown in (21.5)³, repeated from tables 2.130 and 20.18.

³To see these examples in IPA see example (2.130) in chapter 2

(21.5) PRIMARY-PENULTIMATE:

/Ø+nim-pa/
/Ø+nim-yaj-pa/

ním.pa
nimyáj.pa

‘He says.’
‘They say.’

PRIMARY-ULTIMATE:

/nim-neʔ-W/
/nim-yaj-W/

nimnéʔ
nimyáj

‘He had said.’
‘They said.’

SECONDARY:

/Ø+nim-neʔ-yaj-pa/
/Ø+nim-neʔ-yaj-gak-pa/

nìmmneʔyájpa
nìmmneʔyájgák.pa

‘They have said.’
‘They have said again.’

TERTIARY:

/Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-neʔ-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam/

nìʔmàʔnyneʔyajtábam

‘They are told.’

EXTRAMETRIC PROCLITIC:

/ʔan+jak-ʔaʔy-pa/
/Ø+na+ku+wij-ʔaʔy-taH-pa/

ʔan+jagáʔy.pa
na+ku+wíʔjaʔytyáap

‘I’m going to cut it.’
‘It unties itself.’

EXTRAMETRIC ENCLITIC:

/ta+chinh-pa+nam/
/Ø+piixiny+gak/

ta+chínhpa+nam
piíxinh+gak

‘we still bathed’
‘He’s a man again.’

The stress patterns that occur on complex predicates formed with two or more verbs show that these forms make up a single phonological word.

(21.6)

- (a) ʔan+tzakséetpa
 ʔan+tzak=seet-pa
 XERG+leave=return-INC
 ‘I’m returning it.’ (20070719RCRs5)
- (b) $\text{ʔa+kìʔmseettaʔnhgákpa+m}$
 $\text{ʔa+kiʔm=seet-taʔm-ʔak-pa+ʔam}$
 XABS+ascend=return-PLU_{sap}-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘We’re going to go back up again.’ (200707004JAFs5)
- (c) nèjneʔmonhtóʔoba
 $\text{Ø+nej-neʔ=monh-toʔ-ʔa}$
 3ABS+be.on.side-ASSUM=sleep-DESID-INC
 ‘He wants to sleep on his side.’ (20070702JAFs59)
- (d) $\text{ʔa+rak+sèedanhkutzìgáʔyu+m}$
 $\text{ʔan+ʔak+seet=ʔanh+ku+tzik-ʔaʔy-W+ʔam}$
 XERG+CAUS₁+return=DERIV₁+DERIV₂+touch-BEN-CMP+ALR
 ‘I let it go again.’

21.1.2 Subordination

Serial verbs in SP are composed of multiple verbs without the use of subordinating morphology, a characteristic that distinguishes them from other multi-verb constructions in SP. Compound verbs and multi-verb constructions involving subordination differ syntactically and semantically. Compare the examples in (21.7) and (21.8). Example (21.7) shows a serial verb construction composed of the transitive verb *ʔaʔm* ‘look’ and the intransitive directional verb *nikk* ‘go’. The verb complex is marked for 1st person with *ʔa+* ‘XABS’

and is inflected with the incomplete suffix *-pa* following the V_2 . The example in (21.8) shows a multi-verb construction composed of the same verbs. Here, however, the two verbs are syntactically and phonologically independent. The first verb in the sequence *?a?m* ‘look’ is inflected with aspect morphology, and the second verb in the sequence *nikk* ‘go’ is inflected with person morphology. Second, the verbs are phonologically independent; stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the inflected verb *?a?mpa* ‘look-INC’ and on the root syllable of the dependent verb *nikk* ‘go’ immediately following person marker *?i+* ‘3ERG’. Third, the second verb in the sequence is doubly marked to indicate subordination: (a) it is \emptyset -marked as dependent, and (b) the S of the intransitive verb is marked with an ergative person marking proclitic.

- (21.7) *?a+?a?mnikkpa+?am*
?a+?a?m=nikk-pa+?am
 XABS+look=go-INC+ALR
 ‘I look ahead.’ (‘I look where I’m going.’) (20070706jaf/erg/rcr)

- (21.8) *?á?mpa ?i+nyík*
?a?m-pa ?i+nikk-W₃
 look-INC 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘He looks (around) as he goes.’ (20070704jafs09)

A third type of multi-verb construction formed with the same verbs *?a?m* ‘look’ and *nikk* ‘go’, functioning as an auxiliary verb, is shown in (21.9). Here *nikk* ‘go_{aux}’ occurs as the first verb in the sequence. The auxiliary verb takes inflection for completive aspect. The second verb in the sequence is *?a?m* ‘look’, which takes person and dependent verb morphology.

- (21.9) *jeʔm yoomo níku+m ʔi+ʔáʔm tzuʔukiny*
jeʔm yoomo níkk-W+ʔam ʔi+ʔaʔm-W tzuʔukiny
 that woman go_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+look-DEP_t worm
 ‘This woman went to see the worm.’ (GU2.026)

The construction types, formed with the same verbs, also differ semantically. Example (21.7) encodes a single event ‘looking ahead’; example (21.8) describes two independent actions that occur simultaneously ‘going and looking’; and (21.9) conveys motion to realize an event encoded by a second verb ‘go to look’.

21.1.3 Argument sharing

Serial verbs share one or more core arguments. Based on the independent properties of the components, however, a number of serial verb types are observed. For instance, in (21.10) the verbal complex is composed of the two intransitive verbs *yaʔach* ‘suffer’ and *kaʔ* ‘die’; the S of the V₁ and the V₂ are co-referential.

- (21.10) S=S:

lastimaj ʔany+choomo yaʔachkáʔ
lastimaj ʔan+choomo Ø+yaʔach=kaʔ-W
 poor XPSR+grandmother 3ABS+suffer=die-CMP
 ‘My poor grandmother suffered dying/died suffering.’ (MAB.264a)

In (21.11) both the A and the O of the transitive V₁ *tuk* ‘to pick, pluck’ and the A and the O of the transitive V₂ *matz* ‘grab’ are co-referential. The A and the O of the V₁ and the A and the O of the V₂ are the same.

(21.11) A=A; O=O:

?i+tyukmátz
?i+tuk=matz-W
3ERG+pick=grab-CMP
'She snatches up [the chicken].' (JOV.023d)

In (21.12a) the V_1 is intransitive and the V_2 is transitive. Here the S of the V_1 is co-referential the A of the V_2 .

(21.12) S=A:

- (a) *porkej je? dyoos ?inh+wejpa?tpa*
porkej je? dyoos ?i+?anh+wej=pa?t-pa
because 3PRO god 3ERG+DERIV₁+cry=find-INC
because God commands him
- (b) *?iga+dyoos ?i+yooxpa?tpa*
?iga+dyoos ?i+yoox=pa?t-pa
COMP+god 3ERG+work=find-INC
so God helps him
- (c) *je?m mimne? ?iga+pis?iny*
je?m mim.ne? ?iga+Ø+pis-?iny
that be.sick COMP+3ABS+cure-OPT
to cure the sick.' (PDLMA.CURANDERO.031)

There are no cases consisting of a transitive V_1 and an intransitive V_2 in which the A of the V_1 co-references the A of the V_2 .

Cases in which the V_1 is transitive and the V_2 is intransitive and in which the the O of the V_1 co-references the S of the V_2 are observed. These are referred to as cause-effect serial verb constructions (Crowley 1987:39).

- (21.13) *nimpa* *majiywiny*
 Ø+nim-pa majiywiny
 3ABS+say-INC lightening

Lightening says:

- ta+ʔich* *siʔip* *tana+wiipmiich*
 ta+ʔich siʔip tan+na+wiip=miich-W
 IABS+1PRO now IERG+ASSOC+throw=play-CMP
 ‘Now we play tossing it around.’ (Elson 1947a:211)

21.1.3.1 Switch Function Serial Verbs

Complex verb constructions, in which the O (or the A) of a transitive verb co-references the S of an intransitive verb, may also be referred to as “cause effect” or “serial causative verb” (Durie 1988:331), “switch-subject” serials (Crowley 1987:39), or “switch-function” (Aikhenvald 2006:14-17). In SP only the V₁ O may co-reference the V₂ S.

- (21.14) *ʔanhkuʔtketpa* *jeʔm* *kaʔnpu*
 ʔan+kuʔt=**ket**-pa jeʔm kaʔnpu
 XERG+eat=descend-INC that egg
 ‘She ate up the whole egg.’ (MAB.077)

There are two types of switch function serial verb constructions, both of which are formed with a transitive V₁ and an intransitive V₂. The first type is referred to as cause-effect; the second type is a causative construction. In cause-effect SVCs “the V₂ describes the result, or the effect, of the V₁” (Aikhenvald 2006:16). Example (21.15) illustrates a case in which the V₁ is transitive and the V₂ is intransitive.

- (21.15) *?ik+ji?pká?* *?i+karreta je?m chimpa*
?i+?ak+ji?p=ka?-W *?i+karreta je?m chimpa*
 3ERG+CAUS₁+squash=die-CMP 3PSR+cart that dog
 ‘The cart squashed and killed the dog.’ (PDLMA.BDG.SIL.009)

The second type of switch-function serial verb construction describes an indirect causative relationship between events. Indirect causative constructions in SP describe a situation in which one participant’s (A) actions (event A) lead to another participant’s (O) realizing an unrelated action or state (event B) (see Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002 for discussion). Switch-function causative constructions are formed with one verb, *tzik* ‘touch’ in V₁ position; the V₂ is always intransitive. In (21.16) the speaker explains how the stories she tells (event A) cause her children to be scared (event B).

- (21.16) (a) *je?m tan+?abweelo+yaj+pi?k*
je?m tan+?abweelo+yaj+pi?k
 that IPSR+grandparent+PLU_{non sap}+REL
 ‘Those who were our brothers
- ?i+watyyaj* *winyyik*
?i+wat-yaj-W winyyik
 3ERG+do-PLU_{non sap}-CMP long.ago
 did it [told this story] long ago...
- (b) *?ich jemum* *?an+tzighanhje?kpa*
?ich jemi+?am *?an+tzik=?anh+je?k-pa*
 1PRO right.there+ALR XERG+CAUS₁=get.scared-INC
 That’s how I scare
- ?am+maanik+tam*
?an+maanik+tam
 XPSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 my children.’ (PuraCarne.035-6)

A second example with the ditransitive verb is shown in (21.21). Here the V_1 is the transitive verb *saj* ‘to gift’ and the V_2 is the ditransitive *chiʔ* ‘give’.

- (21.21) *ʔi+xaʃchiʔ* *tum burroj*
 ʔi+saj=chiʔ-W *tum burroj*
 3ERG+gift=give-CMP one donkey
 ‘He gave him a donkey as a gift.’ *jaf*

21.1.4 Compositionality

Serial verb constructions denote events that are conceptualized as unitary events on the part of native speakers. There are degrees of compositionality, however. At one end of the scale the meaning of the serial verb is generally predictable from the meaning of its part. At the opposite end of the scale, there may be no transparency as to the meaning of the serial verb based on its parts.

At their most transparent, the meaning of the SVC may be predictable from the meaning of its parts (21.22). Generally, these forms are iconic, in which case the order of the verbs “follows the temporal sequence of the subevents” (Aikhenvald 2006:28), as illustrated in (21.23).

- (21.22) *kwanduj kej jeʔm yoomo t̃enyɬukʔúm̃pa*
 kwanduj kej jeʔm yoomo Ø+teeny=tzukʔum-pa
 when that that woman 3ABS+stand.up=arise-INC
 ‘When the woman stood up,
- jeʔm traytyi ʔi+ʔaʔmnéʔ*
 jeʔm traytyi ʔi+ʔaʔm-neʔ-W
 that boy 3ERG+see-PERF-CMP
 the boy had seen her.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.006)

- (21.23) *tak+wi?kmonhtaap+?am*
 ta+?ak+wi?k=**monh**-taH-pa+?am
 IABS+CAUS₁+eat=sleep-PASS-INC+ALR
 ‘We were given dinner.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.006)

Some serial verbs are composed of subevents that occur simultaneously (21.24). In some cases the V₁ describes the manner or position in which the V₂ is carried out, as shown in (21.26) and (21.25), respectively. In some cases the V₂ describes the direction in which the V₁ is realized (21.27).

- (21.24) *?okmi ni tum je?m ?i+?okmaanik*
 ?okmi ni tuum je?m ?i+?ook=**maanik**
 afterwards no one that 3PSR+grandchild
 ‘Afterwards not one of her grandchildren

dya t`eenykejyá?pa
 dya Ø+**teeny**=**kej**-yaj-pa
 NEG 3ABS+stop=appear-PLU_{sap}-INC
 stopped by/appeared [for a visit]. (MAB.271)

- (21.25) *?i+kòonychukumyá?pa*
 ?i+**koony**=**tzuk?um**-yaj-pa
 3ERG+sit=arise-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They raise him to sitting. (Cangrejo.076a)

- (21.26) *?odoy jò?y?ixtyá?mi ?iny+yoomo*
 ?ot?oy **jo?y**=**?ix**-ta?m-i ?in+yoomo
 NEG **anger**=**see**-PLU_{sap}-IMP 2PSR+woman
 ‘Don’t hate your wife.’ (JOV.015b)

- (21.27) *?à?mni?gá?pa+?am*
 Ø+**?a?m**=**nikk**-gak-pa+?am
 3ABS+look=go-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘She looked up ahead again.’ (GU2.056)

A lesser degree of transparency is an event where the meaning of the SVC is not discernible from the meaning of its parts, as shown in (21.28) with the SVC *yoox=paʔt* (work=find) ‘help’ and in (21.29) with *matz=pak* (take=knock.down) ‘maintain, support’.

(21.28) *tan+yooxpáʔt-pa mej ta+ʔich piixiny*
 tan+yoox=paʔt-pa meex ta+ʔich piixiny
 IERG+help-INC also 3ABS+1PRO man
 ‘We also help our husbands.’ (JOV.026)

(21.29) *sinoke meej ta+ʔich tan+watpa ʔimpeenyuj*
 si.no.ke meex ta+ʔich tan+wat-pa ʔempeenyuj
 if.no.that also IABS+1PRO IERG+do-INC
 ‘If we don’t also make an effort,

juutypiʔk tara+màtzpaktáap
 juuty+piʔk ta+na+**matz=pak**-taH-pa
 where+REL IABS+RR+grab=knock.down-PASS-INC
 how can we maintain ourselves.’ (JOV.028)

SVCs are often lexicalized, which may result in one of the verbs no longer occurring independently. Verbs that occur in SVCs frequently are likely to grammaticalize as inflectional or derivational suffixes. The distinction between the types of SVCs that are likely to lexicalize and the SVC components that are likely to grammaticalize are addressed in §21.3 below. Lexicalized and grammaticalized components of SVCs are associated with symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs. See §21.3 for description of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs in SP.

21.2 Serial Verb Types in SP

Serial verb types are determined by the properties of the verbal components that make up the SVCs and the relationship between the arguments to the events. Based on the possible combinations of verb types there are 11 serial verb types in SP⁴. These are distinguished based on a number of characteristics. The first is the transitivity of the components; there are four possible configurations: $V1_{intrans}=V2_{intrans}$, $V1_{intrans}=V2_{trans}$, $V1_{trans}=V2_{trans}$, and $V1_{trans}=V2_{intrans}$. The second characteristic is based on which arguments are shared. In serial verb constructions the predicates share the same arguments. That is, if both predicates are transitive, both predicates share the A and the O. In cause-effect serials the argument of the V_1 differs from that of the V_2 . For example if the V_1 is transitive and the V_2 is intransitive, the patient of the V_1 may be the S of the V_2 . Finally, the third characteristic is whether the SVC is symmetrical or asymmetrical. Symmetrical SVCs are composed of two (or more) predicates from open classes. Symmetrical complex predicates have no head, all components have equal status; and the order of components tends to be iconic. Asymmetrical serial verbs are composed of one verb from an open class and one verb from a closed class, and they denote a single event described by the verb from the open class. The serial verb types in SP are listed in table 21.2.

⁴There are 12 possible combinations if we include serial verb constructions composed of non-verbal predicates in which the V_2 is transitive, in which case the S of the V_1 co-references the O of the V_2 (S=P). SVCs composed of non-verbal predicates are described in §21.5 below.

Table 21.1: Serial Verb Types

Transitivity of components	Semantics/ Class	Verb Type V1 = V2	Examples (see)
$V1_{intrans}=V2_{intrans}$	Serial Verb (symmetric)	open=open	21.30
		open _{positional} =open	21.32
	Serial Verb (asymmetric)	open=motion	21.31
.....			
$V1_{intrans}=V2_{trans}$	Serial Verb (symmetric)	open=open	21.33
		open _{positional} =open	21.34
.....			
$V1_{trans}=V2_{trans}$	Serial Verb (symmetric)	open=open	21.35
.....			
$V1_{trans}=V2_{intrans}$	Serial Verb (symmetric)	open=open	21.36
		Serial Verb (asymmetric)	open=motion 21.37
	Cause-Effect direct (symmetric)	open=open 21.2	
	Cause-Effect indirect (asymmetric)	<i>tzik</i> =intrans 21.40	
	Cause-Effect direct (asymmetric)	open=motion 21.39	

SVCs composed of $V_{1intrans}=V_{2intrans}$ pairs consist of three types: open=open (21.30), open=motion (21.31), and open_{positional}=open (21.32).

- (21.30) *jiʔkkáʔ*
 Ø+jiʔk=kaʔ-W
 3ABS+drown=die-CMP
 ‘He died by drowning/drowned to death.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (21.31) *jeʔm yoomo ni dya+ʔun yuxkiʔmpa*
 jeʔm yoomo ni dya+ʔun Ø+yus=**kiʔm**-pa
 that woman not.even NEG+DJO 3ABS+wake=ascend-INC
 ‘The woman didn’t even wake up.’ (ESK.031a)

- (21.32) *ʔa+mùtzneʔmónhpa*
 ʔa+**mutz-neʔ=monh**-pa
 XABS+mouth.down-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep face down.’ (20070707JAF)

SVCs composed of $V_{1intrans}=V_{2trans}$ pairs consist of two types: open=open (21.33) and position=open (21.34).

- (21.33) *porkej jeʔ dyoos ʔinh+wejpáʔtpa*
 porkej jeʔ dyoos ʔi+ʔ**anh+wej=paʔt**-pa
 because 3PRO god 3ERG+DERIV₁+cry=find-INC
 because God commands him

ʔiga+dyoos ʔi+yooxpaʔtpa
 ʔiga+dyoos ʔi+yoox=paʔt-pa
 COMP+god 3ERG+work=find-INC
 so God helps him

jeʔm mimneʔ ʔiga+pisʔiny
 jeʔm mim.neʔ ʔiga+Ø+pis-ʔiny
 that be.sick COMP+3ABS+cure-OPT
 to cure the sick.’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.031)

- (21.34) *?i+kòonychukumyá?pa*
 ?i+koony=tzuk?um-yaj-pa
 3ERG+sit=arise-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They raise him to sitting. (Cangrejo.076a)’

SVCs formed with V1_{trans}=V2_{trans} consist of one type: open=open (21.35).

- (21.35) *jemum* *?i+jí?mtzák* *ni?iki?im*
 je-mi?+?am ?i+jí?m=tzak-W ni?=ki?.mi
 that.LOC₁+ALR 3ERG+hang=leave-CMP water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘...he left them hanging there in the water.’

SVCs formed of V1_{trans}=V2_{intrans} pairs consist of both straightforward SVCs and Cause-effect serial verbs. Serial verbs consist of open=open (21.36) symmetric and open=motion (21.37) asymmetric combinations. Cause-effect serial include the direct causation combinations of open=open (21.2) and open=motion (21.39), as well as the indirect causation formed with the verb *tzik* ‘touch’ in V₁ position (21.40).

- (21.36) *?i+wimmíichpa*
 ?i+wíip=míich-pa
 3ERG+throw=play-INC
 ‘He plays tossing it around.’ (20070704jaf)

- (21.37) *?i+pátznigá?y* *je?m chiima*
 ?i+patz=nikk-?a?y-W je?m chiima
 3ERG+throw=go-BEN-CMP that plate
 ‘The threw a plate at him.’ (Yerno.112)

- (21.38) *si?ip niki* *kottá?ami* *je?exik*
 si?ip nikk-i kot-ta?m-i je?exik
 now go_{aux}-IMP insert-PLU_{sap}-IMP there
 ‘Now go put him there’

tzaanytyikjoom
 tzaany=tik=joj.mi
 snake=house=LOC₂.LOC₁
 in the snake's house

?iga jemum ?i+waska?aba tzaany.
 ?iga jemum ?i+was=ka?-pa tzaany
 COMP there 3ERG+bit=die-INC snake
 that there the snake will kill him by biting.' (Elson 1947a:210)

(21.39) *?anhku?tketpa je?m ka?npu*
 ?an+ku?t=ket-pa je?m ka?npu
 XERG+eat=descend-INC that egg
 'She ate up the whole egg. (MAB.077)

(21.40) *peroj ?agi+chikso?psyáj je?m piiyu*
 peroj ?agi+?i+tzik=so?ps-yaj-W je?m piiyu
 but much+3ERG+touch=tire-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that chicken
 'but they made the chicken really tired [by chasing it].' (PQH.014)

21.2.1 SVCs with Motion Verbs

Complex predicates composed of a verb and a motion verb can be characterized as asymmetrical serial verbs (Aikhenvald 2006:21). The motion verb that occur in serial verb constructions are listed in (21.41).

(21.41) MOTION (OR LACK OF) VERBS:

<i>nikk</i>	‘go’
<i>ʔoy</i>	‘go and return’
<i>nas</i>	‘pass by’
<i>seet</i>	‘return’
<i>tzukʔum</i>	‘raise’
<i>ket</i>	‘lower, descend’
<i>kiʔm</i>	‘ascend’
<i>put</i>	‘exit’
<i>tziʔy</i>	‘stay’

Serial verb constructions composed of a motion verb (or lack of motion, in the case of *tziʔy* ‘stay’) convey the event expressed by the V_1 and its corresponding trajectory, expressed by the motion verb in V_2 . For example in (21.42) the complex predicate is formed with *patz* ‘throw’ and *nikk* ‘go’ to indicate throw ahead. Compare this example with (21.43) also formed with *patz* ‘throw’. Here the V_2 is *ket* ‘descend’; the complex predicate denotes ‘throw down’. In (21.44) the predicate combines the verb *ʔanh+jaʔas* ‘roast’ with the motion verb *nas* ‘pass’ to indicate ‘roast by passing over’. Similar SVCs are shown with the motion verbs *seet* ‘return’ and *kiʔm* ‘ascend’ in (21.45) and (21.46) respectively.

- (21.42) *ʔi+pàtz**nig**áʔy* *jeʔm chiima*
*ʔi+patz=**nikk**-ʔaʔy-W* *jeʔm chiima*
 3ERG+throw=go-BEN-CMP that plate
 ‘The threw a plate at him.’ (Yerno.112)

- (21.43) *ʔi+patz**ket**ʔaʔypa* *maayi*
*ʔi+patz=**ket**-ʔaʔy-pa* *maayi*
 3ERG+throw=descend-BEN-INC meat
 ‘He threw down meat for him.’ (Chaneco.SIL.006)

- (21.44) *despues kej ?aranh+jà?asnasá?ytyá?mpa*
 despues kej ?an+?anh+ja?as=**nas**-?a?y-ta?m-pa
 after that 3ERG+DERIV₁+roast=pass.by-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Afterwards we roast it by passing

juuktíyukmí
 jukti=yuk-mí
 fire=LOC₅.LOC₁
 over the fire.’ (SZ2.004a)

- (21.45) *je?m yoomo ?a?mséet*
 je?m yoomo Ø+?a?m=**seet**-W
 that woman 3ABS+look=turn-CMP
 ‘The woman turned to look back,

pero si je?am tzu?ukiny
 pero si je?m tzu?ukiny
 but yes that worm
 but yes, it was a worm.’ (GU1.060)

- (21.46) *je?m yoomo ni ?a+?un yuxki?mpa*
 je?m yoomo ni ?a+?un Ø+yus=**ki?m**-pa
 that woman not.even NEG+DJO 3ABS+wake=ascend-INC
 ‘The woman didn’t even wake up.’ (ESK.031a)

Transitivity of verbs occurring in V₁ position with the motion verbs listed in (21.41) is generally preserved, with some exceptions. The trajectory of the motion or direction applies to the S in the case of an intransitive verb or the O in the case of a transitive verb. When the complex is intransitive, the directional describes the trajectory of the S, as shown by example (21.47). When the complex is transitive the directional describes the trajectory of the O, as shown by the example in (21.48).

- (21.47) *jeʔ yiʔim jeeɣik yòʔynyipútpa*
jeʔ yiʔim jesik Ø+yoʔy-neʔ=put-pa
 3PRO here when 3ABS+jump-ASSUM=exit-INC
 ‘Here he is coming out jumping.’ (Giant.SIL.088)

- (21.48) *ʔi+jïikpút* *ʔi+sinturuunh*
ʔi+jïik=put-W *ʔi+sinturuunh*
 3ERG+pull=exit-CMP 3ERG+belt
 ‘He pulled off his belt.’ (PDLMA.VJE.086)

When the V_1 is intransitive the S co-references the S of the V_2 . This is shown with the intransitive verbs *jips* ‘burn’ and *ket* ‘descend’ in (21.49). *jeʔm choomo* ‘that grandmother’ is S of the V_1 and the V_2 .

- (21.49) *jemum* *jipsket* *jeʔm choomo*
jeʔmi+ʔam Ø+jips=ket-W *jeʔm choomo*
 there+ALR 3ABS+burn=descend-CMP that grandmother
 ‘There the grandmother is burnt down.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.203)

When the V_1 is transitive, and the transitivity of the complex is preserved, the O of the V_1 is co-referential with the S of the V_2 , as shown in (21.50). Here the O of the V_1 is the S of the V_2 , an example of switch function serial verb, also known as a cause-effect serial verb construction. The A realize the event denoted by the V_1 causing the S to undergo the event denoted by the V_2 , in this case the descent of the S.

- (21.50) *Nimpa* *paanij siʔip tan+noʔkét*
Ø+nim-pa paanij siʔip tan+noʔ=ket-W
 3ABS+say-INC priest now IERG+burn=finish-CMP
 ‘The priest says: ‘Now let’s burn her up/Finish her off by burning her.’ ” (GU2.102)

Transitivity of the verb is not always altered, however, an exception that appears to be associated with the V₁. For instance, the verb *?a?m* ‘look’ is a transitive verb (not ambitransitive), but when it occurs in a serial verb construction with motion verbs, its valency is reduced. Observe examples (21.51) through (21.53). In each of these examples, the V₁ is *?a?m* ‘look’, and the V₂ is a verb of motion *ki?m* ‘ascend’, *nikk* ‘go’, and *put* ‘exit’.

Some verbs are exceptions to the rule, however, it seems that properties of the V₁ determine whether transitivity is preserved. Perhaps this is a characteristic of verbs of perception. In fact, for the verbal complex to take a O argument in these constructions, the valency must be increased with an applicative such as *?a?y* ‘BEN’, as shown in the clause (21.53b).

- (21.51) *kwandu ?uxanh ?i+jiis*
 kwandu juxanh ?i+jiis-W
 when little 3ERG+think-CMP
 ‘When they thought a little,

?a?mki?myajpa
 Ø+?a?m=ki?m-yaj-pa
 3ABS+see=ascend-PLU_{non.sap}-INC
 they looked up in the tree

kuyyukmi jemik+?am ?ity je?m ka?npu
 kuy=yuk.mi jemik+?am Ø+?ity-W je?m ka?npu
 tree=LOC₅.LOC₁ there+ALR 3ABS+be-CMP that egg
 and there was the egg.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.030)

- (21.52) *?a?mniiggakpa?am*
 Ø+?a?m=nikk-gak-pa+?am
 3ABS+look.at=go-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘She looked forward again.’ (GU2.056)

- (21.53) (a) *jesik ?a?mpút* *je?m ?i+?aapa*
 jesik Ø+?a?m=put-W *je?m ?i+?aapa*
 when 3ABS+look=exit-CMP that 3PSR+mother
 ‘When their mother looked out,
- (b) *?i+?à?mpudá?y*
 ?i+?a?m=put-?a?y-W
 3ERG+look=out-BEN-CMP
 she looked out to see them,
- (c) *dya+m ?ity ?i+maanik+tam*
 dya+?am Ø+?ity-W ?i+maanik+tam
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+be-CMP 3PSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 her children weren’t there.’ (CSV.011-2)

Compare with examples (21.54) and (21.55), both repeated from above, which show the same motion verbs (respectively) in SVCs with transitive verbs. Example (21.54) shows the transitive verb *tun* ‘put, place’ in a SVC with *ki?m* ‘ascend’; the verbal complex is transitive. In (21.55) the transitive verb is *jiik* ‘pull’, the transitivity of the clause is unaffected.

- (21.54) *?an+tunki?mta?mu+m* *juktìyukmì*
 ?an+tun=ki?m-ta?m-W+?am *jukti=yuk.mi*
 XERG+put=ascend-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR fire=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘We already put it up in the fire.’ (PQ2.020a)
- (21.55) *?i+jiikput* *?i+sinturuunh*
 ?i+jiik=put-W *?i+sinturuunh*
 3ERG+pull=exit-CMP 3PSR+belt
 ‘He pulled off his belt.’ (PDLMA.VJE.086)

In SVCs with other verb types, the transitivity of *?a?m* ‘look’ is unaffected. For example in (21.56) the verb occurs in a serial verb with *pak* ‘knock’ down; the verbal complex is transitive.

(21.56) *nimʔaytyaa*
 Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 “He is told:

ʔich man+ʔaʔmʔaʔmpakneʔ
 ʔich man+ʔaʔm.ʔaʔm=pak-neʔ-W
 1PRO XERG+see.REDUP=knock.down-PERF-CMP
 ‘I have been watching you;

mi+minyaku+m
 mi+miny-gak-W+ʔam
 XABS+come-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘you’ve come again.’ ” (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.047)

21.3 Symmetrical and Asymmetrical SVCs

Based on the components of serial verb constructions, there are two categories: Symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006). As described in §21.2, asymmetrical serial verbs are composed of one verb from an open class and one verb from a closed class. Asymmetrical complex predicates denote a single event described by the verb from the open class, and the verbs may be distinguished as “major” and “minor” (Durie 1997). Components of asymmetrical SVCs tend to become grammaticalized over time. Symmetrical SVCs are composed of two (or more) verbs from open classes. In symmetrical verb constructions the order of components tends to be iconic following “temporal sequence of subevents”. Symmetrical complex predicates have no head and all components have equal status. Symmetrical SVCs tend to become lexicalized expressions.

21.3.1 Lexicalized Compounds

There are a number of lexicalized expressions formed from serial verb constructions. In each case the compounds are composed of verbs from open classes. For example a compound formed with *?ix* ‘see’ and *pik* ‘grab’ lexicalized into the expression ‘recognize’ (21.57). The SVC in (21.58) shows the same verb *pik* ‘grab’ in V₂ position with the verb *juy* ‘speak’, which means ‘command’. A third compound formed with the verbs *yoox* ‘work’ and *pa?t* ‘find’ meaning ‘help’ is shown in (21.59).

- (21.57) *?i+?ixpik*
 ?i+?ix=**pik**-W
 3ERG+see=grasp-CMP
 ‘She recognized him.’ (GUS.062)

- (21.58) *porke je? dyoos+tyi+?am ?i+jyypikpa*
 porke je? dyoos+tyi+?am ?i+**jiy**=**pik**-pa
 because 3PRO God+JUST+ALR 3ERG+spea**k**=grasp-INC
 ‘because God commands

?iga+yooxaap
 ?iga+Ø+yooxa-pa
 COMP+3ABS+work-INC
 him to work.’ (PDLMA.CUR.029)

- (21.59) *tany+yooxpa?tpa mej ta+?ich piixiny*
 tan+yoox=**pa?t**-pa meex ta+?ich piixiny
 IERG+work=**find**-INC also 3ABS+1PRO man
 ‘We also help our husbands. (JOV.026)

21.3.2 Grammaticalization of Serial Verbs

A number of studies have shown that verbal roots that occur frequently in serial verb constructions tend to be grammaticalized into morphemes (DeLancey 1991; Foley and Olson 1985; Durie 1997; Givón 1991). The Mixe-Zoquean languages are all verb serializing languages. Throughout the family, there are a number of suffixes that have grammaticalized from verb roots that occur frequently in serial verb constructions. One such suffix is the third person plural *-yaj*, which has grammaticalized from the verb *yaj* ‘finish’.

21.3.2.1 Third person plural *-yaj*

In SP the verbal suffix *-yaj* ‘3PL’ indicates number agreement with 3rd person referents. In (21.60) the S is the plural of *?ook=maanik* ‘grandchild’, with which the plural marker *-yaj* agrees.

- (21.60) *je?m ?i+?ok=máanik+tam ?agi+miichyajpa*
je?m ?i+?ook=maanik+tam ?agi+Ø+miich-yaj-pa
 that 3PSR+grandchild+PLU_{hum} very+3ABS+play-PLU_{non sap}-INC
 ‘Her grandchildren play too much.’ (CQS.009)

The plural marking suffix has been reconstructed as having grammaticalized from the verb *yaj* ‘finish’. Grammaticalization of plural markers from verbs meaning ‘finish’ is common throughout the MZ family, and according to Kaufman (1997) this process has occurred in all the Mixe-Zoquean languages. In Oaxaca Zoque the verb *suk* ‘finish’ has grammaticalized as a plural marker; and in Gulf Zoque and Chiapas Zoque, the verb is *yaj*. In Olutec the the 3rd

person plural suffix is *-kix*. To account for the grammaticalization of the plural suffix in Olutec, Zavala (2006:296) has hypothesized a three step process in which:

- (1) serial verb constructions were formed with V='finish' to produce sequences 'die-finish' or 'break-finish' implying that the entity involved is completely affected (i.e. 'finish off by VERB');
- (2) the semantics were extended to convey a reading of absolute arguments (i.e. 'all of X was finished by VERB');
- (3) the semantic reading extended to all core arguments. The serialized verb *küx* was extended to serve as a third-person plural marker for all core arguments of the clause.

According to Kaufman this process is analogous to one occurring in some Mayan languages (particularly Tzeltal in Chiapas), suggesting that it is an areal feature (1997).

In SP, the verb *yaj* appears as an independent verb (21.61) and a V₂ component in serial verb constructions (21.62) as well.

(21.61) *nuʔkpa* *ʔi+tyikkĩʔim*
 Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik=kiʔ.mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁
 'He arrives at his house

ʔi+nyimaʔypa *ʔi+yoomo*
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔi+yoomo
 3ERG+say-BEN-INC 3PSR+woman

and his wife tells him

jeʔm trigo ʔi+yaju+m jeʔm ʔon
jeʔm trigo ʔi+yaj-W+ʔam jeʔm jon
that wheat 3ERG+**finish**-CMP+ALR that bird
that the bird finished the wheat. PDLMABirdGorrionSIL.022

- (21.62) *ʔaguriitaj ʔan+tojtojyajpa*
ʔaguriitaj ʔan+toj.toj=yaj-pa
right.now XERG+strike.REDUP=**finish**-INC
‘Right now I’ll destroy it by striking.’ (PDLMA.GiantSIL.039)

The grammaticalization process⁵ begins with the verb *yaj* ‘finish’ (21.61), which occurs in V2 position of serial verb constructions. In these constructions, the verb root indicates that the object of the verb is completely affected. For example in (21.62), use of *yaj* indicates ‘to finish X off by striking, or beating’. The semantics of the verb extends to indicate the plurality of the object. Over time the meaning of the suffix extends to indicate plurality of all core arguments, as shown in (21.63).

- (21.63) *ʔi+kiihnyajpa*
ʔi+kiih-yaj-pa
3ERG+fear-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
‘They’re scared of it.’ (GU2.115)

Only in Texistepec does =yaj occur as a postverbal element indicating ‘to finish’, as well as a plural agreement marker (Kaufman 1997; Reilly et al, in prep.).

⁵I follow Zavala (2006) in the analysis presented here.

21.3.2.2 Causative Proclitic *ʔak+*

The causative proclitic *ʔak+* has been reconstructed as the proto-Mixe-Zoquean **yak-* (Kaufman 1963:70; Wichmann 1995:533). The causative proclitic increases the valency of both intransitive and transitive verbs by one, the causer. For example the intransitive verb *tzam* ‘grow, ripen’ (21.64) becomes the transitive ‘raise’ when it occurs with the causative (21.65)⁶.

- (21.64) *dya+m tzampa yiʔp tziixi*
dya+ʔam Ø+tzam-pa yiʔp tziixi
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+grow-INC that child
 ‘The child no longer grows.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.015)

- (21.65) *ʔeʔeyukmim tuum piixiny yoʔomiʔypa*
jeʔ.yuk.mi+ʔam tuum piixiny Ø+yoomo-ʔiʔy-pa
 3PRO.LOC₅.LOC₁+ALR one man 3ABS+woman-PROV-INC
 ‘For this reason, if a man wants to marry,

ʔi+k+taʔminy ʔi+piiyyu
ʔi+ʔak+tzam-ʔiny ʔi+piiyyu
 3ERG+CAUS₁+grow-OPT 3PSR+chicken
 he should raise his chickens.’ (JOV.022)

⁶For a detailed description of causative constructions, refer to ch. 14.

Zavala (2006:270) posits:

Morphological causatives, which are very productive, are reanalyzed nuclear serial verb constructions. The first verb of the serial construction in *yak*, glossed as ‘CAUS₁’. the construction *yak+V* developed in the context of “cause-effect” serialization also known as “different subject realization”. The O of the causative verb *yak* is coreferential with the S of the second verb. The two sequential verbs are ordered according to the direction of causation, i.e. the sequence follows iconic principles since the causative event occurs first and the end-result of the action follows.

21.3.2.3 Ambulative -ʔoʔy

The ambulative suffix -ʔoʔy occurs on reduplicated verb roots to convey that the S goes around performing the event expressed by the reduplicated verb root, as illustrated in (21.66) and (21.67). In (21.66) the root of the derived verb in *ʔanh+wej* ‘shout’ is reduplicated and the suffix *ʔoʔy* attaches to the right. The compound indicates that the Ss were ‘going around shouting’. Similarly, in (21.67) the root of the predicate *ku+monh* ‘sleep elsewhere’ is reduplicated and occurs with *ʔoʔy* to indicate that the S ‘goes around sleeping in different places’.

- (21.66) *jesik nuʔkyáj ta+nimpa*
 jesik Ø+nuʔk-yaj-W ta+nim-pa
 when 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP IABS+say-INC
 ‘When they arrived, as we say,

jeʔigam *siʔiyáɟpa*
 jeʔe+gak+ʔam Ø+siʔ-yaj-pa
 3PRO+also+ALR 3ABS+walk_{aux}-PLU_{nonsap}-INC

ʔanh+wèjwejoʔiyáɟpa
 Ø+ʔanh+wej.wej=ʔoʔy-yaj-pa
 3ABS+DERIV+cry.REDUP=AMBUL-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 They were going around shouting.’ (VYT.074)

(21.67) *pòyboyyáɟpa* *ʔany+yommaanik*
 Ø+poy.poy-yaj-pa ʔan+yoomo=maanik
 3ABS+run.REDUP-PLU_{nonhum}-INC XPSR+daughter
 ‘My daughter ran him off.

jemik ***ku+mònhtonhóʔypa*** *jimnyom*
 jemik Ø+ku+monh.monh=ʔoʔy-pa jimnyi=joom
 there 3ABS+sleep.REDUP=AMBUL-INC forest=LOC₂.LOC₁
 There he goes around sleeping in different places in the mountains.
 (Yerno.004c)

The suffix is thought to have been grammaticalized from a verb root such as *jooy* ‘walk, go along’ Kaufman (Kaufman & Himes, in progress). Similar forms appear in San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque as *-ʔoy* and Texistepec *-joʔy* (Kaufman, unpublished ms), also occurring with reduplicated verb roots. The ambulative is likely to have grammaticalized from the motion verb in V₂ position of serial verb constructions.

21.4 SVCs With Complex Components

Serial verb constructions in SP are formed by combining multiple verb stems, which are often complex derived predicates, verbal and nonverbal. These com-

plex predicates include combinations with reduplicated verb roots, lexicalized verb stems derived with lexical prefixes, verbs derived from other verb classes, derived affective and positional verb roots, and non-verbal predicates.

21.4.1 Complex and Discontinuous V₂ Predicates

SVCs may be formed with complex verbs composed of lexicalized NOUN=VERB complex stems, as described in ch. 20. A number of complex predicates formed with lexical prefixes appear as productive serializing V₂ verbs, specifically those composed of *?anh+* and *ku+*.

A number of verb roots are derived as new verbs with the derivational proclitic *?anh+*. The proclitic, reconstructed to proto-Mixe-Zoquean from the lexical term **?aw=* ‘mouth’ (Kaufman 1997), grammaticalized into a proclitic meaning ‘pertaining to the mouth or other opening’ (Wichmann 1991:535) in proto-Mixe-Zoquean. A handful of the expressions derived with *?anh+* occur productively with other verb roots in serial verb constructions. These are listed in (21.68). An example with *=?anh+jak* is shown in (21.69).

(21.68) COMPLEX VERBS FORMED WITH *=?anh+VERB*:

VERB= <i>?anh+jak</i>	‘keep VERBing; VERB a lot so effects last’
VERB= <i>?anh+nas</i>	‘over VERB’
VERB= <i>?anh+we?k</i>	‘VERB a little’
VERB= <i>?anh+taay.?aH</i>	‘appear to be VERBing’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(21.69) *kun je?e wi?a+m*
kun je? wi?.?aH-W
 with 3PRO be.able_{aux}CMP
 ‘With this he was able

monhʔanh+jaku+m
 Ø+monh=ʔanh+jak-W+ʔam
 3ABS+sleep=DERIV₁+keep.on-CMP+ALR
 to sleep a long time.

jiku+m *mee jeʔm saawa*
 Ø+jik-W+ʔam meex jeʔm saawa
 3ABS+lower-CMP+ALR also that air
 The air lowered also.’ (CMD.018)

A handful of verb stems are formed with the proclitic *ku+*, which has been reconstructed to proto-Mixe-Zoquean as **ko-* (Kaufman 1963:70, 1995). The proclitic is believed to have grammaticalized into a derivational prefix meaning ‘self, other’ and used to derive new verb stems from verb roots. It occurs in a number of lexicalized expressions. Some of these lexicalized verbs productively occur in serial verb constructions. The serial *ku+* verbs are listed in (21.70). An example with *=ku+kej* is shown in (21.71).

- (21.70) EXAMPLES WITH *=ku+verb*:
 VERB=*ku+kej* ‘VERB at dawn’
 VERB=*ku+mek* ‘to think about VERBing’
 VERB=*ku+rruut* ‘VERB poorly, carelessly’
 VERB=*ku+tiʔtz* ‘try VERBing’
 (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

- (21.71) *ʔokmi+tyim* *nuʔkku+kej*
 ʔokmi+tyi+ʔam Ø+nuʔk=**ku+kej**-CMP
 after+STILL+ALR 3ABS+arrive=DERIV₂+appear-CMP
 ‘Still afterwards they arrived in the morning

ʔanh+kiʔim
 ʔanh.kiʔ.mi
 LOC₁₄.LOC₃.LOC₁
 outside.’ (PDO.030)

Furthermore, a handful of complex predicates formed with lexical prefixes *?anh+* and *ku+* productively integrates verbs such that the lexical prefix precedes the V_1 . These verbs are listed in (21.72) and (21.73).

(21.72) COMPLEX VERBS WITH *?anh+V₁=V₂*:

- ?anh+VERB=jak* 'to VERB too much'
 - ?anh+VERB=ku?m* 'to VERB inside/inward'
 - ?anh+VERB=mok* 'to VERB facing toward someone'
 - ?anh+VERB=nu?k* 'to close of by VERBing'
 - ?anh+VERB=pak* 'to close/block by VERBing'
- (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(21.73) COMPLEX VERBS FORMED WITH *ku+V₁=V₂*:

- ku+VERB.?i?y* 'come across while one is VERBing'
 - ku+VERB=ket* 'cover with something underneath
/upsidedown by VERBing'
 - ku+VERB=tik* 'to VERB next to'
 - ku+VERB=ta?tz* generally 'be unable to *verb*
because of spoilage' (vaguely)
- (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Examples of complex serial verbs formed with *?anh+* verbs are shown in (21.74). Examples of complex serial verbs formed with *ku+* verbs are shown in (21.75).

(21.74) COMPLEX VERBS WITH $\text{?anh}+V_1=V_2$:

<i>?anh+jïis=jak</i>	‘think where he’s going’	<i>jïis</i>	‘think’
<i>?anh+?a?m=ku?m</i>	‘look inside at smø’	<i>?a?m</i>	‘look’
<i>?anh+jotz=mok</i>	‘dance face to face’		
<i>?anh+chij=nyu?k</i>	‘close by covering with dirt’		
<i>?anh+jï?t=pak</i>	‘cut off running water’		

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(21.75) COMPLEX VERBS WITH $ku+V_1=V_2$:

<i>ku+tzaj=ket</i>	‘stick smt. on smt. else’	<i>tzaj</i>	‘stick smt. together’
<i>ku+?i?p=?i?y</i>	‘find while digging’	<i>?i?p</i>	‘dig’
<i>ku+pi?n=tik</i>	‘get flooded’	<i>pi?n</i>	‘float’
<i>ku+chinh=ta?tz</i>	‘unbathably dirty’	<i>chinh</i>	‘bathe’

(Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

21.4.2 SVCs With Positional and Affective Verbs

Positional and affective verbs frequently occur in serial verb constructions. Positional verbs are a morphosyntactically and semantically recognizable root class⁷ in SP. Positionals as a class have been reported in languages in Mesoamerica, including Mayan languages (England 1983:78) as well as Mixe-Zoquean languages such as Olutec (Zavala 2001:16-17) and San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (2000:54). Positional roots in SP, which describe the position of an entity, must be derived as verbs with either the assumptive *-ne?* suffix (which indicates that an entity has assumed a position) or the depositive *-wi?y* suffix (which indicates that an entity has been placed in a position or has been

⁷Some positionals appear as verb stems, and some positional roots appear as verbs stems only with *-wi?y* or *-ne?*, or both.

affected by the action indicated by the verb). Some positionals are listed in (21.76). Positional roots may be transitive or intransitive, and the assumptive and depositive suffixes may alter the transitivity of the verb.

- (21.76) POSITIONAL VERBS WITH *-neʔ* ‘ASSUM’ AND *-wiʔy* ‘DEPOS’:
- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ʔeety-wiʔy</i> | ‘lean smt
against smt else’ | <i>ʔeety-neʔ</i> | ‘be leaning
against smt’ |
| <i>jap-wiʔy</i> | ‘turn smt upside down’ | <i>jap-neʔ</i> | ‘be flipped over’ |
| <i>nej-wiʔy</i> | ‘tip it over’ | <i>nej-neʔ</i> | ‘lie on side’ |
| <i>taʔtz-wiʔy</i> | ‘stack’ | <i>taʔtz-neʔ</i> | ‘to get stacked’ |
| <i>teeny-wiʔy</i> | ‘leave standing’ | | |

In SP, positional verbs marked with the assumptive suffix *-neʔ* appear in V_1 position in SVCs, as shown in (21.77).

- (21.77) *Koʔmnaktinh* *choomo,*
 XABS+koʔm-neʔ=ʔak+tinh-W *choomo,*
 3ABS+squat-ASSUM=CAUS₁+fall-CMP grandmother
 ‘The old woman falls to a squat.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:322-3)

Serial verbs formed with positional verbs are highly productive. A paradigm showing a number of positional verbs with the intransitive verb *monh* ‘sleep’ is shown in (21.78).

- (21.78) (a) *ʔa+tanhganeʔmonhpa*
ʔa+tanhga-neʔ=monh-pa
 XABS+mouth.up-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep face up.’
- (b) *ʔa+wotneʔemonhpa*
ʔa+wot-neʔ=monh-pa
 XABS+twist-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep twisted up.’

- (c) *?a+nejne?monhpa*
 ?a+neeja-ne?=monh-pa
 XABS+side-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep on my side.’
- (d) *?a+?eetynye?monhpa*
 ?a+?eety-ne?=monh-pa
 XABS+lean-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep leaning back.’
- (e) *?a+koonamonhpa*
 ?a+koony-ne?=monh-pa
 XABS+sit-ASSUM=sleep-INC
 ‘I sleep sitting.’ (20070702JAF)

Affective verbs make up a potentially open class of verbs that are distinguishable because they are made of up sound symbolic expressions (21.79), reduplicated roots and stems (21.80), or reduplicated sound symbolic expressions (21.81). Affectives may be derived with the suffix *-ne?*⁸. Affectives are common in Mesoamerica as a verb (or root) class (England 1983:84-86), and observed in other Mixe-Zoque languages (Johnson 2000:56; Zavala 2000:90).

- (21.79) *nikpam* *juuty* *ta+nimpa* ***rropsne?***
 Ø+nikk-pa+?am juuty ta+nim-pa Ø+rrops-ne?-W
 3ABS+go-INC+ALR where IABS+say-INC slide-AFFECT-PERF-CMP

je?m *?i+maayi*
 je?m ?i+maayi
 that 3PSR+meat
 ‘He goes to where his meat has slid off.’ (ESK.074)

⁸Based on comparative reconstructions the assumptive and affective are likely to be polysemous (Kaufman 1997).

- (21.80) *?okmi ?ich*
 ?okmi ?ich
 then 1PRO

?ak+xikxikata?mpa+m
 ?a+?ak+xik-xik-ka?-ta?m-pa+?am
 XABS+CAUS₁+laugh-REDUP-LOC_{applic}-PLU_{sap}-INC+ALR
 ‘Oh, how they made us laugh (at them).’ PQ2.071

- (21.81) *?ajta looklookone?eba jemik*
 ?ajta Ø+looko.looko-ne?-pa jemik
 until 3ABS+sound.REDUP-AFFECT-INC there
 ‘Until he shouts there.’ (CAN.129)

Serial verb constructions may also be composed of affective verb stems, as shown in (21.82) and (21.83).

- (21.82) *rropsnaktunhpa naxyukmi*
 Ø+rrops-ne?=?ak+tunh-pa nas=yuk.mi
 3ABS+slide-AFFECT=fall-INC ground=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘It slides off and falls to the ground.’ (ESK.035b)

- (21.83) *Segiidoj wij*
 segiidoj Ø+wij-W
 suddenly 3ABS+untie-CMP
 ‘Suddenly it unties itself

?ii rruunne?séet
 ?ii Ø+rruun-ne?=seet-W
 and 3ABS+spin-AFFECT=turn-CMP
 and returns spinning.’ (SoyPartera.065)

21.4.3 SVCs with Reduplicated Components

In SP independent components of the SVC may also be reduplicated. This is shown with the SVCs in (21.84) and (21.85). The repetition of action applies specifically to the reduplicated verb. The predicate in (21.84) denotes ‘cutting something (1 time) by biting on it repeatedly’. In (21.85) the predicate denotes ‘finishing something off by drinking it continuously’.

- (21.84) *?anh+waswasjákpa*
 ?an+was.was=jak-pa
 XERG+bite.REDUP=cut-INC
 ‘I will cut it by biting.’ (GNT.SIL.054b)

- (21.85) *?iritzi?ypam* *jesik*
 ?in+na+tzi?y-pa+?am *jesik*
 2ERG+ASSOC+stay-INC+ALR then
 ‘Then keep it.’

mich+am *?ùk?ukkéeti*
 mich+?am *?uk.?uk=ket-i*
 2PRO+ALR drink.REDUP=descend-IMP
 ‘Drink it all down yourself.’ (AVC.019)

21.4.4 Serialization with Derived Components

Serial verbs may be formed with derived verb forms. For instance (21.86) shows a compound in which the V₁ is a predicate derived from the noun *yoomo* ‘woman’ with the versive suffix *-?aH*. In (21.87) the predicate in the V₂ is the transitive *?ak+seet* ‘return smt’, composed of the causative *?ak+* and the intransitive verb *seet* ‘return’.

(21.86) *dyam* *yòʔomaséet*
 dya+ʔam Ø+yoomo-ʔaH=**seet**-W
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+woman-VERS=**return**-CMP
 ‘She didn’t turn back into a woman.’ (VYT.104)

(21.87) *jemum* *ʔi+nyàksʔak+seetyáy*
 je-m+ʔam ʔi+naks=**ʔak**+**seet**-yaj-W
 there+ALR 3ERG+hit=CAUS₁+return-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘There they returned the beating.’ (PDLMA.XUU.028)

21.5 SVCs With Non-Verbal Predicates

Nouns and adjectives acting as non-verbal predicates may occur in compounds with verbs in serial verb constructions, as shown in (21.88) and (21.89). In (21.88) the S of the nominal predicate *yuʔ* ‘hunger’ is the S of the intransitive verb *monh* ‘sleep’. In (21.89) the S of the adjectival predicate *ku+siikiʔ* ‘naked’ is the O of the transitive verb *tzak* ‘leave’ in second position. In terms of argument sharing of SVCs composed of non-verbal predicates, S=P.

(21.88) *ʔa+yùʔumonhtáʔm* *tantaj tristesaj*
 ʔa+yùʔ=**monh**-taʔm-W tantaj tristesaj
 XABS+hunger=sleep-PLU_{sap}-CMP such sadness
 ‘We slept hungry, so much sadness.’ (PQ2.154)

(21.89) *ʔi+ku+siikiʔtzaktóʔoba* *ʔidyik niʔikiʔim*
 ʔi+ku+**siikiʔ**=**tzak**-toʔ-pa ʔidyik niʔ=kiʔ-mi
 3ERG+naked=leave-DESID-INC past water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He wanted to leave him naked in the water.’ (UDR.005)

In these constructions, the incorporated noun is not co-referential with an argument, a key definition of noun incorporation (see ch. 20). In noun incor-

poration, incorporated elements essentially consist of core arguments. In type I NI sentences, the verb incorporates an argument. In the case of (21.90) the object is incorporated, reducing the transitivity of the verb. Here the noun *kiĩpi* ‘firewood’ is incorporated into the verb *po?* ‘split, hatch’. In external possession constructions (a subtype of II NI constructions), an argument is incorporated into the verb allowing a role for a new core argument and the transitivity of the sentence is unaffected. Example (21.91) illustrates a case in which the possessum is incorporated, the verbal complex remains intransitive, and the S (the possessor) is marked with the absolutive *mi+* ‘2ABS’.

- (21.90) *?içh ?a+kiĩppó?oba*
 ?içh ?a+kiĩpi=po?-pa
 1PRO XABS+firewood=split-INC
 ‘I split wood.’ (CNC.004)

- (21.91) *mi+puykuwi?ks*
 mi+puy=ku+wi?ks-W
 2ABS+foot=DERIV₂+twist-CMP
 ‘You twisted your foot.’ (20090227jaf)

In constructions in which the compounded element acts as a non-verbal predicate, the nominal or adjectival component is interpreted as predicate rather than argument. In (21.92), the noun *tzoy* ‘medicine’ (the would-be O) is incorporated by the transitive verb *wat* ‘do, make’; the valency of the verb is unaltered. The A is a second person referent and the interrogative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ assume the role of O. The noun *tzoy* ‘medicine’ in this example is a non-verbal predicate.

- (21.92) *ʔan+niʔmaʔy* *tyi* *ʔiny+choywatpa*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-W tyiH ʔin+**tzoy**=wat-pa
 XERG+say-BEN-CMP what 2ERG+medicine=make-INC
 ‘He says: What do you use as medicine?’ (OJO.003b)

In early work on noun incorporation, Sapir (1911:258) distinguished these constructions from that of the incorporated arguments, identifying them as “predicate subjective” and “predicate objective”. Sapir states:

Examples occur in which the incorporated noun does not directly function as the subject of the verb but stands logically in a predicative relation to the subject or object. That is, such sentences as ‘he travels as spy’ and ‘I call him an enemy’ may be converted into the noun-incorporating verbs ‘he spy-travels’ or ‘spy-travels’ ([he spies and he travels] not equivalent in this case to ‘the spy travels’) and ‘I-enemy-call-him’ or ‘I-enemy-call’ (not equivalent to ‘I call the enemy’). Such uses of an incorporated noun may be termed *predicate subjective* and *predicate objective*. (Sapir 1911:258)

These constructions are semantically akin to secondary predication, however, they do not meet syntactic and morphosyntactic criteria to be considered secondary predicates. A depictive secondary predicate construction is a clause-level construction that, following Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004:77-78), meets the following seven criteria:

- i. It contains two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, that hold within the time frame;
- ii. the depictive is obligatorily controlled, and the controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive;
- iii. the depictive makes a predication about its controller independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate;
- iv. the depictive is not an argument of the main predicate;
- v. the depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller;
- vi. the depictive is non-finite (not marked for tense or mood categories); and
- vii. the depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

SP serial verb constructions composed of non-verbal predicates satisfy criteria (i) through (v) and (vii). That is, they contain two separate predicative elements (i); the depictive is obligatorily controlled (ii); the depictive makes a predication about its controller independent of the main predicate (iii); the depictive is not an argument of the main predicate (iv); it does not modify the controller (v); and the depictive, morphosyntactically bound to the main predicate, forms a single prosodic unit with the main predicate in the complex predicate (vii). However, it does not meet criteria (vi) in that the nonverbal predicate, which is morphosyntactically bound to the main predicate, is finite.

As such, constructions such as those shown in (21.93) and (21.94) are better treated as serial verb constructions composed of non-verbal predicates in V_1 .

- (21.93) *?i+nyu?upu?ixpa*
?i+nu?upu=?ix-pa
 XERG+vulture=see-INC

‘They saw him as a vulture [on the roof of the house].’ (JAF20090228)

- (21.94) *?iny+dya* *?am+maanxujwatpa*
?ich+dya *?an+maanxuj=wat-pa*
 1PRO+NEG XERG+tame=make-INC

‘I’m not going to break it in (make it tame).’ (VVA.060)

21.6 Summary of Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions are formed by combining two or more roots with no morphological subordination. Verbal complexes make up the same phonological and grammatical word, constituting a formal unit that encode a unitary event. Verbs in the complex share aspect/mood marking, as well as core arguments. SP has 11 serial verb construction types distinguishable by the transitivity of the verbal components, the verb class of each component, and by which arguments are shared. Of these, five consist of serial verb constructions composed of verbs from open classes, which are referred to as symmetric SVCs. Six consist of one verb from an open class and one verb from a closed class, usually a motion or position verb, and are referred to as asymmetric SVCs. Three of the SVCs are cause-effect, or switch-reference, because the O

of one verb co-references the S of the other.

Symmetrical serial verbs are often sources of lexicalized compound expressions. SP has a number of such lexicalized compounds. Verbs from closed classes that appear frequently in asymmetrical SVCs are known to grammaticalize over time. SP has three such grammaticalized elements: the causative proclitic *?ak+*, the third person plural suffix *-yaj*, and the ambulative suffix *-?o?y*.

In addition to verb roots, a number of predicate types can form serial verb constructions, including verbs derived from other verbs (positionals, affectives, reduplicated roots, and lexicalized with body part prefixes) and other word classes (nouns and adjectives) and nonverbal predicates.

Chapter 22

Complex Predicates III: Dependent Verbs

SP has five multi-verb constructions in which two verbs co-occur as independent lexical items and share information about person, aspect/mood, and number. In each of these constructions, one verb is dependent on another for its aspect/mood. The construction types include three auxiliary verb constructions, type I (22.1), type II (22.2), and *si?* constructions (22.3); and two constructions used to convey aspectual relation between two events, \emptyset -subordinator (22.5) and *mo*-subordinator (22.4).

(22.1) AUXILIARY I:

yiʔp jaama ʔoy ʔan+juy tuum piyu
yiʔp jaama ʔoy-W ʔan+juy-W tuum piyu
this day go/return_{aux}-CMP XERG+buy-DEP_t one chicken
'Today I went to buy a chicken.' (PQH.001)

(22.2) AUXILIARY II:

jeʔm yoom+tam wiʔaap
jeʔm yoomo+tam wiH.ʔaH-pa
that woman+PLU_{hum} be.able_{aux}-INC
'These women can

ʔi+nyuundajiyaj
ʔi+nunta=jiy-yaj-W₃
3ERG+Popoluca=speak-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
speak Popoluca.' (Sobre.Popoluca052.JAF)

(22.3) PROGRESSIVE *Siʔ* AUXILIARY:

siʔip ʔi+jips ʔi+tyik
siʔ-pa ʔi+jips-W₃ ʔi+tik
PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+burn-CMP 3PSR+house
'The house is burning.' (GU2.108)

(22.4) Ø SUBORDINATOR:

ʔanh+wejpa ʔan+ník
ʔa+ʔanh+wej-pa ʔan+nikk-W
XABS+DERIV₁+cry-INC XERG+go-DEP_{ib}
'I went crying.'

(22.5) *Mo* SUBORDINATOR CLAUSES:

<i>ʔi+yóʔy</i>	<i>jeʔm pakus</i>	<i>jeʔm+gamun</i>
ʔi+yoʔy-W	jeʔm pak=jos	jeʔm+gak+ʔam+ʔun
3ERG+jump-CMP	that trench	that+REP+ALR+DJO

‘[The bull] jumped the trench there,

<i>ʔanhwéj</i>	<i>mo+ʔi+nyik</i>
Ø+ʔanh+wej-W	mo+ʔi+nikk-W
3ABS+DERIV ₁ +shout-CMP	SUBORD+3ABS+go-DEP _{ib}

and he ran off mooing (lit. shouting).’ (VYT.081)

Dependent verb constructions are composed of two syntactically integrated verbs that share inflectional information: one takes inflection for aspect/mood and the other takes inflection for person. In *mo* and Ø subordinator constructions, both verbs take person. They are not, however, phonologically bound.

A sixth construction involves the subordinator suffix *-mu* (22.6). In these constructions, the subordinated verb is not dependent on another verb for aspect/mood, although it does share other characteristics with dependent verb constructions. Specifically, *-mu* constructions condition split ergativity. For this reason they are described in this chapter.

(22.6) *+mu* SUBORDINATOR ENCLITIC:

<i>jesʔk</i>	<i>ʔan+nikipáam</i>	<i>ʔan+ʔix</i>	<i>míʔa</i>
jesʔk	ʔan+nikk-pa+mu	ʔan+ʔix-W	míʔa
when	XERG+go-INC+SUBORD	XERG+see-CMP	deer

‘As I was going along, I saw a deer.’ (Elson 1967:286; Himes 1997:32)

This chapter is divided into three main sections. §22.1 describes the independent verbal components of multi-verb constructions with dependent verbs, focusing on the properties of the V1 and the V2¹, dependent morphology and its phonology, the distribution of aspect/mood, and the alignment system. §22.2 describes each of the five dependent clause construction types, highlighting the properties that distinguish each of the types from one another. One section provides description of the *-mu* subordinator suffix constructions, and shows how they differ from all other multi-verb constructions described previously. In addition, a final, section describes dependent verb constructions composed of 3 verbs in which multiple dependent verb constructions co-occur. §22.3 looks at the characteristics of the multi-verb constructions with dependent clauses, with attention to their structure and syntactic distribution, and distinguishes them from other multi-verb constructions such as serial verb constructions and multi-verb constructions that don't take dependent verbs, such as coordinated clauses.

22.1 Properties of Verbs in Dependent Verb Constructions

Finiteness tends to be defined in terms of tense [aspect, mood] and person agreement (Nikolaeva 2007), whereas nonfiniteness is frequently defined in terms of its opposition to finiteness for a given language (Givón 2001:25). In

¹I adopt the convention of labeling first position verbs V1 and second position verbs V2, following Aissen (1994).

shared arguments and different number marking strategies. The characteristics of dependent verbs are listed in (22.10).

(22.10) CHARACTERISTICS OF DEPENDENT VERBS:

- (a) Predicates share arguments;
- (b) they share aspect/mood inflection;
- (c) the dependent verbs take dependent verb morphology;
- (d) they manifest nominative-accusative alignment in most contexts
(conditioned by external factors in specific cases); and
- (e) they share negation.

22.1.1 Properties of the V1

There are five types of multi-verb constructions in which one verb is dependent. These include: (i) auxiliary type I, (ii) auxiliary type II, (iii) progressive auxiliary *si?* constructions, (iv) temporal subordination, and (v) subordinator *mo* constructions. Lexically and structurally the properties of the V1 depend on the construction type, as shown in Table 22.1.

Table 22.1: Properties of the V1

	Verb Class	Position (Occurs as V1)	Marks Aspect	Person
auxiliary type I	closed	fixed	✓	optional
auxiliary type II	closed	fixed	✓	optional
<i>si?</i> ‘progressive <i>aux</i> ’	closed	flexible	✓	optional
.....				
temporal \emptyset subordination	open	flexible	✓	obligatory
subordinator <i>mo</i>	open	flexible	✓	obligatory
.....				
subordinator <i>+mu</i>	open	flexible	N/A	obligatory

The V1 takes inflection for aspect or mood. Example (22.11) shows the V1 inflected with the incomplete *-pa*. The example in (22.12) shows the V1 inflected with the perfect *-ne?* and the completive *-W*. The example in (22.13) shows the V1 inflected with the optative mood *-?iny*. Example (22.14) shows the V1 inflected for frustrative mood *-ti?p* and completive aspect *-W*. The distribution of the imperative mood (with respect to differing analyses) is somewhat problematic and as such is described in §22.1.2.4.

- (22.11) *ʔi jeemum ʔestej mojp^a+m*
ʔi jeemim ʔestej moj-p^a+ʔam
 and there FILL begin_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘and there it begins

wiitziʔyi
 Ø+wiH=tziʔy-i
 3ABS+good=remain-DEP_{ia}
 to turn out good.’ (CP2.006)

- (22.12) *ʔaj.laj.trees jesik yajneʔu+m ʔinh+wát*
ʔaj.laj.trees jesik yaj-neʔ-W+ʔam ʔin+wat-W₂
 at.three when finish_{aux}-PERF-CMP+ALR 3ERG+make-DEP_t
 ‘At three then you had finished making [the tamales].’ (PQ2.015)

- (22.13) *nigginy ʔiny+ʔáʔm porkej kaʔaba+m*
nikk-ʔiny ʔin+ʔaʔm-W porkej Ø+kaʔ-pa+ʔam
 go_{aux}-OPT 2ERG+see-DEP_t because 3ABS+die-INC+ALR
 ‘...that you go look because she’s going to die

ʔagi+tojpa+m ʔi+puʔu
ʔagi+Ø+toj-pa+ʔam ʔi+puʔu
 very+3ABS+ache-INC+ALR 3PSR+belly
 because her stomach is hurting a lot.’ (SA2.012)

- (22.14) *niktⁱʔp ʔi+ʔaʔm*
nikk-tⁱʔp-W ʔi+ʔaʔm-W
 go_{aux}-FRUS-CMP 3ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘He wanted to go to see her.’ (PDLMA.Muerto.010)

The V1 may take person marking optionally, as shown in (22.15)³.

- (22.15) *mich dya+m mi+ʔóy ʔiny+ʔáʔm*
 mich dya+ʔam mi+ʔoy-W ʔin+ʔaʔm-W
 2PRO NEG+ALR 2ABS+go/return_{aux}-CMP 2ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘You didn’t go see

ʔiny+choomo
 ʔin+choomo
 2PSR+grandmother
 your grandmother.’ (VVA.040)

The V1 may also take number agreement marking optionally (22.16). Number marking on the V1 is extremely rare, however, as number agreement occurs principally on the semantic main verb (V2). In cases in which the V1 is inflected for number, the V2 is typically marked as well.

- (22.16) *jesik+ʔam nikyáj*
 jesik+ʔam nikk-**yaj**-W
 when+ALR go_{aux}-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 ‘Then they go

maaki+yaj
 Ø+mak-i+**yaj**
 3ABS+fish.w/net-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 fishing.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.020)

Like number agreement morphology, the suffix/enclitic *gak* may appear on either the V1 or the V2, although it is most frequently observed on the V2.

³One possibility for the optionality of person marking on the auxiliary verb may be that there are two constructions—one in which the verb has grammaticalized as an auxiliary verb construction, and the other its source construction—that synchronically co-occur (Zavala p.c.). Additional research is necessary.

When the morpheme appears on the V1, it is realized as the stress bearing suffix *-gak* (22.17). When it appears on the V2, it is realized as the enclitic *+gak* (22.18). In both cases it means ‘again’.

- (22.17) *ʔii bweenuj, mo**jgáku**+m seetyi*
 ʔii bweenuj mo**j-gak**-W+ʔam Ø+seet-i
 and good begin_{aux}-REP-CMP+ALR 3ABS+return-DEP_{ia}

ʔeʔm piixiny
 jeʔm piixiny
 that man

‘And, well, the man began returning again...’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.062)

- (22.18) *nimpa ʔiga+mojonh wóoki+**gak***
 Ø+nim-pa ʔiga+mo**j-W**+ʔun Ø+wok-i+gak
 3ABS+say-INC COMP+begin_{aux}-CMP+DJO 3ABS+bark-DEP_{ia}-REP

jeʔm ʔi+chimpa
 jeʔm ʔi+chimpa
 that 3PSR+dog

‘He says that his dog began to bark again.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.040)

Finally, adverbial clitics also occur on the V1. Adverbial clitics include *+ʔam* (22.19), *+tyi* (22.20), and *+nam* (22.21).

- (22.19) *niggá**pa**+m monhi*
 nikk-gak-pa+**ʔam** Ø+monh-i
 go_{aux}-REP-INC+ALR 3ABS+sleep-DEP_{ia}

‘And he goes to sleep again.’ (ESK.080b)

- (22.20) *ʔoy+**tyim** ʔa+ʔaʔmtáʔm*
 ʔoy+**tyi**+ʔam ʔa+ʔaʔm-taʔm-W
 go/return_{aux}+JUST+ALR XABS+see-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t

‘They just went to see me.’ (PAR.036)

- (22.21) ?ii *jaʔy+nyam* ?a+?uuki
 ?ii *jaʔy-W+nam* ?a+?uk-i
and stay.late-CMP+STILL XABS+drink-DEP_{ia}
‘And we stayed late drinking.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.053)

Each of the construction types is principally defined by an auxiliary verb or subordinator, as well as its associated properties. Aux I constructions are composed of an auxiliary verb from a closed set of verbs and its dependent verb, which is the semantic main verb. Aux II auxiliary constructions consist of one of three auxiliary verbs and its main verb. Both Aux I and Aux II constructions have fixed positions in the clause. *siʔ* auxiliary verb constructions include *siʔ* and its dependent verb; the positions are not fixed. And \emptyset subordinator and *mo* subordinator constructions both consist of verbs from open sets and have no fixed position; the constructions are distinguishable by the subordinator (or lack of one).

22.1.2 Properties of the V2

The main properties of V2 in the dependent verb constructions are listed in Table 22.2. Minimally, the dependent verb is defined by its taking person marking and dependent verb morphology, as well as its alignment and position with relation to an auxiliary or subordinator. The V2 does not receive inflection for aspect or mood, is dependent on another verb for aspect/mood, and shares S with the V1. The position of the semantic main verb is dependent on the construction type. In type I and II auxiliary constructions, the auxiliary verb always occur in V1 position, therefore the semantic main verb

is always in the V2 position. In *si?* auxiliary constructions, the auxiliary may occur in V1 or V2 position, and therefore the main verb may be the V1 or the V2. In the subordinator constructions, both verbs are semantically significant to the utterance. Clauses subordinated with the suffix *-mu* may occur in isolation and are not in a dependency relation with another verb. As such, verbs marked with *-mu* are the main verb.

Table 22.2: Properties of V2 in Different Construction Types

Construction Type	Position	Marks Dep in V2	Alignment	Person
Auxiliary I: Active	fixed	✓	ergative	oblig.
Passive	fixed	✓	nominative	oblig.
Auxiliary II	fixed	✓	nominative	oblig.
<i>Si?</i> ‘progressive <i>aux</i> ’	flexible	✓	nominative	oblig.
∅ subordinator	flexible	✓	nominative	oblig.
Subordinator <i>mo</i>	flexible	✓	nominative	oblig.
Subordinator <i>-mu</i>	N/A	*	nominative	oblig.

22.1.2.1 Dependent Morphology

There are three suffixes that occur on dependent verbs in non-finite, multi-verb constructions. The dependent verb suffixes are listed in 22.22.

(22.22) DEPENDENT VERB MORPHOLOGY:

- i ‘dependent intransitive-a’ (on AUX I constructions)
- W₂ ‘dependent transitive’ (all constructions)
- W₃ ‘dependent intransitive-b’ (AUX I passives, AUX II, *siʔ*,
and subordinator constructions)

Two factors determine which suffix appears on the dependent verb: the type of auxiliary verb or subordinator morpheme and the transitivity of the semantic main verb. When the V1 consists of a type I auxiliary and the main verb is intransitive, the V2 is marked with the suffix *-i* ‘dependent intransitive-a’ (22.23). When the main verb is transitive regardless of which auxiliary or subordinator it occurs with, it is marked with the marker *W₂* ‘dependent transitive’ (22.24). When the main verb is intransitive and occurs with type II auxiliaries, the *siʔ* auxiliary, or either the \emptyset or the *mo* subordinator, it is marked with morpheme *-W₃* ‘dependent intransitive-b’, and its subject is co-referenced with Set-A (ergative) person markers (22.25).

- (22.23) *ʔich miny+am ʔa+ʔityi+tyam*
ʔich miny-W+ʔam ʔa+ʔity-i+tam
 1PRO come_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+be-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We came to live

yʔim narwiny
yʔim nax=winy
 here below
 down here.’ (MAB.174)

- (22.24) *mojpa+m ʔi+jétz ʔi+way*
moj-pa+ʔam ʔi+jetz-W₂ ʔi+way
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to braid her hair.’ (VYT.009)

- (22.25) *?anh+wejpa* *?i+miny*
 ?anh+wej-pa *?i+miny-W₃*
 DERIV₁+cry-INC 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 ‘It was crying as it came.’ (XUU.004)

In addition, dependent marking on the dependent verb is determined by the transitivity of the verb in the clause rather than the verb class. That is, with respect to ambitransitive verbs in Aux I, if the verb is realized as its intransitive alternation, it is marked with the intransitive dependent suffix *-i* (22.26a); if the verb is realized as its transitive alternation, it is marked with the transitive dependent suffix *-W₂* (b).

- (22.26) (a) *bweenuj* *?este* *?ich* *moj* *?a+?uk*i**
 bweenuj *?este* *?ich* *moj-W* *?a+?uk-i*
 good FILL 1PRO begin_{aux}-CMP XABS+drink-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I began to drink

?uxanh *?este*
*?ux.?**anh* *?este*
 little FILL
 a little,

- (b) *moj* *?an+?uk* *serbeesaj*
 moj-W *?an+?uk-W₂* *serbeesaj*
 begin_{aux}-CMP XERG+drink-DEP_t beer
 ‘I began to drink beer.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.001)

22.1.2.2 Phonology of the Dependent Suffixes *-W₂* and *-W₃*

Dependent verb morphology in SP has received contradictory treatment throughout its descriptive history. Himes (1997), Elson (1967:286), and Foster and

Foster (1948:31) identify the dependent suffix for intransitive “main” verbs (V1) as *-i*, however they analyze the marking for the transitive and intransitive ergative split differently. Elson states that there is no dependent suffix for transitive verbs or intransitive verbs inflected with Set-A proclitics. Foster and Foster identify the transitive dependent suffix as \emptyset (zero) in both contexts. Himes (1997:14) considers the distribution of stress patterns and identifies an underlying segment that affects stress. Stress in SP is assigned from right to left: (1) Primary stress falls on the penultimate or ultimate syllable, depending on syllable weight; (2) secondary stress is assigned to the leftmost syllable after clitics; and (3) tertiary stress falls on the heaviest syllable (i.e. that contains a long vowel or a closed syllable) preceding primary stress. This distribution is shown in examples (22.27) through (22.29) for verbs inflected with incomplete aspect suffix *-pa*.

(22.27) PRIMARY STRESS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) nímpa
 \emptyset+nim-pa
 XABS+say-INC
 ‘He says.’</p> | <p>(b) nímyájpa
 \emptyset+nímyájpa
 XABS+say-PLU_{non^{sap}}INC
 ‘They say.’</p> |
| <p>(c) nímné?eba
 \emptyset+nim-nε?-pa
 3ABS+say-PERF-INC
 ‘He has said’</p> | <p>(d) ?a+nim?á?ypa
 ?a+nim-?a?y-pa
 XERG+say-BEN-INC
 ‘He told me.’</p> |

(20070710JAFs18)

(22.28) SECONDARY STRESS

- (a) ñimneʔyájpá
Ø+nim-nεʔ-yaj-pa
3ABS+say-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
'They have said.'
- (b) ʔanìmʔaʔynéʔeba
ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-nεʔ-pa
XERG+say-BEN-PERF-INC
'He's told me.'
- (c) nìʔmaʔytyáap
Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa
3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC
'He was told.'

(20070710JAFs18)

(22.29) TERTIARY STRESS:

- (a) nìʔmàʔynyeʔyajtáabam
Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-nεʔ-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam
3ABS+say-BEN-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-INC+ALR
'They are told.'

(20070710JAFs18)

Himes uses the symbol /wü/ as an “orthographic symbol for an inaudible consonant that creates a heavy syllable and thus draws stress to itself” (1997:14). I have adopted the symbol -W (following Himes and Kaufman, in progress) to represent this unspecified segment. I follow Himes in assuming there is an underlying segment that is affecting stress in the surface form. The primary and secondary stress patterns corresponding to the complete segment are observed in examples (22.30) and (22.31). Example (22.30) shows the stress

paradigm for the completive with the ‘already’ enclitic *+ʔam*. Here the completive segment surfaces as the [u] alternation. Notice in (a, b, c, and d) that primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable. Example (22.31) shows the stress paradigm for words inflected with the completive without *+ʔam*. Here the \emptyset alternation of the completive segment is illustrated; the primary stress falls on the ultimate syllable.

(22.30) STRESS PARADIGM FOR COMPLETIVE -W, [U] ALTERNATION:

- (a) níumum
 \emptyset +nim-W+ʔam
 3ABS+say-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘He said already.’
- (b) nimnéʔum
 \emptyset +nim-neʔ-W+ʔam
 3ABS+say-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘He had said already.’
- (c) ʔi+nyiʔmáʔyum
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W+ʔam
 3ERG+say-BEN-CMP+ALR
 ‘He told him.’
- (d) ʔi+nyìʔmaʔynyéʔum
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-neʔ-W+ʔam
 3ERG+say-BEN-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘He had told him already.’

(20070710JAFs18)

(22.31) STRESS PARADIGM FOR COMPLETIVE -W, Ø ALTERNATION:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| (a) | nim
Ø+nim-W
3ABS+say-CMP
'He said.' | (b) | nimyaáj
nim-yaj-W
say-PLU _{nonsap} -CMP
'They said.' |
| (c) | ʔinyiʔmáʔy
ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W
3ERG+say-BEN-CMP
'He told him.' | (d) | ʔi+nìʔmaʔyyáj
ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-yaj-W
3ERG+say-BEN-PLU _{nonsap} -CMP
'He tells them.' |

(20070710JAFs18)

The same diagnostic is used to identify the underlying segment in dependent verb constructions.

- (22.32) (a) *mójpa* *ʔi+chajkáʔm*
 moj-pa ʔi+tzaj=kaʔm-W₂
 begin_{aux}-INC 3ERG+stick=ascend-DEP_t
 'He is sticking it on.' (20070704jafS8)
- (b) *mójpa* *ʔi+chàjkaʔmyáj*
 moj-pa ʔi+tzaj=kaʔm-yaj-W₂
 begin_{aux}-INC 3ERG+stick=ascend-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
 'He is sticking on.' (20070704jafS8)
- (c) *dya wiʔáxp* *ʔiʔ+nyaʔmpút*
 dya wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔin+ʔaʔm=put-W₃
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 2ERG+look=exit-DEP_{ib}
 'You can't peak out.' (20070704jafS4)
- (d) *dya wiʔáxp* *ʔiʔ+nyàʔmputtáʔm*
 dya wiH-ʔaH-pa ʔin+ʔaʔm=put-taʔm-W₃
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 2ERG+look=exit-PLU_{sap}-DEP_{ib}
 'You all can't peak out.' (20070704jafS4)

Comparison with other Mixe-Zoque languages further supports an underlying segment. For San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Oaxaca Zoque), John-

son (2000:201) reports [ə] ~ [i] ~ [e] for ‘dependent completive’ (which she represents as underlying segment /E/) and [wə] ~ [yə] ~ [ə] for ‘dependent incomplete/non-declarative’ (which she represents as /wə/ underlyingly). For Francisco Leon Zoque (Eastern Zoque, Chiapas), Engel and Engel (1987:384-90) report a number of distinct suffixes for verbs in dependent clauses. The alternations, which are conditioned by auxiliary verbs, modality, and aspect (among other criteria), include [e ~ i], [a ~ ö], and [u] (c.f. table in Engel and Engel (1987:390) for contexts in which different alternations occur). For Copainlá Zoque (Eastern Zoque, Chiapas), Harrison et al. (1981:442) report that the main verb, which follows the auxiliary, is inflected with the suffix *-u*, which they call “suffix without semantic content”. Kaufman (1963) has reconstructed this segment in proto-Mixe-Zoque as *wi. Therefore, there is historical and comparative reason to assume some dependent morphology is influencing the stress of verbs in V2 position. Nevertheless, the analysis is somewhat problematic because, unlike the completive suffix, there is only one environment in which an overt allomorph surfaces, and it is rare. The environment is in *mo* subordinator constructions (22.33), in which the enclitic *+ʔam* ‘already’ may appear; however, these constructions are rare and difficult to elicit.

(22.33) *mo* *?i+mijaawⁱ+m* *nimpa*
 mo *?i+mij-?aH-W+?am* *Ø+nim-pa*
 WHEN 3ERG+big-VERS-DEP_{ib}+ALR 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘When he grows up, he says

?iga+je? *?i+ku?tpa* *?i+jaatunh*
?iga+je? *?i+ku?t-pa* *?i+jaatunh*
 that+3PRO 3ABS+eat-INC 3PSR+father
 that he will eat his father.’ (PDLMA.JUU.022)

In all other contexts there is no trace of the morpheme. I identify that segment as -W for the same reason I adopt the underlying segment /W/ for the completive suffix. I also follow Himes (1997:14) in distinguishing between transitive verbs and intransitive verbs that manifest split ergativity in the glossing convention. -W₂ is used to refer to dependent morphology of transitive verbs, and -W₃ represents dependent morphology on intransitive verbs exhibiting nominative alignment. Note that this is strictly a convention to account for the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb, and does not imply polysemy.

22.1.2.3 Aspect and Dependent Morphology

In dependent verb constructions, inflection for aspect/mood and dependent marking are independent of one another. The dependent morphology of the dependent verb is determined by the type of subordination and the transitivity of the verb. The following examples illustrate constructions with the V1 in completive aspect (22.34), incompletive aspect (22.35), and optative mood (22.36). (22.34a) shows an intransitive dependent verb marked with

-*i*, (22.34b) shows a transitive dependent verb Ø-marked but bearing person marking, which is shared with the V1, and (22.34c) shows an intransitive dependent verb Ø-marked as dependent but whose subject is referenced with a Set A person marker. Illustrating incomplete aspect, (22.35a) shows an intransitive dependent verb inflected with -*i*, (22.35b) shows a transitive dependent verb Ø-marked as dependent, and (22.35c) shows an intransitive dependent verb Ø-marked as dependent but whose subject is referenced with a Set A person marker. Finally, to illustrate inflection for mood, (22.36a) shows an intransitive dependent verb with -*i* and (22.36b) shows a transitive dependent verb that is Ø-marked and bearing person marking co-referencing the subject shared by the V1 and V2. (There are no combinations of optative V1 with dependent clauses showing split ergativity, although other moods are attested.)

(22.34) COMPLETIVE:

- (a) *moj***o**+*m* *tooyi* *?i+pu?u*
 moj-**W**+?am Ø+toy-i ?i+pu?u
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+ache-DEP_{ia} 3PSR+belly
 ‘Her belly began to hurt.’ (SA2.009b)

- (b) *moj***u**+*m* *?i+ku+woga?y*
 moj-**W**+?am ?i+ku+wok-?a?y-W₂
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+scold-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘He began to scold

je?m *?i+ja?yuk*
je?m *?i+jay?uk*
 that 3PSR+brother
 his little brother.’ (AVC.012)

- (c) *komo dya+m wiʔáaj*
 komo dya+ʔam wiH.ʔaH-**W**
 like NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-CMP
 ‘As she could not

ʔi+yòʔomaséet
 ʔi+yoomo.ʔaH=seet-W₃
 3ERG+woman-VERS=return-DEP_{ib}
 transform into woman.’ (VYT.109)

(22.35) INCOMPLETEIVE:

- (a) *ʔii jeemum ʔestej mojpa+m*
 ʔii jemiʔam ʔestej moj-**pa**+ʔam
 and right.there FILL begin_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘And there it begins

wiitziʔyi
 Ø+wii=tziʔy-i
 3ABS+good=remain-DEP_{ia}
 to turn out well.’ (CP2.006)

- (b) *miny**pa**+m ʔan+ʔaʔmtáʔm*
 miny-**pa**+ʔam ʔan+ʔaʔm-taʔm-W₂
 come_{aux}-INC+ALR 2>1+see-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Are you (two) coming to see me?’ (Cangrejo.040)

- (c) *ʔagi+siʔ**p** ʔi+miiichyáj*
 ʔagi+siʔ-**pa** ʔi+miiich-yaj-W₃
 very+walk_{aux}-INC 3ERG+play-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘They’re playing a lot.’ (CQS.013b)

(22.36) OPTATIVE:

- (a) *ʔokmi ʔaranh+wejaʔypa*
ʔokmi ʔan+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-pa
afterwards 3ERG+DERIV₁+shout-BEN-INC
‘Afterwards we called to him (to ask)’

niginy wiki
nikk-ʔiny Ø+wik-i
go_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
‘if he was going to eat.’ (CNC.054b)

- b) *ʔagakuʔaʔmyájpa ʔiga+ʔich*
ʔagi+ʔa+ku+ʔaʔm-yaj-pa ʔiga+ʔich
very+3ABS+seek.out-PLU_{nonsap}-INC COMP+1PRO
‘They look for me a lot, that I

niginy ʔarak+poʔoyáj
nikk-ʔiny ʔan+ʔak+poʔ-yaj-W₂
go_{aux}-OPT XERG+CAUS₁+give.birth-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
‘that I go help them give birth.’ (Partera.029/30)

This differs from aspectual inflection in Olutec, which has two aspect paradigms, one which occurs in independent clauses and one that occurs only in dependent clauses (Zavala 2000:148). That is, in Olutec, dependent clauses do mark aspect. In San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque the dependent verb also carries aspectual information. Like SP, auxiliary verbs in San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque take dependent verbs; however, dependent morphology does distinguish between completive -E and incompletive aspect -wə. Dependent marking of NFVs in V2 agrees in terms of aspect with the V1: -E if V1 is completive

(22.37); *-wə* if incompletive (22.38) or in non-declarative mood (22.39) (i.e. imperative or hortative).

(22.37) *nək-tam-wə ʔən+juy-E boletə*
 go-12PL-COM 1A+buy-dCOM ticket
 ‘We went to buy the tickets.’ (Johnson 2000:206)

(22.38) *jəmji gaji nək-pa ʔəy-pək=con-wə*
 all there go-INC 3A+get=join-dINC
 ‘They all go there to receive them.’ (Johnson 2000:203)

(22.39) *min-ʔo ʔəm+pək=coN-tam-wə+ʔam*
 come-IMPV2 2A+get=join-12PL-dINC+NOW
 ‘Now come meet

haxake+haaʔ
 female.in.law+NPL2
 your mothers-in-law.’ (Johnson 2000:209)

22.1.2.4 A Note on Auxiliary Verb Constructions in the Imperative Mood and its Treatment in the SP Literature

There is some confusion in the literature with respect to auxiliary verb constructions in the imperative mood. Elson (1960) claims that in imperative auxiliary constructions both verbs are inflected with the imperative suffix *-i*, differing from other aspect/moods in which only the V1 is inflected for aspect/mood. While it is the case that two verbs, the first of which is an auxiliary verb, may be marked with the imperative suffix, there appears to be a distinction, albeit subtle, between independent (or coordinated) imperative clauses (22.40) and imperative auxiliary constructions (22.41) (i.e. the

difference between *Vete a recojerlo*. ‘Go get it.’ and *Vete. Recójelo*. ‘Go. Get it.’).

- (22.40) *miny***i**+*m* *mama* *miny***i**+*m* *kuʔut***i** *saamnyi*
 miny-**i**+ʔam mama miny-**i**+ʔam kuʔt-**i** saapnyi
 come-IMP+ALR mama come-IMP+ALR eat-IMP plantain
 ‘Come little mama! Come! Eat plantain!’ (MAB.201)

- (22.41) *miny***i**+*m* *mi*+*wiʔiki*
 miny-**i**+ʔam mi+wíʔk-**i**
 come_{aux}-IMP+ALR 2ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘You come eat.’ (CNC.056c)

One reason for the confusion may be related to the close phonetic qualities of the two suffixes, [i] ‘dependent-ia’ and [-i] ‘imperative’. Non-native speaking linguists may perceive the high vowels as slightly fronted (in the case of the dependent) or backed (in that of the imperative).

A distinction in the two types of constructions is supported by the person marking distribution. In the imperative mood in simple clauses, the addressee is not inflected on the verb (22.42). In coordinated imperative constructions, neither verb takes person marking (22.43). In imperative auxiliary verb constructions, with respect to intransitive verbs, when the suffix *-i* appears, the verb following the auxiliary is inflected for person (22.44 & 22.45). The person marker is always second person *mi*+, predictable because the imperative is only used with a 2nd person addressee.

- (22.42) *mich* *matz*+*táʔm***i** *kuy*
 mich matztaʔm-**i** kuy
 2PRO grab-PLU_{sap}-IMP wood/tree/stick
 ‘You all grab wood.’ (GU2.104)

(22.43) *minyí!* *wiʔiki!*
 miny-i wiʔk-i
 come-IMP eat-IMP
 ‘Come! Eat!’ (ERG, JAF)

(22.44) *yíʔmum minyí mi+koonyi*
 yíʔmum miny-i **mi**+koony-i
 here come_{aux}-INC 2ABS+sit-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Come sit here.’ (D3V.002)

(22.45) *ʔokmi minyu+m mi+wiʔiki*
 ʔokmi Ø+miny-i+ʔam **mi**+wiʔk-i
 then say-IMP-INC 3ABS+come_{aux}-IMP+ALR
 ‘Then [she says to him] come eat,

si mi+nyíkpa
 si mi+nikk-pa
 if 2ABS+go-INC
 if you’re going [to work].’ (Comal.011)

Auxiliary verb constructions with transitive verbs show a similar distribution. In imperative coordinated constructions both verbs are marked with the imperative suffix, as shown in (22.46). In imperative auxiliary verb constructions, only the auxiliary verb is inflected with the imperative suffix, as shown in (22.47). Person marking differs, however, in that the dependent verb is not inflected for person in either context.

(22.46) *minyí+m kuʔtaʔmí ʔaanyi=moʔonyi*
 minyí+m kuʔt-taʔm-i ʔaanyi=moʔony-i
 come-IMP+ALR eat-PLU_{sap}-IMP tortilla=make.tamale-NOM
 ‘Come. Eat tamales.’ (PQ2.026)

- (22.47) *Niqin* *tzák* *?an+tikim*
 nikk-i+?un tzak-W₂ ?an+tik=ki?-mi
 go_{aux}-IMP+DJO leave-DEP_t XPSR+house=LOC₃-LOC₁
 ‘Go leave it in my house.’ (PQ2.053)

Semantically, the distinction may be moot. In fact, speakers do not distinguish between the two forms in their translations. The two possible forms appear regularly in the SP corpus. The examples in (22.48) and (22.49) come from the same text, *He?m tzitzimat* ‘La Chichimeca’ (recorded and transcribed by Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001). Despite the two distinct forms, Gutiérrez (p.c.) notes no perceivable semantic difference between the two constructions.

- (22.48) *Niqi* *patza?ayi* *yi?p* *?im+maanik!*
 nikk-i patz-?a?y-i yi?p ?in+maanik
 go_{aux}-IMP throw-IMP this 2PSR+child
 ‘Go throw away your child.’ (sp. ‘*Vete a tirar éste tu hijo!*’) (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:317)

- (22.49) *Niqi* *patzay*
 nikk-i patz-?a?y-W₂
 go_{aux}-IMP throw-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘Go throw away

jiimnyoom *yi?p* *tziix+tyam!*
 jimnyi=joj.mi yi?p tziixi+tam
 forest=LOC₂.LOC₁ this child+PLU_{hum}
 these children in the forest!’ (sp. *Vete a tirar al monte estos niños!*)
 (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:317)

Himes (1997:57) treats constructions such as the one shown in (22.50⁴) as an auxiliary verb construction following Elson (1960:211).

⁴Elson (1960a, 1960b, 1967) treats word initial and word final [ʔ] as phonetic.

- (22.50) *niki piiki*
 nikk-i pik-i
 go-IMP grab-IMP
 ‘Go and bring it!’ (citing Elson 1960:211)

Elson (1967:286) recognizes a distinction between coordinated and auxiliary forms in the imperative, however, he distinguishes between intransitive and transitive verbs. He states that when auxiliaries occur with intransitive imperatives the auxiliary takes *-i* and the main verb takes *-i* and the verb is inflected with person. With respect to transitive verbs, however, he states both verbs are inflected with *-i*, and the verb may or may not be inflected for person. Based on examples such as (22.47) and (22.49) above, and data culled from work by Elson, Himes, Foster and Foster as well as mine and the PDLMA corpus, there appears to be a distinction between coordinated imperative clauses and imperative auxiliary constructions, regardless of the transitivity of the verb.

Himes (1997:25-6) notes two exceptions in the literature with respect to imperative dependent verb constructions. These are shown in (22.51) and (22.52).

- (22.51) *nikpa ?i+ku+me?etzi*
 nik-pa ?i+ku+me?etz-i
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+DERIV₂+search-IMP
 ‘They are going to look for it.’ (Elson 1967:211; Himes 1997:25)

- (22.52) *si?i+nam tinh*
 si?-i+nam tinh-W₂
 PROG_{aux}-IMP+STILL cut-DEP_t
 ‘Keep cutting it.’

The first exception (22.51) is not imperative. There is no evidence to suggest that the construction is imperative. For one, the construction is in the third person, a clear indication that it is not imperative. Second, the auxiliary is inflected with incompletive aspect, another clear indication that this is not an imperative construction. The criterion Elson uses to classify this construction is the phrase final [i]. It is not clear why the utterance ends in [i]. One possibility is that a final segment may have been devoiced, typical of word final glides and nasals. Elson (1967:211) claims that “in certain verb complexes when the main verb is a transitive stem, the derivational prefix *ku-* and the imperative suffix *-A* [i] occur with the transitive stem”. There is no evidence elsewhere in the data or the literature to support this claim, and constructions such as the one shown in (22.51) cannot be reproduced with speakers.

The second exception (22.52) is also not an exception. Himes (1997:26) claims “this example is an exception because there is no imperative suffix on the transitive main verb [V2]. Instead, there appears to be a transitive dependent suffix”. If we accept that there are two independent constructions—(1) two independent juxtaposed imperative clauses (VERB-IMP [coord] VERB-IMP) and (2) an imperative auxiliary verb construction (VERB_{aux}-IMP VERB_{dependent})—then example (22.52) is not an exception. It should be analyzed as VERB_{aux}-IMP VERB_{dependent}.

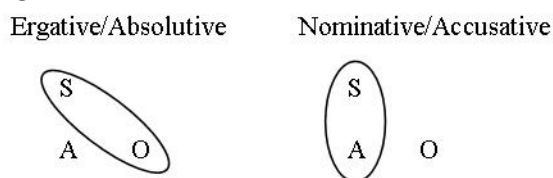
Regardless of the pragmatics of these constructions, the point is that both forms are possible. Pragmatically, both forms convey the same imperative message, and both forms are consistently translated as auxiliary verb

constructions.

22.1.2.5 Alignment and Split Ergativity

In the majority of the six constructions, when the V2 is intransitive, the S is marked on the verb with ergative person markers as well as the verb being Ø-marked as a dependent. This alignment pattern corresponds to a Split-S system conditioned by subordination (Dixon 1994:71 & 101-4). That is, in simple clauses verbs are marked with ergative person markers to signal As and absolutive person markers to signal Ss and Os (an ergative/absolutive pattern). V2 in most contexts, however, is marked with ergative (Set A) person markers to indicate As and Ss and absolutive (Set B) to indicate Os (a nominative/accusative pattern). This distinction is illustrated in Figure 22.1 (repeated from 11.2).

Figure 22.1: Ergative-Absolutive and Nominative-Accusative Alignment



The paradigm is illustrated for SP in examples (22.53) and (22.54) with the intransitive verb *put* ‘exit’ in the 1st person. Example (22.53) shows a simple clause in which the verb is inflected with an absolutive person marker in the completive aspect. The subject is marked with the absolutive proclitic *?a+*. Example (22.54) shows the same verb in V2 position, inflected with an ergative

person marker, in a dependent relation to the V1.

- (22.53) *ʔich ʔa+putu+m*
 ʔich ʔa+put-W+ʔam
 1PRO XABS+exit-CMP+ALR
 ‘I already went out.’ (PQ2.109b)

- (22.54) *dya ʔa+joʔynyéʔu+m ʔam+pút*
 dya ʔa+joʔy-neʔ-W+ʔam ʔan+put-W₃
 NEG XABS+be.angry-PERF-CMP+ALR XERG+exit-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I wasn’t angry when I left.’ (060722ERG061)

The split appears in a subset of the multi-verb constructions, which are listed in (22.55).

(22.55) CONSTRUCTIONS WITH SPLIT ERGATIVITY:

- Auxiliary I with passive main verb
- Auxiliary II constructions
- siʔ* auxiliary constructions
- ∅ subordinator constructions
- mo* subordinator constructions
- +mu* subordinator enclitic constructions

The only multi-verb construction that does not condition ergative split is the type I auxiliary verb construction in active voice. Example (22.56) illustrates an auxiliary verb construction in which the subject is co-referenced with an absolutive person marker.

- (22.56) *ʔich mojo+m ʔa+puʔunyi*
 ʔich moj-W+ʔam ʔa+puʔn-i
 1PRO begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+swim-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I begin to swim

jeʔm niʔikiʔim
jeʔm niʔ=kiʔ.mi
 that water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the water.’ (MAB.027)

22.1.2.6 Number Agreement in Dependent Clauses

The distribution for inflection of number agreement differs with respect to the dependent morphology of the different construction types. In constructions in which the dependent suffix is $-W_2$ or $-W_3$, number agreement is marked with the plural suffixes $-taʔm$ and $-yaj$ preceding dependent morphology. In type I active auxiliary constructions, number agreement is marked with the plural enclitics $+tam$ and $+yaj$. The templates are shown in (22.57).

(22.57) DISTRIBUTION OF DEPENDENT AND NUMBER MORPHOLOGY:

(a) Dependent Suffixes $-W_2$ and $-W_3$:

V2	$-PLU_{sap}$	DEP_t
	$-PLU_{nonsap}$	DEP_{ib}

(b) Dependent Suffix $-i$:

V2	DEP_{ia}	$+PLU_{sap}$
		$+PLU_{nonsap}$

The example in (22.58) shows a transitive V2 inflected with the plural suffix $-taʔm$; here the plural suffix takes the primary stress. The example in (22.59) shows an intransitive verb inflected with the plural suffix $-yaj$, in which primary stress falls on the final syllable.

(22.58) *mínypa+m* *ʔan+ʔaʔmtáʔm*
 miny-pa+ʔam ʔan+ʔaʔm-**taʔm**- W_2
 come_{aux}-INC+ALR 2>1+see- PLU_{sap} - DEP_t
 ‘Are you (two) coming to see me?’ (Cangrejo.040)

- (22.59) *dya wiʔap ʔi+nyuʔkyáj*
 dya wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔi+nuʔk-**yaj**-W₃
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘They can’t arrive.’ (GU2.082)

As shown by the examples in (22.60) and (22.61), the plural enclitics follow the dependent intransitive suffix *-i*. Again, we know these are enclitics because they don’t participate in stress assignment patterns (see §22.1.2.2). In (22.60) and (22.61) primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the stressable word.

- (22.60) *yajpa+m ʔa+chínhi+tyam*
 yaj-pa+ʔam ʔa+chinh-i+**tam**
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR XABS+bathe-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘We finished bathing.’ (MAB.031b)

- (22.61) *yaju+m wiʔiki+yaj*
 yaj-W+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i+**yaj**
 finish_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (Cangrejo.012)

22.1.2.7 Predicates That Occur in V1/V2

Derived and complex verbs occur in dependent verb constructions. Nonverbal predicates are not permitted in these constructions. Nouns and adjectives must be derived as verbs with the versive suffix *-ʔaH* or the provisory suffix *-ʔiʔy*. This holds for all construction types. For example in (22.62) and (22.63) the auxiliary I verbs occur with nouns derived with the versive.

- (22.62) *moj...* *?oy*
 moj-W *?oy-W*
 begin_{aux}-CMP *go/return_{aux}-CMP*
 ‘They began...they went

sunh^áajiyaj
 Ø+sinh-**?aH**-i+yaj
 3ABS+fiesta-VERS-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 to party.’ (PDO.027)

- (22.63) *?oy* *?i+?a?mtaaj* *?anh+jaatunh*
 ?oy-W *?i+?a?m-taH-W* *?an+jaatunh*
 go/return_{aux}-CMP *3ERG+see-PASS-DEP_{ib}* *XPSR+father*
 ‘My father went to see

?iga+nik?iny *tik?aa^áji+yaj*
 ?iga+nikk-?iny Ø+tik-**?aH**-i+yaj
 COMP+go-OPT 3ABS+house-VERS-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 how to go build houses.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.066)

The example in (22.153) shows a type II auxiliary with a verb derived with the provisory *-?i?y*.

- (22.64) *je?* *tambyen* *?i+joodonh*
 je? *tambien* *?i+joodonh*
 3PRO also 3PSR+know
 ‘He also knows

ju?tzaap *tam+mo?og^í?y*
 ju?tz.**?aH**-pa tan+**mo?k**-?i?y-W₃
 be.such.that_{aux}-INC IERG+joke-PROV-DEP_{ib}
 how it is that we joke.’ (AVC.016b)

In the case of *siʔ* auxiliary and subordinate constructions, the derived verbs may occur in either V1 or V2 position⁵. As noted earlier, the V2 in each of the constructions may include derived verbs (22.65). In these constructions, derived verbs may also occur in V1 position. For example in (22.66), auxiliary *siʔ* occurs in V2, therefore the main verb occurs in V1. As such it is possible for the V1 to be derived.

- (22.65) *ʔiga jeʔm piixiny nim ʔiga+jeʔ*
ʔiga jeʔm piixiny Ø+nim-W ʔiga+jeʔ
 because that man 3ABS+say-CMP because+3PRO
 ‘Because the man said that he,

ta+nimpa siʔp ʔi+kiʔibaa
 ta+nim-pa siʔ-pa ʔi+kiipi-ʔaH-W₃
 IABS+say-INC PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+firewood-VERS-DEP_{ib}
 as we say, was cutting wood.’ (VYT.056)

- (22.66) *nímp iga+ʔuuxanhábam*
 Ø+nim-pa ʔiga+Ø+ʔux.ʔanh-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 3ABS+say COMP+3ABS+a.little-VERS-INC-ALR

ʔi+xíʔ
 ʔi+siʔ-W₃
 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘She says he’s getting better (little by little).’ (PQ2.228)

Example (22.67) shows a \emptyset subordinator construction in which both the V1 and the V2 are derived with the versive suffix *-ʔaH*. Example (22.68) shows the verb in the *mo* clause also derived with the versive *-ʔaH*.

⁵Proto-Mixe-Zoque is reconstructed as having OV word order. Residual traits of this word order appear synchronically. The variable order observed synchronically represents both the old order and the new order (Zavala p.c.). The example in (22.65) represents the new order whereas the example in (22.66) represents the old order.

- (22.67) *porkej dya ?a+kutyi?nyatá?mpa*
 porkej dya ?a+ku+tyiny-**?aH**-ta?m-pa
 because NEG XABS+DERIV₂+excrement-VERS-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Because we weren’t lazy

any+yòoxatá?m
 ?an+yoox.**?aH**-ta?m-W
 XERG+work-PLU_{sap}-DEP_{ib}
 as we worked.’ (7NH.028)

- (22.68) *despwej mo? ?i+mijjawu+m nimpa*
 despwej mo ?i+mij-**?aH**-W+?am Ø+nim-pa
 when SUBORD 3ERG+big-VERS-DEP_{ib}+ALR 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘Then when he grows up he says

je? ?i+ku?tpa je?m ?i+jaatunh
 je? ?i+ku?t-pa je?m ?i+jaatunh
 3PRO 3ERG+eat-INC that 3PSR+father
 he is going to eat his father.’ (PDLMA.JUUNYCHU7TZ.022)

Derived verbs occur in *mo* clauses (22.69).

- (22.69) *?entonse ?este tar+anh+matpa je?m ?ich jesik*
 ?entonse ?este tan+?anh+mat-pa je?m ?ich jesik
 then FILL IERG+DERIV₁+tell-INC that 1PRO when
 ‘We’re going to tell a story about when

mo+?an+trayty?áaj
 mo+?an+tra?tyti-**?aH**-W
 SUBORD+XERG+boy-VERS-CMP
 I was a boy;

?a+na+?ityu+m dosej ?anyoj
 ?an+na+?ity-W+?am dosej ?anyoj
 XERG+ASSOC+be-CMP+ALR twelve years
 I was twelve years old.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.001)

Serial verbs and verbs with incorporated nouns may also occur as dependent verbs.

- (22.70) *jeem+piʔk tyii moj ʔi+ʔukkét*
 jeem+piʔk tyiH moj-W ʔi+ʔuk=ket-W₂
 that+REL what begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+drink=descend-DEP_t
 ‘Like that he began to drink it down.’ (AVC.021)

- (22.71) *siʔib ʔanh+kàpelpính*
 siʔ-pa ʔan+kapel=pinh-W₃
 walk_{aux}-INC XERG+coffee=pick-DEP_t
 ‘I am coffee picking.’

22.1.2.8 Valency and Voice Adjusting in V2

The position of the semantic main verbs is dependent on the construction type. In the case of type I and II auxiliary constructions, the dependent verb is the semantic main verb. As such the dependent verb is subject to all valency and voice adjusting operations. Main verbs may be marked with causative (22.72), associative (22.73), benefactive (22.74), and locative (22.75) constructions.

(22.72) CAUSATIVE:

- ʔii moj ʔar+ak+súʔk*
 ʔii moj-W ʔan+ʔak+suʔk-W
 and begin_{aux}-CMP XERG+CAUS₁+smell-DEP_t
 ‘And I began to make him smell it.’ (ComerDemasiado.015)

(22.73) BENEFACTIVE:

mojpa *ʔiri+máy* *jeʔm ʔorasyunh*
moj-pa ʔi+na+may-W jeʔm ʔorasyunh
begin_{aux}-INC 3ERG+ASSOC+pray-DEP_t that oration
‘He begins to pray (with him);

ʔi+ri+watpa
ʔi+na+wat-pa
3ERG+ASSOC+do-INC
he does the oration (with him).’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.014)

(22.74) LOCATIVE APPLICATIVE:

ʔoy *ʔan+tzeʔetzáʔy* *ʔarakyumáʔy*
ʔoy ʔan+tzetz-ʔaʔy-W ʔan+yum-ʔaʔy-W
go/ret_{aux}-CMP XERG+shave-BEN-DEP_t XERG+boil-BEN-DEP_t
‘I went to shave [the bark] off [for him]. I boiled it for him.

ʔoy *ʔan+tzagáʔy*
ʔoy ʔan+tzak-ʔaʔy-W₂
go/ret_{aux}-CMP XERG+leave-BEN-DEP_t
I went to leave it for him.’ (OJOS.015)

(22.75) INSTRUMENTAL APPLICATIVE:

yajim *ʔi+chèʔmiʔykáʔ*
yaj-W-ʔam ʔi+tzem-ʔiʔy-kaʔ-W₂
finish_{aux}-CMP-ALR 3ERG+urine-LOC_{applic}-DEP_t
‘She finished urinating on it.’ (ESK.117)

Positional roots must be marked with the assumptive suffix *neʔ* to be derived as verbs (22.76).

(22.76) ASSUMPTIVE:

níku+m *woʔnhkonéʔi*
 níkk-W+ʔam Ø+woʔnhko-**neʔ**-i
 go_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+rock.back.forth-ASSUM-DEP_{ia}
 ‘He went to go rock himself back and forth [in his hammock].’
 (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.073)

Complex predicates consisting of reduplicated roots (22.77) also occur as V2.

(22.77) REDUPLICATED ROOTS WITH AMBULATIVE SUFFIX:

ta+nimpa *nikpa+m* *tzeʔtzeʔóʔyi*
 ta+nim-pa ník-pa+ʔam Ø+**tzeʔ.tzeʔ=ʔoʔy**-i
 IABS+say-INC go_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ABS+wash.REDUP=AMBUL-DEP_{ia}

jeʔm yoomo
 jeʔm yoomo
 that woman
 ‘As we say, the woman goes to wash.’ (GU1.020)

(22.78) REFLEXIVE IN AUXILIARY:

ʔa+nimpa *puj* *ʔich* *nikpa*
 ʔa+nim-pa puj ʔich níkk-pa
 XABS+say-INC well 1PRO go_{aux}-INC
 ‘I say: ‘Well, I’m going

ʔa+ra+tzoyʔiʔy^{tyaaji}
 ʔa+**na**+tzoy-ʔiʔy-**taH**-i
 XABS+RR+remedy-PROV-PASS-DEP_{ia}
 to get myself cured.’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.061)

This holds for type II auxiliary constructions. The main verb in (22.79) shows an incorporated noun and associative marking. Example (22.80) illustrates a case in which the main verb is marked with the applicative *-ʔaʔy* as well as in the reflexive.

(22.79) PREDICATES WITH INCORPORATED NOUNS:

jutzabam *iga+ʔi+ri+mànikwát*
 juʔty.ʔaH-pa+ʔam ʔiga+ʔi+na+manik=wat-W₂
 be.such.that-INC+ALR COMP+3ERG+ASSOC+child=do-DEP_t
 ‘How is it that was empregnated

ʔeʔm tzuʔukiny?
 jeʔm tzuʔukiny
 that worm
 with a worm’ (GU1.119)

(22.80) REFLEXIVE:

ʔi siʔip mich mi+pìxiny,
 ʔi siʔip mich mi+pìxiny
 and now 2PRO 2ABS+man
 ‘And now, you sir,

si dya mi+yoʔomiʔypa
 si dya mi+yoomo-ʔiʔy-pa
 si NEG 2ABS+woman-PROV-INC
 if you don’t have a wife,

dya wiʔab *ʔi+ri+ku+tzeʔaʔytyáaj*
 dya wiʔaH-pa ʔin+na+ku+tzeʔ-ʔaʔy-taH-W₃
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+RR+DERIV₂+wash-BEN-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 you can’t wash yourself (take care of yourself).’ (JOV.012a)

In *siʔ* auxiliary constructions, which show flexibility in the position in which the auxiliary may occur, the main verb may either occur in V1 and take inflection for aspect or in V2 position and be marked as dependent. The valency and voice of the main verb may also be adjusted. The following verbs illustrate a main verb in antipassive voice (22.81) and a serial verb with a reduplicated root marked with the applicative (22.82).

- (22.81) *siʔp* *ʔi+ʔak+waʔguʔuʔyyaj*
 siʔ-pa *ʔi+ʔak+waʔk-ʔoʔy-yaj-W*
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+CAUS₁+ask-ANTIP-PLU_{nonhap}-DEP_t

yiʔp ʔestej ʔananhkiʔ yiʔp griinhgo+yaj
yiʔp ʔeste ʔananhkiʔ yiʔp griinhguy+yaj
 that FILL foreigner that gringo+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘These foreigners, these gringos, are asking...’ (CP3.001)

- (22.82) *jesik ʔi+ʔix* *jeʔm karreteruj ʔi+kawajgak+ʔam*
 jesik ʔi+ʔix-W *jeʔm karreteruj ʔi+kawaj+gak+ʔam*
 then 3ERG+see-CMP that wagoner 3PSR+horse+REP+ALR
 Then the wagoner saw it,

ʔi+ʔixkuy *siʔip* *ʔi+tyinh̄tyinh̄jetʔáʔy*
ʔi+ʔix.kuy *siʔ-pa* *ʔi+tinh̄=tinh̄=jet-ʔaʔy-W*
 3PSR+see.LOC_{applic} PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+cut=cut=open-BEN-DEP_t
 [the bird] was pecking out the horse’s eyes.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion(SIL).017)

In (22.83) and (22.84) the V2 and V1, respectively, are marked with instrumental *-kaʔ*.

(22.83) INTSTRUMENTAL V2:

bweenoj mich ?iga+si?ɸ
bweeno mich ?iga+si?-pa
well 2PRO COMP+PROG_{aux}-INC
'Well, you, what are

?inh+ku+yujká?
?in+ku+yuj-ka?-W
2ERG+DERIV₂+learn-LOC_{applic}-DEP_t
you learning? (CP4.001)

(22.84) INTSTRUMENTAL V1:

Porkej ni?ipinyká?ab ?i+xi?
porkej ni?ipiny.ka?-pa ?i+si?-W
because blood.LOC_{applic}-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_t
'Because she's bleeding a lot.' (SA2.002)

In the subordinator constructions, consisting of either *mo* or a \emptyset subordinator, both verbs are semantically significant to the utterance and either may be subject to valency alternations. This is shown in examples (22.85) and (22.86).

(22.85) *kun ?i+yeewaj ?i+jikné?*
kon ?i+yeewaj ?i+jik-ne?-W
with 3PSR+mare 3ERG+pull-PERF-CMP
'With the mare, he was pulling her

?i+ri+ník
?i+na+nikk
3ERG+ASSOC+go-DEP_t
as he brought her.' (PQ2.057)

(22.86) REFLEXIVE IN Ø SUBORDINATOR:

<i>tzaany</i>	<i>na+jiiiktaap</i>	<i>?i+wity</i>
<i>tzaany</i>	Ø+na+jiiik-taH-pa	?i+wity-W ₃
snake	3ABS+RR+drag-PASS-INC	3ERG+walk-DEP _{ib}

‘The snake drags itself as it walks.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Clauses subordinated with the suffix *-mu* may occur in isolation and are not in a dependency relation with another verb. As such, verbs marked with *-mu* are the main verb within the clause.

22.2 Dependent Construction Types

The characteristics described in §22.1 apply to all the multi-verb constructions. As stated above, there are six different multi-verb construction types, which are generally distinguishable by the auxiliary verb type, subordinator, dependent morphology and/or alignment. This section describes each of these multi-verb construction types and the specific properties associated with them.

22.2.1 Type I Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliary verbs are broadly defined as belonging to a set of elements that are minimally a constituent and that (at least in part) mark tense (taken to mean TAM) and modality (Steele 1981:21). Auxiliary verbs in SP are verbs that belong to a small, fixed set of verbs. There are seven type I auxiliary verbs, listed in example (22.87).

(22.87) TYPE I AUXILIARY VERBS:

<i>nikk</i>	‘go’
<i>miny</i>	‘come’
<i>?oy</i>	‘go/return’
<i>moj</i>	‘begin’
<i>yaj</i>	‘finish’
<i>kus</i>	‘have enough of VERB’
<i>ja?y</i>	‘be late to VERB’

The auxiliary verbs *nikk* ‘go’ (22.88), *miny* ‘come’ (22.89), and *?oy* ‘go and return’ (22.90) convey motion; *moj* ‘begin’ (22.91) and *yaj* ‘finish’ (22.92) convey aspectual information; and *kus* ‘be enough’ (22.93) and *ja?y* ‘delay’ (22.94) convey modal information.

- (22.88) *nikk*_{u+m} *?an+tze?eta?m*
nikk-W+?am *?an+tze?ta?m*-W₂
 go_{aux}-CMP+ALR XERG+wash-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘We went to wash [corn].’ (7NH.012)

- (22.89) *miny*_{pa} *?am+pik* *kii?pi*
miny-pa *?am+pik*-W₂ *kii?pi*
 come_{aux}-INC XERG+take-DEP_t wood
 ‘I’ve come to get wood.’ (BUR.037)

- (22.90) *?oy* *mi+mii?chi+tyam*
?oy-W **mi**+mii?ch-i+tam
 go_{aux}-CMP 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You went to play.’ (VVA.041)

- (22.91) *moj*_{pa+m} *?i+jétz* *?i+way*
moj-pa+?am **?i**+jetz-W₂ *?i+way*
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to braid her hair.’ (VYT.009)

(22.92) *yaʒpa+m* *wiʔiki*
yaʒ-pa+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (ESK.073a)

(22.93) *tany+yoomo* *kusu+m* *joʔyi*
 tan+yoomo *kus*-W+ʔam Ø+joʔy-i
 IPSR+woman be.enough_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+be.angry-DEP_{ia}
 ‘Our lady got sufficiently angry.’ (ESK.083)

(22.94) *ʔii* *jaʔy+nyam* *ʔa+ʔuuki*
 ʔii *jaʔy*-W+nam ʔa+ʔuk-i
 and stay.late_{aux}-CMP+STILL XABS+drink-DEP_{ia}
 ‘And we stayed late drinking.’ (BOR.053)

Each of these verbs occurs independently. The verbs of motion *nikk* ‘go’, *miny* ‘come’, and *ʔoy* ‘go and return’ occur independently as intransitive verbs, as shown in examples (22.95) through (22.97).

(22.95) *ʔiny+dya* *ʔa+nikpa* *yiʔim* *ʔa+tziʔytyaʔmpa*
 ʔich+dya ʔa+*nik*-pa yiʔim ʔa+tziʔy-taʔm-pa
 1PRO+NEG XABS+go-INC here XABS+remain-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We’re not going. We’re staying here.’ (Cangrejo.037)

(22.96) *yusim* *ke* *jeʔexik* *minyi* *jeʔm* *yoomo*
 yus-i+ʔam ke jeʔexik Ø+*miny*-i jeʔm yoomo
 wake-IMP+ALR COMP there 3ABS+come-PROG that woman
 ‘Wake up already! There that woman is coming!’ (Cangrejo.071)

(22.97) *ʔii* *komo* *ta+nimpa* *ʔagi+wiʔidoʔypa*
 ʔii kumu ta+nim-pa ʔagi+wiiit-ʔoʔy-pa
 and like IABS+say-INC INTENS+massage-ANTIP-INC
 ‘And as she massaged alot,

ʔagi+ʔoy
 ʔagi+ʔoy-W
 INTENS+go/return_{aux}-CMP
 she went and returned a lot.’ (MAB.169)

The auxiliary verb *yaj* ‘finish’ has both an intransitive (22.98) and a transitive (22.99) alternation.

(22.98) *yaj* *ʔi+nyiʔipiny*
 Ø+**yaj**-W ʔi+nyipiny
 3ABS+finish-CMP 3PSR+blood
 ‘His blood finished.’/‘He bled out.’ Kaufman & Himes, in progress.yaj

(22.99) *nuʔkpa* *ʔi+tyikkiʔim*
 Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik=kiʔ.mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He arrives at his house

ʔi+nyimʔaʔypa *ʔi+yoomo*
 ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔi+yoomo
 3ERG+say-BEN-INC 3PSR+woman
 and his wife tells him

jeʔm trigo *ʔi+yaju+m* *jeʔm jon*
jeʔm trigo ʔi+**yaj**-W+ʔam *jeʔm jon*
 that wheat 3ERG+finish-CMP+ALR that bird
 that the bird finished the wheat.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion(SIL).022)

The auxiliary verb *moj* appears as an intransitive verb, as well as an auxiliary. Unlike *yaj* ‘finish’, it does not have a transitive alternation.

(22.100) *jem* *ʔtyyajpa*
 jemim Ø+ʔity-yaj-pa
 there 3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘There they are,

jeʔm kapeelpijpaʔap
 jeʔm Ø+kapeel=pij-pa+ʔpV
 that 3ABS+coffee=heat-INC+REL
 the ones who make the coffee,

tzuʔukiʔim sinhnyi ʔitypa jem
 tzuʔ=kiʔ.mi sinhnyi Ø+ʔity-pa jemim
 night=LOC₃.LOC₁ day 3ABS+be-INC there
 at night and in the day they are there

ʔasta ki moʔpa jeʔm sinh
 ʔasta ki Ø+moʔ-pa jeʔm sinh
 until COMP 3ABS+begin-INC that party
 until the party begins.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.025)

The modal auxiliaries *kus* ‘be enough’ and *jaʔy* ‘delay at’ occur only as intransitive verbs, as shown in (22.101) and (22.102).

(22.101) *ʔich ʔagi+ʔa+kús*
 ʔich ʔagi+ʔa+kus-W
 1PRO INTENS+XABS+be.satisfied-CMP
 ‘I was full/satisfied.’ (MAB.078b)

(22.102) *dyam ʔa+jaʔytyáʔm*
 dya+ʔam ʔa+jaʔy-taʔm-W
 NEG+ALR XABS+delay-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘We didn’t delay.’ (UDR.015)

22.2.1.1 Aux I Morphosyntax: Alignment, Aspect and Number

In terms of dependent morphology, when auxiliary I verbs occur with intransitive verbs, as in (22.103), the V2 is marked with the suffix *-i* and person is marked with absolutive person marker to co-reference the S. When the V2

is transitive, the final syllable is stressed, indicating there is an underlying segment word final (22.104).

- (22.103) *ʔich moʝo+m ʔa+puʔunyɨ*
ʔich moʝ-W+ʔam ʔa+puʔn-i
 1PRO begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+swim-DEP_{ia}

jeʔm niʔikiʔim
jeʔm niʔi=kiʔ.mi
 that water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘I began to swim in the river.’ (MAB.027)

- (22.104) *joyma ʔa+niku+m man+aʔmtáʔm*
joyma ʔa+nikk-W+ʔam man+ʔaʔm-taʔm-W₂
 tomorrow XABS+go_{aux}-CMP+ALR 1> 2+look-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Tomorrow we’ll come see you.’ (Cangrejo.038)

Recall from chapter 11 that SP has a hierarchical system in which higher ranked participants are co-referenced on the verb. This hierarchical system is preserved in auxiliary verb constructions. Examples (22.105) and (22.106) illustrate the DIRECT and INVERSE configurations, respectively. In (22.105) the A is 1st person and O is 3rd person. The A is the higher ranking participant and is therefore marked on the verb with an ergative proclitic. In (22.106) the A is 3rd person and the O is 1st person, the higher ranking participant; therefore, the O is marked on the verb with an absolutive proclitic *ʔa+*.

- (22.105) *ʔabeesej dya+tyi ʔi+kiʔispa*
ʔabeesej dya+tyiH ʔi+kiʔis-pa
 sometimes NEG+what 3ERG+eat-INC
 ‘Sometimes he doesn’t eat anything.’

nikpa **?an+?á?m**
 nikk-pa **?an+?a?m-W₂**
 go_{aux}-INC XERG+see-DEP_t
 I go to see him.’ (CNC.055)

(22.106) *?okmi* *?óy* **?a+?á?m** *?a+?ich*
 ?okmi ?oy-W **?a+?a?m-W₂** ?a+?ich
 afterwards go/return_{aux}-CMP XABS+see-DEP_t XABS+1PRO
 ‘Afterward they went to see me.’ (Partera.004)

Dependent verbs take inflection for person and number; however, the distribution differs with respect to the suffixes. Verbs are inflected to indicate number with their arguments using the plural suffixes *-ta?m* ‘1st and 2nd person plural’ (22.107) and *-yaj* ‘3rd person plural suffix’ (22.108).

(22.107) *?arak+wi?ktá?mpa* *?an+weewej*
 ?an+?ak+wi?k-**ta?m**-pa ?an+weewej
 XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+grandfather
 ‘We fed my grandfather.’ (MAB.038b)

(22.108) *peeroj* *?agi+tzìkso?psyáj* *je?m* *piiyuj*
 peroj ?agi+?i+tzik=so?ps-**yaj**-W je?m piiyuj
 but much+3ERG+CAUS₁=tire-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that chicken
 ‘But boy did they tire out that chicken.’ (PQH.014)

Intransitive V2s marked with *-i* mark number agreement with enclitics. In (22.109) the enclitic *+tam* agrees with the 2nd person S, and in (22.110) *+yaj* agrees with the 3rd person S.

(22.109) *?oy* *mi+míichi+tyam*
 ?oy-W mi+míich-i+tam
 go/return_{aux}-W 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You (all) went to play.’ (VVA.041)

- (22.110) *yaju+m* *wiʔiki+yaj*
 yaj-W+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i+yaj
 finish_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 ‘They finished eating.’ (Cangrejo 012)

Transitive V2s marked with $-W_2$ mark number agreement with stress bearing suffixes $-taʔm$ ‘PLU_{sap}’ (22.111) and $-yaj$ ‘PLU_{nonsap}’ (22.112).

- (22.111) *ʔokmi niki* *ʔara+ku+wiʔktáʔm*
 ʔokmi nikk-W-ʔam ʔan+ʔak+wiʔk-taʔm- W_2
 after go_{aux}-CMP-ALR XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘Afterward we went to feed them.’ (VVA.023a)

- (22.112) *yajum* *ʔi+chayáj*
 yaj-W+ʔam ʔi+tzay-yaj- W_2
 finish_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+roast-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
 ‘They finished roasting it.’ (Cangrejo.010)

22.2.1.2 Aux I Transitivity, Argument Sharing, and Word Order

In auxiliary I verb constructions the auxiliary verb always occurs preceding the main semantic verb and receives inflection for aspect/mood. Each of the verbs that function as type I auxiliary verbs are intransitive, with the exception of *yaj* ‘finish’. In auxiliary type I constructions, the V1 is always intransitive. The V2, on the other hand, may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. Example (22.113) shows intransitive (a), transitive (b) and ditransitive (c) for auxiliary I constructions.

- (22.113) (a) *nikpa* *ʔi+cheʔ* *ʔi+puktuuku*
 nik-pa ʔi+tzeʔ-W ʔi+puktuuku
 go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+wash-DEP_t 3PSR+clothes
 ‘She goes to wash clothes.’ (GU1.011b)

- (b) *nimpa miny maʔ+náʔm*
 Ø+nim-pa miny-W man+ʔaʔm-W
 3ABS+say-INC come_{aux}-CMP 1>2+look-DEP_t
 ‘She says: ‘I came to see you.’ ’ (SoyPartera.005)
- (c) *ʔii mojpam ʔejtej ʔi+chiʔ bweeltaj*
 ʔii moj-pa+ʔam ʔestej ʔi+chiʔ-W bweeltaj
 and begin_{aux}-INC+ALR FILL 3ERG+give-DEP_t turn
 ‘...and she begins to give [the rock] a turn.’ (VYT.027a)

The transitivity of the V2 determines the transitivity of the construction. In intransitive auxiliary I constructions, the auxiliary and the V2 share the S. For instance in (22.114) the S of the auxiliary verb *kus* ‘be enough’ co-indexes the S of the intransitive verb *wiʔk* ‘eat’. Person may optionally be marked on the V1; when person is marked, it always agrees with the marking on the V2 (22.115). Constructions in which the S of the V1 does not agree with the S of the V2 are judged as ungrammatical (22.116).

(22.114) S=S:

kus wiʔiki
 kus-W Ø+wiʔk-i
 satisfy_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘He was satisfied eating.’/‘He had enough to eat.’
 (PDLMA.BirdGorion(SIL).003)

- (22.115) *ʔa+níkpa ʔa+minypa+m*
 ʔa+ník-pa ʔa+miny-pa+ʔam
 XABS+go-INC XABS+come_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘I went and I was coming

ʔarak+kaʔ *jeʔm kaany*
ʔan+ʔak+kaʔ-W₂ *jeʔm kaany*
 XERG+CAUS₁+die-DEP_t that tiger
 to kill the tiger

tyi+ʔiga *ʔa+tzuksnéʔ*
tyi+ʔiga *ʔa+tzuks-neʔ-W*
 what+COMP XABS+scratch-PERF-CMP
 because it had scratched me.

jesik *ʔa+niʔk* *dya+m* *ʔity*
jesik *ʔa+niʔk-W* *dya+ʔam* *Ø+ʔity-W*
 when XABS+arrive-CMP NEG+ALR 3ABS+be-CMP
 when I arrived it wasn't there.' (Suenyo.066-8)

(22.116) S=S OBLIGATORILY:

**ʔa+kus* *wiʔiki*
ʔa+kus-W *Ø+wiʔk-i*
 XABS+satisfy_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 'I was satisfied he ate.' (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Similarly, when the V2 is transitive, the S and the A are the same. For example in (22.117) the S of the auxiliary verb *yaj* 'finish' co-indexes the A of the dependent transitive verb *jeʔy* 'stir'. Again, when person is marked on the auxiliary verb, as in (22.118), it agrees with the inflection on the V2. Constructions in which the S of the V1 does not agree with the A of the V2 are judged as ungrammatical (22.119)⁶.

⁶The reading 'I came so he drinks his atole' is also inaccessible here.

(22.117) S=A:

yajpa *?an+je?y* *je?m* *?an+ja?api*
 yaj-pa ?an+je?y-W₂ je?m ?an+ja?p.i
 finish_{aux}-INC XERG+stir-DEP_t that XPSR+grind.NOM
 ‘I finished stirring the batter.’ (Atole.009a)

(22.118) *?a+nim* *dya* ***ta+nikpa*** ***tan+?á?m***
 ?a+nim-W dya **ta+nikk-pa** **?an+?a?m-W**
 XABS+say-CMP NEG IABS+go-INC IERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘I say: ‘No. We *did* go see

tan+choomo?
 tan+choomo
 IPSR+grandmother
 our grandmother.’ ” (VVA.012a)

(22.119) S=A OBLIGATORILY:

**?a+miny* *?i+?uk* *je?m* *?uunu*
 ?a+miny-W ?i+?uk-W je?m ?uunu
 XABS+come-CMP 3ERG+drink-DEP_t that *atole*
 Intended reading: ‘I came for him to drink the *atole* (corn beverage).’
 (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

In terms of word order, intransitive constructions, the S NP may precede (22.120) or follow (22.121) the V1 V2 sequence.

(22.120) ***je?m*** ***yoomo*** *moj* *xíki*
 je?m **yoomo** moj-W Ø+sik-i
 that woman begin_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+laugh-DEP_{ia}
 ‘The woman began to laugh.’ (GU2.010)

- (22.121) *moj weeji jeʔm yoomo*
 moj-W Ø+wej-i jeʔm yoomo
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+cry-DEP_{ia} that woman
 ‘The woman began to cry.’ (VYT.098)

In transitive verb constructions in which only the O is expressed, the O may precede (22.122) or follow (22.123) the verbal complex.

- (22.122) *tanimpa ʔi+parteeraj niku+m*
 ta+nim-pa ʔi+parteeraj nikk-W+ʔam
 IABS+say-INC 3PSR+midwife go_{aux}-CMP+ALR

ʔi+meʔtzaʔy
 ʔi+meʔtz-ʔaʔy-W₂
 3ERG+look.for-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘I say, he went to find her midwife.’ (GU1.097b)

- (22.123) *mojpa+m ʔi+tyobáʔy ʔi+piʔityi*
 mojpa+ʔam ʔi+tyop-ʔaʔy-W₂ ʔi+piʔityi
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+extract-BEN-DEP_t 3PSR+thread
 ‘She begins to take out her thread.’ (Puktuuku.025)

In transitive verb constructions in which both the A and O are overtly expressed, the most frequently observed word orders are AVVP (22.124) and VVPA (22.125).

- (22.124) *jeʔm yoomo niku+m ʔi+ʔáʔm tzuʔukiny*
 jeʔm yoomo nikk-W+ʔam ʔi+ʔaʔm-W tzuʔukiny
 that woman go_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+look-DEP_t worm
 ‘That woman went to see the worm.’ (GU2.026)

(22.125) *ʔoyu+m* *ʔi+pík* *jeʔm pooma*
 ʔoy-W+ʔam ʔi+pík-W₂ **jeʔm pooma**
 go/return_{aux}-CMP+ALR ʔERG+grasp-DEP_t that copal

jeʔm chaanij
jeʔm chaanij
 that *chaneque*

‘The *chaneque* went and got the copal.’ (PDLMA.Chaneco(SIL).032)

While word order is pragmatically determined and core arguments tend to occur preceding or following the V1 V2 verbal complex, examples are observed in which the arguments intercede between the V1 and the V2⁷. Examples illustrating the A following the V1 and the O following the V2 are shown in (22.126) and (22.127). Example (22.128) shows an intransitive construction in which the A follows the V1.

(22.126) *minypa* ***tzuustiixi*** *ʔi+jakʔáʔy*
 Ø+miny-pa **tzuus=tixi** ʔi+jak-ʔaʔy-W
 ʔABS+come-INC green=bat ʔERG+cut-BEN-DEP_t

‘The greenbat is coming to cut

ʔi+kinki *tzaany*
 ʔi+kinki tzaany
 ʔPSR+throat snake

the snake’s throat.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.095)

⁷There appear to be two types of auxiliary I constructions: (i) ones in which auxiliary is inflected for person, and (ii) ones in which they are not. Examples such as the one shown in (22.126) with the A following the auxiliary verb support this hypothesis and indicate that constructions in which person is marked on the auxiliary verbs (i) are less integrated than the constructions in which auxiliaries don’t take person marking (ii). Further research is required.

(22.127) *ʔokmi nimʔaytyaap*
 ʔokmiʔ Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa
 after 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC
 ‘Then it is said,

siʔip nimʔaytyaap
 siʔip Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-pa
 now 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-INC
 now it is said,

niku+m jeʔm tziixi
 Ø+nikk-W+ʔam jeʔm tziixi
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR that child
 the child went

ʔi+k+kaʔu+m ʔi+jatunhweewej
 ʔi+ʔk+kaʔ-W+ʔam ʔi+jaatunh=wewej
 3ERG+CAUS₁+die-DEP_t+ALR 3PSR+father=grandfather
 to kill his grandfather.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.114)

(22.128) *ʔokmi miny ʔi+maanik ʔi+pík*
 ʔokmi Ø+miny ʔi+manik ʔi+pik-W₂
 afterward 3ABS+come_{aux}-CMP 3PSR+child 3ERG+take-DEP_t
 ‘After a child came to get it.’ (SA2.037)

In the constructions the V2 is transitive. Because of the homophony of the completive suffix and the dependent transitive suffix, two possible interpretations arise. It is likely that the V2 phrase is an independent clause. In fact, Salomé Gutiérrez Morales (p.c.) suggests that these constructions may also be translated as: ‘the green bat comes and cuts the snake’s throat’ (22.126) and ‘...the child arrived and killed his grandfather’ (22.127). Constructions in which the V2 is intransitive provide some indication. In elicitation, speakers

permit the S/A to intercede between the V1 and V2, but judgments indicate that this word order is dispreferred. When presented with the example in (22.129a), the utterance was judged acceptable. But speakers did not reproduce these utterances, opting to provide “better” alternatives, as shown in (b) and (c).

(22.129) V1 S V2 ORDER DISPREFERRED:

- (a) ? **miny jeʔm piixiny** wiʔiki
 miny-W **jeʔm piixiny** Ø+wiʔk-i
 come_{aux}-CMP that man 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘The man comes to eat.’
- (b) miny wiʔiki **jeʔm piixiny**
 miny-W Ø+wiʔk-i **jeʔm piixiny**
 come_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia} that man
 ‘The man comes to eat.’
- (c) **jeʔm piixiny** miny wiʔiki
jeʔm piixiny miny-W wiʔk-i
 that man come_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘The man comes to eat.’

22.2.1.3 Negation

The negator *dya* (described in chapter 17) occurs in multiverb constructions. Negation takes scope over the entire clause (22.130). The V2 can’t be negated independent of V1 (22.131a). The example in (22.131b) shows how one speaker corrected the offending utterance and produce two independent clauses.

- (22.130) *dya+m* *nik* *ta+miichi*
dya+ʔam *nikk-W* *ta+miich-i*
 NEG+ALR *go_{aux}-CMP* IABS+play-DEP_{ia}
 ‘We can’t go play.’ (PDO.004b)

(22.131) Dependent verbs not independently negated:

- (a) **nik-pa dya ʔa+kaʔ-i*
go_{aux}-INC NEG IABS+die-DEP_{ia}
 Intended reading: ‘I came to not die.’ (20070705jaf)
- (b) *ʔa+nik para que dya ʔa+kaʔaba*
ʔa+nik-W para que dya ʔa+kaʔ-pa
XABS+go-CMP for that NEG XABS+die-INC
 ‘I go [to the clinic] so that I won’t die.’ (20070705jaf)

22.2.1.4 Auxiliary I Constructions and Passive V2s

The V2 position may be adjusted for valency and voice (described above). In SP, in passive constructions the O of a transitive verb or the PO of a ditransitive verb are advanced to S. The passive suffix is *-taH*. Recall that SP has three sets of person markers: ergative, which marks As of transitive verbs (Set A); absolutive, which marks Ss of intransitive verbs and Os of transitive verbs (Set B); and local, which indicate relations between speech act participants (Set C). The person markers are shown in Table 22.3 (repeated from ch. 11 for ease of reference).

Table 22.3: Person Markers in SP

	Ergative (ERG)/ Possessor (PSR)	Absolutive (ABS)	Local
	(SET A)	(SET B)	(SET C)
Exclusive First Person:	<i>ʔan+</i>	<i>ʔa+</i>	
Inclusive First Person:	<i>tan+</i>	<i>ta+</i>	
Second Person:	<i>ʔin+</i>	<i>mi+</i>	
Third Person:	<i>ʔi+</i>	\emptyset +	
2:1:			<i>ʔan+</i>
1:2:			<i>man+</i>

Example (22.132) shows the transitive verb *suy* ‘lasso’ inflected with the 3rd person ergative (Set A) clitic to co-reference the A. In (22.133) the same verb is marked with the passive *-taH*. Here the S is \emptyset -marked for 3rd person absolutive.

- (22.132) *ʔi+xúy* *jeʔm ʔi+wíidyaaaya*
ʔi+suy-W *jeʔm ʔi+wíity=ʔaaya*
 3ERG+lasso-CMP that 3PSR+husband
 ‘Her husband lassoed her.’ (VYT.082b)

- (22.133) *suytyáaj* *jeʔm yoomo*
 \emptyset +suy-taH-W *jeʔm yoomo*
 3ABS+lasso-PASS-CMP that woman
 ‘The woman was lassoed.’ (VYT.079)

In type I auxiliary constructions in which the V2 is marked with the passive *-taH* suffix, the S is marked with ergative person markers. SP is an ergative-absolutive language (see ch. 11), and the S of intransitive verbs is

co-referenced with absolutive person markers. Passive type I auxiliary verb constructions are one instance in which we see split ergativity. In (22.134) the V2 is the transitive verb *yoj* ‘pay’ marked with the passive suffix *-taH*. Yet the S in this context is marked with an ergative (Set A) proclitic. This is the only context in which intransitive V2s in auxiliary I constructions mark the S with ergative proclitics.

- (22.134) *pwes nɪkpa* *ʔi+yojtáaj*
 pwes nikk-pa *ʔi+yoj-taH-W*
 then go_{aux}-INC 3ERG+pay-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 ‘She went to be paid

ʔidyik ʔiga+tzixipinhpa
 ʔityʔik ʔiga+Ø+tzixi=pinh-pa
 PAST COMP+3ABS+child=gather-INC
 to deliver babies.’ (lit. ‘to pick babies’) (MAB.274)

In contrast, antipassive verbs in V2 do not exhibit ergative split. In antipassive constructions the valency of a transitive verb is reduced and only the would-be A is expressed on the verb as S. For example, in (22.135), the transitive verb *wiit* ‘massage, rub’ is inflected with the ergative *ʔi+*, coreferencing the A (the midwife) and the O (the woman being massaged). The example in (22.136) shows the same verb derived with the antipassive suffix *-ʔoʔy* and the verb Ø-marked for 3rd person S. Example (22.137) shows the same verb as the V2 of the auxiliary *ʔoy* ‘go/return’ marked with the antipassive . Here it is marked with *-i* dependent suffix and Ø-marked for 3rd person S.

- (22.135) *nimpa+ʔun* *jesik* *ʔi+wiiṯpa*
 Ø+nim-pa+ʔun jesik ʔi+wiiṯ-pa
 3ABS+say-INC+DJO when 3ERG+massage-INC
 ‘She says, when she [the midwife] massages [the woman]:’

dya+ʔun *ta+nimpa* *yiʔp* *dya* *jeʔ* *tziixi*
 dya+ʔun ta+nim-pa yiʔp dya jeʔ tziixi
 NEG+DJO IABS+say-INC this NEG 3PRO child
 ‘it isn’t,’ as we say, ‘this isn’t a child.’ (GU1.078/9)

- (22.136) *ʔii* *komo* *ta+nimpa* *ʔagi+wiʔidoʔypa*
 ʔii komo ta+nim-pa ʔagi+Ø+wiiṯ-ʔoʔy-pa
 and as IABS+say-INC much+3ABS+massage-ANTIP-INC
 ‘And because, as we say, she massaged often,’

ʔi+chiʔ *ʔi+xaaja*
 ʔi+chiʔ-W ʔi+saaja
 3ERG+give-DEP_t 3PSR+gift
 they gave her her gift.’ (MAB.169)

- (22.137) *ʔoy* *wiʔidoʔyi*
 ʔoy-W Ø+wiiṯ-ʔoʔy-i
 go_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+massage-ANTIP-DEP_{ia}
 ‘She went to massage.’ (MAB.123)

Number agreement morphology patterns with that of dependent suffixes in that number is marked with suffixes rather than enclitics. In fact, number agreement suffixes precede the passive suffixes in the verbal template, as shown in (22.138).

- (22.138) *ʔantej* *di* *kwaatruj* *diaj* *ʔo* *siinkuj* *mojpa*
 ʔantes di kwaatruj diaj ʔo siinkuj moj-pa
 before PART four days or five begin_{aux}-INC
 ‘Four or five days before,’

ʔi+k+joodonhayaʔjtyáa *jeentej*
 ʔi+ʔak+joodonh-ʔaH-**yaʔ**-taH-W₂ jeentej
 3ERG+CAUS₁+knowledge-VERS-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-DEP_t people
 the people begin to be informed,

ʔiga+míny *mar+ak+joodonhataʔm*
 ʔiga+miny-W man+ʔak+joodonh-ʔaH-taʔm-W₂
 COMP+come-CMP X>2+CAUS₁+knowledge-VERS-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘I came to inform you (that)’

ʔich ʔam+moʔosba
 ʔich ʔan+moʔos-pa
 1PRO XERG+cook.corn-INC
 I will cook corn.’ ” (PDLMA.Fiesta.020)

22.2.2 Type II Auxiliary Verb Constructions

The second type of multi-verb constructions in which dependent verbs occur are type II auxiliary verb constructions. There are three type II auxiliary verbs (22.139).

(22.139) TYPE II AUXILIARY VERBS:

<i>wiʔaH</i>	<i>wiH.ʔaH</i>	‘be able’
<i>jutzaH</i>	<i>jutz.ʔaH</i>	‘be such that’
<i>ʔanh+jagoʔy</i>	<i>ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy</i>	‘be first’

The auxiliary verb *wiʔaH* ‘be able’ is historically derived from the *wiH* ‘good’ and the versive *-ʔaH*, still in use today (22.140). *wiʔaH* ‘be able’ may occur independently as an intransitive verb and be marked with person, co-referenced with absolutive proclitics, and aspect.

(22.140) *graasyaj ?a dyos*
 graasyaj a dyos
 thank to God
 ‘Thank God,

wi?ane?u+m *?anh+kawaj*
 Ø+wi?-?aH-ne?-W+?am ?an+kawaj
 3ABS+good-VERS-PERF-CMP+ALR XPSR+horse
 my horse is fine;

?i+?ixkuy *pisu+m*
 ?i+?ix.kuy Ø+pis-W+?am
 3PSR+see.LOC_{applic} 3ABS+heal-CMP+ALR
 his eye is healed.’ (OJO.030)

wi?aH ‘be able’ may also occur with the complementizer *?iga+*. An example is shown in (22.141).

(22.141) *?ich ?a+wi?aaP* (*?iga+*) *?anh+ki?m*
 ?ich ?a+wiH. ?aH-pa (*?iga+*) ?an+ki?m-W
 1PRO be.able_{aux}-INC that XERG+ascend-DEP_t
 ‘I can ride
kawayukumì
 kaway=yuk.mi
 horse=LOC₅.LOC₁
 on a horse.’ (20070706jaf)

The auxiliary verb *jutzaH* ‘be such that’ (22.142) is historically derived from the particle *ju?tz* ‘how’ and the versive *-?aH*. *jutz. ?aH* most commonly occurs in questions, such as shown in (22.142).

(22.142) *jutza+m* *?i?+nyíx*
 jutZ. ?aH-W+?am ?in+?ix-W₂
 be.such.that_{aux}-CMP+ALR 2ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘How was it you saw it?’ (SoyPartera.020a)

Like *wiʔaH*, it may occur with the complementizer *ʔiga+* (22.143).

- (22.143) *jutzabam*
jutz.ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 be.such.that_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘How is it that

<i>ʔigi+ri+mànikwát</i>	<i>jeʔm tzuʔukinyʔ</i>
ʔiga+ʔi+na+manik=wat-W ₂	jeʔm tzuʔukiny
COMP+3ERG+ASSOC+child=make/do-DEP _t	that worm
she became pregnant with a worm?’ (GUS.119)	

The verb *ʔanh+jagoʔy* ‘be first’ (22.155) is historically derived as a verb stem from the derivational body part prefix *ʔanh* ‘DERIV₁’, the verb root *jak* ‘cut, cross’, and the antipassive suffix *-ʔoʔy* ‘ANTIP’. The derived stem *ʔanh+jak* ‘govern’ occurs as a transitive verb in the corpus (22.144). The derived verb stem is observed as an intransitive verb meaning ‘advance’ (22.145). It is also derived with the antipassive *-ʔoʔy* and the nominalizer suffix *-i* to mean ‘authority, official’ (22.146).

- (22.144) ...*jeʔ lo ki ʔi+nh+jakpa*
jeʔ lo ki ʔi+ʔanh+jak-pa
 3PRO it that 3ERG+DERIV₁+cross-INC
 ‘...He is the one who governs

<i>ʔi+tyumpiy jeʔm jeentej</i>
ʔi+tumpiy jeʔm jentej
3PSR+all that people
all the people.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.097)

- (22.145) *pero jeʔ ʔanh+jakʔóʔy*
pero jeʔ Ø+ʔanh.jak-ʔoʔy-W
 but 3PRO 3ABS+DERIV₁+cut-ANTIP-CMP
 ‘But he advanced

mo *?i+nyík* *tempraanuj*
 mo ?i+nikk-W tempraanuj
 SUBORD 3ERG+go-CMP early
 when he left early.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.067)

(22.146) *je?e* *dya* *?i+kiinhpa* ***?anh+jago?yi***
 je? *dya* *?i+kiinh-pa* ***?anh.jak.?o?y.i***
 3PRO NEG 3ERG+fear-INC DERIV₁.cut.ANTIP.NOM
 ‘He doesn’t fear authority.’ (Yerno.024b)

22.2.2.1 Aux II Morphosyntax: Alignment, Aspect and Number

The key distinguishing feature between type I and type II auxiliary verb constructions is that type II auxiliaries condition nominative-accusative alignment in all contexts. That is, when the the dependent verbs are intransitive, the Ss are marked with ergative person markers. For example in (22.147) the auxiliary *wi?aH* ‘be able’ occurs with the intransitive verb *wity* ‘walk’, and the first person S is marked with the 1st person ergative proclitic *?an+*. In (22.148) *ju?tzaH* ‘be such that’ occurs with the intransitive verb *nu?k* ‘arrive’, which is inflected with ergative proclitic *?an+*. In (22.149) *?anhjago?y* ‘be first to’ is also shown with *nu?k* ‘arrive’, which is marked with the 3rd person ergative *?i+*.

(22.147) *?iny+dya+m* *wi?áabam* ***?an+wity***
 ?iny+dya+m *wi?.?aH-pa+?am* ***?an+wity-W₂***
 1PRO+NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-pa+?am XERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I can’t walk.’ (SerPartera.267b)

- (22.148) *?ii nĩmyajpa je?m pwesteru*
?ii Ø+nĩm-yaj-pa je?m pwesteru
 and 3ABS+say-PLU_{non_{sap}}-INC that vendors

‘And the vendors say:

si?ip jutzaap ?an+nu?ktá?m ?ich+tyam
si?ip ju?tz. ?aH-pa ?an+nu?k-ta?m-W₃ ?ich+tam
 now be.such.that_{aux}-INC XERG+arrive-PLU_{sap}-DEP_{ib} 1PRO+PLU_{sap}
 ‘Now how can we arrive

porkij dya ?ii ?anh+jak?o?oyi
porkij dya Ø+?ity-W ?anh+jak. ?o?y.i
 because NEG 3ABS+be-CMP 3ABS+DERIV₁+govern.ANTIP.NOM
 because there’s no president.’ ” (PDLMA.presidente.091)

- (22.149) *?anh+jagó?yypa ?an+nú?k*
?anh.jak. ?o?y-pa ?an+nu?k₃
 DERIV₁.cut.ANTIP_{aux}-INC XERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I arrived first.’ (20090227RGAs5)

In addition, the hierarchical system is preserved. When the O is a higher ranking participant (1st & 2nd > 3rd), it is marked on the verb with absolutive person markers. This is illustrated in (22.150) with the 2nd person O marked with absolutive *mi+*.

- (22.150) *dya wi?áap mi+k+se?edá?y*
dya wi?. ?aH-pa mi+?ak+seet-?a?y-W₂
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC 2ABS+CAUS₁+return-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘He can’t return it to you.’ (20070726RCR)

Type II auxiliary verbs occur in V1 position, and as such, they take inflection for aspect/mood. Example (22.151) shows the verb *?anhjago?y* ‘be first’ inflected with perfect and completive aspects; example (22.152) shows

the verb *wiʔaH* ‘be able’ inflected for incompletive aspect; and (22.153) shows the verb *juʔtzaH* ‘be such that’ inflected with completive aspect.

- (22.151) *ʔi+jaatunh ʔanh+jagoynyéʔ ʔi+nyík*
 ʔi+jaatunh ʔanh.jak.ʔoʔy-**neʔ**-W ʔi+nik-W₃
 3PSR+father DERIV₁.cross.ANTIP-PERF-CMP 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘Their father had gone ahead.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

- (22.152) *dyam dyam jàayawiʔáabam*
 dya+ʔam dya+ʔam jaaya=wiH.ʔaH-**pa**+ʔam
 NEG+ALR NEG+ʔam almost=be.able_{aux}-INC+ALR
 ‘I almost can’t

ʔan+wity
 ʔan+wity-W₃
 XERG+walk-DEP_{ib}
 walk.’ (SerPartera.269)

- (22.153) *jutzáaj ʔi+ʔixʔ*
 jutz.ʔaj-**W** ʔi+ʔix-W₂
 be.such.that_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘How is it you saw it?’ (SerPartera.046)

22.2.2.2 Aux II Transitivity, Argument Sharing and Word Order

In auxiliary verb constructions, the type II auxiliary occurs in V1 position, shown for each of the type II auxiliaries in (22.154) through (22.155).

- (22.154) *Pwej porkej ʔich dya wiʔaap ʔam+pút*
 pwej porkej ʔich dya **wiH.ʔaH**-pa ʔan+put-W₃
 well because 1PRO NEG be.able_{aux}-INC XERG+exit-DEP_{ib}
 ‘Well, because I wasn’t able to leave.’ (PQ2.134)

- (22.155) *ʔii ʔanh+jagoʔypa ʔi+káʔ*
ʔii ʔanh.jak.ʔoʔy-pa ʔi+kaʔ-W₃
 and be.first_{aux}-INC 3ERG+die-DEP_{ib}
 ‘...and he’ll die first.’ (Yerno.016b)

Like type I auxiliaries, type II auxiliaries are intransitive, and as such transitivity of the construction is determined by the V2. The arguments are shared. When the construction is intransitive the S of the V1 co-indexes the S of the V2. The auxiliary verb is optionally marked for person. When the verb is inflected for person, it always agrees with the second person (22.160).

- (22.156) *ʔich wiʔaap ʔany+yooxaaj jeʔe ʔidyik*
ʔich wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔan+yoox.ʔaH-W jeʔ ʔityʔik
 1PRO be.able_{aux}-INC XERG+work-DEP_{ib} 3PRO PAST
 ‘I could work.’ (CNC.002a)

- (22.157) *ʔa+pikpa ʔiga+jeʔ*
ʔa+pik-pa ʔiga+jeʔ
 XABS+take-INC COMP+3PRO
 ‘He married me because

ʔa+wiʔaap ʔany+yooxaaj ʔidyik
ʔa+wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔan+yoox.ʔaH-W₃ ʔidyik
 XABS+be.able_{aux}-INC XERG+work-DEP_{ib} PAST
 ‘I could work.’ (CNC.002b)

When the construction is transitive, the V1 S co-indexes the V2 A (22.158). When person is marked on the V1 it always agrees with the person marking on the V2 (22.159). Constructions in which the Ss and As differ are judged ungrammatical or incomprehensible (22.160).

- (22.158) *pero jeʔ wiʔáaba+m ʔi+nyùundajiyááj*
 pero jeʔ wiH.ʔaH-pa+ʔam ʔi+nyuunta=jiy-yaj-W₃
 but 3PRO be.able_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+truth=speak-yaj-DEP_{ib}
 ‘But they can speak Popoluca.’

ta+ʔich dya wiʔáap tan+ʔíy
 ta+ʔich dya wiH.ʔaH-pa tan+jiy-W₃
 IABS+1PRO NEG be.able_{aux}-INC IERG+speak-DEP_t
 We can’t speak

kom jeʔ ʔinh+maatyyááj
 kom jeʔ ʔi+ʔanh+maaty-yaj-W
 as 3PRO 3ERG+DERIV₁+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 like they speak.’ (SobrePopoluca.062)

- (22.159) *mich kumu mi+píixiny mi+wiʔaap*
 mich kumu mi+píixiny mi+wiH-ʔaH-pa
 2PRO as 2ABS+man 2ABS+good-VERS-INC
 ‘Since you are a man you are able

ʔiny+yooxaaáj
 ʔin+yos.i.ʔaH-W
 2ERG+work.NOM.VERS-DEP_{ib}
 to work.’ (PDLMA.Giant(SIL).109)

- (22.160) **mi+ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy-pa ʔi+nuʔk-W₃*
 2ABS+DERIV₁+cross-ANTIP-INC 3ERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 Intended reading: ‘You advanced before he arrived.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

In terms of word order, when the constructions are intransitive, the Ss may precede (22.161) or follow (22.162) the verbal complex.

- (22.161) *ʔam+maanik ʔanhjagoʔy+m*
 ʔan+maanik ʔanh.jak.ʔoʔy-W+ʔam
 XPSR+child DERIV₁.CROSS.ANTIP_{aux}-CMP+ALR
 ‘My son was first

ʔi+nyúʔk
 ʔi+nuʔk-W₃
 3ERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 to arrive.’ (Burro.042)

- (22.162) *wiʔaa+tyim ʔi+nyáy jeʔm tziixi*
 wiH-ʔaH-W+tyi+ʔam ʔi+nay-W₃ jeʔm tziixi
 be.able_{aux}-CMP+JUST+ALR 3ERG+be.born-DEP_{ib} that child
 ‘The baby could be born.’ (PAR.039)

In transitive constructions, Os may precede (22.163) or follow (22.164) the verbal complex. It is rare, however, to find the O preceding the auxiliary verb in type II constructions. As we saw in ch. 19, word order is pragmatically determined and clause initial arguments tend to be motivated by discursive objectives. In fact, in example (22.163), note that the O precedes negation, a clear indication that the O is topicalized.

- (22.163) *ʔanhjagoʔoyi dya wiʔáap tan+kíinh*
 ʔanh+jak-ʔoʔy.i dya wiʔaap tan+kíinh-W
 DERIV₁+CROSS.ANTIP-NOM NEG be.able_{aux}-INC IERG+fear-DEP_t
 ‘The authorities aren’t to be feared.’ (Yerno.027)

- (22.164) *siʔip wiʔaap ʔi+watyyaj*
 siʔip wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔi+wat-ya.j-W
 now be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+make/do-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
 ‘Now they can make

tzaʔatik
 tzaʔ=tik
 stone=house
 stone houses.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.107)

When both the A and the O are overtly expressed, in natural speech only AVVP is observed (22.165). While in naturally occurring speech, arguments do not intercede between the V1 and the V2, speakers judge such constructions as grammatical in elicitation. However, they do not reproduce them.

(22.165) *yɨʔp pɨxiny+yaj wiʔáap*
yɨʔp pɨxiny+yaj wiʔ.ʔaH-pa
 this man+PLU_{nonhum} be.able_{aux}-INC
 ‘These men are able

ʔi+chajyáj tik
ʔi+tzaj-yaj-W₂ tik
 3ERG+stick-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t house
 to build houses.’

(22.166) *dya wiʔáap pɨxiny ʔi+miny*
dya wiH.ʔaH-pa pɨxiny ʔi+miny-W₃
 NEG be.able_{aux}-INC man 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 ‘The man couldn’t come.’ (20070705JAFs2)

Finally, the dependent clause of auxiliary II constructions may be elided, as shown in (22.167).

(22.167) *dya+m ʔa+wiʔaap*
dya+m ʔa+wiH.ʔaH-pa
 NEG+ALR XABS+be.able-INC
 ‘I can’t [deliver babies] anymore.’ (SoyPartera.154)

- (22.168) *nimpa* *?aanaj ?ii si?ip jutzáj*
 Ø+nim-pa ?aanaj ?ii si?ip Ø+jutz.?aH-W
 3ABS+say-INC Ana and now 3ABS+be.such.that-CMP
 “She say: ‘Ana, and now how is it [how does it feel]?’ ” (SA2.046)

22.2.2.3 Negation

Negation takes scope over both predicates in the dependent verb construction

(22.169). Sentences in which only the V2 is negated are judged ungrammatical

(22.170).

- (22.169) *dya wi?aa+m* *?inh+jetztá?m* *ma?aks*
 dya wiH.?aH-W+?am ?in+jetz-ta?m-W ma?aksi
 NEG be.able_{aux}-CMP+ALR 2ERG+brush-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t beforehand
 ‘You couldn’t brush your hair beforehand.’ (VYT.124)

- (22.170) **jutzap* *dya ?i+nyu?k*
 jutz.?aH-pa dya ?i+nu?k-W₃
 be.such.that-INC NEG 3ERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}

Intended reading: ‘How is it he didn’t arrive.’ (20070705jaf)

22.2.3 ‘Progressive’ *si?*

The third context in which the V2 occurs is with the auxiliary verb *si?* ‘walk’.

Si? is used to indicate progressive aspect (22.171)

- (22.171) *?aj las dyees de la noche*
 ?aj las dyees de la noche
 at the ten of the night
 ‘At ten at night

siʔib *anh+wiʔktáʔm*
siʔ-pa ʔan+wiʔk-taʔm-W₃
 PROG_{aux}-INC XERG+eat-PLU_{sap}-DEP_{ib}
 we were eating dinner.’ (7NH.016)

Like the auxiliary verbs described above, *siʔ* occurs independently as an intransitive verb meaning ‘walk’ (22.172).

(22.172) *jemik+piʔk* **siʔiyajpa**
 jemik+piʔk Ø+**siʔ**-yaj-pa
 there 3ABS+walk-PLU_{non-sap}-INC
 ‘There they walk

tigiskiʔim
 tik=ʔiski=kiʔ.mi
 house=behind=LOC₃.LOC₁
 among the houses.’ (GU2.105)

These constructions differ from the auxiliary verb constructions in two significant ways. First, unlike the auxiliary verb constructions, *siʔ* can occur as V1 or V2. Examples are shown in (22.173) and (22.174). In example (22.173), the sentence means “they are playing a lot.” *Siʔ* is in V1 position, inflected with the incompletive suffix *-pa*, and the intransitive V2 *miich* ‘play’ is inflected with dependent morphology and the ergative proclitic *ʔi+*. In example (22.174), the sentence means ‘that’s why she’s crying.’ The intransitive verb *wej* ‘cry’ is in V1 position, and *siʔ* is in V2 position. The V1 is inflected for aspect, the V2 is marked with dependent morphology, and the S is marked on the V2 with the 3rd person ergative *ʔi+*. Therefore, when *siʔ* occurs in either position, the V1 takes inflection for aspect/mood, and the V2 co-references the S with with ergative markers.

(22.173) *?agi+si?p* *?i+miichyáj*
 ?agi+si?-pa *?i+miich-ya-j-W₃*
 very+prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+play-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘They are playing a lot.’ (CVS.013b)

(22.174) *je?eyukmi* *wéjpa* *?i+xí?*
 je?.yukmi *Ø+wej-pa* *?i+si?-W₃*
 3PRO.LOC₅.LOC₁ 3ABS+cry-INC 3ERG+prog_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘That’s why she’s crying.’ (MAB.019)

The second significant difference between *si?* constructions and the auxiliary constructions described above is that the meaning conveyed by both orders is the same. In §22.2.1 we saw that constructions in which the auxiliary verb occurs in V1 position convey motion toward a deictic center to carry out the event expressed by the V2. Example (22.175) shows the auxiliary verb *nikk* ‘go’ in V1 position. When the same verb occurs in V2, the construction conveys that the two events are occurring simultaneously (22.176)⁸ (described in §22.2.4).

(22.175) *?an+choomo* *nikpa* *chínhi*
 ?an+choomo *nikk-pa* *Ø+chinh-i*
 XPSR+grandmother go_{aux}-INC 3ABS+bathe-DEP_{ia}
 ‘My grandmother goes to bathe

ni?iki?im
ni?=ki?.mi
 river=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the river.’ (MAB.024)

⁸While constructions such as the one shown in (22.176) are semantically depictive, because these verbs are finite, syntactically they are not depictive.

- (22.176) *ʔich ʔa+jooppa+m ʔan+nɪk*
ʔich ʔa+joop-pa+ʔam ʔan+nɪkk-W₂
 1PRO XABS+roll-INC+ALR XERG+go-DEP_t
 ‘I roll as I go along (playing).’ (MAB.097)

In *siʔ* constructions, however, the meaning conveyed by *siʔ* is the same regardless of whether *siʔ* occurs in V1 position (22.177) or in V2 position (22.178). Notice that in both sentences the V1 takes inflection for aspect, that the V2 takes inflection for person, and that the person marked on the intransitive verb in both cases is ergative.

- (22.177) *siʔb any+yooxáaj*
siʔ-pa ʔan+yooxaH-W₃
 prog_{aux}-INC XERG+work-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I am working.’ (20070706JAF2)

- (22.178) *ʔa+yooxaab an+siʔ*
ʔa+yooxaH-pa ʔan+siʔ-W₃
 XABS+work-INC XERG+prog_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I am working.’ (20070706JAF2)

Siʔ auxiliaries are used to convey progressive aspect. In examples (22.179) and (22.180), illustrating *siʔ* in V1 and V2 positions respectively, the use of *siʔ* as an auxiliary conveys the sense that an action is in progress, usually at the time of utterance or with respect to reference time. In this sense the progressive is similar to incomplete aspect⁹ (22.181) in that it views a situation without reference to an initial or final endpoint. This is in keeping with the definition of progressive viewpoint as presented by Smith (1997:174)

⁹See ch. 12 for description of aspect.

in which “the viewpoint presents an interval of an event that includes neither its initial nor final endpoint, and that precedes the final endpoint.” A crucial difference, however, is that the incompletive may be used to convey habitual action, whereas the progressive cannot (following Palmer 1976:33).

- (22.179) *jeʔm piixiny, kumu siʔibam* *ʔi+wiʔk*
 jeʔm piixiny kumu siʔ-pa+ʔam *ʔi+wiʔk-W₃*
 that man as PROG_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+eat-DEP_{ib}
 ‘The man, as he was eating,

nimpa jeʔm piixiny ʔi+jiy
 Ø+nim-pa jeʔm piixiny ʔi+jiy-W
 3ABS+say-INC that man 3ERG+speak-CMP
 says...; the man said:... (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

- (22.180) *jesig ʔaʔ+naʔmpa ʔiga+*
 jesik ʔan+ʔaʔmpa ʔiga+
 then XERG+look-INC COMP+
 ‘Then I go look if

yumpam ʔi+xiʔ jeʔm ʔan+niʔ
 Ø+yum-pa+ʔam ʔi+siʔ-W₃ jeʔm ʔan+niʔ
 3ABS+boil-INC+ALR 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib} that XPSR+water
 my water is boiling.’ (Atole.006)

- (22.181) *jeʔm yoomo tzaam xikpa*
 jeʔm yoomo tzam Ø+xik-pa
 that woman much 3ABS+laugh-INC
 ‘The woman laughs a lot.’ (GU1.016)

Although the progressive auxiliary construction most frequently occurs in the incompletive aspect, it may occur in the completive (22.182).

- (22.182) *jeʔm tʔitʔimat siʔ ʔi+xeʔt saamnyɪ*
jeʔm tʔitʔimat siʔ-W ʔi+seʔt-W saapnyɪ
 that Tʔitʔimat PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+fry-DEP_t banana
 ‘The Tʔitʔimat was frying plantain.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann
 2001:320-1)

22.2.3.1 *Siʔ* Morphosyntax: Alignment, Aspect, and Number

Like type II auxiliaries, *siʔ* auxiliaries trigger the split in alignment. Example (22.183) illustrate *siʔ* occurring with the intransitive verb *tʔitz* ‘dry’. As shown in (22.184), the hierarchical system is preserved: higher ranking participants are marked on the verb and O are marked with absolutive proclitics.

- (22.183) *dya+m siʔib ʔi+tyitz nimpa*
dya+ʔam siʔ-pa ʔi+tʔitz-W Ø+nim-pa
 NEG+ALR prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+dry-DEP_{ib} 3ABS+say-INC
 “ ‘It’s not drying,’ she says.” (SA2.022)

- (22.184) *jesik siʔ ta+ku+ʔaʔm*
jesik siʔ-W ta+ku+ʔaʔm-W₂
 then PROG_{aux}-CMP XABS+DERIV₂+look-DEP_t
 ‘Then she’s looking for us.’ (Cangrejo.051)

The progressive aspect occurs predominantly with incomplete aspect, and inflection for aspect within the construction is limited to the V1, regardless of whether the auxiliary is in V1 position (22.185) or V2 position (22.186).

- (22.185) *siʔip ʔi+jips ʔi+tyik*
siʔ-pa ʔi+jips-W₃ ʔi+tik
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+burn-DEP_{ib} 3PSR+house
 ‘The house is burning.’ (GU2.108)

(22.186) *?a+nu?kpa* *woonyi kajtzay=joom*
 ?*a+nu?k-pa* *woonyi kajtzay=joj.mi*
 XABS+arrive-INC girl hammock=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘I arrive; the girl in the hammock

wejpa *?i+xí?*
 Ø+wej-**pa** *?i+si?-W₃*
 3ABS+cry-INC 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 is crying.’ (SA2.016)

Si? constructions manifest similar properties to those described for auxiliary II constructions and temporal/aspectual subordination with and without *mo* with respect to plural marking. Example (22.187) shows a *si?* construction with plural inflection in which the plural marker *-yaj* is a stress bearing suffix.

(22.187) *?agi+si?ib* *i+miichyáj*
 ?*agi+si?-pa* *?i+miich-yaj-W₃*
 very+prog_{aux}-INC 3ERG+play-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘They are playing a lot.’ (CQS.013b)

22.2.3.2 *Si?* Transitivity, Argument Sharing, and Word Order

As described above, one of the ways that the *si?* ‘progressive’ auxiliary constructions differ from type I and II auxiliaries is that *si?* may occur as V1 or as V2. When *si?* occurs with intransitive verbs, *si?* may appear in either position (22.188).

(22.188) *si?* WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

(a) *putpa+m* *?i+xí?* *?eexi*
 Ø+put-pa+?am *?i+si?-W* *?eexi*
 3ABS+exit-INC+ALR 3ERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_t *?eexi*
 ‘The crabs are coming out.’ (Cangrejo.008)

- (b) *siʔp* *ʔi+nyúʔk*
siʔ-pa *ʔi+nuʔk-W₃*
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 ‘He’s arriving.’ (CSP.251)

When the construction is transitive, the preference is for transitive verbs to occur in V2 position, as shown in (22.189).

- (22.189) *bweenoj siʔib* *idyik ʔi+tyaj* *jos*
bweenoj siʔ-pa *ʔidyik ʔi+tyaj-W₂* *jos*
 good PROG_{aux}-INC PAST 3ERG+excavate-DEP_t hole
 ‘Well, he was digging a hole.’ (Rey.010)

In elicitation, transitive verbs do occur V1 position, however, in naturally occurring speech the preference is overwhelmingly for transitive verbs to occur in V2 position (22.189). From the corpus of naturally occurring speech, out of 139 tokens of *siʔ*, 52 were auxiliary uses. As shown in Table 22.4, 34 (65%) of those showed *siʔ* in V1 position; 18 (35%) were in V2 position.

Table 22.4: Distribution of Word Order in *siʔ* Auxiliary Constructions

V1 <i>siʔ</i> :	18	35%
<i>siʔ</i> V2:	34	65%
Total:	52	100%

The distribution of verbs that co-occur with *siʔ* with respect to transitivity is shown in Table 22.5. Of the 18 constructions in which main verbs occurred in V1 position, 13 consisted of basic verb roots, 4 consisted of verbs derived from nouns, and one was in antipassive voice. Of the 34 constructions in which the

main verb followed *siʔ* in V2 position, 16 were intransitive and 18 transitive. Of the intransitives, 7 were verb roots, 3 were derived as verbs from nouns, and 6 were in passive voice. More interestingly, of the transitive verbs, 5 consisted of verb roots, and 13 consisted of verb roots with overt lexical Os or complex predicates. That is, in all cases in which verbs were transitive, the main verb followed the auxiliary verb. In cases in which the main verb was intransitive, the distribution of the order of auxiliary to main verb was split by nearly 50% (MAIN-AUX 52%, AUX-MAIN 47%).

Table 22.5: Transitivity of Verbs in Relation to *siʔ* Auxiliary

	$V_{intrans}$ <i>siʔ</i>	<i>siʔ</i> $V_{intrans}$	V_{trans} <i>siʔ</i>	<i>siʔ</i> V_{trans}
Verb root	13	7		5
Verb root w/ overt P				7
Complex verb (NI/SVC)				6
Derived verb n (w/ versive)	4	3		
Passive voice		6		
Antipassive voice	1			
Subtotal	18 (53%)	16 (47%)	0	18 (100%)
Total		34		18

Although the sample is small, the distribution suggests that the preference for the order *siʔ* V2 may be influenced by factors involving the complexity of the predicate. In elicitation, transitive verbs may occur in V1 position, as shown in (22.190).

- (22.190) *ʔan+koʔtzpa ʔan+siʔ*
ʔan+koʔtz-pa ʔan+siʔ-W₃
 XERG+hit-INC XERG+PROG_{aux}-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I’m am hitting him now.’ (Elson 1960b:211b)

The distribution may be influenced by factors involving the complexity of the predicates. When Os of these constructions are overtly expressed, the semantic main verb always occurs in V2 position. If the O is not overtly expressed, the transitive verb may appear in either V1 or V2 position.

From the elicited data, examples in which transitive verbs appears in V1 position with an overtly expressed O immediately following it are judged ungrammatical (22.191). However, when the O follows the V2 the construction is acceptable (22.192).

(22.191) V1 P V2dispreferred in *si?* constructions:

<i>*ʔi+pinhpa</i>	<i>jeʔm sik</i>	<i>ʔi+xɪʔ</i>
<i>ʔi+pinhpa</i>	<i>jeʔm sik</i>	<i>ʔi+siʔ-W₃</i>
3ERG+gather-INC	that bean	3ERG+PROG _{aux} -DEP _{ib}

‘He is picking beans.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

(22.192) <i>ʔi+pinhpa</i>	<i>ʔi+xɪʔ</i>	<i>jeʔm sik</i>
<i>ʔi+pinh-pa</i>	<i>ʔi+siʔ-₃</i>	<i>jeʔm sik</i>
3ERG+pick-INC	3ERG+PROG _{aux} -DEP _{ib}	that bean

‘He is picking beans.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

As with type I and II auxiliaries, the auxiliary and the V2 share the S (22.193).

(22.193) <i>yumpa</i>	<i>ʔi+xɪʔ</i>	<i>jeʔm ʔan+nɪʔ</i>
<i>Ø+yum-pa</i>	<i>ʔi+siʔ-W₃</i>	<i>jeʔm ʔan+nɪʔ</i>
3ABS+boil-INC	3ERG+PROG _{aux} -DEP _{ib}	that XPSR+water

‘My water is boiling.’ (Atole.009b)

Si? constructions manifest similar properties to those described for the other auxiliaries and subordinators with respect to passivization. Passivized

main verbs co-reference their Ss with ergative proclitics. Example (22.194) shows a progressive *siʔ* construction in which the transitive verb *pej* ‘commit adultery’ is passive and the S is marked with the ergative proclitic *ʔi+*.

(22.194) *ʔentonsej mój* *ʔi+m+madáʔy*
 ʔentonsej moʃ-W *ʔi+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W₂*
 then begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+speak-BEN-DEP_t
 ‘Then he began to tell him,

ʔiga+jesik ta+nimpa
ʔiga+jesik ta+nim-pa
 COMP+then IERG+say-INC
 that then, as we say,

siʔip *ʔi+pejtáaj*
siʔ-pa *ʔi+pej-taH-W₃*
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+comit.adultery-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 he was being cheated on.’ (VYT.096)

22.2.4 Dependent Clauses With No Subordinator

There are three temporal/aspectual contexts in which dependent verbs occur. The first is used to express two events occurring simultaneously (22.195).

There is no overt subordinator in this construction.

(22.195) *ʔii de jeem minypa* *karreteruj*
 ʔii de jemim Ø+miny-pa *karreteruj*
 and from there 3ABS+come-INC wagoner
 ‘And there came a wagoner,

suspa *ʔi+míny*
Ø+sus-pa *ʔi+miny-W₃*
 3ABS+whistle-INC 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 whistling he came.’ (PDLMA.BirdGorrion(SIL).005)

Ø subordinator constructions often involve a verb of motion or direction. In most cases the same verbs that occur as an auxiliary in V1 position may occur in V2, although not as auxiliary verbs. There is a clear semantic difference in the meaning of the verb when it occurs as an auxiliary in V1 or as a V2. For example in (22.196) the auxiliary *miny* ‘come’ indicates motion toward an event for the purpose of performing the event expressed by the V2. The example in (22.197)¹⁰ shows the same verb *miny* ‘come’, however, here the events encoded by the verbs in V1 and V2 position occur simultaneously.

(22.196) *ʔich miny+am ʔa+ʔityi+tyam*
 ʔich **miny**-W+ʔam ʔa+ʔity-i+tam
 1PRO come_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+be-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}

‘We came to live

yɪʔim náxwiny
 yɪʔim nax=winy
 here below
 down here.’ (MAB.174)

(22.197) *poypa ʔi+miny*
 Ø+poy-pa ʔi+**miny**-W₂
 3ABS+run-INC 3ERG-come-DEP_{ib}

‘It comes running.’ (200707JAF)

22.2.4.1 Morphosyntax (Ø subord): Alignment, Aspect, and Number

Like the auxiliary verb constructions, the verb in V1 position takes inflection for aspect/mood (22.198). It also takes inflection for person obligatorily.

¹⁰While constructions such as the one shown in (22.197) are semantically depictive, because these verbs are finite, syntactically they are not depictive.

- (22.198) *?iich* *?a+jooppa+m* *?an+ník*
 ?iich *?a+joop-pa+?am* *?an+nikk-W*
 1PRO XABS+roll-INC+ALR XERG+go-DEP_t
 ‘I go rolling.’ (MAB.097)

When the V2 is intransitive, the S of the V2 is marked with ergative person markers (22.199).

- (22.199) *?a+tok?oynye?u+m* *?any+?iityi*
 ?a+tok?oy-ne?-W+?am *?an+?ity-i*
 XABS+be.lost-PERF-CMP+ALR XERG+be-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I had been lost [where] I was.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.018)

22.2.4.2 Transitivity, Argument Sharing and Word Order (Ø sub-ord)

The most frequently occurring instances involve intransitive verb pairs, as shown in (22.200).

- (22.200) *?anh+wejpa* *?an+ník*
 ?a+?anh+wej-pa *?an+nikk-W*
 XABS+shout-INC XERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘I cried as I went.’ (MAB.021b)

In the case of Ø subordinator constructions, it is possible to have transitive verbs in V2 position (22.201), V1 position (22.202), or both (22.203).

- (22.201) *monhpa* *?i+nyú?us* *?i+kooso*
 Ø+monh-pa *?i+nyu?us-W₂* *?i+kooso*
 3ABS+sleep-INC 3ERG+embrace-DEP_t 3PSR+knee
 ‘He sleeps holding his knees (in fetal position).’ (20070702jaS)

(22.202) *ʔaʔmpa* *ʔi+nyuʔk*
 Ø+ʔaʔmpa ʔi+nyuʔk-W₃
 3ABS+look-INC 3ERG+arrive-DEP_t
 ‘She arrives looking.’ (2070704JAFs9)

(22.203) *yikxi* *ʔal.rratuj* *ʔany+nyíx*
yikxi *al.rato* ʔan+ʔix-W
 like.so later XERG+see-CMP
 ‘A while later I saw

minyu+m *ʔam+miʔit*
 Ø+miny-W+ʔam ʔan+miʔit
 3ABS+come-CMP+ALR XPSR+brother-in-law
 my son in law come

kun *ʔi+yeewa* *ʔi+jiiknéʔ* *ʔi+ri+ník*
kon ʔi+yegua ʔi+jiik-neʔ-W ʔi+na+nikk-W₂
 with 3PSR+mare 3ERG+pull-PERF-CMP 3ERG+ASSOC+go-DEP_t
 with his mare; he was pulling her as he brought her.’ (PQ2.056)

Transitive verbs with overt Os do not occur in V1 position (22.204).

(22.204) V1 O V2 ORDER DISPREFERRED:

**ʔam+pinhpa* *sik* *ʔam+miny*
 ʔan+pinh-pa sik ʔan+miny-W₃
 XERG+gather-INC bean XERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 Eliciting: ‘I’m gathering beans as I come.’ (20070730JAF)

According to Elson (1967:286), transitive verbs are not permitted in V1 position; Himes (1997:30) provides examples from elicitation showing that transitive verbs are permitted in V1. The discrepancy is likely explained in terms of the occurrence of overt Os.

- (22.205) *?i+ko?tzpa* *?i+ri+miny*
 ?i+ko?tz-pa *?i+na+miny-W₂*
 3ERG+hit-INC 3ERG+ASSOC+come-DEP_t
 ‘He is hitting it as he brings it.’ (Himes 199:30)

As with the dependent verb constructions described thus far, the auxiliary and the V2 share the S (22.206).

- (22.206) *pero* *?agi+wiij* *pijnye?* *pooya*
 pero *?agi+Ø+wiH* *Ø+pij-ne?-W* *pooya*
 but INTENS+3ABS+good 3ABS+shine-PERF-CMP moon
 ‘But it was very bright the moon shone

?i+matonh
?i+matonh-W
 3ERG+listen-CMP
 and he heard

wokpa *?i+miny* *je?m chimpa*
 Ø+wok-pa *?i+miny-W* *je?m chimpa*
 3ABS+bark-INC 3ERG+come-DEP_{ib} that dog
 a dog is coming barking.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.005)

When person is marked on the V1 it always agrees with the marking on the V2. The S of both verbs must be the same (22.208). Constructions in which the Ss don’t agree are judged ungrammatical (22.208).

- (22.207) *?ich* **?a**+jooppam **?an**+n^ík
 ?ich **?a**+joop-pa+?am **?an**+nikk-W
 1PRO XABS+roll-INC+ALR XERG+go-DEP_t
 ‘I roll as I go.’ (MAB.097)

- (22.208) **mi+wejpa* *?a+ník*
 mi+wej-pa ?a+ník-W₃
 2ABS+cryINC XABS+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘You cry as I go.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

In \emptyset subordinator constructions, when both verbs are transitive both the As and Os are the same (22.209) and (22.210).

- (22.209) *jesik ta+tigibam jimnyoom*
 jesik ta+tík?iy-pa+?am jimnyi=joj.mi
 when IABS+enter-INC+ALR forest=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘When we enter the forest,

je?am kuyam tan+yiinpa tana+ník
je?m kuyam tan+yiin-pa tan+na+ník-W
 that ash IERG+spray-INC IERG+ASSOC+go-DEP_t
 we spray these ashes as we carry them.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

- (22.210) *yíkxi ?al.rratuj ?any+nyíx*
 yíkxi al.rato ?an+?ix-W
 like.so later XERG+see-CMP
 ‘A while later, I saw

minyu+m ?am+mi?it kun ?i+yeewaj
 \emptyset +miny-W+?am **?an+mi?it** kon **?i+yeewaj**
 3ABS+come-CMP+ALR XPSR+brother-in-law with 3PSR+mare
 my son in law come with his mare;

?i+jíikné? ?i+ri+ník
 ?i+jíik-ne?-W ?i+na+níkk-W₂
 3ERG+pull-PERF-CMP 3ERG+ASSOC+go-DEP_t
 he was pulling her as he brought her.’ (PQ2.056)

22.2.5 Temporal subordinator *mo*

The fifth type of dependent verb construction utilizes the subordinator *mo*. *Mo* constructions indicate that an event will occur ‘when, at the moment that’ a second event occurs (22.211).

- (22.211) *ʔi+yóʔy* *jeʔm pakus* *jeʔm+ga+m+ʔun*
 ʔi+yoʔy-W *jeʔm pak=jos* *jeʔm+gak+ʔam+ʔun*
 3ERG+jump.over-CMP that canyon that+also+ALR+DJO
 ‘He jumped back over the trench.’

ʔanhwej ***mo*** *ʔi+nyik*
 Ø+ʔanhwej-W ***mo*** *ʔi+nikk-wi₃*
 3ABS+shout-CMP SUBORD 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib}]
 He shouted when he went.’ (VYT.081)

Mo clauses exhibit a greater range of freedom than the multi-verb constructions described thus far. Verbs subordinated by *mo* may appear as the first verb in the construction (22.212) or as the second verb (22.213).

- (22.212) ***mo*** *ʔi+mijaawi+m* *nimpa*
 mo *ʔi+mij-ʔaH-W₃+ʔam* Ø+nim-pa
 SUBORD 3ERG+big-VERS-DEP_{ib}+ALR 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘When he grows up, he says

ʔiga+jeʔ *ʔi+kuʔtpa* *ʔi+jaatunh*
 ʔiga+jeʔ ʔi+kuʔt-pa ʔi+jaatunh
 COMP+3PRO 3ERG+eat-INC 3PSR+father
 that he will eat his father.’ (PDLMA.JUU.022)

(22.213) *ʔany+ʔix*
 ʔan+ʔix-W
 XERG+see-CMP

<i>chiny-pa+m</i>	m	<i>i+miny</i>	<i>jeʔam</i>	<i>kaaro</i>
Ø+chiny-pa+ʔam	mo	ʔi+miny-W	jeʔm	kaaro
3ABS+vrroom-INC+ALR	SUBORD	3ERG+come-DEP _{ib}	the	car

‘I saw that the car came vrrooming.’ (PQ2.068b)

Mo clauses may also be embedded within another clause.

(22.214) *ʔan+jaatunh, mi* *ʔam+pík* *jeʔm piixiny,*
 ʔan+jatunh **mo** ʔam+pík-W₂ jeʔm piixiny
 XPSR+father SUBORD XERG+take.wife-DEP_t that man
 ‘My father, when I married that man,

jeʔ *ʔa+k+poytyáʔm*
jeʔ ʔa+ʔak+poy-taʔm-W
 3PRO XABS+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 he ran us off.’ (CNC.008a)

As such, the verbs in *mo* clauses are not in a direct dependency relation to another verb. Rather they convey an event’s temporal relation to another event. For example in the excerpt shown in (22.215), the *mo* clause (d) indicates the temporal relation of the event with respect to a series of events expressed in the preceding clauses (a-c).

(22.215) *Dejde tigiyajum* *jimnyoom*
 Dejde Ø+tikʔiy-yaj-W+ʔam jimnyi=joj.mi
 since 3ABS+enter-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR forest=LOC₂.LOC₁
 ‘From [when] they entered the forest,

mojom *?i+yïinyaj* *je?m kuyam,*
 moj-W+?am ?i+yïin-yaj-W je?m kuyam
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+spray-PLU_{non sap}-DEP_t that ash
 they already began spreading the ashes.

jasta jojmi de wiityjimnyi
 jasta joj.mi de wiity=jimni
 until inside of big=forest
 until inside deep in the forest,

mu *?i+nïm* *?i+jaatunh:*
mo *?i+nïm-W₃* *?i+jatunh*
 when 3ERG+say-DEP_{ib} 3PSR+father
 when their father said:

yi?mum ?anhjo?ktam *man,*
 yi?mim ?an+jo?k-ta?m-W manik
 here 2>1+wait-PLU_{sap}-CMP child
 ‘You will wait for me here kids,

nïkpa ?anhku?a?m *je?exik paampi*
 nïkk-pa ?an+ku+?a?m-W je?e-xik paampi
 go_{aux}-INC XERG+DERIV₂+look-CMP there *tepejilote*
 I’m going to look for *tepejilote* [herbs].’ ” (Gutiérrez & Wichmann
 2001:318-9)

The subordinated clause is a punctual event with respect to the sequence of events to which it relates.

Again, the homophony of the completive and the dependent transitive suffix presents a puzzle. In these constructions the *mo* clause is always a punctual event, a characteristic of completive aspect. Evidence that these are in fact dependent verbs comes from the fact that neither incomplete nor perfect aspect are permitted in these constructions.

22.2.5.1 *Mo* Morphosyntax: Alignment, Aspect and Number

When the verb following this subordinator is intransitive the S is marked with a person marker from the ergative set ¹¹ (22.216). The *mo* clauses do not take inflection for aspect.

(22.216) *?anh+woynyé?u+m*
 Ø+?anh+woy-ne?-W+?am
 3ABS+DERIV₁+roll.up-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘Rolled up’

¹¹Himes indicates that this split may be optional and lists a number of examples in which the intransitive verb of the clause following the subordinator is not marked with an ergative person marker. One such example is shown in (i). There the verb is the derived intransitive *mij-?aH* ‘become big’. This is another version of the story from which example (i) is taken. In (ii) the same use of the derived adjective *mij* ‘big’ follows the subordinator, and the S is marked with an ergative proclitic. I have been unable to reproduce this example. Whether, this is in fact option is undetermined. All other intransitive verbs mark Ss with ergative proclitics.

(i) mo mijaawu+m nimpa ?iga
 mo Ø+mij-?aH-W+?am Ø+nim-pa ?iga
 SUBORD 3ABS+big-VERS-CMP+ALR 3ABS+say-INC COMP
 ‘When he grows up he says that’

je? ?i+ku?tpa ?i+jaatunh
 je? ?i+ku?t-pa ?i+jatunh
 je? 3ERG+eat-INC 3PSR+father
 he will eat his father.’ (PDLMA.Juunychu7tz-Nicolas.023)

(ii) despwej mo? ?i+mijjawu+m nimpa
 despwej mo? ?i+mij-?aH-W+?am Ø+nim-pa
 when SUBORD 3ERG+big-VERS-DEP_{ib}+ALR 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘Then when he grows up he says’

je? ?i+ku?tpa je?m ?i+jaatunh
 je? ?i+ku?t-pa je?m ?i+jaatunh
 3PRO 3ERG+eat-INC that 3PSR+father
 he is going to eat his father.’ (PDLMA.JUUNYCHU7TZ.022)

mo+ʔi+tziʔy
 mo+ʔi+tziʔy-W₃
 SUBORD+3ERG+stay-DEP_{ib}
 they stayed.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.147)

22.2.5.2 *Mo* Transitivity, Argument Sharing, and Word Order

The most frequently occurring instances involve intransitive verb pairs, as shown in (22.217).

(22.217) *mo* SUBORDINATOR:

wéj *mo* *ʔi+nyúʔk*
 Ø+wej-W mo ʔi+nyuʔk-W₃
 3ABS+cry-CMP SUBORD XERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘She cried when she came.’ (MAB.021b)

The auxiliary and the V2 share the S (22.218).

(22.218) *ʔany+ʔix* *chínypam*
 ʔan+ʔix-W Ø+chiny-pa+ʔam
 XERG+see-CMP 3ABS+vrroom-INC+ALR

mi+míny *jeʔm kaaro*
 mo+ʔi+miny-W₃ jeʔm kaaro
 when+3ERG+come-DEP_{ib} that car
 ‘I saw a car came vrrooming.’ (PQ2.068b)

The S of the V1 must co-index the S or A of the V2 (22.219). When presented with examples such as the one shown in (22.219) speakers judged them as ungrammatical. The example in (22.220) illustrates how the speaker chose to repair the ungrammatical constructions in (22.219b & c).

- (22.219) (a) **wiʔk mo ʔany+nyuʔk*
wiʔk-W mo ʔan+nuʔk-W
 eat-CMP SUBORD XERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}

Intended reading: ‘He ate when I arrived.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (b) **ʔara+miny mo ʔi+wej*
ʔan+na+miny mo ʔi+wej-W₃
 XERG+ASSOC+come-CMP SUBORD 3ERG+cry-DEP_{ib}

Intended reading: ‘She was crying as I brought her.’ (20070704JAFs9)

- (c) **wejpa mo ʔara+miny*
Ø+wej-pa mo ʔan+na+miny-W
 3ABS+cry-INC SUBORD XERG+ASSOC+come-DEP_t

Intended reading: ‘She was crying as we brought her.’
 (20070704JAFs9)

- (22.220) *ʔara+miny; wej*
ʔan+na+miny-W Ø+wej-W
 XERG+ASSOC+come-CMP 3ABS+cry-CMP

‘They brought her; she was crying

mo ʔi+nyuʔk
mo ʔi+nyuʔk-W₃
 SUBORD 3ERG+arrive-DEP_{ib}
 when she arrived.’ (20070704JAFs9)

In *mo* subordinator constructions, transitive verbs may not appear in V1 position (22.221).

- (22.221) TRANSITIVE VERBS MAY NOT APPEAR IN V1 POSITION:

- (a) **ʔam+pinhpa mo ʔanh+wán*
ʔan+pinh-pa mo ʔan+wán-W₃
 XERG+gather-INC SUBORD XERG+sing-DEP_{ib}

Intended reading: ‘I pick when I sing.’ (20070721RCR)

- (b) **?am+pinhpa* *sik* *mo* *?am+míny*
 ?an+pinhpa *sik* *mo* *?an+miny-W₃*
 XERG+gather-INC bean SUBORD XERG+come-DEP_{ib}
 Intended reading: ‘I’m gathering beans when I come.’ (20070721RCR)

In addition, *mo* subordinator clauses do not permit independent negation of verbs. For example in (22.222).

- (22.222) **?a+miny* *mo* *dya* *?an+wan*
 ?a+miny-W *mo* *dya* *?an+wan-W*
 XABS+come-CMP SUBORD NEG XERG+sing-DEP_{ib}
 Intended reading: ‘I came not singing.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Finally, passives are also observed in subordinator *mo* constructions. Example (22.223) shows the transitive verb *tzam* ‘raise’ derived with the passive and inflected with an ergative proclitic.

- (22.223) *?ich* *?aga+ya?acháaj*
 ?ich *?agi+?a+ya?ach-?aH-W*
 1PRO a.lot+XABS+suffer-VERS-CMP
 ‘We suffered a lot

kwandoj *man+tzamtáaj*
kwandoj *mo+?an+tzam-taH-W₃*
 when SUBORD+XERG+raise-PASS-DEP_{ib}
 when we were growing up.’ (lit. being raised) (7NH.001)

22.2.6 Temporal Subordinator Suffix *-mu*

The sixth construction type consists of constructions formed with the temporal subordinator suffix *-mu*. These constructions are extremely rare¹². The

¹²In fact, I have not observed them in my recordings of naturally occurring speech, nor have I been able to elicit these forms.

construction was originally reported by Foster (1948:30) (22.224) and later corroborated by Elson (1967:286)¹³ (22.225).

- (22.224) *ʔanh+wiʔkwím* *núʔkpa* *tum píixiny*
 ʔan+wiʔk-wi-mu Ø+nuʔk-pa tum píixiny
 XERG+eat-CMP-SUBORD 3ABS+arrive-INC one man
 ‘When I had been eating, a man arrived.’ (Foster 1948:30)

- (22.225) *jesʔk ʔan+níkpaam* *ʔan+ʔix* *miʔa*
 jesʔk ʔan+nikk-pa-mu ʔan+ʔix-W miʔa
 when XERG+go-INC-SUBORD XERG+see-CMP deer
 ‘As I was going along, I saw a deer.’ (Himes 1997:32, citing Elson)

Use of the subordinator suffix *-mu* conveys the meaning “do VERB 1 when doing VERB” (Kaufman & Himes, in progress). In this sense, *-mu* constructions are similar to *mo* subordinator constructions. Unlike the *mo* constructions, however, *-mu* clauses are not dependent on another clause for aspect or person. They may be inflected for incomplete (22.226), complete (22.227), and perfect (22.228) aspect.

- (22.226) *ʔiʔnyaʔmpáʔm* *ʔiʔnyíxpa* *tùm píixiny*
 ʔin+ʔaʔm-pa-mu ʔin+ʔix-pa tum píixiny
 2ERG+look-INC+SUBORD 2ERG+see-INC one man
 ‘As you were looking, you saw a man.’ (Foster 1948:30)

- (22.227) *ʔi+tyìjoʔywímom* *túj*
 ʔi+chij-ʔoʔy-**W**-mu+ʔam tuj
 3ERG+hit-ANTIP-CMP+SUBORD+ALR rain
 ‘It was already raining

¹³Himes lists no occurrence of *-mu* from her own notes and it does not occur in her texts or any of the texts obtained from SIL, including Elson’s.

jèsik *ʔa+núʔk*
 jesik ʔa+nuʔk-W
 when XABS+arrive-CMP
 when I arrived.’ (Foster 1948:30)

(22.228) *ʔi+ník-neʔ-W-im*,
 3ERG+go-PERF-CMP-SUBORD
 ‘After they had gone,

Ø+nuk-yaj-W *jeʔm piixiny*
 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP that man
 these men arrived.’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

Another key difference is that, unlike the other multi-verb constructions, clauses formed with *-mu* permit different Ss. For example in (22.229) the S of the first verb in the sentence *tokʔoy* ‘get lost’ is a 3rd person referent and the S of the second verb in the sentence *tiʔipi-ʔaH* ‘fish-VERS’ is a 1st person referent.

(22.229) *togóyum* *jemik ʔan+tiʔibapám*
 Ø+tokʔoy-W-ʔam *jemik ʔan+tiʔipi-ʔaH-pa-mu*
 3ABS+get.lost-CMP+ALR when XERG+fish-VERS-INC-SUBORD
 ‘He got lost while I was fishing.’ (Elson 1960b:210)

Constructions formed with *-mu* are similar to the dependent clause constructions described above in that they trigger split ergativity. When *-mu* occurs on intransitive verbs, the S is marked with person marking from the ergative set (22.230).

- (22.230) *ʔi+nikwíim* *ʔiyaʔytyaaʔ*
ʔi+nikk-W-mu \emptyset +ʔiy-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ERG+go-CMP-SUBORD 3ABS+speak-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘When he left, he was being spoken to.’ (Himes 1997:32, citing Elson)

The *-mu* suffix attaches directly to the verb following inflection for aspect. Himes (1993:32) identifies the subordinator *-mu* as an enclitic, although she does not indicate her motivation. Based on the description presented by Foster (1948) and Elson (1960a, 1960b, 1967) and the distribution of stress, it appears that the subordinator is a stress bearing suffix. Recall that enclitics do not participate in stress assignment patterns. Therefore, if *-mu* were an enclitic, stress would fall on the penultimate syllable of the inflected stem, rather than the final syllable. Additional examples are listed in (22.231).

- (22.231) (a) *ʔi+minypáam* *ʔi+paʔt* *tuum ʔuxpiny*
ʔi+miny-pa-mu *ʔi+paʔt* *tuum ʔuxpiny*
 3ERG+come-INC-SUBORD 3ERG+find-CMP one alligator
 ‘While coming along, he found an alligator.’ (Elson 1960b:210)

- (b) *ʔam+mínytyanhwíim*
ʔan+miny-taʔm-W-mu
 XERG+come-PLU_{sap}-CMP-SUBORD
 ‘When we came,

ʔaktziʔytya *tuj*
ʔaktziʔy-taʔm-W *tuj*
 XABS+CAUS₁+stay-PLU_{sap}-CMP rain
 the rain caught us.’ (Elson 1960b:210)

- (c) *jesik ʔi+koʔtzwíim* *kity* *ʔi+kiʔ*
jesik ʔi+koʔtz-W-mu \emptyset +kity-W *ʔi+kiʔ*
 when 3ERG+hit-CMP-SUBORD 3ABS+break-CMP 3PSR+hand
 ‘Then when he hit him, his hand broke.’ (Elson 1960b:210)

No examples of negated *-mu* clauses appear in examples reported thus far.

22.2.7 Multiple Dependent Clauses

Instances in which more than one dependent verb construction type co-occur appear in the corpus: one from naturally occurring speech (22.233) and three from elicitation (22.234 through 22.236) (Himes 1997). These examples generally share the same structure (22.232).

(22.232) Aux I + *intrans-DEP_{ia}* [SUBORD] *trans-DEP_{ib}*:

The type 1 auxiliary, in first position, is marked with inflection. The verb in second position is intransitive and marked with the dependent suffix *-i*. The verb in the third position is intransitive, its S is marked with an ergative proclitic, and the verb takes the *-W₃* dependent suffix.

(22.233) *?ii ?okmi je?m piixiny*
?ii ?okmi je?m piixiny
 and after that man

‘And after the man

<i>moju+m</i>	<i>weeji</i>	<i>?i+xeet</i>
moj-W+?am	Ø+wej- i	?i+seet-W ₃
begin _{aux} -CMP+ALR	3ABS+cry-DEP _{ia}	3ERG+return-DEP _{ib}

began crying as he returned.’ (PDLMA.Giant(SIL).013)

(22.234) *nimpa* *mojo+m* *?anh+jiiyi*
 Ø+nim-pa moj-W+?am Ø+?anh+jiiy-**i**
 3ABS+say-INC begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+DERIV₁+speak-DEP_{ia}

‘She says: ‘Trinylkotz began making noises

ʔi+nyík *trinylokotz*
ʔi+nyík-W₃ *trinylokotz*
 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib} *trinylokotz*
 as he left.’ (Himes 1997:35)

(22.235) *moju+m* *manh+jiiyi* *ʔiny+nyík*
 moju+m **mi+ʔanh+jiiy-i** **ʔin+ník-W₃**
 begin_{aux}+CMP+ALR 2ABS+sound-DEP_{ia} 2ERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 ‘You began to make a noise as you went off.’ (Himes 1997:36)

(22.236) *moju+m* *ʔanh+jiiyi*
 moju+m **ʔa+ʔanh+jiiy-i**
 begin_{aux}+CMP+ALR XABS+DERIV₁+sound-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I began to make a noise

mo ***ʔan+ník***
mo ***ʔan+ník-W₃***
 SUBORD XERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 when I went off.’ (Himes 1997:59)

Further research is necessary on multiple dependent verb constructions.

22.3 Dependent Verbs Summarized

With the exception of *-mu* clauses, dependent verb constructions, auxiliary and subordinator, are complex predicate constructions that are composed of two (or more) lexically independent verbs that denote a dynamic event, sharing arguments as well as aspect/mood. The constructions described here pattern like basic clauses consisting of a single predicate in that both predicates share aspect/mood, arguments, and negation. These properties are listed in (22.237).

(22.237) CHARACTERISTICS OF DEPENDENT VERBS:

- (a) Predicates share arguments;
- (b) they share aspect/mood inflection;
- (c) the dependent verbs take dependent verb morphology;
- (d) they exhibit nominative-accusative alignment in most contexts
(conditioned by external factors in specific cases); and
- (e) they share negation.

The dependent verb constructions can be divided into three subgroups: auxiliary, subordinator and *-mu* constructions. Auxiliary constructions consist of type I, type II and *siʔ* auxiliary verbs. Subordinator constructions consist of either \emptyset or the *mo* subordinator. And *-mu* constructions are formed with the suffix *-mu*.

In the auxiliary and subordinator constructions, marking for aspect/mood and arguments is shared. With respect to negation, in auxiliary and subordinator construction the negator takes scope over both predicates of the clause. Verbs in the complex may not be independently negated.

As described in chapter 8, word order is pragmatically determined and all word orders are attested. This holds for multi-verb constructions as well. With respect to intransitive constructions, the S may precede or follow the V1 V2 sequence. In transitive verb constructions the A and/or O may precede or follow the verbal complex. It is possible for core arguments to follow the V1 and precede the V2, however, this word order is highly dispreferred in all the dependent verb construction types.

The auxiliary and subordinator groups are distinguishable in that in auxiliary verb constructions, the main verb, which is most often the V2 depending on the construction type, determines the transitivity of the construction. In auxiliary I and II constructions, the main verb always occurs in V2 position. In *si?* auxiliary constructions, the main verb may occur in V1 or V2 position.

Subordinator constructions exhibit a similar distribution with respect to aspect/mood and person marking, argument sharing, and dependent marking, but differ with respect to semantics of the main and dependent verb. Subordinator constructions are composed of two verbs from open classes, one of which is marked as dependent.

Despite these commonalities, each of the constructions is defined based on its own properties. Type I auxiliary verb constructions occur with a closed set of verbs. Intransitive verbs in V2 position are marked with the dependent suffix *-i* and plurality is most often indicated with plural marking enclitics. Transitive verbs in V2 position are \emptyset -marked as dependent and plurality is indicated with number agreement suffixes. Person marking is ergative-absolutive in active and antipassive voice, but nominative-accusative in passive voice.

Type II auxiliary verb constructions also occur with a closed set of verbs. They differ from Auxiliary I constructions with respect to dependent morphology and alignment. Intransitive dependent verbs are inflected with dependent suffix *-W₃* ‘DEP_{ib}’; transitive dependent verbs are inflected with dependent suffix *-W₂* ‘DEP_t’. The alignment system exhibited in these constructions is

nominative-accusative.

Si? auxiliary verb constructions are composed of the auxiliary with a verb. *Si?* auxiliary constructions differ from the auxiliary types I and II in that *si?* can occur in either V1 or V2 position. Despite this freedom, when the main verb is transitive, the preference is for the auxiliary to occur in V1 position and the main verb to occur in V2 position. Dependent morphology, however, is the same as that of auxiliary II constructions. Intransitive dependent verbs are inflected with dependent suffix W_3 'DEP_{ib}'; transitive dependent verbs are inflected with dependent suffix W_2 'DEP_t'. And like auxiliary IIs, the alignment system exhibited is nominative-accusative.

\emptyset subordinator constructions differ from all other constructions in that it requires no auxiliary or subordinator. They are composed of two verbs from open classes. They have the same dependent morphology as AUX II and *si?* constructions, as well as exhibit a nominative-accusative alignment. Like *si?* constructions, in cases in which one verb is intransitive and one verb is transitive, the preference is for the transitive main verb to appear in V2 position.

Mo subordinator constructions show the greatest freedom with respect to the position of the dependent verb. Both verbs are from open classes. The subordinator allows the mobility of dependent verb, which exhibits nominative-accusative alignment.

And finally, the sixth multi-verb construction is formed with the *-mu* subordinator suffix. These constructions are different from the first five in

two significant ways. First, the verb marked with the suffix is not dependent on another verb for aspect. Verbs inflected with the suffix *-mu* also take inflection for completive, incomplete and perfect aspect. Second, the verbs in the construction do not share arguments. *-mu* constructions are essentially independent clauses. The motivation for including *-mu* clauses in this chapter are that (a) the subordinated verb does exhibit a temporal relation to another verb, and (b) the constructions exhibit split ergativity.

Based on the syntactic distribution of the auxiliary and subordinator constructions, dependent verb constructions are complex predicates. In terms of integration, they fall between serial verb constructions (ch. 21) and independent clauses (ch. 23).

Figure 22.2: Levels of Clause Integration

Highly Integrated	Semi Integrated	No Integration
.....		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Serial Verb Construction ● Incorporated Noun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Multiverb Construction -Auxiliary Verb -Subordinated Verb 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Coordinated ● Complement ● Relative

Serial verb constructions combine two (or more) verbs to form a single lexical unit on which their shared person and aspect/mood inflection are realized as on basic verbs. This is illustrated in (22.238) with the serialized verbs *?a?m* ‘look’ and *nikk* ‘go’, which is flanked by person morphology to the left and aspect morphology to the right. There is no marking for subordination, a defining characteristic of serial verb constructions. At the opposite extreme, in com-

bined clauses in which verbs are independent, as in complement clauses, verbs do not obligatorily share person or aspect/mood. In (22.239) the complement taking verb *jaam* ‘feel’ in the matrix clause is followed by the complementizer *?iga+*. Its complement, headed by the verb *tzik* ‘touch’, is an independent clause with distinct person and aspect than that of the matrix clause. In contrast, multi-verb constructions are composed of independent lexical units across which person and aspect/mood are shared (22.240).

(22.238) *?a+?a?mníkpa*
?a+?a?m=nik-pa
 XABS+look=go-INC
 ‘I look where I’m going.’

(22.239) *?ich ?an+jáam ?iga+tzigo?yipa*
?ich ?an+jaam-W ?iga+Ø+tzik-?o?y-pa
 1PRO XERG+feel-CMP COMP+3ABS+touch-INC
 ‘I felt that it moved.’ (20070706jaf)

(22.240) *yaginy mínypa ?a+wi?iki*
yaginy miny-pa ?a+wi?k-i
 just.now come_{aux}-INC XABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘I just came to eat.’ (20070706JAFs3)

Chapter 23

Complement Clauses

SP has a number of strategies for combining independent clauses. These include complementation, reported speech, conditional expressions, relativization, adverbial clauses, secondary predication, and coordination. Compared with serial and dependent verb constructions, the clause combining strategies described in this, and subsequent chapters, demonstrate a low level of integration. Two subordinating strategies are generally employed: juxtaposition and subordinating particles (free and bound). Most of these constructions make use of subordinating morphology, although in many cases clauses are traditionally combined via juxtaposition. The construction types and their subordinating strategies are shown in Table 23.

Table 23.1: Clause Combining Construction Types and Strategies

Construction Type	Subtypes	Subordinating Morphology/Strategy
Complementation	object taking	juxtaposition, <i>?iga+</i>
	subject taking	juxtaposition, <i>?iga+</i>
Reported Speech		juxtaposition, <i>?iga+</i>
Relativization	gapping	<i>+pi?k</i> , <i>-?pV</i>
	pronoun	<i>tyiH-mi</i>
Adverbials	location	<i>juuty</i>
	time	<i>jesik</i> , <i>?okmi</i> , <i>ma?kxi</i> <i>?entonsej*</i> , <i>kwandoj*</i> , <i>dejpwej*</i> , <i>?astaj*</i>
	manner	<i>juuty+pi?k</i> , <i>komo*</i>
	reason	<i>tyi?iga</i> , <i>porkej*</i>
	purpose	<i>?iga+</i> , juxtaposition, <i>parakej*</i>
Conditionals	contrafactual	<i>me?iga</i>
	factual	<i>si?iga</i> , <i>si*</i> , <i>jesik</i>
Secondary Predicates		no subordinators

* Borrowed from Spanish

The combined clause constructions described henceforth differ from the multi-verb constructions described thus far in the level of integration exhibited. Serial verb constructions (described in ch. 21) represent multi-verb constructions in which predicates form a tightly bound unit phonologically and

morphosyntactically. Dependent verb constructions (ch. 22), which include auxiliary verb constructions and aspectual subordinators, are complex predicate constructions in which the predicates are phonologically independent but morphosyntactically bound, sharing inflection for aspect and person. Predicates in clauses combined via complementation and relativization are independent with respect to aspect, mood, and person.

This chapter describes complement clauses, which include object and subject complements, and quoted speech. I address the clause structures associated with matrix and subordinate clauses, or with both main clauses in the case quoted speech, and the subordinating strategies of the construction types. Adverbial and conditional¹ clauses are described in ch. 25. Relative clauses are described with respect clause combining in ch. 24. A preliminary treatment of secondary predication is found in ch. 26. Finally, coordination, which exhibits no integration, is described in ch. 27².

23.1 Complements

Complement clauses are predications that act as the argument of a predicate (Noonan 1985:42). Complement clauses may be the subject or the object. SP has both object taking complements (23.1) and subject taking complements (23.2).

¹Conditional clauses are also addressed with respect to modality in ch. 12.

²Chapter 27 deals with both clause and phrase coordination.

(23.1) *?in nomaj ?a?+nyixpa*
?in nomaj ?an+?ix-pa
 1PRO no.more XERG+see-INC
 ‘I only saw

?ig+i+watpa ?idyik
?iga+?i+wat-pa ?ity?ik
 COMP+3ERG+do-INC PAST
 that they used to do it.’ (Puktuuku.084)

(23.2) *?ich nimpa ?an+joodonh*
?ich Ø+nim-pa ?an+joodonh
 1PRO 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+knowledge
 ‘‘I, she says, ‘know that

?iga+je?m piixiny je?m ?an+widyaaaya
?iga+je?m piixiny je?m ?an+wity=?aaya
 COMP+that man that XPSR+husband
 the man, my husband,

?agi+ku+tyiny
?agi+Ø+ku+tyiny
 INTENS+3ABS+DERIV₂+shit
 is very lazy.’’’ (lit. ‘It is my knowledge that my husband is lazy.’)
 (Comal.003-4)

Complement clauses typically appear with the complementizer *?iga+* (23.3), a particle borrowed from Nahuatl. Traditionally, however, complement clauses in SP have no complementizer. As such, complement clauses in SP don’t require the complementizer and frequently occur without *?iga+*, as shown in (23.4).

- (23.3) *?i+?ix* *je?m yoomo ?iga+teény*
 ?i+?ix-W je?m yoomo ?iga+Ø+teeny-W
 3ERG+see-CMP that woman COMP+3ABS+stand-CMP
 ‘The woman saw that [the baby] was standing up.’ (PAR.034)

- (23.4) *?any+?ix* *minyum* *?am+mi?it*
 ?an+?ix-W Ø+miny-W+?am ?an+mi?it
 XERG+see-CMP 3ABS+come-CMP+ALR XPSR+son-in-law
 ‘I saw [that] my son-in-law was coming.’ (PQ2.056)

The complementizer *?iga+* occurs frequently in SP speech. In addition to optionally marking the complement clause, it follows the verb *nim* ‘say’³. *nim* is an intransitive verb used to introduce reported speech that does not take complements as arguments (see §23.2 below). Verbs like *nim* are distinguishable from complement taking verbs because they don’t take the clause as an argument. For example in (23.5) *nim* introduces indirect reported speech. Here the verb is intransitive; *piixiny* ‘man’ is the subject. The reported speech clause, headed by *?iga+*, is not an argument of the verb. (If it were an argument of the verb, the verb would be marked as transitive and take ergative morphology. See §23.2 below.)

- (23.5) *winyik* *piixiny* ***nimpa*** *?iga+seetpa* *tzaany*
 winyik piixiny Ø+**nim**-pa ?iga+Ø+seet-pa tzaany
 long.ago man 3ABS+say-INC COMP+3ABS+return-INC snake
 ‘The old man says that the snake returns.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.087)

³The intransitive verb *nim* ‘say’ does not take complement clauses as its argument unless derived with valency adjusting morphology. As such it patterns slightly differently from complement taking verb described in this section. For this reason I described it in §23.2 below.

?iga+ is used to link a number of different clause types as well. It often appears in adverbial clauses (see §25 below). For example in (23.6) the complementizer is used to introduce an adverbial reason clause.

(23.6) *moj* *xiki*
 moj-W Ø+sik-i
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+laugh-DEP_{ia}
 ‘She began to laugh

?iga+je?m tzu?ukiny ?anhmi?nhpa
?iga+je?m tzu?ukiny Ø+?anh+mi?nh-pa
 COMP+that worm 3ABS+DERIV₁+jump.around-INC
 because the worm jumped around.’ (GU2.011)

This section describes object and subject taking complements, the structure of the matrix clause of both subject and object complements, as well as that of the complement clauses.

23.1.1 Object Taking Complements

Object complement clauses are predications that occur as the object argument of a verb. This is illustrated in example (23.7), which is composed of two predicates. The verb of the matrix clause is the object taking complement *?ix* ‘see’. The matrix verb is marked with the third person ergative *?i+*, indicating that the object is a third person referent. The complement clause has as its head the verb *jo?y-ka?* ‘to be angry at him’ accompanied by its NP *?ich* ‘1PRO’ and the negator *dya*. This clause, headed by the complementizer *?iga+* is the third person referent of the matrix clause. In this example, it is

the clause that is the argument, rather than the subject of the subordinate clause (the 1st person referent). This is evident because if the subject of the complement were the object of the matrix, the matrix verb would be marked with the first person absolutive *?a+*, as is the case when third persons act on first persons.

- (23.7) *?i?ix+tyim*
?i+?ix-W+tyi+?am
 3ERG+see-CMP+JUST+ALR
 ‘He saw
?iga+?ich dya ?anhjo?yká?
?iga+?ich dya ?an+jo?y-ka?-W
 COMP+1PRO NEG XERG+be.angry-CMP
 that I wasn’t angry.’ (CNC.049b)

23.1.1.1 The Matrix Clause

The matrix verb precedes the complement clause (23.8). The complement clause may not precede the matrix clause (23.9).

- (23.8) *Si ?an+tzakpa+m ?iga+?a+?ukpa*
 Si ?an+tzak-pa+?am ?iga+?a+?uk-pa
 yes XERG+leave-INC+ALR COMP+XABS+drink-INC
 ‘Yes I’m going to give up drinking.’ (Yerno.070)

- (23.9) **?iga+nu?kpa je?m piixiny*
?iga+Ø+nu?k-pa je?m piixiny
 COMP+3ABS+arrive-INC that man
 ‘That the man arrived
?i+?ixyaj
?i+?ix-yaj-W
 3ERG+see-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP
 they saw.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

23.1.1.1.1 Clause Taking Predicates

Verbs that take clauses as object arguments are shown in Table 23.10. They consist of verbs of perception, cognition, communication, manipulation, and desire.

(23.10) COMPLEMENT TAKING VERBS:

Perception:

<i>ʔix</i>	‘see’
<i>ku+ʔix</i>	‘spy, discover’
<i>jaama, ʔanhjaam</i>	‘feel’
<i>matonh</i>	‘hear’
<i>suʔk</i>	‘smell’
<i>(wiijʔanhjaam)</i>	‘feel good’

Cognition:

<i>jiis</i>	‘think’
<i>ku+tiy-ʔiʔy</i>	‘understand’
<i>jaam=noʔt</i>	‘forget’

Communication:

<i>ʔanh+mat</i>	‘speak’
-----------------	---------

Manipulation:

<i>waʔk, ʔanh+waʔk</i>	‘request’
<i>jiy=piik</i>	‘order’
<i>tzak</i>	‘leave, permit’
<i>jik</i>	‘stop doing’
<i>joʔy</i>	‘be angered’

Desire:

<i>sun</i>	‘want, desire’
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Examples (23.11) through (23.15) illustrate a verbs from each of the categories listed in (23.10).

(23.11) PERCEPTION:

ʔim+matonhpa ʔiga+nhsitpa
 ʔin+**matonh**-pa ʔiga+Ø+ʔanh+siit-pa
 2ERG+hear-INC COMP+3ABS+whistle-INC
 ‘...you hear that they whistle.’ (GU1.132)

(23.12) COGNITION:

para kee nuʔkpa ratuj
 para kee Ø+nuʔkpa ratuj
 for that 3ABS+arriveINC while
 ‘So after a while

ʔan+jiispa ʔiga+tikʔaap
 ʔan+**jiis**-pa ʔiga+ʔa+tik-ʔaH-pa
 XERG+think-INC COMP+XABS+house-VERS-INC
 ‘I thought of building a house.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.096)

(23.13) COMMUNICATION:

ʔinhmatyyajpa ʔiga+jemum jeʔm naxyukmi
 ʔi+ʔ**anh**+**mat**-yaj-pa ʔiga+jemum jeʔm nas=yuk.mi
 3ERG+speaK-PLU_{nonsap}-INC COMP+there that land=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘They say that there on that land,

dya ʔop ta+miiichi
 dya ʔoy-pa ta+miiich-i
 NEG go/return_{aux}-INC IABS+play-DEP_{ia}
 ‘we shouldn’t play.’ (PDO.019c)

(23.14) MANIPULATION:

porke jeʔ dyoos+tyi+m ʔi+jiypikpa
 porkej jeʔ dyoos+tyi+ʔam ʔi+**jiy=piʔk**-pa
 because 3PRO God+JUST+ALR 3ERG+**speak=grasp**-INC
 ‘because God commands him

ʔiga+yooxaap
 ʔiga+Ø+yoox-ʔaH-pa
 COMP+3ABS+work-VERS-INC
 to work.’ (PDLMA.CUR.029)

(23.15) DESIRE:

ʔi+xunpa ʔiga+ʔi+wii ʔinh+kejaʔyiny
 ʔi+sun-pa ʔiga+ʔi>wiH ʔi+ʔanh+kej-ʔaʔy-ʔiny
 3ERG+want-INC COMP+good 3ERG+DERIV₁+teach-BEN-OPT

yiʔp ʔi+maʔestroj
 yiʔp ʔi+maʔestroj
 that 3PSR+teacher
 ‘He wants his teacher to teach him well.’ (CP5.005)

23.1.1.1.2 Word Order in the Matrix

We saw that the complement clause, the object argument, follows the matrix clause. Within the matrix clause, arguments may be overtly expressed. As described above, word order is pragmatically determined and in simple clauses verbal arguments may precede or follow the verb. The same is true of CTPs in the matrix clause with respect to the A. The A may precede (23.16) or follow (23.17) the predicate.

- (23.16) *jeʔm yoomo ʔi+ku+ʔix*
jeʔm yoomo ʔi+ku+ʔix-W
 that woman 3ERG+DERIV₂+spy-CMP
 ‘The woman discovered

ʔiga+dya ʔity ʔokmi
ʔiga+dya Ø+ʔity-W ʔokmi
 COMP+NEG 3ABS+be-CMP after
 that he wasn’t there afterward.’ (ESK.086)

- (23.17) *nimpa ʔanh+madaʔy ʔan+ʔaapa*
Ø+nim-pa ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W ʔan+ʔaapa
 3ABS+say-INC XABS+DERIV₁+speak-BEN-CMP XPSR+mother
 ‘She said... my mother told me

ʔiga+winyik jaama ta+nimpa peek+ʔam jaama puej
ʔiga+winyik jaama ta+nim-pa peek+ʔam jaama puej
 COMP+PAST day XABS+say-INC long.ago+ALR day well
 that in past days, long long ago,

ʔity ʔidyik jeʔm piixiny
Ø+ʔity-W ʔityʔik jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+live-CMP PAST that man
 there lived a man.’ (ESK.001-3)

23.1.1.1.3 Voice and Valency of the CTP

The voice and valency of the complement taking predicate may be altered. For example in (23.18) the matrix verb is in passive voice, and the complement is the subject of the verb.

- (23.18) *...porke ʔixtyaaj*
porke Ø+ʔix-taH-W
 because 3ABS+see-PASS-CMP
 ‘...because it was seen

ʔiga+nuʔk *jeʔm piixiny*
 ʔiga+Ø+nuʔk-W jeʔm piixiny
 COMP+3ABS+arrive-CMP that man
 'that a man arrived.' (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.010)

SP permits the valency of its CTPs to be altered. The example in (23.19) shows the verb *ʔanh+mat* 'tell' marked with the applicative, increasing its valency by one. In this case the primary object is *jeʔm tziix+tyam* 'children'. The secondary object is the clause *ʔodoy niginy miichiʔ+yaj jemum* 'They should not go play there.'

(23.19) *taranh+madaʔyyajiny* *jeʔm tziix+tyam*
 tan+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-yaj-ʔiny jeʔm tziixi+tam
 IERG+DERIV₁+speak-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-OPT that child+PLU_{hum}
 'We tell our children

ʔiga+ʔodoy *niginy* *miichi+yaj* *jemum*
 ʔiga+ʔotʔoy nikk-ʔiny Ø+miich-i+yaj jemum
 COMP+NEG go_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+play-DEP_{ia}-PLU_{nonsap} there
 'that they should now go play there.' (Duenyo.018)

23.1.1.2 The Complement Clause

Verbs in the complement are all fully inflected for aspect, mood, number, and adverbial information. Example (23.20) shows the verb of the complement clause *seet* 'return' inflected with the perfect *-neʔ*, the plural *-taʔm*, the repetitive *-gak*, and the completive *-wi*. Example (23.21) shows the derived verb *sinh-ʔaH* 'to party' (derived with the noun *sinh* 'party' and the versive affix *ʔaH*) inflected with the desiderative affix *-toʔ* and the incompletive affix *-pa*.

- (23.20) *?i+?ix* *?iga+seetne?ta?nhgaku+m*
 ?i+?ix-W *?iga+?a+seet-ne?-ta?m-gak-W+?am*
 3ERG+see-CMP COMP+XABS+return-PERF-PLU_{sap}-REP-CMP+ALR
 ‘He saw that we had come back again.’ (CNC.038)

- (23.21) *tan+jjisne?u+m*
 tan+jjis-ne?-W+?am
 IERG+think-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘We’ve already thought

?iga+ta+sinh?ato?oba
?iga+ta+sinh-?aH-to?-pa
 COMP+IABS+party-VERS-DESID-INC
 that we want to have a party.’ (20060713erg086)

Voice in complement clauses may vary with respect to that of the matrix clause. Example (23.22) shows the passive and the optative in the complement. Example (23.23) shows the verb of the complement derived with the antipassive.

- (23.22) *porkej* *?estej* *piiyuj* *dya* *?i+jikpa*
 porkej *?estej* *piiyuj* *dya* *?i+jik-pa*
 because this chicken NEG 3ERG+permit-INC
 ‘because the chicken didn’t let

?iga+matzta?iny
?iga+Ø+matz-taH-?iny
 COMP+3ABS+grab-PASS-OPT
 itself be grabbed. (PQH.015)

- (23.23) *?ich* *?an+jáam* *?iga+tzigo?yypa*
 ?ich *?an+jaam-W* *?iga+Ø+tzik-?o?y-pa*
 1PRO XERG+feel-CMP COMP+3ABS+touch-ANTIP-INC
 ‘I felt that it moved.’ (20070706jaf)

23.1.1.2.1 Word Order Within the Complement

Word order is pragmatically motivated. In the complement the preference is for arguments to be postverbal (23.24), although SV order is observed, as shown in (23.25).

- (23.24) *ʔich ʔestej ʔanh+**wagáʔy***
*ʔich ʔestej ʔan+**waʔk**-ʔaʔy-W*
 1PRO FILL XERG+ask-BEN-INC

ʔiga+miʔnyiny yoxaajiyaj
ʔiga+miny-ʔiny Ø+yoox-ʔaH-i+yaj
 COMP+come_{aux}-OPT 3ABS+work-DEP_{ia}-PLU_{nonhum}

yiʔp wisnaa piixiny+yaj
yiʔp wis=naH piixiny+yaj
 this two man-PLU_{nonhum}

‘I asked that these two men come work,.’ (CP1.006)

- (23.25) *jeʔm tan+abuelo ʔinh+matyyajpa*
jeʔm tan+abuelo ʔi+ʔanh+mat-yaj-pa
 that IPSR+granparent 3ERG+DERIV₁+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Our grandparents say

*ʔiga+**peʔm+ʔun** tzabatz=**nas** ʔoʔomiʔy*
*ʔiga+**peʔm+ʔun** tzapʔatz=**nas** Ø+ʔoomi-ʔiʔy-W*
 COMP+that.yonder+DJO red=ground 3ABS+owner-PROV-CMP
 ‘that that land has an owner.’ (PDO.002)

From the corpus, out of 78 complement constructions with the *ʔiga+* complementizer⁴, only 28 had overtly expressed arguments: 22 intransitive

⁴Sample does not include complement constructions without subordinator.

and 6 transitive. 15 consisted of simple intransitive verbs with overt lexical nouns (7 consisted of passived verbs, complex predicates and pronominal arguments): 11 had VS order and 4 SV. (The distribution is shown in Table 23.1.1.2.1).

Table 23.2: Word Order Distribution in *?iga+* Complements

	Transitive				Intransitive	
	VA	AV	VP	PV	VS	SV
Simple Verb	2	-	4	-	11	4
Complex Predicate					2	1
Passive					3	
Pronominal Arg						1
Total	28					

When the verb is transitive, and when either the O or the A are overtly expressed, the preference is for the arguments to occur in postverbal position. In (23.26) the A follows the verb. In (23.27) the O follows the transitive verb.

(23.26) *?i+xunpa* *?iga+*
?i+sun-pa *?iga+*
 3ERG+want-INC COMP+
 ‘He wants

?i+wii *?inh+keja?yiny* ***yip*** ***?i+ma?estroj***
?i+wii *?i+?anh+kej-?a?y-?iny* ***yip*** ***?i+ma?estroj***
 3ERG+good 3ERG+DERIV₁+teach-BEN-OPT this 3PSR+teacher
 his teacher to teach him well.’ (CP5.005)

(23.27) *?eeybik+tyim* *?este* *?an+jiiista?m*
?eey.pi?k+tyi+?am *?este* *?an+jiiis-ta?m-W*
 another.time+JUST+ALR FILL XERG+think-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘Again we thought

?iga+?ar+ak+ki?mta?mpa
 ?iga+?an+?ak+ki?m-ta?m-pa
 COMP+XERG+CAUS₁+ascend-PLU_{sap}-INC
 that we could elect

?ich tunhgak+?am presedeentej
 ?ich tunh+gak+?am presedeentej
 1PRO one+REP+ALR president
 our other president.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.033)

While no instances of the A or the O are observed preceding the verb in the corpus, speakers produced constructions with varying word orders during elicitation. For example in (23.28) both the A and O of a transitive verb are overtly expressed in the complement, and the order is AVP.

(23.28) *je? ?i+jaam ?iga+tum tyaaki?*
 je? ?i+jaam-W ?iga+tum tyaakix
 3PRO 3ERG+feel-CMP COMP+one river.spider
 ‘He felt that a spider

?i+wityka?aba ?i+tyu?unyyukumi
 ?i+wityka?-pa ?i+tu?unyi=yuk.mi
 3ERG+walk-LOC_{applic}-INC 3PSR+back=LOC₅.LOC₁
 was walking on his back.’ (20060714ERGS6-8)

23.1.1.2.2 Predicates of the Complement

Nonverbal Predicates may occur in the complement clause (23.29) and (23.30).

(23.29) *porkej ?estej ?ich ?an+?anh+jaam tzu?ukiny*
 porkej ?estej ?ich ?an+?anh+jaam-W Ø+tzu?ukiny
 because FILL 1PRO XERG+DERIV₁+feel-CMP 3ABS+worm
 ‘Because I feel it’s a worm.’ (GU1.136)

- (23.30) *ʔii para kej ʔiny+ʔix*
 ʔii para kej ʔin+ʔix-W
 and for that 2ERG+see-CMP
 ‘And for that you saw
- ʔiga+ʔich ʔa+xutyu+pi:k ʔa+piixiny*
 ʔiga+ʔich ʔa+xutyu+piʔk ʔa+piixiny
 COMP+1PRO XABS+small+REL XABS+man
 that I am a man that is small.’ (PDLMA.Giant(SIL).113)

23.1.1.3 Argument Sharing in Complement Sentences

The arguments of the verbs in the matrix and the complement may be shared or they may be independent of one another. In (23.31) the A of the matrix verb and the O of the complement are co-referential.

- (23.31) *ʔi+ʔix+tyim ʔiga+ʔich dya*
 ʔi+ʔix+tyi+ʔam ʔiga+ʔich dya
 3ERG+see+JUST+ALR COMP+1PRO NEG
ʔanh+joʔykáʔ
 ʔan+joʔy-kaʔ-W
 XERG+be.angry-LOC_{applic}-CMP
 ‘He saw that I wasn’t angry at him.’ (CNC.049b)

In (23.32) the A of the matrix and the S of the complement are co-referential.

The complement clause is in passive voice.

- (23.32) *porkej ʔestej piijuj dya ʔi+jikpa*
 porkej ʔeste piijuj dya ʔi+jik-pa
 because this chicken NEG 3ERG+permit-INC
 ‘because the chicken didn’t let
- ʔiga+matztaʔiny*
 ʔiga+Ø+matz-taH-ʔiny
 COMP+3ABS+grab-PASS-OPT
 itself be grabbed.’ (PQH.015)

Arguments are not obligatorily shared. For example, in (23.33) no arguments are shared between the verb of the matrix and the verb of the complement. In the matrix the A is the 1st person and the subject in the complement is 2nd person. In (23.34) the A of the matrix is 1st person and the A and O of the complement are both 3rd person.

(23.33) *ʔich ʔan+kutiʔyíʔy*
 ʔich ʔan+ku+tiʔyʔiʔy-W
 1PRO XERG+DERIV₂+understand-CMP
 ‘I understand

ʔiga+ʔóy mi+míichi+tyam
 ʔiga+ʔoy-W mi+míich-i+tam
 COMP+go-CMP 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 that you went to play.’ (VVA.052)

(23.34) *ʔin+nomaj ʔaʔ+nyixpa ʔigi+watpa ʔidyik*
 ʔin+nomaj ʔan+ʔix-pa ʔiga+ʔi+wat-pa ʔityʔik
 3PRO+no.more XERG+see-INC COMP+3ERG+do-INC PAST
 ‘I only watched what they did.’ (Puktuuku.084)

23.1.1.4 Negation

The matrix verb can be negated and negation does not have scope over the complement (23.35). The complement clause may also be negated independently of the main clause (23.36).

(23.35) *dya ʔany+ʔix ʔiga+nuʔkyáj*
 dya ʔan+ʔix-W ʔiga+Ø+nuʔk-yaj-W
 NEG XERG+see-CMP COMP+3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘I didn’t see that they arrived.’ (20070705JAF)

(23.36) *?any+?ixpa je? tziix+tyam*
 ?an+?ix-pa je? tziixi+tam
 XERG+see-INC 3PRO child+PLU_{hum}
 ‘I see [that] these kids

dya monhyajto?oba
 dya Ø+monh-yaj-to?-pa
 NEG 3ABS+sleep-PLU_{nonhum}-DESID-INC
 don’t want to sleep.’ (20060719JAF)

23.1.1.5 Complex Complement Clauses

A number of clause types can be embedded in the complement. For instance, in (23.37) the complement clause is composed of an auxiliary verb construction. Here the auxiliary verb *wiH.?aH* ‘be able’ and its dependent verb make up the complex predicate of the CTP *?ix* ‘see’.

(23.37) *kwandoj ?iny+ixnye?um*
 cuando ?in+?ix-ne?-W+?am
 when 2ERG+see-PERF-CMP+ALR
 ‘When he sees

wi?ane?um ***?i+?ity***
wiH-?aH-W+?am **?i+?ity-W₃**
 be.able_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ERG+be-DEP_{ib}
 that she can live (without him),

dyam si?ip ?anh+kó?tz
 dya+m si?ip ?anh+ko?tz-W
 NEG+ALR now 3ABS+hit-CMP
 now he stops hitting.’ (YER.062)

Example (23.38) shows an adverbial clause in the complement (see §25 below).

- (23.38) *ʔiçh ʔan+anh+jáam ʔiga+dya juʔumi*
ʔiçh ʔan+ʔanh+jaam-W ʔiga+dya juʔumi
 1PRO XERG+feel-CMP COMP+NEG far
 ‘I felt that it wasn’t far

juuty ʔa+siʔiba
juuty ʔa+siʔ-pa
 where XABS+walk-INC
 where we were walking.’ (PDLMA.VIA.038)

23.1.1.6 Complement Ellision

The complement clause may be elided. For example in (23.39) the verb *ʔanh+mat* marked with the applicative *-ʔaʔy* is trivalent. The A is a 3rd person referent and the PO is 1st person. The complement clause, the SO, is not overtly expressed.

- (23.39) *jeʔ ʔa+nh+madaʔy ʔi+jipm*
jeʔ ʔa+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W ʔi+jip-mi
 3PRO XABS+DERIV₁+speak-BEN-CMP 3PSR+mouth-LOC₁
 ‘She told it to me with her mouth.’ (Comal.002c)

23.1.2 Subject Taking Complement Verbs

A small number of predicates may take subject complements. These consist of a set of nonverbal predicates and an intransitive verb, listed in (23.40).

(23.40) SUBJECT TAKING PREDICATES:

Verbal Predicate:

jessaH 'like this, do like so'

Non-Verbal Predicate:

jootoʔnh 'knowledge

ʔanh+jaam.ʔoʔy.i 'feelings, thoughts
(nominalized *ʔanh+jaam* 'feel')

wiH 'good, fine'

The verb *jes.s.ʔaH* 'do like that' is the only verbal predicate observed thus far that takes a complement as subject (23.41).

- (23.41) *jessawi+m* *ʔiga+ník*
Ø+**je.s.ʔaH**-W+ʔam *ʔiga*+Ø+**nik**-W
3ABS+like.this-CMP+ALR COMP+3ABS+go-CMP
'That is how it went.' (YER.089)

The term is reconstructed from the components *je*, a deictic root observed in the pronoun *jeʔ* and demonstrative *jeʔm*⁵; the segment *s*, a particle thought to mean 'like' (Kaufman & Himes, in progress); and the versive *-ʔaH*. The particles *je* and *s* appear in combination in particles such as *jee.x* 'like this' and *jesʔanh* 'this much'. *s* also appears in the particle *yíkx* 'like this', formed with the deictic root *yí*. *jes.s.ʔaH* 'do like that' is an ambitransitive verb with intransitive (23.42) and transitive alternations (23.43).

- (23.42) *dya* **ʔa**+*jessa-toʔ-pa*
NEG XABS+do.like.so-DESID-INC
'I don't want to do like this.' (PDLMA.lex)

⁵Refer to ch. 5 for description of deictic roots.

(23.43) *solamente dya toy* *?iny+aanma*
 solamente dya Ø+toy-W ?in+?aanma
 only NEG 3ABS+hurt-CMP 2PSR+heart
 ‘It just doesn’t hurt your heart’

?ig+iny+jessum *je?m ?i+maanik*
 ?iga+?in+jess-W+?am je?m ?i+maanik
 COMP+2ERG+do.like.so-CMP+ALR that 3PSR+child
 that you did that to your child. (Yerno.118)

The three nonverbal predicates that take complements as subjects consist of *jodonh* ‘knowledge’, an obligatorily possessed noun, *?anh+jaam.ʔoʔoy.i* ‘thought, feeling’, a derived noun, and *wiH* ‘good’, an adjective. Nonverbal predicates generally function as statives (refer to ch. 9). They take inflection for person (absolutive) and number; they do not take inflection for aspect or mood. The paradigm illustrating nonverbal predicates inflected for 1st and 2nd person, and Ø marked in the case of 3rd person, is shown in (23.44).

(23.44) NONVERBAL PREDICATE PERSON MARKING PARADIGM:

(a) *?ich komo ?a+tzixi* *?ich ?an+ku?tpa*
 ?ich komo ?a+tzixi ?ich ?an+ku?t-pa
 1PRO like XABS+child 1PRO XERG+eat-INC
 ‘I, as I’m a child, I eat it.’ (MAB.076a)

(b) *?aa mich mi+parteeraj?*
 ?aa mich mi+parteeraj
 ah 2PRO 2ABS+midwife
 ‘Ah, you’re a midwife?’ (SoyPartera.001)

(c) *jesik je? piixinh+gak*
 jesik je? Ø+piixiny+gak
 then 3PRO 3ABS+man+REP
 ‘Then he’s a man again.’ (ESK.078)

Possessed nouns may occur as nonverbal predicates, however, predicates may not be double inflected for person (see ch. 4). Inflection for possession trumps inflection for the subject. For instance in (23.45) the noun *?uutzu* ‘monkey’ is inflected with the exclusive ergative, indicating possession. It may not be marked with the absolutive as well. It is ungrammatical to say **mi+?an+?uutzu*. Instead the subject is indicated by overtly expressing the second person pronoun *mich*.

- (23.45) *mich ?an+?uutzu*
 mich ?an+?uutzu
 2PRO XPSR+monkey
 ‘You are my little monkey.’ (20070721RCRs1)

The noun *joodonh* ‘knowledge’ is an obligatorily possessed noun that may take nominal (23.46) or complement (23.47) arguments.

- (23.46) *mich ?iny+joodonh tzoy*
 mich ?in+**jooto?nh** tzoy
 2PRO 2PSR+knowledge medicine
 ‘You know medicine.’ (OJO.019)

- (23.47) *putu+m ?anh+siikmi? ?i+joodonh*
 Ø+put-W+?am ?anh.sik-mi? **?i+jooto?nh**
 3ABS+exit-CMP+ALR LOC₁₄.LOC₉.LOC₁ 3PSR+knowledge
 ‘He came out of there because he knew that

je?m tzu?u ?iga+?ak+ka?ataba+m
 je?m tzu?u ?iga+Ø+?ak+ka?-taH-pa+?am
 that night COMP+3ABS+CAUS₁+die-PASS-INC+ALR
 ‘that night he would be eaten.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.080)

When the possessed noun *joodonh* occurs in a context in which it takes a clause as an argument, the meaning is roughly ‘PSR+knowledge is [COMP+EVENT]’. As noted above, nouns are not double marked. That is, possessed nouns in the role of nonverbal predicate do not take inflection to co-reference the subject.

The noun *?anh+jaam-?o?y-i* ‘idea, feeling’ (23.48), composed of the complement taking verb *?anh+jaam* ‘feel’ derived as a noun with the antipassive *-?o?y* and the nominalizer *-i*. Like *joot?onh* ‘know’ it is possessed and it conveys ‘PSR+idea [COMP+EVENT]’

- (23.48) *je?* *?i+?anh+jaam?o?yi*
 je? *?i+?anh+jaam-?o?y-i*
 3PRO 3ERG+DERIV₁+feel-ANTIP-NOM
 ‘It was their thought

?iga+ni?ki?im *?ity*
?iga+ni?=ki?.mi *Ø+?ity-W*
 COMP+water=LOC₃.LOC₁ 3ABS+be-CMP
 that it was in the water.’ (PDLMA.JJX.022)

wiH is an adjective meaning ‘good, pretty, fine’ (23.49). It also appears as a predicate adjective (23.50). As shown in (23.51), it takes inflection for 1st and 2nd person as well as Ø-marking for 3rd person.

- (23.49) *kreej* *ke* *pe?m* *wi* *yoomo*
 kreej *ke* *pe?m* *wiH* *yoomo*
 believe that that.yonder good woman
 ‘Do you believe that’s a good woman?’ (Cangrejo.056)

(23.50) **Wi** *jeʔm ʔan+choomo*
 Ø+**wiH** *jeʔm ʔan+choomo*
 3ABS+good that XPSR+grandmother
 ‘My grandmother was pretty.’ (MAB.030a)

(23.51) (a) *ʔa+wii*
 ʔa+wiiH
 XABS+good
 ‘I am good/pretty.’

(b) *mi+wii*
 mi+wiiH
 2ABS+good
 ‘You are good/pretty.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

As a subject taking predicate, the adjective is essentially used to convey a judgment, positive (23.52) or negative (23.53), about an event.

(23.52) **wii+ʔam** *ʔiga+míny*
 Ø+**wiH+ʔam** *ʔiga+Ø+miny-W*
 3ABS+good+ALR COMP+3ABS+come-CMP
 ‘It’s good that he came.’ (20060713erg040)

(23.53) *nimyajpa* *ʔiga+dya+wii*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa *ʔiga+dya+Ø+wiiH*
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC COMP+NEG+3ABS+good
 ‘They say that it’s not good’

ta+míich *tzuʔukiʔim* *xuutyu tziix+tyam*
 ta+míich-W tzuʔ=kiʔ.mi xuutyu tziixi+tam
 IABS+play-CMP night=LOC₃.LOC₁ small child+PLU_{hum}
 that our children play in the night.’ (CQV.014)

23.1.2.1 Derivation and Valency of Subject Taking CTPs

Non-verbal predicates take only inflection for person. In order to take inflection for aspect or be subject to any valency changing operations, they must be derived as verbs. *jooto?nh* ‘know’ may be derived as a verb and as such is subject to voice and valency alterations. For example in (23.54a) is subject to a number of operations: the noun has been derived as a verb with the versive suffix *-?aH*; its transitivity has been altered with the causative *?ak+*; and the argument status of its ‘causee’, *jeentej* ‘people’, is advanced to subject via the passive suffix *-taH*⁶. As a derived verb, the predicate does not take complements. Observe the same verb in active voice in (23.54a). The verb is transitive. Its A is 1st person and its O 2nd person; this relation is marked on the verb with the proclitic *man+*. For the verb to be ditransitive, it would need to be marked with the applicative suffix *-?a?y*. Therefore, the clause *?ich ?am+mo?osba* ‘I will cook corn’ is not a complement of the verb.

- (23.54) (a) *?antej di kwaatruj diaj ?o siinkuj mojpa*
?antej di kwaatruj diaj ?o siinkuj moj-pa
 before of four days or five begin_{aux}-INC
 “Before four or five days,

- (b) *?i+k+joodonhayajtyaa* *jeentej*
?i+?ak+jooto?nh-?aH-yaj-taH-W *jeentej*
 3ERG+CAUS₁+knowledge-VERS-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-DEP_t people
 the people begin to be informed [by him] that:

⁶In this example the subject is co-reference with an ergative suffix because it is the dependent of the auxiliary verb and it is in passive voice. Refer to ch. 22 for description of dependent verbs in the passive and split ergativity.

(c) *ʔiga miny mar+ak+joodonhataʔm*
 ʔiga miny-W man+ʔak+jootoʔnh-ʔaH-taʔm-W
 COMP come_{aux}-CMP 1:2+CAUS₁+knowledge-VERS-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t
 ‘I come to inform you that

ʔich ʔam+moʔosba
 ʔich ʔan+moʔos-pa
 1PRO XERG+cook.corn-INC
 I will cook corn.’ ” (PDLMA.Fiesta.020)

The predicate *ʔanh+jaam.ʔoʔy.i* is already derived from a verb that takes objects as its complement (23.55). In its nominal derivation, the predicate is not subject to additional derivational operations.

(23.55) *porkej ʔich ʔar+anh+jáam*
 porkej ʔich ʔan+ʔanh+jaam-W
 because 1PRO XERG+believe-CMP
 ‘Because I felt that

ʔa+rak+poytyaap
 ʔa+ʔak+poy-taH-pa
 XABS+CAUS₁+run-PASS-INC
 I was going to be chased.’ (MAB.111a)

The nonverbal predicate *wiH* occurs with high frequency in a number of syntactic and pragmatic roles. As a subject taking predicate, however, it is not observed with any derivational morphology. Similarly, the verb *jessaH* ‘be like that’, which is derived as a verb from a deictic root, is not subject to further derivational operations.

23.1.2.2 The Structure of Subject Complement Sentences

The structure of subject complements is generally the same as that of object complements, with the complement following the matrix clause (23.56).

- (23.56) *dya tan+jodonh ?iga+miny*
dya tan+joto?nh ?iga+Ø+miny-W
 NEG IPSR+knowledge COMP+3ABS+come-CMP
 ‘We don’t know that he comes.’ (ESK.044)

23.1.2.3 Word Order in Matrix

Possessed nouns are typically preceded by the possessors, and as such it is generally the case that the possessor of the possessed nonverbal predicate precedes the predicate (23.57)⁷.

- (23.57) *je?m yoomo ?i+joodonh+?am*
je?m yoomo ?i+jooto?nh+?am
 that woman 3PSR+knowledge+ALR
 ‘This woman knows already

?iga+tunhjom ?anh+si?ida?a?y?yaap
?iga+tunh=joj.mi Ø+?anh+sit-?a?y-?a?y-taH-pa
 that+road=LOC₂.LOC₁ 3ABS+whistle-BEN-BEN-PASS-INC
 that she gets whistled at on the road.’ (GU1.021-2)

The predicates are otherwise intransitive, therefore the complement is the only argument of the verb. All subject complement taking predicates are Ø-marked for 3rd person.

⁷See ch. 14 for description of reduplicated benefactive applicative *?a?y.?a?y*, which serves as a malefactive applicative.

23.1.2.4 Word Order in the Complement

There are substantially fewer instances of subject complement sentences in the corpus. Of the ones there are, overt arguments within in the complement are rare. As observed for object complements, the preference with respect to word order is for arguments to occur postverbally (23.58), although preverbal arguments are observed (23.59). In (23.59) the predicate in the complement clause is the non-verbal predicate *ku+tyiny* ‘lazy’. In this instance, however, the subject is referred to twice, as *jeʔm piixiny* ‘this man’ and as *jeʔm ʔan+widyaaaya* ‘my husband’, indicating that the argument has been topicalized within the clause.

- (23.58) *jesá* *nuʔku+m* *tyempuj*
 Ø+jes.ʔaH-W Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔam **tyempuj**
 3ABS+like.this-CMP 3ABS+arrive-CMP+ALR time
 ‘Like this the time arrived

ʔiga+sinhʔaap+ʔam
 ʔiga+Ø+sinh-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 COMP+3ABS+party-VERS-INC+ALR
 to party.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.019)

- (23.59) *ʔich nimpa* *ʔan+joodonh* *ʔiga+jeʔm piixiny*
 ʔich Ø+nim-pa ʔan+jootoʔnh ʔiga+jeʔm piixiny
 1PRO 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+knowledge COMP+that man
 ‘I say that I know that this man,

jeʔm ʔan+widyaaaya *ʔagi+ku+tyiny*
jeʔm ʔan+wity=ʔaaya ʔagi+Ø+ku+tyiny
 that XPSR+husband INTENS+3ABS+DERIV₂+excrement
 my husband, is very lazy.’ (Comal.003-4)

In (23.60) the A and O of the verb in the complement clause are overtly expressed; the word order is AVP.

- (23.60) *jeʔ dya ʔi+joodonh ʔiga+jeʔm ʔi+yoomo*
jeʔ dya ʔi+joodonh ʔiga+jeʔm ʔi+yoomo
 3PRO NEG 3PSR+knowledge COMP+that 3PSR+woman
 ‘He didn’t know that his wife

tunhgagam piixiny ʔi+ni+ʔity
tunh+gak+ʔam piixiny ʔi+na+ʔity-W
 one+REP+ALR man 3ERG+ASSOC+be-CMP
 had another man.’ (Elson 1984:359-361)

23.1.2.5 Complex Complements

Like object clauses, subject clauses may be composed of complex predicates, as shown in (23.61), in which the subject complement is composed of a CTP and its object complement. Example (23.62) shows a complement consisting of two coordinated clauses.

- (23.61) *ʔii jesa+m ʔi+ʔix jigaantej*
ʔii Ø+jes.ʔaH-W+ʔam ʔi+ʔix-W jigaantej
 and 3ABS+do.like.so-CMP+ALR 3ERG+see-CMP giant
 ‘And like this he saw the giant

ʔagi+puʔuʔaaj
ʔagi+Ø+puʔu-ʔaH-W
 INTENS+3ABS+intestines-VERS-CMP
 was really rotting.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.095)

- (23.62) *jeʔ yaʔachwattaap ʔi+jootʔonh*
jeʔ Ø+yaʔtz-i=wat-taH-pa ʔi+jootʔonh
 3PRO 3ABS+suffer-NOM=do-PASS-INC 3PSR+knowledge
 ‘He was tortured; he knew

<i>ʔiga+ʔak+kaʔataap</i>	<i>kuʔttaap</i>
ʔiga+Ø+ʔak+kaʔ-taH-pa	Ø+kuʔt-taH-pa
COMP+3ABS+CAUS ₁ +die-PASS-INC	3ABS+eat-PASS-INC
that he would be killed and eaten.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.067)	

23.2 Quoted Speech with *nim* ‘say’

There are two ways to quote speech in SP. The first is with the CTP *ʔanh+mat* ‘speak, tell’, described in §23.1.1. The second way is using the intransitive verb *nim* ‘say’, in which case the quoted speech is composed of two completely independent clauses. Like complement clause constructions, the clauses may be juxtaposed or linked with the complementizer *ʔiga+*.

Reported speech is typically framed by a main clause with the intransitive verb *nim* say (23.63). These constructions differ from that of the complement clauses described above in that the quotative is not an argument of the verb, a defining characteristics of complement clauses (Noonan 1985:42). In (23.63) the verb is Ø-marked for agreement with a 3rd person S. If the quoted utterance were an argument of the *nim*, the verb would be marked as transitive with an ergative proclitic.

(23.63) *nimu+m* *jesik raatu+nam* *ʔa+minypa+m*
 Ø+**nim**-W+ʔam jesik raatu+nam ʔa+miny-pa+ʔam
 3ABS+say-CMP+ALR then a.while+STILL XABS+come-INC+ALR
 “She says: ‘Then I’m still coming in a while.’ ” (Cangrejo.045)

The verb is not required in quoted speech. For instance, in cases in which the speaker is reporting an exchange of rapid dialogue, as in (23.64), the speaker

introduces the first quotee's utterance with *nim*, but all subsequent exchanges are not introduced by the quotative verb.

- (23.64) *?a+nikpa* *nimpa*
 ?*a+nikk-pa* \emptyset +*nim-pa*
 XABS+go-INC 3ABS+say-INC
 Speaker 1: “ ‘I’m going,’ he says.”

?aa mi+nyikpa. *mi+nyikpa?*
 ?*a* *mi+nikk-pa.* *mi+nikk-pa*
 ah 2ABS+go-INC 2ABS+go-INC
 Speaker 2: ‘Ah you’re going. You’re going?’

?a+nikpa
 ?*a+nikk-pa*
 XABS+go-INC
 Speaker 1: ‘I’m going.’ (OJOS.027-8)

Quoted speech may be direct (23.65) or indirect (23.66). There is little morphological or syntactic difference between direct and indirect speech, aside from person marking. For instance in example (23.65) the direct speech, the speaker quotes the man using 1st person. In (23.66) the speaker quotes a man and uses 3rd person to refer to the man in the quoted clause.

- (23.65) *nimpa* *je?m piixiny*
 \emptyset +*nim-pa* *je?m piixiny*
 3ABS+say-INC that man
 “The man says:

dya dya ?a+yu?ané?
dya dya ?a+yu?-?aH-ne?-W
 NEG NEG XABS+hunger-VERS-PERF-CMP
 ‘No, no. I’m not hungry.’ ” (ESK.016)

- (23.66) *ʔokmi nim jeʔe ʔi+wĩtzakyáj*
 ʔokmi Ø+nim-CMP jeʔ ʔi+wĩH=tzak-yaj-W
 after 3ABS+say-CMP 3PRO 3ERG+good=leave-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 “After he says [that] he fixed it

kun ʔanh+jagoʔoʔyi
 kun ʔanh+jagoʔoʔyi
 with authority
 with the authorities.’ ” (CNC.036)

Direct quotes are optionally headed by the complementizer *ʔiga+*, as shown in (23.67) and (23.68).

- (23.67) *ʔan+niʔmaʔypa ʔiga+mi+piŋpa*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔiga+mi+piŋpa
 XERG+say-BEN-INC COMP+2ABS+heal-INC
 “I tell her [that]: ‘You’re going to heal.’ ” (ConvSerPartera.203)

- (23.68) *ʔa+niʔmaʔy tyii ʔiny+choy=watpa*
 ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-W tyiH ʔin+tzoy=wat-pa
 XABS+say-BEN-CMP what 2ERG+medicine=make-INC
 “He says to me: ‘What do you use for medicine?’ ” (OJOS.003b)

In contrast to complement clauses, the main *nim* clause may precede (23.69) or follow (23.70) the quoted utterance.

- (23.69) *nimpa ʔich+tyi ʔa+nĩkpa*
 Ø+nim-pa ʔich+tyi ʔa+nĩkk-pa
 3ABS+say-INC 1PRO+STILL XABS+go-INC
 “He says: ‘I’m going too.’ ” (PDO.025)

- (23.70) *mi+koonyneʔeba nĩm*
 mi+koony-neʔ-pa Ø+nim-pa
 2ABS+sit-ASSUM-INC 3ABS+say-INC
 “‘You’re going to sit yourself down,’ she said.” (ConvSerPartera.094b)

- (23.71) *ʔan+niʔmaʔypa* *ʔam+manigam*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔan+manik+ʔam
 XERG+say-BEN-INC XPSR+child+ALR
 ‘I say to my son already:

dya seejneʔ *jeʔm xiwan*
 dya Ø+seet-neʔ-W jeʔm xiwan
 NEG 3ABS+return-PERF-CMP that Juan
 ‘Juan hasn’t returned.’ ” (PQ2.063)

The quoted utterance exhibits the same syntax as that of independent utterances in SP. Word order in quoted speech reflects that of the basic clause. Ss may precede (23.72) or follow (23.73) the verb.

- (23.72) *ʔan+niʔmaʔypa* *ʔi+jaatunh*
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔi+jaatunh
 XERG+say-BEN-INC 3PSR+father
 ‘I tell its father:

yɨʔp tziixi teeny
 yɨʔp tziixi Ø+teeny-W
 this child 3ABS+stand-CMP
 ‘This baby is standing.’ ” (SoyPartera.019)

- (23.73) *kej nuuma teeny* *ʔim+maanik*
 kej nuuma Ø+teeny-W ʔin+maanik
 that certain 3ABS+stand-CMP 2PSR+child
 “[she says:] ‘It’s true your kid is standing.’ ” (ConvSerPartera.045a)

As may precede (23.74) or follow (23.75)⁸ the verb.

- (23.74) *Nimyaj* *jeʔe+yaj*
 Ø+nim-yaj-W jeʔ+yaj
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP 3PRO+PLU_{nonhum}
 ‘They said,

⁸In this example *ʔa+ku+yuj-ʔoʔy-i* is a nominalized expression meaning ‘teacher’.

jeʔm tziix+tyam
jeʔm tziixi+tam
 that child+PLU_{hum}
 these kids:

tan+j+aatunhnh dya+m minypa ta+meʔtz
tan+j+aatunhnh dya+m miny-pa ta+meʔtz-W₂
 IPSR+father NEG+ALR come_{aux}-INC IABS+look.for-DEP_t
 ‘Our father is not coming to look for us.’ ” (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

(23.75) *nimpa siʔip mi+ʔix*
 Ø+nim-pa siʔip mi+ʔix-W
 3ABS+say-INC now 2ABS+see-CMP

jeʔm ʔa+kuyujkiʔiwiy
jeʔm ʔak+ku+yuj-ʔoʔy.i
 that CAUS₁+DERIV₂+learn-ANTIP.NOM
 “He says: now the teacher is looking at you.”

Os follow the verb (23.76). There are no instances in naturally occurring speech of the O in the quoted clause preceding the verb.

(23.76) *Nimpa jigaantej ʔanakkaʔaba ʔiny+tyiwi*
 Ø+nim-pa jigaantej ʔan+ʔak+kaʔ-pa ʔin+tyiwi
 3ABS+say-INC giant XERG+CAUS₁+die-INC 2PSR+brother
 ‘The giant says: ‘I’m going to kill your brother.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:322-3)

Within the *nim* clause, the S may precede (23.77) or follow (23.78) the intransitive verb. When *nim* is transitivized with the applicative *ʔaʔy* the A occurs preceding (23.79) or following (23.80) the verb of the main clause.

- (23.77) *winyik piixiny nimpa*
 winyik piixiny Ø+nim-pa
 long.ago man 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘The old man says

?iga+seetpa tzaany
 ?iga+Ø+seet-pa tzaany
 COMP+3ABS+return-INC snake
 that the snake returns.’ (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.087)

- (23.78) *?i je?m piixiny nim ?iga+dya,*
 ?i je?m piixiny Ø+nim-W ?iga+dya
 and that man 3ABS+say-CMP COMP+NEG
 ‘And the man says ‘no’. (VYT.095a)

- (23.79) *?ii je?m yoomo ?a+ni?ma?ytá?m*
 ?ii je?m yoomo ?a+nim-?a?y-ta?m-W
 and that woman XABS+say-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘And the woman told us

?iga+dya wi?ané? ?i+maanik
 ?iga+dya Ø+wiH-?aH-ne?-W ?i+manik
 COMP+NEG 3ABS+fine-VERS-PERF-CMP 3PSR+child
 that her child had not been well.’ (Partera.003)

- (23.80) *?a+ni?ma?y parteeraj*
 ?a+nim-?a?y-W parteeraj
 XABS+say-BEN-CMP midwife
 ‘The midwife tells me:

?iga+jooymi mi+nyikpa tempranoj
 ?iga+jooymi mi+nikk-pa tempranoj
 COMP+tomorrow 2ABS+go-INC early
 ‘Tomorrow you go early.’ (SoyPartera.030)

The PO, or the addressee, is only observed following the verb when it is transitive (23.81). When the verb is in the passive, however, the S can precede the verb (23.82).

- (23.81) *?ii je?eyukmi ta+nimpa si?ip*
?ii je?=yuk.mi ta+nim-pa si?ip
 and 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ IABS+say-INC now
 “And for this, as we say, now

?ich ?an+ni?ma?y+tyim ?am+manik+tam
?ich ?an+nim-?a?y-W+tyi+?am ?an+maanik+tam
 1PRO XABS+say-BEN-CMP+JUST+ALR XPSR+child+PLU_{hum}
 I just tell my children:

?iga+kuyyukum ?im+matúnh
?iga+kuy=yuk-mi ?in+matonh-W
 COMP+tree=LOC₅.LOC₁ 2ERG+hear-CMP
 ‘If from the treetop you hear

?anh+sitpa ?odoy xiktá?mi
Ø+?anh+sit-pa ?ot?oy sik-ta?m-i
 3ABS-make.tssss.sound-INC NEG laugh-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 a tssss sound, don’t laugh.’ ” (GU1.138-140)

- (23.82) *je?m widyaaaya ni?ma?ytyaaj dya*
je?m wity.?aaya Ø+nim-?a?y-taH-W dya
 that old.man 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP dya
 “The old man is told ‘no’ .” (REY.061)

Chapter 24

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses¹ are subordinate clauses that modify nouns. SP has two relativization strategies: relativizing subordinators and relativizing pronouns. The relativizing subordinators mark the predicate of the relative clause with one of two morphemes: *+pi?k* in the case of nonverbal predicates (24.1) and *-?pV* in the case of verbs (24.2).

- (24.1) *si?ip na+minyi tuum pukuuku [yagatz+pi?k]*
si?ip na+miny-i tuum pukuuku [∅+yagatz+pi?k]
now ASSOC+come-IMP one cloth [3ABS+long+REL]
'Now, bring a cloth [that's long].' (SoyPartera.111)

- (24.2) *dya ?an+tinha?ypa*
dya ?an+tinh-?a?y-pa
NEG 2:1+chop-BEN-INC
'You don't cut me

¹The description of relative clause presented here provides an overview of relative clauses with respect to clause combining. For a detailed treatment of relative clauses with respect to noun modification refer to ch. 5.

[*titzneʔwiʔip*] **kiipi**
 [Ø+titz-neʔ-W+ʔpV] **kiipi**
 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP+REL firewood
 wood [that has dried].’ (Comal.021)

The pronoun strategy uses the relative pronoun *tyimi* ‘with which’ (composed of the interrogative pronoun *tyiH* ‘what’ and the locative suffix *-mi*) to head the relative clause (24.3).

(24.3) *ʔityu+m* [**tyimi** *ʔi+juʔyaʔypa*]
 Ø+ʔity-W+ʔam [**tyiH.mi** ʔi+juy-ʔaʔy-pa]
 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR [with.LOC₁ 3ERG+buy-BEN-INC]
 ‘Already there is [money] [with which to buy (things)].’ (PQ2.158)

24.1 Relative Subordinators

Relative clauses (RC) formed with the subordinators *-ʔpV* and *+piʔk* may be headed by nouns (24.4 and 24.5), demonstrative pronouns (24.6 & 24.7), or relative pronouns (24.8).

(24.4) *ʔam+pinhpa* *kiipi* [*titzneʔwiʔip*]
 ʔan+pinh-pa kiipi [Ø+titz-neʔ-W-ʔpV]
 XERG+gather-INC firewood [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL]
 ‘I’m going to gather firewood [that’s dry].’ (20070712jaf)

(24.5) *siʔip naminyi* *tuum pukuuku* [*yagatz+piʔk*]
 siʔip na+miny-i tuum pukuuku [Ø+yagatz+piʔk]
 now ASSOC+come-IMP one cloth [3ABS+long+REL]
 ‘Now, bring a cloth [that’s long].’ (SoyPartera.111)

- (24.6) *jeʔm* [*ʔi+ʔixyajpaʔap*]
jeʔm [*ʔi+ʔix-yaj-pa-ʔpV*]
that [*3ERG+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC-rel*]
 ‘Those [that see it],

ʔi+n+matyyajpa
ʔi+ʔanh+mat-yaj-pa
3ERG+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘they say

ʔiga+dya wiʔi nik ta+miichi
ʔiga+dya wiH nik-W ta+miich-i
COMP+NEG good go_{aux}-CMP IABS+play-DEP_{ia}
 that it’s not good for us to play.’ (PDO.014a)

- (24.7) *jeʔm tan+abweeloj* [*jeʔm+piʔk winyik*]
jeʔm tan+ʔabweeloj [*jeʔm+piʔk winyik*]
that *IPSR+grandparents* [*that+REL PAST*]
 ‘Our grandparents, those from before,

ʔinh+matyyajpa
ʔi+ʔanh+mat-yaj-pa
3ERG+DERIV₁+speak-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 they say that...’ (ESK.152)

- (24.8) *ʔaʔ+nyixpa* **jup** [*titzneʔwiʔip*]
ʔan+ʔix-pa **jup** [*∅+titz-neʔ-W-ʔpV*]
XERG+see-INC **which** [*3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL*]
 ‘I’m going to see which one [has dried].’ (Comal.029)

Relative clauses may also be headless (24.9 & 24.10). Forming clauses without a co-referential pronoun within the relative clause is referred to as gapping.

- (24.9) *porkej [mujniʔwiʔib]*
 porkej [Ø+muj-neʔ-W+ʔpV]
 because [3ABS+get.wet-PERF-CMP+REL]
 ‘Because wet [wood]

ʔa+ra+mínypa+m
 ʔa+na+miny-pa+tyi+ʔam
 XABS+ASSOC+come-INC+JUST+ALR
 ‘[is what] he brings to me.’ (Comal.030a)

- (24.10) [*jemik+piʔk siʔiyajpa*]
 [jemik+piʔk Ø+siʔ-yaj-pa
 [there+REL 3ABS+walk-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
tigiskiʔim]
 tik=ʔiski=kiʔ.mi]
 house=behind=LOC₃.LOC₁]
 ‘[Those that are there behind the house],

jeʔm tzuʔukiny, jipinytyaʔami
 jeʔm tzuʔukiny jipiny-taʔm-i
 that worm jipiny-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 those worms, move them with a stick.’ (GU2.105-6)

Relative clauses formed with subordinators may modify Ss (24.11), As (24.12)², Os (24.13), POs (24.14)³, SOs (24.15) and obliques (24.16).

- (24.11) [*wii+bik*] *jeʔm piixiny núʔk*
 [Ø+wiiH+piʔk] *jeʔm piixiny* Ø+nuʔk-W
 [3ABS+pretty+REL] that man 3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘The man [who is handsome] arrived.’ (GUS.034a)

²Possessed nouns that serve as nonverbal predicates do not receive marking for person to agree with the S. Refer to chs. 4 and 5 for description of possessed nouns.

³The term *ku+niʔipiny-ʔaH-ʔaʔy* specifically refers to ‘excessive vaginal bleeding’.

- (24.12) *jeʔm* [tan+ʔabweeloyaj+piʔk]
jeʔm [tan+ʔabweelo+yaj+piʔk]
 that [IPSR+grandparent+PLU_{nonhum}+REL]
 ‘Those who were our grandfathers

ʔi+watyaʔj *winytyik*
 ʔi+wat-yaj-W winyyik
 3ERG+do-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP long.ago
 did it before. (Carne.035)

- (24.13) *ʔam+pinhpa* ***kiiʔi*** [titzneʔwiʔip]
 ʔan+pinh-pa ***kiiʔi*** [Ø+titz-neʔ-W-ʔpV]
 XERG+gather-INC firewood [3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP-REL]
 ‘I’m going to gather firewood [that’s dry].’ (20070712jaf)

- (24.14) *ʔich jeʔm yoomo*
 ʔich ***jeʔm yoomo***
 1PRO that woman
 ‘I, for a woman

[tzaam kuniʔpinyʔaʔaʔypaʔpV]
 [tzaam Ø+ku+niʔpiny-ʔa-ʔaʔy-pa-ʔpV]
 [much 3ABS+DERIV₂+blood-VERS-BEN-INC-REL]
 [who was bleeding a lot]

ʔarak+yuʔmaʔypa *jeʔm tzoj* *jeʔm tzaanytzuy*
 ʔan+ʔak+yum-ʔaʔy-pa jeʔm tzoj jeʔm tzaany=tzoj
 XERG+CAUS₁+boil-BEN-INC that medicine that *snake=medicine*
 boil her this medicine, this snake medicine.’ (MED.001-2)

- (24.15) *jeʔm jaaychiixi jeʔm saamnyi* [ʔi+nyumpaʔap]
 jeʔm jay=tziixi ***jeʔm saamnyi*** [ʔi+nuʔm-pa-ʔpV]
 that boy that plantain [3ERG+steal-INC+REL]
 ‘The boy took the plantain [that he stole]

ʔi+nyinigaʔypa *ʔi+yoomtiwi*
 ʔi+na+nikk-ʔaʔy-pa ʔi+yoomo=tiwi
 3ERG+ASSOC+go-BEN-INC 3PSR+sister
 to his sister.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:320-1)

(24.16) *ʔi+tzen* *kunh momtzay*
 ʔi+tzen-W kunh mom=tzay
 3ERG+tie-CMP with axquiote=vine
 ‘He tied it with *axquiote* vine

jeʔm [*ʔapityʔiʔywiʔip*]
jeʔm [Ø+ʔapity-ʔiʔy-wi-ʔpV]
 that [3ABS+thorn-PROV-CMP+REL]
 [that had thorns].’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.030)

24.1.0.6 Within the Verbal Relative Clause

Within relative clauses formed with *-ʔpV*, the relativized noun of the matrix clause may co-reference the S of an intransitive verb, the A or O of a transitive verb, or the PO or SO of a ditransitive verb. In (24.17), the S or the matrix co-references the S of the relative clause.

(24.17) *jem* *ʔityyajpa*
 jemim Ø+ʔity-yaj-pa
 there 3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘There they are,

[jeʔm kapeelpijpaʔap]
[jeʔm Ø+kapeel=pij-pa+ʔpV]
[that 3ABS+coffee=reheat-INC+REL]
 the ones who make the coffee;

tzuʔukiʔim sinhnyi ʔitypa jem
 tzuʔu-kiʔ-mi sinhnyi Ø+ʔity-pa jemim
 night-in day 3ABS+be-INC there
 night and day they are there

ʔasta ki mojpa jeʔm sinh
 ʔasta ki Ø+moj-pa jeʔm sinh
 until there 3ABS+begin-INC that party
 until the party begins.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.025)

In (24.18) the S of the matrix co-references the A of the relative clause.

- (24.18) *!dya jeʔ [ʔaku+pujwiʔip!]*
 dya Ø+jeʔ [ʔa+ku+puj-W-ʔpV]
 NEG 3ABS+3PRO [XABS+DERIV₂+pile.up-CMP-REL]
 ‘It is not he [who defended me].’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:328-9)

In (5.175) the O of the main clause co-references the O of the RC.

- (24.19) *miny+dya wiʔaap ʔin+wát kweentaj*
 mich+ʔun+dya wiʔaH-ps ʔin+wat-W kweentaj
 2PRO+DJO+NEG be.able/aux-INC 2PRO+do-CMP account
 ‘You couldn’t take care of
- jeʔm wiʔkkuy [ʔiny+kuʔttaʔmwiʔp]*
 jeʔm wiʔk-kuy [ʔiny+kuʔt-taʔm-W-ʔpV]
 that eat-NOM 2ERG+eat-PLU_{sap}-CMP-REL
 the food that you eat.’ (Rey.019)

The relativized noun may also be coreferential with the PO within the RC

(24.21) or the SO (24.21).

- (24.20) *[jeʔm piyu ʔanh+maʔychiwʔip] jeʔm yoomo*
 [jeʔm piyu ʔanh+maʔy=chiʔ-W-ʔpV] jeʔm yoomo
 [that chicken XERG+sell=give-CMP-REL] that woman
 ‘The woman [I sold the chicken to]

ʔak+sedaʔy
 ʔa+ʔak+seet-ʔaʔy-W
 XABS+CAUS₁+return-BEN-CMP
 returned it to me.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

(24.21) *jeʔm [ʔara+miʔnyaʔytyaʔmwiʔip]* ***kiiʔi***
 jeʔm [ʔan+na+miny-ʔaʔy-taʔm-W-ʔpV] ***kiiʔi***
 that [2>1+ASSOC+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP-REL] wood
 ‘The wood [that you all brought me]

tutznéʔ
 Ø+titz-neʔ-W
 3ABS+dry-PERF-CMP
 has dried.’ (20070712jaf)

The distribution of the NPs that can occur within the RC corresponds with the “Accessibility Hierarchy” (Keenan and Comrie 1977), which reflects the accessibility of NPs in the RC. That is, the NPs within the clause are subject to the hierarchy such that if the relative clause “can bear a given grammatical function, it can also bear all functions that are higher on the hierarchy,” shown in Figure 24.1.0.6. In SP S, A, O, POs, SOs, and obliques occur as NPs within relative clauses formed with the verbal relativizer *-ʔpV*. Only S appear in relative clauses formed with the nonverbal relativizer *+ʔiʔk*.

Figure 24.1: The Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977)

Subject > Direct > Indirect > Oblique > Genitive > Object of
 Object Object Comparison

24.2 Aspect/Mood in the RC

The relative clause is independent of the matrix clause with respect to aspect and mood. For example in (24.22) the aspect in the matrix clause is completive while in the relative clause it is incomplete. In (24.23) the verb of the matrix clause, in this case the auxiliary of a complex predicate construction, is inflected for optative mood and the verb of the relative clause is inflected for incomplete aspect. And finally in (24.24) the verb of the matrix is inflected for incomplete while the relative clause is inflected for completive.

- (24.22) *ʔa+nip* *yiʔm juuty ʔity*
 ʔa+nim-pa yiʔm juuty Ø+ʔity-W
 XABS+say-INC here where 3ABS+be-CMP
 ‘I say: ‘Where is

jeʔm piixiny [tzoʔoʔy^{pa}ʔap]
jeʔm piixiny [Ø+tzoʔ-ʔiʔy-^{pa}-ʔpV]
 that man [3ABS+heal-PROV-INC+REL]
 the man [who heals]?’ ” (PDLMA.Borracho.069)

- (24.23) *nikʔiny* *tan+ʔaʔm*
 nikk-ʔiny tan+ʔaʔm-W
 go-OPT XERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘That we were going to see

[tikʔayaj^{pa}ʔap]
 [Ø+tik-ʔaH-yaj-^{pa}-ʔpV]
 [3ABS+house-VERS-PLU_{non.sap}-INC+REL]
 [those who made the houses],

puj tey ʔa+niktaʔm
puj tey ʔa+nikk-taʔm-W
 well yes XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 yes, we were going.’ (PDLMA.Viaje.070)

(24.24) *siʔip manniʔmaʔytyaʔmpa*
siʔip man+nim-ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 now 1:2+say-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Now I’m going to tell you

yiʔp nas [ʔitywiʔip yiʔim]
yiʔp nas [Ø+ʔity+W+ʔpV yiʔim]
 this earth [3ABS+be-CMP+REL here]
 about this earth [that’s over here].’ (CP2.002)

24.3 Complex Predicates within the RC

Complex predicates may occur within the relative clause, as shown in (24.25) which illustrates a predicate composed of an incorporated noun. Example (24.26) shows a relative clause composed of an auxiliary verb construction. Here the auxiliary verb is marked with the relativizer suffix *-ʔpV*.

(24.25) *jem ʔityyajpa jeʔm*
jemim Ø+ʔity-yaj-pa jeʔm
 there 3ABS+be-PLU_{nonsap}-INC that
 ‘There they are,

[kapeelpijpaʔap]
 [Ø+kapeel=pij-pa+ʔpV]
 [3ABS+coffee=reheat-INC+REL]
 [the ones who make the coffee;]

tzuʔukiʔim sinhnyi ʔitypa jem
tzuʔu-kiʔ-mi sinhnyi Ø+ʔity-pa jemim
 night-in day 3ABS+be-INC there
 night and day they are there

ʔasta ki moʝpa jeʔm sinh
 ʔasta ki Ø+moʝ-pa jeʔm sinh
 until there 3ABS+begin-INC that party
 until the party begins.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.025)

(24.26) *meʔtzaap jeʔm waanyikiʔiwiy*
 Ø+meʔtz-taH-pa jeʔm wan.i.kiʔ.wiʔy
 3ABS+look.for-PASS-INC that singers
 ‘Sought out are the singers

[wiʔaapaʔap ʔi+watyyaj reesuj]
 [wiH-ʔaH-pa-ʔpV ʔi+wat-ya.j-W reesuj]
 [be.able_{aux}-VERS-INC+REL 3ERG+do-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP rosary]
 [that can pray the rosary].’ (PDLMA.Muerto.049)

24.4 Relative Pronoun *tyiH-mi* ‘with which’

In the pronoun strategy⁴, the relative pronoun *tyiH-mi* ‘with which’ heads the relative clause. Within the relative clause, the argument expressed with the pronoun is instrumental (24.27). Only subjects, agents and patients have been observed relativized with *tyiH-mi*, as shown in (24.27), (24.28) and (24.29) respectively.

(24.27) *yiʔim ʔity jeʔm tzoy*
 yiʔim Ø+ʔity-W jeʔm tzoy
 here 3ABS+be-CMP that medicine
 ‘Here there is a medicine

⁴The use of a relating pronoun is thought to be an innovation in SP, “since applying interrogative words for a relativizing function is not done natively in Mixe-Zoquean”; it is likely to be modeled on Spanish usage (Kaufman, p.c.).

[**tyimi** ?iny+cho?yi?y yi?p ?inh+kaawaj]
 [tyiH-mi ?in+tzoy-?i?y-CMP yi?p ?in+kaawaj]
 [what-LOC₁ 2ERG+medicine-PROV-CMP this 2PSR+horse]
 [with which you cure your horses eyes].’ (OJOS.025)

(24.28) ?i+xutyurrabeenaj ?i+k+pak?i?y?a?ypa
 ?i+xutyu=rrabeenaj ?i+?ak+pak-?i?y-?a?y-pa
 3PSR+small=cork.screw 3ERG+CAUS₁+push-BEN?-BEN-INC
 ‘He is going to push the little cork-screw

[**tyimi** ?i+nh+jikkilmpa]
 [tyiH.mi ?i+?anh+jik=ki?m-pa]
 [what.LOC₁ 3ERG+DERIV₁+pull=ascend-INC]
 [with which he will pull it up].’ (Kaufman & Himes, in progress)

(24.29) dya ?iri?ity tuuminy [**tyimi** ?i+juypa]
 dya ?i+na+?ity-W tuuminy [tyiH.mi ?i+juy-pa]
 NEG 3ERG+have-CMP money what.LOC₁ [3ERG+buy-INC]
 ‘She doesn’t have money [with which to buy (things)].’ (JOV.023a)

As with the subordinator strategy, aspect within relative clauses headed by *tyiH-mi* is independent of that of the matrix, as illustrated in (24.29 above).

Chapter 25

Adverbial and Conditional Clauses

This chapter deals with adverbial and conditional clauses in SP.

25.1 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses, or clauses that modify an event much like lexical adverbs, express location, time, manner, condition, reason and purpose in SP. The adverbial subordinator terms observed in SP are listed in (25.1).

(25.1) ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS:

<i>juuty</i>	‘where’
<i>jesik</i>	‘when’
<i>?okmi</i>	‘then’
<i>ma?kxi</i>	‘before’
<i>tyiH+?iga</i>	‘why, because’
<i>juuty+pi?k</i>	‘how’
<i>?iga+</i>	COMP+

Locative adverbial clauses are headed by the subordinator *juuty* ‘where’ (25.2).

- (25.2) *?an+kutzi?ga?ytya?mim*
?an+ku+tzik-?a?y-ta?m-W-mi
XERG+let.go-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
‘We let them go

<i>juuty</i>	<i>?ity</i>	<i>mu</i>
juuty	Ø+?ity-W	mu?k
where	3ABS+be-CMP	grass
‘where there is grass.’ (VVA.023b)		

Adverbial clauses of time, used in establishing temporal sequencing, include:

jesik ‘when’ (25.3), *?okmi* ‘then’ (25.4), *ma?kxi* ‘before’ (25.5).

- (25.3) *?odoy ?i+ku+jida?yiny ni?*
?ot?oy ?i+ku+ji?t-?a?y-?iny ni?
NEG 3ERG+wash.away-BEN-OPT water
‘That the water doesn’t wash it away

<i>jesik</i>	<i>piimki?mpa</i>	<i>tuj</i>
jesik	Ø+piimi=ki?m-pa	tuj
when	3ABS+strong=rise-INC	rain
‘when the rains increase in force.’ (CP1.011)		

- (25.4) *ʔokmi yajum*
 ʔokmi Ø+yaj-W+ʔam
 after 3ABS+finish-CMP+ALR
 ‘After he finished vomiting

jeʔm ʔan+tugáʔy ʔi+yaatyi
 jeʔm ʔan+tuk-ʔaʔy-W ʔi+yaatyi
 that XERG+cut-BEN-CMP 3PSR+custard.apple
 for him I cut custard apple leaves

ʔan+saʔtzáʔy
 ʔan+satz-ʔaʔy-W
 XABS+scrub-BEN-CMP
 and scrubbed them. (CDM.014)

- (25.5) *maʔkxi pwes nuʔkniyajum*
maʔak+sej pwes Ø+nuʔk-neʔ-yaj-W+ʔam
 before well 3ABS+arrive-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘Before they had come and

ʔidyik ʔik+nuʔkyajum ʔi+jukti
 ʔityʔik ʔi+ʔak+nuʔkyaj-W+ʔam ʔi+jukti
 PAST 3ERG+CAUS₁+arrive-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR 3PSR+fire
 built their fire.’ (Cangrejo.006)

jesik ‘when, then’ may also be used to form conditional (25.6) (see §25.4).

- (25.6) *nimyajpa tan+taadaweewej+tam*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa tan+taataj=weewej+tam
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC IPSR+creature=grandmother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Our grandfathers say

ʔiga+ʔi+jaatunh tzaam jiiisʔoʔynyéʔ
 ʔiga+ʔi+jaatunh tzaam Ø+jiiis-ʔoʔy-neʔ-W
 COMP+3PSR+father much 3ABS+think-ANTIP-PERF-CMP
 that her father is very worried

jesik *mimneʔaktinhpa* *woonyi*
jesik Ø+mim.neʔ=ʔak+tinH-pa *woonyi*
 when 3ABS+get.sick=CAUS₁+fall-INC child
 when a little girl becomes ill.’ (PHE.002-4)

Adverbial clauses of manner are headed by the interrogative pronoun *ju-uty+piʔk* ‘how’.

(25.7) *dya nomas piixiny ʔestej yooxap*
dya nomas piixiny ʔestej Ø+yoox-ʔaH-pa
 NEG no.mas man FILL 3ABS+work-INC
 ‘It’s not just the man that works,

sinoke meej ta+ʔich tan+watpa ʔempenyoj
sinoke meex ta+ʔich tan+wat-pa ʔempenyoj
 but.that also IABS+1PRO IERG+do-INC obligation
 but too we have to do our obligations’

juuty+piʔk *tara+matzpaktaap*
juuty+piʔk ta+na+matz=pak-taH-pa
 how+REL IABS+ASSOC+maintain-PASS-INC
 how we maintain ourselves.’ (JOV.027-8)

Adverbial clauses of reason are formed with the interrogative pronoun *tyiʔiga* ‘why’ (25.8).

(25.8) *jesik púit tzaam tzootyim*
jesik Ø+put-W *tzaam tzootyim*+ʔam
 when 3ABS+go.out-CMP much bravo+ALR
 ‘When he got out he was mad

tyiʔiga *jesnimtáaj*
tyiH+ʔiga Ø+jes=nim-taH-W
 what+COMP 3ABS+do.like.so-PASS-CMP
 because it had been done to him.’ (UDR.029)

- (25.9) *xik* *jeʔm* *ʔanychoomo* ***tyiʔiga***
 Ø+sik-W jeʔm ʔan+choomo **tyiH+ʔiga**
 3ABS+laugh-CMP that XPSR+grandmother what+COMP
 ‘She laughed because

ʔanikpa *choomo* *choomo* *manhwaʔnaʔypa*
 ʔa+nikk-pa choomo choomo man+wan-ʔaʔy-pa
 XABS+go-INC grandmother grandmother 1:2+sing-BEN-INC
 I go: ‘Grandmother, grandmother, I’m going to sing to you.’ (MAB.217-8)

The terms *juuty* ‘where’ and *tyiH+ʔiga* ‘why’ serve as interrogatives, shown in (25.10) and (25.11).

- (25.10) *Nimpa* ***juuty*** *mi+nyik-pa?*
 Ø+nim-pa **juuty** mi+nikk-pa
 3ABS+say-INC where 2ABS+go-INC
 ‘He says: ‘Where are you going?’ ’ (PQ2.107)

- (25.11) *ʔan+niʔmaʔy* ***tyii+ʔiga***
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy **tyiH+ʔiga**
 XERG+say-BEN-CMP what+COMP
 ‘I ask her: ‘Why

toypa *ʔim+puʔu*
 Ø+toy-pa ʔin+puʔu
 3ABS+ache-INC 2PSR+belly
 does your belly hurt?’ ’ (SA2.019b)

The complementizer *ʔiga+* may be used to head reason clauses or clauses indicating ‘as’ (or Spanish *como*) in a comparative sense (25.12). *ʔiga+* is also used to head purpose clauses (25.13).

(25.12) *mi+putta?mpa* *?iga+mi+xix+tyam*
 mi+put-ta?m-pa ?iga+mi+xix+tam
 2ABS+exit-PLU_{sap}-INC COMP+2ABS+cow+PLU_{hum}
 ‘You’re going to come out as cows.’ (VYT.127)

(25.13) *?a+pikpa* *?iga+je?* *?a+wi?aap*
 ?a+pik-pa ?iga+je? ?a+wiH.?aH-pa
 XABS+take.wife-INC COMP+3PRO XABS+be.able_{aux}-INC
 ‘He married me because I could

?an+yooxaaj *?idyik*
 ?an+yoox.?aH-W ?ity?ik
 XERG+work-DEP_{ib} PAST
 work.’ (CNC.002b)

Reason clauses may also be juxtaposed without the use of *?iga+* (25.14).

(25.14) *?a+?ich* *?a+put?ne?um* *?a+so?psum*
 ?a+?ich ?a+put-ne?-W+?am ?a+so?ps-W+?am
 XABS+1PRO XABS+exit-PERF-CMP+ALR XABS+tire-CMP+ALR
 ‘Me, I had left already because I was tired.’ (ConvSerPartera.152)

25.2 Adverbial Clause Position

Adverbial clauses may precede or follow the main clause. The examples in (25.15) and (25.16) show *jesik* ‘when’ clauses preposing the main clause and postposing the main clause, respectively. The semantics of the sentence do not change with respect to the ordering of clauses. For example the order of the clauses in (25.15) can be changed to *?an+tunketpam **jesik** kinhpam* ‘We take it down when it’s cooked.’ Similarly, the meaning of the sentence is not altered

if the order of the clauses in (25.16) is switched: *jesik yumpa jityumpa* ‘When it boils, it bubbles over.’

- (25.15) *jesik kinhpam*
jesik Ø+kinh-pa+ʔam
 when 3ABS+ripe/cooked/red-INC+ALR
 ‘When it’s cooked

ʔan+tunketpam
 ʔan+tun=ket-pa+ʔam
 XERG+put=descend-INC+ALR
 we take it down [from the fire].’ (Atole.016)

- (25.16) *jityumpa* *jesik yumpa*
 Ø+jityum-pa **jesik** Ø+yum-pa
 3ABS+bubble.over-INC when 3ABS+boil-INC
 ‘It moves/bubbles over when it boils.’ (Atole.015)

Also compare examples (25.17) and (25.18), which show locative adverbial clauses headed by *juuty* ‘where’ precede the main clause and follow the main clause, respectively.

- (25.17) *juuty nuʔkpa,* *ta+tzukspa*
juuty Ø+nuʔk-pa ta+tzuks-pa
 where 3ABS+arrive-INC IABS+pinch-INC
 ‘Where they arrive, they pinch us.

ʔii dya kiʔtzaʔypa *nuʔkpa* *ta+waspa*
 ʔii dya kitz-ʔaʔy-pa Ø+nuʔk-pa ta+was-pa
 and NEG take.off.w/.smt-INC 3ABS+arrive-INC IABS+bite-INC
 And you can’t get them off. They come and they bite us. (GU2.118-22)

(25.18) *kun* *ʔi+ʔaapa* *ʔi+ri+núʔk*
 kun *ʔi+ʔaapa* *ʔi+na+nuʔk-W*
 with 3PSR+mother 3ERG+ASSOC+arrive-CMP
 ‘With his mother he went arrived (at town hall)’

porkej *tzam* *sinhneʔ* *ʔi+ʔaʔmoʔoyiʔ*
 porkej *tzam* *sinhneʔ* *ʔi+ʔaʔmoʔoyiʔ*
 because much swollen-PERF-CMP 3PSR+look-ANTIP-NOM
 because the appearance of his face was very swollen

juuty *núʔk* *jeʔm* *chiima*
juuty *núʔk* *jeʔm* *chiima*
 where 3ABS+arrive-CMP that plate
 where the plate had come.’ (Yerno.085-6)

Adverbial clauses are frequently stacked. Example (25.19) shows two adverbial clauses, time and location, in succession preceding the main clause. Example (25.20) shows two successive location clauses headed by *juuty* ‘where’ following the main clause.

(25.19) *jesik* *nuʔkgakpam*
jesik *Ø+nuʔk-gak-pa+ʔam*
 then 3ERG+arrive-REP-INC+ALR
 ‘When she arrived again’

juuty *ʔiʔix* *matik* *jeʔm* *tzuʔukiny*
juuty *ʔi+ʔix-W* *matiʔk* *jeʔm* *tzuʔukiny*
 where 3ERG+see-CMP yesterday that worm
 where she saw the worm yesterday,

ʔaʔm=niggakpaʔam
ʔaʔm=nikk-gak-pa+ʔam
 look=go-REP-INC+ALR
 she looked ahead. (GU2.055)

- (25.20) *?ii jesik jeem moju+m*
?ii jesik jemim moj-W+?am
 and then there begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR
 ‘And then there he began

niki+yaj *jiimnyoom*
 Ø+nikk-i+yaj jimnyi=joj.mi
 3ABS+go-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap} jungle=LOC₂.LOC₁
 to go into the jungle

juuty+tyim *?i+k+jakné?* *juuty+tyim*
juuty+tyi+?am **?i**+?ak+jak-ne?-W **juuty**+tyi+?am
 where+JUST+ALR 3ERG+CAUS₁+cut-PERF-CMP where+JUST+ALR
 just where he had left her, just where

top?aynyetáaj *?i+wichoomo*
 Ø+top-?a?y-ne?-taH-W ?i+wichoomo
 3ABS+take.out-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP 3PSR+wife
 his wife had been taken away from him.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.081-2)

25.3 Borrowed Adverbial Subordinators

There are also a number of borrowed subordinators. These are listed in (25.21).

- (25.21) BORROWED ADVERBIAL SUBORDINATORS:

<i>?antej (de kej)</i>	‘before’
<i>?entonsej</i>	‘then’
<i>kwandoj</i>	‘when’
<i>dejpwej [de]</i>	‘after’
<i>pakej, parakej</i>	‘in order to, in order for’
<i>porkej (also purki)</i>	‘because’
<i>de, dejdej, dede/o (kej)</i>	‘since’
<i>?asta</i>	‘until’
<i>kumu (also komo)</i>	‘as, since’
<i>si</i>	‘if’

Each of the borrowed terms are shown in examples (25.22) through (25.31).

- (25.22) *nimpa* *?iga+wijta?iny*
 Ø+nim-pa ?iga+Ø+wij-taH-?iny
 3ABS+say-INC COMP+3ABS+untie-PASS-OPT
 ‘She said that she should be untied

?antes de ke ?a kukej
?antes de ke ?a Ø+ku+kej-W
 before of that ah 3ABS+day.breaks-CMP
 before day breaks... (VYT.100)

- (25.23) *?entonsej mich mi+pút*
?entonsej mich mi+put-W
 then 2PRO 2ABS+exit-CMP
 ‘Then you all left.’ (SobrePopoluca.133)

- (25.24) *kwandoj dya ?anh+kiinhpa ?anh+jago?yi*
kwandoj dya ?an+kiinhpa ?anh+jak-?o?y-i
 when NEG XERG+fear-INC DERIV₁+cross-ANTIP-NOM
 ‘When I’m not scared of the authorities,

dya ?a+wejpa
 dya ?a+wej-pa
 NEG XABS+cry-INC
 I don’t cry.’ (Yerno.054)

- (25.25) *dejpwej ?iga+?a+seetta?mu*
dejpwej ?iga+?a+seet-ta?m-W
 after COMP+XABS+return-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘After we returned.

?an+jaatunh ?i+ka?m
 ?an+jatunh ?i+ka?m
 XPSR+father 3ERG+affix
 my father stuck [us] with

la kontra demanda ?al munisipyoj soteapa
 la kontra demanda ?al munisipyo soteapa
 the contra demand the town.hall Soteapan
 a summons to appear in the town hall at Soteapan.’ (CNC.018-9)

(25.26) *?inyi+wokya?pa*
 ?i+na+wok-yaj-pa
 3ERG+ASSOC+fight-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They fight

porkej je?m ta?ixya?pa
porkej je?m ta+?i+?ix-yaj-pa
 because that XABS+see-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 because they see us.’ (Duenyo.009a)

(25.27) *?i+tyu?t?a?ypa* *?i+ki?*
 ?i+tu?t-?a?y-pa ?i+ki?
 3ERG+suck-BEN-INC 3PSR+hand
 ‘He sucks his hand

parake se?ety?iny *?i+?anma*
parake Ø+seet-?iny ?i+?anma
 for.that 3ABS+return-OPT 3PSR+soul
 so that his spirit returns.’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.012)

(25.28) **dedo** *ka+a+ra+pikta?mtaap*
desde ke+?a+na+pik-ta?m-taH-pa
 from.when that+XABS+take-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘Since we got married (took each other),

dya ?a+ra+tzakta?mtaap
 dya ?a+na+tzak-ta?m-taH-pa
 NEG XABS+RR+leave-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 we haven’t left each other.’ (Yerno.014)

- (25.29) *?an+pik* *je?m ?an+?aganh*
 ?an+pik-W je?m ?an+?aganh
 XERG+grab-CMP that XPSR+griddle
 ‘I grabbed my griddle

?astaj *jemik* *?ar+ak+wi?ibi?y* *?anh+ki?im*
?astaj *jemik* ?an+?ak+wiip-?a?y-CMP ?anh.ki?mi
 until over.there XERG+CAUS₁+throw-BEN-CMP LOC.LOC₃.LOC₁
 and threw it as far as outside there.’ (Comal.018)

- (25.30) **Komo** *ja?yanh* *je?m puuki*
 komo Ø+ja?yany je?m puuki
 as 3ABS+much.QUANT that cotton
 ‘As there’s a lot of cotton,

ja?yany *je?m puuki*
 Ø+ja?yany je?m puuki
 3ABS+much.QUANT that cotton
 and there’s a lot of cotton,

?i+watpa *tambyeen* *?i+mateelax*
 ?i+watpa tambyeen ?i+mateelax
 3ERG+do-INC also 3PSR+tablecloth
 she made tablecloth too. (Puktuuku.062-4)

- (25.31) *?okmi minyi+m* *mi+wi?iki*
 ?okmi Ø+miny-i+?am mi+wi?k-i
 after come_{aux}-IMP+ALR 2ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘After [she tells him] come eat,

si *mi+nyikpa*
si mi+nikk-pa
 if 3ABS+go-INC
 if you’re going to go [to work].’ (Comal.011)

25.4 Conditional Expressions

Conditional sentences in SP are formed with one of three particles: *si* (25.32), *me+?iga* (25.33), and *si+?iga* (25.34). *si+?iga* is composed of *si* ‘if’, borrowed from Spanish, and the complementizer *?iga+*, which is borrowed from Nahuatl. *Si* occurs infrequently and is interchangeable with *si+?iga*. *me?iga* is composed of the particle *me* and the complementizer *?iga+*, however, the etymology of the particle *me* is unknown. The particles may occur as independent phonological units, although they may cliticize to the left edge of the verb.

- (25.32) *si dya ?im+metzpa paarteeraj si?ip*
si dya ?in+metz-pa paarteeraj si?ip
 if NEG 2ERG+look.for-INC midwife now
 ‘If you don’t look for a midwife now,

yi?p ?am+maanik ?ak+ka?aba
yi?p ?an+maanik ?a+?ak+ka?-pa
 this XPSR+child XABS+CAUS₁+die-INC
 this baby is going to kill me. (CSerPartera.028)

- (25.33) *?a laastima je?m ?am+maanik, mega? nokotyi*
?a laastima je?m ?an+maanik me+?iga Ø+noko+tyi
 ah shame that XPSR+child if+COMP 3ABS+close+JUST
 ‘Uh, what a shame, my child, if he had just been closer,

?an+chi?u+m tum jaaka yi?p ?aanyi
?an+chi?-W+?am tum jaaka yi?p ?aanyi
 XERG+give-CMP+?am one piece that tortilla

I would have given him a piece of tortilla.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

- (25.34) *siġa minypa ?iċġ ?am+matzpa*
si+?iġa Ø+miny-pa ?iċġ ?an+matz-pa
 if+COMP 3ABS+come-INC 1PRO XERG+grab-INC
 ‘If she comes, I’ll grab her.’ (Cangrejo.052)

A fourth particle, the adverbial clause subordinator *jesik* ‘when’, is also used to form conditionals (25.35).

- (25.35) *nimyajpa tan+taadaweewej+tam*
 Ø+nim-yaj-pa tan+taataj=weewej+tam
 3ABS+say-PLU_{nonsap}-INC IPSR+creature=grandmother+PLU_{hum}
 ‘Our grandfathers say

?iġa+?i+jaatunh tzaam jiiis?o?ynyé?
?iġa+?i+jaatunh tzaam Ø+jiiis-?o?y-ne?-W
 COMP+3PSR+father much 3ABS+think-ANTIP-PERF-CMP
 that her father is very worried

jesik mimne?aktinhpa woonyi
jesik Ø+mim.ne?=?ak+tinħ-pa woonyi
 when 3ABS+get.sick=CAUS₁+fall-INC child
 when a little girl becomes ill.’ (PHE.002-4)

SP distinguishes between real and unreal conditions via the particles *me+?iġa* and *si+?iġa*. *me?iġa+* appears in conditional sentences in which speakers express a counterfactual condition and a judgment or belief; whereas *si?iġa+* appears in conditional sentences that make a prediction or assertion about real world events¹. Compare examples (25.36) and (25.37). In example (25.36), the speaker presents a scenario based on a past event, and speculates as to the possible outcome of that event. This is a judgment on the

¹Refer to ch. 12 for description of conditional clauses with respect to modality.

part of the speaker. In contrast, conditional sentences with *siʔiga+* tend to correspond with facts or predictions. In example (25.37) the speaker presents a hypothetical scenario and offers a prediction based on that scenario. In this case, the statement is factual: if one loses too much blood, she could die.

(25.36) *peru mega+tzoyiʔytyáaj*
 pero **meʔiga**+Ø+tzoy-ʔiʔy-taH-W
 but if+3ABS+cure-PASS-CMP
 ‘If she had been cured,

dya ʔidyik kaʔ
 dya ʔityʔik Ø+kaʔ-W
 NEG PAST 3ABS+die-CMP
 she would not have died.’ (MAB.179)

(25.37) *porkej si+ʔiga ku+nipinyaʔaʔypa*
 porkej **si+ʔiga** Ø+ku+nipiny-ʔaʔy-pa
 because if+COMP 3ABS+DERIV₂+blood-BEN-INC
 ‘Because if she bleeds [too much].

jeʔm yoomo wiʔaap ʔi+kaʔ
 jeʔm yoomo wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔi+kaʔ-W₃
 that woman be.able_{aux}-INC 3ERG+die-DEP_{ib}
 the woman could die.’ (MED.005)

Si ‘if’ and *jesik* ‘when’, like *si+ʔiga*, are used in “real” or “factual” contexts.

Conditional sentences are composed of the if-clause (condition, proposition), headed by the conditional subordinators, and the then-clause (assertion, proposition, judgment, belief) (25.38).

(25.38) *Porkej sig+iʔ+nukpa*
 porkej **si+ʔiga+ʔin+ʔuk-pa**
 because if+COMP+2ERG+drink-INC
 ‘Because if you drink it,

ʔiʔ+nukp i+tyumpuy.
 ʔin+ʔuk-pa ʔi+tum.piy
 2ERG+drink-INC 3PSR+all
 you drink it all.’ (SA2.053)

The propositional clause, the if-clause, may precede the predication or assertion clause (25.38) or it may follow it, as shown in example (25.39).

(25.39) *maʔyi+m siʔiga+ʔim+maʔypa*
 maʔy-i+ʔam **si+ʔiga+ʔin+maʔy-pa**
 sell-IMP+ALR if+COMP+2ERG+sell-INC
 ‘Sell it if you’re going to sell it.’ (VVA.057)

25.4.1 Clause Components

The two clauses that comprise the conditional expression are fully inflected, independent clauses. The verbs are inflected for aspect/mood and person. In (25.40) both clauses have transitive verbs. The verb in the *meʔiga+* clause (a) is inflected with incomplete aspect, and the verb in (b) is inflected with complete aspect. In addition, the A in (a) is a 1st person referent and the O is 2nd person, marked on the verb with the proclitic *man+* ‘1:2’. In the second clause (b) the A is 3rd person and the O 2nd person, marked with the absolutive *mi+*.

- (25.40) (a) *meʔiga dya manh+ku+pujpa*
meʔiga dya man+ku+puj-pa
 if NEG 1:2+DERIV+defend-INC
 ‘If I didn’t save you,
- (b) *mi+kuʔt ʔidyik*
mi+kuʔt-W ʔityʔik
 2ABS+eat-CMP PAST
 he would have eaten you.’ (Chaneco.SIL.025)

The verbal arguments may be independent between the clauses. For instance, in (25.41) the *siʔiga+* clause is composed of an intransitive verb; the subject is a 3rd person referent. In the second clause the A is a 3rd person (different from the *sigiʔa+* clause) and the O is 1st person.

- (25.41) *siʔiga kinhu+m saamnyi*
si+ʔiga Ø+kinh-W+ʔam saapnyi
 if+COMP 3ABS+ripen-CMP+ALR plantain
 ‘If there was ripe plantain,
- ʔich jeʔm ʔan+choomo ʔa+nh+wejaʔypa+m*
ʔich jeʔm ʔan+choomo ʔa+ʔanh+wej-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔam
 1PRO that XPSR+grandmother XABS+shout-BEN-INC+ALR
 my grandmother would call me.’ (MAB.199)

Verbs are also subject to voice and valency alternations independently between the clauses. In (25.42) the if-clause consists of a verb derived with the provisory in passive voice. In (25.43) the verb in the if-clause is marked with causative *ʔak+*. In (25.44) the verb in the then-clause is marked with the applicative.

- (25.42) *peru megatzoʔyiʔycháaj*
pero me+ʔiga+Ø+tzoy-ʔiʔy-taH-W
 but if+COMP+3ABS+cure-PASS-CMP
 ‘If she had been cured,

dya ʔidyik kaʔ
 dya ʔityʔik Ø+kaʔ-W
 NEG PAST 3ABS+die-CMP
 she wouldn't've died.' (MAB.179)

(25.43) *si dya taragúkpa*
 si dya tan+ʔak+ʔuk-pa
 si NEG IERG+CAUS₁+drink-INC
 'If we don't give it to her to drink,

kaʔaba jeʔm yoomo
 Ø+kaʔ-pa jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+die-INC that woman
 the woman dies.' (MED.007)

(25.44) *siɡa mi+nyuʔkpa man+yiʔkʔaʔypa*
 si+ʔiga mi+nuʔk-pa man+yiʔk-ʔaʔy-pa
 if+COMP 2ABS+arrive-INC 1:2+block.with.arm-BEN-INC
 'If you arrive, I'll move my arm to block you (hitting you).'
 (PDLMA.Muerto.013)

Clauses may also consist of nonverbal predicates, as shown in (25.45) with the adjective *jaaya* 'brave, valient'.

(25.45) *mich nimʔaytyaaj*
 mich Ø+nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 2PRO 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 " 'You,' he's told,

siʔiga mi+jaaya mi+tzikpa
 si+ʔiga mi+jaaya mi+tzik-pa
 if+COMP 2ABS+valient 2ABS+touch-INC
 'if you are brave, he grabs you.' " (PDLMA.Jacinto-Jomx@k.164)

25.4.2 Word Order

It has been demonstrated that although word order in SP is pragmatically motivated, the preference is for arguments to occur postverbally. The same is true within conditional sentences. Within the if-clause, arguments tend to follow the verb, as shown in (25.46) with the subject of an intransitive verb and in (25.47) with the O of a transitive verb.

- (25.46) *toypam* *yiʔb* *am+puy* *ʔi*
 Ø+toy-pa+ʔam *yiʔp* *ʔan+puy* *ʔi*
 3ABS+hurt-INC+ALR this XPSR+foot FILL
 ‘My foot hurts,

siǵa+witypa
si+ʔiǵa+ʔa+wity-pa
 if+COMP+XABS+walk-INC
 if I walk.’ (ConvSerPartera.268)

- (25.47) *porkej* *sigim+paʔtu+m* *ʔiny+pareja*
 porkej *si+ʔiǵa+ʔin+paʔt-W+ʔam* *ʔin+pareja*
 because *si+COMP+2ERG+find-CMP+ALR* 2PSR+partner
 ‘Because if you find your partner,

mi+yooxabam
mi+yoox.ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 2ABS+work-INC-ALR
 you work.’ (JOV.011a)

Other word orders are attested, however. For example in (25.48), which comes from naturally occurring speech, the O, anaphorically expressed with the quantifier *ʔuxanh* ‘a little’, precedes the predicate. Example (25.49) (not from naturally occurring speech) illustrates constructions in which the A (a) and the O (b) precedes the verb.

- (25.48) *siɣa jeʔm ʔuuxanh ʔiʔ+nyuk*
 si+ʔiga jeʔm ʔuuxanh ʔin+ʔuk-W
 if+COMP that small 2ERG+drink-CMP
 ‘If you drink a little,

ʔiʔ+nyix ʔiga+teenyu+m
 ʔin+ʔix-W ʔiga+Ø+teeny-W+ʔam
 2ERG+see-CMP COMP+3ABS+stand-CMP+ALR
 and you see that it stops,

ʔodom ʔuuki
 ʔodoy+ʔam ʔuk-i
 NEG+ALR drink-IMP
 stop drinking it. (SA2.031-2)

- (25.49) (a) *siʔiga kaxtyanhaanyi ʔi+kuʔtpa*
 si+ʔiga kaxtyan=ʔaanyi ʔi+kuʔt-pa
 if+COMP Catellano=tortilla 3ERG+eat-INC
 ‘If he eats the bread,

toypa ʔi+puʔu
 Ø+toy-pa ʔi+puʔu
 3ABS+pain-INC 3PSR+stomach
 he’ll have a stomach ache.’

- (b) *siʔiga jeʔm tziixi ʔi+kuʔtpa*
 si+ʔiga jeʔm tziixi ʔi+kuʔt-pa
 if+COMP that child 3ERG+eat-INC
 ‘If the child eats it,

toypa ʔi+puʔu
 Ø+toy-pa ʔi+puʔu
 3ABS+pain-INC 3PSR+stomach
 he’ll have a stomach ache.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Within the then-clause, variable word orders are observed. Examples (25.50) and (25.51) illustrate two possible word orders for Os. In (25.50) the O follows the verb; in (25.51) the O precedes the verb. Both examples come from naturally occurring speech.

- (25.50) *si+ʔiga si+ʔiga ʔigiri+niktoʔoba ʔiny+chimpa*
si+ʔiga+ si+ʔiga ʔin+na+nikk-toʔ-pa ʔin+chimpa
 if+COMP if+COMP 2ERG+ASSOC+go-DESID-INC 2PSR+dog
 ‘If you take your dog,
- ʔan+na+miʔnyáʔy jeʔm p̄ixiny*
ʔan+na+miny-ʔaʔy-W jeʔm p̄ixiny
 2:1+ASSOC+come-BEN-CMP that man
 then bring me the man.’ (REY.048)

- (25.51) *siɡa+ʔa+yuʔaap*
si+ʔiga+ʔa+yuʔ-ʔaH-pa
 if+COMP+XABS+hunger-VERS-INC
 ‘If I am hungry,
- ʔanh+waayi+tyim ʔaʔ+nukpa*
ʔan+waayi+tyim ʔan+ʔuk-pa
 XPSR+pozole+JUST XERG+drink-INC
 I just drink my *pozole* [corn broth].’ (Pozole.046)

In (25.52) the theme occurs following the ditransitive verb *chiʔ* ‘give’.

- (25.52) *ʔa laastima jeʔm ʔam+maanik,*
ʔa laastima jeʔm ʔan+maanik
 ah shame that XPSR+child
 ‘Uh, what a shame, my child,
- megaʔ nokotyi*
me+ʔiga Ø+noko+tyi
 if+COMP 3ABS+close+JUST
 if he had just been closer,

?an+chi?u+m tum jaaka yi?p ?aanyi
 ?an+chi?-W+?am tum jaaka yi?p ?aanyi
 XERG+give-CMP+?am one piece that tortilla

I would have given him a piece of tortilla.’ (Gutiérrez & Wichmann 2001:318-9)

In (25.53) the A precedes the verb in the then-clause.

(25.53) *si dya ?im+metzpa paarteera si?ip*
 si dya ?in+metz-pa paarteera si?ip
 if NEG 2ERG+look.for-INC midwife now

‘If you don’t look for a midwife now,

yi?p ?am+maanik ?ak+ka?aba
 yi?p ?am+maanik ?a+?ak+ka?-pa
 this XPSR+child XABS+CAUS₁+die-INC

this baby is going to kill me. (ConvSerPartera.028)

25.4.3 Negation

With respect to negation, the if- and then-clauses may be independently negated. In (25.54) the if clause is negated; negation does not take scope over the then-clause. In (25.55) the then-clause is negated independently of the if-clause.

(25.54) *?okmi ?i+nyim?á?y*
 ?okmi ?i+nim-?a?y-W
 then 3ERG+say-BEN-CMP

‘Then he said to him:

si?iga+dya mi+ketpa man+tujpa
 si=?iga+dya mi+ket-pa man+tuj-pa
 if+COMP+NEG 2ABS+go.down-INC 1:2+shoot-INC

‘If you don’t come down, I’m going to shoot you.’ ”
 (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro.015)

(25.55) *me+gi+ri+ʔity* *konseejo*
 me+ʔiga+ʔi+na+ʔity-W *konsejo*
 if+COMP 3ERG+ASSOC+be-CMP
 ‘If you had had counsel (advice),

dya jeempik ʔiny+watpa
dya jeem+piʔk ʔin+wat-pa
 NEG like.so 2ERG+do-INC
 you wouldn’t’ve done it.’ (Yerno.019)

Chapter 26

Secondary Predication

SP also exhibits secondary predication. Secondary, or depictive, predicates appear infrequently in naturally occurring speech, although this might be due to the diversity of strategies employed to modify or to describe the states of arguments in SP. For instance, in naturally occurring discourse, adjectives rarely modify overtly expressed nouns directly. Rather, once the noun is introduced into the discourse the adjective follows in a non-verbal predicate. This strategy is illustrated in (5.62): the noun *suʔunh* ‘pot’ is introduced in the first clause (a) and then described as being small in the clause immediately following (b).

- (26.1) (a) *ʔi+piku+m+un* *tuum ʔi+xuʔunh*
 ʔi+pik+wi+ʔam+ʔun *tuum ʔi+suʔunh*
 3ERG+grab-CMP+ALR+DJO one 3PSR+pot
 ‘He grabbed his pot.’

- (b) *xuutu* *jeʔm suʔunh*
 Ø+*xuutu* *jeʔm suʔunh*
 3ABS+small that pot
 ‘The pot was small.’ (ESK.064)

Another strategy is to form complex serial predicate constructions by incorporating a non-verbal predicate, as shown in (26.2) with the adjectival predicate *ku+siikiʔ* ‘naked’.

- (26.2) *ʔi+ku+siikitzaktoʔoba* *ʔidyik niʔikiʔim*
 ʔi+*ku+siikiʔ=tzak*-toʔ-pa ʔidyik niʔ=kiʔ-mi
 3ERG+naked=leave-DESID-INC past water=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He wanted to leave him naked in the water.’ (UDR.005)

Secondary predication differs from these strategies in a number of ways. For one, secondary predicates are characterized as having two syntactic relationships: the first “holds between the depictive and the main predicate”, and the second holds “between the depictive and its controller” (Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:74). That is, secondary predicates co-predicate over an argument shared by a main predicate. Formally, depictive secondary predicate constructions are clause-level constructions that, following Schultz-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004:77-78), meet the following seven criteria:

- i. It contains two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, that hold within the time frame;
- ii. the depictive is obligatorily controlled, and the controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive;
- iii. the depictive makes a predication about its controller independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate;
- iv. the depictive is not an argument of the main predicate;
- v. the depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller;
- vi. the depictive is non-finite (not marked for tense or mood categories); and
- vii. the depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

Based on the rare occurrence of secondary predication, this description is a preliminary treatment of depictives in SP, and further study is necessary.

26.0.4 Identifying Secondary Predicates in SP

Secondary predicates consist of nouns (26.3) and adjectives (26.4).

- (26.3) *ʔa+nimpa ʔich ʔeste*
 ʔa+nim-pa ʔich ʔeste
 XABS+say-INC 1PRO FILL

ʔak+poyboyaj
 ʔa+ʔak+poy.poy-ya.j-W
 XABS+CAUS₁+flee.REDUP-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP

ʔanh+jaatunh ʔuuki
 ʔan+jaatunh ʔuk-i
 XPSR+father drink-NOM

‘I said: ‘My father chased me away drunk.’ ’ (PDLMA.Viaje.091)

- (26.4) *Nuʔkpa ʔi+tyikimi*
 Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik-mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₁

‘He arrives at his house

ʔagi+ʔun máymay+ʔam
 ʔagi+ʔun Ø+maymay+ʔam
 INTENS+DJØ 3ABS+happy+ALR
 very happy.’ (ESK.047)

Among the formal, defining characteristics of depictive predicates is that the secondary predicate constructions are composed of two independent predicates, the main predicate and the depictive (criterion i, as listed above) and depictives are controlled by an argument of the main predicate in the clause (criterion ii). For example in (26.5) the main predicate is *tinh* ‘paint, color’. The secondary predicate is the color term *tzabatz*. Both predicates are controlled by the same argument, which is evident via the paraphrase ‘He painted it_i; it_i is red.’

- (26.5) *ʔi+tyĩnhnéʔ* *tzabatz*
 ʔi+tĩnh-neʔ-W *tzapʔatz*
 3ERG+paint-PERF-CMP red
 ‘He painted it red.’ (2007242006ERGs7)

The third criterion (iii), which is closely linked to (i) and (ii), is that the depictive predicates over its controller (criterion iii). In 26.6 the main predicate is *ʔuk* ‘drink’. The A is a 1st person referent and the O is *kapel* ‘coffee’, not overtly expressed. The secondary predicate is *pakʔak* ‘cold’, which describes the state of the O. When the clause is negated, the depictive is negated independently of the main predicate. This example comes in response to the question ‘Did you drink it cold?’, in which case the speaker produced the sentence in (26.6). When prompted, the speaker paraphrased by saying ‘it wasn’t cold when I drank it’.

- (26.6) *dya* *ʔaʔ+nukpa* *pagak*
 dya *ʔan+ʔuk-pa* *pakʔak*
 NEG XERG+drink-INC cold
 ‘I didn’t drink it cold.’ (i.e. ‘It wasn’t cold when I drank it.’)
 *‘I didn’t drink it’. (20060724erg)

Crucially, the depictive is not an argument of the main predicate (criterion iv), nor is it a modifier of the argument of the main predicate (criterion v). With respect to criterion iv, adjectives do not occur anaphorically, therefore they may not appear as the argument of the verb. Therefore, in utterances such as the one shown in (26.6) the status of the adjective must be interpreted as a predicate.

Criterion v requires that the depictive does not modify the argument of the main predicate. For example in (26.7) the depictive is the noun *?uuki* ‘drunk’, derived from the verb *?uk* and the nominalizer. For the noun in the example to be understood as modifying the argument *?an+jaatunh* ‘my father’, it would have to be relativized. The reading here is ‘my father chased me; he was drunk.’ According to Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c., the utterance does not have the reading ‘My drunk father chased me.’

- (26.7) *?akpoypoyyaj* *?an+jaatunh* *?uuki*
 ?a+?ak+poy.poy=yaj-W *?an+jatunh* ?uk-i
 XABS+CAUS₁+run.REDUP=finish-CMP XPSR+father drink-NOM
 ‘My father chased me drunk.’
 *‘My drunk father chased me.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Nouns derived with *-i* frequently occur as nonverbal predicates (26.8).

- (26.8) *?a puej je?m ?an+tzii?zi tzooty* *?idyik*
 ?a pues je?m ?an+tzii?zi Ø+tzooty ?ity?ik
 Ah well that XPSR+aunt 3ABS+angry PAST
 ‘Ah, well, my aunt was angry (an angry person).’

The derived noun is used to convey the state of the argument as a predicate. In (26.9) the derived noun expresses the state of the argument, however, it does not modify the argument.

(26.9) *?a+nimpa* *?ich* *?este*
 ?a+nim-pa *?ich* *?este*
 XABS+say-INC 1PRO FILL

?ak+poyboyyaj
 ?a+?ak+poy.poy=yaj-W
 XABS+CAUS₁+run.REDUP=finish-CMP

?anh+jaatunh *?uuki*
 ?an+jaatunh ?uk-i
 XPSR+father drink-NOM

‘I said: ‘My father chased me away drunk.’ ’ (PDLMA.Viaje.091)

The secondary predicate is nonfinite (criterion vi). Nonverbal elements must be derived as verbs in order to take inflection for aspect or mood. Nouns and adjectives in the role of depictive do not take inflection for person, although referents are permitted to control depictive noun and adjective predicates. For instance, the depictive in example (26.10) is not inflected for person, but it is controlled by the arguments of the main predicate. It has two possible interpretations: one in which the A is drunk and one in which the O is drunk. The construction is judged ungrammatical for the intended reading if it is inflected for person (26.11).

(26.10) *marak+poy* *?uuki*
 man+?ak+poy-W ?uk-i
 2:1+CAUS₁+run-CMP drink-NOM

Reading 1: ‘I chased you; I was drunk.’

Reading 2: ‘I chased you; you were drunk.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (26.11) *ʔanak+poypoyyaj ʔa+ʔuuki
 ʔan+ʔak+poypoyyaj-W ʔa+ʔuk-i
 XERG+CAUS₁+run.REDUP=finish-CMP XABS+drunk-NOM
 ‘I chase him drunk.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

Depictives are not derived as verbs, and they do not take inflection for person. Attempts to elicit depictives with inflection for person or aspect/mood result in speakers devising alternative strategies. For example in (26.12) the speaker formed two independent clauses, deriving a verb from the adjective *maymay*. The example in (26.13) is grammatical only if the verb *put* ‘exit’ is followed by a pause (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.), in which case the two predicates form two independent clauses. Or in the case of (26.14), the speaker uses an adverbial clause.

- (26.12) ʔich jeʔm ʔa+put ʔa+maymaʔya+m
 ʔich jeʔm ʔa+put-W ʔa+maymay-ʔaH-W+ʔam
 1PRO that XABS+exit-CMP XABS+happy-VERS-CMP+ALR
 ‘I left. I was happy.’ (20060724erg)

- (26.13) ʔa+put [pause] ʔa+tzootyim
 ʔa+put-W ʔa+tzootyi+ʔam
 XABS+exit-CMP XABS+angry+ALR
 ‘I left. I (was) mad.’ (Salomé Gutiérrez Morales, p.c.)

- (26.14) ʔa+maymay juuty ʔa+siʔiba
 ʔa+maymay juuty ʔa+siʔ-pa
 XABS+happy where XABS+walk-INC
 ‘I’m happy where I walk.’ (20060724erg)

Finally, depictives make up part of the same prosodic unit with the main predicate (criterion vii). With respect to the prosodic characteristics of

sentences consisting of secondary predicates, in SP, the intonation rises over the sentence, with the penultimate syllable of the clause taking the highest intonational stress of the clause, with no audible pauses. In (26.15) intonation increases and the penultimate syllable of the stressable word takes the principal sentential stress.

- (26.15) *Nuʔkpa* *ʔi+tyikimi*
 Ø+nuʔk-pa ʔi+tik-kiʔ.mi
 3ABS+arrive-INC 3PSR+house-LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘He arrives at his house
- ʔagi+ʔun* *máymay+ʔam*
 ʔagi+ʔun Ø+maymay+ʔam
 INTENS+DJO 3ABS+happy+ALR
 very happy.’ (ESK.047)

In the example in (26.16), on the other hand, the sentence is composed of two independent clauses, evident from intonation. The adverbial clause *jesik pút* ‘when he left’ is followed by a pause, which is followed by the main clause headed by the non-verbal predicate *tzóotyim* ‘he was angry [already]’.

- (26.16) *jesik pút* [PAUSE] *tzaam tzóotyim*
 jesik Ø+put-W tzaam Ø+tzootyi+ʔam
 when 3ABS+exit-CMP very 3ABS+angry+ALR
 ‘When he left he was very angry
- tyi+ʔiga jèsnimtáaj*
 tyi+ʔiga Ø+je.s=nim-taH-W
 because 3ABS+do.like.so-PASS-CMP
 because he had been done this to.’ (UDR.029)

26.1 Secondary Predication Versus Complex Predicates and Multi-verb Constructions

Secondary predicate constructions are formally distinct from the other multi-verb and complex predicate construction types described above. Depictives are distinguishable from subordinated dependent clause constructions (26.17) based on a number of criteria. We saw from complex predicate constructions (ch. 22) that verbs in dependent verb constructions are inflected for person.

- (26.17) *mi+joʔyinyéʔum* *ʔim+pút*
 mi+joʔy-neʔ-W+ʔam ʔin+put-W₃
 2ABS+be.angry-PERF-CMP+ALR 2ERG+exit-DEP_{ib}
 ‘You left angry.’ (20060722erg)

In addition, for a nonverbal element to occur as a dependent verb, it must be derived as a verb. This is illustrated in (26.18), in which case, both predicates are derived verbs.

- (26.18) *porkej dya ʔa+kutyìʔnyatáʔmpa*
 porkej dya ʔa+ku+tyiny-ʔaH-taʔm-pa
 because NEG XABS+DERIV₂+excrement-VERS-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Because we weren’t lazy
- any+yòoxatáʔm*
 ʔan+yoox.ʔaH-taʔm-W
 XERG+work-PLU_{sap}-DEP_{ib}
 as we worked.’ (7NH.028)

The example in (26.19) is not a complex predicate for two reasons. First, the depictive is not derived as a verb, and second, it is nonfinite.

- (26.19) *dya* *ʔaʔ+nukpa* *pagak*
dya *ʔan+ʔuk-pa* *pakʔak*
 NEG XERG+drink-INC cold
 ‘I didn’t drink it cold.’ (i.e. ‘It wasn’t cold when I drank it.’)
 *‘I didn’t drink it’. (20060724erg)

Depictives are distinguishable from relative clauses, in that relative clauses modify nominal referents via a subordinated clause marked with one of two possible relativizing formatives. Nonverbal predicates are marked with the enclitic *+piʔk* (26.20). Depictives are not morphologically marked as subordinators.

- (26.20) *dya* *ʔaʔ+núk* *pagak+piʔk*
dya *ʔaʔ+nuk-W* *Ø+pakʔak+piʔk*
 NEG XERG+drink-CMP 3ABS+cold+REL
 ‘I didn’t drink [the coffee] that’s cold.’ (20060724erg)

The terms “predicate subjective” and “predicate objective” (Sapir 1911:258) refers to instances in which nouns are incorporated by verbs as nonverbal predicates to form serial verb constructions. In SP nouns, adjectives and other nonverbal word classes can be incorporated into the verb to form a complex predicate, as shown in (26.21) and (26.22). Here the incorporated elements form a complex predicate that co-predicates over the argument. The predicate elements that make up serial verb constructions are defined as single phonological and grammatical words that encode a unitary events and that share aspect/mood marking. As such, these constructions are not secondary predicates.

(26.21) *ʔam+pagakʔukpa* *jeʔm niʔ*
 ʔan+pakʔak=ʔuk-pa jeʔm niʔ
 XERG+cold=drink-INC this water
 ‘I drink this water cold.’ (20060724)

(26.22) *Mich ʔan+maltzák*
 mich ʔan+mal=tzak-W
 2PRO 1:2+bad=leave-CMP
 ‘You left me bad (in bad shape).’ (ESK.135b)

Chapter 27

Coordination

Coordination is used to combine syntactically like phrases and clauses. Neither phrase (or clause) is dependent on the other. Coordination in SP include conjunctions (27.1), disjunctions (27.2), and adversative coordination (27.3) (following Haspelmath 2007:2). SP has two strategies for coordinating phrases and clauses. Traditionally speakers juxtaposed coordinands, as illustrated in (27.1) through (27.3).

(27.1) *jeʔ ʔiwadáʔy ʔi+nyokkoy ʔi+yoʔoty*
jeʔ ʔi+wat-ʔaʔy-W ʔi+nok.kuy ʔi+yoʔti
3PRO 3ERG+make-BEN-CMP 3PSR+pants 3PSR+shirt
‘She made his pants and her shirt.’ (PUK.075)

(27.2) *jeʔm dya+piʔk tanh+kiypa ta+wisteen ta+tukuteen*
jeʔm dya+piʔk tan+kiy-pa ta+wisteen ta+tukuteen
that NEG+REL IERG+endure-INC IABS+two IABS+three
‘There were two or three of us who didn’t endure it.’ (PDLMA.Presidente.062)

(27.3) *dya jeʔm winyyig ʔanh+maatyi*
dya jeʔm winyyik ʔanh+maat.i
 NEG that long.ago story
 ‘The story’s not from before,

yɨʔp ʔich ta+nimpa ʔich+piʔk
yɨʔp ʔich ta+nim-pa ʔich+piʔk
 this 1PRO IABS+say-INC 1PRO+REL
 it’s ours (from now).’ (MAB.001b)

Frequently speakers use the Spanish conjunctions *y* ‘and’ (27.4), *o* ‘or’ (27.5), *pero* ‘but’ (27.6), and *sino* ‘but, yet, rather’ (27.7) for conjunctions, disjunctions, and adversatives, respectively.

(27.4) *ʔii dya wiʔaam ʔi+chén*
ʔii dya wiH-ʔaH-W ʔi+tzen-W₂
 and NEG be.able_{aux}-CMP XERG+tie-DEP_t
 ‘And she couldn’t tie it

ʔii póy jeʔm piiyu
ʔii Ø+poy-W jeʔm piiyu
 and 3ABS+run-CMP that chicken
 and the chicken ran away.’ (PQH.007/8)

(27.5) *jeʔ ʔi+jootʔonh tyii ta+pikʔaʔypa*
jeʔ ʔi+jootʔonh tyiH ta+pik-ʔaʔy-pa
 3PRO 3PSR+knowledge what IABS+grasp-BEN-INC
 He knows what grabs us

ʔiga+ta+tzoyʔiʔypa juutypiʔk tuum piixiny
ʔiga+ta+tzoy-ʔiʔy-pa juuty-piʔk tuum piixiny
 COMP+IABS+medicine-PROV-INC where+REL one man
 so he can cure us anywhere, a man

yaʔach *mimneʔʔak+tinhpa* **ʔo** *tuum tziixi*
 Ø+yaʔach-W Ø+mim.neʔ=ʔak+tinh-pa **ʔo** *tuum tziixi*
 Ø+suffer-CMP 3ABS+be.sick=CAUS₁+fall-INC or one child
 who suffers and falls ill, or one child.’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.027)

(27.6) *kaʔaneʔu+m* *ʔi+jaatunh*
 Ø+kaʔ-neʔ-W+ʔam ʔi+jaatunh
 3ABS+die-PERF-CMP+ALR 3PSR+father
 ‘His father had already died

peroj *jeʔm tziixi nay*
peroj *jeʔm tziixi* Ø+nay-W
 but that child 3ABS+be.born-CMP
 but the child was born.’ (PDLMA.JJX.010)

(27.7) *dya+m* *ʔestej dya+m* *neejatziʔyapa*
 dya+ʔam ʔestej dya+ʔam Ø+neeja=tziʔy-pa
 NEG+ALR FILL NEG+ALR 3ABS+side=remain-INC
 ‘No, not this; this stays to the side.’

siinoj *tum+tyim* *ʔestej nibel tziʔyapa* *yɨʔp tzaʔ*
siinoj *tuum+tyi+ʔam ʔestej nibel* Ø+tziʔy-pa *yɨʔp tzaʔ*
 but one+JUST+ALR FILL level 3ABS+remain-INC that stone
 but one level of these rocks remains.’ (CP2.007)

Pragmatically, use of the Spanish conjunctions and of juxtaposing phrases is interchangeable, and both strategies are frequently observed.

27.1 Conjunction

Phrases and clauses are conjoined via the same strategies: juxtaposition or the borrowed conjunction *ʔi*. Conjoined phrase types include verbs (27.8), noun

phrases (27.9), adverbs (27.10), locatives (27.11), relative clauses (27.12) as well as other like-phrase types.

- (27.8) *?am+pi:kpa* *?an+tunka?mpa* *?an+su?unh*
?an+pi:k-pa *?an+tun=ka?m-pa* *?an+su?unh*
 XERG+take-INC XERG+put=affix-INC XPSR+pot
 ‘I grab and place my pot.’ (Pozole.006)

- (27.9) *moj* *?i+k+poy*
 moj-W ?i+?ak+poy-W
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+CAUS₁+run-DEP_t
 ‘They began to chase [the chickens],’

je?m *?i+k+wistik,* *tuum* *?an+jay?uk*
je?m *?i+ku+wistik* *tuum* *?an+jay?uk*
 that 3PSR+DERIV₂+two one XPSR+nephew
 two of them, one of my nephews

?ii *tuum* *je?m* *?anh+woonyi*
?ii *tuum* *je?m* *?an+woonyi*
 and one that XPSR+girl
 and one of my girls.’ (PQH.010-1)

- (27.10) *yu?im* *je?exik* *nikpa+m* *je?m* *tzu?ukiny*
yi?im *je?e.xik* \emptyset +nikk-pa+?am *je?m* *tzu?ukiny*
 here over.there 3ABS+go-INC+ALR that worm
 ‘Here and there went the worms.’ (GU1.107)

- (27.11) *dejpuej* *kom* *je?m* *?i+tyik*
 despues \emptyset +kom-W *je?m* *?i+tik*
 then 3ABS+fill-CMP that 3PSR+house
 ‘Afterward the house filled up

- (27.15) *yuktugaa* *tum woonyi ?ii tum*
 Ø+yu?k=tuuku-?aH-W **tuum woonyi ?ii tuum**
 3ABS+orphan-VERS-CMP one girl and one

jaaychiixi

jay=tziixi

boy

‘A boy and a girl were orphans.’ (Gutiérrez and Wichmann 2001:317)

In transitive verb phrases, As (27.16), Os (27.17), POs (27.18) and SOs (27.19) may be conjoined.

- (27.16) *mich ?iny+jaatunh ?iny+?aapa*
 mich **?in+jatunh ?in+?aapa**
 2PRO 2PSR+father 2PSR+mother

‘Your father and your mother

dya mi+nh+keja?y konseejo
 dya mi+?anh+kej-?a?y-W konseejo
 NEG 2ABS+show.it-BEN-CMP counsel
 didn’t advise you.’ (Yerno.018)

- (27.17) *je? ?iwadá?y ?i+nyokkoy ?i+yo?otyí*
 je? ?i+wat-?a?y-W **?i+nok.kuy ?i+yo?ti**
 3PRO 3ERG+make-BEN-CMP 3PSR+pants 3PSR+shirt

‘She made his pants and her shirt.’ (PUK.075)

- (27.18) *?iny+jaytyiiwi ?ii ?iny+yoomtiíwi*
 ?in+jay=tyiiwi ?ii ?in+yoom=tiíwi
 2PSR+boy=child and 2PSR+woman=child

‘Your brother and sister,

?i+ku+wistikyaj ?any+chi jem piyuja?axi
?i+ku+wistikyaj ?an+chi?-W je?m piyu=ja?as-i
 3ERG+DERIV₂+two XERG+give-CMP that chicken=roast-NOM
 I gave the roasted chicken to the two of them. (Salomé Gutiérrez
 Morales, p.c.)

(27.19) *?a+na+miny?a?ytya?mpa*
?a+na+miny-?a?y-ta?mpa
 XABS+ASSOC+come-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘They are going to bring me

?an+?aanyi ?anh+waayi
?an+?aanyi ?an+waayi
 XPSR+tortilla XPSR+pozole
 my tortilla and *pozole*.’ (PDLMA.XUUNUJTI.030)

More than two NPs may be conjoined (27.20).

(27.20) *tan+juypa sik, ?arrus, sopajyaj*
tan+juy-pa sik, ?arrus, sopa+j+yaj
 IERG+buy-INC bean rice soup+PLU_{nonhum}
 We buy beans, rice and soups.’ (Jovenes.020)

SP is a polysynthetic, head-marking language in which the verb is inflected for person. As such, the verb can stand alone as a complete sentence. For instance, the example in (27.21) illustrates a complete, well-formed, trivalent clause. Arguments may be overtly expressed for pragmatic reasons, but are typically omitted from the clause if they have been established earlier in the discourse.

- (27.21) *?i+tyo?ba?ypa+m*
?i+top-?a?y-pa+?am
 3ERG+extract-BEN-INC+ALR
 ‘[My grandmother] extracts [the thread from the cotton plant].’
 (Puktuuku.033)

Because phrases and clauses may be conjoined by juxtaposition, it is not always clear whether clauses are conjoined or whether they simply occur in sequential order. Therefore, examples such as (27.22) are not straight forward cases of coordination.

- (27.22) *?ich ?a+tze?tze?o?ypa* *?a+mospa*
?ich ?a+tze?.tze?-?o?y-pa *?a+mos-pa*
 1PRO XABS+wash.REDUP-ANTIP-INC XABS+cook.corn-INC
 ‘I (go about) washing it and I cook it (corn).’ (SA2.040)

Prosodic features may be useful in distinguishing coordinated clauses from independent sentences. Pauses following sentences tend to be longer, whereas conjoined clauses do not have audible pauses. However, pauses are an unreliable indicator as sentences of two or three are often strung together without an audible pause.

When Os of the verbs are overtly expressed they tend to follow the second coordinand in the sequence, which is referred to as backward ellipsis. In (27.23) the O of the two verbs occurs phrase final.

- (27.23) *yi?im ?ar+ak+ki?ma?ypa+m*
yi?im ?an+?ak+ki?m-?a?y-pa+?am
 here XERG+?ak+raise-BEN-INC+ALR
 ‘I raise

ʔan+tzeʔnaʔypa+m *jeʔm* *ʔi+weʔkxi*
ʔan+tzen-ʔaʔy-pa+ʔam *jeʔm* *ʔi+weʔksi*
 XERG+tie-BEN-INC+ALR that 3PSR+braid
 and tie her braids up.’ (MAB.164)

The patient may also follow the first coordinand, as shown in (27.24) and (27.25). Example (27.24) illustrates two conjoined clauses in which the shared argument occurs following the first verb. The patient of the first clause coindexes the theme of the second clause. Example (27.25) shows a sentence with four clauses, three of which are conjoined (b-d). The secondary object *yaatyɪ=ʔay* ‘custard apple leaf’ of the three verbs follows the first verb in (b).

(27.24) *ʔi+ku+ʔáʔm* *tum jeʔm* *ʔi+faaja* *ʔa+chiʔ*
ʔi+ku+ʔaʔm-W *tum jeʔm* *ʔi+faaja* *ʔa+chiʔ-W*
 3ERG+DERIV₂+look-CMP one that 3PSR+belt XABS+give-CMP
 ‘She looked for her belt and gave it to me.’ (ConvSerPartera.080)

(27.25) (a) *ʔokmi yum* *jeʔm*
ʔokmi Ø+yaj-W+ʔam *jeʔm*
 after 3ABS+finish-CMP+ALR that
 ‘After he finished [vomiting],

(b) *ʔan+tùgaʔyyáj* *ʔi+yaatyidyay*
ʔan+tuk-ʔaʔy-yaj-W *ʔi+yaatyɪ=ʔay*
 XERG+cut-BEN-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t 3PSR+custard.apple=leaf
 I cut him apple custard leaves

(c) *ʔan+saʔtzáʔy*
ʔan+saʔtzaʔy-W
 XERG+scrub-CMP
 and scrubbed them for him,

- (d) *?ii moʒ* *?ar+ak+su?k*
 ?ii moʒ-W *?an+?ak+su?k-W*
 and begin_{aux}-CMP XERG+CAUS₁+smell-DEP_t
 and I began to make him smell them.’ (COM.014ab)

27.2 Disjunction

SP indicates disjunction by either juxtaposing the coordinands or by using the borrowed disjunctive particle *?o*. As with conjunctions, there appears to be no semantic or pragmatic difference for the use of either strategy. Two types of disjunction are generally observed: standard and interrogative (Haspelmath 2007:25). Pragmatically, SP exhibits both, although they are not distinguishable on formal grounds.

In standard disjunction, as with conjunction, verb phrases and noun phrases may be disjoined. Ss (27.26), As (27.27).

- (27.26) *si?ip ?an+anh+maatyiimi* *kee*
 si?ip ?an+?anh+mat-i-mi *kee*
 now XPSR+DERIV₁+tell-NOM-LOC₁ that
 ‘Now in my dialect,

tuum piixiny ?o tziixi
 tuum piixiny ?o tziixi
 one man or child
 one man or child,

lo.ke.se ?ak+tinhpa *mimne??ak+tinh*
 lo.ke.se Ø+?ak+tinh-pa mim.ne?=?ak+tinh-W
 that.what 3ABS+CAUS₁+fall-INC 3ABS+be.sick=CAUS₁+fall-CMP
 whatever, falls ill...’ (PDLMA.CURANDERO.003)

(27.27) *jesik ?i+?aapa ?o ?i+jaatunh*
 jesik ?i+?aapa ?o ?i+jaatunh
 then 3PSR+mother or 3PSR+father
 ‘Then the mother or father,

si?iga woonyi ?i+jaatunh
 si+?iga Ø+woonyi ?i+jaatunh
 if+COMP 3ABS+girl 3PSR+father
 if it’s the girl, then the father,

si?iga tziixi ?i+?aapa
 si+?iga Ø+tziixi ?i+?aapa
 if+COMP 3ABS+child 3PSR+father
 if its the boy then the mother,

?i+ka?m?a?yp ?i+tzuuynyi? ?i+pu?uyukmi
 ?i+ka?m-?a?y-pa ?i+tzuj.i=ni? ?i+pu?u=yuk.mi
 3ERG+affix-BEN-INC 3PSR+mouth=water 3PSR+belly=LOC₅.LOC₁
 he/she rubs their saliva on the [child’s] stomach.’ (PHE.007-9)

Arguments within subordinate or combined clauses are observed in disjunct phrases. In (27.28) the As of relativized clause appear as juxtaposed disjoint phrases.

(27.28) *siejtej ki ?i+?aanyi+pi?k ?i+kapeel+pi?k*
 siejtej ki ?i+?aanyi+pi?k ?i+kapeel+pi?k
 seven that 3PSR+tortilla+REL 3PSR+coffee+REL
 ‘There are seven that receive tortillas and that make coffee;

?ii je?m chiima ?a?myajpa?ap
 and je?m chiima Ø+?a?m-yaj-pa-?pV
 and that plate 3ABS+see-PLU_{non-sap}-INC+REL
 and those who serve the plates,

wisnaa+yaj **kwaatruj+yaj**
 Ø+wisnaa+yaj Ø+kwaatruj+yaj
 3ABS+two+PLU_{nonsap} 3ABS+four+PLU_{nonsap}
 they are two or four.’ (PDLMA.Fiesta.022)

In (27.29) the numbers in an adverbial phrase are disjoined via juxtaposition.

(27.29) *dya+m* *wiʔaap* *ʔan+ʔuk* *porkej*
 dya+ʔam wiH.ʔaH-pa ʔan+ʔuk-W porkej
 NEG+ALR good.VERS-INC XERG+drink-DEP_t because
 ‘I can’t drink because

ʔa+ʔukpa+m *ʔajta* ***trej*** ***kwaatruj*** *diyaj*
 ʔa+ʔuk-pa+ʔam ʔajta ***trej*** ***kwaatruj*** *diyaj*
 XABS+drink-INC+ALR until three four days
 I drink for three or four days.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.132)

Two disjoined verb phrases are shown in example (27.30) using the borrowed disjunctive particle *ʔo*.

(27.30) *siɡa+duuruʃ* *miichyajpa* *tzuʔukiʔim*
 si+ʔiɡa+duuruʃ Ø+miich-yaj-pa tzuʔu=kiʔ.mi
 if+COMP+long 3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-INC night=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘If they play a long time in the night

ʔiɡa+miichyajpa *de pelootaj*
 ʔiɡa+Ø+miich-yaj-pa *de pelootaj*
 COMP+3ABS+play-PLU_{nonsap}-INC of ball
 because they play ball

ʔo ***nak+pòyyajtáap***
 ʔo Ø+na+ʔak+poy-yaj-taH-pa
 ʔo 3ABS+RR+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-INC
 or chase each other,

jem miny jem nik
 jee-m Ø+miny-W jee-m Ø+nikk-W
 here 3ABS+come-CMP there 3ABS+go-CMP
 there they come, there they go...’ (Carne.031)

The excerpt from a conversation in (27.31) illustrates two disjointed nonverbal predicates.

(27.31) *tzoykiʔim ʔityiyaj*
 tzoy=kiʔ.mi Ø+ʔity-i-yaj-W
 medicine=LOC₃.LOC₁ 3ABS+be-PROG-PLU_{non_{sap}}-CMP
 A: ‘They are on [pure] medicine.’

tzoy
 tzoy
 medicine
 B: ‘Medicine.’

jeʔum ʔeestej pastiia ʔampoyeta
 jeʔm ʔeestej Ø+pastiia Ø+ʔampoyeta
 that FILL 3ABS+pill 3ABS+shot
 A: ‘It’s that pill or injection.’

jeʔam
 jeʔ+ʔam
 3PRO+ALR
 B: ‘That’s it.’

dya+m jeʔm komo winyik
 dya+ʔam jeʔm komo winyik
 NEG+ALR that as PAST
 A: ‘It’s not like before.’ (ConvSerPartera.280-4)

SP conveys interrogative disjunction, “a question by which the addressee is asked to specify one of the alternatives” (Haspelmath 2007:26), with

the same strategy as standard disjunction. Specifically, speakers use the disjunct *?o*. Examples are illustrated in (27.32) and (27.33). No examples have been observed in which alternatives are presented simply via juxtaposition.

- (27.32) *wii ta?+na?m yi?p tzu?ukiny*
 wiH tan+?a?m-W yi?p tzu?ukiny
 good IERG+look-CMP that worm
 ‘Is it good for us to look at the worm

?u dya wii
 o dya wiH
 or NEG good
 or isn’t it good?’ (GU2.092)

- (27.33) *?okmi jiy?a?ytyaa*
 ?okmi Ø+jiy-?a?y-taH-W
 end 3ABS+speak-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘He’s spoken to,

nim?aytyaa
 Ø+nim-?a?y-taH-W
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 he’s told:

mi+ketpa ?o dya mi+ketpa
 mi+ket-pa ?o dya mi+ket-pa
 2ABS+descend-INC or NEG 2ABS+descend-INC
 ‘Are you going down, or aren’t you going down?’ ”

27.2.1 Negative Disjunction

Negative disjunction is conveyed with the negative particle *ni*. Examples are shown in (27.34) and (27.35). In contrast to the strategies of juxtaposing

phrases or using the borrowed disjunct *?u* ‘or’, the negative particle precedes each of the coordinands.

- (27.34) *dya+m ?an+?ukne?* **ni** *?uxanh*
 dya+?am ?an+?uk-ne?-W **ni** *?uxanh*
 NEG+ALR XERG+drink-PERF-CMP neither little
 ‘I hadn’t drunk a little

je?m ?oojo ni tuum je?m serbeesaj
je?m ?oojo ni tuum je?m serbeesaj
 that alcohol neither one that beer
 alcohol or one beer.’ (PDLMA.Borracho.128)

- (27.35) *dya juuty tam+pa?tpa ni mok ni tyii*
 dya juuty tan+pa?t-pa ni mok ni tyiH
 NEG where IERG+find-INC neither corn neither what
 ‘[When] nowhere do we find corn or anything

ni tyii tanh+ku?tpa
ni tyiH tan+ku?t-pa
 neither what IERG+eat-INC
 at all to eat.’ (PDLMA.Tzapup@@xiny.050)

27.3 Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination, in which speakers express opposition to a previous assertion (ie. ‘but, although’) is also formed by juxtaposing phrases or clauses. Typically the contrast is marked by a pause. In (27.36) a contrast is made between *tempranoj* ‘early’ and *tzu?+tyi+?am* ‘late, night’. This contrast is indicated with a pause following *tempranoj* ‘early’.

(27.36) *?iga+dya ?an+je?egachinhyaipa*
?iga+dya Ø+?an+je?ega=chinh-yaj-pa
 COMP+NEG 3ABS+DERIV₁+hurriedly=bathe-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘Because they don’t bathe

tempranoj tzu?u+tyim
tempranoj tzu?+tyi+?am
 early night+JUST+ALR
 early, [but] late.’ (PCA.025)

(27.37) *porkej ?i+ka?mpa*
porkej ?i+ka?m-pa
 because 3ERG+affix-INC
 ‘Because he sticks it [on],

dyam ka?mpa je?m ?i+kooso
dya+?am Ø+ka?m-pa je?m ?i+kooso
 NEG+ALR 2ABS+affix-INC that 3PSR+knee
 but his knee doesn’t stick.’ (ESK.127)

Speakers may also use the conjunct *?ii* with negation to convey adversative coordination. In (27.38) conjoins a negated phrase to negate the previous clause.

(27.38) *?ii ?i+junhpa ?ity?ik*
?ii ?i+junh-pa ?ity?ik
 and 3ERG+gore-INC PAST
 ‘And he tries to gore him,

?ii dya juchaa
?ii dya Ø+ju?tz.?aH-W
 and NEG 3ABS+be.such.that-CMP
 but it’s not possible.’ (PDLMA.Giant.SIL.027)

Like conjoined clauses, adversative clauses exhibit a preference for “backward ellipsis”. In (27.39) the O of both verbs *na+nikk* ‘carry [off]’ and *na+ʔity* ‘have’ the O follows the oppositional coordinand.

(27.39) *para kej ʔestej yiʔp tiktzaaji*
 para kej ʔestej yiʔp tik=tzaʔ.ɪ
 so that FILL this rock.NOM
 ‘So that this cement

ʔodoy ʔi+nyaniginy ʔestej ʔi+nyaʔidyiny
ʔotʔoy ʔi+na+nikk-ʔiny ʔestej ʔi+na+ʔity-ʔiny
 NEG 3ERG+ASSOC+go-OPT FILL 3ERG+ASSOC+be-OPT
 doesn’t carry off [but] holds back

ʔestej nas
ʔestej nas
 this earth
 this earth.’ (CP1.008)

27.4 Coordination Versus Subordination

Coordinated constructions can be distinguished from subordinated clauses because subordinated clauses are inflected with dependent verb morphology. The verb *nikk* ‘go’ is an auxiliary verb that takes dependent verbs. When the dependent verb is intransitive it is inflected with the dependent suffix *-i*. *Nikk* ‘go’ is shown as an auxiliary verb in example (27.40). Here the auxiliary verb is inflected with aspect suffix *-pa* ‘-INC’, and the dependent verb *chinh* ‘bathe’ is marked with the dependent suffix *-i* ‘-DEP_{ia}’¹. In coordinated constructions,

¹Refer to chapters 8 and 22 for description for dependent verbs.

however, both verbs are marked with aspect or mood suffixes. For example in (27.41) the verbs *nikk* ‘go’ and *nuʔk* ‘arrive’ are coordinated with the coordinator *ʔii*, and both are inflected with the incomplete suffix *-pa*. Similarly in (27.42) the verbs *nikk* ‘go’ and *jiy* ‘speak’, coordinated by juxtaposition, are both inflected for aspect with the inflectional suffix *-pa*.

- (27.40) *ʔan+choomo* ***nikpa*** *chiinhi*
 ʔan+choomo nikk-pa Ø+chinh-**i**
 XPSR+grandmother go_{aux}-INC 3ABS+bathe-DEP_{ia}
 ‘My grandmother goes to bathe

niʔikiʔim
 niʔ=kiʔ.mi
 river=LOC₃.LOC₁
 in the river.’ (MAB.024)

- (27.41) ***nikpam*** *ʔii* ***nuʔkpa***
 Ø+nikk-pa+ʔam ʔii Ø+nuʔk-pa
 3ABS+go-INC+ALR and 3ABS+arrive-INC
 ‘He goes and arrives.’ (ESK.042)

- (27.42) ***nikpa*** *ʔi+jiʔyaʔygakpa*
 Ø+nikk-pa ʔi+jiy-ʔaʔy-gak-pa
 3ABS+go-INC 3ERG+speak-BEN-REP-INC
 ‘He goes and talks [to his flesh] again:

Sube carne! Sube carne!
 sube carne sube carne
 ascend meat ascend meat
 ‘Up flesh! Up flesh!’ ” (ESK.075)

Part VI

Conclusion

Chapter 28

(Poly)synthesis

Sierra Popoluca is a Mixe-Zoquean language spoken by approximately 28,000 people in the state of Veracruz, Mexico. An agglutinating, polysynthetic, head-marking language, it has a rich and complex verbal system. SP has numerous strategies to convey events, to manipulate syntactically the participants involved in those events, to situate those events spatially and temporally, and to express speakers' attitudes about those events. Much of this information is centered on the predicate nucleus of any given clause. To conclude the description presented in this grammar, I provide a brief overview of the elements that comprise the grammatical resources available to speakers.

28.1 The Components of SP

SP has three major word classes: verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Verbs constitute the prototypical head of the clause, and requiring inflection for person

and aspect/mood, they may not appear as bare roots or stems. There are five verb classes: transitive, intransitive, agentive ambitransitive, patientive ambitransitive, and ditransitive. Nouns, which prototypically head phrases and function as arguments of verbs, may appear bare or take inflection for case and number. They may be possessed (alienably or inalienably), they may be modified by demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers, and relative clauses, and they may function as (nonverbal) predicates. Adjectives modify nouns and function as statives; they may be inflected for person when they occur as nonverbal predicates.

SP also has five minor word classes, which include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers (numeric and non-numeric), adverbs, and relational nouns. Pronouns, demonstratives, and quantifiers may occur anaphorically, take inflection for person and number, and occur as predicates. Adverbs make up a small word class that is composed mostly of lexicalized expressions formed with particles, clitics, and roots from other word classes (ch. 7).

Postpositions and relational nouns, an areal feature of Mesoamerica (Campbell et al. 1986), make up a small word class (ch. 6). They are composed of relational and locative roots. Relational nouns—which may attach to nouns, be possessed and occur as independent adverbs—express locative, instrumental, partitive, and privative cases.

Formatives include bound morphemes and clitics that derive new words from other word classes (or the same word class), adjust the valency of verbs, and mark inflection of person, number, and aspect/mood. There are 28 bound

derivational, valency adjusting and inflectional suffixes, 17 inflectional, derivational, and valency adjusting clitics, and about 10 adverbial enclitics and particles.

SP is a head-marking language (Nichols 1986), and as such, the head of the phrase takes inflectional and derivational morphology. Essentially, information is centralized on the predicate nucleus of any given clause. A complete clause may consist minimally of an inflected verb or a non-verbal predicate. In fact, in SP all word classes (major and minor) may function as statives (non-verbal predicates) when they are not themselves serving as the argument of a predicate. As non-verbal predicates, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, etc. are inflected for person and number agreement. Kinship terms in SP take local proclitics, indicating that they are transitive, a characteristic observed in languages throughout Mesoamerica (Amith and Smith-Stark 1994a, 1994b), including Olutec, a Mixe-Zoquean language (Zavala 2006b).

28.2 Saliency and Animacy Hierarchies in SP

SP grammar is influenced by saliency and animacy hierarchies (Comrie 1989, Silverstein 1976). Evident in the alignment and number systems, the hierarchies are pervasive forces in the grammar. In a saliency hierarchy, more topical referents outrank less topical referents. In SP, speech act participants (SAP; 1st person speaker and 2nd person hearer) outrank nonSAPs. With respect to animacy, in SP human referents outrank non-human referents.

SP marks four persons: inclusive (includes 2nd person hearer), exclusive

(excludes 2nd person hearer), 2nd person, and 3rd person. The alignment system in SP is ergative-absolutive (ch. 11). This means that subjects of transitive verbs (A) are marked as ergative, and subjects of intransitive verbs (S) and objects of transitive verbs (O) are marked as absolutive. In the event that both referents are SAPs, the arguments are marked as “local” with one of two person markers. In addition, SP is a primary object (PO) language, which means that in ditransitive clauses, POs—arguments whose semantic roles are benefactive, recipient, addressee, or goal—are marked as absolutive as well. Table 28.2 shows the agreement markers that correspond to S, A, O, PO, and SO (secondary object) arguments in the three clause types. The numbers in the table correspond to persons that may be marked on the verb: 1st (exclusive, inclusive), 2nd and 3rd. In some dependent verb constructions, the S of intransitive verbs is marked as ergative (see below).

Table 28.1: Arguments and Corresponding Inflectional Markers

	ERG	ABS	LOCAL	UNMARKED
$V_{intrans}$		$S_{1,2}$		
V_{trans}	$A_{1,2,3}$	$O_{1,2}$	$A/O_{1:2,2:1}$	
$V_{ditrans}$	$A_{1,2,3}$	$PO_{1,2}$	$A/PO_{1:2,2:1}$	SO
.....				
dependent				
$V_{intrans}$	$S_{1,2,3}$			

With respect to morphology, only one proclitic may be marked on the verb. While this may be explained as a result of morphophonemic processes associated with clitics in SP, the distribution corresponds to the hierarchically driven system. Only the higher ranking referent is marked on the verb.

Hierarchy is also seen as a motivating force in the status of primary and secondary objects. Benefactive, addressee, and recipient arguments tend to be animate, significant enough to have led SP to “syntacticize” these arguments as POs (Zavala 2000:876).

The hierarchies are also implicated in the number system, resulting in a number system that is split in terms of both saliency and animacy (Smith-Stark 1974, Silverstein 1976). Number morphology encodes the plurality of nouns, and it distinguishes between human and non-human referents. It may also encode the plurality of pronouns and nominal possessors, in which case it distinguishes between SAPs and nonSAPs. Number morphology also distinguishes between SAPs and nonSAPs when it marks agreement with the argument of a predicate.

The alignment system in SP also exhibits split ergativity conditioned by subordination (Dixon 1994). In dependent verb constructions, of which there are six types in SP, the S of intransitive verbs is marked with ergative proclitics.

28.3 Verb Formation Strategies

SP has some 450 verb roots and a rich system for predicate formation strategies. As such, these strategies provide a vast repertoire of resources for conveying conceptually sophisticated events, situating those events spatially and temporally, and syntactically manipulating the participants involved in those events. The strategies available to SP speakers include noun incorporation, verb serialization, and dependent verb constructions.

Noun incorporation (NI) describes a process that forms complex predicates by compounding a noun and a verb (Mithun 1984, Sapir 1911). SP has two of the four NI types (ch. 20). In type I NIs, the noun loses its syntactic status as an argument (Mithun 1984:849, Rosen 1989:309). In terms of core arguments, both As and Os may be incorporated. The semantic roles that may be incorporated include goals, instruments and locative arguments. SP also has type II noun incorporation, although this type is restricted to external possession—aka possessor ascension, possessor raising, and possessor promotion (Aissen 1987; Allen et al 1984, 1990; Mithun 1984; Velázquez-Castillo 1995, 1996; Payne and Barshi 1999). Type II NI refers to a “manipulation of case”, in which a core argument is incorporated by the verb leaving a case position open to be occupied by an otherwise oblique argument. In the case of SP, it is the possessor that moves in to occupy the vacancy. Body parts, bodily fluids, kinship terms, and parts of wholes may all be incorporated in type II NI.

Verb serialization is a highly productive verb formation strategy in SP

(ch. 21) (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, Crowley 1987, Durie 1988, Foley and Olson 1985, Li and Thompson 1981, and Zavala 2000, 2006a). Serial verb constructions (SVC) are complex verb words that are formed by combining two or more stems with no morphological subordination. SVCs make up the same phonological and grammatical word that, like NIs, share aspect/mood marking, as well as core arguments. SP has 11 serial verb construction types, which are determined based on the transitivity of the combined verbs¹ and in which arguments are shared by the predicates in the verbal complex. Argument sharing produces two major types: basic serials and cause-effect serials. In basic serial verb constructions the arguments that are co-referenced by both verbs are syntactically equivalent (i.e. S=S, A=A, S=A, or O=O). In cause-effect serials, the O (or the A) of a transitive V1 co-references the S of the V2 intransitive verb. Put another way, “the V2 describes the result, or the effect, of the V1” (Aikhenvald 2006:16). Diachronically, SVCs are the source of a handful of the formatives found in SP, among them the third person plural suffix *-yaj*, the causative proclitic *?ak+*, and the ambulative suffix *-?o?y*.

In SP SVCs may be formed with non-verbal predicates (typically nouns and adjectives), as well as derived verbs. Nouns and other non-verbal elements, which canonically participate as satellites of the verb, are also implicated in verb formation strategies. In noun incorporation, nouns are incorporated by the verb, generally narrowing the scope of the denotation of the verb (i.e. chopping → wood-chopping.). In serial verb constructions, nouns and adjectives

¹There are 4 possible combinations: $V1_{intrans}=V2_{intrans}$, $V1_{intrans}=V2_{trans}$, $V1_{trans}=V2_{trans}$, and $V1_{trans}=V2_{intrans}$.

tives appear as predicate components of the verbal complex (i.e. hunger=sleep ‘go to bed hungry’).

Complex predicates also consist of dependent verb constructions, of which there are 6: 3 auxiliary and 3 subordinator² (ch. 22). Five of the dependent verb constructions are essentially “aspectless”, a characteristic that is unique to SP within the Mixe-Zoquean family. Dependent verb constructions are composed of two syntactically integrated verbs (one takes inflection for person, the other for aspect/mood). They convey motion/purpose, aspectual (progressive, simultaneous, inceptive, completive), and modal (‘be able’, ‘be such that’, ‘be sufficient’) information.

28.4 Manipulating Participants in Discourse

SP has numerous strategies for manipulating the roles of arguments or the prominence of discourse referents. At the clause level, word order is pragmatically influenced. Voice and valency adjusting operations are generally marked morphologically. Predicate formation is also implicated in the manipulation of discourse participants.

SP is a verb initial language (ch. 16). As noted above, it is a polysynthetic head-marking language. As such, a complete clause may consist minimally of an inflected verb; nominal referents need not be expressed overtly. Word order, and whether lexical or pronominal arguments are expressed at

²There are actually 5 dependent verb constructions. The sixth (-*mu* subordinator construction) is included in the description of dependent verbs because it patterns with dependent verb constructions in that it conditions split ergativity.

all, is pragmatically determined. SP's basic, unambiguous word order is VSO. Arguments may precede the verb or appear in a range of possible orders (SVO, SOV, OVS, etc.); however these alternate word orders are usually the result of arguments appearing in topic or focus position (marked by intonation, pauses, or morphology). That is, the discursive prominence of a referent is frequently reflected in the clause structure (ch. 19).

SP has a number of constructions that deal with voice, or the relationship between the action expressed by a verb and the role of its arguments (ch. 13). Passive constructions are used for foregrounding the patient and serve to indicate the topic of a sentence, disambiguate its arguments, or emphasize the action expressed by the verb. In antipassive sentences, transitivity is reduced and the patient is suppressed. Antipassive voice is used to foreground the agent or background the patient. Reflexive/reciprocal constructions in SP are formed by combining a reflexive/reciprocal proclitic (*na+*) with the passive suffix *-taH* (and optionally with number morphology), a strategy that is typologically common (Shibatani 1985). In addition to passive, antipassive, and reflexive/reciprocal relations, SP has morphology to indicate indefinite subjects, a feature that is common throughout North America (Mithun 1999). Restricted to intransitive verbs, the indefinite subject marker does not affect the valency of the verb; rather, it serves to suppress the specificity of the subject.

SP has three applicatives, which add arguments or manipulate their status (ch. 14). These include the benefactive *-ʔaʔy*, the associative *na+*, and

the instrumental applicative *-kaʔ*. The applicative suffix *-ʔaʔy* is used to add an O argument to an intransitive verb or a PO argument to a transitive verb. The semantic roles of the O that are added include benefactives, recipients, addressees, and goals (or targets). It is also used to advance the possessor of the O to PO status, a type of external possession. It also appears in a reduplicated form (*-ʔaʔyʔaʔy*) to add a malefactive argument. The associative proclitic *na+* increases the valency of the verb by adding an O. The associative (S/A) realizes the action encoded by the verb as being accompanied by someone/something else. The associative occurs with intransitive, transitive, non-agentive ambitransitive, and ditransitive verbs; it does not occur with agentive ambitransitives. In addition to conveying the associative reading described above, it also conveys a comitative sense, in which the O argument is affected, resulting in a causative reading. The instrumental applicative suffix *-kaʔ* occurs with intransitive stems to form transitive ones, adding peripheral participants as core arguments. It adds an O argument and conveys that an action is realized ‘with’, ‘on’, ‘about’, ‘at’, or ‘by’ the added participant.

SP has two morphological strategies for expressing a situation in which an external “causer” prompts a “causee” to realize an action or state encoded by a verb (ch. 14). One strategy employs the causative proclitic *ʔak+* to introduce a causer into the clause. This strategy may be used with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. The causative proclitic occurs with agentive ambitransitive verbs. It also occurs with non-agentive ambitransitive verbs, which are inherently causative (Haspelmath 1993:103) in their transi-

tive and intransitive alternations. The second causativizing strategy consists of forming a verb compound with the verb *tzik* ‘touch’. This strategy forms indirect causative constructions, which describe a situation in which an A’s actions lead to an O’s realizing an unrelated action or state (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002). The indirect causative strategy occurs only with intransitive verbs.

As previously noted, complex predicate formation in SP is a strategy used to manipulate the discursive prominence of referents. In type I and II noun incorporated constructions (NIs), the syntactic status of arguments may be lost or altered. In type I NI, the noun loses its syntactic status as an argument and serves to narrow the denotation of the verb. Type I NIs are also considered a type of antipassivization strategy. By incorporating the O into the verbal complex, the transitivity of the verb is reduced, the noun loses its status as argument, and the noun combines with the verb to express a unitary concept. External possession (type II NI) alters the status of the possessor to one of experiencer (typically as S of intransitive verbs).

28.5 Events in TAM, Space, and Attitude

SP has a range of morphological and syntactic resources to contextualize events with respect to time and space and to convey speakers’ attitudes about situations.

SP is a tenseless language; that is, it does not indicate time morphologically. It does however, situate events in time via adverbs (ch. 7). Aspect

and mood, on the other hand, are morphologically marked in SP (ch. 12). SP has five morphologically expressed aspects: completive *-W*, incompletive *-pa*, perfect *-neʔ*, motion progressive *-i*, iterative (reduplicated verb root). The completive and incompletive are the basic aspects in SP; verbs must be inflected with either the completive or the incompletive aspect (unless inflected with either the imperative or the optative mood). The completive is a type of perfective aspect in that the event encoded by the verb is viewed as a single, bound event with a final endpoint. The incompletive conveys imperfective aspect and indicates that an event has not terminated or been completed. The perfect relates one event or situation to some other event or situation. Reduplicated roots convey iterative or repetitive events. The motion progressive conveys that an action is realized as an ongoing motion (i.e. *jaʔas-i* (roast-PROG) ‘roast by continuously passing something [over fire]’).

SP also expresses mood morphologically. There are four moods: imperative, optative, frustrative, and desiderative. The imperative and the optative are two of the four suffixes (with the completive and incompletive) with which verbs are obligatorily inflected. That is, verbs must be minimally inflected with one of four suffixes: completive, incompletive, imperative, or optative.

Aspect may also be expressed periphrastically with complex predicates (ch. 22). The auxiliary verb *siʔ*, which originates from the verb *siʔ* ‘walk’, occurs in dependent verb constructions to indicate progressive aspect. Co-occurring events are conveyed with three subordinator constructions, all of which take dependent verbs. These four dependent verb constructions all con-

dition split ergativity, as described above. Because dependent verb constructions are composed of two syntactically integrated verbs—one takes inflection for person and the other for aspect/mood—paradoxically, the dependent verb in the constructions take no marking for aspect/mood, a characteristic that is unique to SP within the Mixe-Zoquean family. In other Mixe-Zoquean languages, the dependent verb morphology marks agreement with aspect marked on the auxiliary verb. Finally, inceptive and completive aspect are also expressed periphrastically with the auxiliary verbs *moj* ‘begin’ and *yaj* ‘finish’.

Adverbs and adverbial clauses situate events with respect to time, location, manner and perception. They indicate distant past, recent past, and immediate future (among others); they establish sequential order, location, manner; and they stipulate conditions, reasons, and purpose. The handful of adverbial enclitics in the language—*+ʔam* ‘already’, *+gak* ‘another, also’, *+tyim* ‘just’, *+nam* ‘still’, *+wey* ‘it is true, I say’, and *+ʔun* ‘it is said’—pepper narrative and conversation.

Complex predicates and adverbial clauses are also used to convey modality. The auxiliary verbs *wiʔaH* and *kus* express ‘ability’ and ‘satisfaction’ (‘be sufficient’), respectively. Conditionals in SP are modal in the sense that they distinguish between real and unreal events (ch. 12). The particle *me+ʔiga* is used in conditional sentences to express a counterfactual condition and a judgment or belief. *Si+ʔiga* is used in conditional sentences that make a prediction or assertion about real world events.

28.6 Conclusion

To summarize, SP has numerous strategies to convey events, to manipulate syntactically the participants involved in those events, to situate those events spatially and temporally, and to express speakers' attitudes about those events. As SP is an agglutinating, polysynthetic, head-marking language, with a rich repository of verb formation strategies, the resources at speakers' disposal are complex. In this grammar I have attempted to present a broad description of the SP language while capturing each of the grammatical resources available to speakers.

Appendix A

Texts

The audio recordings of these texts is a available at The Archive of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA.utexas.org).

A.1 A Trip to Visit Grandmother

The anecdote “A Trip to Visit Grandma” as told by Juliana Alvino Franco on 2004 July 02. Translated by Rosa Cervantes Rodríguez on 2005 April 15 & 16.

- (A.1) *ʔich ʔara+ʔitytyaʔm ʔidyik kawaj*
 ʔich ʔan+na+ʔity-taʔm-W ʔityʔik kawaj
 1PRO XERG+have-PLU_{sap} PAST horse
 ‘We had horses.’ (VVA.001)

kumu ʔich ʔan+tzam kawayukumi
 kumu ʔich ʔan+tzam-W kaway=yuk.mi
 as 1PRO 3ERG+raise-CMP horse=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘As I was raised on a horse.’ (VVA.002)

- (A.2) *ʔich ʔidyik keʔnam ʔa+piixiny*
 ʔich ʔityʔik ken+ʔam ʔa+piixiny
 1PRO PAST seem+ALR ʔa+man
 ‘I looked like a man.’ (VVA.003a)

- (A.3) *ʔara+suʔuba ʔidyik kawaj*
 ʔan+na+suʔ-pa ʔityʔik kawaj
 3ABS+ʔan+walk-INC PAST horse
 ‘I rode horses.’ (VVA.003)

- (A.4) *ʔa+nuʔk tuum jaama*
 ʔa+niʔk-W tuum jaama
 XABS+arrive-CMP one day
 ‘One day arrived; (VVA.004)

ʔan+niʔmaʔypa ʔan+jaatunh
 ʔan+nim-ʔaʔy-pa ʔan+jaatunh
 XERG+say-BEN-INC XPSR+father
 I tell my father

ʔich nikkpa ʔan+ʔaʔm ʔan+choomo
 ʔich nikk-pa Ø+ʔan+ʔaʔm+W ʔan+choomo
 1PRO go_{aux}-INC XERG+see-DEP_t XPSR+grandmother
 ‘I’m going to see grandmother.’ (VVA.005)

- (A.5) *nimpa* *si mi+nyikta?mpa* *?inh+ku+trees*
 Ø+nim-pa si mi+nikk-ta?m-pa ?in+ku+trees
 3ABS+say-INC si 2ABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC 2ERG+DERIV₂+tres
 ‘He says: ‘The three of you are going?’ ’ (VVA.006)
- (A.6) *?a+nim* *?anh+ku+trees* *?a+nikta?mpa*
 ?a+nim-W ?an+ku+trees ?a+nikk-ta?m-pa
 XABS+say-CMP XERG+DERIV₂+tres XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We say: ‘The three of us are going?’ ’ (VVA.007)
- (A.7) *nimpa* *bweenoj si mi+nyikta?mpa* *niksta?mi*
 Ø+nim-pa bweenoj si mi+nikk-ta?m-pa nikk-ta?m-i
 3ABS+say-INC good if 2ABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC go-PLU_{sap}-IMP
 ‘He says: ‘Good, if you’re going, go. (VVA.008)
- (A.8) *?i tempranoj mi+xeetta?mpa* *mi+minytya?mpa*
 ?i tempranoj mi+seet-ta?m-pa mi+miny-ta?m-pa
 and early 2ABS+return-PLU_{sap}-INC 2ABS+come-PLU_{sap}-INC
 And early you’ll return; you’ll come.’ (VVA.009)
- (A.9) *?i ?a+nikta?mpa* *plaayaj*
 ?i ?a+nikk-ta?m-pa plaayaj
 and XABS+go-PLU_{sap}-INC beach
 ‘And we went to the beach.’
- (A.10) *nimpa* *?a?+naachi*
 Ø+nim-pa ?an+?aachi
 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+big.brother
 ‘My big brother says:
- nimpa* *ta+mi?ichiny*
 Ø+nim-pa ta+miich-?iny
 ABS+sat-INC IABS+play-OPT
 ‘Let’s play.’ ’ (VVA.010)
- (A.11) *tan+watpa* *karreeraj*
 tan+wat-pa karreeraj
 IERG+do-INC race
 ‘Let’s race.’ (VVA.011)

(A.12) *?a+nim*
 ?a+nim-W
 XABS+say-CMP
 ‘I say:

dya ta+nikpa tan+?a?m tan+choomo?
 dya ta+nikk-pa ?an+?a?m-W₂ tan+choomo
 NEG IABS+go_{aux}-INC IERG+look-DEP_t IPSR+grandmother
 ‘Weren’t we going to see grandmother.’ (VVA.012)

(A.13) *nimpa dya tuunh+gak+nam jaama*
 Ø+nim-pa dya tuum+gak+nam jaama
 3ABS+say-INC NEG one+REP+STILL day
 ‘He says: ‘No, another day.’ ” (VVA.012)

(A.14) *ta+mi?ichiny*
 ta+miich-?iny
 IABS+play-OPT
 ‘Let’s play.’

(A.15) *pwes ta+miichpa*
 pwes ta+miich-pa
 well IABS+play-INC
 ‘Then we play.’ (VVA.013)

(A.16) *?a+jakta?m ni?anhwinytyuk*
 ?a+jak-ta?m-W ni?=?anh.winy=tyuk
 IABS+cross-PLU_{sap} river=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 ‘We crossed to the other side of the river.’ (VVA.014)

(A.17) *?anhku+?a?mtá?m je?m plaayaj*
 ?an+ku+?a?m-ta?m-W je?m plaayaj
 XERG+DERIV₂+look-PLU_{sap}-CMP that beach
 ‘We looked for a place on the beach

juuty ?agi+wityi
 juuty ?agi+wityi
 where INTENS+wide
 where it was wide.’ (VVA.015)

(A.18) *jemum moj* *?a+poymiichi+tyam*
 jemim moj-W ?a+poy=miich-i+tam
 there begin_{aux}-CMP XABS+run=play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘There we began to play-run;

?an+wattá?m *karreeraj*
 ?an+wat-ta?m-W karreeraj
 XERG+do-PLU_{sap}-CMP race
 we raced.’ (VVA.016)

(A.19) *?ich dya ?a+pakká?* *maachuj*
 ?ich dya ?a+pak.ka?-W maachuj
 1PRO NEG XABS+throw-CMP male
 ‘The [male] horse didn’t throw me,

pero ?i+pakká? *?an+tiiwi*
 pero ?i+pak.ka?-W ?an+tiiwi
 pero 3ERG+throw-CMP XPSR+brother
 but it threw my brother’ (VVA.017)

(A.20) *je? si ?i+pakká?* *je?m potranhka*
 je? si ?i+pak.ka?-CMP je?m potranhka
 3PRO yes 3ERG+throw-CMP that young.filly
 ‘Yes, the filly threw him.’

?ich dya ?a+pakká?
 ?ich dya ?a+pak.ka?-W
 1PRO NEG XABS+throw-CMP
 ‘Mine didn’t throw me.’ (VVA.018)

(A.21) *puuruj miichkuy*
 puuruj miich-kuy
 pure play-LOC_{applic}
 pure games.’ (VVA.019)

(A.22) *?asta nu?k* *a las dos de la tarde*
 jasta Ø+nu?k-W a las dos de la tarde
 until 3ABS+arrive-CMP at two in the afternoon
 ‘Until two in the afternoon.’ (VVA.020)

- (A.23) *?a+nim* *tzu?uyim*
 ?*a+nim-W* *tzu?u.yi+m*
 XABS+say-CMP afternoon
 ‘I say: ‘It’s late.
- si?ip nikkpa+m* *taraku+wi?k*
si?ip nikk-pa+?am *tan+?ak+wi?k-W₂*
 now *go_{aux}-INC* *IERG+CAUS₁+eat-DEP_t*
 Now let’s feed [the horses].’ (VVA.021)
- (A.24) *sò?psne?yáju+m* *yi?p kawaj*
 \emptyset +*so?ps-ne?-yaj-W+?am* *yi?p kawaj*
 \exists ABS+tire-PERF-PLU_{nonsap}-CMP+ALR this horse
 ‘The horses are tired.’
- ?okmi niki+m* *?arak+wi?ktá?m*
?okmi nikk-W+?am *?an+?ak+wi?k-ta?m-W₂*
 after *go_{aux}-CMP+ALR* *XERG+CAUS₁+eat-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t*
 ‘Then we fed them.’ (VVA.023a)
- (A.25) *?anku+tzi?ga?ytya?mi+m*
 ?*an+ku+tzik-?a?y-ta?m-W+?am*
 XERG+DERIV₂+touch-BEN-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘We let them go
- juuty ?ity* *mu?k*
juuty \emptyset +?ity-W *mu?k*
 where \exists ABS+be-CMP grass
 where there’s grass.’ (VVA.023b)
- (A.26) *?aty ?ity* *je?m paraal*
 ?*aty \emptyset +?ity-W* *je?m paral*
 much \exists ABS+be-CMP that vine/vegetation
 ‘There was a lot of vegetation.
- mojom* *wi?iki+yaj*
moj-W+?am \emptyset +*wi?k-i+yaj*
begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR \exists ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{nonsap}
 They began to eat.’

(A.27) *mojo+m* *wiʔiki*
 moj-W+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They began to eat.’

mojo+m *wiʔiki*
 moj-W+ʔam Ø+wiʔk-i
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR 3ABS+eat-DEP_{ia}
 ‘They began to eat.’

ʔich *mojo+m* *ʔa+chinh+tyam*
 ʔich moj-W+ʔam ʔa+chinh-i+tam
 1PRO began_{aux}-CMP+ALR XABS+bathe-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘We began to bathe.’ (VVA.025)

(A.28) *ʔich* *ʔanak+poytyamtaap*
 ʔich ʔa+na+ʔak+poy-taʔm-taH-pa
 1PRO XABS+RR+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC
 ‘We chased each other.’ (VVA.026a)

(A.29) *ʔich+un* *siʔip* *ʔa+ʔuxpiny+tyam*
 ʔich+ʔun siʔip ʔa+ʔuxpiny+tam
 1PRO+DJO now XABS+alligator+PLU_{hum}
 ‘According to us we were alligators.’ (VVA.026b)

(A.30) *ʔi* *tuum* *jeʔe* *tiburrun*
 ʔi tuum jeʔ tiburrun
 and one 3PRO shark
 and one he was a shark.’ (VVA.027)

(A.31) *ta+kuʔtpa*
 ta+kuʔtpa
 IABS+eat-INC
 ‘He ate us.’ (VVA.028)

(A.32) *jee* *peru* *ʔa+poymiichtyaʔmpa*
 jee peru ʔa+poy=miich-taʔm-pa
 hee but XABS+run=play-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Hee but we ran-played.’ (VVA.029a)

(A.33) *niʔkiʔim* *ʔa+ku+muxunhtaʔmpa*
 niʔ=kiʔ.mi ʔa+ku+muxunh-taʔm-pa
 water=LOC₃.LOC₁ XABS+DERIV₂+submerge.head-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘We dunked our heads in the water.’ (VVA.029b)

(A.34) *ʔi* *ʔokmi+m* *tzuʔuyim* *a las kwaatroj+am*
 ʔi ʔokmi+ʔam tzuʔu.y.m a las kwaatroj+ʔam
 and after+ALR late+ALR at four+ALR
 ‘And after, it was late, it was four already.’ (VVA.030)

(A.35) *tzuʔuyim* *siʔ* *ta+soʔgaba+m*
 tzuʔu.yi.m siʔip ta+soʔk-7aH-paʔam
 late now IABS+grass-VERS-INC+ALR
 ‘It was late now. We went to cut grass.’ (VVA.031)

(A.36) *tarak+tziʔimaba+m* *kawaj*
 tan+ʔak+tzim-ʔaH-pa+ʔam kawaj
 IERG+CAUS₁+load-VERS-INC+ALR horse
 ‘We were going to load the horses.’

ta+seetpa+m
 ta+seet-pa+ʔam
 IABS+return-INC+ALR
 ‘We were returning.’ (VVA.032)

(A.37) *purkej* *tan+jaaatunh* *ta+nh+joʔknéʔ*
 purkej tan+jaaatunh ta+ʔanh+joʔk-neʔ-W
 because IPSR+father IABS+DERIV₁+wait-PERF-CMP
 ‘Because our father was waiting for us.’ (VVA.033)

(A.38) *kumu* *tzaam* *tzootyi*
 kumu tzaam Ø+tzootyi
 as INTENS 3ABS+bravo
 ‘As he was very angry.’ (VVA.034)

(A.39) *nuuma* *ʔa+seetáʔmi+m*
 nuuma ʔa+seet-taʔm-W+ʔam
 certain XABS+return-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘Certainly we returned.’ (VVA.035)

(A.40) *?a+nu?kta?mi+m*
 ?a+nu?k-ta?m-W+?am
 XABS+arrive-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘We arrived.’ (VVA.036)

(A.41) *nimpa ?am+mama*
 Ø+nim-pa ?an+mama
 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+mama
 ‘Mother says:

?idy iny+choomo
 Ø+?ity-W ?in+choomo
 3ABS+be-CMP 2PSR+grandmother
 ‘Was your grandmother there.’ ” (VVA.037)

(A.42) *?okmi dya ?a+?oytyá?m*
 ?okmi dya ?a+?oy-ta?m-W
 after NEG XABS+go-PLU_{sap}
 ‘Then [we say] we didn’t go.’

?i jesik tyi?iga dya mi+?oytyá?m
 ?i jesik tyiH+?iga dya mi+?oy-ta?m-W
 and then what+COMP NEG 2ABS+go/return-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘And why didn’t you go?’ (VVA.038)

(A.43) *?i jÿpa ?an+jaatunh*
 ?i Ø+jÿy-pa ?an+jaatunh
 and 3ABS+speaK-INC XPSR+father
 ‘And my father speaks:

jay mi+desgrasyaadoj+tam mi+diyaabloj+tam
 jay mi+desgrasyaadoj+tam mi+diyaabloj+tam
 Aay 2ABS+worthless.SOB+PLU_{sap} 2ABS+devil+PLU_{sap}
 ‘AAAAY! You’re all worthless! You’re devils.’ (VVA.039)

(A.44) *mich dya+m ?oy ?iny+?á?m*
 mich dya+?am ?oy-W ?in+?a?m-W₂
 2PRO NEG+ALR go/return_{aux}-CMP 2ERG+see-DEP_t
 ‘You didn’t go see

?iny+choomo
 ?in+choomo
 2PSR+grandmother
 your grandmother.’ (VVA.040)

(A.45) *?oy* *mi+míichi+tya?m*
 ?oy-W mi+miich-i+ta?m
 go/return_{aux}-CMP 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘You went to play.’ (VVA.041)

(A.46) *dya ?oy* *?a+míichi+tya?m*
 dya ?oy-W ?a+miich-i+ta?m
 NEG go/return_{aux}-CMP XABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 ‘We didn’t go play.’ (VVA.042)

(A.47) *kumu tzaam jojmi ni? dya ?a+jaktá?m*
 kumu tzaam jojmi ni? dya ?a+jak-ta?m-W
 as INTENS deep water NEG XABS+cross-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘As the water was deep, we couldn’t cross.’ (VVA.043)

(A.48) *?aranh+jo?ktá?m* *?asta ke jik*
 ?an+?anh+jo?k-ta?m-W ?asta ke Ø+jik-W
 XERG+DERIV₁+wait-PLU_{sap}-CMP until that 3ABS+lower-CMP
 ‘We waited for it to go down.’ (VVA.044)

(A.49) *?oy* *?an+tinhá?m* *so?k*
 ?oy-W ?an+tinh-ta?m-W₂ so?k
 go/return_{aux}-CMP XERG+cut-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t grass
 ‘We went to cut grass

?anhwinytyuk
 ?anh.winy.tyuk
 LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 on the other side.’ (VVA.045)

(A.50) *kétu+m* *ketú+m* *mareeja*
 Ø+ket-W+?am Ø+ket-W+?am mareeja
 3ABS+descend-CMP+ALR 3ABS+descend-CMP+ALR tide
 ‘It goes down; the tide goes down.’ (VVA.046)

(A.51) *mojĭ+m* *ʔa+jáaki+tyam*
 moj-W+ʔam *ʔa+jak-i+tam*
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR *XABS+cross-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}*
 ‘We began to cross

ʔanhwinytyuk
 ʔanh.winy.tyuk
 LOC₁₄.LOC₁₁.LOC₁₂
 on the other side.’ (VVA.047)

(A.52) *mojĭ+m* *ʔan+tinh-táʔm* *soʔk*
 moj-W+ʔam *ʔan+tinh-taʔm-W₂* *soʔk*
 begin_{aux}-CMP+ALR *XERG+cut-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t* *grass*
 ‘We began to cut grass.’ (VVA.048)

siʔip ʔarak+tzimátáʔmi+m
 siʔip ʔan+ʔak+tziim-ʔaH-taʔm-W+ʔam
 now XERG+CAUS₁+load-VERS-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR
 ‘Now we loaded up the horses.’ (VVA.049)

(A.53) *ʔa+seetáʔmi+m*
 ʔa+seet-taʔm-W+ʔam
 XABS+return-PLU_{sap}-CMPALR
 ‘We returned

purke yakiny jĭk
 purke yakiny Ø+jĭk-W
 because just 3ABS+lower-CMP
 because it just went down.’ (VVA.050)

(A.54) *ken sabe*
 ken sabe
 who know
 ‘Who knows.’ (VVA.051)

(A.55) *ʔam+miguʔyʔaʔytyaʔmpa*
 ʔan+mik.ʔoʔy.ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 2:1+trick/cheat-BEN-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘You’re lying to me.’ (VVA.052)

(A.56) *peru ?ich dya ?am+mi?go?y?a?ytya?mpa*
 peru ?ich NEG ?an+mik.ʔoʔy.ʔaʔy-taʔm-pa
 but 1PRO NEG 2:1+trick/cheat-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘But you’re not going to trick me.’ (VVA.053)

?ich ?anh+ku+tii?yi?y
 ?ich ?an+ku+tiiy.ʔiʔy-W
 1PRO XERG+DERIV₂+understand-CMP
 ‘I understand

?iga+?oy mi+mii?chi+tya?m
 ?iga+?oy-W mi+mii?ch-i+tam
 COMP+go/return-CMP 2ABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap}
 that you went to play.’ (VVA.05)

dya many+chi?tya?mpa kawaj
 dya man+chiʔ-taʔm-pa kawaj
 NEG 1:2+give-PLU_{sap}-INC horse
 ‘I’m not going to give you horses.’ (VVA.055)

(A.57) *si?ip dya bweelboj mi+putta?mpa*
 si?ip dya bweelboj mi+put-taʔm-pa
 now NEG return 2ABS+leave-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Now you won’t leave again.’ (VVA.055)

(A.58) *si?ip ?anh+ku+ma?ya?yypa*
 si?ip ?an+ku+maʔy-ʔaʔy-pa
 now XERG+sell-BEN-INC
 ‘Now I’m going to sell them all.’ (VVA.056)

(A.59) *ma?yi+m si+?iga ?im+ma?yypa*
 maʔy-i-ʔm si+?iga ?in+maʔy-pa
 sell-IMP+ALR if+COMP 2ERG+sell-INC
 ‘Sell it if you’re going to sell it.’

(A.60) *si? jee-m tzi?y je?m maachuj*
 si?ip jee-m Ø+tziʔy-W je?m maachuj
 now there 3ABS+stay-CMP that male
 ‘Then there was the male horse.’ (VVA.057)

(A.61) *dya man+maanxujwada?ypa*
 dya man+maanxuj=wat-?a?y-pa
 NEG 1:2+tame-BEN-INC
 ‘I’m not going to break it in for you.’ (VVA.058)

(A.62) *maanxujwaati ?iny+ya?ak*
 maanxuj=wat-i ?in+ya?ak
 tame=do-IMP 2PSR+alone
 ‘Tame it yourself.’ (VVA.059)

(A.63) *mich+ ?im+ma?y-pa*
 mich+ ?in+ma?y-pa
 2PRO 2ERG+sell-INC
 ‘You’re going to sell it.’

dya+tyi ?an+chi?tya?mpa
 dya+tyiH ?an+chi?-ta?m-pa
 NEG+what 2:1+give-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘You don’t give us anything.’ (VVA.061)

(A.64) *?iny+dya ?am+maanxujwatpa*
 ?ich+dya ?an+maanxuj=wat-pa
 1PRO+NEG XERG+tame-INC
 ‘I’m not going to break it in. (VVA.060)

(A.65) *?okmi nimpa ?an+?aatyi*
 ?okmi Ø+nim-pa ?an+?aatyi
 after 3ABS+say-INC XPSR+big.brother
 ‘Afterward my brother said

si+?iga ?im+ma?y ?im+ma?yiny
 si+?iga ?in+ma?y-W ?in+ma?y-?iny
 if+COMP 2ERG+sell-CMP 2ERG+sell-OPT
 ‘If you sell it then you sell it.’ (VVA.062)

(A.66) *?ich ?an+ma?y-pa tuum potraanhka*
 ?ich ?an+ma?y-pa tuum potraanhka
 1PRO XERG+sell-INC one young.filly
 ‘I’m going to sell one filly.’ (VVA.063)

- (A.67) *nim* *?ak+wàga?ynye?tá?m*
 Ø+nim-W ?a+?ak+wa?k-?a?y-ne?-ta?m-W
 3ABS+say-CMP XABS+CAUS₁+ask-BEN-PERF-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘He says: ‘They’ve already asked me.’ ’ (VVA.064)
- (A.68) *ni modo ki* *?an+jaatunh va aprovechar*
 ni modo ki ?an+jaatunh va aprovechar
 no way that XPSR+father go take.advantage.of
 ‘There’s no way that my father is going to take advantage.’ (VVA065)
- (A.69) *?ich+tyi* *?am+ma?yapa tuum*
 ?ich+tyiH ?an+ma?y-pa tuum
 1PRO+JUST XERG+sell-INC one
 ‘I’m going to sell one too.’ (VVA.066)
- (A.70) *?okmi* *?i+ma?y* *?an+ti?wi*
 ?okmi ?i+ma?y-W ?an+ti?wi
 after 3ERG+sell-CMP XPSR+brother
 ‘Afterwards my brother sold
- je?m potro*
 je?m potro
 that horse
 the horse.’ (VVA.067)
- (A.71) *?an+juytya?mi+m* *?an+tzujmity+tyam*
 ?an+juy-ta?m-W+?am ?an+tzujmity+tam
 XERG+buy-PLU_{sap}-CMP+ALR XPSR+blanket+PLU_{hum}
 ‘We bought our blankets.’ (VVA.068)
- (A.72) *Peru* *?an+jaatunh dya+tyii* *?i+juy*
 peru ?an+jaatunh dya+tyiH ?i+juy-W
 but XPSR+father NEG+what 3ERG+buy-CMP
 ‘But my father bought nothing.’ (VVA.069)
- (A.73) *jeem* *?oy* *?a+mi?chi+tyam* *plaaya*
 jee-m ?oy-W ?a+mi?ch-i+tam plaaya
 there go/return_{aux}-CMP XABS+play-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{sap} beach
 ‘There we went to the beach.’ (VVA.070)

A.2 The Cow and The Bull

This is one in a series of texts told by a speaker who prefers to remain anonymous. It is an example of a story that mothers tell their daughters to teach a lesson. In the case of this story, girls are told not to sit brushing their hair in front of their houses at sunset.

- (A.74) *Winyik winyig anh+maatyi ta+nimpa*
 winyik winyig ?anh+mat-i ta+nim-pa
 distant.past distant.past DERIV₁+speak-NOM IABS+say-INC
 ‘Before, a long time ago, there were stories, as we say,

?ich ?an+?aapa ?a+nh+mada?ytyá?m
 ?ich ?an+?aapa ?a+?anh+mat-?a?y-ta?m-W
 1PRO XPSR+mother XABS+speak-PLU_{sap}-CMP
 ‘that my mother told us.’

- (A.75) *?iga+winyyik ?idyik ?este, ta+nimpa,*
 ?iga+winyyik ?ity?ik ?este ta+nim-pa,
 COMP+distant.past PAST FILL IABS+say-INC
 ‘Before, as we say,

je? ?i+joodonh+yaj+pi?k
 je? ?i+jooto?nh+yaj+pi?k
 3PRO 3PSR+know+PLU_{nonsap}+REL
 there were those who knew,

- (A.76) *tum yoomo ?i tum piixiny je?e ta+nimpa*
 tuum yoomo ?i tuum piixiny je? ta+nim-pa
 one woman and one man 3PRO IABS+say-INC
 a woman and a man, who, as we say,

?i+joodonh+yaj ?i+?orasyoonh
 ?i+jooto?nh+yaj ?i+?orasyoonh
 3ERG+know+PLU_{nonsap} 3PSR+oration
 knew incantations.’

(A.77) *ʔi jeʔe ʔeste ta+nimpa*
ʔi jeʔ ʔeste ta+nim-pa
 and 3PRO FILL IABS+say-INC
 ‘and they, as we say,

na+ʔixpikyajtáa+m
Ø+na+ʔix=pik-yaj-taH-W+ʔam
 3ABS+RR+recognize-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-CMP+ALR
 recognized each other

ʔentre ʔanimat tzuʔkiʔim
ʔentre ʔanimat tzuʔ=kiʔ.mi
 between animal night=LOC₃.LOC₁
 as animals in the night.’

(A.78) *ta+nimpa jeʔm yoomo jesik tzuʔu+tyim*
ta+nim-pa jeʔm yoomo jesik tzuʔ+tyi+ʔam
 IABS+say-INC that woman when night+JUST+ALR
 ‘As we say, this woman, in the night,

ʔalaj seeys+am siga la seys
 a.la seeyis+ʔam si+ʔiga la seeyis
 at six+ALR if+COMP the six
 at about 6:00,

ʔiga+jókpiʔicháawi+m
ʔiga+Ø+jok=piʔich-ʔaH-W+ʔam
 COMP+3ABS+just.as=darken-CMP+ALR
 when it begins to get dark,

koonypa+m ʔi+tyiganhnaaka
Ø+koony-pa+ʔam ʔi+tik=ʔanh.naaka
 3ABS+sit-INC+ALR 3PSR+house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 she sits in the door of her house.’

- (A.79) *mojpa+m* *?i+jétz* *?i+way*
 moj-pa+?am ?i+jetz-W ?i+way
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to brush her hair.’
- (A.80) *mojpa+m* *?i+jetztím* *?i+way*
 moj-pa+?am ?i+jetz=tim-W ?i+way
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush=stretch-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to brush out her hair.’
- (A.81) *mojpa+m* *?i+jetztím* *?i+way*
 moj-pa+?am ?i+jetz=tim-W ?i+way
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3PSR+brush=stretch-DEP_t 3PSR+hair
 ‘She begins to brush out her hair.’
- (A.82) *yajpa+m* *?i+jetztím*
 yaj-pa+?am ?i+jetz=tim-W
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+brush=stretch-DEP_t
 ‘She finishes brushing it.’
- (A.83) *mojpa+m* *?i+we?ks*
 mojpa+?am ?i+we?ks-W
 begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+braid-DEP_t
 ‘She begins to braid it.’
- (A.84) *?i+watpa+m* *wisten* *?i+we?kxi*
 ?i+wat-pa+?am wisteen ?i+we?ks-i
 3ERG+make-INC+ALR two 3PSR+braid-NOM
 ‘She makes two braids.’
- (A.85) *?i* *?este* *?i+nɨi?ma?yɨpa* *je?* *?i+widyaaaya* *?i* *?este*
 ?i ?este ?i+nim-?a?y-pa je? ?i+wity.ʔaaya ?i ?este
 and FILL 3ERG+say-BEN-INC 3PRO 3PSR+husband and FILL
 “ ‘And this?’ her husband asks,

dya *mi+monhpa*
 dya mi+monh-pa
 NEG 2ABS+sleep-INC
 ‘Aren’t you going to sleep?’ ”

(A.86) *jeʔm yoomo ʔa+nimpa dya, dya ʔa+monhtoʔoba*
jeʔm yoomo ʔa+nim-pa dya dya ʔa+monh-toʔ-pa
 that woman 3ABS+say-INC NEG NEG XABS+sleep-DESID-INC
 ‘The woman says: No. I am going to sleep.’

(A.87) *nikpa+m ʔi+wát ku+ʔixi*
Ø+nikk-pa+ʔam ʔi+wat-W ku+ʔixi
 3ABS+go_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+make-CMP stupid
 ‘She plays stupid.’

(A.88) *poymonhpa+m tum rraatuj*
Ø+poy=monh-pa+ʔam tuum rraatuj
 3ABS+a.while=sleep-INC+ALR a while
 ‘She sleeps for a little while.’

(A.89) *ʔi+nh+joʔkpa ʔiga+monhiny+nyam*
ʔi+ʔanh+joʔk-pa ʔiga+Ø+monh-ʔiny+nam
 3ERG+wait-INC COMP+3ABS+sleep-OPT+STILL

jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya
jeʔm ʔi+wity.ʔaaya
 that 3PSR+husband
 ‘She waits for her husband to sleep.’

(A.90) *jesik kugapzug+am jeʔm yoomo putpa+m*
jesik kukʔap=tzuʔ+ʔam jeʔm yoomo Ø+put-pa+ʔam
 when night+ALR that woman 3ABS+exit-INC+ALR
 ‘When it’s midnight, the woman goes out.’

(A.91) *nikpa+m ʔi+ʔáʔm jeʔm ʔi+chaywidyaaaya*
nikk-pa+ʔam ʔi+ʔaʔm-W jeʔm ʔi+tzay=wity.ʔaaya
 go_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+see-DEP_t that 3PSR+lover=husband
 ‘She goes to see her lover.’

(A.92) *nikpa+m jeʔm tzaʔakiʔim*
Ø+nikk-pa+ʔam jeʔm tzaʔ=kiʔ.mi
 3ABS+go_{aux}-INC+ALR that rock=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘She goes to the rock.’

(A.93) *jeʔm tuuruj tzaʔakiʔim nuʔkpa*
jeʔm tuuruj tzaʔ=kiʔ.mi Ø+nuʔk-pa
 that bull rock=LOC₁₅.LOC₁ 3ABS+arrive-INC
 ‘The bull arrives at the rock.’

(A.94) *ʔi+chiʔiba+m bweeltaj*
ʔi+chiʔ-pa+ʔam bweeltaj
 3ERG+give-INC+ALR turn
 ‘She gives it a turn.’

(A.95) *ta+nimpa ʔi+wiʔtyu+m*
ta+nim-pa ʔi+wiʔty-W+ʔam
 IABS+say-INC 3ERG+twist-CMP+ALR
 ‘We say, she twirls

ku+koonypa+m syeetej bweeltaj
Ø+ku+koony-pa+ʔam syeetej bweeltaj
 3ABS+DERIV+sit-INC+ALR seven turn
 herself around it seven times.’

(A.96) *nuʔku+m jeʔm yoomo*
Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔam jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+arrive-CMP+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman arrives

ʔi+chiʔ bweeltaj ta+nimpa
ʔi+chiʔ-W bweeltaj ta+nim-pa,
 3ERG+give-CMP turn IABS+say-INC
 and she gives it a spin, as we say.’

(A.97) *nuʔku+m jeʔm ʔi+chaywidyaay*
Ø+nuʔk-W+ʔam jeʔm ʔi+tzay=wity.ʔaaya
 3ABS+arrive-CMP+ALR that PSR+lover=husband
 ‘Her lover arrives

(A.98) *ʔi mojpam ʔejte ʔi+chiʔ bweeltaj*
ʔi mojp-pa+ʔam ʔeste ʔi+chiʔ-W bweeltaj
 and begin_{aux}-INC+ALR FILL 3ERG+give-DEP_t turn
 ‘and begins to spin around (the rock).’

(A.99) *jeʔ ʔi+maypa+m syeetej byaaʒej*
jeʔ ʔi+may-pa+ʔam syeetej byaaʒej
 3PRO 3ERG+recite-INC+ALR seven trip

‘He recites [the incantation of] seven turns.’

(A.100) *yajpa+m ʔi+máy xix+ʔam*
yaj-pa+ʔam ʔi+may-W Ø+xix+ʔam
 finish_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+recite-DEP_t 3ABS+cow+ALR

‘She finishes reciting it, and she’s a cow.’

(A.101) *jeʔ ta+nimpa jesik jeʔ jeʔm piixiny*
jeʔ ta+nim-pa jesik jeʔ jeʔm piixiny
 3PRO IABS+say-INC when 3PRO that man

tuuruj+am

Ø+tuuruj+ʔam

3ABS+bull+ALR

‘Then, we say, he, the man, is a bull.’

(A.102) *jeʔm yoomo ta+nimpa ʔestej tum baakaj*
jeʔm yoomo ta+nim-pa ʔeste tuum baakaj
 that woman IABS+say-INC FILL one cow

‘The woman, we say, she’s a cow.’

(A.103) *jesʔanh+piʔk baakaj yajpa*
jes.ʔanh+piʔk baakaj Ø+yaj-pa
 no.mas+REL cow 3ABS+finish-INC

‘She ends up a cow,

ʔiga+ta+nimpa

ʔiga+ta+nim-pa

COMP+IABS+say-INC

we say,

ʔiga+ʔanimat+yaj+am

ʔiga+ʔanimat+yaj+ʔam

COMP+animal-PLU_{nonhum}+ALR

that the two are animals.’

ʔik+wístik+yaj

ʔi+k+wistik+yaj

the+two-PLU_{nonsap}

- (A.104) *nikyajpa*
 Ø+nikk-yaj-pa
 3ABS+go-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They go.’
- (A.105) *jeʔm pakusjoom jeʔm+gam*
 jeʔm pak.jos=joj.mi jeʔm+gak+ʔam
 that trench=LOC₂.LOC₁ that+REP+ALR
 ‘At the trench
- ʔanh+wejyajpa+m*
 Ø+ʔanh+wej-yaj-pa+ʔam
 3ABS+shout-PLU_{nonsap}-INC+ALR
 they shout.’
- (A.106) *na+paʔtyyajtaaba+m*
 Ø+na+paʔt-yaj-taH-pa+ʔam
 3ABS+RR+find-PLU_{nonsap}-PASS-INC+ALR
 ‘They find each other.’
- (A.107) *jeʔem+gam ʔi+g+watyajpa*
 jeʔm+gak+ʔam ʔi+ʔak+wat-yaj-pa
 that+REP+ALR 3ERG+CAUS₁+do-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘There they begin to have
- ʔi+xaguxiʔi*
 ʔi+xaʔkuy=siʔy-i
 3ERG+walk=do-DEP_{ia}
 sexual relations (figuratively).’
- (A.108) *porkej jeʔ ta+nimpa jeʔm peg+am*
 porkej jeʔ ta+nim-pa jeʔm peka+ʔam
 because 3PRO IABS+say-INC that before+ALR
 ‘Because, we say, that’s how it was before.
- winyyik jaama*
 winyyik jaama
 distant.past day
 in the old days.’

(A.109) *kun* *ʔorasyon* *ʔi+watɔyajpa*
kun *ʔorasyon* *ʔi+wat-yaj-pa*
 with incantation 3ERG+make-PLU_{nonsap}-INC
 ‘They did it with incantations.’

(A.110) *ʔokimi jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya ʔiku+ʔixi+m*
ʔokmi jeʔm ʔi+wity=ʔaaya ʔi+ku+ʔix-W+ʔam
 after that 3PSR+husband 3ERG+spy-CMP+ALR
 ‘Later her husband spied her.’

ʔiku+ʔixiʔy+tyim
ʔi+ku+ʔix-ʔiʔy-W+tyi+ʔam
 3ERG+see.without.being.seen-CMP+JUST+ALR
 ‘He saw her without her noticing.’

(A.111) *ta+nimpa ʔi+nh+madáʔy tunh+gak widyaaya*
ta+nim-pa ʔi+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W tuunh+gak wity.ʔaaya
 IABS+say-INC 3ERG+speak-BEN-CMP other husband
 ‘We say he talked to another man,

(A.112) *ʔi+joodonh+piʔk ta+nimpa*
ʔi+jootoʔnh+piʔk ta+nim-pa
 3PSR+knowledge+REL IABS+say-INC
 one who knows, we say,

*ʔi+joodonh+piʔk maanya**
ʔi+jootoʔnh+piʔk maanía
 3PSR+knowledge+REL talents
 who has **special talents**.’

(A.113) *ʔentonses mój ʔim+madáʔy*
ʔentonses moj-W ʔi+ʔanh+mat-ʔaʔy-W
 then begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+speak-BEN-CMP
 ‘Then he begins to tell him

(A.114) *ʔiga+jesik ta+nimpa*
ʔiga+jesik ta+nim-pa
 COMP+then IABS+say-INC
 that then, we say,

siʔip pejtáaj
 siʔip Ø+pej-taH-W
 now 3ABS+comit.adultery-PASS-CMP
 that now he's being cheated on.'

(A.115) *ʔiga+jeʔm ʔi+witychoomo*
 ʔiga+jeʔm ʔi+wity.choomo
 COMP+that 3PSR+wife
 'That his wife

siʔ pa ʔi+péj
 siʔ-pa ʔi+pej-W
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+comit.adultery-DEP_t
 is cheating on him.'

(A.116) *ʔi+pík jeʔm wídyaa*
 ʔi+pík-W jeʔm wity.ʔaaya
 3ERG+take-CMP that old.man
 'The old man took him (aside)

ʔi+nyíʔmáʔy ʔaa ʔestej
ʔi+nim-ʔaʔy-W ʔah ʔestej
 3ERG+say-BEN-CMP ah this
 and said: Ah this,

(A.117) *jeʔ jeʔ jeʔe dya+tyi ʔi+watnéʔ jeʔ*
 jeʔ jeʔ jeʔ dya+tyiH ʔi+wat-neʔ-W jeʔ
 3PRO 3PRO 3PRO NEG+that 3ERG+make-PERF-CMP 3PRO
taaj
ʔestaj
 FILL
 [false start] this is nothing, this.'

(A.118) *tananh+wadaʔypa*
 tan+ʔanh+wat-ʔaʔy-pa
 IERG+DERIV+make-BEN-INC
 'We're going to make,

tan+wadaʔypa ʔi+tyiʔpxi
 tan+wat-ʔaʔy-pa ʔi+tiʔps-i
 IERG+make-BEN-INC 3PSR+twist-NOM
 ‘we’re going to make a rope.’

(A.119) *tan+tzuʔaʔypa*
 tan+tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-pa
 IERG+hold.vigil-BEN-INC
 ‘We’ll stay up all night.’

(A.120) *tan+tzuʔaʔypa syeetej nochej*
 tan+tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-pa syeetej nochej
 IERG+night-VERS-BEN-INC seven nights
 ‘We’re going to hold vigil for seven nights.’

(A.121) *ʔii ním jeʔm piixiny ʔiga+jiʔ*
 ʔii Ø+nim-W jeʔm piixiny ʔiga+jiʔ
 and 3ABS+say-CMP that man that+yes
 ‘And the man says: Yes.’

(A.122) *ʔa peroj siʔip ʔiny+tyinhpa ʔinh+kiipi*
 ʔa pero siʔip ʔin+tinH-pa ʔin+kiipi
 ah but now 2ERG+cut-INC 2PSR+wood
 ‘Ah, but now you’re going to cut wood.’

(A.123) *jeʔm piixiny mój ʔi+tyínH jeʔm ʔi+kiipi*
 jeʔm piixiny moj-W ʔi+tinH-W jeʔm ʔi+kiipi
 that man begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+cut-DEP_t that 3PSR+wood
 ‘The man begins to cut wood.’

(A.124) *ʔii jaʔyanh kiipi ʔi+tyáʔtz*
 ʔii jaʔy.ʔanh kiipi ʔi+taʔtz-W
 and a.lot wood 3ERG+split-CMP
 ‘And he split a lot of wood.’

(A.125) *ʔii jeʔm yoomo ʔak+wagóʔy*
 ʔii jeʔm yoomo Ø+ʔak+waʔk-ʔoʔy-W
 and that woman 3ABS+ask-ANTIP-CMP
 ‘And the woman asked:

tyi+ʔiga jeʔm piixiny ʔagi+kiʔibaap
 tyiH+ʔiga jeʔm piixiny ʔagi+Ø+kiipi-ʔaH-pa
 because that man very+3ABS+wood-VERS-INC
 ‘Why is he cutting so much wood?’

(A.126) *tyi+ʔiga jaʔy*
 tyiH+ʔiga jaʔy
 why a.lot
 ‘Why so much?’

tyi+ʔiga ʔagi+siʔp ʔi+kiʔiba pwej
 tyiH+ʔiga ʔagi+siʔ-pa ʔi+kiipi-ʔaH-W pwej
 why much+PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+wood-VERS-DEP_{ib} well
 ‘Well, why is he cutting so much firewood?’

(A.127) *ʔiga+jeʔm piixiny níʔm ʔiga+jeʔ*
 ʔiga+jeʔm piixiny Ø+nim-W ʔiga+jeʔ
 COMP+that man 3ABS+say-CMP COMP+3PRO
 ‘The man says that,’

ta+nimpa
 ta+nim-pa
 IABS+say-INC
 as we say,

siʔp ʔi+kiʔiba
 siʔ-pa ʔi+kiipi-ʔaH-W
 PROG_{aux}-INC 3ERG+wood-VERS-DEP_{ib}
 he’s cutting wood

porkej jeʔ ʔi+ri+ʔityóppa ʔi+kiipi
 porke jeʔ ʔi+na+ʔity-toʔ-pa ʔi+kiipi
 because 3PRO 3ERG+ASSOC+be-DESID-INC 3PSR+wood
 ‘because he wants to have wood.’

(A.128) *jeʔm yoomo tanimpa dya dya ʔi+ku+tiʔiyíʔy*
 jeʔm yoomo ta+nim-pa dya dya ʔi+ku+tiiy-ʔiy-W
 that woman IABS+say-INC NEG NEG 3ERG+understand-CMP
 ‘The woman, we say, she didn’t understand.’

dya *ʔi+joo,* *dya* *ʔi+joodonh* *tyi+ʔiga*
dya *ʔi+jootoʔnh,* *dya* *ʔi+jootoʔnh* *tyiH+ʔiga*
 NEG 3PSR+knowledge NEG 3PSR+knowledge what+COMP
 ‘She didn’t know. She didn’t know why.’

(A.129) *yáj*
 \emptyset +yaj-W
 3ABS+finish_{aux}-CMP
 ‘He finished.’

tzuʔaʔytyaj *jeʔm yoomo*
 \emptyset +tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-tyaj-W jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+night-VERS-BEN-PASS-CMP that woman
 The woman was held vigil for.’

(A.130) *wadaʔytyáj* *jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi*
 \emptyset +wat-ʔaʔy-taH-W jeʔm ʔi+tiʔps.i
 3ABS+make-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3PSR+reata
 ‘They made the rope.’

(A.131) *tiʔpsaʔytyáj* *jeʔm ʔi+tiʔpxi*
 \emptyset +tiʔps-ʔaʔy-taH-W jeʔm ʔi+tiʔps.i
 3ABS+twist-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3PSR+rope
 ‘They twisted the rope.’

(A.132) *jesik kaʔpsu+m* *jeʔm syeetej night*
 jesik \emptyset +kaʔps-W+ʔam jeʔm syeetej night
 when 3ABS+complement-CMP+ALR that seven night
 ‘When the seven nights have passed,

ʔityu+m *jeʔm tiʔpxi*
 \emptyset +ʔity-W+ʔam jeʔm tiʔps-i
 3ABS+be-CMP+ALR that rope
 there are the ropes.’

(A.133) *niʔmaʔytyáj*
 \emptyset +nim-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 3ABS+say-BEN-PASS-CMP
 ‘It’s said.’

(A.134) *siʔip tar+anh+ʔaʔmpa*
siʔip tan+ʔanh+ʔaʔm-pa
 now IERG+wait-INC
 ‘Now we wait for her.’

(A.135) *siʔip jweebej putpa+m*
siʔip jweebej Ø+put-pa+ʔam
 today Thursday 3ABS+exit-INC+ALR
 ‘Today is Thursday. She goes out.’

(A.136) *ník tam+mátz jeʔm ʔiny+wichoomo*
nikk-W tan+matz-W jeʔm ʔin+wity.yoomo
go_{aux}-CMP IERG+take-DEP_t that 2PSR+wife
 ‘Let’s take your wife.’

(A.137) *ʔi kumu tzuʔaaʔynyeʔtaawu+m*
ʔi kumu Ø+tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam
 and as 3ABS+night-VERS-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR
 ‘And as they had already held vigil,

ta+nimpa kun ʔorasyoonh tambyeen
ta+nim-pa kun ʔorasyonh tambyeen
 IABS+say-INC with oration also
 we say, with incantations also,

ta+nimpa kon maanya pwes
ta+nim-pa kun maanya pwes
 IABS+say-INC with special.talents well
 and well, we say supernatural skills’

(A.138) *yajo+m ʔestej jeʔm yoomo*
Ø+yaj-W+ʔam ʔestej jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+finish-CMP+ALR FILL that woman
 ‘This woman was finished (with her chores).’

(A.139) *nikku+m tambyeen jeʔm piixiny*
Ø+nikk-W+ʔam tambyeen jeʔm piixiny
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR also that man
 ‘The man went too.’ (They went home.)

(A.140) *?i+watu+m* *ku+?iixi* *?iga+monhpa+m*
 ?i+wat-W+?am ku+?iixi ?iga+Ø+monh-pa+?am
 3ERG+make-CMP+ALR stupid COMP+3ABS+sleep-INC+ALR
 ‘He feigned that he slept.’

(A.141) *niku+m* *je?m yoomo*
 Ø+nikk-W+?am je?m yoomo
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman went.’

(A.142) *nikku+m* *je?m yoomo*
 Ø+nikk-W+?am je?m yoomo
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR that woman
 ‘The woman went.’

(A.143) *?ii* *yáj* *je?m piixiny* *?ig+a?mí?y*
 ?ii Ø+ya.j-W je?m piixiny ?i+?ak+?a?m-?i?y-W
 and 3ABS+finish-CMP that man 3ERG+CAUS₁+look-DEP_t

je?m ?i+wichoomo
 je?m ?i+wity.yoomo
 that 3PSR+wife
 ‘And the man ended up watching his wife.’

(A.144) *?ii* *niku+m* *je?m piixiny*
 ?ii Ø+nikk-W+?am je?m piixiny
 and 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR that man
 ‘And the man went.’

(A.145) *niku+m+?un* *je?m wityaaya* *nimpa*
 Ø+nikk-W+?am+?un je?m wity.?aaya Ø+nim-pa
 3ABS+go-CMP+ALR+DJO that old.man 3ABS+say-INC
 ‘The man went to the old man and the old man says:

si?ip tara+nikpa+m *je?m tan+ti?pxi*
 si?ip tan+na+nikk-pa+?am je?m tan+ti?ps.i
 now IERG+ASSOC+go-INC+ALR that IPSR+twist-NOM
 Now we’re going to take our rope.’

(A.146) *jesik nuʔkyáj*
 jesik Ø+nuʔk-yaj-W
 when 3ABS+arrive-PLU_{non-sap}-CMP
 ‘When they (the two men) arrive,

ta+nimpa
 ta+nim-pa
 IABS+say-INC
 we say,

jeʔe+gam siʔiyajpa
 jeʔe+gak+ʔam Ø+siʔ-yaj-pa
 3PRO+REP+ALR 3ABS+walk-PLU_{non-sap}-INC
 they (the couple) were walking,

ʔanh+wejwejʔoʔyyajpa
 Ø+ʔanh+wej.wej=ʔoʔy-yaj-pa
 3ABS+DERIV+cry-REDUP=AMBUL-PLU_{non-sap}-INC
 and they were going around mooing.’

(A.147) *ʔanh+wejpa jeʔm baakaj*
 Ø+ʔanh+wej-pa jeʔm baakaj
 3ABS+shout-INC that cow
 ‘The cow moed.’

(A.148) *ʔanh+wejpa jeʔm toroj*
 Ø+ʔanh+wej-pa jeʔm toroj
 3ABS+shout-INC that toro
 ‘The bull moed.’

(A.149) *nimpa jeʔe tanimpa*
 Ø+nim-pa jeʔ ta+nim-pa
 3ABS+say-INC 3PRO IABS+say-INC
 ‘He (the husband) says, as we say:

ʔestej ʔi+chaywichaaya pwej
 ʔeste ʔi+tzay=wity.ʔaaya pues
 this 3PSR+lover=husband well
 Well, this is her lover.’

(A.150) *jesik ?estej ?i+?ix ?iga+nú?k*
 jesik ?este ?i+?ix-W ?iga+Ø+nu?k-W
 when this 3ERG+see-CMP COMP+3ABS+arrive-CMP
 ‘When they (the couple) saw that they had arrived,

mój ?ik+poyyáj
 moj-W ?i+?ak+poy-yaj-W
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+CAUS₁+run-PLU_{nonsap}-DEP_t
 ‘they began to chase each other.’

(A.151) *?i xuytyáj je?m baakaj*
 ?i Ø+suy-taH-W je?m baakaj
 and 3ABS+lasso-PASS-CMP that cow
 ‘And the cow was lassoed.’

(A.152) *?i xuytyáj je?m baakaj*
 ?i Ø+suy-taH-W je?m baakaj
 and 3ABS+lasso-PASS-CMP that cow
 ‘And the cow was lassoed.’

(A.153) *je?m toroj dya+?ii ?ik+tzi?y*
 je?m toro dya+?iH ?i+?ak+tzi?y-W
 that bull NEG+who 3ERG+CAUS₁+stay-CMP
 ‘No one could keep up with the bull.’

(A.154) *póy*
 Ø+poy-W
 3ABS+run-CMP
 ‘He ran away.’

(A.155) *?i+yó?y je?m pakkus je?m+gamun*
 ?i+yo?y-W je?m pak.jos je?m+gak+?am+?un
 3ERG+jump-CMP that trench that+REP+ALR+DJO
 ‘He jumped the trench there

?anh+wéj mo ?i+nyík
 Ø+?anh+wej-W mo ?i+nikk-W
 3ABS+shout-CMP when 3ERG+go-DEP_{ib}
 and went off mooing.’

(A.156) *numaj matztáj jeʔm yoomo,*
 nomas Ø+matz-taH-W jeʔm yoomo
 no.more 3ABS+take-PASS-CMP that woman
 ‘Only the woman was caught.’

(A.157) *ʔi+xúy jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya*
 ʔi+suy-W jeʔm ʔi+wity.ʔaaya
 3ERG+lasso-CMP that 3PSR+husband
 ‘Her husband lassoed her.’

(A.158) *nimpa suytyáj jeʔm yoomo*
 Ø+nim-pa Ø+suy-taH-W jeʔm yoomo
 3ABS+say-INC 3ABS+lasso-PASS-CMP that woman
 ‘It’s said that the woman was lassoed.’

(A.159) *jesik ʔeste ʔokmi jeʔm yoomo*
 jesik ʔeste ʔokmi jeʔm yoomo
 when FILL after that woman
 ‘Then afterwards, the woman

ʔestej ʔi+wagáʔy jeʔm ʔi+wityaaya nimpa
 ʔestej ʔi+waʔk-ʔaʔy-W jeʔm ʔi+wity.ʔaaya Ø+nim-pa
 this 3ERG+ask-BEN-CMP that PSR+husband 3ABS+say-INC
 she asked her husband, they say,

ʔagi+wejpa ʔiga+ʔestej wijtyaʔiny
 ʔagi+Ø+wej-pa ʔiga+ʔeste Ø+wij-taH-ʔiny
 very+3ABS+cry-INC THAT+this 3ABS+untie-PASS-OPT
 crying that she be let go

pokej ʔodoy ʔi+ʔixʔiny la jeentej
 pokej ʔodoy ʔi+ʔix-ʔiny la jeentej
 because NEG 3ERG+see-OPT the people
 so the people wouldn’t see her.’

(A.160) *wijtyaʔiny jeʔ*
 Ø+wij-taH-ʔiny jeʔ
 3ABS+untie-PASS-OPT 3PRO
 ‘That she be untied.’

- (A.161) *Al wijtyáj*
 al Ø+wij-taH-W
 al 3ABS+untie-PASS-CMP

‘That if she were let go,

jeʔe dya+m bweeltaj ʔi+watpa jeem+piʔk
 jeʔ dya+ʔam bweeltaj ʔi+wat-pa jeem+piʔk
 3PRO NEG+ALR return 3ERG+make-INC like.so
 she wouldn’t do this again.’

- (A.162) *jeʔ dya+m ʔi+pejpa*
 jeʔ dya+ʔam ʔi+pej-pa
 3PRO NEG+ALR 3ERG+comit.adultery-INC

‘She’d never cheat on

jeʔm ʔi+widyaaaya
 jeʔm ʔi+wity=ʔaaya
 that PSR+husband
 her husband again.’

- (A.163) *dya+m bweeltaj ʔi+pejpa*
 dya+ʔam bweeltaj ʔi+pej-pa
 NEG+ALR return 3ERG+comit.adultery-INC

‘She wouldn’t cheat again.’

- (A.164) *ta+nimpa dya+m ʔosea*
 ta+nim-pa dya+ʔam ʔosea
 IABS+say-INC NEG+ALR that.is

‘We say, no,

peroj wijtyaʔiny ʔidyik
 peroj Ø+wij-taH-ʔiny ʔidyik
 but 3ABS+untie-PASS-OPT PAST
 but that she should be untied.’

- (A.165) *paʔkij ʔestej tanimpa*
 paʔkij ʔeste ta+nim-pa
 because FILL IABS+say-INC

‘Because, this, we say,

yoʔomaséʔedyiny
 Ø+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-ʔiny
 3ABS+woman-VERS=return-OPT
 she would turn into a woman.'

- (A.166) *ʔi jeʔm piixiny níʔm* *ʔiga+dya*
 ʔi jeʔm piixiny Ø+nim-W ʔiga+dya
 and that man 3ABS+say-CMP COMP+NEG
 'And the man said: no.'

- (A.167) *tzaam joʔynyeʔu+m*
 tzaam Ø+joʔy-neʔ-W
 very 3ABS+angry-PERF-CMP
 'He was really angry

ʔiga+jeʔm tzaam pekam
 ʔiga+jeʔm tzaam peka+m
 COMP+that much before
 that for a long time

siʔp *ʔi+pejtáaj*
 siʔ-pa ʔi+pej-taH-W₃
 PROG_{aux}-PA 3ERG+comit.adultery-PASSDEP_{ib}
 she had been cheating on him.'

- (A.168) *ʔokmi jeʔ+am kuykukiʔim*
 ʔokmi jeʔm+ʔam kuy=ku.kiʔim
 after that+ALR tree=LOC₁₅.LOC₃.LOC₁

nig *ʔichentáaj*
 nikk-W ʔi+tzen-taH-W
 go_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+tie-PASS-DEP_t
 'Afterwards she went to be tied beneath the tree.'

- (A.169) *moj* *weeji* *jeʔm yoomo*
 moj-W Ø+wej-i jeʔm yoomo
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+cryDEP_{ia} that woman
 'The woman began to cry.'

(A.170) *mój weejí*
 moj-W Ø+wej-i
 begin_{aux}-CMP 3ABS+cryDEP_{ia}
 ‘She began to cry.’

(A.171) *nĩmpa ʔiga+wijtaʔiny*
 Ø+nim-pa ʔiga+Ø+wij-taH-ʔiny
 3ABS+say-INC COMP+3ABS+untie-PASS-OPT
 ‘She said that should be untied

ʔantes de ke ku+kej
 ʔantes de ke ku+kej
 before of that day.break
 before daybreak.’

(A.172) *ʔi+maytyíʔp jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoon*
 ʔi+may-tiʔp-W jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyon
 3ERG+recite-FRUS-CMP that 3PSR+incantation
 ‘She wanted to recite her incantation.’

(A.173) *dya+ʔm+un wiʔaap*
 dya+ʔam+ʔun Ø+wiH.ʔap-pa
 NEG+ALR+DJO 3ABS+be.able-INC
 ‘She couldn’t anymore.’

(A.174) *dya+m yoʔomaséet por.maj.kej*
 dya+ʔam Ø+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-W por.maj.kej
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+woman-VERS=return-CMP as.much.as
 ‘She didn’t turn into a woman for as much as

ʔi+maytyíʔp+nam jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh
 ʔi+may-tiʔp-W+nam jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh
 3ERG+recite-FRUS-CMP+STILL that 3PSR+incantation
 she tried to recite her incantation.’

(A.175) *dya+m wiʔaaj ta+nĩmpa*
 dya+ʔam Ø+wiʔaH-W ta+nim-pa
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+be.able-CMP IABS+say-INC
 ‘She couldn’t, we say,

dya+m yoʔomaséet
 dya+ʔam Ø+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-W
 NEG+ALR 3ABS+woman-VERS=return-CMP
 she didn't transform into a woman.'

- (A.176) *porkej ta+nimpa*
 porke ta+nim-pa
 because IABS+say-INC
 'Because, we say,

tzuʔaʔynyetaawi+m ʔidyik
 tzuʔ-ʔaH-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam ʔityʔik
 night-VERS-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR PAST
 a vigil had been held.'

- (A.177) *wadaʔynyʔtaawi+m jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi*
 Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam jeʔm ʔi+tiʔpx.i
 3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR 3PRO 3PSR+twist.NOM
 'A rope had been made.'

- (A.178) *tanimpa tiʔpsaʔityá*
 ta+nim-pa Ø+tiʔps-ʔaʔy-taH-W
 IABS+say-INC 3ABS+twist-BEN-PASS-CMP

jeʔm ʔi+tyiʔpxi
 jeʔm ʔi+tiʔps.i
 that 3PSR+twist.NOM
 'The rope had been twisted.'

- (A.179) *komo wadaʔynyʔtaawi+m*
 komo Ø+wat-ʔaʔy-neʔ-taH-W+ʔam
 como 3ABS+make-BEN-PERF-PASS-CMP+ALR
 'As she had performed

jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh
 jeʔm ʔi+ʔorasyoonh
 that 3PSR+incantation
 the incantation,

jeʔm yoomo tzam wéj
 jeʔm yoomo tzam Ø+wej-W
 that woman much 3ABS+cry-CMP
 the woman cried a lot.'

- (A.180) *dya+m wiʔáa ʔi+yoʔomaséet*
 dya+ʔam wiʔaa-W ʔi+yoomo-ʔaH=seet-W
 NEG+ALR be.able_{aux}-CMP 3ERG+woman-VERS=return-DEP_{ib}
 'She couldn't transform into woman.'

- (A.181) *jesik kukéj*
 jesik Ø+ku+kej-W
 when 3ABS+day.break-CMP
 'When day broke,

núʔk jeʔm la jeentej
 Ø+nuʔk-W jeʔm la jeentej
 3ABS+arrive-CMP that the people
 the people came.'

- (A.182) *jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+tzaʔaneʔu+m*
 jeʔm yoomo ʔagi+Ø+tzaʔ-ʔaH-neʔ-W+ʔam
 that woman very+3ABS+rock-VERS-PERF-CMP+ALR
 'The woman was so ashamed,

tzaam wejpa
 tzaam Ø+wej-pa
 much 3ABS+cry-INC
 she cried a lot.'

- (A.183) *porkej ta+nimpa tuum jaaka yiʔp ʔi+winyipig*
 porkej ta+nim-pa tuum jaaka yiʔp ʔi+winy.pak
 because 1ABS+say-INC one piece this 3PSR+face
 'Because, we say, one part of her face

yoomo+nam
 Ø+yoomo+nam
 3ABS+woman+STILL
 was still woman.'

(A.184) *tanimpa kristiyaanuj+nam tuum jaaka winypak*
 ta+nim-pa Ø+kristiyaanu+nam tuum jaaka winy.pak
 IABS+say-INC 3ABS+Christian+STILL one piece face
 ‘We say, one part of her face was still Christian.’

(A.185) *?ii tuum jaaka ?i+winypik pwej ?animat*
 ?ii tuum jaaka ?i+winy.pak pwes Ø+?animat
 and one piece 3PSR+face well 3ABS+animal
 ‘And one part of her face is animal;

je? xix
 je? Ø+xix
 3PRO 3ABS+cow
 ‘It’s cow.’

(A.186) *je?+am je? ?i+we?kxi je?+am*
 je?+?am je? ?i+we?ks-i je?+?am
 3PRO+ALR 3PRO 3PSR+braid-NOM 3PRO+ALR
 ‘(false start) Her braid,

je?m ?i+waanhapap ?idyik
 je?m ?i+waan-?aH-pap ?ity?ik
 that 3PSR+horn-VERS-INC-REL PAST
 that’s what became horn.’

(A.187) *?okmi ?i+pík*
 ?ok-mi ?i+pik-W
 after 3ERG+take-CMP
 ‘Afterwards they took it,

?ak+nuga?ytyyáj je?m ?i+juktì
 Ø+?ak+nu?k-?a?y-taH-W je?m ?i+juktì
 3ABS+put.together-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3PSR+fire
 and they lit a fire.’

(A.188) *wejpa+?m+un je?m yoomo*
 Ø+wej-pa+?am+?un je?m yoomo
 3ABS+cry-INC+ALR+DJO that woman
 ‘The woman cried

ʔiga+ʔodoy ʔi+nyoʔkéʔedyiny
 ʔiga+ʔotʔoy ʔi+noʔ=ket-ʔiny
 COMP+NEG 3ERG+burn=finish.up-OPT
 for them not to finish her off by burning her.’

(A.189) *ʔokmi ʔak+nùgaʔytyyáj* *jeʔm ʔi+jukti*
 ʔokmi Ø+ʔak+nuʔk-ʔaʔy-taH-W *jeʔm ʔi+jukti*
 after 3ABS+CAUS₁+arrive-BEN-PASS-CMP that 3PSR+fire
 ‘Afterwards they put together a fire.’

(A.190) *nòʔokettáj*
 Ø+noʔ=ket-taH-W
 3ABS+burn=finish-PASS-CMP
 ‘They burned her to death.’

(A.191) *jeʔeyukmi ta+nimpa*
 jeʔ=yuk.mi ta+nim-pa
 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ IABS+say-INC
 ‘This is why, we say,

ʔich ʔa+nìʔmaʔytyaʔmpa ʔan+ʔaapa
 ʔich ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy+taʔm-pa ʔan+ʔaapa
 1PRO XABS+say-BEN+PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+mother
 my mother told me

ʔiga+ʔestej jesik tzuʔu+tyim
 ʔiga+ʔeste jesik tzuʔuy+tyi+ʔam
 COMP+this when late+STILL+ALR
 that when it’s late already,

ʔii+ʔam koonypa tìganhnaaka
 ʔiH+ʔam koony-pa tik=ʔanh.naaka
 who+ALR sit-INC house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 [for] those who sit in front of the house,

ta+nimpa dya wiì
 ta+nim-pa dya wiH
 IABS+say-INC NEG good
 we say, it’s not good.’

- (A.192) *ʔa+nìʔmaʔytyaʔmtáap* *ʔidyík*
 ʔa+nim-ʔaʔy-taʔm-taH-pa *ʔityʔík*
 XABS+say-BEN-PLU_{sap}-PASS-INC PAST

‘We were told:

mich tyi+ʔiga mi+koonytyaʔmpa
 mich tyiH+ʔiga mi+koony+taʔm-pa
 2PRO why 3ABS+sit-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘Why do you all sit?’

- (A.193) *tyi+ʔiga yiʔp ʔooraj*
 tyiH+ʔiga yiʔp ʔoorá
 why this ʔoorá

‘Why at this hour

ʔinh+jetztaʔmpa *ʔinh+way*
 ʔin+jetz-taʔm-pa ʔin+way
 2ERG+brush-PLU_{sap}-INC 2PSR+hair
 are you brushing your hair?’

- (A.194) *dya wiʔaa+m* *ʔinh+jetztáʔm* *maʔakxi*
 dya wiʔ-ʔaH-W+ʔam *ʔin+jetz-taʔm-W₂* *maʔaksi*
 NEG be.able-CMP+ALR 2ERG+brush-PLU_{sap}-DEP_t *endenantes*

‘You can’t brush your hair now.’

- (A.195) *dya+ʔun ʔi+ʔixtyáʔm* *jaama*
 dya+ʔun ʔi+ʔix-taʔm-W *jaama*
 NEG+DJO 3ERG+see-PLU_{sap}-CMP sun

‘Didn’t you see the sun?’

- (A.196) *ke mi+xixaseettaʔmpa* *rraatuj*
 ke mi+xix-ʔaH=seet-taʔm-pa *rraatuj*
 that 2ABS+cow-VERS=return-PLU_{sap}-INC a.while

‘That you’re going to turn into cows in a little while?’

- (A.197) *mi+puttaʔmpa* *ʔiga+mi+xix+tyam*
 mi+put-taʔm-pa *ʔiga+mi+xix+tam*
 2ABS+exit-PLU_{sap}-INC COMP+2ABS+cow+PLU_{hum}

‘You’re going to turn out as cows.’

(A.198) *nikpa* *minh+weeji+tyaʔm* *peʔm* *tzaʔakiʔim*
 nikk-pa mi+ʔanh+wej-i+taʔm peʔm tzaʔ=kiʔ.mi
 go_{aux}-INC 2ABS+shout-DEP_{ia}+PLU_{hum} that rock=LOC₃.LOC₁
 ‘You’re going to go mooing at that rock.’

(A.199) *ʔi* *puj* *ʔich* *ʔa+xiktaʔmpa*
 ʔi puej ʔich ʔa+sik-taʔm-pa
 and well 1PRO XABS+laugh-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘And we laughed

ʔa+nimtaʔmpa *dya*
 ʔa+nim-taʔm-pa dya
 XABS+say-PLU_{sap}-INC NEG
 and said no.’

(A.200) *jeʔeyukmi* *ta+nimtaʔmpa*
 jeʔ=yuk.mi ta+nim-taʔm-pa
 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ IABS+say-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘That’s why we said

dya *ʔiga+ʔanh+weʔkstaʔmpa* *ʔanh+way*
 dya ʔiga+ʔan+weʔks-taʔm-pa ʔan+way
 NEG COMP+XERG+braid-PLU_{sap}-INC XPSR+hair
 not to braid our hair.’

(A.201) *tzuʔuyi+m* *dyam* *dyam* *ʔan+jetztaʔmpa*
 tzuʔuyi+ʔam dya+ʔam dya+ʔam ʔan+jetz-taʔm-pa
 evening+ALR NEG+ALR NEG+ALR -XERG+brush-PLU_{sap}-INC
 ‘When it’s evening already, not to brush our hair.’

(A.202) *pwes* *jesik* *jokpiʔichaba+m*
 pwes jesik Ø+jok=piʔicha-pa+ʔam
 pues when 3ABS+just.as=night.fall-INC+ALR
 ‘Well, when the sun is just going down

ʔiga+ʔa+koonypa+m *tiganhnaaka*
 ʔiga+ʔa+koony-pa+ʔam tik=ʔanh.naaka
 COMP+XABS+sit-INC+ALR house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀
 that we sit at the door of the house.’

(A.203) *porkej winyyig+un jessaba+m*
 porkej winyyik+ʔun Ø+jes-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 because distant.past+DJO 3ABS+do.like.so-INC+ALR

jeʔm yoomo
 jeʔm yoomo
 that woman

‘Because before, the woman did this.’

(A.204) *ʔiga+koonypa+m tiganhnaaka*
 ʔiga+Ø+koony-pa+ʔam tik=ʔanh.naaka
 COMP+3ABS+sit-INC+ALR house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀

‘She sat at the door of the house.’

(A.205) *ʔi+jetztiimpa jeʔm ʔi+way*
 ʔi+jetz=tiim-pa jeʔm ʔi+way
 3ERG+brush=stretch-INC that 3PSR+hair

‘She brushed out her hair.’

(A.206) *mojpa ʔi+jétz*
 moj-pa ʔi+jetz-W
 begin_{aux}-INC 3ERG+brush-DEP_t

‘She began to brush.’

(A.207) *ʔi wiij ʔi+jetzpa,*
 ʔi wiH ʔi+jetz-pa
 and good 3ERG+brush-INC

‘And she brushed it reaaaally good.’

(A.208) *ʔi+jetzpa ʔi+jetzpa jeʔm ʔi+way*
 ʔi+jetz-pa ʔi+jetz-pa jeʔm ʔi+way
 3ERG+brush-INC 3ERG+brush-INC that 3PSR+hair

‘She brushed and she brushed her hair.’

(A.209) *ʔi mojpa+m ʔi+wéʔks*
 ʔi moj-pa+ʔam ʔi+weʔks-W
 and begin_{aux}-INC+ALR 3ERG+braid-DEP_t

‘And she began to braid it.’

(A.210) *peroj jeʔ ʔiga+ta+nimpa*
 peroj jeʔ ʔiga+ta+nim-pa
 but 3PRO COMP+IABS+say-INC
 ‘But we say that

ʔanimatseetpa ʔidyik
 Ø+ʔanimat=seet-pa ʔityʔik
 3ABS+animal=return-INC PAST
 she turned into an animal.’

(A.211) *ʔii jeʔeyukmi ta+nimpa ʔaaj*
 ʔii jeʔ=yuk.mi ta+nim-pa ʔaaj
 and 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁ IABS+say-INC ah
 ‘And that’s why we say: ah

yiʔim ʔi+ʔam ʔi+jetzpa tiganhnaaka ʔi+way
 yiʔim ʔiH+ʔam ʔi+jetz-pa tik=ʔanh.naaka ʔi+way
 here who+ALR 3ERG+brush-INC house=LOC₁₄.LOC₁₀ 3PSR+hair
 ‘here whoever brushes their hair in the door of the house

ʔokpiʔichaba+m
 ʔo+Ø+jok=piʔich-ʔaH-pa+ʔam
 ʔo+3ABS+just.as=night.fall-INC+ALR
 at sun down

ʔaa yiʔp xixaseetpa rraatuj
 ʔaa yiʔp Ø+xix-ʔaH=seet-pa rraatuj
 ʔaa this 3ABS+cow-VERS=return-INC a.while
 ah, this one’s going to turn into a cow in a while.’

(A.212) *yiʔp byeeraj ʔanimat jeʔeyukmi*
 yiʔp byeera ʔanimat jeʔ=yuk.mi
 that appears animal 3PRO=LOC₅.LOC₁
 ‘This one appears to be animal because

yɪʔp dya ʔi+ʔix jaama maʔkxi
yɪʔp dya ʔi+ʔix-W jaama maʔaks.i
 this NEG 3ERG+see-CMP day in.a.while
 she hasn't seen the sun for a while.'

**maanya* 'skills, special talents': This word is borrowed from Spanish and has a number of meanings. Possible translations include 'devilishly astute, devious, manic, one with vices, one who has a bad habit' among others. The word here is used to describe a man with special talents that might be considered supernatural. The speaker uses this word and describes he who "knows *maanya*" or "manía". Later she uses it to describe the bovine lovers and their ability to recite incantations and engage in supernatural activities. The English translation I use to capture the meaning in some cases is "special talents", but on other occasions I use "supernatural skills". Although these terms are lacking, they serve in the context of this story.

Appendix B

Text Corpus and Coding Guide

B.1 Texts Recorded/Transcribed in Field (2005-2009)

Code	Title/Description
AVC:	Anecdote About Visit to Mountains (Anecdota): Anecdote about a hike in the forest narrated and translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco, 2005 May 05
Burro:	Donkey (Burro):
Cangrejo:	The Crab Witch (Cangrejo): Narrated and translated by Juliana Albino Franco on ...
CSV:	The Chaneke that the Woman Saw (Chaneke): Anonymous narrator 2005 May 05; translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
Comal:	Griddle (Comal): A brief anecdote about an angry neighbor told by Juliana Albino Franco on 19 July 2006. Translated by Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez on 27 July 2006.
CDM	Eat Too Much (Comer Demasiado): Juliana Albino Franco tells a story about her grandson eating too much bread. Story recorded on 24 June 2004. Translated by Etiberio on 23 September 2005.

Code	Title/Description
CP1-5:	Construction: Parts 1 to 5 Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco explains the construction taking place in his backyard. The interview is divided into five parts. The explanation was recorded and video taped on 10 Sept 2005 and translated and transcribed on 22 Sept 2005.
CNC:	When We Were Married (Cuando nos casamos): The story of Juliana Albino Franco's marriage to her husband NGH told on 02 July 2005. The story was transcribed with Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez on 11 July 2006 and later revised with JAF in July 2006.
CSP1:	A conversation between Juliana Alvino Franco from Piedra Labrada and Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez of Santa Rosa Cin-tepec about becoming a midwife.
CSP2:	A conversation between Juliana Alvino Franco from Piedra Labrada and Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez of Santa Rosa Cin-tepec about the state of the language and its speakers.
OJO:	Curing the Donkey's Vision (Curar Ojos): Juliana Alvino Franco explains how she cured the vision of a donkey.
D3V:	Discourse: Venga: Told by Catalina Hernandez Rodríguez, 2005 April 01; transcribed by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco, 2005 May 12.
PDO	Owner of the Red Lands (Dueño): Anonymous narrator; translated 2005 May 13 by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
ESK:	Skeleton Man (Esqueleto): A local folk tale. Anonymous narrator; translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco on 27-28 May 2005.
GU1:	Worms 1 (Gusano 1): Folk tale. Anonymous narrator; translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
GU2:	Worms 2 (Gusano 2): Second version of <i>El Gusano</i> , a summary and description of the story as told by Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez on November 11, 2005. Translated by Eugenia on November 18, 2005.

Code	Title/Description
JOV:	The Youth of Today (Jovenes): Narrated by Juliana Albino Franco, 2004 June 19. Translated by Rosa Cervantes Rodríguez and Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
VYT:	The Cow and The Bull (La Vaca y El Toro): Anonymous narrator. Translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
MED:	Medicine (Medicina): Narrated by Juliana Alvino Franco on 2004 July 02. Translated by Rosa Cervantes Rodríguez on 2005 April 15-16.
MAB:	My Grandmother (Mi Abuela): Anonymous narrator. Recorded 2005.
PHE	Parents, Children and Illness (Padres, hijos y enfermedad): Description of illness. Narrated and transcribed by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco 12 May 2005
Partera	Midwife (Partera): Personal experience of Juliana Alvino Franco, narrated on 18 June 2004. Translated by Etiberio on 21 September 2005.
PQ1	Broken Leg 1 (Pierna Quebrada 1): This is the short version of a story by Juliana Albino Franco about the time that her son-in-law broke his leg. Told on 16 July 2007. Transcribed with Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez on 28 July 2007.
PQ2	Broken Leg 2 (Pierna Quebrada 2): Juliana Albino Franco tells a story of when her son-in-law broke his leg (long version). Told on 16 July 2006 and translated on 26 July 2006 by Juliana.
PQH	The Chicken That Got Away (El pollo que huyo): Anonymous narrator. Recoded 04 April 2005. Translated and transcribed 12 April 2005 and with Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco 26 May 2005 .
Puktuuku	Cotton (Puktuuku): Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez explains how cotton was harvested and processed, and how clothing was made when she was a girl. Story is told in November 2005. Translated by Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez on 21 July 2006.

Code	Title/Description
Pura.Carne	Pure meat (Pura Carne): Anonymous narrator talks about the story <i>Pura Carne</i> and explains how the main character, the <i>Trinylokuts</i> , is used to scare children into going indoors when the sun begins to set. Told on 04 May 2007. Translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.
REY	King (Rey): A story of a man who battles with an underworld king to get his dog back, as told by Juliana Albino Franco 2007 July 13.
SA1	Avocado Seed 1 (Semilla de aguacate 1): A treatment for curing hemorrhaging by Juliana Albino Franco told on 2006 July 16 (short version). Translated by Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez 25 July 2006.
SA2	Avocado Seed 2 (Semilla de aguacate 2): Cure for hemorrhaging (long version) by Juliana Albino Franco 2006 July 16; translated by Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez 25 July 2006.
SZ1	Zapote Seed 1 (Semilla Zapote 1): <i>La Cura de la semilla del zapote</i> (version 1), narrated by Catalina Hernandez Rodríguez on 2005 April 01 Translated by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco on 2005 12 May 2005.
SZ2	Zapote Seed 2 (Semilla Zapote 2): <i>La cura de la semilla del zapote</i> (2) Narrated by Catalina Hernandez Rodríguez on 2005 April 01; translated by: Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco on 2005 May 12.
Maiz	I Plant Corn (Siembro Maiz): Told by Juliana Alvino Franco on 21 June 2004. Translated by Etiberio on 16 September 2005.
Soy.Partera	I Am A Midwife (Soy Partera): This in an excerpt from a conversation between Juliana Albino Franco and Eugenia Ramírez Gutiérrez where Juliana explains how she became a midwife.
Suenyo	The Dream (Sueño): Juliana Albino Franco describes a dream.
UDR	A Day at the River (Un día al río): A humorous anecdote told by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco about an excursion with friends in which one friend had his clothes hidden. Recorded and transcribed 05 May 2005 by Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco.

Code	Title/Description
VVA	A Trip to Visit Grandma (Viaje a visitar la abuela): <i>Viaje a visitar mi abuela</i> , told by Juliana Alvino Franco on 2004 July 02. Translated by Rosa Cervantes Rodríguez on 2005 April 15-16. Revised with Braulio Rodríguez Nolasco 25-31 May 2005.
Yerno	My Son-in-law (Yerno): Yerno is the story of Juliana Albino Franco's son in law, recorded on xx July 2005. It was transcribed with Juliana on 17 July 2006.
7HN	My Father (?an+jaatunh): Personal experience. Juliana Albino Franco.

B.2 Texts obtained by the PDLMA

Code	Title/Description
Borracho	Told by Teodoro Rodrigues June 7, 1993; translated by Nicolas Gutierrez; transcribed by Valerie Himes July 30, 1994.
Curandero	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Espiritu	Brief text taken from the PDLMA lexical database.
Fiesta	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Juunychu7tz	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Juunychu7tz-Nicolas	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Muerto	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Presidente	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Rodilla	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Tzapup@@xiny	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Tzapup@@xiny-Pedro	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Viaje	Transcript received from PDLMA.
Xuunujti	Told by Pedro Albino Gonzales June 20, 1993. Transcribed by Valerie Himes July 3, 1993.
BirdGorrion	Recorded by researchers from SIL, made available to PDLMA.
Chaneco	Recorded by researchers from SIL, made available to PDLMA.
Giant	Recorded by researchers from SIL, made available to PDLMA.

B.3 Published Material

Elson (1984):	Ghost Girl
Elson (1947a):	The Homshuk: A Sierra Popoluca text
Gutiérrez & Wichmann (2001):	He'm Chichimat 'La Chichimeca'

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