SURVEY OF MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX FOR ZOQUE OF COPAINALA
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1 Morphology

   A. <u>The Zoque verb is inflected to show:</u>

     (1) <u>person</u> of the subject and object

     (2) <u>number</u> of the subject and object

     (3) <u>time</u> of the action

     (4) <u>grammatical classification</u>

     (5) <u>mode</u>

(1) Person of the subject and object

The personal pronouns of the first and second persons are used as enclitics to the verb to indicate the subject or object. When both subject and object are present, the subject pronoun always precedes the object pronoun. These enclitics are phonologically bound alternants of free forms, but are not morphologically immediate constituents to the preceding form.

1st. pers. sing.	-'ʌh/-'h, -'ʌs/'s
1st. pers. pl.	-tʌh/-tʌ, -tʌs
2nd. pers. sing.	-mih, -mis

putpa'ʌh/putpa'h	I go out
mbyutpamih	you go out
putpatʌh	we go out (excl.)
puttambatʌ	we go out (incl.)
mbyuttambamih	you (pl.) go out
ndzʌkpa'ʌs/ndzʌkpa's	I do it
ndzʌkpamis	you do it
ndzʌkpatʌs	we do it

ndzʌktambamis	you (pl.) do it
mba'tu'smih	I found you
mba'tumisʌh	you found me

The person of the subject or object is also indicated by corresponding pronominal prefixes on the verb. Unless there is a reciprocal prefix on the verb, the pronominal prefixes immediately precede the verb stem.

Following are charts showing the pronominal prefixes for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons subjects for intransitive verbs, and in the case of transitive verbs, for 1st, 2nd and 3rd subjects and objects.

Intransitive Independent

Singular

1st. pers. subject   Ø

2nd. pers. subject   Ny

3rd. pers. subject   Ø

Plural

1st. pers. subj. (excl.) Ø

1st. pers. subj. (incl.) Ø

2nd. pers. subj.   Ny

3rd. pers. subj.   Ø

puhtu'ʌh	I went out
mbyuhtumih	you went out
puhtu	he went out

puhtutʌh   we went out (excl.)

puttamutʌ   we went out (incl.)

mbyuttamumih   you (pl.) went out

puhtyahu   they went out

Transitive Independent

Singular	3rd. pers. obj.	1st. pers. obj.	2nd. pers obj.
1st. pers. subject	N-	--	N-
2nd. pers. subject	N-	N-	--
3rd. pers. subject	y-	Ø	Ny-
Plural			
1st.pers. subj.(excl.)	N-	--	N-
1st.pers. subj.(incl.)	N-	--	--
2nd.pers. subj.	N-	N-	--
3rd.pers. subj.	y-	Ø	Ny-

mba'tu'ʌs   I found it

mba'tumis   you found it

pya'tu   he found it

mba'tutʌs   we found it (excl.)

mba'ttamutʌ   we found it (incl.)

mba'ttamumis   you (pl.) found it

pya'tyahu   they found it

-- -- -   --- ----

mba'tumisʌh   you found me

pa'tu'ʌh   he found me

-- -- -   --- ----

-- -- -   --- ----

mba'ttamumisʌh   you (pl.) found me

pa'tyahu'ʌh   they found me

mba'tu'ʌsmih	I found you
mba'ttamu'ʌsmih	I found you (pl.)
--- --- ----	---- ----
mbya'tumih	he found you
mba'tutʌsmih	we found you
--- --- ----	---- ----
--- --- ----	---- ----
mbya'tyahumih	they found you

Note that from the above examples, when no personal pronoun appears, it indicates that the subject, and in the case of a transitive verb, the subject and object are in the third person. Examples: puhtu "he went out", pya'tu "he found it".

Verb Phrase

In the verb phrase, the clitic pronouns appear on the first auxiliary and the pronominal prefixes appear on the main verb.

The chart of pronominal prefixes for an Intransitive Verb Phrase is different from the one for an Intransitive Independent verb.

Intransitive Independent Verb Phrase

Singular

1st. pers. subject	N-
2nd. pers. subject	Ny-
3rd. pers. subject	y-

Plural

1st. pers. subject (excl.)	N-
1st. pers. subject (incl.)	N-

2nd. pers. subject   Ny-

3rd. pers. subject   y-

    maŋba'ʌh mbehtu   I am going to sweep

    maŋbamih mbyehtu   you are going to sweep

    maŋba pyehtu   he is going to sweep

    maŋbatʌh mbehtu   we are going to sweep

    maŋbatʌ mbettamu   we are going to sweep (incl.)

    maŋbamih mbyettamu you (pl.) are going to sweep

    maŋba pyehtyahu   they are going to sweep

The chart of pronominal prefixes for a Transitive Verb
Phrase is the same as the one for a Transitive Independent
verb. (See above, page 3)

    maŋba'ʌs mba'tu   I'm going to find it

    maŋbamis mba'tu   you are going to find it

    maŋba pya'tu   he is going to find it

    maŋbatʌs mba'tu   we are going to find it (excl.)

    maŋbatʌ mba'ttamu   we are going to find it (incl.)

    máŋbamis mba'ttamu   you (pl.) are going to find it

    maŋba pya'tyahu   they are going to find it

    --- --- ----   ---- ---- ----

    maŋbamisʌh mba'tu   you are going to find me

    maŋba'ʌh pa'tu   he is going to find me

    --- --- ----   ---- ---- ----

    --- --- ----   ---- ---- ----

    maŋbamisʌh mba'ttamu you (pl.) are going to find me

maŋba'ʌh pa'tyahu   they are going to find me

maŋba'ʌsmih mba'tu   I am going to find you

maŋba'ʌsmih mba'ttamu   I am going to find you (pl.)

---- ---- ----   ---- ---- ----

maŋbamih mbya'tu   he is going to find you

maŋbatʌsmih mba'tu   we are going to find you

---- ---- ----   ---- ---- ----

---- ---- ---   ---- ---- ----

maŋbamih mbya'tyahu   they are going to find you

(2) Number of the subject and object

From the above examples it will be seen that there are two pluralizing suffixes.

The suffix -taM-, following the verb stem, pluralizes a first person inclusive subject or a second person subject or object.

puttambatʌ   we go out (incl.)

mbyuttambamih   you (pl.) go out

mba'ttamu'ʌsmih   I found you (pl.)

mba'ttamumisʌh   you (pl.) found me

The suffix -yah- following the verb stem, pluralizes a third person subject or object. (See Gramática Zoque 3.1.1.) In the case of a transitive verb it is ambiguous as to the person or thing pluralized.

puhtyahu   they went out

čʌkyahu   they made it, he made them

The suffix -yatʌh-, following the verb stem, may pluralize a third person recipient of the action. (This suffix is also a mandatory or reciprocal suffix.)

či'yatʌhu   he gave it to them

(3) Time of the Action

Time in a Zoque verb is best considered from the following points of view:

(a) an action terminated

(b) an action not terminated

(c) an action that has not yet begun

(a) The suffix -u on an independent verb indicates that the action of the verb has terminated.

tse'oyu   "she washed"

čʌhku   "he made it"

(b) The suffix -pa on an independent verb indicates that the action of the verb has not been terminated.

Yʌtih sunba'ʌs tumʌ pesu.   "I need a peso now."

Tze'opya'ʌh tumdumʌ hama.   "I wash every day."

Wanba te' amahyon.   "The mocking bird sings."

(c) To express the idea that the action of the verb has not begun, generally the auxiliary verb maŋba is used before the principal verb.

Maŋba'ʌh nwanu.   "I'm going to sing,/I will sing."

Maŋba'ʌs ndzʌhku   " I'm going to make it./I will make it."

Sometimes a future idea is expressed by the suffix -pa.

Muspa'mis tiyʌ ora'ʌh minba. "You already know at what

time I will come."

(4) Grammatical Classification

The grammatical classifications shown by the Zoque verb are: transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, intransitive stative and impersonal. These a re dealt with under Section 3.1.1 and 3.1.2. in this outline, and also in Gramática Zoque 7.1.

(5) Mode

The modes shown by the Zoque verb are: indicative, imperative, condition contrary to fact and subjunctive. These are dealt with in Sections 3 and 4 in this outline and also in Gramática Zoque 15.

Motion verbs have no special inflection. They take the same prefixes and suffixes as other Zoque types of verbs.

myaŋbamih	you go
ŋgya'ŋbamih	you walk
nwyanbamih	you sing
nhyapyamih	you write

B. **The Zoque noun is inflected to show:**

    (1) **number:** singular and plural

    (2) **possession**

(1) Number

Nouns may be pluralized in the following ways:

(a) by adding the pluralizing suffix -ta'm.

tʌc	"house"	tʌcta'm	"houses"
pʌn	"man"	pʌnda'm	"men"

(b) by preceding the noun with a number or a quantitative adjective.

metsa tumin	"two reales"
sone pʌn	"many men"

(c) by pluralizing the adjective that modifies the noun.

hometa'mbʌ pokskuy   "new chairs"
new (pl.) chair

(2) Possession

To indicate that a noun is possessed, a pronominal prefix is added to the noun to tell the person of the possessor, and to make the possessor more specific, a possessive pronoun is added.

ʌs	ndʌc	my house
mis	ndʌc	your house
Ø	tyʌc	his house
tʌs (excl.)	ndʌc	our house
tʌ (incl.)	ndʌc	our house
tʌta'm	ndʌc	our house
mista'm	ndʌc	your (pl.) house
Ø	tyʌc	their house

It may be noted that first and second person possessors are indicated by the prefix N- on the noun. Third person possessor is indicated by the prefix y- . There is no independent possessive pronoun for the third person possessor.

If the possessor of a noun is another noun, the form of the nouns changes as follows:

(a) The possessor takes the suffix -'is/'s (the 's is used after vowels and after h in an unaccented syllable).

(b) The possessed noun takes the prefix y- (the y- appears after the first consonant of the stem).

Possessor	Possessed	
te' hwa'ŋis	tyʌc	"John's house"
the of-John	his-house	

```
te'         yomo's      tyʌc
the         woman's     her house      "the woman's house"
```

2 Phrases

2.1 Noun Phrases:

```
te'       pʌn
the       man
article   noun head
```

```
te'       jene      suñipʌ          tʌc
the       very      pretty-one      house
article   adv.      participle      noun head
```

```
te'       pʌ'nis            tyuwi
the       man's             his-dog
article   noun possessor    noun head possessed
```

```
te'       pʌ'nis            mas       mʌhapʌ        tyuwi
the       man's             more      big-one       his-dog
article   noun possessor    adv.      participle    noun head possessed
```

```
ʌsyʌ'                metsa     mʌjata'mbʌ      nwacas
my-this              two       big-ones        my cow
poss.pron.demon.     number    participle      noun head possessed
```

```
te'       pyama          pʌpyʌ       'i       popowʌ
the       his-clothes    long-one    and      white-one
article   poss'd noun head    participle   conj.   participle
```

There is no difference between possessing alienable and in-
alienable nouns.

2.2 Verb Phrases:

The words closely associated with the verb are its auxi-
liaries, its objects, adverbs and inflected nouns and pronoun com-
plements. To form a Verb Phrase, at least one of these must accom-
pany the main verb. Personal pronouns appear in the verb phrase
as they are usually enclitic to the verb.

Auxiliaries as Complements

Up to three auxiliary verbs in a series may be added to the main verb or nucleus. The simple auxiliary of a verb phrase is the one that carries the personal pronouns, and may precede the main verb or another auxiliary.

```
ha'nʌh        mawe                    muspamih       myaŋu
I don't       go                      you-can        go
simple aux.   main verb               simple aux.    main verb


minba         čʌhku                   ha'nʌh         suni         maŋu
he-comes      to-do-it                I-don't        want         to-go
simple aux.   main                    simple aux.    2nd. aux.    main verb


maŋbamih           sunu              myaŋu
you-are-going      to-want           to-go
simple aux.        2nd. aux.         main verb


ha'n          ma           sunu          myaŋu
he-isn't      going        to-want       to-go
simple aux.   2nd. aux.    3rd. aux.     main verb
```

Objects as Complements

Transitive Verb: takes direct object

```
čʌhku         tʌk                     čʌhku          homepʌ
he-made-it    house                   he-made-it     new-one
verb head     noun,direct obj.        verb head      participle, dir. obj.


čʌhku         samit              'i         tesa
he-made-it    adobe              and        tile
verb head     noun,dir. obj.     conj.      noun, dir. obj.
```

Ditransitive Verb: takes direct and indirect objects

```
či'u                tumʌ       pesu                te'         'yume
he-gave-it-to-him   one        peso                the         his-child
verb head           number     noun, dir. obj.     article     possessed noun,
                                                                indirect obj.
```

```
ñʌnihpu          te'      šʌk                te'       yaŋbak
he-helped-him-   the      his-beans          the       orphan
to-plant-it
verb head        article  noun, dir. obj.    article   noun, indir. obj.
```

```
ñʌhayu               ñanah                mumutiyʌ
he-told-it-to-her    his-mother           everything
verb head            noun, indir. obj.    pronoun, dir. obj.
```

2x2 Adverbial Complements :

```
hene    sunba'ʌs        'inʌk                ndzʌhku
very    I-want-it                            to-do-it
adv.    simple aux.     particle-past time   main verb, verb head
```

```
hʌnʌh           čʌkpa          te'       tʌk
rapidly         he-makes-it    the       house
adv. of manner  verb head      article   noun, dir. obj.
```

Inflected Noun and Pronoun Complements

```
sunba        čʌhku       tʌk        mihi'ŋ
he-wants     to build    a house    with-you
simple aux.  verb head   obj.       inflected pronoun
```

2.3 Prepositional Phrases:

Prepositional phrases exist in Zoque only when there is a borrowing of prepositions from Spanish. Otherwise prepositional suffixes are added to nouns and pronouns to express prepositional phrases.

Prepositions borrowed from Spanish: desde, hasta, contra

```
desde    te'     ko'tʌhkahkuy              'asta       kumgu'yohmo
since    the     wedding                   as far as   into town
prep.    art.    noun                      prep.       inflected noun
```

```
desde    yʌtih    'asta    mayu'oyh
from     now      until    in May
prep.    adv.     prep.    inflected noun
```

```
kontra    te'       nu'mbawʌ
against   the       robber
prep.     article   noun
```

Prepositional Suffixes added to nouns and pronouns:

```
tuwihi'ŋ        with a dog
tsa'pit         with a stone (instrument)
pʌngotoya       for a man
```

nʌ'taka	without water
nʌ'aŋi	near the water
tʌhkaŋʌ	at the house
kosta'Iohmo	in the bag
nʌ'oyj	at the river
mesakʌsi	on the table
tsu'kʌsi	at night
tsapkʌsmʌ	in the sky
mesakʌ'mʌ	under the table
aŋgʌ'kukmʌ	in the middle of the yard
kotsʌhkuhki	in the middle of the mountain
ki'mʌkuhkoyh	in the middle of the ascent
ku'yukʌ'y	at the foot of the tree
pokyʌ'mʌk	from Copainalá

2.4 Adjectival Phrases:

hene	mʌha		mas	mʌha	
very	big		more	big	
adv.	adj.	head	adv.	adj.	head

2.5 Adverbial Phrases:

Adverbial phrases are not very common in Zoque. Those
that exist, consist of two adverbs or one adverb with a noun
of adverbial quality.

hene	ya'ay		hene	tsu'yʌ'ka
very	far		very	night

2.6 Participial Phrases:

te'	suñipʌ		te'	hene	suñipʌ
the	pretty-one		the	very	pretty-one
article	participle		article	adv.	participle

te'	kumgu'yohmota'mbʌ		te'	minbawʌ
the	in-the-town-ones		the	one-who-comes
article	participle		article	participle

3 Independent Clauses (simple sentences)

A normal simple sentence in Zoque consists of two parts,
namely, subject and predicate. The subject may be a noun or
a noun phrase, a participle or a participial phrase, or lastly,
a pronoun. The predicate may be a verb or verb phrase. In

Section 3.2, Classification--identification, Description and
Location, the predication of a simple sentence without a verb
is explained.

3.1 Active Declaratives:

3.1.1 Transitives and Ditransitives:

Transitives: A transitive verb normally has one noun subject
which carries the morpheme marker of a subject of a transitive
verb, namely -'is/'s. If there are two or more subjects, the
last one mentioned bears the above mentioned morpheme

```
čʌhku        pʌ'nis  te'  tyʌk
he-made-it   man     the  his-house

tyu'nišahu          tyatah         te' hʍaŋ 'i te' pegru's
they-visited-him    their-father   the John and the Peter
```

A third person noun subject requires that the verb possess
a 3rd. person pronominal prefix marker, namely y-, as seen in the
verbs of the examples, čʌhku and tyu'nišahu, respectively. If
the main verb is accompanied by an auxiliary or auxiliaries, the
y- pronominal prefix will still appear on the main verb, for
example: nʌ čʌhku   he is doing it.

If the subject is a 2nd. or 3rd. person pronoun,the verb
would require an N- prefix. (See Section 1)

When the noun subject is plural, as in the 2nd. example,
the verb normally has the corresponding 3rd. plural verbal suf-
fix -yah-.

The plural noun subject may carry the noun pluralizing suf-
fix -ta'm as well as the morpheme marker -'is/'s mentioned
above. In that case the morpheme marker -'is/'s precedes the
plural marker -ta'm.

```
myuhšahpa      toto    te'  'une'sta'm
they-know-it   paper   the  children
```

A transitive verb normally has one noun object, but it is

possible to have more than one, as seen in example (3) of 2.2

Verb Phrase. The object noun itself does not undergo change

because of its being an object.

Since the verbal suffix -yah- marks 3rd. person plural subject

or object of a transitive verb, it is ambiguous as to the item

pluralized.

```
čʌkyahu                            pʌ'nis  te'  tʌc
they-made-it/he-made-them          man     the  house
```

This sentence may be translated either: "The men made the house."

or "The man made the houses."

To mark unambiguously 3rd. person plural recipient of the

action of the verb, the verbal suffix -yatʌh- is used.

```
tyo'ŋdʌi'yatʌhu                re'yis  te'  soldado
he gave it to them to drink    king    the  soldier
```

The king gave it to the soldiers to drink.

Ditransitives: A ditransitive verb in Zoque is one that has

two objects.

This is the type that takes a direct and an indirect com-

plement. The direct complement is the person or thing that re-

presents the object of the action of the verb, and the indirect

complement is the person or thing to whom the action is directed.

```
Či'u                metsa pesu  te'  'yune       te'  tyata's.
he-gave-it-to-him   two pesu    the  his-child   the  his-father.
The father gave his child two pesos.
```

```
Ñʌhayu            ñanah      mumutiyʌ     te'  une's.
he-said-it-to-her his-mother everything   the  child.
The child told everything to his mother.
```

In the 1st. example the verb či'u has no suffix added to differentiate it from a transitive verb. The direct object is pesu "peso", and the indirect object is 'yune "his child".

In the second example the verb ñʌhayu "he said it to her" has the benefactive suffix -hay-. The direct object is mumutiyʌ "everything" and the indirect object is ñanah "his mother".

Another type of ditransitive is the transitive verb that takes a causative-associative prefix. This prefix nʌ- marks action performed along with another person or thing, which is one of the objects of the verb. The other object is the thing that represents the object of the action of the verb.

Ñʌnihpu	te'	šʌk	te'	yaŋbak
he-helped-him- to-plant-it	the	his-beans	the	orphan

He helped the orphan to plant his beans.

In the example, the verb ñʌnihpu "he helped him to plant it" has the causative associative prefix nʌ-. The object yaŋbak "orphan" represents the person along with whom the action was performed. The other object šʌk "his beans" represents the thing that received the action of the verb.

Another type of ditransitive verb is the transitive verb that takes a causative-permissive prefix. This prefix yah- marks action that is caused or permitted by one person or thing upon another. The one who causes the action is the subject of the clause and the one who is caused or permitted to perform the action is one of the objects of the ditransitive verb. The second object is the thing that receives the action of the verb.

```
Te' nana's yahwohpʌ'u                        pyama        te' 'yune
the mother she-made-him-take-it-off his clothes the her child
The mother made her child take off his clothes so she could

wa'y        yahtsiŋu
in-order-to bathe him
bathe him.
```

The verb yahwohpʌ'u "she made him take it off" has the causative-permissive prefix yah-. The object that is caused to perform the action is 'yune "her child" and the object that receives the action of the verb is pyama "his clothes".

There are no different verb stems for two, three or more nouns.

Basic Order of the Verb and Noun Subject and Noun Object

The basic or preferred order of the various elements of a simple sentence is as follows:

Zoque:	tʌ'ʌk	čʌhku	suñipʌ	mesa	te'	kuytyayu's
English:	yesterday	he-made-it	pretty-one	table	the	carpinter
Class:	adverb	verb	particle	obj.	art.	subject

Free Translation: The carpinter made a pretty table yesterday.

Though the preferred syntactical order is verb, object, subject, it is not adhered to rigidly. For the sake of emphasis, one or other of the elements may be put in first place in the sentence.

```
te'    kuytyayu's čʌhku  suñipʌ  mesa  tʌ'ʌk.

the    carpinter he-made-it pretty-one table yesterday
```

```
suñipʌ   mesa   čʌhku   tʌ'ʌk   te'   kuytyayu's

pretty one table he-made-it  yesterday  the carpinter
```

In the first example, the subject te' kuytyayu's, "the carpinter" is brought forward to occupy first place in the sentence for emphasis.

In the second example, the object suñipʌ mesa "pretty table" is brought forward to the first place in the sentence for emphasis.

3.1.2 Intransitives:

As with the transitive sentences, the preferred order for the subject and verb in an intransitive sentence is to have the verb precede the subject. But this order is not rigidly followed, and for the sake of emphasis, the subject or other elements of the sentence may be placed first.

```
kipaŋhehyahu                 te' pʌn
they-stopped-fighting the man
The men stopped fighting.
```

```
aŋgoma'kʌ'opyapʌ   pʌn sutsipit ku'tpa
one-who-deceives   man by-lie   he-eats
A deceiver lives by lying.
```

Adverbial Functions

In both transitives and intransitives the adverbial functions of time, location and manner etc. are expressed for the most part by adverbs or adverbial nouns that are part of a verb phrase. They may precede or follow the principal verb with its auxiliaries, except for the adverb hᴇne "very" which always precedes the verb.

```
Homih     maŋba      čʌhku    pokskuy.
tomorrow  he-is-going to-make  chair
Tomorrow  he is going to make a chair.
```

```
Maŋu    tyʌhkaŋʌ    te'  'une
he went to-his-house the  child
The child went     home.
```

```
Hʌnʌh     poyu    te'  kayu.
quickly   he-ran  the  horse
The horse ran fast.
```

```
Hene   sunba'ʌh maŋu.
very   I-want   to-go
I want to go very much.
```

```
Maŋu     yohsu    kamo'mo.
he-went  to-work  in-the-cornfield.
He went to work in the cornfield.
```

3.2 Nonactives:

Existence:

To express existence, being or living, Zoque uses the verb 'ihtu. This verb is past in form but present in meaning.

```
Hene 'ihtu      kahwe  'ʌs ŋgumgu'yohmo.
very there-is coffee my  town-in
There is a lot of coffee in my town.
```

```
Ja'nande'    yʌy 'ihtu, maŋu     'yihtu  mehiko-cumgu'yojmo.
he-no-longer here lives, he-went to-live Mexico-town-in
He no longer lives here, he went to live in Mexico City.
```

Classification-identification:

This type of clause takes a non-verbal predicate, consisting of a noun or pronoun. The non-verbal predicate is inflected by a pronominal clitic for first and second persons or by a demonstrative pronominal clitic in the case of third person. The clause is made more precise by the addition of one of the three demonstratives of Zoque: yʌ' "this", te' "that or the" and 'ʌ' "that yonder".

```
'yunemih       "you are a child"
pʌnde'         "he is a man"
'ʌhyʌ'         "I am he"
```

Description:

This type of clause takes a non-verbal predicate consisting of an adjective with an optional addition of one of the demonstratives.

```
myʌhamih       "you are big"
suñipʌte'      "it is a pretty one"
mʌhapʌte' te' tyʌk     "his house is a big one"
```

Location:

This type of clause may take a non-verbal predicate consisting of an adverb with an optional addition of one of the demonstratives, or it may take the verb "to be" indicating location.

```
ñdyomemih        "you are close by"
```

```
tʌhkohmote'             'ihtu te' une
it-is-in-the-house      he-is the child
The child is in the house.

kʌsmʌ 'ihtu    te'  libru
up    there-is the  book
The book is up high.
```

Possessive:

There are two verbs "to have" used to express possession: 'yihtu "he has it"; and ñʌ'ihtu "he has it". Both of these verbs are past in form, but present in meaning. 'yihtu is the translation of 'ihtu, expressing existence, living and location, as seen above. ñʌ'ihtu is derived from 'ihtu by the addition of the causative-associative prefix nʌ-. This verb nʌ'ihtu has two meanings, "to have" and "to live with". Whenever ambiguity will result, the speaker will choose to use the verb ihtu for the meaning of "to have".

In the following examples nʌ'ihtu is ambiguous:

```
nʌ'ihtu'ʌs metsa 'une
I have      two   children
I live with two children.
```

Examples:
```
nʌ'ihtu'ʌs/'ihtu'ʌs  ndʌk
I have               a house.
```

```
ñʌ'.ihtu/'yihtu kyayu    te'  hwa'ŋis
he has          his-horse the  John
```
Free: John has a horse.

Weather:

Weather phenomena are generally marked by the impersonal suffix -nʌm- which is sometimes accompanied by a connective suffix -ʌ. These suffixes may be added to adjectives, nouns or verb stems.

```
pakakanʌmu  "It was cold weather" (pakak  "cold")

piyʌnʌmba   "It is warm weather"  (pih- "to be hot")
```

tsu'yanʌmu ``It became night.´´ (tsu' ``night´´)

But note that the following weather phenomenon is active:

nʌ kyehku tuh ``It is raining.´´
is falling rain

3.3.1. Passive:

Zoque does not employ a true passive verb. The three
examples cited on the Syntax outline would be expressed by active
verbs:

Mary held the baby.

hyotspʌhku te' 'une te' maria's
she-held-it the child the Mary

The natural way to express the last two passive sentences
would be:

Mary gave Jane the book.

či'u libru te' hwana te' maria's
she-gave-it-to-her book the Jane the Mary

In the second Zoque example, the verb či'u ``she gave it
to her´´ is ditransitive having two objects, ``book´´and
``Jane´´.

Note: One part of speech that is passive in meaning is a
nominalized transitive verb (participle) which is identified with
the object of the verb. It cannot be used as an independent verb
but only in a relative clause type of construction.

the child that Mary held

te' 'une hyotspʌhkupʌ te' maria's
the child the-one-that-was-held the Mary

3.3.2 Pseudo-passive: passive but with no agent permitted

A verbalizing suffix -nʌm-, preceded by a connective -ʌ- and
attached to a verb stem may form an impersonal verb denoting

generalized or mass action. Such verbs are usually in the third person with no agent expressed.

kipʌnʌmba   ``there is fighting, there is war´´ or ``they fight´´

The verb n myahpa   ``they say´´ or ``it is said´´ is active in form but passive in meaning with no agent expressed.   It is usually in the third person plural of the incompletive aspect of the verb.

3.3.3 Imperatives

Examples:

Minʌ.   Come!

Mindamʌ.   Come (plural)!

Cota.   Put it (down)!

Note the following:

(1) Imperative verbs take no pronominal prefixes.

(2) Imperative verbs may be pluralized by adding the suffix -taN-. (See Gramática Zoque A.9.)

(3) The suffix to indicate an imperative verb in Zoque is -ʌ-, (See Gramática Zoque A.9.) and the vowel used is determined by the vowel in the preceding syllable. (See Gramática Zoque A.20.5.4.)

3.3.3.1 Negative Imperatives

Examples:

Uy mini.   Don't come!

Uy maŋdame.   Don't go (plural)!

Uy mone.   Don't wrap it!

Note the following:

(1) Verbs may be pluralized by using the suffix -taN-.

(2) The negative imperative verb is made up of a verbal
    phrase composed of the negative auxiliary verb
    uy   plus a principal verb.

(3) The principal verb takes the suffix -I- (See
    Gramática Zoque A.9.) which is determined by the
    vowel of the syllable which precedes it. (See
    Gramática Zoque A.20.5.4.)

3.3.4   Hortatory

Examples:

    Poksta'mitʌy/Poksta'mitʌ.   Let us sit down.

    Ndzʌkta'mitʌy/Ndzʌkta'mitʌ.   Let us do or make it.

Note the following:

(1) The imperative suffix of the 1st person plural is
    -'i-, and is suffixed after the pluralizing suffix
    -taN-.

(2) There is metathesis of the glottal stop with the
    -m- of the pluralizing suffix -taN-.

(3) The pronominal prefixes are the same as those used
    for the 1st person plural on independent verbs.
    (See Gramática Zoque A.8.1.1. and 8.1.2.)

(4) The first person plural pronoun has two forms
    tʌy/tʌ.

3.3.5 Interrogatives:

    Questions differ from declarative clauses in the   following
ways:

(1) Interrogative clauses may have interrogative words as
introducers to the clauses. The following is a list of

interrogative introducers: hutʌ ``where´´; tiyʌ ``what´´; tiyʌkotoya ``why´´; tiyahkuy ``why´´; huts ``how´´; huhče'k ``when´´; huhče'ŋ ``how much´´; 'iwʌ ``who´´.

Examples:

¿<u>Hutʌ</u> ñdyihu   tʌ'ki?
Where did you go, squirrel?

¿<u>Huta'</u>   'ihtu te' pau?
Where (perfective) is   the fox?

¿<u>Tiya'</u>   čʌkyahu   yʌ'ta'mbʌ's?
what (perfective) did-they-do these-ones
What did these ones do?

¿<u>Tiyahkuy</u> nʌ nhyʌyu?
Why   are you crying?

¿<u>Tiyʌkotoya</u> nʌ nʌpoyu   nanah?
Why   are you running away with your mother?

¿<u>Huts</u> tʌ   maŋba   nyahka'u?
How   are we going to kill it?

¿<u>Huhče'k</u> maŋba minu mis nhayah   yosku'yohmo?
when   will come your husband work-from
When will your husband come from work?

¿<u>Huhče'ŋ</u> kahši   hyuyu   mis nyomo's?
how-many chicken she-bought your wife
How many chickens did your wife buy?

¿<u>'Iwʌ</u> maŋba kumgu'yohmo 'iso'oyh?
Who is going to town   today?

(2) Interrogative clauses may be indicated by an interrogative

suffix ha- or potential suffix -hsʌŋ/-sʌ'ŋ, each of which

may appear on the first word of the clause.

Examples:

¿<u>Mihate'</u> te' koyospapʌ hwaŋ?
Are you   the workman John?

```
¿'Ihtuha      heke mis  mok?
do-you-have then your  corn
Do you have your corn then?
```

```
¿'Oyesʌ'ɳde'           wa'ytyʌ   ɳgʌ'su yoyah-sis?
is-it-good-perhaps that-we   eat       pig-meat
Is it all right for us to eat pork?
```

```
¿Ha'nsʌ'ɳ              'oye wa'y myaɳu te' nga'e?
is-it-perhaps-not good that he-go the boy
Would it not be all right for the boy to go?
```

(3) Intonation may indicate a question but it is not of frequent
use. A Spanish-like intonation, with a rise in the voice at the
end of the question may be used on occasion.

```
¿Maɳbamisʌh          ɳgotzoɳu homih?
are-going-you-me to-help  tomorrow
Are you going to help me tomorrow?
```

3.3.5.1 Yes-no questions:

Zoque uses questions that require a ``yes´´ or ``no´´
answer.

```
¿'I šuñahpa?      'O  hʌ'ʌ.
and they-want-it oh yes
And do they want it?  Oh yes.
```

```
¿Ha'nsʌ'ɳ              'oye wa'y manu ne'cʌ?  Pwes 'oye.
isn't-it-perhaps good that I-go I           well  good
Wouldn't it be good for me to go?  Sure thing!
```

We see the first question answered by hʌ'ʌ ``yes´´ and the
second question answered by an equivalent affirmative 'oye
``good´´.

An indirect question may also be answered by h '   ``yes´´.

```
Kyʌ'aɳwa'cu   huka tihu     tyʌɳbʌ'yahu.       Hʌ'ʌ,
she-asked-him if    he-went to-throw-them-out yes
She asked him if he had gone to throw them out.  Yes,
```

```
tihu'ʌs ndzakpʌ'yahu.
went-I  to-leave-them
I went and left them.
```

In the above example, the indirect question huka tihu tyʌŋ-bʌ'yahu ``if he went to throw them out´´ is answered by hʌ'ʌ ``yes´´ plus a statement of information tihu'ʌs ndzakpʌ'yahu ``I went and left them´´.

Some questions may have a hʌ'ʌ ``yes´´ answer or a repetition of the verb used in the question, as an affirmative answer.

¿Maŋu   mis ndatah kumgu'yohmo? Hʌ'ʌ. or Maŋu.
he-went your dad   town-in   Yes. or He went.
Did your dad go to town?

Likewise some questions may have a ha'ne ``no´´ answer or a repetition of the verb used in the question, as a negative answer.

¿Maŋu   yohsu mis 'atsi? Ha'ne. or Hamyawʌ.
he-went to-work your brother No.   or He didn't go.
Did your brother go to work?

3.3.5.2 Content (information questions):

This type is also illustrated under 3.3.5 Section (1)

Who went?   ¿'Iwʌ maŋu?/¿'IwʌSʌ'ŋ maŋu?
Who saw Alex?   ¿'Iwʌ'sahsʌŋ quienu te' 'Alehandro?
Whom did Alex see?   ¿'IwʌSʌ'ŋ quienu te' 'Alehandro's?
What did the man say?   ¿Tiyʌ chamu te' pʌ'nis?
Which cow did you bring? ¿Hutipʌ wakas nʌminu?
How much did you bring?   ¿Huhçe'ŋ nʌminu?
How many did you bring?   ¿Huhçe'ŋ nʌminu?
When did the man go?   ¿Huhce'k maŋu te' pʌn?
Where did the man go?   ¿Hutʌ maŋu te' pʌn?
How did the man get away? ¿Huts kotsohku te' pʌn?
Why did the man go?   ¿Tiyʌkotoya/Tiyahkuy maŋu te' pʌn?

4 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses may be introduced by conjunctions or by clause introducers. Four of these subordinate conjunctions are:

hutʌ ``where´´; hutʌc ``from where´´; huts ``how´´; huhca'
``as´´.

The dependent clause serves as a complement to the main indicative clause of the sentence. It has its own subject and predicate, but it is in a subordinate relation to the main clause. There are five kinds of dependent clauses: manner, location, time, cause and purpose.

All of these clauses except the purpose clause may be identified by the presence of one of two elements, and on occasion, by the presence of both:

(1) a subordinating conjunction or introductory word to begin the clause or (2) a subordinating suffix on the verb in the clause.

The purpose clause, however, is characterized by an obligatory purpose auxiliary wa'y. The presence of the subordinating conjunction is optional and there is no subordinating suffix on the verb.

Below is a chart showing the types of dependent clauses that may appear in Zoque. In the first column are the types of clauses; in the second column are the conjunctions or introducers that begin the clauses; and in the third column are the suffixes that appear on the verb in the clause, if there is no clause introducer, and sometimes when there is an introducer.

Types of Dependent Clauses

	Conjunction or introducer		Suffix on Verb
Manner:	huhča	``as´´	-šeh (similitive)
	huts	``how´´	
	komo ke	``as if´´ (Span.)	
Location:	hutʌ	``where´´	-mʌy (locative)
	hutʌk	``from where´´	
	hutimʌy	``where´´	
	hutʌmʌy	``where´´	
Time	kwando	``when´´ (Span.)	-'k (temporal)
	de ke	``while´´ (Span.)	-'ka (temporal
	en kwanto	``while´´ (Span.)	perfect)
	antes ke	``before´´ (Span.)	
	'asta ke	``until´´ (Span.)	
	despues ke	``after´´ (Span.)	
	desde ke	``since´´ (Span.)	
Cause:	porke	``because´´ (Span.)	-ŋmʌhkʌ (causal)
	komo	``because, as´´ (Span.)	
Purpose:	wa'y	``in order to´´	
	para wa'y	``in order to´´	
	huts wa'y	``how that´´	
	hutʌ wa'y	``where that´´	
	'asta wa'y	``until that´´	
	en lugar ke wa'y	``instead of´´	

Examples:

Dependent Clause of Manner

1. Kyokspa   te' pwerta te' 'une's [huhča' kyokspa   ñana's.]
   knocks-on the door   the child as   knocks-on-it his-mother
   The child knocks on the door just as his mother does.

2. Kunu   te' čo'ŋgoya [komo ke ka'wa'a.]
   he-fell the rabbit   as-if   he-already died
   The rabbit fell down as if he were dead.

3. [Cʌhkušeh   te' pʌ'nis,] te'šeh   maŋba'ʌs   ndzʌhku.
   as-he-did-it the man   that-way I-am-going to-do-it
   I'm going to do it just as he did it.

In the above sentences, the dependent clauses are blocked

off. In sentences 1 and 2 each clause is introduced by a

conjunction which is underlined. In sentence 3, the verb of the

clause has the suffix of manner -šeh ``as´´.

Dependent Clause of Location

1. Yʌ' paloma's nʌ'ʌhyʌ'   tsamhayu [hutimʌy 'ihtu
   this bird   is-to-me-this saying where   there-is
   This bird is telling me where there is a lot of corn.

   wʌwʌpʌ 'ʌksi.]
   much   corn

2. Ha'ndʌh yahkene [hutʌte'   te' kyumguy.]
    not-us shows   where-it-is the his-town
    He doesn't show us where his town is.

3. Yahkenu'ʌh   ['ihtumʌy   te' tsatʌk.]
    he-showed-me where-there-is the cave
    He showed me where the cave is.

The clauses in sentences 1 and 2 are introduced by the

following conjunctions: hutimʌy ``where´´ and hutʌte'  ``where´´

respectively. In sentence 3, the verb 'ihtu has a subordinating

suffix -mʌy ``where´´.

Dependent Clause of Time

1. Simultaneous, concurrent time

   Maŋba'ʌh mbehtu [nʌ'kamis   ndze'u te' traste].
   I-am-going to-sweep while-you-are washing the dishes.

   [Hʌyu'k| sa'u.
   when-crying he-woke-up
   He woke up crying.

In these 2 examples the temporal subordinative suffix -'k

``when/while´´ appears on the verb of each time clause.

2. Antecedent to main verb:

    [Anteskemah ko'tʌhkahyahpa,] minu   kya'u te'
    before-still they-get-married she-came to-die the

    maya-
    sweetheart
    Before they got married, the sweetheart died.

The time clause here is introduced by a Spanish subordinate
conjunction with a Zoque suffix   anteskemah ``before´´.

3. Subsequent to main verb:

Tsʌ'yu   maría   tyʌhkaŋʌ   ['asta ke   minu
she-remained Mary   in-her-house until that he-came

hyayah.]
her-husband
Mary stayed at home until her husband came.

[Nu'ku'kʌh   ndʌhkaŋʌ| maŋupa'a   te'
when-I-arrived at-my-house the-one-already-gone the

'ʌs nyomo.
my wife
When I arrived home, my wife had already gone.

In the first example the dependent clause is introduced by a
Spanish subordinate conjunction 'asta ke   and in the second
dependent clause is introduced by a verb with the subordinating
suffix -'k ``when´´.

Dependent Clause of Cause

1. Hamina'a   [porke čʌkna'tsna'tswʌyahu.]
   he-didn't-come because they-frightened-him-very-much
   He didn't come because they frightened him a lot.

2. [Komo tsohtu te' hama,] minu   sʌ'ngʌ'ahu.
   as   it-rose the sun   it-came to-give-light
   Since the sun had arisen, it had gotten light.

3. [Hene ya'ay tu'ŋahyahu'ŋmʌjkʌ,] maya'aŋ nitu'yahu.
   very far   because-they-walked greatly they-got-tired.
   Because they had walked a long way they were very tired.

In sentences 1 and 2 we see the Spanish causal   conjunctions
``porque´´ and  ``como´´ written porke and komo, introducing the
dependent clauses respectively. In sentence 3, the verb carries
a subordinating suffix -'ŋmʌhkʌ ``because´´. No introductory
conjunctions is necessary in this sentence.

Dependent Clause of Purpose

1. Hyuyu   kom   [wa'y   wyʌtsʌhku tyʌk.|
   he-bought-it post in-order-to fix   his-house
   He bought posts to fix his house.

2. Maŋu   mye'tsu   [huts wa'y pyu'ŋwenu   te' kotsʌk.|
   he-went to-look-for how that he-break-open the cliff
   He went to look for a way to break the cliff open.

3. [En lugar ke wa'y hyuyhayu   ñanita,]
   instead-of   he-bought-it-from-him his-grandmother
   Instead of buying his grandmother from him,

   ñʌmaŋyahu   polisia's.
   they-took-him police
   the police took him.

The purpose clause has an obligatory auxiliary wa'y ``in order to´´. It may be accompanied by another word to form a kind of conjunctive phrase, such as the following: para wa'y, huts wa'y. hutʌ wa'y, 'asta wa'y and en lugar ke wa'y.

4.1 Complements:

Clauses as Subjects

Clauses as subjects of main verbs are possible. The first example in the Syntax outline however, would not be expressed by using a clause as subject, but by using a clause as object.

Myuhsahpa mumu pʌ'nis [ke te' 'alehandro oyepʌ   ng'ete'.]
they-know all   man   that the Alex   good-one boy-is
Everyone knows that Alex is a good boy.

A nominalixed clause is the most common type of clause used as a subject. The second example would fall under this type.

Yahkehu   te' kumyahumʌy   [te' pʌ'nis
it-showed-it the where-they-hid the man's

cʌhkupʌ   tiyʌ's.]
the-thing-he-did thing
What the man did revealed the hiding place.

[Te' minupʌ   tʌ'ʌk]   'ʌste' ndío.
 the one-who-came yesterday my-the my-uncle
The one who came yesterday is my uncle.

A clause functions more frequently as an object than as a subject of a verb.

```
Kyomʌ'yu    'alehandro's [huka mumuta'mbʌ's kyo'ispʌkyahpa.]
he-thought Alex            if   all           know-him
Alex thought that everyone knew him.
```

The object clause in this sentence is huka mumuta'mbʌ's kyo'ispʌkyahpa ``if all know him´´. Note that it is introduced by huka ``if´´ after the verb kyomʌ'yu ``he thought´´.

This example would be expressed by a verb phrase in Zoque.

```
Sunba'ʌh maŋu.
I-want    to-go
I want to go.
```

```
Sunba'ʌh [wa'mih myaŋu.]
I-want    that-you  go
I want you to go.
```

Here the object of the verb ``to want´´ is expressed by a dependent clause wa'mih myaŋu ``that you go´´.

```
Ngomʌpya'ʌs [huka maŋu].
I-believe    if   he-went
I believe he went.
```

This example patterns the same way as the third example.

There don't seem to be any constraints on the verbs that take object clause complements.

4.2 Relative clauses:

(1) Appositional use

The most common way to express relative clauses in Zoque is to nominalize the verb in the clause that stands in apposition to the head noun or antecedent. This is done by adding the nominalizing suffix -pʌ/-wʌ to the verb. This nominalized word may precede or follow the antecedent. The

clause with the nominalized verb is usually introduced by the
article te'.

    Ngenu'ʌs [te' minupʌ]   pʌn.
    I-saw-him the one-who-came man
    I saw the man who came.

    Ngenu'ʌs te' pʌn, [te' minupʌ   tʌ'ʌk.]
    I-saw-him the man   the one-who-came yesterday
    I saw the man who came yesterday.

The relative clause in the first example te' minupʌ ``the
one who came´´ precedes the antecedent pʌn ``man´´ and in the
second example the relative clause te' minupʌ tʌ'ʌk ``the one who
came yesterday´´ follows the antecedent pʌn ``man´´.

A relative clause may stand in apposition to the subject or
object of the sentence.

    Te' pʌn [tihupʌ   tʌ'ʌk,]   'ʌste' ndzʌni.
    the man one-who-came yesterday my-the my-uncle
    The man who came yesterday is my uncle.

    Ngenu'ʌs te' pʌn, [te' 'ispʌkpapʌmis.]
    I-saw-him the man the one-whom-you-know
    I saw the man whom you know.

In the first example the bracketed relative clause stands in
apposition to the subject pʌn ``man´´ and in the second example
the bracketed relative clause is in apposition to the object pʌn
``man´´.

When a nominalized word is formed from a transitive verb by
the addition of the suffix -pʌ/-wʌ, the resultant form refers to
the object of the verb: čʌhkupʌ ``one that was made´´.

    Te' tʌk [čʌhkup   te' pʌ'nis] suñipʌte'.
    the house one-that-was-made the man   pretty-one-the
    The house that the man made is pretty.

When the suffix -'is/-'s is added to the nominalized verb,

the resultant form refers to the subject of the verb: c̆ʌhkupʌ's

``one who made it´´.

```
Te' pʌn [c̆ʌhkupʌ's        tyʌk]  'ʌste' ndzʌni.
the man  one-who-made-it his-house my-the my-uncle
The man who built his house is my uncle.
```

More examples from the outline:

```
Ndzoŋu'ʌs  te' pʌn [ka'upʌ's              wyakas].
I-met-him  the man one-who-died (poss.) his cow
I met the man whose cow died.
```

The normal way to say ``I met the man to whom you sold a

cow´´ would be ``I met the man who bought your cow.´´

```
Ndzoŋu'ʌs  te' pʌn [hyuyupʌ's            mis  nwakas].
I-met-him  the man one-who-bought-it your your-cow
```

The normal way to say ``I met the man because of whom you

don't have a job´´ would be ``I met the man who took away your

work.´´

```
Ndzoŋu'ʌs  te' pʌn [yahʌkʌ'hayupʌ's           mis  nyoskuy].
I-met-him  the man the-one-who-took-away-from your work
```

(2) Relative Clause introduced by a relative pronoun

The relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun

seems to be influenced by Spanish syntax.

If a relative pronoun introduces the clause, then there is

no nominalizing suffix on the verb. 'Iwʌ is the chief relative

pronoun used as a relative clause introducer.

```
Ndzoŋu'ʌs  te' pʌn ['iwʌhi'ŋmih    nyospa.]
I-met-him  the man who-with-you   you-work
I met the man with whom you work.
```

```
Ndzoŋu'ʌs  te' pʌn ['iwʌkotoyamih   nyospa].
I-met-him  the man who-for-you     you-work
I met the man for whom you work.
```

If there is no relative pronoun, then the verb has the

nominalizer -pʌ and the clause is usually introduced by the article te'.

  ... [te' nyospapʌ   h'iŋ mih]
       the you-work-NOM with you

  ... [te' nyospapʌ   kotoya mih]
       the you-work-NOM for   you

Another relative pronoun that has been observed as a clause introducer is huhče'ŋ following mumu i.e. mumu huhče'ŋ ``all, as many as´´. In this case the verb in the relative clause has the nominalizing suffix.

Ngoyohwa'mʌs   mumu [huhče'ŋ   yohšahupʌ
I-already-paid all   as-many-as ones-who-worked

ngamo'mo.]
my-cornfield-in
I already paid all those who worked in my cornfield.

(3) Another kind of relative clause is that which expresses location, ``the place where´´ something happened. This ``where´´ idea is expressed by a suffix -m y on the verb.

maŋba'ʌh ndziŋu sawa meya'ohmo [wombamʌy   nʌ'].
I'm-going to-bathe Wind Lake-in   where-springs-forth water
I'm going to bathe in Wind Lake where water bubbles out.

[Ñipyahumʌy   te' 'aksah] ñʌhayahpa   'aksatʌk
where-they-planted the cane   they-call-it canefield

In the first example, the antecedent is sawa meya'ohmo ``Wind Lake´´ and the relative clause is bracketed [wombamʌy nʌ'] ``where water bubbles out.´´

In the second example, the antecedent is 'aksatʌk ``canefield´´ and the relative clause is [ñipyahumʌy te' 'ahsah] ``where they planted the cane´´.

(4) The Zoques have a way of expressing the ``time when´´ something happened, but it does not parallel the other relative

clauses. They do not say ``the day that something happened´´ but
literally ``what day´´. The verb in the relative clause does not
have the nominalizing suffix; in this way it is parallel to
clauses introduced by the relative pronoun iwʌ.

> Tiyʌ hamamis nyahtukhapya 'ʌs ndʌk, ŋgoyohpa'ʌsmih.
> what day-you finish-for-me my house pay-I-you
> The day that you finish my house, I'll pay you.

Note that there is no antecedent to ``what day´´ tiy hama.

Restrictive and nonrestrictive:

The relative clause in Zoque is restrictive in that it
refers only to the one or ones included in the antecedent word.
``Nonrestrictive relative clauses´´ in Zoque would simply be two
clauses juxtaposed. In order to express the nonrestrictive idea
of **all** being included, a relative clause would not be used.
Using the example in the outline it might be expressed as
follows:

> **All** linguists tire easily and never seem to finish.

4.3 Adverbial Clauses

Sections 4.3.1--4.4.4 are dealt with under Section 4
Dependent clauses. 4.4.5 Means: ``He got into the room by lying
about his age.´´

This type of sentence would not be expressed by using a
``means´´ clause as above. A similar idea would be expressed in
the following manner:

> Sutsipit tʌhkʌyu   'eya   tʌhkohmo   wa'y
> by-lie   he-entered another house-into in-order-to
> By means of a lie, he entered another person's house
>
> ñu'mhayu   tyumin.
> to-rob-from-him his money
> to rob him of his money.

4.4.6 Conditionals:

Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction huka `` if´´.

Reality

Real present:

[Huka nʌ kyehku tuh,] nʌ yahtsoka'u   mis mbama   tu'is.
if   is falling rain is causing-to-get-wet your clothes rain
If it is raining, your clothes are getting wet.

Habitual, generic:

[Huka nakspamis te' kayu] mas maŋba   pyoyu.
if   you-whip the horse more is-he-going to-run
If you whip the horse, he will run faster.

Past:

[Huka ñdyihumih tsu'uk   masandʌhkojmo] muspamis tiyʌ
 if   you-went last-night church-in   you-know what

camyahu.
they-said-it
If you went to church last night, you will know what was said.

Unreality

Imaginative

A hypothetical or counterfactual clause begins with the conjunction huka. The clause and the main verb of the sentence are both marked by the obligatory present of the particle 'inʌk. In the following examples the hypothetical and counterfactual clauses are bracketed.

Hypothetical:

[Huka ŋgenba'ʌs 'inʌk kakwe   'ʌs 'ʌŋgu'yohmo,]
 if   I-see   scorpion my bed-on

wehpa   'inʌhkʌh.
I-call-out   I
If I were to see a scorpion on my bed, I would cry out.

Counterfactual:

[Huka 'in∧hk∧h hamin∧] tristemih 'in∧k 'ihtu.
if   I hadn't-come sad-you   are
If I hadn't come, you would have been sad.

Note that the hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses need an obligatory particle 'in k and the main clauses of the sentences also need the same particle 'in∧k.

Predictive (real or unreal)

[Huka minbamih homih,] ma∩bat∧h nyohsu mehtshi'∩.
 if   you-come tomorrow we-are-going to-work two-with
If you come tomorrow, we are going to work together.

Negative conditional:

Zoque does not have a word equivalent to ``unless´´. To express the idea of the example in the outline, the following might be used:

Ma∩bat∧h   homih   huka ha'nmist∧h 'oto∩winduki.
we-are-going tomorrow if   not-you-us forbid
We'll go tomorrow if you don't forbid us.

4.4.7. Substitutives
In Zoque a substitutive clause may occur in the indicative or in the subjunctive mode, depending upon whether something contrary to fact is being expressed in the clause. The conjunction used to introduce the clause is w 'k ``instead of´´.

W∧'kte'   wa'y ma∩u yohsu te' pegru, '∧∩u   kahčo'mo.
instead-of that he-go to-work the Peter he-slept hammock-in
Instead of going to work, Peter slept in the hammock.

The verb wa'y manu yohsu ``that he go to work´´ is in the indicative mode.

'I mih ñdye'ngi'mba   w∧'kmihte' nhy∧y∧.
and you get-up-on-your-toes instead-of crying
And you are proud instead of crying.

The conjunction w∧'k ``instead of´´ in the substitutive clause actualizes as an auxiliary verb to which the enclitic pronoun mih ``you´´ is added. The main verb of the verb phrase

is nhyʌyʌ ``crying´´, to which the pronominal prefix Ny- is added
and to which the suffix -ʌ, indicating subjunctive mode, is
added. (See Gramática Zoque A.15.4.)

4.4.8 Additives

This type of clause is not used in Zoque. A more likely
sentence would be: I got all wet and so caught cold.

4.4.9 ``Absolutives´´

The two examples in the Syntax Outline would not be
expressed in Zoque by using a gerundial type clause. The first
example would probably be expressed by an adverbial clause of
time. ``After he had told a few jokes, Harvey proceded to
introduce the speaker.´´ (See Section 4 Dependent clauses.)

The second type of example could be introduced by a causal
clause:

```
[Komo  ha'ndiyʌ     tiyʌkotoya wa'y čʌ'yu      tyʌwʌ's
 since there-is-not what-for  that he-remain his-friend's
Since he had no reason to stay any longer at his friend's

tyʌhkaŋʌ,]   tsu'kumu 'i maŋu.
his-house-at he-left  and he-went
house, he walked out and left.
```

4.4.10 Concessives and Adversatives

Concessive and adversative clauses are introduced by the
conjunction ñempe/wempe/yempe ``even though´´.

In a concessive clause the verb is in the indicative mode
but in an adversative clause the verb is in the subjunctive mode
because two contrasting clauses are being joined.

Concessive:

```
Maŋba'ʌ smih ndzi'tamu yoskuy ñempe       'ihtu    wʌwʌ
going-I-you to-give    work   even-though there-is many
```

'ʌs mbʌn nʌ yohsahupʌ.
my man are the-ones-that-are-working
I am going to give you work even though I have many workmen.

Note that the verb 'ihtu ``there is´´ in the concessive

clause is in the indicative mode.

Adversative:

[ñempemih   ŋgya'ʌ,]   ha'nmih maŋu
even-though-you were-to-die not-you are-going

nhyambʌ'yahu.
they-to-forget-you
Even though you were to die, they are not going to forget
you.

The conjunction ñempe ``even though´´ in the adversative

clause actualizes as an auxiliary verb to which the enclitic

pronoun mih ``you´´ is added and the main verb phrase is ŋgya'

``you were to die´´, to which the pronominal prefix Ny- is added

and to which the suffix -ʌ, indicating subjunctive mode, is

added. (See Gramática Zoque A.15.4.)

5 Miscellaneous

    Comparisons: To express comparisons, the Spanish adverb

``más´´ is borrowed.

    Maste'   ye'ŋu te' hwaŋ ke ha'nde' pegru.
    more-the tall   the John than not-the Peter
    John is taller than Peter.

6 Compound and conjoined sentences

    Clauses are conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions: 'i

``and´´; 'o ``or´´; ni ``nor´´; pero ``but´´; sino ke ``but´´.

Examples:

    Ki'mʌ   yʌmʌ 'i maŋba'ʌ smih nyahkenu   tiyʌ'iwʌ.
    climb-up here and going-I-you I-you-to-show what-who
    Climb up here and I'll show you something.

'Uy   mawe tyenda'ohmo <u>ni</u>   'uy   huyi yahtiyʌ.
don't go   store-in   nor don't buy   nothing
Don't go to the store nor don't buy anything.

Kenekene tihyahpa,   <u>pero</u> ha'nde' yahkeñay hutʌte'   te'
openly   they-arrive but   not-the they-show where-the the

kyumguy.
his-town
They arrive openly but they don't show where their town is.

Clauses may be conjoined without conjunctions.

'I   dyay mʌha'ahu   te' poso laguna'ahu.
and then big-it-became the well lake-it-became
And then the well grew big and became a lake.

Notice the absence of any conjunction to join the two

clauses 'i dyay mʌha'ahu te' poso `` and then the well grew big ´´

and laguna'ahu `` it became a lake ´´.

Despwes   čʌmnʌkʌtʌhku   gayu
afterwards he-carried-him-across rooster

čʌmnʌkʌtʌhku   ka'ñji.
he-carried-him-across turkey
Afterwards he carried the rooster across and then the
turkey.

In this example also there is an absence of a joining

conjunction between the clause despwes čʌmnʌkʌtʌhku gayu

`` afterwards he carried the rooster across ´´ and the clause

čʌmnʌkʌtʌhku ka'ñji `` he carried the turkey across ´´.

The clauses conjoined by coordinate conjunctions above and

those conjoined without conjunctions are independent clauses that

may stand alone. Sometimes the subject referent in each is

different as in the first example `` Climb up here and I'll show

you something. ´´

7 Quotations:

    Direct quotations

       Zoque generally uses a quotation formula using the verb
stems nʌm- ``to  say´´  or  nʌhay-/nʌmhay-  ``to say to´´.
quotation formula may precede, interrupt or follow the actual
quotation.

    Pihče'ka <u>nʌmu</u>   te' tsamuyomo, ma'ʌs
    then   she-said the old-woman I'm-going

    ŋgothayu   trampa.
    to-place-for-him trap
    Then the old woman said, ``I'm going to set a trap for
him.´´

    Tsʌkʌpʌ'ʌh, 'atsi, <u>ñʌmhapya</u>,   porke 'itke'tu
    let-me-go   brother he-says-to-him because there-is-also
    ``Let me go, brother,´´ he says to him, ``because I have

    'itke'tu   'eyapʌ wa'yʌsmih ndzaŋu.
    there-is-also another that-I-you hit
    another one to hit you with.´´

    Bwenas nočes, 'atsi, <u>ñʌmhayu</u>.
    good   evening brother he-said-to-him
    ``Good evening, brother,´´ he said to him.

Indirect quotation

       This type of sentence is characterized by a clause
containing a verb of saying, telling, asking, etc. which precedes
the indirect quotation. The clause of the indirect quotation is
introduced by ke ``that´´ or huka ``if´´.

    <u>Nʌ</u>   <u>ñʌmu</u> wyane'ohmok <u>ke</u> yʌ' kotsʌhkuhki
    it-is saying in-its-song that this cliff-in-the-middle
    It is saying in its song that in the middle of the cliff

    'ihtu   wʌwʌ '∧ksi.
    there-is much corn
    there is a lot of corn.

    <u>Maŋu</u> <u>ñʌhayu</u>   <u>ke</u> huhče'ŋgʌsi   čʌkhayu
    he-went to-say-to-him that how-much-on   he-did-for-him

    fabor.
    favor
    He went and asked him how much he owed him for the favor.

Te' tsi's   ñ∧hayu   te' kaŋ   huka sunba
the opossum he-said-to-him the tiger if   he-wants
The opossum asked the tiger if he wanted to take his child

ñ∧maŋhayu   'yune   n∧'y∧'okyu'yohmo, huka
to-take-for-him his-child into-baptism   if
to be baptized, if he would be a godfather to him.

kyompadre'ahpa.
he-will-be-godfather

Minu   te' 'yune   'i ky∧'aŋwa'ku   te' pyadrino
he-came the his-child and he-asked-him   the his-godfather
The child came and asked his godfather where

ke   hut∧ maŋu   tyatah.
that where he-went his-father
his father had gone.

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