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2000

A Grammar of San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque

by

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compendious knowledge and willingness to read draft after draft, this work would be substantially less accurate and complete. There isn't anyone else in the world that I can call up on a Wednesday night to ask "Is my verb kum- *enterar* or *enterrar*?" and get an answer!

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A Grammar of San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque

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The variety of Zoque described in this grammar is spoken in San Miguel Chimalapa, a small town in southern Oaxaca, México. The town has some 5,000 citizens; there are perhaps 1,800 speakers of Zoque, all over the age of forty. The language is thus moribund. Given the paucity of linguistic work on this and other members of the Mixe-Zoque language family, my goal in writing this grammar was to provide as comprehensive a description as possible. Grammatical terminology is drawn from the functionalist theory of Role and Reference Grammar. Zoque is an ergative, agglutinating, polysynthetic language. It is a head-marking language. Core NPs are not case-marked; postpositions mark non-core NPs. Word order amongst NPs is free, except that the actor NP must precede the undergoer NP if it is possible to confuse them (if they are both human, for example). The bulk of this grammar is concerned with the description of verbal morphology. In addition to the pronominal agreement markers, agreement with core arguments can be marked by the plural suffix or by the

valency-increasing affixes - the causative and the applicative. Valency reducing affixes are the passive, the antipassive, and the impersonal. There is a set of positional affixes that refer to the resultant shape and state of the undergoer argument. Both noun incorporation and verb stem compounding are highly productive processes in this language. Dependent verb constructions can also be formed with a small set of auxiliary verbs; these constructions exhibit an agreement pattern known as ergative shift. Verb compounding is another extremely productive and powerful process in this language. This grammar also discusses syntax within the clause and in multi-clausal expressions, including relative clauses, coordinated and comparative clauses, and subordinate clauses. It includes chapters on question formation and aspect. Finally, there is discussion of discourse-level processes, including word order and discourse markers. The use of Spanish grammatical function words, independently and in tandem with Zoque formatives, is discussed where relevant. This grammar also serves as documentation for a dictionary of Zoque, with glosses in Spanish and English, that is accessible as a searchable on-line database at http://www.albany.edu/anthro/maldp/.

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Morpheme gloss codes

The first column contains the English gloss code used in this book. The second column contains the Zoque morpheme. The morpheme separators described in Table ii are used to indicate the morphological status of the Zoque forms. The Third column contains a brief description of the morpheme.

English	Zoque	Description
1A	də	first person absolutive
1E	ʔən+	first person ergative
1/2PL	-tam	first or second person plural
1PSN	tənti/ninti?	first person possessive noun
1Prn	dəš	first person pronoun
1>2	miš	first person subject; second person object
2A	ʔəm+	second person absolutive
2E	ʔəm+	second person ergative
2PSN	minti?	second person possessive noun
2Prn	miš	second person pronoun
2>1	miš	second person subject; first person object
3A	0	third person absolutive
3E	ʔəy+	third person ergative
3PL	-šuk	third or second person plural
3PSN	ʔəyti?	third person possessive noun
3>2	mi	third person subject; second person object
ACC	+hənaŋ	accompaniment
ANTIP	.ʔoy	antipassive
APPL	.hay	applicative
ASSUM	.ney	assumptive
AWAY	kə.	directional prefix: away

English	Zoque	Description
BACK	həš.	directional prefix: back
BNF	+goʔ	benefactive
CAUS	yak.	causative
CEL	.(pak)pə	celeritive
COM	-wə	completive
dCOM	-E	dependent completive
nCOM	-wə	negative completive
CONFAC	pinək	contrafactual
DCT1	yə	proximal deictic
DCT2	te	neutral deictic
DCT3	ka	distal deictic
DEF	bi	definite article
DEM	.də	suffix that attaches to deictics forming a pronoun
DEPOS	.wəy	depositive
DIR1	+həəŋ/heeŋ/haaŋ/hənaŋ henaŋ/hanaŋ	directional: (out) from
DIR2	+hiiŋ	directional: over there
DIR3	+honaŋ	directional: from
DIR4	+təəŋ/hooŋ	directional: from
DIR5	+ʔaŋhəʔ	directional: over to where X is
DIR6	+ʔaŋhənaŋ	directional: towards
DIR7	+ʔaŋhəəŋ	directional: towards
DIS	geta	disbelief
DOWN	ʔok.	directional prefix: down
DUBIT	.bəʔ	dubitative
EXP	=tayu	postpound: expert
FACE	win.	directional prefix: face
FIRST	.coʔc	suffix: first
HORT	-taaŋ	(ex)hortative
IERG	ney	first person inclusive ergative
IF	biʔt	subordinator: if

English	Zoque	Description
IMPV	-Aʔ	imperative
nIMPV	-wə	negative imperative
INC	-pa	incompletive
dINC	-wə	dependent incompletive
nINC	-A	negative incompletive
INDEF	-Anəm	indefinite; impersonal
INH	.wayʔ	nominal suffix: inhabitant of
INSTR	+piʔt	instrument
INSTR1	.kuyʔ	instrument
INSTR2	yək.	instrument
INSTR3	ni.	instrument
INTO	ho.	directional prefix: into; through
IPrn	ney	first person inclusive pronoun
IPSN	neytiʔ	first person inclusive possessive pronoun
IRR	moʔ	irrealis
ITER1	.ney	iterative1
ITER2	.wəy	iterative2
LOC1	+hi/haʔ/həʔ	locative: here; there
LOC2	+hoʔ	locative: to
LOC3	+ʔaŋhiʔ	locative: near
LOC4	+gəši	locative: on
LOCREL	+hi	locative relative
MEAS	.neeŋ/naaŋ	measure
MOUTH	ʔaŋ.	directional prefix: mouth
NEG	ya	negative
NEGimpv	ʔu	negative imperative
NOM1	.ʔ	nominalizer: only deictics
NOM2	.A	nominalizer: result
NOM3	.E	nominalizer: participle
NOM4	.ʔaŋ	nominalizer: very rare, numbers?
NOM5	0	nominalizer: zero suffix
NOW	+ʔam	now

English	**Zoque**	**Description**
NPL	+dəkkay	plural marker for nouns
NPL2	+haaʔ	plural marker for pronouns and some nouns
ONLY	+štaaʔ	only
cOPT	-wə	optative completive
iOPT	-Aʔ	optative incompletive
PASS	.ʔəm	passive
nPERF	yampa	negative perfect
PRB	.kiʔpš	probative
PROG	nəmmə	progressive
PRSV	.ten	perseverative
PSE	ni	directional prefix: purpose
PURP	goʔ	subordinator: purpose clause
RCP	-A- ney	reciprocal suffix reciprocal pronoun
REFL	win	reflexive pronoun
REL	+VʔkV	relative
REL2	+pəʔk	relative, also forms nouns from adjectives
REM	maeʔ	remote perfect
REPET	.keʔt	repetitive
RVS	.puʔ	reversive
SEEM	bəše	modal: seems as if
SIM	.ʔše	similative, only with deictics
SOC	ko.	prefix: with or for another person
STAT	.naʔ	stative
STILL	+namʔ	postverbal clitic: still
SUF	.ʔəy	suffix whose function is unknown
SURF	nik.	directional prefix: surface
TEMREL	ʔora	temporal relative
TMP	.y	temporal, only with deictics
UP	yuk.	directional prefix: up
VERS1	.ʔa	versive, forms verbs from nouns/adjectives

VERS2	.ʔəy	versive
English	**Zoque**	**Description**
VOL	yakkə	volitive
WITH	.mot	together; with another
X		unknown affix
XE	dən	first person exclusive ergative pronoun
XPSN	tənti-haaʔ	first person exclusive possessive pronoun

Morpheme boundary symbols

-	inflectional affix
.	derivational affix
=	compound
+	clitic

The symbols shown in the table are used to separate morphemes in the morpheme breakdown line of each data example. They appear on the side of the larger unit to which the morpheme belongs syntactically. This is illustrated in the example below. The '+' that marks a clitic appears on the right of the person agreement marker ʔəy, because it belongs to the verb complex on its right. This is mirrored by the '+' that marks ʔam as a post-verbal clitic. The '=' separates two compounded lexemes (kowak is clearly a lexicalized form, because the root wak does not appear in any underived forms in the modern language). The '.' is placed between the prefix and the verb root; the '-' is placed between the root and the inflectional suffix.

(ii) ʔən həmkowakkám
ʔən+ həm=ko.wak-wə+ʔam
1E+ scrape=OTHR.empty_out-COM+NOW
'I scraped it out.'

Chapter 1: Introduction

San Miguel Chimalapa is a town of about 5,000 people in southwestern Oaxaca, Mexico. Most of the residents of the town are Zoques, although there are also Zapotecs and non-indigenous Mexicans living there. Outlying communities that belong to the San Miguel municipio are more likely to be non-Zoque the farther down the mountain they lie. Going up the mountain, there are tiny hamlets of Zoques speaking the San Miguel dialect (hereafter, MIG Zoque), until one passes Cofradía, after which one enters the Santa María Chimalapa (MAR Zoque) municipio. These two dialects are mutually intelligible, though quite different in many ways (Kaufman, 1996).

Estimates of numbers of speakers are rough, and tend to conflate the two Chimalapan communities. There were around 2,000 speakers of MIG Zoque in 1990 (Grimes, 1992) and another 3-4,000 speakers of MAR Zoque. There are no active speakers of MIG Zoque under the age of 40, although there are many between the ages of 20 and 40 who understand the language. There are now two generations of Zoques in San Miguel who have not acquired the Zoque language as their first. Everyone in this community speaks Spanish.

The Chimalapas are a high wilderness area on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. A large tract of this region is officially Zoque territory (Rojas, 1994), although recent years have seen incursions by Tzeltals and Tzotzíls from Chiapas. The area was accessible only on foot until the early 1960's, when roads were built to the two municipios, and schools, clinics, electricity, and outsiders

arrived. The principal market city of the region is Juchitán, a Zapotec city, and the lowlands around the southern rim of the Chimalapas are dominated by Zapotecs. Hence, many Zoques also speak some Zapotec, since they are most likely to find work in Juchitán.

1.1. The Mixe-Zoque language family

Oaxacan Zoque is a member of the Mixe-Zoque (MZ) language family, shown in figure 1.1 (adapted from Kaufman & Justeson, 1993). MZ languages are spoken in southern Mexico, in the states of Oaxaca, Chiapas, Tabasco, and Veracruz.

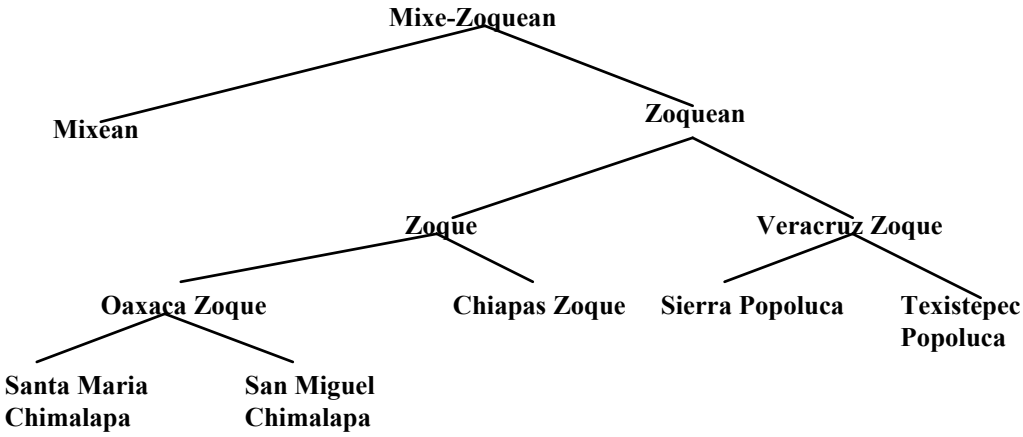

Figure 1.1: The Mixe-Zoque language family

None of the languages in the MZ family is well-documented, although that situation is being rectified by participants in the MesoAmerican Languages Documentation Project (MALDP), led by Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson.

This project began in 1993, with the initial goal of gathering lexical data for the MZ languages to aid in the decipherment of Epi-Olmec (a Zoquean language) inscriptions (Kaufman & Justeson, 1993). The current work is an outgrowth of that project, in which I participated in the summers of 1994 and 1995. Other work produced by project participants includes a thesis on Sierra Popoluca verbs (Himes, 1997) and a dissertation on Oluta Popoluca, a Mixean language (Zavala, forthcoming).

Dictionaries of MZ languages (and several Zapotecan languages) are being published by the project on-line at http://www.albany.edu/anthro/maldp/. There are currently two: the San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque Lexicon (Johnson and Kaufman, 1997), and the Oluta Popoluca Lexicon (Zavala, 1997). A third, the Santa María Chimalapa Zoque Lexicon, by Terrence Kaufman, will be placed on-line this year. These are searchable databases, originally developed as Shoebox databases (Davis & Wimbish, 1993). The plan is to publish analyzed texts as well as lexicons over the course of the next five years. Information on the structure of the MIG Zoque lexicon is provided in Appendix A.

Wichman (1993) is an excellent survey of both the demographic situation in Mixe and Zoque communities and of the literature on all Mixe-Zoquean languages. He mentions the following as containing some MIG Zoque data: Spear, 1872; Cerda Silva, 1941; Cordry & Cordry, 1941; Cruz Lorenzo, 1987. Cruz Lorenzo is a Zoque from San Miguel Chimalapa who has also written a primer for schoolchildren that contains some vocabulary and a few short texts (Cruz Lorenzo, 1981). He is revising his grammar of the language for publication in the near future. In my analysis of MIG Zoque verbal morphology, I made use

of Wonderley's analysis of the verbal morphology of Copainalá Chiapas Zoque (Wonderley, 1951-2). For the most part, however, my principal resource on MZ lanaguages in general and Oaxacan Zoque in particular has been the vast knowledge of Terrence Kaufman, which I refer to somewhat inadequately as (Kaufman, 1996), indicating the collection of notes and handouts and other materials distributed to the MALDP participants.

1.2. The data

The data used in the present study was collected in the field in the summers of 1994 and 1995, under the auspices of MALDP, and during the 1995-1996 academic year, during which time I resided in Oaxaca with aid of grants from the Fulbright Commission and the National Science Foundation. I made one follow-up visit of two weeks during the summer of 1998.

My principal consultant throughout this time has been Germán Sánchez Morales, a native speaker of Zoque from San Miguel. He is in his mid-fifties, and although he does not read or write, is a gifted narrator and language teacher. He spent many years of his youth on a *ranchería* (a very tiny hamlet) with his grandmother, and thus speaks a more conservative variety of MIG Zoque than many of his peers. He began to learn Spanish at the age of twelve, when he moved back to San Miguel. All of the data used in this work, even that which originated with other consultants, was reviewed with Sr. Sánchez. Most of the translations into Spanish of text and lexical items are also his.

The lexicon is based initially on tapes containing about 2000 lexical items that were made in San Miguel in 1994 by two assistants of Terrence Kaufman, Benigno Robles Reyes and Ester Martinez Sánchez, and two Zoque consultants, Gelasio Sánchez Morales and Camilo Miguel Sánchez. These tapes were transcribed by Kaufman. I extended the lexicon during the summers of 1994 and 1995 with Sr. Sánchez. The lexicon was reviewed in its entirety by Kaufman and Sr. Sánchez during the summer of 1995, and partially reviewed again by those two the following summer. It now consists of around 4,000 entries, with translations in both Spanish and English. Lexical entries contain as much information as we could produce for each item: morphological analysis, historical attributes of underlying forms, usage and grammatical codes, examples, principal derived forms, and much cross-referencing with root forms and derived expressions.

During my year in the field, I taped some 15 hours of narrative texts with ten different speakers, both men and women. These texts were transcribed by me, usually with Sr. Sánchez, but occasionally with the narrator, and then translated into Spanish by Sr. Sánchez. English translations were produced by me from the Zoque texts. They are all entered into Shoebox databases and most have been analyzed using Shoebox's interlinearization tools. In addition to these natural texts, there are several small databases of elicited sentences, which I constructed and then tested with Sr. Sánchez and Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez. The texts, the elicited examples, and the lexicon, all comprise the data on which this grammar is based, and are collectively referred to henceforward as the corpus.

1.3. Methodology

The foundation of this grammar are the natural texts in the corpus. The dictionary work, supplemented by discussions with Kaufman and others on the project and intensive training by Sr. Sánchez, gave me an initial grasp of the MIG Zoque language. During the months of taping, transcribing, translating, and interlinearizing texts, the principal grammatical patterns of the language emerged. Since the texts tended to be quite similar in style, usage, and lexical range, I began constructing sentences based on those found in the texts that would test the full range of syntactic and morphological possibilities. As the work began to organize itself into categories (noun phrases, agreement, etc.), I occasionally translated example sentences from other grammars into Zoque (Foley & Van Valin, 1984; Dixon, 1977; Craig, 1977; Aissen, 1987) to test the grammatical possibilities discussed in those works. I tested my constructions with both Sr. Sánchez and Sr. Miguel, correcting them as directed and noting variations in grammaticality judgements. Corrections included pragmatic errors as well as grammatical ones[1]. Their judgements were generally consistent, with minor differences such as Sr. Sánchez's preference for a middle ("it happened") translation for passives as opposed to Sr. Miguel's preference for an impersonal ("they did it") reading. Their judgements were always very clear, ranging from praise for my astonishing cleverness to complete lack of comprehension. My hand is visible in these sentences in that I tend to put the verb first (since it

[1] Sr. Sánchez rejects examples in which things behave inappropriately. So, for example, tables can't walk and trees can't cut people.

required the most work to figure out) and I use the definite article vastly more often than any Zoque speaker. The consultants invariably volunteered numerous related sentences during these elicitation sessions, which I included in the elicitation data set.

Wherever possible, I have tried to draw examples from the natural texts. These are certain to be correct Zoque, and usually include enough context to give a solid picture of the usage of the construction in question. When paradigmatic data is relevant, these are nearly always drawn from the elicited set. Finally, for examples of the various uses of some morpheme, such as a particular prefix, I relied on the lexicon for complete sets of representative samples.

1.4. Presentation of data

Most of the supporting data in this book is presented in four lines, as shown in the example below.

(1.1)

dey ʔən campa tum ʔistorya
de.y ʔən+ cam-pa tum ʔistorya
DCT2.TMP 1E+ chat-INC one history
'Now I'm going to tell you a story.' (ZOH1R6 001)

The first line is a direct phonemic transcription of the expression that shows any elisions or contractions that were pronounced. The second line is a morphemic representation of the first, in which underlying forms are given for each morpheme. The third line provides glosses for each morpheme. (A

complete list of morpheme glosses is given on page iv.) The fourth line is a free translation of the expression. Exceptions occur when the example consists of a single morpheme, in which case the breakdown line would be superfluous.

Most of the examples were drawn from texts, not elicited specifically to illustrate grammatical points. The part of the example that corresponds to the topic under discussion will be written in bold-face type as an aid to the reader. So, if example (1.1) were part of the discussion of time deictics, the first word, dey 'now', would have been bold-faced.

The following symbols are used to separate morphemes. When a bound morpheme is mentioned in the text, it is preceded or followed by the appropriate symbol. Verb roots are conventionally indicated with a following hyphen, although they can take affixes on either side; for example, nək- 'to walk.'

- \- inflectional affix
- . derivational affix
- = compound root
- \+ clitic (on the side of the element to which it belongs syntactically)

If an example was elicited, the word 'elicited' appears in parentheses to the right of the translation. If the example comes from a text, the identifier of the source text and the line number are given in parentheses at the right of the translation line. Texts are labelled by the resource identifiers used in the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA:www.ailla.org); all texts referenced here are available in the archive. If not otherwise specified, the example comes from the lexicon.

1.5. Organization of the book

An overview of MIG Zoque grammar and a sketch of the theoretical perspective adopted in this work are presented in chapter 2. A sketch of the phonology is given in chapter 3. The word classes of MIG Zoque, including the sub-classification of verbs, are defined and discussed in chapter 4. This section includes the complete descriptions of pronouns and deictics. Discussion of morphology is divided into two chapters: verbal inflectional morphology is presented in chapter 5, and all derivational morphology in chapter 7. (Only verbs have any inflectional morphology.) Chapter 6 contains a description of the basic clause, which means single, declarative clauses. This chapter includes discussion of verbal arguments, agreement, word order, predicate and existential clauses. The valency-changing suffixes and their effects on argument structure are also discussed here. Dependent verb constructions, including verb stem compounding, are described in chapter 8. The structure of a noun phrase is presented in chapter 9; this includes discussion of quantifiers and definiteness. Noun incorporation is described in chapter 10. Multi-clause expressions, including relative clauses, coordination, and subordinated clauses, are discussed in chapter 11. Questions and the modal operators that pertain solely to questions are discussed in chapter 12. A deeper discussion of aspect (beyond the simple facts of inflection) appears in chapter 13. Finally, an analysis of MIG Zoque narrative text conventions and discourse markers appears in chapter 14. This will also involve further discussion of word order, as it relates to issues of topic and recency. There are six

appendices. Appendix A describes the on-line lexicon. Appendices B-D list complete tables of deictics, time, and space adverbials. Appendix E gives a larger set of number words than the brief discussion in section 4.4.1, and Appendix F provides a set of examples of permissible permutations of word orders in sentences with varying numbers of core arguments.

I have tried to make this grammar as complete as possible, but much has necessarily been left out. It is in many cases impossible to determine conclusively if some sub-construction is an error, albeit a commonly-made one, or an alternative means of expression. For example, there are several instances in the corpus of an auxiliary verb construction (chapter 8) in which the pronominal agreement argument is duplicated at the left edge of the phrase. I do not know if this happened because the speaker changed his or her mind in mid-sentence, or if it is a grammatical alternate. I was not able to elicit examples of this kind, and so chose not to include it in the description of auxiliary verb phrases. People have an untidy habit of speaking without regard for the difficulties of the poor grammarian, who wants her data neatly sorted into perfectly discrete compartments; unfortunately, this means that we preserve only the bits that fit into the compartments, leaving much of the natural, unruly, fully expressive, language behind.

Chapter 2: Grammatical Overview

MIG Zoque is an ergative, polysynthetic language with an abundance of highly-productive word formation processes including verb stem compounding and noun incorporation. It is a head-marking language (Nichols, 1983): pronominal agreement markers that agree with actor and undergoer arguments appear at the left edge of the verb complex. (A table of agreement markers appears in section 5.1. Discussion of agreement appears in section 6.2.) Dependents of the verb are not case-marked; nor are nouns, adjectives or determiners marked for agreement with one another in any way. Word order of constituent phrases inside a clause is free, except that the actor NP must precede the undergoer NP if it is possible to confuse them (if they are both human, for example).

This language exhibits many features of typological interest. Phonologically, it is typical of a MesoAmerican language (discussed in chapter 3). Its morpheme classes include a set of body-part prefixes, which is more common among languages north of the MA area (chapter 7). There is also a class of positional verb roots that identify particular shapes or postures of the human body, and of inanimate objects. This feature is shared by other MZ languages and also Mayan languages (England, 1983), but is otherwise unusual, at least in MesoAmerica. Positional verbs are discussed in chapter 4; a set of positional suffixes is discussed in chapter 7.

MIG Zoque has a set of auxiliary verbs, similar to those found in other

MZ languages. This is another connection with Mayan languages, which also have auxiliary verbs with similar semantic and syntactic properties. (See Zavala, 2000 for a discussion of auxiliaries as an areal feature.) Auxiliary verbs can be compounded with a main verb root in complex lexical constructions in MIG Zoque, as in the other MZ languages. However, in MIG Zoque these constructions exhibit a range of expressive power that goes far beyond the simple associated motion constructions described for Mayan languages, or the serial verb constructions described in West African and South Asian languages (Foley & Olson, 1985). Auxiliaries and verb compounds are discussed in chapter 8.

MIG Zoque, like other MZ languages, exhibits a phenomenon known as ergative, or dependent, shift in dependent verb constructions. This is not an example of the split ergativity found in some Mayan languages (Kaufman, 1996), but appears to be a peculiarity of the MZ language family. Ergative shift is also discussed in chapter 8. Another feature of the MIG Zoque agreement system shared generally with other MZ languages is inverse role-marking, in which first and second person patients are marked on the verb in preference to third person agents. This situation is discussed in chapter 6. External possession is another result of the person hierarchy (that prefers first and second persons to third). In these constructions, the verb is marked to agree with a first person possessor of the patient, rather than with a third person agent. External possession is also discussed in chapter 6.

An affix template is a handy way to provide an overview of the components of a verbal word. There are eleven slots or positions for clitics and

affixes in a MIG Zoque verb, shown in the table below. Position 1, Negative, is better classified as a word rather than a clitic, but since it functionally belongs to the verb complex it is included here for convenience.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Neg	**Pers**	**Caus**	**Pre**	**V**	**Suf**	**Adv**	**Pl**	**Rcp**	**(T)AM**	**Post**
ya	*(5.1)*	yak	ʔaŋ	I1	ʔəm	keʔt	tam	A	wə	ʔam
ʔu			həš	I2	ʔoy	pə	šuk		pa	štáʔ
yakkə			win	T1	hay				AʔA	
			ʔok	T2	Anəm				E	
			ho	T3	ney					
			ko	P	wəy					
			kə		na					
			ni		ten					
			nik		ʔəy					
			yuk							

Table 2.1. Verbal affix positions

Phonologically, the negative and personal agreement morphemes (positions 1 and 2) are not part of the verb word; that is, there is no morphophonological interaction between these elements and the verb stem, and there may be pauses between them. They are functionally part of the verbal complex, however, and nothing can intervene between the negative morphemes and the personal agreement markers (which usually will be cliticized onto a preceeding negative). The only element that can appear between a personal

agreement marker and the verb word to which it belongs is an incorporated noun or adjective. Thus, although I place a space between position 1 and 2 morphemes and the rest of the verbal complex in writing, to indicate their phonological status as separate words, they are considered part of the verbal complex in every other respect.

Of the eleven position classes, only 2, Pronominal agreement markers, and 10, (Tense) Aspect Mood, are obligatory. Thus, the **minimal** MIG Zoque verb consists of three positions, Pron + V + Infl (2 + 5 + 10), as illustrated in the following examples.

(2.1)

(i) ʔən wanpa
ʔən+ wan-pa
1E+ sing-INC
'I sing it.'

(ii) ʔəm cəkəʔ
ʔəm+ cək-Aʔ
2E+ do-IMPV
'Do it!'

(iii) nəkkə ʔəy pəki
0 nək-wə ʔəy+ pək-E
3A go-COM 3E+ grasp-dCOM
'He went to get it.'

(iv) də nəktammə
də+ nək-tam-wə
1A+ go-1/2Pl-COM
'We went.'

As the preceding examples show, it is not necessary for overt nominal expressions to appear as the arguments of verbs, although it is possible. When nouns do appear in core argument roles, if more than one role is played by a human referent, the actor argument will come first; otherwise, word order is free.

(2.2)

(i) ʔəy hayhayyə bi pən bi yomáʔ tum totoʔ
ʔəy+ hay.hay-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ tum totoʔ
3E+ write.APPL-COM DEF man DEF woman one paper
'The man wrote the woman a letter.' (elicited)

(ii) bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk ʔəy hupwanakkə ʔəy tuhkuyʔ
bi mecaŋ maŋ.kuyʔ+pəʔk ʔəy+ hup=wanak-wə ʔəy+ tuh.kuyʔ
DEF two step.INSTR1.REL 3E+ pull=go_down-COM 3E+ shoot.INSTR1
'The two-legged one drew his gun.' (ZOH1R26 122)

A **maximal** MIG Zoque verbal complex would consist of one member from each of the position classes. Although the corpus does not contain any word in which all the position slots are filled, there is no reason in principle why such a word could not exist; indeed, there are surprisingly few co-occurence restrictions among the classes or among specific members of the classes. One of the most complete examples in the corpus is given below. In addition to the obligatory person agreement marker (ʔə**y**+, position 2) and inflectional suffix (-wə,10), this verb complex has a causative (yak-, 3), a directional prefix (win-, 4), compounded verb roots (ten=cəy, 5), the antipassive suffix (-ʔoy, 6), and a post-inflectional clitic (+ʔam, 11).

(2.3) bi pəndəkkay yakwintencəyyoyyám
bi pən+dəkka ʔəy+ yak.win.ten=cəy.ʔoy-wə+ʔam
DEF man+NPL 3E+ CAUS.FACE.hit=get_stuck.ANTIP-COM.NOW
'The men now intercepted him.' (ZOH1R6 021)

2.2. Theoretical sketch

My goal in this grammar is to present the facts of MIG Zoque with as little theoretical machinery as possible. The only theory that I found that applies well to this language without significant modification is the functionalist theory of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG). In this section, I will give a very brief sketch of this framework, touching only on those parts of it that are used in this description. The basis of this sketch is Van Valin and La Polla (1997). Other relevant works are Van Valin 1993b; Van Valin and Foley, 1980; and Foley and Van Valin 1984.

Clauses are analysed into three layers: the nucleus, which contains only the predicate; the core, which contains the nucleus and the arguments lexically specified by the predicate; and the periphery, which contains all non-core arguments and adjunct expressions. Predicates are typically verbs, but they may also be adjectives or nouns, in languages like MIG Zoque that do not require a copular verb in predicating expressions such as 'Mary is an astronaut.' This division of the clause is illustrated in the following figure.

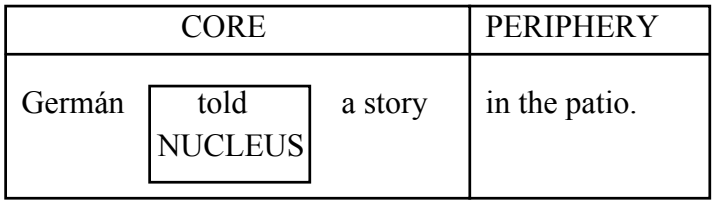

Figure 2.1. The layered structure of the clause

Core arguments are those that are specified by the lexical entry for a verb root or other predicate. The set may be increased or decreased by derivational processes, such as the addition of affixes such as causatives or passives. In MIG Zoque, the subject of a verb (either transitive or intransitive) and the object of a transitive verb are realized by the pronominal agreement marker. Any core argument may be referenced by a plural suffix on the verb (section 6.2). Noun phrases that co-reference core arguments are optional; their appearance is governed by discourse considerations such as focus and recency.

According to Foley and Van Valin (1984:79), "The main coding feature distinguishing core from peripheral arguments is that core arguments tend to occur in unmarked morphological or syntactic forms and peripheral arguments in marked, often adpositional, codings." In English, core arguments are syntactically marked by their position with respect to the verb. In a simple transitive clause, the subject is that argument that occurs to the left of the verb, while the object appears to the right. Additional arguments, such as time or place, will typically be marked by a preposition. In MIG Zoque, noun phrases co-referenced with core arguments are not marked by case endings[1], position in the clause, or adpositions. Oblique arguments, such as locations and instruments, are marked by postpositions (section 4.7).

[1] MAR Zoque has case markings for core arguments: +ʔis, ergative, and +kə, absolutive (Kaufman, p.c.).

RRG employs the useful notion of *semantic macroroles* for the description of the argument structure of verbs (Dowty, 1979; Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:141 ff). Cross-linguistically, subjects of verbs tend to be selected from a restricted set of possible semantic roles: agent, experiencer, instrument, recipient, source, and force. Objects are similarly restricted to a small set of roles: patient, theme, recipient, source and location. These sets can be generalized under the headings *actor* and *undergoer*, respectively, greatly simplifying discussions of sets of predicates with essentially similar argument structures, but slight differences in the precise role played by the most prominent arguments[2]. In MIG Zoque, the sets are actually more restricted, since only animate or quasi-animate entities (like the wind) can be actors. English sentences with non-animate actors, such as 'the rock hit the wall' or 'the knife cut the bread' would have to be paraphrased along the lines of '(someone) threw the rock at the wall' or 'the bread was cut with a knife'[3]. This restriction is similar to that described for Jacaltec Mayan by Craig (1977).

[2] There appears to be a sort of thematic hierarchy operating in MIG Zoque, in that the texts show a strong preference for volitional (human) entities as subjects, either as actors or agents, and for inanimate entities as patients. I did not study this systematically, and so have none of the negative evidence that is necessary to fully demonstrate the idea.

[3] Expressions of this kind are acceptable in MAR Zoque (Kaufman, p.c.).

Operators are elements "which are qualitatively different from predicates and their arguments" (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997:40). These include clausal elements such as tense, aspect, negatives, etc. These modify different layers of the clauses in which they appear; thus, aspect is a nuclear operator, mood (deontic modals expressing such notions as obligation) is a core operator, and tense is a clausal operator. Operators may be affixes (e.g., the progressive suffix -ing), function words (e.g., English auxiliary verbs), or content words (e.g., adverbs like 'frankly' that affect the illocutionary force of a clause).

Clauses are combined into complex sentences by means of junctures at the various levels: nuclear, core, and clause (including the periphery). Causative constructions in English are an example of a nuclear juncture, as in "The woman made the child eat." Although there are two predicates, 'make' and 'eat', they function together as a single, complex predicate. Most verb stem compounds in MIG Zoque are nuclear junctures. In the example below, haʔk- 'to drown' and kaʔ- 'to die' are compounded inside the verb complex, forming a single complex predicate.

(2.3.) gə tyempu mae haʔkkapa rroberta
gə tyempu maeʔ 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa rroberta
that time REM 3A drown=die-INC roberta
'That time Roberta nearly died by drowning.' (ZOH1R15 075)

Core junctures combine two cores, each with its own set of arguments. An example from English (from Van Valin and La Polla, 1997:444) is "I ordered Fred to force the door open." The two cores are 'I ORDER Fred' and 'Fred

FORCE the door open'. Some verb stem compounds in MIG Zoque are core junctures. In example (2.4), the two cores are 'I HELP my mother' and 'my mother WASH clothes'.

(2.4) ʔən cekocoŋŋə ʔən mama bi yoteʔ
ʔən+ ceʔ=ko.coŋ-wə ʔən+ mama bi yoteʔ
1E+ wash=OTHR.join-COM 1E+ mother DEF clothes
'I helped my mother wash the clothes.' (elicited)

Clause junctures combine two clauses, including separate sets of peripheral elements. Coordinated and subordinated clauses are typical clause junctures, as in "Because the woman fed the pigs earlier, now she can go to the river with her friend." An example of clause juncture in MIG Zoque is shown in (2.5).

(2.5) də kahʔukpaštám də nəkpam góʔ
də+ kahwe=ʔuk-pa+štaaʔ +ʔam də+ nək-pa+ʔam gooʔ
1A+ coffee=drink-INC+ONLY+NOW 1A+ GO-INC+NOW PURP
'I'll just drink some coffee now so I can go.' (ZOH1R10 151)

2.3. The Spanish invasion and Zoque grammar

The Spanish invasion of Mexico began in 1519. The Oaxacan Zoques were isolated in their vast, high, Chimalapan wilderness, and perhaps suffered less intrusion than lowland groups of indigenous people. However, every level of Zoque grammar has been affected by contact with Spanish to some degree.

Borrowing from Spanish into Zoque appears to range from category (2) to category (3), on the borrowing scale of Thomason and Kaufman (1988:74-75). Content words, of course, have been and continue to be borrowed freely. A contrast between an early and later borrowing can be seen in the words for 'cattle', animals that were not known in MesoAmerica before the Spanish brought them. One consultant had given us the word ganadu, which is simply Spanish *ganado* with the final vowel raised (a regular rule of transforming a Spanish word into a Zoque one). Sr. Sánchez objected to this word as being just Spanish again, and offered us a Zoque word: wakaš. This is clearly the Spanish *vacas* (note the plural ending), which was doubtless borrowed long before the reach of even Sr. Sánchez's capacious memory, and completely converted to Zoque phonology. Note that both words can be used as either singular or plural forms, whereas in Spanish *ganado* is a mass noun - 'cattle' - and *vaca* is a count noun - 'cow'.

These examples illustrate two effects of borrowing at the phonological and morphological levels. Neither /g/ nor /d/ are phonemes in MIG Zoque (apart from the result of intervocalic voicing); these and other phonemes, such as /s/, are generally confined to the borrowed words. Spanish inflectional morphemes, like the plural /s/ of wakaš, *vacas*, are also confined to loan words. There are no derivational morphemes borrowed from Spanish into MIG Zoque.

Spanish verb stems are 'Zoque-fied' by being incorporated with the root cək-, 'to do' (section 7.3.1), illustrated in example (2.6). Spanish verbal inflections never appear in Zoque sentences, although the negative words *no* and *ni* are sometimes used in addition to the MIG Zoque negative ya (section 5.5.3). Spanish pronouns only appear in relative clause constructions: ʔel ke **X**, *él que X*, 'he who X'.

(2.6) dəš miš respaldacəkpa
dəš miš+ respaldar=cək-pa
1Prn 1>2+ support=do-INC
'I will support you.' (ZOH1R24 402)

Many Spanish function words have been borrowed, most notably the conjunctions *y*, 'and', *o*, 'or', and *pero*, 'but'. Discourse markers like *entonces*, 'then', and *de ahí*, 'from there' have been borrowed, as have words for times and places that apparently were not part of the pre-Hispanic culture, like ʔora, *hora*, 'hour', and parke, *parque*, 'park'. Where there is a Zoque word, it tends to be preferred. I seldom see the word *mañana*, 'morning', in place of ʔaŋnamcuʔ, for example.

So far we have a case of category (2) borrowing: phonology and morphology restricted to the loan words with which they are associated, and function words that had no native equivalents. Category (3) borrowing includes adpositions and a more extensive set of function words. The Spanish prepositions *de*, 'of' and *para*, 'for', appear in MIG Zoque sentences, preceding the nouns in accordance with Spanish syntax, as shown in example (2.7). The Zoque way to say this would employ the applicative suffix -hay to reference the recipient.

(2.7) ke ʔiwə ʔəy manak ciʔoba para yədə pən
ke ʔiwə ʔəy+ manak 0 ciʔ.ʔoy-pa para yədə pən
that who 3E+ child 3A give.ANTIP-INC for this man
'Who will give his daughter to this man?' (ZOH1R18 221)

Function words that do have MIG Zoque equivalents are also common in the texts, such as the pronoun ʔotro, *otro*, 'other' (MIG Zoque ʔeyáʔk), the subordinator si, *si*, 'if' (MIG Zoque biʔt), and relative pronoun ke, *que*, 'that' (MIG Zoque +**V**ʔk, REL) which appears at the start of the relative clause, as opposed to the MIG Zoque clitic which attaches to the end of the relative clause's verb complex. This sort of borrowed function word frequently appears in tandem with the native form, with the Spanish word on the left and the Zoque morpheme on the right. This behavior is discussed in chapter 11, where examples are given of expressions with just the MIG Zoque subordinator, just the Spanish subordinator, and both forms together in one clause.

Chapter 3: Phonology

This chapter presents the phoneme inventory of MIG Zoque, notes about prosody, including stress and syllable structure, and the morphophonological processes that occur.

The phonology of MIG Zoque is typical of a MesoAmerican language, sharing nearly all of the traits described for the area in Cambell, Kaufman, and Smith-Stark, 1986 (pp. 537-544). The phoneme inventory does not include any contrastive (underlying) voiced stops or fricatives. There are no uvular, aspirated, or implosive consonants, and there are no retroflexed sounds (apart from Spanish loan words). The vowel inventory includes the 'sixth' vowel /ə/, discussed below. There are no tones, and there are no vowel sequences, other than those produced by the process of glide deletion (3.3.10).

MIG Zoque has some phonological processes that are similar to those of many other MesoAmerican languages: voicing of obstruents after sonorants, fixed stress (on the penultimate syllable), and a limited form of vowel harmony. MIG Zoque does not have the striking metathesis process of Copainlá (Chiapas) Zoque (Wonderley, 1951:117-118), in which glides and glottal stops metathesize with obstruents and sonorant consonants, respectively. The most unusual process in MIG Zoque is the gemination of final consonants discussed in section 3.3.1. This process does not occur in either Copainalá Zoque or in Sierra Popoluca (Veracruz) Zoque (Himes, 1997).

3.1. Phonemes

MIG Zoque has a rather small phonemic inventory, consisting of 12 consonants and 6 vowels. The first two charts shown below (tables 3.1 and 3.2) include only the native phonemes. The third one (table 3.3), gives the set of non-native consonants that appear in words in the MIG Zoque lexicon. Some of these appear in Zoque words, derived by regular phonological processes (discussed in the subsections below); others were borrowed along with Spanish loan words.

	labial	**alveolar**	**palatal**	**velar**	**glottal**
voiceless stop	p	t		k	ʔ
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
fricative			š		h
affricate		c			
glide			y	w	

Table 3.1. MIG Zoque consonant inventory

	front	**central**	**back**
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

Table 3.2. MIG Zoque vowel inventory

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
voiced stop	b	d		g
fricative	f	s		
affricate			č	
liquid		l, r		

Table 3.3. Borrowed or derived consonants that appear in Zoque words

The voiceless alveolar affricate /c/ (the sound at the beginning of the word 'tsunami', functions as part of the natural class of voiceless consonants, with respect to syllable structure (section 3.2.2).

Voiced consonants appear (a) at the beginning of pronouns, deictics, and a few other function words, and (b) word-internally after the operation of a voicing rule. The affricate /č/ occurs as the result of a morphophonological process (section 3.3.6) and in some loan words. The fricatives /s/ and /f/ and the liquids /l/ and /r/ appear in only a few odd words of unknown origin, affective (sound symbolism) verbs (section 4.1.4), and Spanish loan words.

/ə/ in MIG Zoque is a mid back unrounded vowel. In the other MZ languages, including MAR Zoque, the "sixth vowel" is typically a high back unrounded vowel, /ü/. Lengthened vowels may result from syllable shape or from syllable deletion (section 3.3.9), but there is no underlying phonemic contrast in vowel length.

3.2. Prosody

3.2.1. Stress

MIG Zoque words have primary stress on the penultimate syllable. Final stress (which will always be marked with an accent in the examples) may arise for one of two reasons: the word is a loan word from Spanish, borrowed with the original stress intact; or, two syllables have been collapsed by a morphophonological rule (section 3.3.8). In some cases this contraction may have occurred at an earlier stage of the language, but it also remains as an ongoing process.

The first example in (3.1) is of a word with regular, penultimate stress, which is predictable and therefore not marked. Example (ii) is a Spanish loan word borrowed with the original stress intact. Example (iii) is a MIG Zoque word, whose irregular final stress developed at an earlier stage of the language. In example (iv), the measure suffix -náŋ carries its own stress. It is usually word-final (section 7.2.3). This morpheme is analyzed as having two vowels underlyingly, which contract by the rule discussed in section 3.3.8 to yield a single, stressed, syllable[1]. Example (v) illustrates this process more clearly: the irregular final stress is the result of the contraction of two syllables at the end of the word.

(3.1)
(i) hukutək (ii) ʔanmál

[1] Historical reconstruction is beyond the scope of this synchronic study of MIG Zoque grammar. However, I need to look back in time for this suffix and for a few similar suffixes used with deictic roots (section 4.6) in order to account for the irregular stress pattern.

'fire'

'animal'

(iii) cikwɨ́t
'basket'

(iv) šuʔknáŋ
šuʔk.naaŋ
kiss.MEAS
'kiss'

(v) nəktəpám
0 nək.təʔ-pa+ʔam
3A go.want-INC+NOW
'He wants to go now.'

3.2.2. Syllable structure

The following syllable shapes are allowed in MIG Zoque:

(i)	CV		bi	'the'
(ii)	CVC		tək	'house'
(iii)	CVʔC	(where C = /p,t,k,c/)	haʔp-	'to crush'
(iv)	CVCš	(where C = /p,k/)	ʔəkš-	'to shell corn'
(v)	CVʔCš	(where C = /p,k/)	hoʔpš-	'to muzzle'
(vi)	CVCʔ	(where C = /m,n,ŋ,y/)	ʔawinʔ	'brother'

In general, syllables are required to begin with a consonant, as in the other Mixe-Zoquean languages (Kaufman, p.c.). There are only a small number of inflectional morphemes that are vowel-initial, such as the reciprocal suffix -A-. These will acquire an onset from the coda of the preceding syllable. The vast majority of MIG Zoque syllables are CV or CVC.

Note that the 'glottal rimes' in (iii) and (vi) are in complementary distrubution[2]. The effect of the glottal stop on the pronunciation of the syllables is similar in both cases, however: the preceding vowel or consonant is strongly laryngealized.

3.3. Morphophonological processes

3.3.1. Gemination

When the completive suffix -wə or a glottal stop initial suffix (-ʔəy, passive -ʔəm, or antipassive -ʔoy) is attached to a stem ending in a consonant, the /w/ or /ʔ/ disappears and the final consonant is geminated. This does not occur if the stem-final coda consists of a (ʔ)Cš cluster. In that case, the /w/ or /ʔ/ is simply deleted. (More examples illustrating the gemination caused by each of these suffixes can be seen in sections 5.2.1, 6.3.3, 6.3.4, and 7.1.3.)

There are thus two rules:

(1) {ʔ,w} ---> C_1 / V (ʔ) C_1 _____

(2) {ʔ,w} ---> 0 / V (ʔ) C_1 š_____

(3.2)

(i) cakkəmmə huštiš ʔaŋhiʔ
0 cak.ʔəm-wə huštiš+ʔaŋhiʔ
3A leave.PASS-COM mayor+LOC3
'He remained at the mayor's.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔəy waššə
ʔəy+ waš-wə
3E+ bite-COM

[2] I am grateful to Anthony Woodbury for pointing this out to me.

'It bit him.' (lexicon)

(iii) ʔəy yakhəʔkšə
ʔəy+ yak.həʔkš-wə
3E+ CAUS.exhaust-COM (lexicon)
'She exhausted it.'

(iv) ʔəy cukšə
ʔəy+ cukš-wə
3E+ pinch-COM
'He pinched it.'
(lexicon)

(v) behča cəmmoba
behča 0 cəm.ʔoy-pa
horse 3A carry.ANTIP-INC
'The horses will carry (the load).' (ZOH1R24 090)

There are many tokens in the corpus showing that the depositive suffix wəy does not always have this effect; that is, the /w/ is clearly audible. There are also tokens from several consultants (particularly older men) in which a /ʔ/ fails to induce gemination, particularly after /ŋ/, and sometimes also after /y/ and /k/. There are no exceptions to the gemination induced by the completive suffix -**w**ə.

(3.3)
(i) ʔəy cactuktukwəyyə
ʔəy+ cac=tuk.tuk.wəy-wə
3E+ break=cut.cut.DEPOS-COM
'She broke it in pieces.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔəy ʔotoŋʔoyyə
ʔəy+ ʔotoŋ.ʔoy-wə
3E+ talk.ANTIP-COM
'He spoke.' (lexicon)

3.3.2. Vowel harmony

There are five vowel-initial suffixes in MIG Zoque:

1. result noun -a/-ə (~ -aʔ/-əʔ);

2. participle -i/-e (~ -iʔ/-eʔ);

3. indefinite -anəm/-ənəm;

4. imperative -aʔ/-əʔ;

5. reciprocal -ə/-a.

Each has two basic alternations, in which the choice of vowel depends on the height of the preceding vowel. /ə/ must be classified as a high vowel for this system, although phonetically it is a mid vowel. The 'sixth vowel' in the other Mixe-Zoquean languages is the high central vowel /ü/; the MIG Zoque vowel harmony system conforms with that inventory. So, the set of high vowels for these rules is {/i/, /u/, /ə/}. The mid vowels are {/e/, /o/}. The set of non-mid vowels is {/i/, /u/, /ə/, /a/}.

There are two rules:

(1) ə ----> a / $V_{[mid]}$ C ____

(2) e ----> i / $V_{[high]}$ C ____

The morpheme breakdowns in data examples use the symbol A to indicate a vowel that appears on the surface as /a/ or /ə/; the underlying vowel is /ə/. For example, the imperative is represented as **-A**ʔ. The following examples illustrate the operation of rule (1).

(3.4)

(i) weha?
weh.**A**?
shout.IMPV
'call him!'

(ii) nema?
nem.**A**?
flame.NOM2
'spark'

(iii) ?opša?
?opš.**A**?
foam.NOM2
'foam'

(iv) ?o?ka?
?o?k.**A**?
calm_down.NOM2
'stillness'

(v) ?inə?
?in.**A**?
get_cloudy.NOM2
'cloud'

(vi) hipšə?
hipš.**A**?
get_burned.NOM2
'burned; overcooked'

(vii) təcənəmmám
0 təc.**A**nəm-wə+?am
3A be_dry.INDEF-COM+NOW
'drought'

(viii) hə?kšə ?əm cəkə?
hə?kš-wə ?əm+ cək-**A**?
hurry-COM 2E+ do-IMPV
'hurry! do it!'

(ix) hehanəmpa
0 heh.**A**nəm-pa
3A live.INDEF-INC
'they live'

(x) ?acə?
?a?c.**A**?
burn.NOM2
'fire'

(xi) ?okku?pšə?
?ok.?u?pš.**A**?
DOWN.clouds_rise.NOM2
'southern clouds'

(xii) hupə?
hup.**A**?
pull.IMPV
'pull!' (ZOH1R25 154)

The morpheme breakdowns in data examples use the symbol E to indicate a vowel that appears on the surface as /e/ or /i/; the underlying form is /e/. The dependent suffix is represented as **-E**. The following examples illustrate the operation of rule (2).

(3.5)

(i) huki
huk.**E**
smoke.NOM3
'cigarette'

(ii) ʔanemukši
ʔan.E=mukš.**E**
heat.NOM3=fold.NOM3
'filled (folded) tortilla'

(iii) ʔaŋwitiʔ
ʔaŋ.wit.**E**ʔ
MOUTH.walk.NOM3
'visitor'

(iv) hampici
ham=pic.**E**
lime=put_corn_in_lime.NOM2
'corn with lime'

(v) ʔəhəhiʔ
ʔəhəh.**E**ʔ
whimper.NOM2
'whimper'

(vi) kəʔtiʔ
kəʔt.**E**ʔ
grind.NOM2
'ground'

(vii) ʔeceʔ
ʔec.**E**ʔ
dance.NOM2
'dancer'

(viii) ʔukheyeʔ
ʔuk=hey.**E**ʔ
drink=stir.NOM2
'pozole' (a thick corn drink)

(ix) ʔoheʔ
ʔoh.**E**ʔ
cough.NOM3
'cough'

(x) kokšiʔ
kokš.**E**ʔ
resound.NOM2
'the sound of joints cracking'

(xi) hape
haʔp.**E**
break.NOM3
'broken'

(xii) nakšeʔ
nakš.**E**ʔ
pound.NOM2
'pounded'

There are a few lexemes that appear to be exceptions to these harmony rules. Some of them look intriguingly like the result of a total harmony rule that would have applied in an earlier stage of the language. There aren't very many of these, indicating that this is not an ongoing process.

(3.6)

(i) maki
mak.**E**
fish_with_a_net.NOM3
'net'

(ii) weʔči
weʔč.**E**
curve.NOM3
'crooked'

(iii) tupuʔ
tuʔp.X
crumble.X
'piece'

(iv) nocoʔ
noʔc.X
split.X
'crevice'

3.3.3. Alternation of /ŋ/ and /w/

/ŋ/ and /w/ appear in mutually exclusive contexts: there are no syllables that begin with /ŋ/ and none that end with /w/. An underlying /w/ becomes /ŋ/ at the end of a syllable. When one of the vowel-initial suffixes is attached to a stem ending in /ŋ/, the underlying /w/ surfaces due to the re-syllabification of the resulting word.

(3.7)

(i) hopowe
ho.poŋ.E
IN.burn.NOM3
'fire'

(ii) way kəwiʔ
way kəŋ.Eʔ
hair paint.NOM3
'gray-haired'

3.3.4. Voice assimilation

Generally, intervocalic stops are voiceless, but the voiceless stop consonants /p,t,k/ may become voiced when surrounded by members from the set {vowels, nasals, /y/}. This process is variable, depending on speaker, rate and carefulness of speech, and on the semantic prominence of the morpheme in question. Consonants of verb roots, for example, are rarely affected (3.8 i), nor are the instrumental suffix -kuyʔ (i) or incompletive -pa (ii). Suffixes like repetitive -keʔt (iii) and first/second plural -tam (iv) are always voiced in such contexts.

(3.8)

(i) ʔəy hupnəkkə ʔəy caŋkuygəši
ʔəy+ hup=nək-wə ʔəy+ caŋ.kuyʔ+gəši
3E+ pull=go-COM 3E+ hit.INSTR1+LOC5
'She took him by the hand and went along.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔən cahcoŋpan totoʔ
ʔən+ cah=coŋ-pa ʔən+ totoʔ
1E+ glue=join-INC 1E+ paper
'I'm going to glue my paper together.' (elicited)

(iii) picəmgeʔttə ʔot tumə
0 picəm.keʔt-wə ʔotro tuməʔ
3A leave.REPET-COM another one
'Another one came out.' (ZOH1R18 319)

(iv) ʔawindəkka miš ʔəm witudampa
ʔawin+dəkkay miš ʔəm+ wituʔ-tam-pa
sibling +NPL 2Prn 2A+ return-1/2PL-INC
'Brothers, you're going to go back.' (ZOH1R12 165)

3.3.5. Glide absorption

When a suffix ending in /y/ (indirective -hay, assumptive -ney, antipassive -ʔoy, or verbalizer -ʔəy) is followed by a suffix beginning with a voiceless stop, such as the incompletive -pa or repetitive -keʔt, the stop may be voiced (due to 3.3.4) and the glide deleted.

(3.9)

(i) dəš ʔən ʔokcamməba
dəš ʔən+ ʔok.cam.ʔəy-pa
1Prn 1E+ DOWN.relate.SUF-INC
'I tell [the tale].' (ZOH1R45 001)

(ii) ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk
MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL
'teacher' (lexicon)

(iii) miš nəmhageʔttampa ke ʔaŋmaytammə ney ʔawinʔ
miš nəm.hay.keʔt-tam-pa ke ʔaŋ.may-tam-wə ney ʔawinʔ
1>2 say.APPL.REPET-1/2PL-INC that MOUTH.count-1/2PL-OPT our brother
'I say to you again that we should teach our brothers.' (ZOH1R57 035)

(iv) ʔun ʔokhoŋŋodammə ney ʔaŋpən
ʔu ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔoy-tam-wə ney ʔaŋ=pən
NEGimpv 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.ANTIP-1/2PL-COM our mouth=man
'Don't let us forget our language.' (ZOH1R57 037)

Glide absorption is a variable process, varying according to speaker. Three of my male consultants (ages 38-60) always apply the rule; none of the

other consultants (including other older men) ever did. All the women said '-oypa' instead of '-oba'.

3.3.6. Affrication

When a verb stem ending with the alveolars /t/ or /c/ is followed by a morpheme beginning with /š/ (like the third person plural suffix -šuk), the result of the combination is the affricate /č/.

(3.10)

(i) ʔəy paʔčukkə tum ʔaŋmayyobáʔk pən
ʔəy+ paʔt-šuk-wə tum ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+VʔkpənMOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL man
3E+ meet-3Pl-COM one
'They met a teacher.' (ZOH1R43 005)

(ii) yeʔčukkə
0 yeʔc-šuk-wə
3A arrive-3Pl-COM
'They arrived.' (ZOH1R11 003)

3.3.7. Glottal stop deletion

There are three contexts in which a glottal stop is deleted: (a) between vowels; (b) syllable-finally before a C-initial syllable; and (c) word-finally before another word (not utterance-finally).

The (a) case, intervocalic deletion, is shown in (3.11). The final /ə/ in (i) first changes to an /a/ under the influence of the clitic syllable. Once the glottal stop has deleted, the two like vowels contract, as described in (3.3.8).

(3.11)

(i) dey də minnám
dey də+ min-wə+ʔam
now 1A+ come-COM+NOW
'Now I have come.' (ZOH1R11 013)

(ii) də nəkpám
də+ nək-pa+ʔa**m**
1A+ go-INC+NOW
'Now I'm going.' (ZOH1R18 242)

The simple case for (b), syllable-final deletion, occurs when a glottal stop-final root such as təʔ-, 'to want' is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme, like a plural suffix. Remember that there aren't very many vowel-final morphemes in this language, and no vowel-final verb roots. When a morpheme-initial glottal stop fails to delete, it serves as evidence that the preceding morpheme does indeed end in a glottal stop. This is a useful diagnostic for determining the underlying shape of glottal stop-final verb roots, like təʔ-, 'to want', whose final consonant generally disappears in context.

(3.12)

(i) ʔən tədampa tamnəʔ
ʔən+təʔ-tam-pa tamʔ=nəʔ
1E+want-1/2PL-INC bitter=water
'We want beer.' (elicited)

(ii) yotecešukkə
0 yoteʔ=ceʔ-šuk-wə
3A clothes=wash-3PL-COM
'They washed clothes.'
(elicited)

(iii) təʔʔəmpáʔk
təʔ.ʔəm-pa+Vʔk
want.PASS-INC+REL
'a serviceable thing' (lexicon)

(iv) ʔəy məʔʔəyyə
ʔəy məʔ.ʔəy-wə
3E wife.VERS2-COM
'He got married.' (lexicon)

The more interesting case appears when a vowel-initial suffix (see 3.3.2) attaches to a stem in the shape CVʔC. The word is re-syllabified so that the final C of the stem's coda becomes the onset of the suffix syllable. This leaves the glottal stop in syllable-final position, from which it is deleted.

(3.13)

təki	woke
təʔk.E	woʔk.E
hiccup.NOM3	scrape.NOM3
'hiccup'	'scraped'

3.3.8. Syllable contraction

When two vowels are juxtaposed, through deletion of a glottal stop (3.3.7) or some (unknown) historical process, they contract to form a single syllable. This is evident at the ends of words where the contraction produces an irregular primary stress on the final syllable. This is the result we would expect if stress were assigned to the penultimate syllable, according to the regular rule, and then the ultimate syllable is lost.

(3.14)

(i)	dey də minnám	(ii)	kašnáŋ
	dey də+ min-**w**ə+ʔam		kaš.naaŋ
	now 1A+ come-COM+NOW		step.MEAS
	'Now I have come.'		'step'

In example (3.14 i), the /ə/ of the completive suffix becomes an /a/, in harmony with the clitic vowel. Then the intervocalic glottal stop deletes, and then the vowels contract. The completive suffix syllable, which had the stress at the beginning of this process by the regular penultimate stress rule, keeps it. The vowel that survives the contraction is the one that had the stress, so the stress stays here instead of moving back to the preceding syllable (although in context, sometimes this final stress is very weak).

So, the rules apply in the following order:

(1)	də min-wə+ʔam
(2) stress assignment	də min-wə́+ʔam
(3) vowel harmony	də min-wá+ʔam
(4) glottal stop deletes	də min-wáam
(5) vowels contract	də min-wám
(6) gemination	də minnám

3.3.9. Syllable deletion

The final vowel of short words is optionally deleted in compounds or incorporation constructions. This happens most often with adjectives, which tend to have the shape CVCV(ʔ). (A final glottal stop is deleted by the normal process.) In these cases, the initial vowel retains the length of a vowel in a stressed, open syllable, even though one might expect the word to be re-

syllabified, taking the onset of the deleted syllable for the coda of the remaining one, and thus shortening the vowel to the normal closed-syllable length.

I will mark these long vowels in the example data with a following '**:**' to make it easier to read the transcriptions as they are pronounced, and as a reminder that a syllable has been omitted. The same convention applies to entries and example sentences in the lexicon. This lengthening is not, however, in any way contrastive, and there are no prefixes or verb roots that might be confused with these shortened adjectives.

(3.15)

(i) də wə**:**hpicəmhayyə
də+ wəhə=picəm.hay-wə
1A+ good=leave.APPL-COM
'Things turned out well for me.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔəy ne**:**ncəkkəy win
ʔəy+ nenaʔ=cək-wə+ʔəy win
3E+ bad=do-COM+3E REFL
'She took her clothes off.' (lexicon)

3.3.10. Glide deletion

There are no underlying sequences of vowels in MIG Zoque (nor in any of the Mixe-Zoquean languages generally.) However, under certain circumstances the glides /y/ and /w/ are deleted intervocalically, thus producing a vowel sequence. Basically, when a morpheme whose coda consists of a glide is suffixed by a vowel-initial morpheme, and the two vowels meet the requirements discussed here shortly, the glide will be deleted. The set of vowel initial morphemes is given in section 3.3.2. In these cases, the two vowels do not then contract according to the rule discussed in 3.3.8, which applies to vowels that are identical (after assimilation applies).

There are two separate rules. /y/ is deleted when it appears in coda position either before or after a front vowel. (The front vowels are /i/ and /e/.) The one exception is that it is not deleted between two /e/s. (I only have one example of this exception, shown in 3.16 vi.) The productive rule is thus:

y --> 0 / [/i/, /u/, /o/, /ə/, /a/] _____ $V_{[front]}$

(3.16)

(i) ʔaŋkəi
ʔaŋ.kəy.E
MOUTH.carry_flat.NOM3
'covered'

(ii) huptui
hup=tuy.E
pull=stretch.NOM3
'something stretched out'

(iii) cəkhae
cək.hay.E
do.APPL.NOM3
'witchcraft'

(iv) tokoeʔ
tokoy.Eʔ
be_lost.NOM3
'something lost'

(v) kae
kaye
street
'street' (Sp. *calle*)

(vi) ʔukhheye
ʔuk=hey.E
drink=beat.NOM3
'pozole' (a corn drink)

There are four monomorphemic lexical items in the corpus that contain vowel sequences from between which a /y/ (examples 3.17 i-ii) or a /ʔ/ (examples iii-iv) might have been deleted at some earlier stage of the language. Note that in the (iii) and (iv), the 'front' vowel that supplies the appropriate context is /ə/. This is further evidence for the fact that this vowel functions in the MIG Zoque system as its correlate /ü/ does in the other MZ languages. The second vowel in these words is always strongly laryngealized.

(3.17)
(i) mea
'sea' (Sp. *mar*)

(ii) neaʔ
'wall'

(iii) məaʔ
'deer'

(iv) kəak
'sandal'

/w/ is deleted between an /o/ and an /e/ or an /a/. A syllable-final /w/ will normally appear on the surface as /ŋ/ (section 3.3.3). But when the /w/-final morpheme is followed by a vowel-initial suffix, the resulting stem is re-syllabified with /w/ as the onset of the added syllable. So, it ends up between the two vowels. The rule is this:

/w/ --> 0 / /o/[3] ____ [/e/, /a/]

(3.18)

(i) wiki coaʔ
wiki coŋ.Aʔ
finger join.NOM2
'knuckles'

(ii) moeʔašpa
0 moŋ.E=ʔaš-pa
3A sleep.NOM3=open_mouth-INC
'She's yawning.'

I found only two exceptions to this rule in my corpus, shown in (3.19 i-ii). It should be noted that a /w/ occurring in the position in which this rule regularly applies is a rather subtle sound - it is quite possible that I simply heard these examples wrong, or that the glide was the result of the emphasis sometimes employed in citation speech. The rule does not apply to /w/ in syllable-initial position[4], as can be seen in example (3.19 iii).

[3] I have no examples with a /u/ next to a /w/. It seems to be a strongly disfavored conjunction of sounds.

[4] There are no syllables in MIG Zoque with contiguous /y/ and /i/. There are verb roots that begin with /ye/, such as yem-, 'to fan', but none of these happen to appear in the corpus with the vowel-final prefixes ni- (PSE), ho- (INTO), or ko- (SOC).

(3.19)

(i) šowaʔ
a type of bird

(ii) towaʔ
toŋ.Aʔ
blister.NOM2
'blister'

(iii) ʔən howanpa
ʔən+ ho.wan-pa
1E+ INTO.sing-INC
'I'm reading.'

There are four monomorphemic lexical items in the corpus that contain vowel sequences from between which a /w/ might have been deleted at an earlier stage of the language. Again, the second vowel in these words is strongly laryngealized.

(3.20)

(i) hoaʔ
'deep'

(ii) noaʔ
'canyon'

(iii) poaʔ
a type of tree

(iv) poeʔ
'sand'

Chapter 4: Word Classes

I define 12 classes of words for MIG Zoque: verbs, nouns, pronouns, quantifiers (including numbers), adjectives, deictics, postpositions, adverbs, intensifiers, subordinators, modals, and discourse markers. Criteria used for determining class membership are either formal or functional.

The class of verb roots (section 4.1) is determined formally by the affixes that are required for these roots to appear in words. Verb roots are not considered words, since they never appear without at least minimal inflection (section 2.1) and an agreement marker (section 6.2) or a nominalizing affix (section 7.2). A verbal word, then, would be a verb stem with the obligatory inflection and whatever optional affixes it might have. Verb stems can also be formed from nouns and adjectives (section 7.3). A verbal word requires marking with one of the agreement markers, which are clitics that lean to the left and so form part of the phonological word preceding the verb word. The clitic's host word might be a negative or volitive morpheme, which also belongs syntactically to the verb phrase. It is clearer and simpler to refer to the whole agglomeration (shown in table 2.1) as a *verb complex*. The term *verb stem* is used in this book to refer to something more than a root but less than a complex; for example, a root with a directional prefix would be considered a stem.

The other classes are lexeme classes, some of whose members may be monomorphemes and some of which may be derived forms. Functionally, nouns (section 4.2), pronouns (section 4.3), quantifiers (section 4.4), and deictics

(section 4.6) can fill argument roles. The argument structure of verbs and the kinds of roles that are required by different verb classes is discussed in chapter 6. Adjectives (section 4.5) and intensifiers (section 4.9) appear in modifying positions in noun and verb phrases, respectively. Postpositions (section 4.7) are clitic forms that attach to the right edge of a noun phrase. Adverbs (section 4.8) indicate time, direction, or location, but are separate words that may appear in various places in the clause, which distinguishes these forms from postpositions. Subordinators (section 4.10) and modals (section 4.11) are function words with restrictions on their positions within the verb phrase. Discourse markers (section 4.12) are not morphosyntactically integral to the clauses in which they appear, serving instead to structure the discourse as a whole.

4.1. Verbs

Verbs are unambiguously classifiable as those roots that must appear with an aspect or mood suffix and an agreement marker. Verb roots may be grossly subclassified as intransitive or transitive, according to which set of pronominal agreement markers is used for the subject. Intransitive verbs appear with absolutive subject markers, and transitive verbs appear with ergative subject markers. Intransitive verbs are discussed in section 4.1.1. Transitive verbs can be further divided into three sub-classes. These are discussed in section 4.1.2.

Two smaller classes of verbs can also be defined by formal criteria: positional verbs and affective verbs. The positional class consists of those verb roots that can take the assumptive suffix -ney. These are discussed in section 4.1.3. Affective verbs, also known as sound symbolism verbs, take the

reduplicative suffix -ney. They are discussed in section 4.1.4. Apart from these definitional restrictions, any verbal affix may appear with any verb.

Auxiliary verbs are a small class of verbs with unique syntactic properties. The set of auxiliaries and the grounds for determining membership in this set are discussed in section 4.1.5. The inflectional morphology of auxiliary verb phrases is discussed in section 5.6. The syntactic properties of auxiliary verb phrases are discussed in chapter 8.

4.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verb roots appear with absolutive person agreement markers. In the lexicon, these roots are further divided into two groups: I1, or unergative verbs, in which the subject is the actor or agent of the verbal event; and I2, or unaccusative verbs, in which the subject is the patient or theme of the verbal event (Perlmutter & Postal, 1984). There are no formal criteria for distinguishing the two subclasses; the division was made based on the understanding of Kaufman and myself of the meanings of these roots. The label Ix was used for roots that we were unable to classify as either I1 or I2. Most verbs of speaking fall into the I1 class, as well as the verbs of motion. The distinction made in the lexicon is an artifact of the research process. Since we were unable to find any formal criteria for subdividing the class of intransitive verbs, the distinction is not carried into this grammar.

(4.1) Intransitive (unergative?) verbs

ʔaš-	'to open the mouth'	ʔotoŋ-	'to speak'
həʔkš-	'to hurry'	mek-	'to lie'
noš-	'to bathe w/out soap'	nəm-	'to say'
nək-	'to go'	woh-	'to bark'

(4.2) Intransitive (unaccusative?) verbs

ʔom-	'to emit smoke'	haʔk-	'to drown'
heh-	'to live'	moŋ-	'to sleep'
nay-	'to grow (of plants)'	nuc-	'to be hot'
poc-	'to be tired'	tuk-	'to end'

4.1.2. Transitive verbs

Transitive verb roots take two arguments. They are divided into three classes. The first division is based on the formal requirements for the appearance of these roots in clauses without an object, in which case they take absolutive agreement markers. Those that require the antipassive suffix -ʔoy to detransitivize them are designated T3 verbs. This class is by far the largest. Verb roots that do not require a detransitivizing suffix are classified as T1 or T2, according to whether the subject is construed as an agent or a patient.

T1 verbs do not require a detransitivizing affix to drop an argument. Many of the verbs in this class are verbs of perception, speaking, ingestion, cooking, and verbs expressing motions that can be expressed with objects, like ʔec- 'to dance'. (One can dance the fandango, or simply dance.) Given these semantic classes, it is not surprising that when an argument is dropped, the remaining argument is the actor. A sample of the verbs in this class is given in

(4.3) and some examples of both transitive and intransitive uses of two typical members of this class are shown in (4.4).

(4.3) T1 unergative transitive

ʔamma-	'to look at; to see'	ʔuk-	'to drink'
haʔc-	'to go into debt'	kek-	'to hop'
num-	'to steal'	pen-	'to plant'
cam-	'to chat; to talk'	wan-	'to sing'

(4.4)

(i) ʔən ʔammawə pa caphənaŋ
ʔən+ ʔamma-wə para cap+hənaŋ
1E+ look-COM for up+DIR1
'I looked up (at something.' (lexicon)

(ii) də ʔammapa yəhə́ŋ kaháŋ
də+ ʔamma-pa yə.həəŋ ka.haaŋ
1A+ look-INC DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1
'I'm looking here and there (all around).' (lexicon)

(iii) tim cəkpa yə hama? də šeʔpšpa
ti ʔəm+ cək-pa yə hama də+ šeʔpš-pa
what 2E+ do-INC DCT1 day 1A+ make_rope-INC
'What are you doing today? I'm making rope.' (lexicon)

(iv) ʔəy šeʔpšə šackuyhənaŋ
ʔəy+ šeʔpš-wə šac.kuyʔ+hənaŋ
3E+ make_rope-INC twist.INSTR1+ACC
'He twisted the rope with a screw.' (lexicon)

T2 verbs can also appear with only one argument without any detransitivizing suffix. These roots generally indicate things that can happen naturally (like a mud house crumbling down of old age) but that can also be done by human agents. They correspond to intransitive verbs of natural processes (like puc-, 'to rot'), but they can appear with ergative subject agreement markers without being transitivized by the causative prefix. There are very few T2 verbs, all of which are presented in the data shown below in (4.5). Examples of two of these verbs used both transitively and intransitively are given in (4.6).

(4.5) T2 unaccusative transitive

ʔum-	'to spill'	hum-	'to crumble'
həm-	'to make drowsy'	kum-	'to bury'
muy-	'to dent'	noŋ-	'to spring back'
wiʔt-	'to twist'	xiʔt-	'to tangle'

(4.6)

(i) ʔəy ʔummə̀y kafé
ʔəy+ ʔum-wə ʔəy+ kafé
3E+ spill-COM 3E+ coffee
'She spilled her coffee.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔummə
0 ʔum-wə
3A spill-COM
'It spilled'. (lexicon)

(iii) tək ʔəy humšukpa
tək ʔəy+ hum-šuk-pa
house 3E+ crumble-3PL-INC
'They're tearing down the house.' (lexicon)

(iv) ney hummə bi tək
ney hum-wə bi tək
self crumble-COM DEF house
'The house tumbled down by itself.' (lexicon)

T3 verbs must be detransitivized with the antipassive suffix -ʔoy in order to appear without objects. The antipassive forms of these verbs means to perform the act in a general way, as in 'I'll harvest (some unspecified crops) in the fall' or 'They were eating (some unspecified food)'. This class is by far the largest of the transitive classes.

(4.7) T3 transitives

ʔek-	'to harvest'	ʔuc-	'to measure'
him-	'to touch in passing'	keʔc-	'to chew'
mac-	'to rub'	mot-	'to mix'
tuk-	'to cut'	woʔk-	'to scrape'

(4.8)
(i) ʔəy ʔiššə gaháŋ
ʔəy+ ʔiš-wə ga.haaŋ
3E+ see-COM DCT3.DIR1
'She saw something over there.' (lexicon)

(ii) də ʔiššoba
də+ ʔiš.ʔoy-pa
1A+ see.ANTIP-INC
'I'm going to see.' (lexicon)

(iii) ʔəm haššám bi šiš?
ʔəm+ haš-wə+ʔam bi šiš
2E+ roast-COM+NOW DEF meat
'Have you roasted the meat yet?' (lexicon)

(iv) də haššoba
də+ haš.ʔoy-pa
1A+ roast.ANTIP-INC
'I'm roasting (something).' (lexicon)

4.1.3. Positional verbs

Positional verb roots are those that can take the assumptive suffix -ney. Roots in this class are typically T3 transitives, although there are a few intransitives. Positional roots express very abstract notions of shape, position, or spatial extension, such as 'wrapped around and around' or 'stretched out'. The range of meanings expressed by MIG Zoque positional roots is similar to that described for the Mayan language Mam (England, 1983).

When positionals appear as the only root in a verbal complex, the meaning is usually a concretization of the abstract sense, along the lines of pit- 'to roll a cigar' (by wrapping the tobacco leaf around and around), or hup- 'to pull' (a long thing like a rope, so that it ends up stretched out). In constructions with compound verb roots, the abstract sense will usually predominate. Further discussion of this phenomenon appears in chapter 8.

The glosses given in (4.9) are those that pertain to the verb root functioning by itself in the verbal complex. The examples given in (4.10) show that it is the resulting shape or position of the patient that matters, not the specific means of achieving that position or the nature of the patient itself.

(4.9) Positional verbs

ʔəʔp-	'to lever'	heken-	'to wrap'
hup-	'to pull'	pakš-	'to fold'
naŋ-	'to spread'	wat-	'to fasten'
šom-	'to imprison'	cəm-	'to load'
kap-	'to carry on the shoulders'		

(4.10)

(i) hohopeʔttə
0 hoho=peʔt-wə
3A palm=weave-COM
'She wove palm strips.' (lexicon)

(ii) maŋkuypeʔttə
0 maŋkuyʔ=peʔt-wə
3A foot=weave-COM
'He crossed his legs.' (lexicon)

(iii) hekennəmmə cahin
0 heken.ʔəm-wə cahin
3A coil.PASS-COM snake
'The snake coiled around itself.' (lexicon)

(iv) našhoʔ pacneyyə lašu ʔəy hekennə
naš+hoʔ 0 pac.ney-wə lašu ʔəy+ heken-wə
earth+LOC2 3A throw.ASSUM-COM rope 3E+ coil-COM
'The rope was thrown on the ground; she rolled it up.' (lexicon)

4.1.4. Affective verbs

Affective, or sound-symbolic, verbs rarely appear in texts but are easily elicited. Affective verbs in MIG Zoque are examples of imitative sound symbolism (Hinton, et.al. 1994). They typically represent rhythmic motions (like shoes slapping or water dripping) or animal sounds. These words sometimes include speech sounds that are not part of the native MIG Zoque phoneme inventory, like /s/ and /l/. They are always reduplicated and marked with the reduplicative suffix **-**ney. They can be used with either completive or incompletive aspect.

(4.11) Affective verbs

sumsumneba	maw?maw?neba
sum.sum.ney-pa	maw?.maw?.ney-pa
X.X.REDUP1-INC	X.X.REDUP1-INC
the sound of buzzing	what the cat says
ko?kško?kšneba	lepšlepšneba
ko?kš.ko?kš.ney-ba	lepš.lepš.ney-pa
X.X.REDUP1-INC	X.X.REDUP1-INC
the sound of shoes slapping on the floor	the flapping udder of a bitch

4.1.5. Auxiliary verbs

Dependent verb constructions consist of a sequence of two verb complexes in which the second is syntactically dependent on the first. The first verb is inflected for aspect or mood using one of the eight independent suffixes (see table 5.2). The second verb is inflected with one of the two dependent

suffixes: **-E** if the first verb has completive aspect, and -wə if it is in the incompletive or a non-declarative mood. Only the second verb is marked for agreement with the subject (and object), and the agreement marker is always selected from the ergative set, regardless of the transitivity of the verb root. This ergative shift is discussed further in Chapter 8. Example (4.9 i) shows a dependent construction with incompletive aspect, and (ii) shows a dependent construction with completive aspect.

(4.12)

(i) karreta nəkpa ʔəy huppəkkoyyə
karreta nək-pa ʔəy+ hup=pək.ʔoy-wə
cart go-INC 3E+ pull=get.ANTIP-dINC
'A cart goes to haul them.' (ZOH1R22 020)

(ii) tum poŋ nəkkəy koyoše tum rrančo
tum poŋ nək-wə ʔəy+ ko.yoš**.E** tum rrančo
one time go-COM 3E+ SOC.work-dCOM one ranch
'He went to work in a small farming village.' (ZOH1R18 023)

Generally, dependent verb constructions can be translated "V1 while V2-ing" (e.g., 'whistle while working'). Auxiliary verbs are consistently translated as "Aux to V1" (e.g., 'begin to sow', 'know how to speak Zoque'). As a set, they meet Steele's cross-linguistic criteria for auxiliary verbs (1981): they are a small, closed set; they are constituents (contrasted with verb root compounds, section 8.3); and some of them mark tense and mood. The two most frequently used auxiliary verbs, nək-, 'to go', and min-, 'to come', indicate the direction of motion of the dependent verb. Direction is considered an operator of equal syntactic status as tense in RRG (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997:42-3).

The set of auxiliaries consists of six intransitive verbs of motion, aspect or manner. All of these also function as independent verbs and appear in compound verb constructions. Other verbs that occasionally behave like auxiliaries (such as tuk-, 'to finish') are discussed in chapter 8.

(4.13)

(i) **Motion**

nək- 'go'
min- 'come'
tih- 'go & return'

(ii) **Manner**

həʔkš- 'hurry'
muš- 'know'

(iii) **Aspect**

ʔokmaŋ- 'begin'

4.2. Nouns

Nouns are those words that can appear with the definite article bi, or similarly, with one of the deictics. This is not strictly a root class, since there are many derivational suffixes that form nouns from verb roots or from adjectives (section 7.2). Noun compounding is common, although it can be difficult to determine whether the result is a word or a phrase (section 9.4). Relative clauses may also be headed by the definite article (section 11.1), in which case they are functioning simply as nouns.

(4.14)

(i) kuy
'tree'

(ii) hukutək
'fire'

(iii) kumkuyhá?
kum.kuy?.haa?
bury.INSTR1.NOM4
'townspeople'

(iv) kašnáŋ
kaš.naaŋ
step.MEAS
'step'

(v) hoho tək
hoho tək
palm house
'palm house'

(vi) hamatin
hama=tin
day=shit
'money'

(vii) nəmpa bi ʔanhmayyobáʔk yo:mʔune maryalena
0 nəm-pa bi ʔanh.may.ʔ**oy-a+V**ʔk yomaʔ=ʔuneʔ maryalena
3A say-INC DEF MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL female=child marialena
'says the young woman teacher Marialena' (ZOH1R15 021)

There is no set of nouns in MIG Zoque that is obligatorily possessed, as is the case in some MesoAmerican languages (Suarez, 1983). There are no nouns

for which possession is ungrammatical, although certainly some such collocations are pragmatically absurd (ʔən ʔinəʔ, 'my cloud', for example).

Plurals are formed by means of the plural clitic +dəkkay (NPL), which usually appears in one of it's reduced forms: +dək (usually phrase-medial) or +dəkka. The unreduced form appears most often in careful speech and at the ends of phrases.

(4.15)

(i) kuydəkka
kuy+dəkka
tree+NPL
'trees'

(ii) gadək
ga.ʔ+dəkkay
DCT3.NOM1+NPL
'they; them'

(iii) ʔaŋmayyobáʔkdəkkay
ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy̯pa+VʔkdəkkayMOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL+NPL
'teachers'

4.3. Pronouns

Pronouns and deictics overlap in the set of words that refer to the third person. Since the third person roots participate in a wider system of suffixes than the first and second person pronouns, I separate them into a distinct class, which is discussed in detail in section 4.6. So, only the first and second person forms are included in the pronoun class.

Pronouns accept the nominal plural clitic +háʔ, which can also appear with nouns that refer in some way to a group of people (like the word kumkuyháʔ, 'townspeople', in example 4.16 iii)[1]. A table listing all of the first

[1] This clitic also has a quantifying function and is discussed further in section 9.5.

and second person pronouns is shown below. First person plural pronouns are divided into two sets: exclusive (X) forms refer to the speaker and some other person(s), but not everyone present, while the inclusive (I) forms refer to all persons present together.

	Singular	**Plural**	**Possessive (singular)**	**Possessive (plural)**
X	dəš	dəšhá?	tənti?	təntihá?
I		neyhá? neywin	neyti?	neytihá? ney
2	miš	mišhá?	minti?	mintihá?

Table 4.1. Pronouns

The exclusive forms are the ones that are in general use. The exclusive plural dəšhá? appears abundantly in texts, in any context involving the speaker and someone else. The inclusive forms are rarely used, except for ney, which is the form most commonly used to mean 'our'. There are no cases in which the contrast between exclusive and inclusive plural is deliberately exploited. There are two texts in which the inclusive forms appear frequently, both exhortations made by Sr. Sánchez to his fellow Zoques (on tape, not in person) to preserve and remember the ways of their ancestors. Examples from this text are shown in (4.16).

(4.16)
(i) neywin komo ken ?okhoŋŋədampám
neywin komo ke ?ən+ ?ok.hoŋ.?əy-tam-pa+?am
IPL komo ke 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.SUF-1/2PL-INC+NOW

'we, since we're forgetting' (ZOH1R57 003)

(ii) ʔaŋmaytáŋ ney ʔawin dəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən
ʔaŋ.may-taaŋ ney ʔawinʔ+dəkkay bi ney ʔaŋ=pən
MOUTH.count-HORT IPoss brother+NPL DEF IPoss MOUTH=man
'Let's teach our brothers our language.' (ZOH1R57 010)

(iii) yakku neyhá? yuhkuyhoʔ də yoštampáʔ
yakkuʔ ney+haaʔ yuh.kuyʔ+hoʔ də+ yoš-tam-pa+VʔkPoor I.NPL2 raze.INSTR1+LOC2 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC+REL
'poor us, the farmers' (ZOH1R16 001)

ney participates in many pronominal constructions with various sorts of endings, suffixes or other pronouns[2]. (Note that when two nouns or pronouns are juxtaposed in the speech stream, there is no phonological evidence, such as stress, to indicate whether or not the two are compounded or simply neighboring forms. The simplest assumption is that they are two distinct words.) Table 4.2 lists all the ney collocations with their English and Spanish translations. Semantically, they fall into three groups: first person plurals, reflexives, and 'some (thing/one/time)' words. These are not necessarily all cases of the same morpheme, but reflect different stages of the development of MIG Zoque (Kaufman, p.c.). The original meaning is 'self', still apparent in the reciprocal morpheme. The meaning shifted to 'same' in a variety of uses. The first person plural sense of ney is a relatively recent innovation of MIG Zoque.

[2] Kaufman proposes that ney should be considered a clitic or affix that occupies a position immediately to the right of the person agreement markers. I only have one example of ney with an agreement marker (4.14 ii), and none with the negative ya or causative yak-, so I'm unable to determine conclusively how it might relate to these neighboring elements. In the example, the absolutive first person agreement marker appears because this is an inverse construction (section 6.2.2).

Zoque	English	Spanish
ney	RECIP	RECIP
ney	same; self; only	mismo; nada más
ney dəš	I myself	yo mismo
ney miš	you yourself	tu mismo
ney gaʔ	he/she him/herself	el/ella su mismo
ney	some; any	algun(a)
ney ʔiwəʔ	someone	alguien
ney tumə	alone	solo
ney huʔ	somewhere	en alguna parte
ney hutə́ŋ	anywhere	dondequiera
ney kayna	in a while	hace rato
ney	we; our	nosotros; nuestro/a
neywin	we	nosotros
neytiʔ	ours	nuestro/a
neytihá ʔ	ours	nuestro/a
neyhá ʔ	we	nosotros

Table 4.2. The many uses of ney**.**

The pronominal form of ney also appears in a few idiomatic constructions such as those shown in (4.17). ney=ciʔ- is a lexicalized form that means 'to give as a gift, free and clear'. Since it appears as an ordinary verb stem with pronominal agreement markers outside the ney, it isn't reasonable to attempt to squeeze this idiom into the rest of the pattern.

(4.17)

(i) ney kəššoyyə
ney kəš.ʔoy-wə
self eat.ANTIP-COM

'She ate without paying' (at someone else's expense) (lexicon)

(ii) də neycišukkə yədə hamatin
də+ ney=ci?-šuk-wə yə.də hamatin
1A+ self =give-3PL-COM DCT1.DEM money
'They gave me this money as a gift.' (ZOH1R18 275)

4.4. Quantifiers

The set of MIG Zoque quantifiers are shown in table 4.3. Note that the set includes two clitics, +há? and +štá?.

Zoque	English	Spanish
?ičíŋ	few; a little	poco
?oméŋ	a little	poquito
məhmə	many; a lot	mucho; bastante
meši	few	poco
hemhi?	all	todo
šəhə?	several; a lot; many	varios; bastante; mucho
+há?	each	cada quien
+štá?	only; just; no more	no más

Table 4.3: MIG Zoque quantifiers

The distribution of quantifiers in noun phrases is described in detail in section 9.5. They also appear independently as arguments in clauses, thus functioning as pronouns. Unlike pronouns, quantifiers and numbers appear with the versive suffix -?a, as shown in example (4.18 iii and iv).

(4.18)
(i) tey ye?čukkə mas meši

tey 0 ye?c-šuk-wə mas meši
now 3A arrive-3PL-COM more few
'Now fewer arrived.' (ZOH1R18 010)

(ii) dey ye?čukkə ?i?pšaŋ? ?əy komecáŋ
dey 0 ye?c-šuk-wə ?i?pšaŋ? ?i ko.mecaaŋ
now 3A arrive-3PL-COM twenty and SOC.two
'Now twenty-two arrived.' (ZOH1R18 011)

(iii) mecaŋŋadamməštá?
mecaŋ.?a-tam-wə+štaa?
two.VERS1-1/2PL-COM+ONLY
'We're just two.' (ZOH1R10 308)

(iv) yahakhá? gə hamatin məhmə?am ga?
yahakhaa? gə hamatin məhmə.?a-wə+?am ga?
long_ago that money many.VERS1-COM+NOW that
'Long ago, that was a lot of money.' (ZOH1R18 257)

4.4.1. Numbers

MIG Zoque numbers operate on a base twenty system, as do virtually all MesoAmerican languages (Campbell, et al., 1986). There are words for the numbers from one to ten, shown in (4.18) (examples of the rest of the system up to 300 are shown in Appendix E).

(4.18)

1	tumə	6	tuhtáŋ
2	mecáŋ	7	wəštuhtáŋ
3	tuwáŋ	8	tugurutáŋ
4	maktaššáŋ	9	maktuhtáŋ
5	moššaŋ	10	makkaŋ

There is evidently a suffix in common marking the numbers from 2 through 10. This suffix is probably -ʔaŋ, although it never appears on the surface in any other environments. It is probably cognate with a suffix in neighboring MAR Zoque -iʔiŋ/-eʔeŋ, which creates a unit of measure or unitary event (Kaufman, p.c.). This in turn is clearly related to the MIG Zoque measure suffix -náŋ/-néŋ, discussed in section 7.2.3. We can reasonably deduce that the MIG Zoque numeral suffix is -ʔaŋ by the fact that there are geminate consonants in the forms maktaššaŋ (4), moššaŋ (5), and makkaŋ (10). This gemination would be regularly produced by a glottal-stop initial suffix in accordance with the rule discussed in 3.3.1. Note further that the final syllable in these two forms is not stressed, although in all the other forms it is stressed. Final stress generally indicates that a syllable has been deleted (section 3.3.8). We can thus deduce that the other forms had a final vowel, although we can not know precisely which vowel it was.

The counting system is illustrated in example (4.19) with the numbers for something-two. Numbers from 10 to 19 are formed by prefixing the basic numbers with mak-. (Note that mak- is also used to mark the numbers 4, maktaššaŋ, and 9, maktuhtáŋ.) Number twenty is a new morpheme, ʔiʔpšaŋʔ.

Numbers 21 through 30 are formed with ʔiʔpšaŋʔ followed by the numbers from 1 to 10. At 31, we begin adding the prefix ko- to the second part of the number. (This ko- is not to be confused with the verbal prefix discussed in section 7.1.1). 40 is two twenties, 60 is three twenties, and so on.

(4.19)

2	mecáŋ
12	makmecáŋ
22	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmecáŋ
42	mecaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmecáŋ
62	tuwaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmecáŋ

It should be noted that only the first three Zoque numbers are commonly heard; for larger figures, Spanish is invariably used. It is something of an accomplishment these days to be able to count to ten in Zoque, and it was a major feat for Sr. Sánchez to summon up the complete system for us from the depths of his memory.

4.5. Adjectives

Adjectives specify a quality or dimension of the nouns that they modify. Physical description is rare in MIG Zoque texts, so they appear but seldom. There are about 45 adjectives in the dictionary, with the following sorts of meanings: quantity, dimensions/directions, physical characteristics, personal characteristics, and colors. Representatives from each set are shown below, along with all five color words. (The color terms in Zoque conform perfectly with the hierarchy of color terms defined in Berlin and Kay, 1969.)

(4.20)

ʔičíŋ	məhmə	komiʔ
'little'	'a lot'	'large'
yajəʔ	hoaʔ	wayay
'far'	'deep'	'cold'
kicaʔ	pəmiʔ	cuway
'thin'	'strong'	'foolish'
wəhə	ʔapuʔ	home
'good'	'old (man)'	'young'
popoʔ	yəkyək	capac
'white'	'black'	'red'
cuš	puʔcpuʔc	
'green'	'yellow'	

Adjectives can appear either before or after the noun, but in the postnominal case the adjective is marked with the relativizer +**V**ʔk (+pəʔk after a

consonant). This vowel-initial syllable elides, leaving an irregular final stress. The final /k/ of the relativizer is rarely audible in utterance-final position.

(4.21)

(i) peka yoteʔ
peka yoteʔ
worn_out clothes
'used clothes'

(ii) yote pekáʔ
yoteʔ peka+VʔkREL?
clothes worn_out+REL?
'used clothes'

(iii) tuwaŋ pən
'three men'

(iv) pən tuwaŋpəʔk
pən tuwaŋ+pəʔk
man three+REL
'three men'

(v) haše?k šiš
haš.E+Vʔk šiš
roast.NOM7+REL meat
'roast meat'

(vi) šiš hašéʔ
šiš haš.E+Vʔk
meat roast.NOM7+REL
'roast meat'

Paragraph about how description is accomplished.

4.6. Deictics

This class includes words that function as pronouns (third person) and as adverbs (time, space and manner). I consider them a distinct class because all the words are formed from three roots, forming a system of deixis with three axes: proximal, neutral and distal.

Proximal yə- (DCT1) means closer to the speaker: 'this' in English; *este/a* in Spanish. Neutral de- (DCT2) deictics indicate a vague middle ground rather than closeness to the listener; they are glossed with the Spanish neutral, *ese/a*, 'that', but the temporal form is generally glossed *ahora*, 'now', rather than

entonces, 'then'. Distal ga- (DCT3) deictics are distant from both the speaker and the hearer and may in fact not be visible at all. These are glossed with the Spanish distal, *aquel/aquella*, 'that'.

A concrete description may help to clarify the system. Don Germán and I were sitting at a table in the patio, in adjacent chairs. To refer to his chair, or a hat sitting right in front of him (which he touched as he spoke), he used DCT1. To refer to a hat hanging on the back of a chair on the opposite side of the table (no nearer to me than to him), or a shrub near our table, he used DCT2. To refer to a shrub near the wall surrounding the patio, or the street outside the garden wall (not visible to us) he used DCT3.

Gloss code	**Suffix**	**Proximal** yə **(DCT1)**	**Neutral** te **(DCT2)**	**Distal** ka **(DCT3)**
NOM1	ʔ	this	this	that
DEM	də	this	this	that
TMP	y	right now; soon	now	then
LOC1	hiʔ	here	here	there
LOC1	hə	here		
LOC1	ha			there
DIR1	hənaŋ	to here		
DIR1	hə́ŋ	to here		
DIR1	héŋ		to(wards) there	
DIR1	háŋ			to there; on the side
DIR1	hanaŋ			to there; on the other side; elsewhere
DIR2	híŋ	to this point and no further	from there; thence	up to there
SIM	ʔše	like this	like this/that	like that

Table 4.4. The deictic system

NOM1 is identified as a suffix to make this system work. It is possibly also a nominalizing suffix that appears in a few deverbal forms (e.g., šaŋ.ʔ, 'wind', perhaps derived from the root šaŋ-, 'to cut with a machete' or more generally, 'to make a swinging/swishing/whooshing motion'). DEM is a suffix that yields a pronominal form from the deictic root. There is no apparent system or rule for choosing to use this suffix. The variant DEM form -gə occasionally appears with DCT3: gagə, 'that', and even sometimes alone.

(4.22)

(i) yəʔ pən pwes nəktəpa hohi
yə.ʔ pən pwes 0 nək=təʔ-pa hohi
DCT1.NOM1 man well 3A go=want-INC tomorrow
'"This man wants to go tomorrow."' (ZOH1R10 046)

(ii) ʔəm nəkpa yədə ʔawinhənaŋ benigno
ʔəm+ nək-pa yə.də ʔawinʔ +hənaŋ benigno
2A+ go-INC DCT1.DEM sibling +ACC benigno
'"You'll go with this fellow, Benigno."' (ZOH1R10 029)

(iii) ʔi de ti meʔčukpa
ʔi de.ʔ ti ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-pa
and DCT2.NOM1 what 3E+ look_for-3PL-INC
'"And those guys, what are they looking for?"' (ZOH1R10 097)

(iv) hum pəpa ʔəm nəkkə dedə hamatin ʔəm pəkcoŋpáʔ
hu ʔəm+ pəʔ-pa ʔəm+ nək-wə de.də hamatin ʔəm+ pək=coŋ-pa
where 2E+ put-INC 2E+ go-dINC DCT2.DEM money 2E+ get=join-INC
'Where are you putting that money you're receiving?'
(ZOH1R28 105)

(v) gadək ʔəy muššukpa
ga.ʔ +dəkka ʔəy+ muš-šuk-pa
DCT3.NOM1 +NPL 3E+ know-3PL-INC
'They know.' (ZOH1R10 264)

(vi) pəʔttammə gadə nəhoʔ pwenteho ʔ pwes
(də) pəʔt-tam-wə ga.də nəʔ +hoʔ pwente +hoʔ pwes
(1A) pass-1/2PL-COM DCT3.DEM water +LOC2 bridge +LOC2 well
'Well, we passed on that river on the bridge.' (ZOH1R10 269)

There is a limited sort of vowel harmony operating in the LOC1 and DIR1 sets of alternate forms, such that the vowel of the suffix is matched to the vowel of the deictic root. This can be seen in the set of forms using the DIR1 postposition: yəháŋ, dehéŋ, and gaháŋ. There is also some redundancy among the forms, with variant ways of saying the basic things: yəhə, yəhiʔ 'here'; gaha, gahiʔ 'there'; yəʔ, yədə 'this', etc.

The initial consonants of the neutral de- and distal ga- are undoubtedly underlyingly voiceless, given the phoneme inventory of this language (section 3.1), although they rarely appear unvoiced in the corpus. There are a few such cases, however, usually at the beginning of an utterance. The distal temporal form usually appears as kay instead of as gay. A distal directional also appears in a common idiom with a voiceless initial consonant, as shown in example (4.23 iii).

(4.23)
(i) yəhi nəmmən cammə familyahənaŋ
yə.hiʔ nəmmə ʔən+ cam-wə familya +hənaŋ
DCT1.LOC1 PROG 1E+ chat-COM family +ACC
'I'm here chatting with the family.' (ZOH1R10 018)

(ii) yəhəŋ hehpa tum tal lewteryo gaʔ
yə.həəŋ 0 heh-pa tum tal lewteryo ga.ʔ
DCT1.DIR1 3A live-INC one such leuterio DCT3.NOM1
'That fellow Eleuterio lives over here.' (ZOH1R10 273)

(iii) ʔən meʔcpanam ney dəš yəhə́ŋ kaháŋ
ʔən+ meʔc-pa+namʔ ney dəš yə.həəŋ ka.haaŋ
1E+ look_for-INC+STILL self 1Prn DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1
'I'm still looking myself, here and there' (ZOH1R23 465)

(iv) dehi ney paʔttamapa
de.hiʔ ney paʔt-tam-A-pa
DCT2.LOC1 RECIP find-1/2PL-RECIP-INC
'We'll meet each other there.' (ZOH1R10 159)

(v) ʔən tək tehiʔapa dehéŋ
ʔən+ tək tehi.ʔa-pa de.heeŋ
1E+ house there_is.VERS1-INC DCT2.DIR1
'My house is over there.' (ZOH1R58 087)

(vi) deʔše pəʔttə ʔəy nəki bi šepe
de.ʔše pəʔt-wə ʔəy+ nək.E bi šepe
DCT2.SIM pass-COM 3E+ go.dCOM DEF month
'That's how the months passed.' (ZOH1R28 033)

(vii) nəmmə yey gaha miš ʔištukpa
0 nəm-wə yə.y ga.ha miš ʔiš=tuk-pa
3A say-COM DCT1.TMP DCT3.LOC1 1>2 see=finish-INC
'He says, "I'll wait for you there."' (ZOH1R10 154)

(viii) də minnə kumkuy gaháŋ
də+ min-wə kumkuyʔ ga.haaŋ
1A+ come-COM town DCT3.DIR1
'I'm coming from the other side of town.' (ZOH1R58 122)

(ix) ʔentonses cakkəmdammə gaʔše ke də nəktampa
ʔentonses cak.ʔəm-tam-wə ga.ʔše ke də+ nək-tam-pa
then leave.PASS-1/2PL-COM DCT3.SIM that 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC
'Then we were left like that, that (yes) we were going.' (ZOH1R10 128)

4.7. Postpositions

Postpositions are clitics that attach to a preceding noun. This constraint on their position formally distinguishes the postpositions from the spatial adverbs, which can appear independently from the noun phrase to which they are relevant. The two sets or lexemes perform the same function, of locating objects in space or directing the motion of an object through space.

The postpositions appear at the end of a noun phrase, which may consist of a phrase or compound (4.24 i), a noun with the plural clitic (ii), or a possessive noun phrase (iii).

(4.24)

(i) komo ke ney ʔiwəhənaŋ də tukšitəpa
komo ke ney ʔiwə+hənaŋ də+ tukši=təʔ-pa
like what some who +ACC 1A+ fight=want-INC
'As if I wanted to fight with someone.' (ZOH1R18 202)

(ii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
tih-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke +dəkka+hənaŋ
go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this yankee +NPL +ACC
'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)

(iii) yədə ʔanmal makimaki witpa yədə tək ʔəy kohapho?
yədə ʔanmal makimaki 0 wit-pa yədə tək ʔəy+ kohap+hoʔ
this animal spider 3A walk-INC this house 3E+ hat +LOC2
'This animal the spider is walking on the ceiling of this house.' (ZOH1R58 12)

All of the spatial terms (except the deictics) are listed together in a table in Appendix C, with both English and Spanish glosses. Postpositions are marked in the table with preceding +. Since the entries are listed alphabetically, it is easy to

see that most of the spatial terms in MIG Zoque are based on five morphemes, shown in the following table.

Zoque	English Gloss Code	Spanish Gloss Code
ʔaŋ	MOUTH	BOCA
həš	BACK	ATRAS
kə	AWAY	AFUERA
cap	on	encima
win	FACE	CARA

Table 4.5: Root morphemes of spatial adverbs and postpositions

ʔaŋ-, həš-, and win- also appear as verbal prefixes, whence their gloss codes[3]. These three forms appeared as independent words at an earlier stage of the language (Kaufman, p.c.; see section 7.1.1 for more discussion). Because of this historical independence and because of the clear relatedness amongst the forms, I'm inclined to class all of the lexemes based on these morphemes as adverbs, rather than postpositions, whether I have direct evidence of their current independent status or not. However, there is a small subset of the ʔaŋ- forms (ʔaŋhiʔ, ʔaŋhəʔ, ʔaŋhənaŋ, and ʔaŋhə́ŋ) that consistently behave like postpositions, in that they only appear immediately after the noun phrase to which they pertain, and they often seem to affect the stress of the preceding noun, which an independent lexeme would not do. For example, in the phrase huštišʔaŋhiʔ,

[3] This kə- is not the same as the verbal prefix kə-, AWAY. Historically, this one is kəʔ, roughly meaning 'lower part' (Wichman, 1995).

'at the mayor's office', as it appears in ZOH1R11 003, the primary stress falls on ʔaŋ-, and only a very weak secondary stress falls on the syllable huš, which would receive full primary stress if there were no postposition.

The following examples illustrate the problem of assigning lexemes to the right class. +hoʔ (i) is uncontroversially a postposition, while the appearance of kowitíŋ (ii) after the verb places it decisively in the adverb class. Examples (iii) and (iv) show a fuzzier case, that of kəhə́ŋ, 'below'. In example (iii) it follows immediately after the noun phrase, like a normal postposition. There are many examples of kəhə́ŋ in this position in the corpus. In example (iv), however, it appears independently, as part of the predicate 'to be below'.

(4.25)

(i) yeʔccə ʔana hermáŋ ʔəy təkhoʔ
yeʔc-wə ʔana hermáŋ ʔəy+ tək+hoʔ
arrive-COM ana germán 3E+ house+LOC2
'Ana arrived at Germán's house.' (ZOH1R55 001)

(ii) yədə tək ʔəy ʔaŋpahšukkə kowitíŋ
yədə tək ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.pah-šuk-wə kowitiiŋ
this house 3E+ MOUTH.nail-3PL-COM around
'They fenced all around this house.' (ZOH1R58 021)

(iii) də tuŋŋapa yədə nipəʔt kəhə́ŋ
də+ tuŋ.ʔa-pa yədə ni.pəʔt kəhəəŋ
1A+ road.VERS1-INC this INSTR3.pass below
'I'm going to walk under this bridge.' (ZOH1R58 105)

(iv) ʔən tək tehiʔawə kəhə́ŋ
ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə kəhəəŋ
1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM below
'My house is down below.' (ZOH1R58 086)

There is also a small set of entries in the table (hoʔ, hóŋ, honaŋ, and hənaŋ) that are similar in phonological form, but probably not derived from the same root morpheme. These are uncontroversially postpositions: they appear frequently in the corpus, always immediately after a noun phrase, and never appear independently. +hoʔ is the only unstressed monosyllabic form in the set. When it is postposed to a noun, stress appears on the final syllable of that noun: kócək => kocə́khoʔ.

The indeterminacy between these two word classes is certainly not unique to MIG Zoque - the English word 'down' exhibits the same behavior. Generally, if a word appears in an independent position even once, I class it with the adverbs, and if most of the words based on a root morpheme (like cap-) are adverbs, I put the rest of the similarly-based lexemes in the adverb class, too. The exception to this algorithm are the four stress-altering ʔaŋ- lexemes mentioned above.

(4.26)

(i) yečukkə təkʔaŋhə huštišʔaŋhiʔ
0 yec-šuk-wə təkʔaŋhəʔ huštiš+ʔaŋhiʔ
3A arrive-3PL-COM San Miguel mayor +LOC3
'They arrived in San Miguel at the mayor's office.' (ZOH1R11 003)

(ii) nəkpa gaʔše maryo lopes ʔaŋhəʔ ʔən cakkəmmə
nək-pa ga.ʔše maryo lopes+ʔaŋhəʔ ʔən+ cak.ʔəm-wə
go-INC DCT3.SIM mario lopez +DIR5 1E+ leave.PASS-COM
'I'll go stay over at Mario Lopez'.' (ZOH1R55 007)

(iii) ʔən tək tehiʔawə mašantəkʔaŋhə́ŋ
ʔən+ tək tehi.ʔa-wə mašan=tək+ʔaŋhəəŋ
1E+ house there_is.VERS1-COM holy=house +DIR7
'My house is next to the church.' (ZOH1R58 078)

(iv) tennə bi mištu našhoʔ
0 ten-wə bi mištuʔ naš+hoʔ
3A stand-COM DEF cat earth+LOC2
'The cat is standing on the ground.' (ZOH1R58 059)

(v) də nəkpan təkhoʔ
də nək-pa ʔən+ tək +hoʔ
1A go-INC 1E+ house +LOC2
'I'm going home.' (ZOH1R58 092)

(vi) də təkkəba camkuyhoʔ
də tək.ʔəy-pa camkuyʔ+hoʔ
1A house.VERS2-INC mountain +LOC2
'I'm going into the mountains.'
(ZOH1R58 096)

(vii) də nəkpa camkuyhonaŋ
də nək-pa camkuyʔ+honaŋ
1A go-INC mountain +DIR3
'I'm going towards the mountains.' (ZOH1R58 095)

(viii) də nəkpa parkehonaŋ
də nək-pa parke+honaŋ
1A go-INC park +DIR3
'I'm going to the park.' (ZOH1R58 003)

(ix) də minnə təkhóŋ
də min-wə tək +hooŋ
1A come-COM house+DIR4
'I'm coming from home.' (ZOH1R58 117)

(x) də picəmpam təkhoŋhóŋ
də picəm-pa +ʔam tək=hoŋ +hooŋ
1A leave-INC +NOW house=inside+DIR4
'I'm going out from inside the house.' (ZOH1R58 098)

(xi) ʔəy pəwə mešgəši hemhi bi ʔayʔdəkka
ʔəy+ pəʔ-wə meša +gəši hemhi bi ʔayʔ +dəkka
3E+ put-COM table +LOC4 all DEF leaf +NPL
'He put all the leaves on the table.' (ZOH1R10 614)

There are three non-spatial postpositions, shown in table 4.5. If MIG Zoque had a complete case system, these would simply be a part of that. +hənaŋ, ACC, is usually translated by *con*, 'with', and shows the same ambiguity as the English and Spanish equivalents: it can indicate either an instrument or a companion.

Form	English	Spanish	Gloss code
goʔ	*beneficiary*	*beneficiario*	BNF
hənaŋ	*accompaniment*	*acompañamiento*	ACC
piʔt	*instrument*	*instrumento*	INSTR

Table 4.6. Non-spatial postpositions.

+góʔ (BNF) and +piʔt (INSTR) are historically the same morphemes as the subordinators góʔ (PURP) and biʔt (IF) (Kaufman, p.c.). I have split them into two separate classes because their syntactic behavior is different in MIG Zoque. Postpositions mark the function of a non-argument noun phrase; subordinators mark the relation of a subordinate clause to a superordinate clause. The benefactive postposition is only used in the '(good) for a headache' sense shown in example (4.27 i), never in the 'on behalf of a person' sense. The Spanish loan word *para* is always used to convey the latter meaning, as shown in example (v). Actually, both +piʔt and +góʔ, in the postposition forms, are rarely used in

the corpus. +góʔ appears only in the text about traditional healing practices (t18a1, an interview with Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel) and there are many other ways to express the instrument relation, including the use of +hənaŋ.

(4.27)

(i) deʔ pa kopak toeʔ ʔəytigóʔ
de.ʔ para kopak toy.Eʔ ʔəyti ʔ+gooʔ
DCT2.NOM1 for head hurt.NOM3 3PosN + BNF
'That is for headache.' (ZOH1R36 086)

(ii) yədə mansana ʔəy kohtenšukkə təŋkuyhənaŋ
yədə mansana ʔəy+ koh.ten-šuk-wə təŋ.kuyʔ +hənaŋ
this apple 3E+ punch.PRSV-3PL-COM cut_w_machete.INSTR1 +ACC
'They speared this apple with an iron (an arrow).' (ZOH1R58 033)

(iii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
tih-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke +dəkka+hənaŋ
go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this yankee +NPL +ACC
'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)

(iv) ʔi ney mismo ʔaypiʔt nəmmobam ʔommə
ʔi ney mismo ʔay ʔ+piʔt nəmmo-pa ʔəm+ ʔom-wə
and same same leaf +INSTR be_able_to-INC 2E+ cense-dINC
'And you can cense with the same leaf.' (ZOH1R36 115)

(v) ke ʔiwə ʔəy manak ciʔoba para yədə pən
ke ʔiwə ʔəy+ manak 0 ciʔ.ʔoy-pa para yədə pən
that who 3E+ child 3A give.ANTIP-INC for this man
'Who will give his daughter to this man?' (ZOH1R18 221)

4.8. Adverbs

Adverbs are words that indicate time, direction, or location. (There also are a very few words that express manner, such as ponhi, 'softly; slowly'.) Their semantic function is thus similar to that of the postpositions, but syntactically their behavior is different. These elements are words, not clitics, and are thus not constrained to follow immediately after a noun.

4.8.1. Direction and location adverbs

MIG Zoque has sets of adverbs relating a figure to a ground in a common pattern: above, below, in front of and behind. There are also a few adverbs referring to position on a slope, and three adverbs that are only used to refer to locations in the town of San Miguel.

(4.28)

(i) yədə nu tehiʔawə ʔaŋkəho de ʔəy tək
yədə nuʔ 0 tehi.ʔa-wə ʔaŋkəhoʔ de ʔəy+ tək
this dog 3A there_is.VERS-COM outside of 3E+ house
'This dog is outside of his house.' (ZOH1R58 057)

(ii) bi kuyʔokoš tennə ʔaŋkechoʔ
bi kuy=ʔokoš 0 ten-wə ʔaŋkec+hoʔ
DEF tree=shrub 3A stand-COM on_the_side
'The tree is standing on the side (of the hill). (ZOH1R58 152)

(iii) də nəkpa mašantək ʔaŋtomeʔ
də nək-pa mašan=tək ʔaŋtomeʔ
1A go-INC holy=house near
'I'm going over near the church.' (ZOH1R58 106)

(iv) yədə təm tehiʔawə yədə šuyu hoŋhoʔ
yədə təm 0 tehi.ʔa-wə yədə šuyuʔ hoŋhoʔ
this fruit 3A there_is.VERS1-COM this pot inside
'This fruit is inside this bowl.' (ZOH1R58 051)

(v) ya komo dey həšhóŋ mi nukpa
ya komo dey həšhooŋ mi+ nuk-pa
NEG like now from_behind 3>2+ grab-INC
'Not like now, they grab you from behind.' (ZOH1R24 041)

(vi) gə winnawə́ʔ ʔi nəkpa həšhoʔ
gə 0 win.ʔa-wə+VʔkV ʔi 0 nək-pa həšhoʔ
DCT3 3A FACE.VERS1.COM+REL and 3A go-INC behind
'He who got ahead and he who got behind.' (ZOH1R24 113)

(vii) də nəkpa gaha ʔičíŋ kəhənaŋ
də+ nək-pa gahaʔ ʔičiiŋ kəhənaŋ
1A+ go-INC there little down_there
'I'm going a little way down there.' (ZOH1R58 100)

(viii) yə cənkuy kəhəʔ tehiʔawə tum pelota
yəʔ cən.kuyʔ kəhəʔ tehi.ʔa-wə tum pelota
this sit.INSTR1 below there_is.VERS1-COM one ball
'There's a ball under this chair.' (ZOH1R58 022)

(ix) dəš də ʔaŋpahpa ʔašta kocək kətəkhə
dəš də+ ʔaŋ.pah-pa ʔašta kocək kətəkhə
1Prn 1A+ MOUTH.nail-INC until hill from_under
'I'm going to fence to just under the hills.' (ZOH1R58 005)

(x) mištu yukpoyyə picəmi kuyʔokoš kətəkhə́ŋ
mištu 0 yuk.poy-wə picəm.E kuy=ʔokoš kətəkhəəŋ
cat 3A UP.flee-COM leave.NOM3 tree=shrub from_under
'The cat ran out from under the bush.' (ZOH1R58 074)

(xi) tehiʔawə tum toto caphi pənnám
0 tehi.ʔa-wə tum totoʔ caphi 0 pən-wə+ʔam
3A there_are.VERS1-COM one paper on 3A be_placed-COM+NOW
'There is a book. It is set on top (of the shelf).' (ZOH1R58 013)

(xii) mištu kəmaŋŋəyyə tum kuyʔokošgəši
mištu 0 kə.maŋ.ʔəy-wə tum kuy=ʔokoš+gəši
cat 3A AWAY.*step[4].SUF-COM one tree=shrub+on

ʔi kay caphə tennə
ʔi kay caphəʔ 0 ten-wə
and now on_top 3A stand-COM
'The cat went up in the tree and now it's standing up there.' (ZOH1R58 062)

(xiii) tək ʔəy ʔaŋtuŋ winhoʔ tennə bi mištuʔ
tək ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.tuŋ winhoʔ 0 ten-wə bi mištuʔ
house 3E+ MOUTH.road in_front 3A stand-COM DEF cat
'The cat is standing in front of the door.' (ZOH1R58 065)

(xiv) yakkə ʔəy pəʔ tum kašnaŋ winhóŋ
yakkə ʔəy+ pəʔ-Aʔ tum kaš.naaŋ winhooŋ
VOL 3E+ put-IMPV one step.MEAS from_in_front
'Let him take a step forward.' (ZOH1R24 170)

There are three spatial adverbs that refer only to directions or locations in San Miguel Chimalapa. The river Espíritu Santo runs from north to south, downhill from the Chimalapa wilderness. The road to Santa María Chimalapa begins at the northernmost, uppermost edge of town, and the road to Juchitán begins at the southernmost, lowest edge of town. Uphill towards Santa María can

[4] The * indicates a verb root that never appears independently (without some derivational affixes) in the modern MIG Zoque lexicon. So, for example, you can't say də maŋpa, 'I will step'. Many of these roots, like maŋ-, appear so frequently in derived stems that it is possible to deduce their meaning and provide a gloss, but the * is used to remind us that this gloss is my guess, and not a native speaker translation.

be indicated with kəšənaŋ, and downhill can be indicated by ʔokhonaŋ. These terms only apply within the town - if you want to say 'up into the mountains', you have to use another term. The third term, gahaʔk wintuʔk, 'across the river', refers only to the neighborhood on the other side of the Espíritu Santo river from the main part of town (where the church is).

(4.29)

(i) ʔən tək tehiʔawə kəšənaŋ
ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə kəšənaŋ
1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM up_there
'My house is up there.'
(ZOH1R58 084)

(ii) də nəkpa ʔašta gaha ʔokhonaŋ
də+ nək-pa ʔašta gaha ʔokhonaŋ
1A+ go-INC until there down_there
'I'm going over to the downhill side of town.' (ZOH1R58 110)

(iii) ʔən tək tehiʔawə pahak gahaʔk wintuʔk
ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə pahak gahaʔk wintuʔk
1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM river across
'My house is across the river.' (ZOH1R58 039)

It should be noted that this language provides many means of adding directional and positional information directly to the verb, in the form of directional prefixes, positional suffixes, and compounds including a motion verb. So, for example, although there is no adverb that means 'through', this sense can be conveyed in different ways depending on what is passing or has passed through what. In the following examples, (i) is a description of a drawing of a piece of paper on a spindle; the spike passed through the paper. Example (ii) shows the common formulation for expressing the directional 'through', as in

walking through water or through the town. In example (iii), kuk 'center' appears again, expressing the notion of cutting directly across the street.

(4.30)

(i) yədə toto kohtennə
yədə totoʔ 0 koh.ten-wə
this paper 3A punch.PRSV-COM
'This paper is punched through.' (ZOH1R58 029)

(ii) də tuŋŋapan nəkkə nəy kuk
də+ tuŋ.ʔa-pa ʔən+ nək-wə nəʔ ʔəy+ kuk
1A+ road.VERS1-INC 1E+ go-dINC water 3E+ center
'I'm going to walk through the water.' (ZOH1R58 042)

(iii) ʔən kukkaptukpa tuŋ
ʔən+ kuk=kap=tuk-pa tuŋ
1E+ center=carry=cut-INC road
'I'm going across the street.' (ZOH1R58 044)

4.8.2. Time adverbs

All of the MIG Zoque time words are listed in Appendix B. The language divides the day into five parts: morning, noon, afternoon, evening, and night. There are words for day, month and year. Words for hour and minute are, not surprisingly, borrowed from Spanish. There are also words for next year and last year, and for four days into the future.

There are three time adverbs formed from the deictic roots. The proximal one indicates a time in the immediate future: 'right now', 'soon', 'in a minute'. The neutral and distal time adverbs are both regularly translated with *ahora*, 'now', but their specific reference depends on subtle characteristics of the events in the

narrative. They are much used as discourse markers, and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 14.

The narrative texts in the corpus are generally structured sequentially with respect to time, so I don't see phrases along the lines of "before X, they Y'ed". If this sort of expression is required, the Spanish loan word *antes*, 'before', is used, as shown in example (4.31 vii), below. Example (vi) shows the most commonly used expression for advancing to the next day in a story. This expression appears in virtually every text whose story spans more than one day.

(4.31)

(i) yey də witupa
yə.y də+ witu?-pa
DCT1.TMP 1A+ return-INC
'I'll be right back.' (ZOH1R10 066)

(ii) dəš dey də me?čukkə
dəš de.y də+ me?c-šuk-wə
1Prn DCT2.TMP 1A+ look_for-3PL-COM
'Now they looked for me.' (ZOH1R10 072)

(iii) gay hemhi dəšhá? də həšpəktədampám
ga.y hemhi dəšhá? də+ həš.pək=tə?-tam-pa +?am
DCT3.TMP all we 1A+ BACK.get=want-1/2PL-INC +NOW
'Now he wants to kick out all of us.' (ZOH1R28 054)

(iv) yecpa yəhə winhohá?
0 yec-pa yəhə winho?+haa?
3A arrive-INC here in_front +NPL2
'You arrive here in earlier years.' (ZOH1R24 075)

(v) wanakpa mecaŋ winhoʔ
0 wanak-pa mecaŋ winhoʔ
3A go_down-INC two in_front
'Two went down first.' (ZOH1R24 450)

(vi) hoypiʔt šəŋkehanəmmə
hoypiʔt 0 səŋ=keh-Anəm-wə
next_day 3A fiesta=appear-INDEF-COM
'The next day dawned.' (ZOH1R10 143)

(vii) ʔentonse bi matumu de tuwaŋ hama ʔantes
ʔentonse bi matumu de tuwaŋ hama ʔantes
then DEF mayordomo of three day before

ʔəy nukcəyšukpa
ʔəy+ nuk=cəy-šuk-pa
3E+ grab=get_stuck-3PL-INC
'Then the mayordomos, three days before, they have sex.' (ZOH1R22 006)

4.9. Intensifiers

There are three intensifiers in MIG Zoque: wenu (we**:**n), bayun (ban) and hakke (hak). These are frequently shortened to the forms given in parentheses. They all mean the same thing - 'very; a lot'. All three intensifiers can modify either verbs or adjectives. The corpus shows a preference for hakke with verbs and ban with adjectives; wenu is considerably rarer. The examples in (4.32) were taken from the lexicon or elicited.

(4.32)

(i) ban toppa
bayun 0 top-pa
very 3A be_hot-INC
'It's very hot.'

(iii) bayun toyaʔ
bayun 0 toy.Aʔ
very 3A hurt.NOM2
'very sick'

(ii) hakke ʔaŋheʔkkə
hakke 0 ʔaŋ.heʔk-wə
very 3A be_afraid-COM
'He was very scared.'

(iv) hak hununkuyʔ
hakke 0 hunun.kuyʔ
very tickle.INSTR1
'very ticklish'

(v) wen hayyə
wenu 0 hay-wə
very 3A be_late-COM
'She was very late.'

(vi) wenum wittə
wenu ʔəm+ wit-wə
very 2A+ walk-COM
'You walked a lot.'

(vii) hakke də kuytəŋpa
hakke də+ kuy=təŋ-pa
very 1A+ tree=cut_w_machete-INC
'I'm going to cut a lot of trees.'

(viii) wenu də kuytəŋŋə
wenu də+ kuy=təŋ-wə
very 1A+ tree=cut_w_machete-COM
'I cut a lot of trees.'

4.10. Subordinators

Subordinators mark subordinate clauses, which are discussed in detail in chapter 11. A list of these forms is shown in table 4.7. The relativizers +**V**ʔk (REL) and +hi (LOC_REL) are included in this class even though they are clitics, not words, because (a) they share the function of subordinating clauses, and (b) they alternate with Spanish subordinators (*que*, 'that', and *donde*, 'where', respectively) like the other members of this class.

Zoque	English	Spanish	Gloss code
+V?k	relativizer	relativizador	REL
+hi?	locative relative	relativizador locativo	LOC_REL
?ora	temporal relative	relativizador temporal	TEM_REL
bi?t	if	si	IF
go?	for; in order to	para	PURP
?oŋke	even though	aunque	
porke	because	porque	
kom kwando	as if	como cuando	

Table 4.7. Subordinators

Spanish subordinators have been freely borrowed into MIG Zoque, as is the case in many MesoAmerican languages (Thompson and Longacre, 1985). Three of the most common ones are included in the table. Zoque subordinators appear at the right edge of the verbal complex[5]; Spanish ones, in accordance with the rules of Spanish grammar, appear at the left edge of the subordinate clause. The Zoque forms gó? and bi?**t** appear much less frequently than their Spanish equivalents, *para* and *si*; when they do occur, they are often paralleled by the Spanish term at the beginning of the clause (examples iii and iv).

(4.33)

(i) minpa bi?t lusyo yoštáŋ gahənaŋ
0 min-pa bi?t lusyo yoš-taaŋ ga.hənaŋ
3A come-INC IF lusyo work-HORT DCT3.ACC
'If Lucio comes, let's work with him.' (elicited)

[5] go? and bi?t show a tiny degree of flexibility with respect to position, as shown in examples (4.31 i and ii). See chapter 11 for further discussion of this variability.

(ii) minpa lusyo biʔt yoštáŋ gahənaŋ
0 min-pa lusyo biʔt yoš-taaŋ ga.hənaŋ
3A come-INC lusyo IF work-HORT DCT3.ACC
'If Lucio comes, let's work with him.' (elicited)

(iii) ʔən hayhayyám
ʔən+ hay.hay-wə+ʔam
1E+ write.APPL-COM+NOW

pan nəktampa góʔ ʔən yoštammə
para ʔən+ nək-tam-pa gooʔ ʔən+ yoš-tam-wə
so_that 1E+ go-1/2PL-INC PURP 1E+ work-1/2PL-COM

'I've already written to him so that we can go work.' (ZOH1R10 174)

(iv) si nəkpan ʔištampa biʔt
si nək-pa ʔən+ ʔiš-tam-pa biʔt
if go-INC 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC IF
'If we go see him' (ZOH1R10 357)

ʔora, (*hora*, 'hour') has been partially grammaticalized as a temporal relative, parallel to the locative relative +hi. It thus sometimes appears in the Zoque subordinator position, immediately after the verb complex, as shown in example (4.34 i). It is also used in the expression la ʔora ke (*la hora que*, 'the hour that') in the Spanish subordinator position at the beginning of the clause, as shown in example (ii). The common term for introducing a when clause is kwando (*cuando*, 'when'), is shown in example (iii).

(4.34)

(i) našey yaknikpoyyoba ʔora ʔəy ciwə ʔašta gaháŋ
naše ʔəy+ yak.nik.poy.ʔoy-pa ʔora ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə ʔašta gaháŋ
truth 3E+ CAUS.SURF.flee.ANTIP-INC when 3E+ give-COM until there
'In fact, when he jumped on top of him, he knocked him over there.'
(ZOH1R18 334)

(ii) la ʔora ke tayna nəkkə
la ʔora ke tay.na nək-wə
the hour that be_face_up.STAT-COM

ʔəy nipenwakkə ʔəy mačete
ʔəy+ ni.pen=wak-wə ʔəy+ mačete
3E+ PSE.grasp-*empty-COM 3E+ machete
'When he went over on his back, he pulled out his machete.'(ZOH1R18 077)

(iii) kwando ʔəy nihaminnəyyə ke ga bi papən
kwando ʔəy+ ni.hamin.ʔəy-wə ke gaʔ bi papən
when 3E+ PSE.X.SUF-COM that DCT3 DEF devil
'When he remembered that that was the devil.' (ZOH1R18 085)

4.11. Modals

Modals affect the mood or aspectual interpretation of the clause in which they appear. The complete set is shown in table 4.8. geta and moʔ are used only in questions, and they are discussed further in chapter 12. They appear after the question word, but not necessarily immediately after, as shown in example (4.35 i). The other modals are discussed in chapter 13. bəše and pinək exhibit considerable freedom with respect to position, often appearing at the beginning of the clause, as shown in example (ii).

Form	English	Spanish	Gloss code
bəʔ	"isn't it?"	"¿no?"	DUBIT
bəše	as if; seems like	parece	SEEM
geta	"the hell!"	"¡onde!"	DIS
moʔ	I wonder	será	IRR
pinək	I wish; would that it were	malaya	CONFAC

Table 4.8. Modals

(4.35)

(i) hucéŋ karro moʔ picəmpa hohi
huceeŋ karro moʔ 0 picəm-pa hohi
how_many bus IRR 3A leave-INC tomorrow
'I wonder how many buses will leave tomorrow?' (elicited)

(ii) ke malay pinək ʔən ʔaŋnittampa hemhi ney təkhoʔ
ke malay pinək ʔən+ ʔaŋnit-tam-pa hemhi ney tək +hoʔ
that i_wish CONFAC 1E+ have-1/2PL-INC all IERG house+LOC2
'That hopefully we'd have everything in our house.' (ZOH1R13 090)

4.12. Discourse markers

This class contains the words that are often labelled *particles* in other grammars. Since I agree with Zwicky (1985) that the term particle is of no analytical value, and since I find these little words to appear as structuring elements in texts, I believe it is more useful to group them together in this super-syntactic category.

Conversation words, such as həʔ, 'yes', and nəʔtti, 'no', belong in this class (4.36 i). Words that indicate summation or reflection on a preceding

passage, like piceŋhoʔ, 'therefore', and naše, 'truth', are also included (ii). The deictic time words dey, 'now', and kay, 'then' are commonly used to structure narratives, as are some related expressions like de gahi, 'from there', shown in (iii). There are also several Spanish imports in the set of discourse markers, such as bweno (*bueno*, 'good; ok'), pwes, (pues, 'well), and ʔentonses (*entonces*, 'then') (iv).

(4.36)

(i) nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehin tuhkuyʔ
nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehi ʔən+ tuh.kuyʔ
no lieutenant 1Prn there_is 1E+ shoot.INSTR1
'"No, lieutenant, I have my weapon.' (ZOH1R11 057)

(ii) piceŋho dəšháʔ məhmə kaštigo ʔən pəʔttampa
piceŋhoʔ dəšháʔ məhmə kaštigo ʔən+ pəʔt-tam-pa
thus we a_lot grief 1E+ pass-1/2PL-INC
'That's why we have so much grief.' (ZOH1R13 015)

(iii) de gahi nəmpa benigno yəhištáʔ wanaktáŋ
de ga.hiʔ 0 nəm-pa benigno yə.hiʔ +štaaʔ wanak-taaŋ
from DCT3.LOC1 3A say-INC benigno DCT1.LOC1 +ONLY go_down-HORT
'Then Benigno says, "Let's get down right here."' (ZOH1R10 272)

(iv) bweno də nəktammə
bweno də+ nək-tam-wə
ok 1A+ go-1/2PL-COM
'OK, we went.' (ZOH1R11 076)

Chapter 5: Inflectional Morphology

Obligatory inflection consists of a person agreement marker (5.1) and a mood or aspect suffix (5.2). Optional inflectional morphology consists of reciprocals (5.3), reflexives (5.4), negation (5.5), and marking of verbs as dependent in auxiliary constructions (5.6).

5.1. Person agreement markers

Table 5.1 shows the set of person agreement markers. There are three person categories in common use in the modern language: first, second, and third. Historically, there were two first person categories: exclusive (X), which referred to the speaker and hearer, but not everyone present, and inclusive (I), which included to all persons present. The markers for these categories are included in the table, but they occur very rarely in the corpus and were never offered in elicitation sessions.

MIG Zoque, like the other MZ languages, is ergative: subjects of intransitive verbs (S) and objects of transitive verbs (O) are marked with Absolutive case, while subjects of transitive verbs (A) and possessors of nouns are marked with Ergative case (Dixon, 1994). This is superficially a mixed system. The first and third person markers are prototypically ergative, with identity of forms for S and O and distinct forms for A. The second person markers show an accusative pattern: S and A are the same, while there are various

ways to mark O, depending on the person of the agent. The merging of second person forms is a relatively recent innovation in MIG Zoque (Kaufman, p.c.).

	Absolutive (intransitive subject)	**Absolutive (transitive object)**	**Ergative (transitive subject; also possessive)**
1s	də	də 3>1	ʔən (n)
2s	ʔəm (m)	miš 2>1 miš 1>2 miš+ʔən 1>2 mi 3>2	ʔəm (m)
3s	0	0	ʔəy (y)
1p	də	də	ʔən (n)
2p	ʔəm (m)	miš X>2	ʔəm (m)
3p	0	0	ʔəy (y)
X			dən tən
I			ney
RCP			ney

Table 5.1. Pronouns and person agreement markers.

In the second column - Absolutive (transitive object) - the first and second person forms are followed by an indication of which grammatical person is acting on the object. For example, if a third person agent is acting on a second person patient, the agreement marker is mi (3>2). If a first or second person agent is acting on a second or first person patient, respectively, the agreement marker will

be miš (1>2; 2>1). A more detailed discussion of agreement marking is given in chapter 6. Examples that clarify this compact notation are given in the paradigms in examples 5.1 and 5.2.

(5.1) Ergative paradigm

ʔən tukkə	'I cut it'
ʔəm tukkə	'you cut it'
ʔəy tukkə	'he/she cut it'
ʔən tuktammə	'we cut it'
ʔəm tuktammə	'y'all cut it'
ʔəy tukšukkə	'they cut it'
miš təŋŋə	'I cut you' or 'you cut me'
miš təŋtammə	'you cut us' or 'we cut you'
də təŋtammə	'he/she cut us'
mi təŋŋə	'he/she cut you'
mi təŋtammə	'he/she cut y'all'

(5.2) Absolutive paradigm

də picəmpa	'I arrive'
ʔəm picəmpa	'you arrive'
picəmpa	'he/she arrives'
də picəmdammə	'we arrive'
ʔəm picəmtammə	'y'all arrived'
picəmšukkə gadəkkay	'they arrived'

All of the agreement markers are clitics, in that they belong morphophonologically to the preceding word. The three glottal stop initial

markers, ʔən, ʔəm and ʔəy provide the clearest evidence for this classification. They occur in two forms: unreduced, as shown in the paradigms above, and reduced. The reduced forms are shown in parentheses in the table. The unreduced forms appear at the beginning of an utterance and in emphatic or slower sections of a narrative. Since there's no preceding word in these cases, there is nothing for the clitic to lean against, and thus no preceding form to merge with phonologically.

The reduced forms are clearly clitics, satisfying most of the tests for clitic-hood discussed in Zwicky (1985) and in Zwicky and Pullum (1983). They "exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts" (Zwicky and Pullum, 1983:503); indeed, they attach to whatever element is to the left of the verb complex. All MIG Zoque clitics lean to the left, clearly evidenced by pauses of some length between the host+clitic and the rest of the verbal complex in some of the texts. Person agreement clitics appear in the corpus attached to Zoque negatives, the volitive yakkə, auxiliary verbs, and Spanish function words like *para, que* and *si*.

(5.4)

(i) yay yakkašukkə
ya ʔəy+ yak.kaʔ-šuk-wə
NEG 3E+ CAUS.die-3PL-COM
'They didn't kill it.' (ZOH1R12 051)

(ii) ʔum ʔukkə
ʔu ʔəm+ ʔuk-wə
nIMPV 2A+ drink-nIMPV
'Don't drink it.' (ZOH1R12 115)

(iii) nyay tannə
ni **ya** ʔəy+ tan-wə
ni NEG 3E+ complete-COM
'He didn't kill it either.' (ZOH1R11 049)

(iv) yakkəy kəššukə
yakkə ʔəy+ kəš-šuk-Aʔ
VOL 3E+ eat-3PL-iOPT
'So they could eat.' (ZOH1R12 064)

(v) sim yeʔcmušpa
si ʔəm+ yeʔc=muš-pa
if 2E+ arrive=know-INC
'if you manage to get there' (ZOH1R12 162)

(vi) hemhi de lo kem təpa
hemhiʔ de lo ke ʔəm+ təʔ-pa
all of it that 2E+ want-INC
'everything that you want' (ZOH1R12 110)

(vii) pəkə yəʔ pam refresko
pək-əʔ yəʔ para ʔəm+ refresko
grasp-IMPV this for 2E+ soda
'Take this for your soda.' (ZOH1R11 093)

(viii) ʔən cəktamməsuch čik hakalháʔ
ʔən+ cək-tam-wə ʔən+ chik hakal+haaʔ
1E+ do-1/2Pl-COM 1E+ small shelter+EACH
'We each built our own little shelter.' (ZOH1R7 011)

The remainder of the Zwicky and Pullum criteria for distinguishing clitics from affixes are also met. There are no gaps in the set of clitics: all persons are represented. There are no morphophonological idiosyncrasies in the set, since the alternations are dependent on context (whether the host ends in a vowel or a

deletable glottal stop) and on register (reduced forms in rapid or casual speech; full forms in careful speech). There are clearly no semantic idiosyncracies.

5.1.2. Plural marking

The plural suffix for a first or second person argument is -tam (1/2PL). The plural suffix for a third person argument is -šuk (3PL). These suffixes may actually be co-referenced with any core argument (see section 6.2.3 for further discussion). Number agreement between the verb and an overt nominal argument is not obligatory in MIG Zoque, where the number of a given argument is often allowed to be vague or inferred from the discourse context.

(5.5)

(i) hucéŋ hama də haytampa
huceeŋ hama də+ hay-tam-pa
how_many day 1A+ tarry-1/2PL-INC
'How many days are we going to stay?' (ZOH1R10 055)

(ii) yeʔčukkə helasyo kamilo ʔi benigno
0 yeʔc-šuk-wə helasyo kamilo ʔi benigno
3A arrive-3PL-COM gelasio camilo and benigno
'Gelasio, Camilo, and Benigno arrived.' (ZOH1R10 015)

5.2. Aspect and mood

The following table summarizes the relations among negative markers and the mood and aspect suffixes. The astute reader will notice a plethora of -wə's. It is not clear whether these all derived from same morpheme (Kaufman, p.c.); they are split in this analysis to clarify their various functions.

Detailed discussion of the meanings and uses of MIG Zoque moods and aspects is given in chapter 13.

Negator	Aspect/Mood	Suffix	Gloss code
---	completive	-wə	COM
---	incompletive	-pa	INC
---	imperative	-Aʔ	IMPV
	exhortative	-taaŋ	HORT
yakkə	volitive	-Aʔ -wə	cOPT iOPT
ya	completive	-wə	nCOM
ya	incompletive	-A	nINC
ʔu	imperative	-wə	nIMPV
---	dependent incompletive	-wə	dINC
---	dependent completive	-E	dCOM

Table 5.2. Negation and inflection.

5.2.1. Completive aspect

The completive suffix is -wə. Wonderly's definition of this term is "punctiliar or completed action, usually but not always in past time" (Wonderly, 1951: 155). This suffix is nearly always translated with the Spanish preterite tense in the corpus, which specifically indicates a completed action in the past.

(5.6)

(i) də nəktammə
də nək-tam-wə
1A go-1/2Pl-COM
'We left.' (ZOH1R10 194)

(ii) yəʔ dəššən ʔiššáʔ gagə ʔamintə
yəʔ dəš ʔən+ ʔiš-wə+Vʔkgagəʔamintə
this 1Prn 1E+ see-COM+REL that year

kwandu tihhə rebolusyón
kwandu 0 tih-wə rebolusyón
when 3A go&return[1]-COM revolution
'This is what I saw that year when there was a revolution.' (ZOH1R24 001-2)

5.2.2. Incompletive aspect

The incompletive suffix is -pa. Wonderly defines the incompletive as "action not yet completed or non-punctiliar action, usually but not always in present or future time" (Wonderly, 1951:155). The progressive reading is the most common in the corpus. Auxiliary constructions and certain verb compounds are more commonly used to express future tense (chapter 8).

[1] The root tih- is used to form the past tense of an existential predicate (section 6.6).

(5.7)

(i) ʔəy ʔammapa
ʔəy+ ʔamma-pa
1E+ see-INC
'She sees it.'

(ii) miššən təpa
miš ʔən+ tə-pa
2Prn 1E+ love-INC
'I love you.'

5.2.3. Imperative mood

The imperative suffix is -aʔ/-əʔ, underlyingly -əʔ, glossed as -Aʔ. The alternation is due to the harmony rule described in section 3.3.2. It is used to express commands in the conventional fashion. This suffix also appears with the volitive mood (section 5.2.4).

(5.8)

(i) pəkə yəʔ pam refresko
pck-**A**ʔ yəʔ para ʔəm+ refresko
grasp.IMPV this for 2E+ soda
'Take this for your soda.' (ZOH1R11 093)

(ii) miš ceka tum naka de plomo
miš ceʔk-**A**ʔ tum naka de plomo
2Prn ask.IMPV one skin of lead
'Ask for a skinful of lead.' (ZOH1R12 345)

(iii) minəm kəššoy ʔombre
min-**A**ʔ ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-wə ʔombre
come-IMPV 2E+ eat.ANTIP-COM man
'Come eat, man!' (ZOH1R12 301)

(iv) miš ciʔ ʔən mačete
miš ciʔ-**A**ʔ ʔən+ mačete
2Prn give.IMPV 1E+ machete
'Give me my machete.' (ZOH1R12 401)

In the last example (iv), we see the complete reduction of the imperative vowel, a not uncommon phenomenon that makes these forms difficult to detect. The last example provides one of the few glimpses of a final glottal stop in a verb root; normally, these are deleted by the following context.

-ʔo is an irregular form of the imperative that appears only with the verb roots nək- 'to go' and min- 'to come'. The underlying form is -ʔoy-aʔ (ANTIP-IMPV), which is reduced to -ʔo by the syllable contraction process discussed in section 3.3.8. I have no explanation for the application of the antipassive suffix to these two intransitive motion verbs.

(5.9)

(i) nəmmən ʔawin ke həʔ nəkko
nəm-wə ʔən+ ʔawinʔ ke həʔ nək-ʔo
say-COM 1E+ brother that yes go-IMPV
'My brother said, "Yes, go."' (ZOH1R10 079)

(ii) nəkkom iššə gaha
nək-ʔo ʔəm+ ʔiš-wə gaha
go-IMPV 2E+ see-dINC there
'Go see over there.' (ZOH1R24 183)

(iii) ʔəy nəmhayyə pwes yakkə minno ʔəy tuhkuy pəkšukkə
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə pwes yakkə min-ʔo ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ pək-šuk-wə
3E+ say.APPL-COM well VOL come-IMPV 3E+ weapon get-3PL-dINC
'He told them, well, they should come get their weapons.'
(ZOH1R24 390)

5.2.4. Volitive

The volitive morpheme yakkə precedes the person agreement markers and is accompanied by the imperative suffix. yakkə is often shortened in context to yak, in which case it can be confused with the causative yak-, except that the causative prefix is rarely in a position to receive even secondary stress, and the first syllable of yakkə always receives stress even when the second syllable is lost.

The volitive is "a designation of the verbal form or mood used in expressing an intention, wish, etc." (Pei and Gaynor, 1954). This form is used in MIG Zoque to express polite or indirect requests, and to express a wish or expectation that something should (possibly soon) happen.

(5.10)

(i) hemhi nəktəpáʔ nəmpa
hemhi 0 nək=təʔ-pa+VʔkVʔk 0 nəm-pa
all 3A go=want-INC+REL 3A say-INC

yakkə ʔəy pəʔ tum kašnáŋ winhóŋ
yakkə ʔəy+ pəʔ-Aʔ tum kaš.naaŋ winhooŋ
VOL 3E+ put-IMPV one step.MEAS in_front
'All those who want to go, he says, let them take a step forward.'
(ZOH1R24 169-70)

(ii) yakkəy nipə ʔən yuhkuy ʔəy ʔacihənaŋ
yakkə ʔəy+ nip-Aʔ ʔən+ yuh.kuyʔ ʔəy+ ʔaci +hənaŋ
VOL 3E+ sow-IMPV 1E+ clear.INSTR1 3E+ uncle +ACC
'that he should sow my cornfield with his uncle' (ZOH1R10 092)

(iii) ʔentonses ʔištuktamə yakkə yeca
ʔentonses ʔiš=tuk-tam-Aʔ yakkə 0 yeʔc-Aʔ
then see=finish-1/2PL-IMPV VOL 3A arrive-IMPV

'Then let's wait until it comes.' (ZOH1R10 241)

5.2.5. Exhortative

The exhortative mood is a first-person plural imperative: "Let's do it!". The underlying form of the suffix is **-**taaŋ. The two vowels contract (section 3.3.8), so the suffix is typically stressed. There is also an irregular form **-**i that appears only with the verb nək- 'to go', as shown in the last two examples.

(5.11)

(i) nəktáŋ kəššodáŋ
nək-taaŋ kəš.ʔoy-taaŋ
go-HORT eat.ANTIP-HORT
'Let's go eat!' (ZOH1R10 178)

(ii) camtáŋ ney ʔaŋpən
cam-taaŋ ney ʔaŋ=pən
converse-HORT IE MOUTH=man
'Let's speak our language.' (ZOH1R57 005)

(iii) nəki ʔištáŋ bi karro
nək-i ʔiš-taaŋ bi karro
go-IMPV see-HORT DEF bus
'Let's go see the bus.' (ZOH1R10 219)

(iv) nəmmə benigno wəhə nəki
nəm-wə benigno wəhə nək-i
say-COM benigno good go-IMPV
'Benigno said, "OK, let's go."' (ZOH1R10 192)

5.3. Reciprocal

The reciprocal is used when two actors are mutually acting on one another. The pronoun ney appears instead of the usual agreement marker and is accompanied by the reciprocal suffix. There are a few cases such as that shown in example (5.12 ii) in which the first person agreement marker is used rather than ney. Since there are only a few such cases, I can't say whether they are a variant form or simply errors.

(5.12)

(i) ney meʔkšukəwə
ney meʔkš-šuk-**A**-wə
RCP hug-3Pl-RCP-COM
'They hugged each other.' (lexicon)

(ii) yəhə yə kumkuyho san diunisyu də ʔištuktamapa
yəhə yəʔ kumkuy+hoʔ san diunisyu də+ ʔiš=tuk-tam-**A**-pa
this DCT1 town +LOC2 san dionisio 1A+ see=finish-1/2PL-RCP-INC
'Here in this town we'll wait for each other.' (ZOH1R24 061)

(iii) ney cišukəpa
ney ciʔ-šuk-**A**-pa
RCP give-3PL-RCP-INC
'They were hitting each other.' (ZOH1R18 062)

5.4. Reflexive

In reflexive constructions, the actor is acting on him or herself. The ergative agreement marker in the appropriate person marks the verb and is then repeated after the verbal word as the possessor of win, the all-person reflexive marker.

(5.13)

(i) ʔəy komacpay win
ʔəy+ ko.mac-pa ʔəy+ win
3E+ OTHR.massage-INC 3E+ REFL
'One cleanses oneself?' (ZOH1R36 083)

(ii) ʔaŋcahi ʔəm monpa ʔəm win
ʔaŋcahi ʔəm+ mon-pa ʔəm+ win
evening 2E+ wrap-INC 2E+ REFL
'In the evening you wrap yourself up.' (ZOH1R36 075)

(iii) mukkə ʔəy golpyacəkkəy win
muk-wə ʔəy+ golpya=cək-wə ʔəy+ win
fall-COM 3E+ hit=DO-COM 3E+ REFL
'He falls and he hurts himself.' (ZOH1R36 217)

5.5. Negation

There are two morphemes expressing negation in MIG Zoque, ya and ʔu. In addition to these two, the Spanish contrastive negative *ni* 'neither' is regularly used in Zoque discourse.

5.5.1. ya

This negative morpheme appears with declarative and interrogative verb phrases and with noun phrases. The suffix used for negative sentences with completive aspect is **-**wə; for incompletive aspect the suffix is **-A (-**ə/-a**)**.

(5.14)

(i) ya nəmmoy minnə ni kamilo
ya nəm-ʔoy-a ʔəy+ min-wə ni kamilo
NEG be_able-ANTIP-nINC 3E+ come-dINC nor camilo
'Camilo can't come either.' (ZOH1R10 006)

(ii) ʔi mišháʔ yam ʔokcəkkədamə ʔaŋkóʔ
ʔi miš+haaʔ ya ʔəm+ ʔok.cək.ʔəy-tam-**A** ʔaŋkooʔ
and 2Prn+NPL2 NEG 2E+ DOWN.do.SUF-1/2PL-nINC well
'And you, well, don't you have time?' (ZOH1R10 032)

(iii) yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš
ya ʔəy+ kəš=šuk-šuk-wə bi šiš
NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-nCOM DEF meat
'They didn't finish eating the meat' (ZOH1R12 077)

ya also appears with noun phrases, yielding the negation of an existential predicate:

(5.15)

(i) ga? bi mas ?enkantadá? ya bi ?a:prey
ga? bi mas ?enkantada+V?k ya bi ?apu=rey
DCT3 DEF more enchanted+REL NEG DEF old=king
'She is the most enchanted, not the old king.' (ZOH1R12 308)

(ii) dəš bi də yošpá? ya miš
dəš bi də+ yoš-pa+V?k ya miš
1Prn DEF 1A+ work-INC+REL NEG 2Prn
'I'm the one that will work, not you.' (ZOH1R12 259)

(ii) porke naše de? ya tummaŋhá?
porke naše de? ya tummaŋ+haa?
because truth DCT2 NEG equal +NPL2
'Because the fact is we're not all equal.' (ZOH1R28 117)

5.5.2. ?u

?u is used to negate imperative expressions. It appears before the agreement markers and is accompanied by the negative imperative suffix -wə.

(5.16)

(i) ?un kinkadammə
?u ?ən+ kinka?-tam-wə
NEGimpv 1E+ get_mad-1/2PL-nIMPV
'Let's not get mad at each other.' (ZOH1R28 015)

(ii) ?u ney poycaktamawə
?u ney poy=cak-tam-A-wə
NEGimpv RCP flee=leave-1/2PL-RCP-nIMPV
'Let's not leave each other.' (ZOH1R28 016)

(iii) gəʔ frenu ʔum huppə
gəʔ frenu ʔu ʔəm+ hup-wə
DEM rein NEGimpv 2A+ pull-nIMPV
'Don't pull on those reins.' (ZOH1R12 348)

(iv) ʔumiš meʔkšə ʔumiš šukə
ʔu miš+ meʔkš-wə ʔu miš+ šuk-wə
NEGimpv 2>1+ hug-nIMPV NEGimpv 2>1+ kiss-nIMPV
'Don't hug me and don't kiss me.' (ZOH1R12 663-4)

5.5.3. Spanish negatives

The Spanish function word *ni* 'neither' appears in many places in the corpus. There is no precisely corresponding Zoque word, since the negative ya doesn't carry the specifically contrastive sense of *ni*. The Spanish negative *no* appears quite rarely, and perhaps examples such as the one shown below are best regarded as simple speech errors.

(5.17)
(i) nyay tuhšukkə
ni ya ʔəy+ tuh-šuk-wə
nor NEG 3E+ throw-3PL-COM
'They didn't hit it either.' (ZOH1R11 039)

(ii) noy šomšukkə yakku wan
no ʔəy+ šom-šuk-wə yakku wan
no 3E+ jail-3PL-COM poor Juan
'They didn't jail poor Juan.' (ZOH1R12 489)

5.6. Marking of dependent verbs in auxiliary verb constructions

The second verb in an auxiliary + verb construction is referred to as the dependent verb. In these constructions, the auxiliary appears first, inflected for aspect but not preceded by the expected person agreement markers. These appear between the auxiliary and the dependent verb, which is then marked with **-**wə, (dINC) for the incompletive, or with **-E** (dCOM) for the completive. The dependent incompletive suffix is also used with the imperative, volitive, and exhortative moods. Dependent verb constructions are discussed further in chapter 8.

(5.18)

(i) piceŋho dey minnə miš ʔištame
piceŋhoʔ dey min-wə miš+ ʔiš-tam-**E**
thus now come-COM 2>1+ see-dCOM
'That's why we came to see you now.' (ZOH1R10 031)

(ii) nəkkəy ciwi
nək-wə ʔəy+ ciŋ-**E**
go-COM 3E+ bathe-dCOM
'He went to bathe.' (ZOH1R10 282)

(iii) nəkpay nəcnukkə
nək-pa ʔəy+ nəc=nuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ armadillo=grab-dINC
'He's going to grab an armadillo.' (ZOH1R3 007)

(iv) ʔi tigó ya nəki ʔən məmeʔctammə
ʔi ti+gooʔ ya nək-i ʔən+ məʔ=meʔc-tam-wə
and what+BNF NEG go-IMPV 1E+ wife=look_for-1/2PL-dINC
'And why don't we go search for wives.' (ZOH1R12 014)

Chapter 6: The basic clause

In this chapter, I will discuss the structure of simple declarative clauses. The clause type that occurs most frequently in MIG Zoque narratives is a single verbal complex with no noun phrases. Core arguments are cross-referenced on the verb and thus do not need to be explicitly mentioned in every utterance. This is illustrated in the example below, in which the hero of the story, Román, is mentioned in the first sentence, but not referenced by any noun phrase or pronoun in the second two.

(6.1)

ʔentonses rromán tuŋpəkkə. nəkwə. naše yeʔccə gahi.
ʔentonses rromán tuŋ=pək-wə **0** nək-wə naše **0** yeʔc-wə gahi.
then román road=grab-COM 3A go-COM truth 3A arrive-COM there
'Then Román took to the road. He went. In fact, he arrived there.'
(ZOH1R18 044-6)

Although most of the data samples presented in this chapter will include noun phrases referencing the core arguments for clarity of exposition, it should be borne in mind that these could be omitted without loss of grammaticality or coherence, given an appropriate context.

Section 6.1. describes the set of possible core arguments allowed by verbs[1] in MIG Zoque and shows how core NPs are distinguished from non-core NPs. Section 6.2 describes the agreement system, including the mapping of

[1] In this chapter, I use the term *verb* to denote both simple verb roots and verb stems, which might include derivational affixes, compounded verb roots, and/or an incorporated noun. In order to talk about arguments and agreements, I need to be able to refer to a nearly complete verb complex, that includes everything except the agreement markers and inflectional affixes.

pronominal agreement markers to arguments and possible referents of the plural suffixes. This section includes a description of inverse alignment in MIG Zoque. In section 6.3, I present the valency-changing suffixes (causative, applicative, antipassive, passive, and impersonal) and discuss their effects on the argument structure of the clause. There is additional discussion of inverse clauses in the section on the applicative suffix. Section 6.4. describes the basic facts about word order in MIG Zoque; discussion of variation in word order for narrative purposes is continued in chapter 14. Section 6.5. describes predicate clauses and section 6.7. describes clauses using the MIG Zoque existential terms, tehi-, 'there are', and nənti, 'there aren't'.

6.1. The arguments of a verb

The pronominal agreement markers indicate the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs and the objects of transitive verbs. Other core arguments may be referenced by a plural suffix or implied by the causative or applicative affixes. (The details of these cases are discussed below). Noun phrases that are cross-referenced by these verbal elements are unmarked in MIG Zoque. There are no morphological cases or adpositions that distinguish the roles of core NP arguments, nor are they constrained to appear in specific positions with respect to the verb. There is a possible total of four core arguments: actor, undergoer, recipient (or benefactor or location - the third argument), and causer.

Every verb will specify at least one of the macroroles *actor* and *undergoer* (defined in chapter 2). Both will be specified by a transitive verb; either may be

the single argument of an intransitive verb. In general, actors in MIG Zoque clauses may be humans, animals, or other quasi-animate entities like the wind or the river. Only a few of the semantic roles subsumed under the macrorole 'actor', as defined by RRG (Van Valin and La Polla, 1997:140-141) are actually allowed as subjects of MIG Zoque clauses: agent, experiencer, recipient, and force (if taken to mean natural force, like the river). Instruments and sources are not allowed as subjects.

(6.2) examples of actors

(i) agent - human
ʔən cepan pici
ʔən+ ceʔ-pa ʔən+ pic.E
1E+ wash-INC 1E+ put_corn_in_lime.NOM3
'I'll wash my corn.' (ZOH1R53 004)

(ii) experiencer - see
nəkpan ʔiššə ʔən hatoŋ ʔən mama
0 nək-pa ʔən+ ʔiš-wə ʔən+ hatoŋ ʔən+ mama
3A go-INC 1E+ see-COM 1E+ father 1E+ mother
'I'm going to see my father and my mother.' (ZOH1R18 254)

(iii) experiencer - cognitive
den muštampa ke hehpa
dey ʔən+ muš-tam-pa ke 0 heh-pa
now 1E+ know-1/2PL-INC that 3A live-INC
'Now we know that he's alive.' (ZOH1R18 367)

(iv) recipient
ʔən pəkcoŋŋə tum totoʔ
ʔən+ pək=coŋ-wə tum totoʔ
1E+ get=join-COM one paper
'I received a letter.' (ZOH1R24 060)

(v) force
də həʔtnəkpa
də+ həʔt=nək-pa
1A+ flood_river=go-INC
'The river is carrying me off.'
(lexicon)

(vi) actor (intransitive verb)
də nəkpa molinu
də+ nək-pa molinu
1A+ go-INC mill
'I'll go to the corn-grinder.' (ZOH1R53 005)

Undergoers may be patients or themes. There are very few examples of clauses whose verbs have non-animate subjects in the texts, although the lexicon contains many intransitive verb roots whose subjects must be inanimate entities, such as puc-, 'rot'. Recipients are not undergoers in MIG Zoque, rather they map to the third argument, discussed below. There are no examples of sources as unmarked arguments.

(6.3) examples of undergoers
(i) patient
ʔəy poŋpa gay nippam bi ʔapiʔ
ʔəy+ poŋ-pa gay ʔəy+ nip-pa+ʔam bi ʔapiʔ
3E+ burn-INC then 3E+ sow-INC+NOW DEF chayote
'He burns it (the field) then, now he sows the chayote.' (ZOH1R53 015)

(ii) theme
ʔən pədampa šuyuhoʔ bi šiš
ʔən+ pəʔ-tam-pa šuyuʔ+hoʔ bi šiš
1E+ put-1/2PL-INC pot+LOC2 DEF meat
'We put the meat in the pot.' (ZOH1R29 080)

(iii) location
ʔən cedampa bi šuyuʔ
ʔən+ ceʔ-tam-pa bi šuyuʔ
1E+ wash-1/2PL-INC DEF pot
'We'll wash it (the meat) in the pot.' (ZOH1R29 078)

(iv) benefactor
dəššən manak dəkka ʔən ʔištukpa
dəš ʔən+ manak+**d**əkkay ʔən+ ʔiš=tuk-pa
1Prn 1E+ child+NPL 1E+ see=finish-INC
'I'll wait for my children' (ZOH1R53 026)

(v) patient, subject of intransitive
kapa de šiki bi sato
0 kaʔ-pa de šik.E bi sato
3A die-INC of laugh.NOM3 DEF satornino
'Sato is dying of laughter.' (ZOH1R25 130)

(vi) patient, subject of intransitive
bi tren hapneyyə
bi tren hap.ney-wə
DEF train be_face_down.ASSUM1-COM
'The train was turned over.' (ZOH1R25 139)

(vii) patient, subject of intransitive
hoypiʔt šəŋkehanəmmə
hoypiʔt 0 šəŋ=keh.Anəm-wə
next_day 3A fiesta=appear.INDEF-COM
'The next day dawned.' (ZOH1R10 143)

It has been noted that the single argument of an intransitive verb may be either an actor or an undergoer, and that there is no formal way to distinguish unaccusative intransitive verb roots from unergative ones in MIG Zoque. So, there are many verb roots and stems for which it is not possible to determine if the sole argument is an actor or an undergoer.

(6.4)

(i) bi pən tencəyyə
bi pən 0 ten=cəy-wə
DEF man 3A stand=get_stuck-COM
'The man stood still.' (ZOH1R27 027)

(ii) həyyokmaŋŋə
0 həy=ʔokmaŋ-wə
3A cry=begin-COM
'He began to cry.' (ZOH1R12 179)

Locations are rather a special case in MIG Zoque. They do appear in clauses unmarked by a locative postposition or adverb, particularly when the NP is a proper noun. It isn't reasonable to include location in the undergoer macrorole, however, because there is always a patient or theme at least implied in clauses that include an unmarked locative NP. The postposition that would be used for these NPs is +hoʔ, 'in; to'. It's not clear whether it is simply optional or if there's some underlying rule about when to mark a location explicitly and when not to. Place names never appear with the postposition +hoʔ, although they do appear with the other postpositions.

(6.5)

(i) ʔiyaŋháʔ də mintammə yəhi katemako berakrus
ʔiyaŋhaaʔ də+ min-tam-wə yəhiʔ katemako berakrus
who_all 1A+ come-1/2PL-COM here Catemaco Veracruz
'Who all of us came here to Catemaco, Veracruz' (ZOH1R18 002)

(ii) ʔəy ʔukpay ʔukheye montanya
ʔəy+ ʔuk-pa ʔəy+ ʔuk=hey.E montanya
3E+ drink-INC 3E+ drink=stir.NOM3 forest
'He'll drink his pozole in the forest.' (ZOH1R53 010)

(iii) ye?čukkə tum noaho?
0 ye?c-šuk-wə tum noa?+ho?
3A arrive-3PL-COM one canyon+in
'They arrived in a canyon.' (ZOH1R12 025)

(iv) porke tuŋho? picəmpa tum papən
porke tuŋ+ho? 0 picəm-pa tum pa=pən
because road+in 3A leave-INC one wild=man
'Because a devil comes out in the road' (ZOH1R18 031)

(v) ?əy pəkkə ?əy weka?
?əy+ pək-wə ?əy+ weka?
3E+ grab-COM 3E+ horn
'He (a bull) grabbed it (a train) on his horn.' (ZOH1R25 126)

(vi) wekaho? ?əy yukpaccə
weka?+ho? ?əy+ yuk.pac-wə
horn+in 3E+ UP.throw-COM
'He lifted it up on his horn.' (ZOH1R25 127)

MIG Zoque clauses can have a third core argument. Verb roots whose meaning involves some kind of exchange, such as ci?-, 'give', specify a recipient role. The applicative suffix -hay (APPL) adds a recipient, benefactor, or location role. The prefix ko- (SOC) also sometimes adds a benefactor. The causative prefix yak- (CAUS) adds a causee role (since the causer is the actor in the clause). It is possible for a verb stem with both the causative prefix and the applicative suffix to have four core arguments. Although no such examples with transitive verbs occurred in the texts, my consultants assured me that they were perfectly acceptable and understandable. In example (6.6 iv), the agreement

marker miš (2>1) references the second person as the agent (causer), while the first person is the recipient, an argument added by the applicative suffix.

(6.6)

(i) de yoškuyʔ mi cipa ʔən hatoŋ
deʔ yoš.kuyʔ mi+ ciʔ-pa ʔən+ hatoŋ
that work.INSTR1 3>2+ give-INC 1E+ father
'My father gives you that work.' (ZOH1R12 256)

(ii) ʔəy pəhayyə ʔəy caʔ
ʔəy+ pəʔ.hay-wə ʔəy+ caʔ
3E+ put.APPL-COM 3E+ rock
'He put its rock in it (a sling).' (ZOH1R11 062)

(iii) yəʔ pən yan yakyoštamə
yəʔ pən ya ʔən+ yak.yoš-tam-A
this man NEG 1E+ CAUS.work-1/2PL-nINC
'We're not going to make this man work.' (ZOH1R18 207)

(iv) ʔi tigó dey miš yakpəʔthadampa
ʔi ti+gooʔ dey miš+ yak.pəʔt.hay-tam-pa
and what+BNF now 2>1+ CAUS.pass.APPL-1/2PL-INC
'And why do you pass it (a job) to me now?' (ZOH1R10 035)

(v) bi huštiša ʔəy yakciwə bi pən bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ
bi huštiša ʔəy+ yak.ciʔ-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ bi totoʔ
DEF authority 3E+ CAUS.give-COM DEF man DEF woman DEF paper
'The mayor told the man to give the letter to the woman.' (elicited)

(vi) bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy yakcəkhayyə bi yomáʔ tum tək
bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy+ yak.cək.hay-wə bi yomaaʔ tum tək
DEF authority DEF man 3E+ CAUS.make.APPL-COM DEF woman a house
'The mayor told the man to build a house for the woman.' (elicited)

Non-core arguments include the direction, location, and time adverbs (example i, below), and the deictics when composed with one of the locative,

directional or temporal suffixes. Noun phrases filling this sort of role will be marked by postpositions (ii), with the exception of location expressions, discussed above. Other non-core arguments that are marked by postpositions are instruments (iii) and accompaniments (iv).

(6.7)

(i) time adverbial
yəhama byernes də kəščəktampa
yə.hama byernes də+ kəš.E=cək-tam-pa
DCT1.day friday 1A+ eat.NOM3=do-1/2PL-INC
'Today, Friday, we will make food.' (ZOH1R29 065)

(ii) directional NP
də picəmdammə həytihəŋ
də+ picəm-tam-wə həyti+həəŋ
1A+ leave-1/2PL-COM juchitán+DIR1
'We left Juchitán.' (ZOH1R10 248)

(iii) instrument
tum caŋkuypiʔtštáʔ ʔən nukkə
tum caŋkuyʔ+piʔt+štaaʔ ʔən+ nuk-wə
one hand+INSTR+ONLY 1E+ grab-COM
'I grabbed it with just one hand.' (ZOH1R25 187)

(iv) accompaniment
tihhən yoše yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
tih-wə ʔən+ yoš-E yaŋke+dək+hənaŋ
go&return-COM 1E+ work-dCOM gringo+NPL+ACC
'I went to work with the gringos.' (ZOH1R14 003)

Certain Spanish-origin prepositions are also available to Zoque speakers, which allows them to mark arguments that would normally be core (via the applicative suffix, usually) as non-core. We also see the doubling of a Spanish preposition and a Zoque postposition, both meaning essentially the same thing.

This is not as common as the doubling of clause subordinators discussed in chapter 11.

(6.8)

(i) ney tatʔapdəkka ʔəy cakkə para neywin
ney tata=ʔapu+dəkka ʔəy+ cak-wə para neywin
IPrn grandfather=old+NPL 3E+ leave-COM for IPrn
'Our grandfathers left it for us.' (ZOH1R57 006)

(ii) kahi tehiʔawə tuwaŋ platu de kəši
kahiʔ tehi.ʔa-wə tuwaŋ platu de kəš.**E**
there there_are.VERS1-COM three plate of eat.NOM3
'There are three plates of food.' (ZOH1R12 120)

(iii) nəkšukpa para mənəhənaŋ
0 nək-šuk-pa para mənə+hənaŋ
3A go-3PL-INC to santa_maría+DIR1
'They are going to Santa María Chimalapa.' (ZOH1R2 006)

The set of examples given below, using the intransitive verb root ʔotoŋ-, 'to speak', illustrates the options available to the Zoque speaker for manipulating the core argument structure of a verb. In (i), there is just the one argument required by the verb. In (ii), a recipient, or hearer, argument has been added by the applicative suffix. In (iii), the recipient noun phrase is marked as non-core by the accompaniment postposition. Finally, in (iv), the mysterious suffix -ʔəy serves here as a transitivizer, so that the hearer NP is now the object phrase referenced by the verb's agreement markers in the usual fashion.

(6.9)

(i) ʔentonse ʔotoŋŋə kamilo
ʔentonse **0** ʔotoŋ-wə kamilo
then 3A speak-COM camilo
'Then Camilo spoke.' (ZOH1R10 025)

(ii) dəš də ʔotoŋhašukpa
dəš də+ ʔotoŋ.hay-šuk-pa
1Prn 1A+ speak.APPL-3PL-INC
'They will talk to me.' (ZOH1R10 012)

(iii) dəš də ʔotoŋpa ʔawindəkhənaŋ
dəš də+ ʔotoŋ-pa ʔawinʔ+dək+hənaŋ
1Prn 1A+ speak-INC brother+NPL+ACC
'I talk with my brothers.' (ZOH1R56 027)

(iv) ʔən ʔišpəkpáʔk hentedəkka ʔən ʔotoŋŋəyyə
ʔən+ ʔiš=pək-pa+Vʔk hente+dəkka ʔən+ ʔotoŋ.ʔəy-wə
1E+ see=get-INC+REL people+NPL 1E+ speak.SUF-COM
'The people that I know I spoke to.' (ZOH1R10 299)

6.2. Agreement

Dixon (1979, 1994) defines three primitive argument relations: A, the subject of transitive verbs; S, the subject of intransitive verbs; and O, the object of transitive verbs. These terms are useful in describing the MIG Zoque verb agreement system, in which transitive verbs are marked to agree with both subject and object, and intransitive verbs are marked to agree with the subject. In the overview in chapter 2, I characterized this language as ergative. Table 2.1 shows the pronominal agreement markers that cross-reference the A, S, and O relations.

	A	S	O	Possessive	Pronoun
1	ʔən	də	də (3>1) miš (2>1)	ʔən	dəš
2	ʔəm	ʔəm	mi (3>2) miš (1>2)	ʔəm	miš
3	ʔəy	0	0	ʔəy	<deictics>

Table 6.1: Agreement markers

The third person system is prototypically ergative: S and O are the unmarked absolutive case, and A is specially marked as ergative. The first person system is almost as purely ergative, in that A is distinctively marked as ergative and the S and O relations are referenced by the same absolutive marker, except in the case where A references a second person actor who is acting on a first person undergoer. Here the ambiguous morpheme miš is employed. The second person system actually follows the prototypical accusative pattern, marking A and S with the same morpheme and distinguishing O. Ergative markers also indicate the person of the possessor of an NP (examples in 10.7). Absolutive markers also indicate the subject of a predicate noun or adjective (examples in 6.4).

(6.10)
(i) 1>3
nəkpan kumtammə bi čanitu
nək-pa ʔən+ kum-tam-wə bi čanitu
go-INC 1E+ bury-3PL-COM DEF Chanito
'"We're going to bury Chanito."' (ZOH1R27 031)

(ii) 2>3
ʔəm šošpa bi ʔayʔ
ʔəm+ šoš-pa bi ʔayʔ
2E+ cook-INC DEF leaf
'You boil the leaves.' (ZOH1R36 026)

(iii) 3>3
ʔəy pəšukkə tum kahahoʔ
ʔəy+ pəʔ-šuk-wə tum kaha+hoʔ
3E+ put-3PL-COM one box -in
'They put him in a box (a coffin).' (ZOH1R27 020)

(iv) 3>1
yakkə nəkko də kumšukkə
yakkə nək-ʔo də+ kum-šuk-wə
VOL go-IMPV2 1A+ bury-3PL-dINC
'"Let them go bury me."' (ZOH1R27 056)

(v) 3>2
ʔəy nəmhayyə čanitu hu mi pəknəkšukpa
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə čanitu huʔ mi+ pək=nək-šuk-pa
3E+ say.APPL-COM Chanito where 3>2+ get=go-3PL-INC
'He said to Chanito, "Where are they taking you?"' (ZOH1R27 041)

We can see in the transitive constructions shown above that marking of the object is not transparent on the surface. The absolutive third person marker is 0, and thus not evident when any subject acts on a third person object (1>3, 2>3 and 3>3). We might expect to see both markers whenever the object is first or second person. This is exactly what we get when the subject is also a first or second person in MAR Zoque, Chiapas Zoque, and proto-Mixe-Zoque (Kaufman, 1996). But in MIG Zoque we have an innovation, the morpheme miš, which applies to both 1>2 and 2>1 situations.

6.2.1. The ambiguity of miš

miš is potentially ambiguous, and my consultants consistently rephrased my examples using this morpheme in elicitation sessions. They seemed to prefer the 2>1 reading where there was no disambiguating pronoun, but generally preferred to specify the actor argument with either the first or second person pronoun. The marker appears in texts without disambiguating pronouns and caused no conflicts in translation; presumably, the rich context of a narrative resolves the ambiguity completely, while the bare sentences that we worked with in elicitation sessions tended to highlight it.

(6.11)

(i) miš huyhadammə kahcay
miš+ huy.hay-tam-wə kahcay
2>1+ buy.APPL-1/2PL-COM hammock
'Y'all bought us a hammock.' (elicited)

(ii) miš huyhayyə tum kahcay pa dəšhá?
miš+ huy.hay-wə tum kahcay para dəš-haa?
2>1+ buy.APPL-COM one hammock for 1Prn-NPL2
'Y'all bought a hammock for us.' (elicited)

(iii) miššən huyhadammə kahcay
miš+?ən huy.hay-tam-wə kahcay
2Prn+1E buy.APPL-1/2PL-COM hammock
'I bought y'all a hammock.' (elicited)

(iv) * miš huyhadammə kahcay
miš huy.hay-tam-wə kahcay
1>2 buy.APPL-1/2PL-COM hammock (elicited)

(v) dey čanitu ya nəmmo miš ʔanecidammám
dey čanitu ya nəm.ʔoy.E miš+ ʔane=ciʔ-tam-wə+ʔam
now Chanito NEG DO -ANTIP-nINC **1>2+** tortilla give-1/2PL-COM-NOW
'"Now, Chanito, we can't give you tortillas anymore."' (ZOH1R27 007)

(vi) si ya miš ʔanecitədammám
si ya miš+ʔane=ciʔ=təʔ-tam-wə+ʔam
if NEG **2>1+** tortilla=give-want-1/2PL-nINC-NOW

nəkə miš kumtammə
nək-Aʔ miš+kum-tam-wə
go-IMPV **2>1+** bury-1/2PL-dINC
'"If you don't want to give me tortillas now, go bury me."' (ZOH1R27 008)

In example (i), the agreement marker was accepted with the reading that the second person was buying the hammock for the first person, but not with the opposite reading (example iv), which ought to have been possible also. Example (ii), in which the recipient first person is explicitely mentioned and marked with a Spanish preposition (there is no Zoque equivalent for this form), was considered better than example (i). Example (iii) was the only acceptable way of expressing a first person buyer and a second person recipient in elicitation sessions, although example (v) shows clearly that this reading is acceptable given the right context[2]. In example (iii), then, the recipient is not cross-referenced on the verb, except by means of the plural suffix.

[2] This is a story about a man who is so lazy, that when his friends refuse to feed him any longer, he tells them to just go ahead and bury him.

6.2.2. The person hierarchy and inverse alignment

MIG Zoque exhibits a person hierarchy (Silverstein, 1976), in which first and second persons outrank third person entities. (There are no grammatical distinctions among possible sorts of third person entities, as in an animacy hierarchy.) When a higher-ranked agent acts on a lower-ranked patient, or when both agent and patient have equal rank, we have a *direct* role-marking situation. The first three examples in (6.10) illustrate direct role-marking - first or second person agents acting on third person patients, or a third person agent acting on a third person subject. Similarly, the examples in (6.11) show first or second person agents acting on equally-ranked first or second person patients; these are also all examples of direct role-marking.

However, when a lower-ranked agent acts on a higher-ranked patient (6.10 iv-v), we have an *inverse* role-marking situation (Klaiman, 1992). In these situations it is the higher-ranked argument that is encoded on the verb. When a third person agent acts on a first person patient, the verb is marked with the first person absolutive marker də (examples 6.12 i-iii)[3]. When a third person agent acts on a second person patient, the verb is marked with the 3>2 marker mi. Inverse role-marking does not produce any ambiguous constructions, since if the agent in these cases were anything other than a third person entity, a different marker would necessarily be chosen. Inverse role-marking only occurs with

[3] Kaufman (1996) suggests that the third person ergative marker ʔəy+ is absorbed by the preceding vowel, noting that the order of agreement markers is OSV generally in Mixe-Zoquean languages. I'm not entirely convinced of this, since there are many cases of ʔəy+ cliticizing onto a wide variety of preceding phonological contexts in which the final glide is still clearly audible.

transitive (or ditransitive) verbs in the Zoquean languages, never with passives of bivalent verbs or derived intransitives as in Olutec Mixe (Zavala, 2000).

(6.12)

(i) hemhi neywin də salbacəktammə
hemhi neywin də+ salbar=cək-tam-wə
all IPrn **1A**+ save=do-1/2PL-COM
'He saved all of us.' (ZOH1R18 224)

(ii) dəš gadə papən ʔəy sekretu də ciwə
dəš gadə pa=pən ʔəy+ sekretu də+ ciʔ-wə
1Prn that wild=man 3E+ secret **1A**+ give-COM
'That devil gave me his secret.' (ZOH1R18 286)

(iii) də ʔokcamhadammə
də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1A+ DOWN.tell_story.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'He told us a story.' (ZOH1R18 022)

(iv) gay mi wehšukpám
gay mi+ weh-šuk-pa+ʔam
then **3>2**+ call-3PL-INC+NOW
'Then they will call you.' (ZOH1R29 120)

(v) mi cišukpám bweltu
mi+ ciʔ-šuk-pa+ʔam bweltu
3>2+ give-3PL-INC+NOW money
'Now they'll give you the money.' (ZOH1R29 121)

(vi) de yoškuy mi cipan hatoŋ
deʔ yoš.kuyʔ mi+ ciʔ-pa ʔən+ hatoŋ
that work.INSTR1 **3>2**+ give-INC 1E+ father
'My father gave you that work.' (ZOH1R12 256)

6.2.4. Cross-referencing via the plural suffixes

The plural suffixes can refer to any core argument. The choice seems to be related to discourse considerations such as topicality rather than grammatical restrictions. Following are examples of a plural suffix cross-referencing actor (i, ii), undergoer (iii, iv), recipient (v, vi), and causee (vii).

(6.13)

(i) bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ pən yampan ʔaŋceʔkhadammə
bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+VʔkDEF MOUTH.go_up.ANTIP-INC-REL pən yampa ʔən+ ʔaŋceʔk.hay-tam-wə man nPERF 1E+ ask.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'We haven't asked the boss.' (ZOH1R10 625)

(ii) də wehhašukkə
də+ weh.hay-šuk-wə
1A+ shout.APPL-3PL-COM
'They called me.' (ZOH1R25 070)

(iii) ʔəyahóŋ cənpa komo ke ya də ʔišpəktamə
ʔəya+hooŋ 0 cən-pa komo ke ya də+ ʔiš=pək-tam-A
other+DIR4 3A sit-INC how that NEG 1A+ see=get-1/2PL-nINC
'He sits on the other side as if he doesn't know us.' (ZOH1R19 014)

(iv) dəš ʔən manakdəkka ʔən təšukpa hemhi
dəš ʔən+ manak+dəkka ʔən+ təʔ-šuk-pa hemhi
1Prn 1E+ child+NPL 1E+ want-3PL-INC all
'I love all my children.' (ZOH1R56 049)

(v) miš ʔayudcəktamə
miš+ ʔayudar=cək-tam-Aʔ
2>1+ help=make-1/2PL-IMPV
'Help us.' (addressee is one person, Satornino) (ZOH1R25 074)

(vi) ʔən cənkuycišukkə ʔi cənšukkə
ʔən+ cən.kuyʔ=ciʔ-šuk-wə ʔi 0 cən-šuk-wə
1E+ sit.INSTR1=give-3PL-COM and 3A sit-3PL-COM
'I gave them some chairs and they sat down.' (ZOH1R10 023)

(vii) tey miš yakkəšodammám
tey miš+ yak.kəš.ʔoy-tam-wə+ʔam
now 2>1+ CAUS.eat.ANTIP-1/2PL-COM+NOW
'Now you fed us.' (ZOH1R12 072)

6.3. Valency-changing suffixes

There is one valency-changing prefix: the causative yak-. There are four suffixes that affect the argument structure of a verb: the passive -ʔəm, the antipassive -ʔoy, the applicative -hay and the indefinite -**A**nəm.

6.3.1. **Causative** yak

The causative morpheme in this language is the prefix yak. Two morphophonemic alternations occur with this prefix: gemination caused by glottal stop deletion, and the obligatory merging of yak- and the prefix ʔaŋ- to produce yaŋ-.

(6.14)

(i) nəkkəy yakkiššuki
nək-wə ʔəy+ yak.ʔiš-šuk-E
go-COM 3E+ CAUS.see-3PL-dCOM
'They went to show him.' (ZOH1R12 232)

(ii) ʔəy yaŋwakšukkə bi tək
ʔəy+ yak.ʔaŋ.wak-šuk-wə bi tək
3E+ CAUS.MOUTH.*empty-3PL-COM DEF house
'They opened the office.' (ZOH1R24 367)

The causative appears with both intransitive and transitive verb roots. It increasing the valency of the verb by one argument (the Causer). Intransitive verbs become transitive (Causer and Causee).

(6.15)

(i) ʔəy yakcənnə ʔəy wintugəši
ʔəy+ yak.cən-wə ʔəy+ wintuʔ +gəši
3E+ CAUS.sit-COM 3E+ neck +LOC4
'He sat him on his neck.' (the big buzzard) (ZOH1R12 214)

(ii) si yakwituwə ʔo nəʔtti
si ʔəy+ **yak**.wituʔ-wə ʔo nəʔtti
IF 3E+ CAUS.return-COM or no
'If he returned it or not.' (ZOH1R28 081)

(iii) ke yakki ya yakpətə́ʔ
ke yakkiʔ ya ʔəy+ **yak**.pəʔt-Aʔ+VʔkV
that noone NEG 3E+ CAUS.pass-nIMPV+REL
'(the one) that allows no one to pass.' (ZOH1R18 087)

(iv) miš yakkapa
miš yak.kaʔ-pa
2>1 CAUS.die-INC
'You're going to kill me.' (ZOH1R18 094)

Transitive verbs become three-argument verbs (Causer, Causee and Patient). The general meaning is 'Causer orders or allows Causee to Verb Patient.' NPs corresponding to these three roles are not distinguished by case-marking or postpositions, since they are all still core arguments.

(6.16)

(i) sim yaknukpam win
si ʔəm+ yak.nuk-pa ʔəm+ win
IF 2E+ CAUS.grab-INC 2E+ SELF
'If you let them grab you' (ZOH1R15 079)

(ii) minnəy yakcəkšuki
min-wə ʔəy+ yak.cək-šuk-E
come-COM 3E+ CAUS.do-3PL-dCOM
'They came to order it done.' (ZOH1R28 095)

(iii) bi ʔuneʔ nəkpay yakhayšukkə
bi ʔuneʔ nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.hay-šuk-wə
DEF child go-INC 3E+ CAUS.write-3PL-COM
'He goes to make them record the babies (births).' (ZOH1R28 151)

(iv) ʔaber ti yoškuy ʔəy yakcəktəpay kumkuyhoʔ
ʔaber ti yoš.kuyʔ ʔəy+ yak.cək=tə-pa ʔəy+ kum.kuyʔ+hoʔ
lets_see what work.INSTR1 3E CAUS.do=want-INC 3E+ bury.INSTR1+LOC2
'Whatever work he wants to have done in his town.' (ZOH1R28 158)

(v) ʔəy yakhokumpay wittə
ʔəy+ yak.ho.kum-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
3E+ CAUS.INTO.bury-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
'They go around getting them filled in (the streets)'. (ZOH1R28 169)

(vi) ʔəy yakwəhəʔawə bi hente dəkka
ʔəy+ yak.wəhə.ʔa-wə bi hente dəkka
3E+ CAUS.good.VERS1-COM DEF people NPL
'She cured the people.' (ZOH1R32 056)

Incorporated adjectives or nouns may appear inside (to the right of) the causative prefix.

(6.17)

(i) ga biy yakpaha?kwəhpa gə way?
ga bi+?əy yak.paha?k=wəh-pa gə way?
DCT3 DEF+3E CAUS.sweet=smell-INC DEM hair
'That gives a sweet odor to the hair.' (ZOH1R3 034)

(ii) bi kae ?əy yakwəːcəkpa
bi kae ?əy+ yak.wəhə=cək-pa
DEF street 3E CAUS.good=do-INC
'They have the streets cleaned.' (ZOH1R28 168)

(iii) bi huštiša ?əy yaktamnəpəkkə bi pən
bi huštiša ?əy+ yak.tam=nə?=pək-wə bi pən
DEF authority 3E+ CAUS.bitter=water=get-COM DEF man
'The mayor told the man to bring beer.' (elicited)

The causative in MIG Zoque is for the most part quite straightforward. One common usage involves the pairing of the causative with the antipassive. It is easy to understand the function of this pairing in the case of an intransitive verb that has been made transitive by adding the causative; if one then wishes to suppress the object, the antipassive must be used.

(6.18)

(i) minpám yaŋwakkoy yəhama
min-pa ?əm+ yak.?aŋ.wak.?oy-wə yə=hama
come-INC 2E+ CAUS.MOUTH.*empty.ANTIP-COM DCT1=day
'Now you come to open up today.' (ZOH1R28 266)

(ii) naše yakwintentukkoyyə
naše 0 yak.win.ten̲=tuk.?oy-wə
in_fact 3A CAUS.FACE.stand=finish.ANTIP-COM
'In fact, he stopped right in front.' (ZOH1R18 049)

(iii) nəmpa yaknəmmoyyə tuŋhoʔ
0 nəm-pa 0 yak.nəm.ʔoy-wə tuŋ+hoʔ
3A say-INC 3A CAUS.say.ANTIP-COM road+LOC2
'He says he spoke (to him) in the road.' (ZOH1R18 025)

We also find causatives and antipassives in a complex formed with a transitive verb root. Sometimes there is a subtle shift in the meaning of the verb, as in example (6.19 i) where the causative added to the verb kəš- 'to eat' yields an expression meaning 'to feed' (and 'to eat' is regularly rendered with the verb root and the antipassive, since kəš- is a T3 verb root that requires the antipassive in order to appear without an expressed object).

Most commonly, the antipassive is used to suppress the verb root's normal object and then the causative is used to make this objectless form transitive. This highlights the causing of the event, discarding the patient as relatively unimportant.

(6.19)
(i) kahi de cadəkka kom kwando ney ʔiwə yakcəkkoyyə
ga.hiʔ deʔ caʔ+dəkka kom kwando ney ʔiwə 0 yak.cək.ʔoy-wə
there those rock +NPL as when some who 3A CAUS.do.ANTIP-COM
'There are those rocks as if someone made (them).' (ZOH1R15 111)

(ii) kom kwando ney ʔiwə yakkukpəktukkoyyə
kom kwando ney ʔiwə 0 yak.kuk.pək=tuk.ʔoy-wə
as when some who 3A CAUS.center.get=cut.ANTIP-COM
'As if someone cut (it) in half.' (ZOH1R15 118)

(iii) pa nəkpay yakkocoŋŋošukkə
para nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.ko.coŋ.ʔoy-šuk-wə

so_that go-INC 3E+ CAUS.SOC.join.ANTIP-3PL-COM
'So that they could go help.' (ZOH1R24 016)

(iv) yey yakkištukkošukpa yəhəʔ
yəy 0 yak.ʔiš=tuk.ʔoy-šuk-pa yəhəʔ
now 3A CAUS.see=finish.ANTIP-3PL-INC here
'Now they'll wait here.' (ZOH1R24 226)

(v) ʔəy yakkokwittoypáʔ
ʔəy+ yak.ʔok.wit.ʔoy-pa+VʔkV
3E+ CAUS.DOWN.walk.ANTIP-INC+REL
'One who walks around with him.' (ZOH1R24 427)

(vi) bi huštiša kumkuy gaʔ yakpəʔʔoba
bi huštiša kumkuyʔ ga.ʔ ʔəy+ yak.pəʔ-ʔoy-pa
DEF authority town that 3E+ CAUS.put.ANTIP-INC
'The mayor, the town elects him.' (ZOH1R28 121)

(vii) miš yakkəššoyyám dey
miš+ yak.kəš.ʔoy-wə+ʔam dey
2>1+ CAUS.eat.ANTIP-COM.NOW now
'Now you have already fed me.' (ZOH1R12 053)

(viii) nəkpay yakʔayu:dcəkkošukkə
nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.ʔayud=cək.ʔoy-šuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ CAUS.help=do.ANTIP-3PL-dINC
'They'll go to help.' (ZOH1R28 110)

(ix) ʔəy yakciʔotəpa
ʔəy+ yak.ciʔ.ʔoy=təʔ-pa
3E+ CAUS.give.ANTIP=want-INC
'He wanted to hit him.' (ZOH1R18 303)

A stem formed from the causative and a verb root functions as a normal transitive verb form in that it can now be modified with other valency-changing affixes such as the passive or indefinite.

(6.20)

(i) yakcakkəmmə yəhiʔ
0 yak.cak.ʔəm-wə yəhiʔ
3A CAUS.leave.PASS-COM here
'She was told to stay here.' (ZOH1R15 105)

(ii) gahi wakaš yakkanəmpa
gahiʔ wakaš 0 yak.kaʔ.**A**nəm-pa
there cow 3A CAUS.die.INDEF-INC
'There (where) they kill cattle.' (ZOH1R28 177)

6.3.2. **Applicative** hay

The function of the applicative suffix **-**hay is to create an additional core argument, usually a recipient or beneficiary. Remember that NPs corresponding to core arguments in MIG Zoque are not case-marked or otherwise distinguished in any way. The use of the applicative suffix to add a new *core* argument thus contrasts with the use of a postposition (+hənaŋ, ACCOM) or a Spanish preposition (*para*, 'for') to indicate a *non-core* recipient or beneficiary.

(6.21)

(i) də ʔokcamhadammə
də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1A+ DOWN.chat.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'He told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)

(ii) ʔəy pəhayyəy tzaʔ
ʔəy+ pəʔ.hay-wə ʔəy+ tza?
3E+ put.APPL-COM 3E+ rock
'He loaded its rock into it (a bola).' (ZOH1R11 062)

(iii) ʔúltimo yoškuyʔ miš cəkhaba
ʔúltimo yoš.kuyʔ miš+ cək.hay-pa
last work.INSTR1 2>1+ do.APPL-INC
'the last job you'll do for me' (ZOH1R12 392)

(iv) ʔəm cəkhabam win
ʔəm+ cək.hay-pa ʔəm+ win
2E+ do.APPL-INC 2E+ REFL
'You hurt yourself.' (ZOH1R36 101)

(v) ʔum nəmmə miš ke yakki ya mi nəmhayyə
ʔu ʔəm+ nəm-wə miš ke yakkiʔ ya mi+ nəm.hay-wə
NEGimpv 2E+ say-COM 2Prn that nobody NEG 3>2+ say.APPL-COM
'Don't say that nobody told you.' (ZOH1R18 040)

(vi) ʔəy kənəkkephayyəy pohoʔk
ʔəy+ kə.nək=kep.hay-wə ʔəy+ pohoʔk
3E+ AWAY.go=kick.APPL-COM 3E+ egg
'He went and kicked him in the balls.' (ZOH1R18 074)

(vii) miš meʔchadammə
miš+ meʔc.hay-tam-Aʔ
2>1+ find.APPL-1/2PL-IMPV
'Find me one.' (ZOH1R18 215)

(viii) ʔən nəmhayyə dəš benigno
ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə dəš benigno
1E+ say.APPL-COM 1Prn benigno
'I said to Benigno...' (ZOH1R10 050)

(ix) si miš cakhaba hamatin də nəkpa
si miš+ cak.hay-pa hamatin də+ nək-pa
if 2>1+ leave.APPL-INC money 1A+ go-INC
'If you'll leave me some money, I'll go.' (ZOH1R10 121)

(x) tum kaso ʔən pəʔthayyə́ wayay nəhoʔ
tum kaso ʔən+ pəʔt.hay-wə+Vʔkwayaynəʔ+hoʔ
one case 1E+ pass.APPL-COM+REL cold water+LOC2
'a thing that happened to me in Agua Fria.' (ZOH1R7 001)

(xii) minpa də cakhadammə mesaho tum bandeha de həyəʔ
min-pa də+ cak.hay-tam-wə mesa+hoʔ tum bandeha de həyəʔ
come-INC 1A+ leave.APPL-1/2-PL-COM table+LOC2 one tray of flower
'He comes to leave a tray of flowers on the table for us.'(ZOH1R32 008)

(xiii) ʔəy wəːhcəkhaba hoŋho bi toypáʔ
ʔəy+ wəhə=cək.hay-pa hoŋhoʔ bi toy-pa+VʔkDEF be_sick-INC+REL
3E+ good=do.APPL-INC inside
'He cleanses what hurts him inside.' (ZOH1R36 031)

The applicative also induces a phenomenon known as *external possession* (Payne and Barshi, 1999) or *possessor ascension* (Aissen, 1987). Generally, external possession occurs when the undergoer of a clause is possessed by a first or second person and the actor of the clause is a third person. The person hierarchy again comes into play, requiring that the more prominent entity be marked on the verb in preference to the lowly possessed object. So, we get the first person absolutive agreement marker də or the 3>2 marker mi instead of the expected third person ergative marker ʔəy.

In example (6.22 i), the first-person possessor of the shirt outranks the third person agent of the tearing event; hence it is marked with the first person

absolutive marker. Examples (ii - iv) are included to illustrate the limits of this phenomenon. If I tear my own shirt (ii), the first person agent is of equal rank with the first person recipient, and so the agreement marker is first person ergative. (iii) shows that the applicative construction is not obligatory: I can simply say that my shirt was torn, using the passive form of the verb. Oddly, I can also say 'my shirt was torn for me', as in (iv), in which both the applicative and the passive suffixes appear. This is the only circumstance under which two of the valency-changing suffixes can appear together. Another example of this type is shown in (v). Example (vi) shows the limits of the possessor-raising: the shirt belongs to the father that is mine, evidently not sufficiently close to warrant the external possession construction.

(6.22)

(i) də wəthayyən yəkwih
də wət.hay-wə ʔən+ yəkwih
1A tear.APPL-COM 1E+ shirt
'He tore my shirt.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔən wəttən yəkwih
ʔən+ wət-wə ʔən+ yəkwih
1E+ tear-COM 1E+ shirt
'I tore my shirt.' (elicited)

(iii) wəttəmmən yəkwih
0 wət.ʔəm-wə ʔən+ yəkwih
3A tear.PASS-COM 1E+ shirt
'My shirt was torn.' (elicited)

(iv) də wəttəmhayyən yəkwih
də+ wət.ʔəm.hay-wə ʔən+ yəkwih
1A+ tear.PASS.APPL-COM 1E+ shirt
'My shirt was torn.' (elicited)

(v) də cakkəmhayyə tum yoškuyʔ
dəʔ cak.ʔəm.hay-wə tum yoš.kuyʔ
1A+ leave.PASS.APPL-COM one work.INSTR1
'One job remained to me.' (elicited)

(vi) ʔəy wəthayyəy yəkwih ʔən hatoŋ ʔəyti
ʔəyʔ wət.hay-wə ʔəyʔ yəkwih ʔənʔ hatoŋ+ʔəyti
3E+ tear.APPL-COM 3E+ shirt 1E+ father+POSS
'He tore my father's shirt.' (elicited)

(vii) gaha də ʔuchašukkən tareya
gahaʔ dəʔ ʔuc.hay-šuk-wə ʔənʔ tareya
there 1A+ measure.APPL-3PL-COM 1E+ work
'They measured out my work for me there.' (ZOH1R32 026)

(xi) ʔən cehaypan ʔune yote dəkkay
ʔənʔ ceʔ.hay-pa ʔənʔ ʔuneʔ yoteʔ+dəkkay
1E+ wash.APPL-INC 1E+ child clothes+NPL
'I'll wash my children's clothes.' (ZOH1R53 052)

There are some cases in which the argument added by the applicative suffix is opaque. (6.23 i) may mean 'He arrived to or for him, maybe'. There's a clearer usage of this kind shown in (ii). It's possible that the applicative in (iii) is referencing the locative phrase kocək+hoʔ, 'in the hills', along the lines of example (6.22 ii), above. Otherwise, it's quite mysterious: there are no other actors in this particular stretch of text[4].

[4] Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel uses the applicative suffix a lot in this text, which is long interview with him about his healing practices (he is a *curandero*). Perhaps he uses it because everything that he talks about is done on behalf of someone else - the patient he is treating - although he doesn't explicitly mention the patient in every clause.

(6.23)

(i) ga yakku pən bweno neʔ yeʔchayyám ʔummə
ga yakkuʔ pən bweno neʔ **0** yeʔc.hay-wə+ʔam ʔummə
that poor man good also 3A arrive.APPL-COM+NOW maybe
'That poor man, ok, now he's arrived too, maybe.' (ZOH1R24 240-1)

(ii) kwandum yeʔchabám dedə mal
kwandu ʔəm+ yeʔc.hay-pa+ʔam dedə mal
when 2E+ arrive.APPL-INC+NOW that bad
'When that illness is arriving (coming) at you' (ZOH1R36 158)

(iii) kocəkho nəkpan cechayyə bi naka
kocək+hoʔ nək-pa ʔən+ cec.hay-wə bi naka
hills+LOC2 go-INC 1E+ sand.APPL-COM DEF bark
'I'll go scrape the bark in the hills.' (ZOH1R36 037)

6.2.3. Passive ʔəm

In a passive construction the undergoer of a verb becomes the subject and the agent is suppressed. There are no passive constructions that allow the overt expression of an agent, in a postpositional phrase or otherwise. It is really most accurate to say that the passive suffix bleaches all the semantic features from the agent argument: the thing was done, obviously someone did it, but we have no idea who. Typologically, this is the most common kind of passive in the world's languages (Shibatani, 1986). The passive suffix creates an intransitive verb from a transitive one, so the person agreement markers appear in the absolutive case.

I found slight variations in the translation of passive expressions with different consultants. Some preferred an indefinite, but human, agent reading ("someone broke it" or "they broke it"), while others insisted on a perfectly

agentless, middle voice reading ("It got broken, we don't know how.") In either case, there is never an actual agent argument lurking around to be referenced by a subsequent clause, such as a conjoined clause.

(6.24)

(i) ʔən cahcoŋpan toto ʔəy wəttəmməhi
ʔən+ cah=coŋ-pa ʔən+ toto? ʔəy+ wət.ʔəm-wə+hi
1E+ glue=join-INC 1E+ paper 3E+ tear.PASS-COM+LOCREL
'I'm going to glue together my paper where it was torn.' (elicited)

(ii) ti minpay cəkkəmmə rroberta
ti min-pa ʔəy+ cək.ʔəm-wə rroberta
what come-INC 3E+ do.PASS-dINC roberta
'what comes to be done to Roberta.' (ZOH1R15 064)

(iii) hekennəmmə cahin
0 heken.ʔəm-wə cahin
3A coil.PASS-COM snake
'The snake was coiled.' (lexicon)

(iv) paʔttəmmə dey de komašan gaha gə kopaynalá
0 paʔt-ʔəm-wə dey deʔ komašan gahaʔ gə kopaynalá
3A find-PASS-COM now that saint there (in) DEM Copainalá
'Now that saint was found in Copainalá.' (ZOH1R4 001)

(v) gay cəkkəmmám yədə bi pwente nucpa nəhiʔ
gay 0 cək.ʔəm-wə+ʔam yədə bi pwente nuc-pa nəʔ+hiʔ
then 3A do.PASS-COM-NOW this DEF bridge be_hot-INC water+LOC1
'Then this bridge at Aguas Calientes had been built.' (ZOH1R28 092)

(vi) ʔaʔppaŋwakkəmmə
0 ʔaʔp.ʔaŋ=wak.ʔəm-wə
3A split_open.BOCA=*empty.PASS-COM
'It split open (by itself, the fruit).' (lexicon)

(vii) ʔammaʔəmmə bi pən
0 ʔamma.ʔəm-wə bi pən
3A look.PASS-COM DEF man
'They saw the man.' (lexicon)

(viii) keppəmmə bi pelota gahanaŋ
0 kep.ʔəm-wə bi pelota ga+hanaŋ
3A kick.PASS-COM DEF ball DCT3+DIR1
'They kicked the ball over there.' (elicited)

(ix) ʔeccəmmə bi migelenya
0 ʔec.ʔəm-wə bi migelenya
3A dance.PASS-COM DEF migelenya
'They danced the Migeleña.' (lexicon)

(x) hiššəmmə bi kəši
0 hiš.ʔəm-wə bi kəš.E
3A scoop_w_tortilla.PASS-COM DEF eat.NOM3
'They tasted the food.' (lexicon)

(xi) huʔccəmmə bi wakaš
0 huʔc.ʔəm-wə bi wakaš
3A stab.PASS-COM DEF cow
'They killed the cow.' (lexicon)

(xii) kekkəmmə bi noaʔ
0 kek.ʔəm-wə bi noaʔ
3A hop.PASS-COM DEF arroyo
'They jumped over the arroyo.' (lexicon)

There are some intransitive verbs that accept the passive suffix, in which case we naturally get the middle voice reading.

(6.25)

taŋŋəmmə de maŋgu ʔokoš ya hak pəhitukkə
taŋ.ʔəm-wə de.ʔ maŋgu ʔokoš ya hakke pəhiʔ=tuk-wə
be_wide.PASS-COM DCT2.NOM1 mango shrub NEG very large=finish-COM
'This mango shrub grew wide, it didn't grow tall.' (lexicon)

Many transitive verb roots do not allow the passive suffix, although I am unable to divine any feature common to them all that would explain this resistance. None of the 'hit' or 'cut' verbs, such as caŋ-, 'to hit with the fist', nakš-, 'to hit with a piece of wood', or nem-, 'to cut with a scissors' , allow a passive, which at first suggested that it was the entailed instrument argument that was somehow blocking the passive. (Perhaps it is too agentlike?). However, other verbs that entail an instrument, such as hepš-, 'to scoop with a dipper', and hiʔ**p-**, 'to move with a little stick', do admit passivization, so that hypothesis went south. There are roots from all three classes (T1, T2, and T3) in the no-passives group. Judgements about passive forms were generally the most unstable of all the grammatical phenomena tested: one year (or week) my consultants would accept some root with a passive suffix, and the next time they would not. These forms appear very rarely in the corpus, other than in the idiomatic constructions shown in (6.27). Perhaps it's simply a marginal form, and we should not make too much of these inconsistencies. It is effectively a form of impersonal in MIG Zoque, and there are other ways of impersonalizing verbs (including the suffix -

Anəm, IMPERS), so perhaps the passive is simply less preferred in most contexts.

Attempts to construct sentences adding the passive suffix to roots from the no-passives groups generally produced scowls and odd explanations that seemed to pick up on a more abstract sense of the verb. For example, Sr. Sánchez said that the sentence in (6.26 iii) was unacceptable because people would understand it to mean that the rock was also broken (giving an accompaniment interpretation for +piʔt.) The unacceptability of (iv) was said to be due to the fact that the boy couldn't be doubled over a chair. This seems to be picking out a very deep, abstract, connotation of nakš-, along the lines of 'to be forked like a stick'. I've only seen one other usage of this root that picks up that connotation, shown for convenience in example (v)[5].

(6.26)

(i) hepšəmmə bi nə cimapiʔt
hepš.ʔəm-wə bi nəʔ cimaʔ+piʔt
scoop.PASS-COM DEF water gourd+INSTR
'The water was scooped up with a gourd.' (lexicon)

(ii) noʔccəmmə bi limeta
0 noʔc.ʔəm-wə bi limeta
3A break.PASS-COM DEF bottle
'The bottle was broken.' (elicited)

(iii) * noʔccəmmə bi limeta capiʔt
0 noʔc.ʔəm-wə bi limeta caʔ+piʔt

[5] The context for this sentence is a story in which a boy falls off a short cliff onto the head of a deer and lies spread out across the deer's antlers. The story was told from the picture book, 'Frog, Where Are You?' Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez invented the story on the fly, as an interpretation of the pictures in the book.

3A break.PASS-COM DEF bottle rock+INSTR
'The bottle was broken with a rock.' (elicited)

(iv) * nakšəmməy manak
0 nakš.ʔəm-wə ʔəy+ manak
3A hit_w_wood.PASS-COM 3E+ child
'His son was hit with a stick.' (elicited)

(v) nakšneyyə bi ha:yʔune bi məa ʔəy wekagəši
nakš.ney-wə bi haya=ʔune bi məa ʔəy+ wekaʔ+gəši
hit_w_wood.ASSUM1-COM DEF male=child DEF deer 3E+ horn+LOC4
'The boy was stuck spread out on the horns of the deer.' (ZOH1R46 088)

The idiom cak.ʔəm-, 'to remain', or 'to be left', accounts for the vast majority of passives found in the corpus (examples i and ii, below). It may be a calque on the Spanish expression *quedarse*, 'to stay; to remain'. Another idiom that appears to be a calque on a Spanish *se* expression is pək=nək.ʔəm-, 'to get along', *llevarse* in Spanish (example iii). pək=nək, 'get=go', is the most common way to say 'to take' in MIG Zoque. Literally, the stem would mean 'to be taken'. Also note that the construction shown in (iii) is transitive.

(6.27)
(i) yəhi cakkəmmə
yəhi 0 cak.ʔəm-wə
here 3A leave.PASS-COM
'Here he stayed.' (ZOH1R24 276)

(ii) deʔ para yakcakkəmmə goʔ kontentu dedə pən
deʔ para ʔəy+ yak.cak.ʔəm-wə goʔ kontentu dedə pən
this so_that 3E+ CAUS.leave.PASS-COM BNF content that man
'This is so that man stays happy.' (ZOH1R18 237)

(iii) ya pəknəkkəmšukkám bi froylaŋ dəkhənaŋ
ya ʔə**y**+ **p**ək=nək.ʔəm-šuk-wə+ʔam bi froylaŋ +dəkka+hənaŋ
NEG 3E+ get=go.PASS.3PL-COM+NOW DEF froylan +NPL +ACC
'They don't get along with Froylan's people.' (ZOH1R24 566)

Finally, there are some T3 verbs allow passives, but the resulting stem expresses an idiomatic or more strictly narrowed meaning.

(6.28)

(i) yam tə??əmmə nəmpa bi cikin kahaŋ
ya ʔəm+ təʔ.ʔəm-wə 0 nəm-pa bi cikin kahaŋ
NEG 2A+ want.PASS-COM 3A say-INC DEF spotted tiger
'"You won't do", said the spotted tiger.' (ZOH1R26 052)

(ii) šaccəmmə
0 šac.ʔəm-wə
3A rub_btwn_hands.PASS-COM
'The material (palm, whatever) was softened (by rubbing).' (lexicon)

6.3.4. Antipassive ʔoy

The antipassive suffix -ʔoy is added to a transitive verb to suppress the object. The resulting meaning is generally 'Subj Verbs (something)'. The absolutive agreement markers are used with antipassive constructions. All of the Zoquean languages have an antipassive affix, but none of the Mixean ones do (Kaufman, 1996; Zavala, 2000b).

(6.29)

(i) ʔəm wattobám dešde yəhama
ʔəm+ wat.ʔoy-pa+ʔam dešde yəʔ hama
2E+ earn.ANTIP-INC+NOW from DCT1 day
'Now you're earning as of today.' (ZOH1R18 173)

(ii) dəš də kuracəkkoypa
dəš də+ kura=cək.ʔoy-pa
1Prn 1A+ cure=do.ANTIP-INC
'I heal. (I'm a healer.)' (ZOH1R32 086)

(iii) kəššoyyə bi hahcukudəkka
0 kəš.ʔoy-wə bi hahcuku +dəkka
3A eat.ANTIP-COM DEF ant +NPL
'The ants ate.' (ZOH1R12 035)

(iv) behča cəmmoba
behča 0 cəm.ʔoy-pa
horse 3A carry.ANTIP-INC
'The horses will carry (the load).' (ZOH1R24 090)

(v) gadə lugar yakkiwə ya ʔiššo
ga.də lugar yak ʔiwə ya 0 ʔiš.ʔoy-A
that place nobody NEG 3A see.ANTIP-nINC
'Nobody knew that place.' (ZOH1R2 010)

While the patient is suppressed, another core argument, such as a recipient, may still appear. Note that in this case the verb remains intransitive (suggesting that the third argument does not affect transitivity.)

(6.30)
gaʔ ʔaŋcoŋŋoba hentedəkka
ga.ʔ ʔaŋ.coŋ.ʔoy-pa hente+dəkka
DCT3.NOM1 MOUTH.join.ANTIP-INC people+NPL
'He answers the people.' (ZOH1R28 106)

The antipassive is normally a very straightforward suppressor of objects, only once producing an idiosyncratic new lexical item. When this suffix is added to the root ciʔ-, 'to give', it derives a stem meaning 'to give as a gift', which allows an object.

(6.31)

ʔiwəy manak ciʔoba para yədə pən
ʔiwə ʔəy+ manak ciʔ.ʔoy-pa para yə.də pən
who 3E+ child give.ANTIP-INC for DCT1.DEM man
'Who will give his daughter for this man?' (ZOH1R18 221)

6.2.5. Impersonal **A**nəm

This morpheme means "people do Verbing" or "someone does Verbing" or simply "Verbing happens". These forms also appear with absolutive agreement markers, always necessarily the **0** morpheme that marks the absolutive third person singular. The initial vowel is frequently elided when it appears in an unstressed syllable position, as shown in examples (iii-iv).

(6.32)

(i) šəkkekanəmpa
šək=ʔek.**A**nəm-pa
bean=shell.INDEF-INC
'People are shelling beans.' (lexicon)

(ii) hoypiʔt šəŋkehanəmmə
hoypiʔt šəŋ=keh.**A**nəm-wə
next_day fiesta=appear.INDEF-COM
'The next day dawned.' (ZOH1R10 143)

(iii) cumuknəmpám
cuʔ=muk.**A**nəm-pa+ʔam
night=fall.INDEF-INC-NOW
'Now night is falling.' (ZOH1R10 358)

(iv) naše wen yeʔcnəmmám
naše wenu yeʔc.**A**nəm-wə+ʔam
in_fact very arrive.INDEF-COM-NOW
'In fact, a lot of people have come.' (ZOH1R10 450)

(v) hehanəmpa ban cuway ney hente
0 heh.**A**nəm-pa ban cuway ney hente
3A live.INDEF-INC very foolish our people
'Our people live very foolishly' (ZOH1R3 040)

6.4. Word order

Word order in MIG Zoque is free, provided that subjects precede objects in cases where some ambiguity might obtain. A further discussion of preferences in word order in narrative texts appears in chapter 14. The following set of (elicited) data illustrates the freeness of word order. My consultants agreed that the following sentences all mean exactly the same thing. Complete paradigms exhibiting word order for 1, 2, 3, and 4 argument verbs (including causative and applicative constructions) are given in Appendix F.

(6.33)

(i)	bi nuʔ ʔəy waššə bi mištuʔ	SVO Agent = dog
	bi nuʔ ʔəy+ waš-wə bi mištuʔ	
	DEF dog 3E+ bite-COM DEF cat	
	'The dog bit the cat.'	
(ii)	bi mištuʔ ʔəy waššə bi nuʔ	SVO Agent = cat
(iii)	bi nuʔ bi mištuʔ ʔəy waššə	SOV Agent = dog
(iv)	bi mištuʔ bi nuʔ ʔəy waššə	SOV Agent = cat
(v)	ʔəy waššə bi nuʔ bi mištuʔ	VSO Agent = dog
(vi)	ʔəy waššə bi mištuʔ bi nuʔ	VSO Agent = cat

6.5. Predicate clauses

There is no copular verb that means 'to be' in the sense of 'for a state of affairs to obtain' (parallel to the Spanish *ser*). Predicate expressions describing a present state of affairs thus have no verb - the subject is simply juxtaposed to the predicate expression.

When the subject is the first or second person, it is expressed by means of an absolutive personal agreement marker.

(6.35)

(i)	porke dəš hakke də kontentu	
	because 1Prn very 1A+ content	
	'Because I am very happy.'	(ZOH1R15 128)

(ii) hemhi dəšhá? komo ?ičiŋ də tristehá?
hemhi dəs+haa? komo ?ičiŋ də+ triste+haa?
all 1Prn+NPL2 like little 1A+ sad+NPL2
'Since all of us are a little sad' (ZOH1R10 516)

(iii) dey ban də triste
now very 1A+ sad
'Now I'm very sad' (ZOH1R10 561)

(iv) nikete ?une?
ni.ket.E ?une?
PSE.wrap.NOM3 child
'The baby is wrapped up.' (lexicon)

(v) hakke wəhə ga pən
very good DCT3 man
'That man is very good.' (ZOH1R24 050)

(vi) ke də ?aŋpən pənhá?
ke də ?aŋ=pən pən+haa?
that 1A MOUTH=man man+NPL2
'that yes, we are men who speak Zoque.' (ZOH1R57 024)

(vii) ?um nəmtammə ke yam ?aŋpən pənhá?
?u ?əm+ nəm-tam-wə ke ya+?əm ?aŋ=pən pən+haa?
NEGimpv 2E+ say-1/2PL-COM that NEG+2E MOUTH=man man+NPL2
'Don't say that you're not men who speak Zoque.' (ZOH1R57 041)

The verb root tih- 'to go and return' is used for past tense predicate constructions. This could actually be a homophonous, but different, root - there are too few examples of this kind to speculate.

(6.36)

miš hunaŋ ʔəm tihhə
miš hunaŋ ʔəm+ tih-wə
2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM

kwandum tihhə hayʔuneʔ
kwandu ʔəm+ tih-wə haya=ʔuneʔ
when 2A+ go&return-COM male=child
'How were you when you were a young man?' (ZOH1R25 059)

6.6. Existential clauses

There are MIG Zoque words meaning 'there is/are', tehi-, and 'there isn't/aren't', nə**nti**. Both of these words are locative expressions, and refer to existence or presence in space, rather than to a state or condition.

tehi- appears to be the neutral deictic with a locative suffix. This stem appears with the versive suffix -ʔa, VERS1, inflected for aspect and sometimes number in the usual fashion. The last two syllables are often elided.

(6.37)

(i) tehi de ʔartiyero
tehi.ʔa-wə de ʔartiyero
there_is.VERS1-COM of artillery
'There's artillery.' (ZOH1R24 092)

(ii) yəhi tehi tum naštuŋ
yə.hi tehi.ʔa-wə tum naš=tuŋ
here there_is.VERS1-COM one earth=road
'There's a shortcut here.' (ZOH1R24 127)

(iii) tehi ʔamintə yan cəkmuštamə
tehi.ʔa-wə ʔamintə ya ʔən+ cək=muš-tam-A
there_is.VERS1-COM year NEG 1E+ do=know-1/2PL-nINC
'There are years we don't succeed.' (ZOH1R13 002)

(iv) tehišukkám gaha gay nikopakhoʔ
tehi**.ʔa**-šuk-wə+ʔam ga.ha ga.y ni.kopak+hoʔ
there_is.VERS1-3PL-COM+NOW DCT3.LOC1 DCT3.TMP INSTR3.head+LOC1
'Now they're there at the top of the hill.' (ZOH1R24 108)

(v) tehišukkə tannə wəštuhtaŋ hama
tehi.ʔa-šuk-wə tan-wə wəštuhtaŋ hama
there_is.VERS1-3PL-COM finish-COM seven day
'Seven days were completed.' (ZOH1R24 259)

(vi) tey də tehidammə katemako
te.y də tehi.ʔa-tam-wə katemako
DCT2.TMP 1A there_is.VERS1-1/2PL-COM catemaco
'Now we're in Catemaco.' (ZOH1R14 079)

(vii) ʔadondhu ʔəy konəmšukpa ke tehiʔawə bi papən
ʔadonde huʔ ʔəy+ ko.nəm-šuk-pa ke tehi.ʔa-wə bi pa=pən
where where 3E+ OTHR.say-3PL-INC that there_is.VERS1-COM DEF wild=man
'Where they say the devil is' (ZOH1R18 047)

(viii) dedə papən tehiawə tuŋhoʔ
de.də pa=pən tehi.ʔa-wə tuŋ+hoʔ
DCT2.XDEM wild=man there_is.VERS1-COM camino+LOC1
'That devil is in the road.' (ZOH1R18 112)

(ix) puro kopak pak tehiʔawə
puro kopak pak tehi.ʔa-wə
purely head bone there_is.VERS1-COM
'There were just skulls.' (ZOH1R18 162)

(x) hunaŋhá ʔ tehiʔawə bi nombradudəkkayhənaŋ
hunaŋ+haaʔ tehi.ʔa-wə bi nombradu+dəkkay+hənaŋ
how+NPL2 there_is.VERS1-COM DEF named +NPL +ACC
'How it is with the officials' (ZOH1R28 005)

(xi) gahi tehiamottə maeʔ ʔən nəmhadampa
gahi tehi.ʔa.mot-wə maeʔ ʔən+ nəm.hay-tam-pa
there there_is.VERS1-WITH REM 1E+ say.APPL-1/2PL-INC

rehidora de ʔedukasyon
rehidora de ʔedukasyon
minister of education
'There used to be there with them the one we call the Minister of Education' (ZOH1R28 042)

There are a few examples in the corpus in which tehi- is used to express a state or condition of a non-locative type. I suspect this is the result of influence of Spanish grammar, which requires a copular verb.

(6.38)
(i) dey tehidammám libre
dey tehi-tam-wə+ʔam libre
DCT2.TMP there_is-1/2PL-COM+NOW free
'Now we're free.' (ZOH1R18 228)

(ii) pwes rromáŋ tehiʔawə nesyo
pwes rromáŋ tehi.ʔa-wə nesyo
well román there_is.VERS1-COM stubborn
'Well, Román is stubborn.' (ZOH1R18 071)

nənti, 'there isn't', is never affixed or inflected, although it too may appear with the NOW clitic. There is a variant form, nəntiyaʔ. Although it very much appears to be a composition of several morphemes, it is not clear what the component parts might be.

(6.39)

(i) nəntiam dedə papən
nənti+ʔam dedə pa=pən
there_isn't+NOW that wild=man
'Now that devil isn't there.' (ZOH1R18 158)

(ii) nəntiya deʔše komo tey pəkwičukpa
nəntiyaʔ de.ʔše komo tey pək=wit-šuk-pa
there_isn't DCT2.SIM like now carry=walk-3PL-INC
'There aren't any like that like the ones they use now.' (ZOH1R24 073)

(iii) nəntiam tuŋ kem cəkpa tum hama
nənti+ʔam tuŋ ke ʔəm+ cək-pa tum hama
there_isn't+NOW road that 2E+ do-INC one day
'There isn't a road that you can travel in one day.' (ZOH1R24 074)

(iv) gay nəmpa bi nəntiam
ga.y nəm-pa bi nənti+ʔam
DCT3.TMP say-INC DEF there_isn't+NOW
'Now he says there aren't any more.' (ZOH1R24 205)

(v) ʔəy nəmhayyə nəntiam yakti
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə nənti+ʔam yakti
3E+ say.APPL-COM there_isn't+NOW nothing
'He told them now there's nothing.' (ZOH1R24 288)

(vi) tey nəmpa nənti huštiša həbə́ʔ
te.y 0 nəm-pa nənti huštiša həʔ.bə́ʔ
DCT2.TMP 3A say-INC there_isn't authority yes.DUB
'Now he says, "There's no mayor, right?"' (ZOH1R24 342)

Chapter 7: Derivational Morphology

The discussion in this chapter is divided into three parts: verbal affixes that have primarily semantic import, including directional prefixes and positional suffixes (7.1); affixes that derive nouns and adjectives from verb roots (7.2); and affixes that derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and numbers (7.3).

7.1. Verbal affixes

A complete template of verbal affixes is shown in table 2.1. Inflectional affixes are discussed in chapter 5, valency-changing affixes are discussed in chapter 6, and those suffixes and post-verbal clitics that have an effect on aspect are discussed in chapter 14. This chapter covers the remaining verbal affixes, whose function is most purely semantic; that is, they chiefly serve to alter the meaning of the verb root, rather than to manipulate its grammatical structure. The directional prefixes are covered in section 7.1.1. Positional suffixes are discussed in section 7.1.2. Section 7.1.3. contains a description of the perseverative suffix -ten, which is in some ways similar to the positional suffix -ney, but carries a volitional or intentional meaning as well. Section 7.1.4. discusses the suffix -ʔəy, whose function and possible contribution to meaning are opaque.

7.1.1. Directional prefixes

The derivational prefixes in MIG Zoque are termed 'directional' because historically they indicated directions based on parts of the body, a common enough scheme in MesoAmerican languages (body part prefixes in Totonac, McKay 1991; directional affixes in Nahuatl, Campbell and Kartunnen, 1989). The full set of these prefixes and the direction or body part to which they correspond are shown in the table below.

Prefix	Gloss Code	Description
ʔaŋ	MOUTH	near, at the mouth
ʔok	DOWN	down or south
ho	INTO	into, inside
həš	BACK	behind or on the back
ko	SOC	for another, or at another's house
kə	AWAY	away, elsewhere
ni	PSE	not clearly related to any direction
nik	SURF	spattered or scattered on the surface
win	FACE	in front of or on or near the face
yuk	UP	up

Table 7.1: Directional prefixes

The semantic contribution of these prefixes to the verb complex is sometimes clearly directional, but more commonly their contribution is shifted well away from any directional interpretation and may be completely idiosyncratic. Some of these prefixes have no discernable directional sense, such as ko-, SOC, which generally means "to do VERB for someone else". There are

also many cases in which it's not clear that the prefix has contributed any new information to the verb complex; that is, the meaning of the prefixed form is the same as that of the unprefixed form. It may be that choices of optional affixes are determined by stylistic or discourse considerations, as described for Kuna in Sherzer (1989). Where possible, the first few examples given here for each prefix will illustrate the directional sense of the morpheme and the rest of the examples will cover the range of meanings contributed.

The syntax of these prefixes is simple. None of them exhibits a preference for verbs of any particular class. With the exception of ko-, SOC, discussed in 7.1.1.5., none of them has any predictable effect on the argument structure of the verbal complex. Sometimes adding the prefix to an intransitive root results in a transitive verb, but this is not a regular characteristic of any of these morphemes. Many of the prefixes co-occur with the suffix -ʔəy (section 7.1.4), whose meaning and function are unknown. The frequency of such co-occurrence is noted for each prefix.

Three of the prefixes - ʔaŋ-, MOUTH; həš-, BACK; and win-, FACE - are historically nominal prepounds. They do not appear as independent words in the modern language, but do appear in a few compounds with other nouns and as directional adverbs, in frozen forms with postpositions attached. For the most part, however, they pattern with the directional prefixes, appearing most frequently as affixes on verbs. The first examples given for these three prefixes

will demonstrate their semi-nominal status; the remainder will exhibit their behavior as affixes.

We'll look at each prefix in the subsections that follow, in alphabetical order. Unless otherwise noted, the examples in this section come from the lexicon. Some of these were elicited by running most of the verb roots in the language through a grid of the prefixes. Many of the words discovered in this fashion were either novel, but acceptable, coinages, or words that my consultants hadn't heard for a very long time (it wasn't always possible to tell the difference). My general observation from this task is that such quasi-neologisms were most likely to be translated with a clearly directional meaning assigned to the prefix. The example below was clearly a new or forgotten word that my consultant visibly parsed in his head before translating (by miming the motions indicated):

(7.1) ʔəy ʔokkeššəyyə
ʔəy ʔok.ʔeš.ʔəy-wə
3E DOWN.pin.SUF-COM
'She took it down from where it had been pinned up'. (elicited)

7.1.1.1 ʔaŋ

In nominal compounds, this morpheme clearly carries the meaning "mouth", hence its gloss code, MOUTH.

(7.2)

(i)	ʔaŋnaka	(ii)	ʔaŋnəʔ
	ʔaŋ=naka		ʔaŋ=nəʔ
	MOUTH=skin		MOUTH=water
	'cheek'		'drool'

(iii) ʔaŋwayʔ
ʔaŋ=wayʔ
MOUTH=hair
'beard'

(iv) ʔaŋpən
ʔaŋ=pən
MOUTH=person
the Zoque language

In verbal constructions, ʔaŋ- sometimes adds the meaning of being in front (of someone or something) or speaking. There are also many words having to do with doors: opening, closing, barring, locking, even the word for 'door' itself. It does not require a great leap of the imagination to see that the door is the mouth of a house. This prefix often occurs with verb roots that do not appear independently in the corpus.

(7.3)

(i) ʔaŋkammə
0 ʔaŋ.kam-wə
3A MOUTH.press-COM
'It closed.

(ii) ʔaŋkəi
ʔaŋ.kəy.E
MOUTH.carry_in_the_hand.NOM3
'door'

(iii) ʔaŋwakkə
0 ʔaŋ.wak-wə
3A MOUTH.*empty-COM
'It opened.'

(iv)ʔəy ʔaŋwiʔttə
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.wiʔt-wə
3E+ MOUTH.twist-COM
'She locked the door with a key.'

(v) ʔəy ʔaŋnekkə
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.nek-wə
3E+ MOUTH.stack-COM
'He put a stick across the door so no one can get in.'

(vi)ʔaŋnakš
ʔaŋ.nakš.0
MOUTH.pound _w_wood.NOM5
'a stick placed over the roof so it won't blow off'

(vii) ʔaŋkimmoyyə
0 ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-wə
3A MOUTH.go_up.ANTIP-COM
'He commanded.'

(vii) ʔaŋmayyə
0 ʔaŋ.may-wə
3A MOUTH.count-COM
'She learned it.'

(viii) ʔaŋcoŋŋoyyə

(ix)ʔaŋwittə

0 ʔaŋ.coŋ.ʔoy-wə	0 ʔaŋ.wit-wə
3A MOUTH.meet.ANTIP-COM	3A MOUTH.walk-COM
'She answered.'	'He went visiting.'

There are many constructions with no clearly compositional meaning:

(7.4)

(i) ʔəy ʔaŋpennə
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.pen-wə
3E+ MOUTH.plant-COM
'It sprouted.'

(ii) ʔəy ʔaŋyohhə kakawhənaŋ
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.yoh-wə kakao-hənaŋ
3E+ MOUTH.pay-COM cocoa-ACC
'She exchanged it for cocoa.'

7.1.1.2. ʔok

This prefix usually, but not always, co-occurs with the suffix -ʔəy. Like, yak-, ʔok- combines with ʔaŋ- to produce ʔoŋ- (example vi), although this is a rare occurrence. The most consistent contribution that ʔok- makes to the meaning of the verb complex is DOWN, hence the gloss code. ʔok- and yuk-, UP, are the most consistently directional prefixes of the set. Finally, on a cultural note, ʔok- also indicates 'south', since one goes down in order to go south in San Miguel Chimalapa, most clearly shown in example (v).

(7.5)

(i) ʔokhonaŋpəʔ
ʔok+honaŋ+pəʔ
DOWN+DIR3+REL
'lowlander'

(ii) ʔəy ʔoknukkəyyə
ʔəy+ ʔok.nuk.ʔəy-wə
3E DOWN.grasp.SUF-COM
'She let go of it.'

(iii) də ʔokcamhadammə
də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1A+ DOWN.chat.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'He told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)

(iv) ʔəy ʔokše?pšhayyə
ʔəy+ ʔok.še?pš.hay-wə
3E DOWN.make_rope.APPL-COM
'He hurled it down at him.' (ZOH1R18 078)

(v) ʔokkuʔpššə
0 ʔok.ʔuʔpš-wə
3A DOWN.get_cloudy-COM
'Clouds rose up in the south.' (lexicon)

(vi) ʔəy yakʔoŋceʔkkoba ʔəy hatoŋ
ʔəy+ yak.ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ hatoŋ
3E+ CAUS.DOWN.MOUTH.ask.ANTIP-INC 3E+ father
'His father asked him.' (ZOH1R18 279)

7.1.1.3. ho

This prefix never appears with the suffix -ʔəy. ho- has the general sense INTO, but sometimes seems to mean 'thoroughly' and sometimes 'in another place.'

(7.6)

(i) ʔəy hoʔiššə
ʔəy+ ho.ʔiš-wə
3E+ INTO.see-COM
'She examined it.'

(ii) ʔəy honəmmə
ʔəy+ ho.nəm-wə
3E+ INTO.say-COM
'He translated it.'

(iii) hokehtukkoba
0 ho.keh=tuk.ʔoy-pa
3A INTO.see=finish-INC
'It is transparent.'

(iv) ʔəy hopiŋŋə
ʔəy+ ho.piŋ-wə
3E+ INTO.collect-COM
'She chose it.'

(v) ʔəy hoʔukkə
ʔəy+ ho.ʔuk̲-wə
3E+ INTO.drink-COM
'He drank all of it, to the last drop.'

(vi) hohehhə
0 ho.heh-wə
3A INTO.live-COM
'She lived with other people (because she didn't have her own house.'

7.1.1.4. həš

This stem appears with nominal case endings, indicating that it once was a Zoque noun, and still functions as one in a few specific constructions. The general meaning 'back' is made clear in these constructions.

(7.7)
(i) həšhonaŋ
həš+honaŋ
BACK+FROM
'from behind'

(ii) nəkpa həšhoʔ
0 nək-pa həš+hoʔ
3A go-INC BACK+LOC2
'He fell behind.' (ZOH1R24 113)

In verbal constructions, the meaning is also usually clearly 'out' or 'back', particularly in neologisms.

(7.8)
(i) ʔəy həšheccə
ʔəy+ həš.hec-wə
3E+ BACK.scrape-COM
'She scraped it out.'

(ii) ʔəy həšpəkšukkə
ʔəy+ həš.pək-šuk-wə
3E+ BACK.get-3PL-COM
'They kicked him out.' (ZOH1R24 391)

(iii) ʔəy həšciwə
ʔəy+ həš.ciʔ-wə
3E+ BACK.give-COM
'He turned his back on someone.' (lexicon)

(iv) ʔəy həšwəkšəy tuhkuyʔ
ʔəy+ həš.wəkš-wə ʔəy+ tuh.kuyʔ
3E+ BACK.hang-COM 3E+ shoot.INSTR
'He unslung his firearm.' (ZOH1R24 199)

7.1.1.5. ko

A prefix with this shape and similar function appears in Copainalá Zoque, and is glossed by Wonderley as marking "action performed for or on the property of another person" (Wonderley, 1951:148). He gives the prefix the label 'associative'. This meaning applies to many of the forms in the MIG Zoque corpus, so I assign this morpheme the symbol SOC (for asSOCiative). ko- sometimes also means 'do again' or 'do more'.

The first two examples support the SOC reading; the second two indicate the AGAIN reading; and the last two suggest a MORE reading. There are a few constructions in which ko- adds an argument to its host verb root. An example is shown in (7.9 vii). I wasn't able to invent or elicit any other acceptable constructions with this valency-changing capability.

(7.9)
(i) ʔəy kotennə
ʔəy+ ko.ten-wə
3E+ SOC.stand-COM
'She stood caring for it.'

(ii) ʔəy kocoŋŋə
ʔəy+ ko.coŋ-wə
3E+ SOC.join-COM
'He helped someone.'

(iii) ʔəy kohuššə
ʔəy+ ko.huš-wə
3E+ SOC.roast-COM
'She re-heated it.'

(iv) ʔəy konippə
ʔəy+ ko.nip-wə
3E+ SOC.sow-COM
'He re-seeded it.'

(v) ʔəy kohuyyə
ʔəy+ ko.huy-wə
3E+ SOC.buy-COM
'She bought another little thing besides.'

(vi) ʔəy koʔiššə
ʔəy+ ko.ʔiš-wə
3E+ SOC.see-COM
'He looked at it to see if he wanted it'

(vii) košəŋŋadamə yədə ʔawinʔ
ko.šəŋ.ʔa-tam-Aʔ yədə ʔawinʔ
SOC.fiesta.VERS1-1/2PL-IMPV this brother
'Let's have a fiesta for this friend.' (ZOH1R18 189)

7.1.1.6. kə

Wonderley names the corresponding prefix found in Copainalá Zoque 'chance-associative', saying it "marks action performed along with another person [...]; the subject of the verb takes a subordinate or chance part in the action". He further notes that "[i]n other sequences, prefix 12 marks some specialized meaning" (Wonderley, 1951:148). In MIG Zoque, the "specialized" meaning seems to have overtaken the other, since this prefix seldom makes a clear contribution to the meaning of the whole construction. In neologisms, it tends to contribute the sense AWAY or 'outside', but only vaguely. The gloss code is chosen to reflect the related morpheme with that meaning that appears in directional and locative lexical items such as ʔaŋkəʔ, 'outside'. kə- nearly always co-occurs with the suffix -ʔəy.

(7.10)

(i) ʔəy kəʔaŋheʔkkə
ʔəy+ kə.ʔaŋheʔk-wə
3E+ AWAY.be_afraid-COM
'She discouraged him.

(ii) ʔəy kəməʔccə
ʔəy+ kə.məʔc-wə
3E+ AWAY.look_for-COM
'He found out something.'

(iii) ʔəy yakkəwakkəy hacə
ʔəy+ yak.kə.wak-wə haʔc.E
3E+ CAUS.AWAY.*empty-COM borrow.NOM3
'He paid off his debt.'

(iv) ʔəy kəcəkkəyyə ʔəy haya
ʔəy+ kə.cək.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ haya
3E+ AWAY.do.SUF-COM 3E+ man
'She deceived her husband.'

(v) kəhawayyəy šah
0 kə.haway-wə ʔəy+ šah
3A AWAY.ache-COM 3E+ armpit
'His armpit began to ache.'

There is a special frame for creating new verbs that consists of kə.nək + **VerbRoot** + ʔəy. The frame is generally glossed 'completely' or 'a lot', and seems to create an emphatic version of the action of Verbing.

(7.11)

(i) ʔəy kənəknəmməyyə
ʔəy+ kə.nək=nəm.ʔəy-wə
3E+ AWAY.go=say.SUF-COM
'He spoke suddenly.'

(ii) kənəkkokšəyyə taʔkši?
0 kə.nək=ʔokš.ʔəy-wə taʔkš.E
3A AWAY.go=go_out.SUF-COM burn.NOM3
'All the lights went out.'

(iii) ʔəy kənəkkəkšəyyəy mok

ʔəy+ kə.nək=ʔəkš.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ mok
3E+ AWAY.go=shell.SUF-COM 3E+ corn
'She shelled all of her corn.'

(iv) ʔəy kənəkwijjəyyə
ʔəy+ kə.nək=wij.ʔəy-wə
3E+ AWAY.go=dive.SUF-COM
'He dove in.' (ZOH1R15 064)

(v) kənəkšepšəyyə
0 kə.nək=šepš.ʔəy-wə
3A AWAY.go=make_rope-COM
'He stepped back and twisted around.' (ZOH1R11 064)

7.1.1.7. ni

Wonderley terms this prefix 'incompletive' (Wonderley, 1951:148). Kaufman (1994) gives it the gloss 'purpose'. I find little support for either of these interpretations in the MIG Zoque corpus, so have rather arbitrarily chosen PurpoSE (PSE). ni- rarely co-occurs with the suffix -ʔəy.

(7.12)
(i) ʔəy nihiʔttə
ʔəy+ ni.hiʔt-wə
3E+ PSE.stain-COM
'She stained it.'

(ii) ʔəy nipəʔttə
ʔəy+ ni.pəʔt-wə
3E+ PSE.pass-COM
'He overtook her.'

(iii) ʔəy nipəkwakkə
ʔəy+ ni.pək=wak-wə
3E+ PSE.grasp=*empty-COM
'She took it from him.'

(iv) niwiʔttəmmə bi poh kuygəši
0 ni.wiʔt.ʔəm-wə bi poh kuy+gəši
3A PSE.twist.PASS-COM DEF vine tree+LOC4
'The vine is twisted around the tree.'

7.1.1.8. nik

This morpheme means 'VERB on the surface of X', hence the gloss code SURF(ace). It especially applies to verbs of spraying, spreading, or splattering, and particularly applies to VERBing on someone's body. Productive use of this prefix by the unwary may cause embarassment, since it apparently is used in a number of off-color terms. nik- always co-occurs with the suffix -ʔəy.

(7.13)

(i) nikkohhəyyə
0 nik.ʔoh.ʔəy-wə
3A SURF.cough.SUF-COM
'He coughed on her.'

(ii) ʔəy nikcuhhəyyə
ʔəy+ nik.cuh.ʔəy-wc
3E+ SURF.spit.SUF-COM
'She spit at him.'

(iii) ʔəy nikheʔkkəyyə
ʔəy+ nik.heʔk.ʔəy-wə
3E+ SURF.hoe.SUF-COM
'He picked it up with a hoe and threw it on top of something.'

(iv) nənikkeccəyyə
0 nəʔ=nik.kec.ʔəy-wə
3A water=SURF.sprinkle_w_hand.SUF-COM
'She threw water on it (with her open hand).'

(v) ʔəy yaknikpoyyəba ʔora ʔəy ciwə ʔaxta gaháŋ
ʔəy+ yak.nik.poy.ʔəy-pa ʔora ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə ʔašta ga+haaŋ
3E+ CAUS.SURF.flee.SUF-INC TEMREL 3E+ give-COM until DCT3+DIR1
'When he jumped on top of him he knocked him over there.'
(ZOH1R18 333)

7.1.1.9. win

This morpheme was once an independent noun, as attested by a few lexical items with nominal case endings and a few compounds (7.14 i and ii). The gloss for this item is clearly 'surface' or 'front', although, as always, there are many verbal constructions with no clearly compositional interpretation. The gloss code for this morpheme is FACE. It sometimes co-occurs with the suffix -ʔəy.

(7.14)

(i) winhonaŋ
win+honaŋ
FACE+DIR3
'from in front'

(ii) winmanak
win=manak
FACE=child
'first-born child'

(i) ʔəy winʔiššə
ʔəy+ win.ʔiš-wə
3E+ FACE.see-COM
'He saw it from over there.'

(ii) winhuptukkuyʔ
win.hup=tuk.kuyʔ
FACE.pull=finish.INSTR1
'apron'

(iii) winnəktenwəyyə
0 win.nək=ten.wəy-wə
3A FACE.go=stand.DEPOS-COM
'She stood in front of' him.'

(iv) winpakcoŋŋə
0 win.pak=coŋ-wə
3A FACE.tighten=meet-COM
'He met her.'

(v) gə winnawə́ʔ
gə win.ʔa-wə+VʔkDCT3 FACE.VERS1-COM+REL
'he who got ahead' (ZOH1R24 112)

7.1.1.10 yuk

yuk- has the clearly directional meaning 'up', and so it receives the gloss symbol UP. It also frequently means 'to begin', in which sense it can apply to any verb root. It never appears with the suffix -ʔəy.

(7.15)

(i) ʔəy yukkiʔttə
ʔəy+ yuk.kiʔt -wə
3E+ UP.put_finger_in-COM
'He picked it up with one finger.'

(ii) ʔəy yukkeššə
ʔəy+ yuk.ʔeš-wə
3E+ UP.pin-COM
'She pinned it up.'

(iii) yukhehhə
0 yuk.heh-wə
3A UP.live-COM
'He was resurrected.'

(iv) yukkeccə
0 yuk.ʔec-wə
3A UP.dance-COM
'She began to dance.'

(v) gaʔ ʔəy yukpəkpay totoʔ
gaʔ ʔəy+ yuk.pək-pa ʔəy+ totoʔ
that 3E+ UP.get-INC 3E+ paper
'She gets it (written) up in her notebook.' (ZOH1R28 311)

7.1.2. Positional suffixes

There are three positional suffixes in MIG Zoque: the assumptive, the depositive, and the stative. When these appear with a verb root, they tend to highlight deep, abstract, notions of shape and position that are inherent in the meaning of the root, but less apparent when the root is used in an underived stem. For example, the root hup-, when used without a positional suffix, is translated as 'to pull': ʔəy huppə, 'he pulled it'. With the assumptive suffix, however, the abstract positional meaning of the root becomes apparent: hupneyyə, 'it is stretched out'. There are many MIG Zoque verbs that entail very particular

notions of position or shape, of the hands, body, or other objects, and it is often the positional suffixes that make these meanings apparent. (see chapter 13 for more discussion).

7.1.2.1. **Assumptive** ney

This suffix is diagnostic of the Positional verb root class. Verbs with the assumptive suffix appear with absolutive agreement markers, indicating that they are intransitive. *Assumptive* means "to assume the shape or orientation of V-ing" (Kaufman, 1996). This generally translates as "to be in the position of having been V-ed". These are not always transparently positional to our sensibilities, as the first example shown below illustrates.

The suffix may also highlight an underlying, or nearly buried, sense of positionality that is not the focus of the active verb root. In example (v), the root nakš- generally means 'to hit or pound with a stick'. It's often included in verb compounds (chapter 8) to supply a wooden instrument to the event described by the other verb root. In this example, however, the visual character of sticks is referenced: that they have branches that things can hang on. The assumptive suffix may also focus on the act that produces the result that is generally the focus of the root. In example (vi), below, the verb root koh- usually means 'to pierce or punch a hole in something'. With the assumptive suffix, the focus is on the position of the piercing instrument in the act of piercing: the stick is stuck through the fruit.

(7.16)

(i) šomneyyə
0 šom.ney-wə
3A jail.ASSUM-COM
'He was in jail.' (ZOH1R12 334)

(ii) təmmawən mok ʔašta ʔapšneyyə
0 təm.ʔa-wə ʔən+ mok ʔašta 0 ʔapš.ney-wə
3A fruit.VERS1-COM 1E+ corn until 3A harvest_corn.ASSUM-COM
'My corn bore fruit until it was hanging down.' (lexicon)

(iii) našho peʔcneyyə
naš+hoʔ 0 peʔc.ney-wə
earth+LOC1 3A draw_up_legs.ASSUM-COM
'She's sitting on the ground with her legs pulled behind her.'(lexicon)

(iv) gahi sol kopak pacneyyə
gahiʔ solo kopak 0 pac.ney-wə
there only head 3A throw.ASSUM-COM
'There were just skulls thrown down.' (ZOH1R18 167)

(v) hupneyyə tum hupkuy nəʔ
0 hup.ney-wə tum hup.kuyʔ nəʔ
3A pull.ASSUM-COM one pull.INSTR1 water
'A bucket of water was drawn.' (ZOH1R18 310)

(vi) nakšneyyə bi yoteʔ
0 nakš.ney-wə bi yoteʔ
3A hit_w_wood.ASSUM-COM DEF clothes
'The clothes are hung (on a stake in the wall).' (lexicon)

(vii) kohneyyə de kuy yatigəši
0 koh.ney-wə deʔ kuy yatiʔ+gəši
3A punch_hole.ASSUM-COM that tree sweetsop+LOC4
'That stick is stuck through the sweetsop (fruit).' (lexicon)

The assumptive suffix focusses on the current position of the object in question, without expressing how it got into that position. This lack of expressed agency distinguishes the assumptive from the perseverative (section 7.1.3). The following examples contrast the agentless character of the assumptive with the intentional character of the perseverative examples shown in (7.20).

(7.17)

(i) kapneyyə bi kuy
0 kap.ney-wə bi kuy
3A carry_on_shoulder.ASSUM1-COM DEF tree
'The tree is lying on the ground (after it fell down).' (lexicon)

(ii) ketneba bi ʔuneʔ
0 ket.ney-pa bi ʔuneʔ
3A cover.ASSUM1-INC DEF child
'The child is covered up.' (lexicon)

(iii) pahneyyám bi tək ʔəy kohom
0 pah.ney-wə+ʔam bi tək ʔəy+ kohom
3A set_post.ASSUM-COM+NOW DEF house 3E+ post
'The post of the house is still standing.' (lexicon)

7.1.2.2. Depositive wəy

The term *depositive* means "to place something that has the shape created by V-ing it", or "Take X and put it" (Kaufman, 1996). This morpheme never appears with other non-inflectional suffixes. The initial /w/ of this suffix triggers gemination of the preceding consonant just like the completive suffix -wə. This means that there are many cases in which it is difficult to determine whether we're looking at -wəy or -ʔəy. In these cases, only the meaning provides a clue to the underlying construction. Even allowing for possible mis-parses, there are very

few depositive forms in the corpus. The following examples, except for (7.18 v), are taken from the lexicon.

(7.18)

(i) humməccəyyə
0 hum=məc.wəy-wə
3A tumble_down.X.DEPOS-COM
'It swung.'

(ii) hiʔppəyyə
0 hiʔp.wəy-wə
3A move.DEPOS-COM
'It was set on one side'

(iii) winnəktenwəyyə
0 win.nək=ten.wəy-wə
3A FACE.go=finish.DEPOS-COM
'He stood in front of her.'

(iv) ʔəy paŋŋəyyə deʔše
ʔəy+ paŋ.wəy-wə de.ʔše
3E+ *lean.DEPOS-COM DCT2.SIM
'He leaned it like that.'

(v) si kummə ʔo ney gahi ʔəy paccəycakkə
si 0 kum-wə ʔo ney gahiʔ ʔəy+ pac**.w**əy=cak-wə
if 3A bury-COM or same there 3E+ throw.DEPOS=leave-COM
'If he was buried or they just left him thrown down there.' (ZOH1R26 145)

7.1.2.3. **Stative** na

The stative suffix indicates a static position, much like the definition given for assumptive. There are only 11 expressions using this suffix in the corpus, all but one of which follow the pattern Verb.na Verb-Infl. This leads me to conclude that this suffix generally produces a stative adjective, or participle, from one of a few positional verbs. (Whether it's incorporated is impossible to tell with the third person absolutive 0 morpheme.) The first two examples occur with positional roots that do not appear as independent roots; that is, they can not be

directly inflected. *hap- appears frequently in compounds and evidently means something like 'mouth' or 'face down'. *tay- appears only in other positional expressions (like tay.ney-wə, 'he was lying face up'). The following examples come from the lexicon.

(7.19)

(i) hapna moŋŋə
0 hap.na moŋ-wə
3A *face_down.STAT sleep-COM
'She slept face down.'

(ii) tayna moŋŋə
0 tay.na moŋ-wə
3A *face_up.STAT sleep-COM
'He slept face up.'

(iii) ceŋna tennə
0 ceŋ.na ten-wə
3A be_on_one_side.STAT stand-COM
'She stood sideways.'

(iv) hapna yowə
0 hap.na yoʔ-wə
3A *face_down.STAT fall-COM
'He fell face down.'

(v) cənna wanakkə
0 cən.na wanak-wə
3A sit.STAT go_down-COM
'She sat down.'

(vi) cənna moŋŋə
0 cən.na moŋ-wə
3A sit.STAT sleep-COM
'He slept sitting up.'

(vii) ceŋnaminpa ʔi ceŋnanəkpa
0 ceŋ.na=min-pa ʔi 0 ceŋ.na=nək-pa
3A be_on_one_side.STAT=come-INC and 3A be_on_one_side.STAT=go-INC
'She staggered.'

7.1.3. Perseverative ten

This suffix means roughly "to keep something V-ed", or perhaps more precisely, "to V, and as a result to have something V-ed". One of my consultants often translated expressions with this suffix as "to V the day before". It is the volitional counterpart of assumptive -ney, which does not imply intentional action. Something can assume a position of having been stretched, for example,

without a human being deliberately doing the stretching, but if -ten is used, the fact that the stretching was done deliberately is made clear. Compare the first five examples shown below with examples in (7.17) above.

(7.20)

(i) ʔən kaptennən totoʔ
ʔən+ kap.ten-wə ʔən+ totoʔ
1E+ carry_on_shoulder.PRSV-COM 1E+ paper
'I've got my notebook set on my shoulder.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔəy mama ʔəy kettennə bi ʔuneʔ
ʔəy+ mama ʔəy+ ket.ten-wə bi ʔuneʔ
3E+ mama 3E+ cover.PRSV-COM DEF child
'His mother has the child covered up.'
(lexicon)

(iii) ʔəy pahtennə bi kuy
ʔəy+ pah.ten-wə bi kuy
3E+ set_post.PRSV-COM DEF tree
'He set the post (where he needed it).' (elicited)

(iv) yan montennə gə hamatin
ya ʔən+ mon.ten-wə gə hamatin
NEG 1E+ wrap.PRSV-COM DEM money
'I don't have the money wrapped up.' (ZOH1R23 460)

(v) ʔəy hupnukkə məyə, ʔəy nuktennə
ʔəy+ hup=nuk-wə məyə ʔəy+ nuk.ten-wə
3E+ pull=grab-COM thunder 3E+ grab.PRSV-COM
'He snatched the lightning bolt, he had it grasped.' (ZOH1R25 217)

The perseverative is not necessarily related to having something in a particular position. It simply means that the event was done ahead of time, or in time, or deliberately. Thus, the perseverative appears with non-positional verbs as well.

(7.21)

(i) ʔəy ʔuctennəy mok
ʔəy+ ʔuc.ten-wə ʔəy+ mok
3E+ measure.PRSV-COM 3E+ corn
'She has her corn measured.'

(ii) ʔəy haytennám bi totogəši
ʔəy+ hay.ten-wə+ʔam bi totoʔ+gəši
3E+ write.PRSV-COM+NOW DEF paper+LOC4
'He's got it written on the paper.'

(iii) ʔəy huytennə bi coyʔ
ʔəy+ huy.ten-wə bi coyʔ
3E+ buy.PRSV-COM DEF medicine
'She's bought her medicine.'

(iv) ʔəy mahtennə bi həyəʔ
ʔəy+ mah.ten-wə bi həyəʔ
3E+ water.PRSV-COM DEF flower
'He's got the flowers watered.'

(v) ʔəy maytennə bi hamatin
ʔəy+ may.ten-wə bi hamatin
3E+ count.PRSV-COM DEF money
'She's got the money counted.'

Sometimes the translations of verb roots with perseverative suffixes focussed on the moment of the actual event, especially roots indicating some particular motion or position of the hands, or of moving things with sticks. In all such cases, my consultants thought the perseverative forms were odd, but willingly offered translations. The meanings of the suffixed forms were generally "to have the hand or stick in the position of V-ing and not move it for a little while".

(7.22)

(i) ʔəy hectennə bi wowo

ʔəy+ hec.ten-wə bi wowo

3E+ scratch.PRSV-COM DEF hole

'He put his hand in to scratch out a hole and didn't take it out for bit.'

(ii) ʔəy hiʔptennə bi nəc

ʔəy+ hiʔp.ten-wə bi nəc

3E+ move_w_stick.PRSV-COM DEF armadillo

'He's got the armadillo pinned (in its hole).'

(iii) ʔəy huʔttennə bi kəši

ʔəy+ huʔt.ten-wə bi kəš.E

'3E+ stir.PRSV-COM DEF eat.NOM3

'She's got the stirrer set ready in the atole.'

(iv) ʔəy keptennə bi pelota

ʔəy+ kep.ten-wə bi pelota

3E+ kick.PRSV-COM DEF ball

'He's got his foot placed, ready to kick the ball.'

(v) ʔəy koʔctennəy wae

ʔəy+ koʔc.ten-wə ʔəy+ wae

3E+ touch_w_flat_hand.PRSV-COM 3E+ masa

'She has the masa in the palm of her hand.'

7.1.4. The mysterious yet ubiquitous suffix 'ʔəy'

This suffix usually appears with one of the directional prefixes discussed in section 7.1.1. I have not been able to determine what it means or what its function could be in the verbal complex. If it's a circumfix, why do the prefixes that co-occur with it also freely occur without it? I tried to make a case for collapsing this -ʔəy with the versive VERS2 that derives verbs from nouns, but this did not hold up. There were too few cases in which the stem to which -ʔəy was attached could be reasonably construed as nominal. It does not consistently make intransitive roots transitive, or otherwise affect the argument structure of the verb complex. The search for revealing parallels in other Mixe-Zoque languages has also been fruitless (Kaufman, p.c.), so I'm forced to concede defeat and simply gloss the irritating little morpheme SUF and have done with it.

(7.23)

(i) helasyo yay ʔokcəkkəy
helasyo ya ʔəy+ ʔok.cək.ʔəy-A
helasyo NEG 3E+ DOWN.do.SUF-nINC
'Gelasio doesn't have time.' (ZOH1R10 004)

(ii) tihhə də ʔokcakkəy ʔən ha:y manak parada
tih-wə də+ ʔok.cak.ʔəy-E ʔən+ haya manak parada
go&return-COM 1A+ DOWN.leave.SUF-dCOM 1E+ male child stop
'My son accompanied me to the bus stop.' (ZOH1R10 165)

(iii) də kəmaŋŋədammə karruho
də+ kə.maŋ.ʔəy-tam-wə karru+hoʔ
1A+ AWAY.*step.SUF-1/2PL-COM bus+LOC1
'We got on the bus' (ZOH1R10 170)

(iv) ʔən ʔišpəkpáʔk hente dəkka ʔən ʔotoŋŋəyyə
ʔən+ ʔiš=pək-pa+VʔkV hente +dəkka ʔən+ ʔotoŋ.ʔəy-wə
1E+ see=get-INC+REL people +NPL 1E+ speak.SUF-COM
'The people that I know I spoke to.' (ZOH1R10 299)

(v) tigo miš maŋkuy kənəkkeppəba
tigoʔ miš+ maŋkuyʔ=kə.nək=kep.ʔəy-pa
why 2>1+ foot=AWAY.go=kick.SUF-INC
'Why do you stick your foot out at me?' (ZOH1R18 323)

7.2. Noun and adjective formation

This section describes the affixes that are used to form nouns and adjectives from verb roots.

7.2.1. Participles and result nouns

There are two suffixes that form deverbal adjectives and nouns that have a participial or resultative character. The definition is fuzzy because the meanings of nouns formed with these suffixes varies, but all have the general sense of 'the result of V-ing' or 'the condition of having been V-ed'.

Each has a set of phonological alternations. NOM2 labels the set **[**a, aʔ, ə, **and** ə], represented by A in the morpheme breakdown line of the examples. NOM3 labels the set **[**e, eʔ, i, **and** i], represented by E in the morpheme breakdown line. The choice of vowel is governed by the vowel harmony process discussed in section 3.3.2. Given the general preference of MIG Zoque for CVC syllables, I think it is likely that originally there were only the

glottal stop-final alternants, but it is not possible to determine this conclusively given the fragility of word-final glottal stops in this language.

NOM2 is much less abundantly attested than NOM3. I tried to elicit both forms for every verb root in the lexicon, and found very few roots that would accept NOM2, whereas nearly every root allows NOM3. There seems to be interference from the imperative suffix, which has the same phonological shapes as NOM2. NOM2 forms are more likely to be clearly nouns, while NOM3 forms are more likely to be participle-like adjectives.

(7.24)

(i) ʔaŋnopša
ʔaŋ.ʔopš.a
NEG speak.NOM2
'mute'

(ii) ʔinəʔ
ʔin.əʔ
get_cloudy.NOM2
'cloud'

(iii) wiki cowaʔ
wiki coŋ.aʔ
finger join.NOM2
'knuckle'

(iv) hokəwəʔ
ho.kəŋ.əʔ
INTO.burn.NOM2
're-burned'

(v) keta de totoʔ
ket.a de totoʔ
cover.NOM2 of paper
'book cover'

(vi) hacə
hac.ə
get_into_debt.NOM2
'debt'

(vii) nisotaʔ
nisoʔt.aʔ
bud.NOM2
'bud'

(viii) šawəʔ
šaŋ.əʔ
cut_w_machete.NOM2
'cut with a machete'

NOM3 is vastly more common. Nearly all the verb roots that I tested allow a NOM3 form. NOM3 forms generally have a participial meaning. This is

invariably the sort of translation I was given when I tried eliciting NOM3 and NOM2 forms for all the roots in the lexicon, suggesting that the exceptions (forms whose meanings are more nominal, as in example 7.25 ii) have become lexicalized and shifted away from an earlier, more directly participial sense.

(7.25)

(i) hape
haʔp.e
break.NOM3
'broken'

(ii) ʔoheʔ
ʔoh.eʔ
cough.NOM3
'(a) cough'

(iii) šiš haše
šiš haš.e
meat roast.NOM3
'roasted meat'

(iv) kukweneʔ
kuk=wen.eʔ
middle=divide.NOM3
'divided in the middle'

(v) təwi
təŋ.i
cut_w_machete.NOM3
'a thing cut with a machete'

(vi) ʔəwiʔ
ʔəŋ.iʔ
fall_from_above.NOM3
'fallen fruit'

(vii) huki
huk.i
smoke.NOM3
'cigarette'

(viii) ʔaŋwitiʔ
ʔaŋ.wit.iʔ
MOUTH.walk.NOM3
'visitor'

7.2.2. Instrumentals

Instrumentality is an important concept in MIG Zoque, to judge by the abundance of means for expressing the notion. In addition to the instrument postposition +piʔt (INSTR), there are three affixes that form instrument nouns from verb roots. There are also many verb roots that entail a specific instrument as part of their meaning, such as hiʔp-, 'to move with a little stick'. These can be

compounded with another verb root to add an instrument to the clause (see chapter 8 for examples).

7.2.2.1. kuyʔ

This is a highly productive affix. I could easily earn my approval points for the day by naming one of my common tools (pencils, lighters, etc.) with a new instrumental using -kuyʔ. It frequently appears attached to stems with the antipassive suffix -ʔoy, reasonably, since there's no need to be specific about objects when identifying a tool. There are also examples of this suffix with prefixed stems, compounded stems, and even stems with an incorporated noun. The meaning of words formed with -kuyʔ are usually instrumental, sometimes locative, and sometimes purely idiosyncratic. The gloss for this morpheme is INSTR1.

(7.26) Simple forms

(i) ʔukkuyʔ
ʔuk.kuyʔ
drink.INSTR1
'drunkenness'

(ii) ʔuckuyʔ
ʔuc.kuyʔ
measure.INSTR1
'measure'

(iii) haykuyʔ
hay.kuyʔ
write.INSTR1
'pen'

(iv) hununkuyʔ
hunun.kuyʔ
tickle.INSTR1
'ticklish'

(v) kumkuyʔ
kum.kuyʔ
X.INSTR1
'town'

(vi) kəŋkuyʔ
kəŋ.kuyʔ
paint.INSTR1
'color'

(vii) maŋkuyʔ
maŋ.kuyʔ
*step.INSTR1
'foot'

(viii) caŋkuyʔ
caŋ.kuyʔ
hit_w_fist.INSTR1
'hand'

(ix) ʔammakuyʔ
ʔamma.kuyʔ
look.INSTR1
'vision; the eyes'

(x) ʔaŋheʔkkuyʔ
ʔaŋheʔk.kuyʔ
be_afraid.INSTR1
'fear'

(7.27) Antipassive stem

(i) pennokuyʔ
pen.ʔoy.kuyʔ
tighten.ANTIP.INSTR1
'squeeze'

(ii) monnoykuyʔ
mon.ʔoy.kuyʔ
wrap.ANTIP.INSTR1
'wrapper'

(iii) kənəkhuppokuyʔ
kə.nək=hup.ʔoy.kuyʔ
AWAY.go=pull.ANTIP.INSTR1
'whip'

(iv) huʔccokuyʔ
huʔc.ʔoy.kuyʔ
puncture.ANTIP.INSTR1
'arrow'

(v) ʔaŋŋunnokuyʔ
ʔaŋ.ʔun.ʔoy.kuyʔ
MOUTH.deceive.ANTIP.INSTR1
'gossip'

(vi) ʔiššokuyʔ
ʔiš.ʔoy.kuyʔ
see.ANTIP.INSTR1
'the eye'

(7.28) Other derived stems, compounds, and incorporation structures

(i) ʔanecaŋkuyʔ
ʔane=caŋ.kuyʔ
tortilla.hit_w_fist.INSTR1
'tortilla maker'

(ii) hampoŋkuyʔ
ham=poŋ.kuyʔ
lime=burn.INSTR1
'oven for cooking lime'

(iii) honcihhokuyʔ
hon=cih.ʔoy.kuyʔ
bird=throw_rock.ANTIP.INSTR1
'bola'

(iv) kocahkuyʔ
ko.cah.kuyʔ
SOC.stick.INSTR1
'paste'

(v) koyoškuyʔ
ko.yoš.kuyʔ
SOC.work.INSTR1
'work (done) for someone else'

(vi) numcənkuyʔ
num=cən.kuyʔ
steal=sit.INSTR1
'hiding place'

7.2.2.2. yək

Unlike instrumental -kuyʔ, yək- is only prefixed to verb roots, not to derived stems. There is also one interesting form that employs both instrumental affixes (7.29 vii). The gloss code for this morpheme is INSTR2.

(7.29)

(i) yəkyum
yək.yum
INSTR2.boil
'copper pot'

(ii) yəkwəc
yək.wəc
INSTR2.comb
'comb'

(iii) yəkhepš
yək.hepš
INSTR2.scoop
'shovel'

(iv) yəkhup
yək.hup
INSTR2.pull
'bucket'

(v) yəkkep
yək.kep
INSTR2.kick
'shoe; huarache'

(vi) yəkmoŋ
yək.moŋ
INSTR2.sleep
'bed'

(vii) yəkkukkuyʔ
yək.ʔuk.kuyʔ
INSTR2.drink.INSTR1
'cup'

7.2.2.3. ni

This morpheme, INSTR3, generally has a locative meaning, although there are several examples with an instrumental meaning. Although it is homophonous with the verbal prefix discussed in section 7.1.1.7, its function is sufficiently different to warrant analysis as a distinct morpheme. MAR Zoque also has a prefix ni- that means `use X as an instrument for doing VERB'[1] (Kaufman, p.c.). Like yək-, ni- never appears with a derived verb stem.

(7.30)
(i) nikəš
ni.kəš
INSTR3.eat
'table for eating at'

(ii) nimoŋ
ni.moŋ
INSTR3.sleep
'mattress'

[1] MAR Zoque has a nearly-homophonous prefix niʔ-, which means `VERB on it, esp. someone's body'. Both prefixes co-occur with the suffix -ʔəy. (Kaufman, p.c.). We commonly find that final glottal stops in MAR Zoque have been deleted in the MIG Zoque dialect. This niʔ- prefix, however, most closely corresponds semantically with the MIG Zoque prefix nik-, discussed in section 7.1.1.8.

(iii) nicəm
ni.cəm
INSTR3.carry
'pad placed under a load'

(iv) nicən
ni.cən
INSTR3.sit
'seat'

(v) nihin
ni.hin
INSTR3.refregar
'thing for bathing with'

(vi) nišuy
ni.šuy
INSTR3.cover
'blanket; sheet'

7.2.3. Measure nouns

This is another suffix with alternate forms: -naaŋ/-neeŋ. The latter form is relatively rare and does not appear to be phonologically conditioned, since -naaŋ appears with verb stems containing all of the six possible vowels. In accordance with the regular rule of syllable contraction (section 3.3.8), the suffix receives primary stress even though it is the last syllable in the word. This suffix is probably cognate with a suffix in neighboring MAR Zoque -iʔiŋ/-eʔeŋ, which creates a unit of measure or unitary event (Kaufman, p.c.).

I call these measure nouns, because the first ones that I encountered indicated units of measure based on some action, such as taking a step or holding something in the closed fist (a fistful). When the event expressed by the verb stem implies some sort of spatial limit, this suffix will predictably produce a noun identifying that limit.

(7.31)

(i) muynáŋ
muy.naaŋ
have_in_mouth.MEAS
'mouthful'

(ii) waʔkšnáŋ
waʔkš.naaŋ
divide_load.MEAS
'a load (one side of the burro)'

(iii) cukšnéŋ
cukš.neeŋ
pinch.MEAS
'a little piece'

(iv) cunnéŋ
cun.neeŋ
drip.MEAS
'drop'

(v) yucnáŋ
yuc.naaŋ
grab_w_fist.MEAS
'handful'

(vi) cacnéŋ
cac.neeŋ
tear.MEAS
'strip (of paper)'

(vii) kiʔtnáŋ
kiʔt.naaŋ
put_finger.MEAS
'the amount of (food) that you can pick up with one finger'

(viii) hecnáŋ
hec.naaŋ
scratch.MEAS
'the amount you can scratch up with one hand'

Applying the measure suffix to a verb with a typically iterative connotation, such as sneezing or stepping, produces a noun indicating one instance or iteration of the action.

(7.32)

(i) kašnáŋ
kaš.naaŋ
step.MEAS
'(a) step'

(ii) keknáŋ
kek.naaŋ
hop.MEAS
'(a) hop'

(iii) šuʔknáŋ
šuʔk.naaŋ
kiss.MEAS
'(a) kiss'

(iv) nemnáŋ
nem.naaŋ
cut_w_scissors.MEAS
'(one) snip'

(v) neŋnáŋ
neŋ.naaŋ
make_waves.MEAS
'(a) wave'

(vi) hatikšnáŋ
hatikš.naaŋ
sneeze.MEAS
'(a) sneeze'

(vii) hinnáŋ
hin.naaŋ
scrub.MEAS
'(a) scrub'

(viii) hotnáŋ
hot.naaŋ
pick_coffee.MEAS
'one stroke of the hand, picking coffee'

With verb stems that express a more complex event, the measure suffix yields a noun indicating a single occurrence of the event.

(7.33)

(i) ʔomnáŋ
ʔom.naaŋ
cense.MEAS
'a censing (ritual)'

(ii) həʔtnáŋ
həʔt.naaŋ
flood.MEAS
'one flooding'

(iii) kehnáŋ
keh.naaŋ
appear.MEAS
'one sighting'

(iv) meʔcnáŋ
meʔc.naaŋ
look_for.MEAS
'a search'

(v) šomnáŋ
šom.naaŋ
jail.MEAS
'a jail term'

Finally, there are more abstract nouns formed with the measure suffix, denoting a result of the event expressed by the verb stem.

(7.34)

(i) kuy wocnáŋ
kuy woc.naaŋ
tree saw.MEAS
'sawdust'

(ii) tannéŋ
tan.neeŋ
complete.MEAS
'completed'

(iii) ʔonnéŋ
ʔon.neeŋ
mess_up.MEAS
'a crumpled bit of garbage'

(iv) noŋnáŋ
noŋ.naaŋ
dent&spring_back.MEAS
'a dent'

7.3. Verb formation suffixes

There is one suffix used to create MIG Zoque verbs from Spanish verbs and Zoque nouns: cək-, 'to do'. There are two versives for forming verbs from nouns, adjectives, and other words.

7.3.1. Spanish verb stems + the Zoque light verb cək-

To import a Spanish verb into MIG Zoque, one strips the inflectional suffix from the (present tense) Spanish verb (probably the third person singular form) and compounds the stem with the light (semantically nearly empty) verb cək-, 'to do'. The argument structure of the combined form is determined by the Spanish verb. Evidence that the Spanish donor form is the third person singular can be seen in examples (iv) and (viii), below. Here, the Zoque verbs were formed from irregular Spanish verbs: *conseguir* 'to get', and *aprobar*, 'to approve'. The third person singular forms for these two verbs are *cons**i**gues* and *apr**ue**bes*.

The irregular vowel alternations of these verbs is reflected in the vowels in the second syllables of the Zoque words.

This process frequently results in the use of speech sounds that are not part of the regular MIG Zoque inventory. There may be some assimilation of the final consonant of the Spanish stem, although sometimes an apparently hard-to-pronounce form is left unchanged (compare examples 7.35 ii and iii). If the Spanish stem vowel (a, e, or i) is dropped, the preceding vowel is lengthened. If this would result in a consonant cluster, the stem vowel is retained (examples 7.35 v and vi).

This is an extremely common process, since all living speakers of MIG Zoque are bilingual and many Spanish words are simply more readily available to the tongue. Spanish verbs have apparently replaced whole lexical categories (probably quite long ago), such as religion, cognition, and emotion. It is very difficult to find Zoque words in these domains, and some of those that appear in texts are not readily recognized by other speakers. I include the whole Spanish infinitive form in the morpheme breakdown line for clarity.

(7.35)

(i) ʔum nəmmə miš ke yam ga:ncəkkə
ʔu ʔəm+ nəm-wə miš ke ya ʔəm+ ganar=cək-wə
NEGimpv 2E+ say-COM 2Prn that NEG 2E+ earn=do-nINC
'Don't say that you're not earning.' (ZOH1R18 171)

(ii) ya nəmmo miš ʔayu:dcəktamə
ya nəm.ʔoy-e miš+ ʔayudar=cək-tam-A
NEG DO.ANTIP-X 2>1+ help=do-1/2PL-nINC
'Can't you help us?' (ZOH1R25 073)

(iii) porke dəššən ʔatencəkpa
porke dəš ʔən+ ʔatender=cək-pa
because 1Prn 1E+ pay_attention=do-INC
'because I pay attention (to her)' (ZOH1R32 097)

(iv) ʔəm konsi:gcəkkə ʔalgo
ʔəm+ konsigir=cək-wə ʔalgo
2E+ get=do-COM something
'Did you get anything?' (ZOH1R10 086)

(v) ʔəy nombracəkšukpám bi komité
ʔəy+ nombrar=cək-šuk-pa+ʔam bi komité
3E+ name=do-3PL-INC+NOW DEF committee
'Now they're naming the committee.' (ZOH1R32 060)

(vi) yə pən ʔəy salbacəkkám yədə kumkuy pən
yəʔ pən ʔəy+ salbar=cək-wə+ʔam yədə kumkuyʔ pən
this man 3E+ save=do-COM+NOW this town man
'This man saved these townspeople.' (ZOH1R18 210)

(vii) de gahi ʔeŋfwa:dcəkkə rromáŋ
de gahiʔ 0 ʔenfadar=cək-wə rromáŋ
of there 3A get_tired_of=do-COM román
'Then Román got tired of (the place).' (ZOH1R18 241)

(viii) ʔəy ʔapre:pcəkkə
ʔəy+ ʔaprobar=cək-wə
3E+ test=do-COM
'He tried it.' (ZOH1R25 173)

(ix) dəš miš respaldacəkpa
dəš miš+ respaldar=cək-pa
1Prn 1>2+ support=do-INC
'I will support you.' (ZOH1R24 402)

(x) ga bi ʔəy gušcəkkə lugar
ga ʔ bi ʔəy+ gustar=cək-wə lugar
DCT3 DEF 3E+ like=do-COM place
'That was the place that they liked.' (ZOH1R2 024)

cək- is also used to form verbs from nouns and adjectives. This produces a transitive verb, with the general sense of 'to make X'. It can also be used to make a Zoque verb from a Spanish noun (example vi). The contrast in meaning between versives =cək- and .ʔa- can be seen by comparing examples 7.36 (i) and 7.38 (i), in which each formative is applied to the adjective paha ʔk, 'sweet'.

(7.36)
(i) ʔəy paha ʔkcəkkə
ʔəy+ paha ʔk=cək-wə
3E+ sweet=do-COM
'He sweetened it.'

(ii) nəmməy wə:hcəkšukkə
nəmmə ʔəy+ wəhə=cək-šuk-wə
PROG 3E+ good=do-3PL-COM
'They were repairing it.' (ZOH1R25 064)

(iii) nəkpay macəkšukkə
nək-pa ʔəy+ ma ʔ=cək-šuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ sale=do-3PL-COM
'They went to sell.' (ZOH1R2 030)

(iv) ha:mcəktamə tin cəkmintammə
ham**V**=cək-tam-A ʔ ti ʔ ʔən+ cək=min-tam-wə
X=do-1/2PL-IMPV what 1E+ do=come-1/2PL-COM
'Remember what we came to do.' (ZOH1R18 003)

(v) ʔəy tummaŋcəkkə
ʔəy+ tummaŋ=cək-wə
3E+ aligned=do-COM
'He straightened (or levelled) it.'

(vi) gay rrwidocəkpám ʔəy təkhoʔ
gay 0 ruido=cək-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ tək+hoʔ
then 3A noise=do-INC+NOW 3E+ house+LOC2
'Now it makes a noise in his house.' (ZOH1R37 162)

cək- often combines with deverbal nouns, to yield a verb with much the same meaning as the original, underived root, but with the focus on perhaps some particular part of the event. This is a fine example of the stylistic range available to the Zoque speaker.

(7.37)
(i) ʔəm moŋkuycəkpa
ʔəm+ moŋ.kuyʔ=cək-pa
2E+ sleep.INSTR1=do-INC
'You go to bed.' (ZOH1R36 076)

(ii) topacəkkə
0 top.**A**=cək-wə
3A be_hot.NOM2=do-COM
'It's hot.'

(iii) toyacəkkhayyə
0 toy.a=cək.hay-wə
3A be_sick.NOM2=do.APPL-COM
'He got sick.'

(iv) ʔəy yuhkuycəkkə
ʔəy+ yuh.kuyʔ=cək-wə
3E+ clear_field.INSTR1=do-COM
'He cleared a field.'

7.3.2. Versive -ʔa

This versive (VERS1) most commonly appears with adjectives with the general meaning 'to become or be X' (examples 7.38 i and ii). It is also used to form verbs from demonstratives, numbers, and other function morphemes (examples iii-v). It verbalizes nouns, with the general meaning 'to have or do X' (examples vi-viii). It also combines with the irregular stem tehi- to produce a stem meaning 'to exist' or 'to be located' (example ix), and nənti?, 'there isn't' (example x).

(7.38)

(i) paha?kkawə
0 paha?k.ʔa-wə
3A sweet.VERS1-COM
'It became sweet.'

(ii) tey wəhəʔawám
tey 0 wəhə.ʔa-wə+ʔam
now 3A good.VERS1-COM+NOW
'Now it's gotten well.' (ZOH1R36 134)

(iii) gə winnawə́ʔ
gə 0 win.ʔa-wə+Vʔk
DEM 3A FACE.VERS1-COM+REL
'He who got ahead' (ZOH1R24 112)

(iv) ʔəm huceŋŋadammə
ʔəm+ huceŋ.ʔa-tam-wə
2E+ how_many.VERS1-1/2PL-COM
'How many are you?' (ZOH1R10 306)

(v) mecaŋŋadamməštáʔ
mecaŋ.ʔa-tam-wə+štaaʔ
two.VERS1-1/2PL-COM+ONLY
'(We're) just two.' (ZOH1R10 308)

(vi) yəhənaŋ nəmmobam tukšiʔawə kon məhmə hente
yə+hənaaŋ nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔəm tukšiʔ.ʔa-wə kon məhmə hente
DCT1+ACC DO.ANTIP-INC 2E+ fight.VERS1-COM with many people
'With this you can fight with many people' (ZOH1R18 097)

(vii) yəhama də šəŋŋadampa
yə=hama də+ šəŋ.ʔa-tam-pa
DCT1=day 1A+ fiesta.VERS1-1/2PL-INC
'Today we'll have a fiesta.' (ZOH1R18 185)

(viii) ʔəy wehhaŋkukkawə
ʔəy+ weh=ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa-wə
3E+ shout=MOUTH.center.VERS1-COM
'He called them together.' (ZOH1R24 023)

(ix) myentras ke dəš də tehiʔawə
myentras ke dəš də+ tehi.ʔa-wə
while that 1Prn 1A+ exist.VERS1-COM
'While I am here' (ZOH1R18 053)

(x) porken manak nənti ʔawə tey təkhoʔ
porke ʔən+ manak nənti ʔ.ʔa-wə tey tək+hoʔ
because 1E+ son there_isn't.VERS1-COM now house+LOC2
'Because my son isn't home right now.' (ZOH1R10 060)

7.3.3. Versive -ʔəy

This versive (VERS2) is most commonly used to form verbs from nouns with the general meaning 'to have X', but also appears with adjectives (7.39 iv). Its most common usage is with the noun tək, 'house', to mean 'to enter' (v and vi).

(7.39)

(i) si puciʔəyyəm yoʔk
si 0 puʔc.E.ʔəy-wə ʔəm+ yoʔk
if 3A rot.NOM3.VERS2-COM 2E+ throat
'If your throat has granules (irritation)...' (ZOH1R36 048)

(ii) rromáŋ komo ʔanimoʔəyyə
rromáŋ komo 0 ʔanimo.ʔəy-wə
román how 3A courage.VERS2-COM
'Since Román had courage' (ZOH1R18 060)

(iii) ʔəy yəkmaŋŋəyyə
ʔəy+ yək.maŋ.ʔəy-wə
3E+ INSTR2.*step.VERS2-COM
'He put his shoes on.' (ZOH1R24 160)

(iv) ʔəy poyya:həyyə
ʔəy+ poy=yahəʔ.ʔəy-wə
3E+ flee=far.VERS2-COM
'He threw them away.' (ZOH1R24 630)

(v) gahi təkkəšukkə
ga.hiʔ 0 tək.ʔəy-šuk-wə
DCT3.LOC1 3A house.VERS2-3PL-COM
'There they entered.' (ZOH1R24 009)

(vi) təkkədamə hoŋhoʔ
tək.ʔəy-tam-Aʔ hoŋ+hoʔ
house.VERS2-1/2PL-IMPV inside+LOC2
'Come inside.' (ZOH1R24 036)

7.4. Deadjectival nouns

The +pəʔk relative clause marker also serves as a means of nominalizing adjectives: "that which is X".

(7.39)
(i) pahaʔkpəʔ
pahaʔk+pəʔk
sweet+REL
'candy'

(ii) ga capacpəʔk ʔi yəkyək
ga capac+pəʔk ʔi yəkyək
DCT3 red+REL and black
'Those red and black ones.' (elicited)

(iii) ga mecaŋpəʔk
gaʔ mecaŋ+pəʔk
DCT3 two+REL
'Those two.' (elicited)

Chapter 8: Dependent Verb Constructions

In MIG Zoque, one verb root can be dependent on another in two ways: morphologically or syntactically. Morphological dependency obtains when two verb stems are compounded in a single verb complex. These constructions are the most varied, and so are discussed last, in section 8.3.

Syntactically dependent verb constructions consist of a sequence of two verb complexes in which the second (V2) is dependent on the first (V1). V1 is inflected for aspect or mood as it would be if it were the only verb in the clause, using one of the eight aspect/mood suffixes shown in Table 5.2. V2 is inflected with one of the two dependent suffixes: **-E** if V1 has completive aspect, and -wə if it is in the incompletive or a non-declarative mood. Only V2 is marked for agreement with the subject (and object), and the agreement marker is always selected from the ergative set, regardless of V2's transitivity. The whole construction has only one argument structure.

(8.1) šuššən nipin mok
šuš-wə ʔən+ nip-**E** ʔən+ mok
whistle-COM 1E+ sow-dCOM 1E+ corn
'I whistled while I sowed my corn.' (elicited)

The auxiliary verbs defined in section 4.1.5. can appear in a dependent construction with any other verb (*pace* pragmatic obstacles, as in, for instance, 'the mangoes hurried to rot'). A complete description of auxiliary verb constructions is given in section 8.1. Other dependent verb constructions are

generally translated 'to V1 while V2-ing' (as in example 8.1), and are more limited in terms of acceptable combinations. These are discussed in section 8.2.

8.1. Auxiliary verb constructions

There are six auxiliaries in MIG Zoque, all intransitive roots of motion, manner, or aspect:

(8.2)

(i) **Motion**
- nək- 'go'
- min- 'come'
- tih- 'go & return'

(ii) **Manner**
- həʔkš- 'hurry'
- muš- 'know'

(iii) **Aspect**
- ʔokmaŋ- 'begin'

An example of each one is given in (8.3). nək-, 'to go', and min-, 'to come', are far and away the most commonly used. tih-, to go and return', is used when the round-trip character of the motion is relevant. Both muš-, 'to know', and ʔokmaŋ-, 'to begin', appear most commonly in verb root compound constructions; in fact, I found no examples of ʔokmaŋ- in the dependent verb construction in the texts. həʔkš-, 'to hurry', is extremely rare in any form. Relative frequency in the corpus notwithstanding, it is easy to elicit examples of any of the auxiliaries, while other likely suspects[1] (such as tuk-, 'to finish') are roundly rejected.

[1] Sierra Popoluca, an Gulf (Veracruz) Zoquean language, has yah-, 'to finish' in its set of auxiliary verbs (Himes 1997).

(8.3)

(i) hemhi gahi nəkpay pəkcoŋŋə
hemhi gahiʔ nək-pa ʔəy+ pək=coŋ-wə
all there go-INC 3E+ get=join-dINC
'They all go there to receive them.' (ZOH1R21 032)

(ii) rranču minnə mi ʔaŋŋunnədame
rranču min-wə mi+ ʔaŋ.ʔun.ʔəy-tam-E
rancho come-COM 3>2+ MOUTH.deceive.SUF-1/2PL-dCOM
'The (people of the) rancho came to deceive you.' (ZOH1R16 070)

(iii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
tih-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke+dək+hənaŋ
go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this gringo+NPL+ACC
'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)

(iv) həʔkšpay minnə huɡay
həʔkš-pa ʔəy+ min-wə huʔ gaʔ
hurry-INC 3E+ come-dINC where that
'He comes hurrying to where it is.' (ZOH1R42 067)

(v) pwes kom dəšháʔ mušpan yuntammə
pwes komo dəšhaaʔ muš-pa ʔən+ yun-tam-wə
well since we know-INC 1E+ swim-1/2PL-dINC

nəktampa hoŋhonaŋ
(də+) nək-tam-pa hoŋ+honaŋ
(1A+) go-1/2PL-INC inside+DIR3
'Well, since we know how to swim, we're going in.' (ZOH1R15 045)

(vi) ʔokmaŋŋə wan ʔəy caŋŋoy
ʔokmaŋ-wə wan ʔəy+ caŋ.ʔoy-E
begin-COM juan 3E+ cut_w_machete.ANTIP-dCOM
'Juan began to clear (brush with a machete).' (lexicon)

The following examples show the inflectional possibilities of auxiliary verb constructions. Examples (i) and (v) demonstrate the use of ergative agreement markers even though the valency of the whole construction is intransitive. In (i), V2 is made intransitive by the addition of the antipassive suffix; in (v), it is intransitive because the patient - tuhkuyʔ, 'gun' - has been incorporated. The absolutive dəɨ+ (1A) appears in example (ii) because the clause is in the inverse: the third person agents of V2 are searching for a first person patient, so the more important first person argument must be explicitly marked. In example (vii), both the auxiliary and V2 are inflected directly for mood. Double marking only occurs with this particular construction: the auxiliary nək- and the hortative mood. It is a very common way to say "Let's go do something!".

(8.4)

(i) <u>completive aspect - intransitive V2</u>
minnən muššoydame
min-wə ʔən+ muš.ʔoy-tam-E
come-COM 1E+ know.ANTIP-1/2PL-dCOM
'We came to know (about it).' (ZOH1R23 172)

(ii) <u>completive aspect - inverse marking</u>
minnə də meʔčuki
min-wə dəɨ+ meʔc-šuk-E
come-COM 1A+ look_for-3PL-dCOM
'They came to look for me.' (ZOH1R30 001)

(iii) <u>incompletive aspect</u>
minpa ʔəy cakkə ʔəy wakašdəkkay
min-pa ʔəy+ cak-wə ʔəy+ wakaš+dəkkay
come-INC 3E+ leave-dINC 3E+ cow+NPL
'They come to leave their cattle.' (ZOH1R32 072)

(iv) imperative mood
haʔá minəm ʔammawə
haʔá min-Aʔ ʔəm+ ʔamma-wə
Ha! come-IMPV 2E+ look-dINC
'Ha! Come look at it!' (ZOH1R25 031)

(v) volitive mood
ʔaŋkimmobáʔ ʔəy nəmhayyə pwes
ʔaŋkimmobáʔ ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə pwes
leader 3E+ say.APPL-COM well

yakkə minno ʔəy tuhkuypəkšukkə
yakkə min-ʔo ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ=pək-šuk-wə
VOL come-IMPV2 3E+ gun=get-3PL-COM
'The leader said to them, well, that they should come get their guns.'
(ZOH1R24 390)

(vi) negative
si dəš ya də minnən tukšiʔay
si dəš ya də+ min-wə ʔən+ tukšiʔ.ʔa-E
if 1Prn NEG 1A+ come-nCOM 1E+ fight.VERS1-dCOM
'If I didn't come to fight' (ZOH1R18 056)

(vii) hortative mood
nəmmə bi yošʔawindəkka nəktáŋ kumtáŋ
0 nəm-wə bi yoš=ʔawinʔ+dəkka nək-taaŋ kum-taaŋ
3A say-COM DEF work=sibling+NPL go-HORT bury-HORT
'The work friends said, "Let's go bury him!"' (ZOH1R27 017)

The plural can be marked on either or both verbs, though there seems to be a preference for marking V2 (which determines the argument structure of the whole).

(8.5)

(i) kay nəkšukpam ʔəy cakšukkə
kay nək-šuk-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ cak-šuk-wə
then go-3PL-INC+NOW 3E+ leave-3PL-dINC
'Now they go to leave it.' (ZOH1R23 141)

(ii) nəkpay həšpəkšukkam bi came
nək-pa ʔəy+ həš.pək-šuk-wə+ʔam bi cam.E
go-INC 3E+ BACK.get-3PL-dINC+NOW DEF talk.NOM3
'Now they go to get the agreement.' (ZOH1R23 142)

(iii) nəktammən huy boleto
nək-tam-wə ʔən+ huy-E boleto
go-1/2PL-COM 1E+ buy-dCOM ticket
'We went to buy tickets.' (ZOH1R10 475)

V2 determines the valency of the whole construction. Affixes that affect argument structure will thus appear only on V2. Actually, the causative is the only valency-changing affix that could potentially apply to any of the auxiliaries, since they are generally intransitive in their independent forms[2]. The causative usually affects only the semantic structure of V2, as shown in examples (8.6 i) - 'you go to cause it to be filled' - and (ii) - 'they went to cause him to see'. But a

[2] muš- 'to know' is the only exception, but its meaning and argument structure are slightly different in the auxiliary form - 'to know how to V2' - so it wouldn't accept the antipassive or passive suffixes anyway.

causative on V2 can apply to the whole auxiliary construction, as in (iii) - 'he caused him to come speak Zoque'.

(8.6)

(i) causative
tey si nəkpam yaktaššə
tey si nək-pa ʔəm+ yak.taš-wə
now if go-INC 2E+ CAUS.be_filled-COM
'Now if you go to fill it up.' (ZOH1R23 586)

(ii) causative
pwes nəkkəy yakkiššuki
pwes nək-wə ʔəy+ yak.ʔiš-šuk-E
well go-COM 3E+ CAUS.see-3PL-dCOM
'Well, they went to show him.' (ZOH1R12 232)

(iii) causative
yeʔccə təkʔaŋhə benigno helasyo ʔəy təkhoʔ
0 yeʔc-wə təkʔaŋhəʔ benigno helasyo ʔəy+ tək+hoʔ
3A arrive-COM san_miguel benigno gelasio 3E+ house+LOC2

para ke minpa ʔəy yakcammə bi ʔaŋpən
para ke min-pa ʔəy+ yak.cam-wə bi ʔaŋpən
for that come-INC 3E+ CAUS.talk-dINC DEF zoque
'Benigno arrived in San Miguel at Gelasio's house to get him to come speak Zoque (on the project).' (ZOH1R10 001-2)

(iv) passive
peru ti minpay cəkkəmmə
peru ti min-pa ʔəy+ cək.ʔəm-wə
but what come-INC 3E+ do.PASS-dINC
'But what's happening? (lit. What comes to be done?)' (ZOH1R43 098)

(v) applicative
nəmpa rromán si nəkpam nəmhayyə
0 nəm-pa rromáŋ si nək-pa ʔəm+ nəm.hay-wə
3A say-INC román if go-INC 2E+ say.APPL-dINC
'Román says, "If you're going to go tell him"' (ZOH1R18 125)

(vi) antipassive
ʔeyahóŋ ga nəkkam ʔəy nukoe
ʔeyaʔ+hooŋ gaʔ nək-wə+ʔam ʔəy+ nuk.ʔoy-E
elsewhere that go-COM+NOW 3E+ grab.ANTIP-dCOM
'He went to get something elsewhere.' (ZOH1R25 010)

Derivational affixes that affect the meaning of the verb stem appear, naturally, on V2, as shown in examples (8.7 i-ii). V2 can be any sort of derived or compounded stem. In example (ii), V2 consists of the root cən- 'to sit' compounded with the derived stem ʔok.heh-, 'to rest'. Derivational affixes that affect the meaning of the event as a whole, such as time adverbials, may appear on the auxiliary or on V2 or on both. Examples of these are shown in (iii-v).

(8.7)
(i) tihpay kocənkeʔčukkə
tih-pa ʔəy+ ko.cən.keʔt-šuk-wə
go&return-INC 3E+ SOC.sit.REPET-3PL-dINC
'They'll go to guard it again.' (ZOH1R45 080)

(ii) mintammə yəhənaŋ cənnokhehtame parkehoʔ
min-tam-wə yəhənaŋ (ʔən+) cən=ʔok.heh-tam-E parke+hoʔ
come-1/2PL-COM to_here (1E+) sit=DOWN.live-1/2PL-dCOM park+LOC2
'We came over here to sit and rest in the park.' (ZOH1R10 212)

(iii) dey minnám miš ʔiškete
dey min-wə+ʔam miš+ ʔiš.keʔt-E
now come-COM+NOW 1>2+ see.REPET-dCOM
'Now I've come to see you again.' (ZOH1R26 138)

(iv) minnom pəkcoŋtammám hašakehá?
min-ʔo ʔəm+ pək=coŋ-tam-wə+ʔam hašake+haaʔ
come-IMPV2 2E+ get=join-1/2PL-dINC+NOW female_in_law+NPL2
'Now come meet your mothers-in-law.' (ZOH1R23 432)

(v) tum domiŋgo tihhən witkeʔttame kuyhoʔ
tum domiŋgo tih-wə ʔən+ wit.keʔt-tam-E kuy+hoʔ
one sunday go&return-COM 1E+ walk.REPET-1/2PL-dCOM tree+LOC2
'One Sunday we went to walk in the bush again.' (ZOH1R10 591)

Other constituents of the clause can appear between the auxiliary and V2, provided that they are not too long. This isn't common: there is a clear preference to put any noun phrases or adverbials after the auxiliary construction, as in examples (8.7 iv-v), above. The modal operator pinə**k** is shown inside the auxiliary construction in (8.8 iii), but this is not required (iv). A noun phrase that appears between the ergative marker and V2 is incorporated. Examples (v) and (vi) illustrate this contrast.

(8.8)
(i) kay minpam bi hentedəkkay ʔiššukkə bi santu
kay min-pa+ʔam bi hente+dəkka ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə bi santu
then come-INC+NOW DEF people+NPL 3E+ see-3PL-dINC DEF saint
'Now the people are coming to see the saint.' (ZOH1R32 044)

(ii) nəktampa dehi ʔən ʔištammə dedə cawowo
nək-tam-pa dehiʔ ʔən+ ʔiš-tam-wə dedə caʔ=wowo
go-1/2PL-INC there 1E+ see-1/2PL-dINC that rock=hole
'We're going there to see that cave.' (ZOH1R15 037)

(iii) ya minə pinək ʔəm koyoššə
ya min-A pinək ʔəm+ ko.yoš-wə
NEG come-nINC CONFAC 2E+ SOC.work-dINC
'You wouldn't come to work for others.' (ZOH1R19 067)

(iv) ney deʔše pinək nəkpam yoštammə ʔeyaʔhoʔ
ney deʔše pinək nək-pa ʔəm+ yoš-tam-wə ʔeyaʔk+hoʔ
same thus CONFAC go-INC 2E+ work-1/2PL-dINC other+LOC2
'The same way maybe you'd go to work elsewhere.' (ZOH1R10 040)

(v) pic bi nək-pay hamatinpəkšukkə kada šepe
pic bi nək-pa ʔəy+ hamatin=pək-šuk-wə kada šepe
because DEF go-INC 3E+ money=get-3PL-dINC each month
'Because he goes to get money every month.' (ZOH1R28 331)

(vi) ga hamatin nəkpa ʔəy pəkšukkáʔ kada šepe
gaʔ hamatin nək-pa ʔəy+ pək-šuk-wə+VʔkV kada šepe
that money go-INC 3E+ get-3PL-dINC+REL each month
'That money that he goes to get each month.' (ZOH1R28 332)

The irregular form nəmmo- 'to be able to' also appears in the dependent verb construction and functions as an auxiliary verb. I treat it as an unanalyzed stem and gloss it 'be_able' because although it is a derived stem, it is clearly lexicalized. Its analysis is nəm.ʔoy-, 'DO.ANTIP'. The root nəm- with this meaning appears, though rarely, in compound verb constructions (an example is shown in 8.9 v); otherwise it exists only in this special collocation. nəmmo- clauses always have incompletive aspect. The progressive nəmmə- (PROG) also

behaves syntactically like an auxiliary verb. One example of this form is given in (vi); it is discussed further in chapter 14.

(8.9)

(i) tuŋho ya nəmmom yakpəʔttə gadə papən
tuŋ+hoʔ ya nəmmo-**A** ʔəm+ yak.pəʔt-wə gadə pa=pən
road+LOC2 NEG be_able-nINC 2E+ CAUS pass-dINC that wild=man
'That devil doesn't allow you to pass in the road.' (ZOH1R18 043)

(ii) yəhənaŋ nəmmobam tukšiʔawə kon məhmə hente
yə+hənaŋ nəmmo-pa ʔəm+ tukšiʔ.ʔa-wə kon məhmə hente
DCT1+ACC be_able-INC 2E+ fight.VERS1-dINC with many people
'With this you can fight with many people' (ZOH1R18 097)

(iii) ya nəmmoy minnə ni kamilo
ya nəmmo-A ʔəy+ min-wə ni kamilo
NEG be_able-nINC 3E+ come-dINC nor camilo
'Camilo can't come either.' (ZOH1R10 006)

(iv) nəmmoban nəktammám de tuŋhoʔ
nəmmo-pa ʔən+ nək-tam-wə+ʔam deʔ tuŋ+hoʔ
be_able-INC 1E+ go-1/2PL-dINC+NOW that road+LOC2
'Now we can go on that road.' (ZOH1R18 133)

(v) nəmnəmhayəʔ
nəm=nəm.hay-Aʔ
DO=say.APPL-IMPV
'Go tell him!' (ZOH1R18 126)

(vi) nəmmən košəŋŋadammə yədə pən
nəmmə ʔən+ ko.šəŋ.ʔa-tam-wə yədə pən
PROG 1E+ SOC.fiesta.VERS1-1/2PL-dINC this man
'We're having a fiesta for this man.' (ZOH1R18 204)

There is one syntactic construction that is peculiar to the two most common auxiliaries - nək- 'to go' and min- 'to come' - and to the verb root wit-,

'to walk'. Attempts at eliciting wit- in the basic auxiliary verb construction were unsuccessful, although it is a plausible candidate for the auxiliary set, since other Zoquean languages have a 'walk' auxiliary (Himes, 1997).

In this construction, the auxiliary follows the main verb. The main verb is directly inflected for aspect, while the auxiliary bears the dependent suffix. The main verb is marked for agreement with whichever set of markers is appropriate, absolutive or ergative, and an ergative marker appears between the two. The syntax follows this template:

<Agreement marker> - <V1-Infl> - <Ergative marker> - <AuxV-depInfl>

(8.10)

(i) hemhi ʔəy pəkpay nəkkə
hemhi ʔəy+ pək-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə
all 3E+ get-INC 3E+ go-dINC
'He goes around grabbing everyone.' (ZOH1R18 199)

(ii) hemhi pəʔtpa ʔəy nəkkáʔ
hemhi 0 pəʔt-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə+VʔkV
all 3A pass-INC 3E+ go-dINC+REL
'Everyone who goes passing by' (ZOH1R18 034)

Verbs in this construction have a clearly continuative aspectual force, whether they are in the incompletive or the completive. This construction means 'to go/come/walk around doing V1'. The meaning of nək-, 'to go', is somewhat bleached semantically, as can be seen in examples (8.11 i) and (ii). In (i), the little jaguar doesn't actually go anywhere until after he grows up. The semantic force of wit-, 'to walk', is very evident, however; it only appears in this construction when the V1 event is something that can be done while walking

around (iii-iv). The clear literalness of the motion of the action in these constructions perhaps explains why tih-, 'to go and return', doesn't appear in them: it would mean 'to go back and forth V1-ing', which perhaps would seem too disturbed for Zoque sensibilities.

(8.11)

(i) wəttəyyəy nəki bi čik cikin kahaŋ
0 wəti.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ nə**k**-E bi čik cikin kahaŋ
3A big.VERS2-COM 3E+ go-dCOM DEF small spotted jaguar
'The little spotted jaguar went on growing up.' (ZOH1R26 007)

(ii) pa gahi yopa ʔəy nəkkə bi čik hamatin
para gahiʔ 0 yoʔ-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə bi čik hamatin
for there 3A fall-INC 3E+ go-dINC DEF small money
'Because there goes falling a little tax' (ZOH1R28 195)

(iii) ʔəy ʔaŋpakpay wittə
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.pak-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
3E+ MOUTH.grasp-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
'He walks around inviting them.' (ZOH1R22 023)

(iv) yəhi bi rebeldedəkka numpay wittə
yəhiʔ bi rebelde+dəkka 0 num-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
here DEF rebel+NPL 3A steal-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
'The rebels went around stealing here.' (ZOH1R24 004)

(v) wehpa ʔəy minnə wišidəkka busbusbusbus
0 weh-pa ʔəy+ min-wə wiši+dəkka busbusbusbus
3A shout-INC 3E+ come-dINC buzzard+NPL busbusbusbus
'The buzzards come crying, "Busbusbusbus!"' (ZOH1R12 079)

(ii) ʔəy cəkkə ʔəy milagruy mini
ʔəy+ cək-wə ʔəy+ milagru ʔəy+ min-E
3E+ do-COM 3E+ miracle 3E+ come-dCOM
'She came around doing her miracles.' (ZOH1R32 055)

(vi) ʔentonses pəʔtpay nəkkə hama
ʔentonses 0 pəʔt-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə hama
then 3A pass-INC 3E+ go-dINC day
'Then the days go passing by' (ZOH1R19 047)

8.3. Dependent verb constructions

There are also dependent verb constructions in which neither V1 nor V2 is an auxiliary. There are a few examples in which V1 has an aspectual meaning, as shown in examples (8.12 i) and (ii), and perhaps example (iii). There are also some examples in which V1 indicates direction of motion, as shown in (iv). In these cases, V1 functions as an auxiliary. In RRG terms, it is a nuclear operator modifying the aspectual or directional character of the event denoted by V2. The only surprising thing about these constructions is that there aren't more of them, since there are many examples of compounds that include a root with aspectual or directional meaning.

(8.12)
(i) ʔokwakkəy ʔotowe
ʔok.wak-wə ʔəy+ ʔotoŋ-E
DOWN.*empty-COM 3E+ speak-dCOM
'He finished speaking.' (ZOH1R43 078)

(ii) tukpa kahʔukwə
0 tuk-pa (ʔəy+) kahwe=ʔuk-wə
3A finish-INC (3E+) coffee=drink-dINC
'They finish having breakfast.' (ZOH1R29 092)

(iii) poccám ʔən ʔanecidame
poc-wə+ʔam ʔən+ ʔane=ciʔ-tam-E
get_tired-COM+NOW 1E+ tortilla=give-1/2PL-dCOM
'Now we've gotten tired of giving him tortillas.' (ZOH1R27 035)

(iv) yukpoypay kəmaŋŋəyyə kocəkhoʔ
yuk.poy-pa ʔəy+ kə.maŋ.ʔəy-wə kocək+hoʔ
UP.flee-INC 3E+ AWAY.*step.SUF-dINC hills+LOC2
'They are running up into the hills.' (ZOH1R58 137)

More commonly, the events denoted by the two verbs must be simultaneous -V1 while V2 - which makes these constructions more limited than verb compounding. There are very few examples of this construction in the texts, and examples for eliciting judgements had to be crafted very carefully to get the pragmatics right. It seems there are not that many things that can be done with the strict simultaneity required by this construction. The most acceptable were those in which the actor was somehow vocalizing while performing the action.

(8.13)
(i) həypan ʔeccə
həy-pa ʔən+ ʔec-wə
cry-INC 1E+ dance-nINC
'I'm crying while dancing.' (elicited)

(ii) rroberto šušpay kapnəkə de kuy
rroberto šuš-pa ʔəy+ kap=nək-wə deʔ kuy
roberto whistle-INC 3E+ carry_on_shoulder=go-dINC that tree
'Roberto is whistling and carrying that wood.' (elicited)

(iii) hatikšpay moʔccə dedə niwiʔ
hatikš-pa ʔəy+ moʔc-wə dedə niwiʔ
sneeze-INC 3E+ grind-dINC that chile
'She sneezes while grinding that chile.' (elicited)

(iv) wannən šošen šək
wan-wə ʔən+ šoš-**E** ʔən+ šək
sing-COM 1E+ cook-dINC 1E+ bean
'I sang while cooking my beans.' (elicited)

Either or both verb roots can be transitive in these constructions. There is only one argument structure, however, and thus there can only be one actor and one patient. This is why it's easier to construct these with verbs of speaking: they are generally T1 roots, that only optionally take patient arguments. If both roots are T3, one of them must be intransitivized by means of the antipassive suffix.

(8.14)
kəššoban hayyən totoʔ
kəš.ʔoy-pa ʔən+ hay-wə ʔən+ totoʔ
eat.ANTIP-INC 1E+ write-dINC 1E+ paper
'I'm eating while writing my letters.' (elicited)

8.3. Verb compounds

Verb complexes with compound stems are ubiquitous in MIG Zoque discourse. Compounding stems is the most common means of expressing adverbial modification, such as manner, means, and direction of motion. In this section, I will first describe the morphosyntax of compounds, and then the many functions that they serve.

8.3.1. Morphosyntax of verb compounds

The most common sort of compound consists of two unadorned roots. Three-root compounds are rare. The last example shown below (8.15 v), is debatably a three-root compound in MIG Zoque. The root təʔ-, 'to want', is cognate with a frustrative affix in other Zoquean languages (Wichmann, 1995; Kaufman, 1996), and thus might be classified as an affix in MIG Zoque as well. I analyze it as a verb root in this grammar, because that analysis seems simpler, given the power of verb compounding in this language, than proposing that some roots are actually affixes.

(8.15)
(i) de gahi makkokmaŋŋə bi pən
de gahiʔ 0 mak=ʔokmaŋ-wə bi pən
from there 3A fish=begin-COM DEF man
'Then the man began to fish.' (ZOH1R20 015)

(ii) ʔən wakaš ʔəy pacwaŋkawə tren
ʔən+ wakaš ʔəy+ pac=waŋka-wə tren
1E+ cow 3E+ throw=turn_over-COM train
'My bull threw over a train.' (ZOH1R25 261)

(iii) gə tyempu mae haʔkkapa rroberta
gə tyempu maeʔ 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa rroberta
that time REM 3A drown=die-INC roberta
'That time Roberta nearly died by drowning.' (ZOH1R15 075)

(iv) miš ʔišpəkpa
miš+ ʔiš=pək-pa
1>2+ see=get-INC
'I know you.' (ZOH1R26 103)

(v) bi nuʔ ʔəy wašnumtəpa bi cinu ʔəy tək
bi nuʔ ʔəy+ waš=num=təʔ-pa bi cinuʔ ʔəy+ tək
DEF dog 3E+ bite=steal=want-INC DEF bee 3E+ house
'The dog wanted to sneak up and bite the bee hive.' (ZOH1R46 057)

Derived stems can be combined in a compound construction. These "inner stems" can be composed of a root and a directional prefix (8.16 i-ii), a root, a directional prefix, and the suffix -ʔəy (iii-iv), or sometimes an antipassive that applies only to one of the compounds (v). Brackets are placed in the examples that follow to indicate the morpho-syntactic constituent structure.

(8.16)
(i) den kənakštuktampa
dey ʔən+ **[[**kə.nakš**]**=tuk**]**-tam-pa
now 1E+ [[AWAY.hit_w_stick]=finish]-1/2PL-INC
'We finish clearing (the field).' (ZOH1R13 006)

(ii) kwandu ʔəy həšmuʔkkoktukkám kay ney yopa
kwandu ʔəy+**[[**həš.muʔk**]=[**ʔok.tuk**]]**-wə+ʔam kay ney 0 yoʔ-pa
when 3E+ [[BACK.suck]=[DOWN.cut]]-COM+NOW then self 3A fall-INC
'When he finishes sucking it out, it falls out by itself.' (ZOH1R36 443)

(iii) yəhi pəkkəmaŋŋədáŋ yədə kuydəkka
yəhiʔ **[[**pək=**[**kəʔ.maŋ.ʔəy**]]**-taaŋ yədə kuy+dəkka
here [[get=[AWAY.*step.SUF]]-HORT this tree+NPL
'Let's lift up these boards here!' (ZOH1R25 075)

(iv) ʔəy nikkekkətəwə bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk pən
ʔəy+ **[[**nik.kek.ʔəy**]=**təʔ**]**-wə bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk pən
3E+ [[SURF.jump.SUF]=want]-COM DEF two legged man
'He wanted to jump on the two-legged man.' (ZOH1R26 120)

(v) deʔše bim wattotədampa
deʔse bi ʔəm+ **[[**wat.ʔoy**]=**təʔ**]**-tam-pa
thus DEF 2E+ [[earn.ANTIP]=want]-1/2PL-INC
'This is how you want to be earning.' (ZOH1R25 029)

It is also possible for prefixes and suffixes to be applied to a compound stem; that is, for the verb stems to be linked in series and then affixed. The causative always applies to the whole compound stem, as illustrated in (8.17 i), as does the applicative suffix (ii). In example (iii), tuk-, 'to finish', is an aspectual modifier of ʔek-, 'to harvest', which is a T3 verb that requires an antipassive suffix in order to supress its patient. So, the antipassive pertains to the whole root compound. In example (iv), the actor is passing by stepping; the prefix nik- adds the sense both of repetition and of spreading the legs to step across something (since it has to do generally with spreading or scattering); hence, it applies to the

complex action denoted by both compound roots. In (v), the actor ends up facing forward, the fundamental action conveyed by the two verb stems. The causative is used because he does this deliberately - he causes himself to face forward. The antipassive is added to defeat the transitivity of the causative - he's not causing someone else to face forward, he's moving himself. Finally, in (vi), the repetitive suffix applies to the action of killing a deer with a blow (it's the second deer). The jaguar doesn't repeatedly swipe his paw at the deer to kill it.

(8.17)

(i) ʔəy yakyumtəcpa
ʔəy+ **[**yak.**[**yum=təc**]]**-pa
3E+ [CAUS.[boil=be_dry]]-INC
'He boils it dry.' (ZOH1R36 405)

(ii) ʔəy wəktukhayyə ʔəy wintuʔ
ʔəy+ **[[**wək=tuk**]**.hay**]**-wə ʔəy+ wintuʔ
3E+ [[cut_w_knife=cut].APPL]-COM 3E+ neck
'He cut his neck for him.' (ZOH1R18 091)

(iii) də ʔektukodampa
də+ **[[**ʔek=tuk**]**.ʔoy**]**-tam-pa
1A+ [[harvest=finish].ANTIP]-1/2PL-INC
'We finish harvesting.' (ZOH1R13 095)

(iv) ʔəy nikkašpəʔtkeʔtpa ʔašta ke ʔokwakpa
ʔəy+ [nik.**[**kaš=pəʔt**]]**.keʔt-pa ʔašta ke 0 ʔok.wak-pa
3E+ [SURF.[step=pass]].REPET-INC until that 3A DOWN.*empty-INC
'He steps across it again until it's done[3].' (ZOH1R36 206)

(v) ʔentonse naše yakwintentukkoyyə
ʔentonse naše 0 **[[**yak.**[[**win.ten**]**=tuk**]]**.ʔoy**]**-wə
then truth 3A [[CAUS.[[FACE.stand]=finish]].ANTIP]-COM

[3] As part of the cure for ghost sickness, the affected person has to step across the grave of the one that's haunting him several times while the healer prays and burns incense.

'Then, in fact, he stopped himself right in front.' (ZOH1R18 049)

(vi) ʔəy caŋkageʔttə
ʔəy+ **[**caŋ=kaʔ**]**.keʔt-wə
3E+ [hit_w_fist=die].REPET-COM
'Again, he killed it with one blow of his paw.' (ZOH1R26 077)

Verbs derived from nouns or adjectives can be included in a compound construction (8.18 i-ii), as can stems formed from a verb with an incorporated argument (iv-v).

(8.18)
(i) hemhi piŋŋaŋkukkadamə
hemhiʔ piŋ=**[**ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa**]**-tam-Aʔ
all pick_up=[MOUTH.center.VERS1]-1/2PL-IMPV
'Gather them all up!' (ZOH1R24 200)

(ii) porke ʔamintəʔk ʔən tehitəkkadammə gahaʔ
porke ʔamintəʔk ʔən+ tehi=**[**tək.ʔa**]**-tam-wə gahaʔ
because last_year 1E+ there_are=[house.VERS1]-1/2PL-COM there
'Because last year we were together there.' (ZOH1R18 288)

(iii) ʔəy poyyahəyyə
ʔəy+ poy=**[**yahəʔ.ʔəy**]**-wə
3E+ flee=[far.VERS2]-COM
'He threw them aside.' (ZOH1R24 630)

(iv) ʔəy camcokoypowə
ʔəy+ cam=**[**cokoy=poʔ**]**-wə
3E+ talk=[heart=be_born]-COM
'He consoled her.' (lexicon)

(v) də kahʔuktukkə
də+ **[**kahwe=ʔuk**]**=tuk-wə
1A+ [coffee=drink]=finish-COM

'I finished drinking coffee.' (ZOH1R10 162)

When a verb compound construction is negated, it is the action denoted by V2 that is negated, not that denoted by V1. In example (8.19 i), Roberto comes but doesn't bring the paper. In (ii), my mother washed the clothes, but without my help. The translations for the rest of the examples clarify which part of the complex action is negated.

(8.19)

(i) rroberto yay pəkminnən totoʔ
rroberto ya ʔəy+ pək=min-wə ʔən+ totoʔ
roberto NEG 3E+ get=come-COM 1E+ paper
'Roberto didn't bring my paper.' (elicited)

(ii) yan cekocoŋŋə ʔən mama bi yoteʔ
ya ʔən+ ceʔ=ko.coŋ-wə ʔən+ mama bi yoteʔ
NEG 1E+ wash=SOC.join-COM 1E+ mother DEF clothes
'I didn't help my mother wash the clothes.' (elicited)

(iii) yay caŋwaŋkawə
ya ʔəy+ caŋ=waŋka-wə
NEG 3E+ hit_w_fist=turn_over-COM
'He didn't knock him over (but he hit him).' (elicited)

(iv) čik ha:yʔunedəkka yay cihnoʔccə bi limeta
čik haya=ʔuneʔ+dəkka ya ʔəy+ cih=noʔc-wə bi limeta
small male=child+NPL NEG 3E+ throw_rock=break-COM DEF bottle
'The little boys didn't break the bottle by throwing rocks at it
(but they did throw the rocks).' (elicited)

(v) ya də witpoccə
ya də+ wit=poc-wə
NEG 1A+ walk=get_tired-COM
'I didn't get tired from walking (but I did walk).' (elicited)

8.3.2. Functions of the components of verb compounds

Foley & Olson (1985) present a set of characteristics of serial verb constructions (SVCs) as part of their argument that such constructions constitute single clauses. Their discussion centers around serial verbs in West African languages, but they include compound constructions from languages like Yimas (Papua-New Guinea) that are very much like the MIG Zoque data described in this section. The description of the various functions served by MIG Zoque verb compound constructions will be organized around the Foley & Olson characteristics.

They present three fundamental arguments in favor of the single clause analysis of SVCs: that in some languages they are a single word, that the meaning of one of the components may be different in a series than in isolation, and that one of the components may actually be ungrammatical in isolation. Verb compounds in MIG Zoque are uncontroversially a single word, since they take only one agreement marker and one inflectional suffix.

There are several roots that appear frequently in compounds with shifted meanings, as shown in the examples in (8.20). The root poy- means 'to flee' when used by itself, generally referring to animals. In compounds, it means 'briefly; for/in a minute' (i-ii). num- by itself means 'to steal'; in compounds, it means 'secretly' (iii). yoh- by itself means 'to pay'; in compounds, it indicates reciprocity or repetition (iv-v). witu?- by itself means 'to turn around'; in compounds, it can mean 'all around; around and around' (vi).

(8.20)

(i) poycəntamə
0 poy=cən-tam-A?
3A flee=sit-1/2PL-IMPV
'Sit down for a while.' (ZOH1R10 065)

(ii) miš poy?ištuktamə
miš+ poy=?iš=tuk-tam-A?
2>1+ flee=see=finish-1/2PL-IMPV
'Wait for me a minute.' (ZOH1R10 309)

(iii) ?i ga pəndəkka numcənšukkə
?i gaʔ pən+dəkka 0 num=cən-šuk-wə
and that man+NPL 3A steal=sit-3PL-COM
'And those men hid themselves.' (ZOH1R24 461)

(iv) huceŋ poŋ ?ən nəmhoyohkeʔttə
huceŋ poŋ ?ən+ nəm=ho.yoh.keʔt-wə
how_many time 1E+ say=IN.pay.REPET-COM
'How many times did I repeat it?[4]' (ZOH1R14 056)

(v) yohciʔošukkə
0 yoh=ciʔ.ʔoy-šuk-wə
3A pay=give.ANTIP-3PL-COM
'They exchanged greetings.' (ZOH1R17 022)

(vi) ?əm heywitupa
?əm+ hey=witu?-pa
2E+ beat=return-INC
'You stir it all around.' (ZOH1R32 130)

[4] This sentence comes from a text in which Sr. Sánchez is talking about how much work he has done to teach me Zoque, and the construction actually indicates tremendous repetition. First, he chooses the root yoh- in its repetitive sense. Then he prefixes it with ho-, which indicates IN when used directionally, but can also be used to express repetition. Finally, he adds the repetitive suffix, giving the whole thing the sense of him saying things over and over and over again.

There are many compounds in MIG Zoque in which one of the roots would be ungrammatical in isolation because it is no longer a living morpheme in the language. In the examples in (8.21), the underlined root does not occur independently.

(8.21)

(i) ʔəy nipenwakkəy mačete
ʔəy+ ni.pen=wak-wə ʔəy+ mačete
3E+ PSE.grasp.*empty.COM 3E+ machete
'He pulled his machete out of it's scabbard.' (ZOH1R18 077)

(ii) ʔəm winnomwakpa
ʔəm+ win.ʔom=wak-pa
2E+ FACE.emit_smoke=*empty-INC
'You cense it out.' (ZOH1R36 117)

(iii) ʔəy maŋnakaʔccə
ʔəy+ maŋ=nakaʔc-wə
3E+ *step=crush-COM
'He crushed it with his foot.' (lexicon)

(iv) ʔəy paŋhaššə
ʔəy+ paŋ=haš-wə
3E+ *lean=toast-COM
'She toasted it.' (by leaning it against the griddle) (lexicon)

Foley and Olson propose a cross-linguistic hierarchy of the classes from which the second verb (V2) in a series can be drawn. The hierarchy ranges from the most common class, the directional verbs 'to come' and 'to go', to the least common, in which V2 is a transitive verb. MIG Zoque verb compounds span the hierarchy, with many different functions served by transitive V2s.

8.3.2.1. V2 is a directional verb

The most common type of SVC cross-linguistically is that in which V2 is one of the directionals 'to come' or 'to go'. These are the auxiliary verbs **min-** and **nək-** in MIG Zoque, along with the round-trip directional **tih-**. All of these appear as V2 in compound constructions, as illustrated in examples (8.22 i-iii).

(8.22)

(i) ʔəy pəkminnám bi čik morral
ʔəy+ pək=min-wə+ʔam bi čik morral
3E+ get=come.-COM+NOW DEF little bag
'He has brought the little bag.' (ZOH1R11 022)

(ii) ʔəy pənəkšukkám kay bi cawiʔ
ʔəy+ pəʔ=nək-šuk-wə+ʔam kay bi cawiʔ
3E+ put=go.3PL-COM+NOW then DEF monkey
'Now they've brought the monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 078)

(iii) yə ʔən pəktihtammə́ʔ
yəʔ ʔən+ pək=tih-tam-wə+VʔkV
this 1E+ get=go&return-1/2PL-COM+REL
'This one that we brought along.' (ZOH1R11 081)

(iv) hamcəktamə tin cəkmintammə
ham(V)=cək-tam-Aʔ ti ʔən+ cək=min-tam-wə
*mind=do-1/2PL-IMPV what 1E+ do=come-1/2PL-COM
'Remember what we came to do.' (ZOH1R18 003)

(v) wakaš tin ʔəy koʔcnəkpa
wakaš tin ʔəy+ koʔc=nək-pa
cow shit 3E+ carry_in_hand=go-INC
'She goes carrying the cow patty in her hand.' (ZOH1R21 070)

In keeping with its character as an almost-auxiliary verb, wit-, 'to walk', appears frequently in verb compounds to indicate motion, but with no particular direction specified. It generally appears with verbs of carrying, as shown in examples (8.23 i-ii), but also with other sorts of verbs, where it means 'going around V1-ing' (iii).

(8.23)

(i) bi nuʔ ney gaʔše ʔəy cəmwitpa bi bote ʔəy kopakhoʔ
bi nuʔ ney gaʔše ʔəy+ cəm=wit-pa bi bote ʔəy+ kopak+hoʔ
DEF dog same thus 3E+ cart=walk-INC DEF boot 3E+ head+LOC2
'Just like that the dog went along with the boot on his head.'(ZOH1R46 038)

(ii) miš pəkə yəʔ dəššən pəkwitpáʔ
miš pək-Aʔ yəʔ dəš ʔən+ pək=wit-pa+VʔkV
2Prn get-IMPV this 1Prn 1E+ get=walk-INC+REL
'You take this that I'm carrying.' (ZOH1R18 095)

(iii) nəkšukpa ʔi minšukpa ʔi ya nəmsukə
0 nək-šuk-pa ʔi 0 min-šuk-pa ʔi ya 0 nəm-šuk-A
3A go-3PL-INC and 3A come-3PL-INC and NEG 3A say-3PL-nINC

ti bi cəkwitšukpa
ti bi ʔəy+ cək=wit-šuk-pa
what DEF 3E+ do=walk-3PL-INC
'They go and they come and they don't say what it is that they're going around doing.' (ZOH1R28 051)

The other directional roots in MIG Zoque are not part of the set of auxiliary verbs, but they do appear frequently in compound constructions. Syntactically, the examples in (8.24) are a mixed bag. In (i-iii), V1 and the motion verb share the same actor: the water cuts going down, the jaguar turns as it

jumps, and the man stands stock-still. In (iv-vii), the subject of the intransitive V2 motion verb is actually the object (undergoer) of the transitive V1. They are all included here to illustrate the range of possibilities in directional verbs.

(8.24)

(i) dondhutəŋ təŋwanakpa bi nəʔ
donde+hutəəŋ 0 təŋ=wanak-pa bi nəʔ
where+to_where 3A cut_w_iron=go_down-INC DEF water
'Where the waterfall cuts down.' (ZOH1R15 008)

(ii) kekwituwə bi kahaŋ
0 kek=wituʔ-wə bi kahaŋ
3A jump=turn-COM DEF jaguar
'The jaguar turned and jumped.' (ZOH1R26 119)

(iii) bi pən tencəyyə
bi pən 0 ten=cəy-wə
DEF man 3A stand=get_stuck-COM
'The man stopped still.' (ZOH1R27 027)

(iv) ʔəy caŋwaŋkawə
ʔəy+ caŋ=waŋka-wə
3E+ hit_w_fist=turn_over-COM
'He knocked him over with a blow.' (ZOH1R18 309)

(v) ʔəy pəktəkkəyyə tum caŋkuyʔ
ʔəy+ pək=tək.ʔəy-wə tum caŋkuyʔ
3E+ get=house.VERS2[5]-COM one hand
'He put in a hand.' (ZOH1R24 589)

(vi) yəhi pəkkəmaŋŋədáŋ yədə kuydəkka
yəhiʔ pək=kəʔ.maŋ.ʔəy-taaŋ yədə kuy+dəkka
here get=AWAY.*step.SUF-HORT this tree+NPL
'Let's lift up these boards here!' (ZOH1R25 075)

[5] This construction means 'to enter'.

(vii) de gahi ʔəy kapyeʔčukkə
de gahiʔ ʔəy+ kap=yeʔc-šuk-wə
from there 3E+ carry_on_shoulder=arrive-3PL-COM
'Then they arrived, carrying him on their shoulders.' (ZOH1R27 060)

At the next level in the hierarchy appear what Foley and Olson call 'postural verbs', which are termed positional verbs in this grammar. A compound with a positional verb root as the V2 component is shown in example (8.25 i). Positional verbs more commonly appear as the V1 component (ii-iv).

(8.25)

(i) numcənnə pakpakhoʔ
0 num=cən-wə pakpak+hoʔ
3A steal=sit-COM shrubbery+LOC2
'He hid in the shrubbery.' (ZOH1R46 076)

(ii) ʔəy mukšwanakkə ʔəy kohap
ʔəy+ mukš=wanak-wə ʔəy+ kohap
3E+ *be_folded=go_down-COM 3E+ hat
'He turned down the brim of his hat.' (lexicon)

(iii) cənnokhehtammə parkehoʔ
cən=ʔok.heh-tam-wə parke+hoʔ
sit=DOWN.live-1/2PL-COM park+LOC1
'We sat and rested in the park.' (ZOH1R10 212)

(iv) ʔəy paŋhaššə
ʔəy+ paŋ=haš-wə
3E+ lean=toast-COM
'She toasted it.' (by leaning it against the griddle) (lexicon)

(v) ʔəy kutpəkkə cəmigəši
ʔəy+ kut=pək-wə cəm.E+gəši
3E+ walk_on_knees=get-COM carry.NOM3+LOC4
'He got his knee on the load (to steady it).' (ZOH1R25 161)

8.3.2. V2 is an aspectual verb

Foley and Olson don't mention aspectual roots in their hierarchy, but since they are nuclear operators on the level of directionals in the RRG framework, it seems reasonable to consider them as being at more or less the same level in the hierarchy. The auxiliary ʔokmaŋ-, 'to begin', only appears in the texts as the second root in a compound construction. The various roots that mean 'to end' or 'to finish' also appear as V2, as does the root cak- 'to leave', which means 'to stop doing V1' in compound constructions.

(8.26)
(i) dəš də nəmpa ke də nippokmaŋpanam hohi
dəš də nəm-pa ke də nip=ʔokmaŋ-pa+namʔ hohi
1Prn 1A say-INC that 1A sow=begin-INC+STILL tomorrow
'I say that I'm still going to begin sowing tomorrow.'(ZOH1R10 047)

(ii) ʔən yoštəkkawə tum yaŋkeʔ
ʔən+ yoš=tək.ʔa-wə tum yaŋkeʔ
1E+ work=enter-COM one yankee
'I started to work with a gringa.' (ZOH1R14 005)

(iii) də wəʔttukkodampa
də+ wəʔt=tuk.ʔoy-tam-pa
1A+ fell_trees=finish.ANTIP-1/2PL-INC
'We finish cutting down trees.' (ZOH1R13 008)

(iv) ʔəy yohtanšukkə
ʔəy+ yoh=tan-šuk-wə
3E+ pay=finish-3PL-COM
'They paid him in full.' (ZOH1R18 264)

(v) yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš
ya ʔəy+ kəš=šuk-šuk-wə bi šiš
NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-COM DEF meat
'They didn't finish eating the meat.' (ZOH1R12 077)

(vi) ʔəy ʔokcəkcakkobám bi kuyhóʔk yoškuyʔ
ʔəy+ ʔok.cək=cak.ʔoy-pa+ʔam bi kuy+hoʔ+Vʔkyoš.kuyʔ
3E+ DOWN.do=leave.ANTIP-INC+NOW DEF tree+LOC2+REL work.INSTR2
'Now they stop doing the work of the fields.' (ZOH1R13 075)

8.3.3. V2 is a stative or process verb

The second level in the Foley & Olson hierarchy consists of SVCs in which the second component is a stative or process verb.

(8.27)
(i) təkkəyyə cokohoʔ huʔtkammə
0 tək.ʔəy-wə cokoʔ+hoʔ 0 huʔt=kam-wə
3A house.VERS2-COM mud+LOC2 3A stir=get_stuck-COM
'It went into the mud. It got stuck.' (ZOH1R25 182-3)

(ii) ney camkehšukəpám
ney cam=keh-šuk-A-pa+ʔam
RCP tell=appear-3PL-RCP-INC+NOW

ke mecaŋpə pəʔtpa kom yaŋke
ke mecaŋ+pəʔk 0 pəʔt-pa komo yaŋke
that two+REL 3A pass-INC like gringo
'Now they were revealing that the two were passing as gringos.'

(ZOH1R17 047)

(iii) ʔəy koʔantəccə
ʔəy+ ko.ʔan=təc-wə
3E+ SOC.warm_up=get_dry-COM
'He dried it by the fire.' (lexicon)

(iv) witcunnə
0 wit=cun-wə
3A walk=be_happy-COM
'She walked around with her nose in the air.' (lexicon)

(v) šiŋhəttám bi šiwiʔ
0 šiŋ=hət-wə+ʔam bi šiŋ.Eʔ
3A swell=reduce-COM+NOW DEF swell.NOM3
'Now the swelling has gone down.' (lexicon)

8.3.4. V2 is a transitive verb

At the highest level of the Foley & Olson hierarchy (the least-common, cross-linguistically), V2 is a transitive verb. In MIG Zoque, transitive verbs can appear as either V1, or V2, or both, performing a variety of functions.

The most common of these functions is manner modification, in which V1 denotes the manner in which V2 is performed or happens. The simplest function is to amplify the action: V1 and V2 mean essentially the same thing.

(8.28)
(i) ʔəy poŋkəŋšukpa dondhu šaŋŋošukkə
ʔəy+ poŋ=kəŋ-šuk-pa donde=huʔ 0 šaŋ.ʔoy-šuk-wə
3E+ burn=burn-3PL-INC where=where 3A cut_w_machete.ANTIP-3PL-COM
'They're burning (the fields) where they cleared.' (ZOH1R60 012)

(ii) bi pahak ʔəy yakhəthummə bi tək
bi pahak ʔəy+ yak.həṭ=hum-wə bi tək
DEF river 3E+ CAUS.reduce=crumble-COM DEF house
'The river tumbled down the house.' (ZOH1R60 079)

(iii) ʔəy hupnukkə məyə
ʔəy+ hup=nuk-wə məyə
3E+ pull=grab-COM thunder
'He grabbed a lightning bolt.' (ZOH1R25 215)

Another form of manner modification exploits the instrument entailed by many of the verb roots in MIG Zoque. All of the verbs of cutting specify a particular instrument, for example: nəm- 'to cut with scissors', wək-, 'to cut with a knife', təŋ-, 'to cut with a machete', etc. Compounds formed with these verbs as the first component mean 'to V2 by V1-ing', with an emphasis on the instrument employed.

(8.29)
(i) ʔən cahcoŋpa ʔən totoʔ
ʔən+ cah=coŋ-pa ʔən totoʔ
1E+ glue=join-INC 1E paper
'I'm going to glue my paper together.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔəy hiʔppaŋkukkawə
ʔəy+ hiʔp=ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa-wə
3E+ move_w_stick=gather-COM
'She pushed them into a heap with a stick.' (lexicon)

(iii) čik ha:yʔunedəkka ʔəy cihnoʔccə bi limeta
čik haya=ʔuneʔ+dəkka ʔəy+ cih=noʔc-wə bi limeta
small male=child+NPL 3E+ throw_rock=break-COM DEF bottle
'The little boys broke the bottle with a rock.' (elicited)

The most common form of manner modification expressed by verb compounds is 'to V2 by V1-ing'. Since I think it's been well-established that transitive verbs can appear in the V2 slot, I can shift the focus of this section to the variety of functions performed by the first verb in a compound construction. The remainder of the examples in this section will include both transitive and intransitive verbs in either position. The last two examples in (8.30) illustrate the sub-genre 'to die or kill by V1-ing'.

(8.30)

(i) də witpoctampa
də+ wit=poc-tam-pa
1A+ walk=get_tired-1/2PL-INC
'We get tired from walking.' (ZOH1R13 070)

(ii) kyen sab syan huptukə
kyen sabe si ya ʔən+ hup=tuk-A
who knows if NEG 1E+ pull=cut-nINC
'Who knows if I won't break it by pulling on it?' (ZOH1R25 155)

(iii) bi nuʔ ʔəy šuʔkmecpay wittə
bi nuʔ ʔəy+ šuʔk=mec-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
DEF dog 3E+ smell=look_for-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
'The dog walked along searching for it by sniffing.' (ZOH1R46 028)

(iv) ya nəmmon huyʔokpoynuktammám
ya nəmmo ʔən+ huy=ʔok.poy=nuk-tam-wə+ʔam
NEG be_able 1E+ buy=DOWN.flee=grab[6]-1/2PL-COM+NOW

porke hakke yohám
porke hakke yoh.A+ʔam
because very pay.NOM2+NOW
'Now we can't afford them because they're so expensive.' (ZOH1R45 106)

(v) ʔəm mactuʔppa yədə ʔayʔ
ʔəm+ mac=tuʔp-pa yədə ʔayʔ
2E+ rub=crumble-INC this leaf
'You crumble this leaf by rubbing it.' (ZOH1R36 081)

(vi) ʔi wehhaŋkukkawə
ʔi 0 weh=ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa-wə
and 3A shout=MOUTH.center.VERS1-COM
'And he called the people together.' (ZOH1R24 023)

(vii) gə tyempu mae haʔkkapa rroberta
gə tyempu maeʔ 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa rroberta
that time REM 3A drown=die-INC roberta
'That time Roberta nearly died by drowning.' (ZOH1R15 075)

(viii) nəmməy nakškašukkə
nəmmə ʔəy+ nakš=kaʔ-šuk-wə
PROG 3E+ hit_w_stick=die-3PL-COM
'They were beating it to death.' (ZOH1R25 232)

There are a few cases in which V1 seems to serve as the patient of V2. While the first example (8.31) could be analyzed as 'she spoke, lying' or 'she lied while speaking', the other examples don't conform nicely to the 'V2 by V1-ing'

[6] This is indeed a compound with a compound as one of its components (V2 is itself a compound form). But it's not that exciting, because ʔokpoynuk- is a clearly lexicalized construction meaning 'to reach' or 'to catch up to'.

template. It doesn't make sense to interpret (ii), for instance, as 'it lost its color by being painted.'

(8.31)

(i) ʔaŋŋunnotoŋŋə
0 ʔaŋ.ʔun=ʔotoŋ-wə
3A MOUTH.deceive=speak-COM
'She told a little lie.' (lexicon)

(ii) kəŋkowakkə
0 kəŋ=ko.wak-wə
3A paint=OTHR.empty-COM
'It lost its color.' (lexicon)

(iii) ʔəy ʔaŋkimcakkə yakkəy cəkkə neyti?
ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.kim=cak-wə yakkə ʔəy+ cək-wə neyti?
3E+ MOUTH.mount=leave-COM VOL 3E+ do-COM something
'He left word that she should do something.' (elicited)

(iv) kašpəpəwə təkʔaŋhə́ʔ
0 kaš=pəʔ.pəʔ-wə tək+ʔaŋhəʔ+VʔkV
3A step=put.CEL-COM house+LOC3+REL
'A Migeleño quickly took a step forward.' (ZOH1R24 172)

Another common function of compound verb constructions is to describe compactly two actions that are performed or occur simultaneously. The compounds with directional verbs and a common actor described above fall into this group, but they can be composed of other sorts of roots as well.

(8.32)

(i) ʔəy macpəkkə
ʔəy+ mac=pək-wə
3E+ massage=grab-COM
'He grabbed it, rubbing it.' (ZOH1R25 170)

(ii) ʔəŋmukpa
0 ʔəŋ=muk-pa
3A fall(fruit)=fall(people)-INC
'He's nodding out (falling asleep sitting up).' (lexicon)

Another type of compound construction involves the transitive verbs ʔaŋmay-, 'to learn', and təʔ-, 'to want' as the V2 component. V1 is then the clausal complement of V2: 'learn to V1' or 'want to V1'.

(8.33)

(i) ney komo ʔu:ndəkka kwandu ʔotoŋʔaŋmayšukkə
ney komo ʔune+dəkka kwandu 0 ʔotoŋ=ʔaŋ.may-šuk-wə
same like child+NPL when 3A speak=learn-3PL-COM
'Just like children when they learn to walk.' (ZOH1R14 048)

(ii) piceŋho dəš də mintəgeʔtpa
piceŋhoʔ dəš də+ min=təʔ.keʔt-pa
thus 1Prn 1A+ come=want.REPET-INC
'That's why I want to come back again.' (ZOH1R15 121)

(iii) də šəŋŋatədampa
də+ šəŋ.ʔa=təʔ-tam-pa
1A+ fiesta.VERS1=want-1/2PL-INC
'We want to have a party.' (ZOH1R15 133)

There are a few constructions in which the two actions denoted by the components of the compound verb can be interpreted as happening sequentially.

This only works if each root denotes one part of what is essentially a single continuous motion on the part of the actor. I was not able to elicit expressions such as *ʔən šaŋ=poŋ-wə bi yuhkuyʔ, 'we cleared the fields and burned them'.

(8.34)

(i) miš tennaŋwaktamə
miš ten=ʔaŋ.wak-tam-Aʔ
2>1 stand=clear_out-1/2PL-IMPV
'Stand back!' (ZOH1R11 063)

(ii) də nitenwitudamapa
də ni.ten=witu?-tam-A-pa
1A PSE.stand=return-1/2PL-RECIP-INC
'We'll turn and stand (facing each other).' (ZOH1R26 112)

(iii) čik hayʔune dəkka ʔəy cihnoʔccə bi limeta
čik haya=ʔune+dəkka ʔəy+ cih=noʔc-wə bi limeta
small male=child+NPL 3E+ throw_rock.break.COM DEF bottle
'The boys threw a rock at the bottle and broke it.' (elicited)

8.3.5. V1 Object is V2 Subject

In most of the examples that have been discussed so far, V1 and V2 have been nuclear junctures; that is, they are linked in the nucleus of the clause and thus share precisely the same arguments. In (8.34 ii) above, both the jaguar and the man turn and they both stand facing each other - they are the mutual actors of the clause. MIG Zoque compound verb constructions also allow core junctures in which "two cores, each with their own nucleus and corresponding arguments, are joined together to form a larger complex core" (Foley & Olson, 1985:47).

The two cores are constrained to share an argument, which Foley & Olson claim must be either the actor or the undergoer. A common form of core juncture

in Zoque is one in which the undergoer of a transitive V1 is the undergoer of an intransitive V2, as shown in the examples in (8.35). Foley & Olson refer to these as "causative serial verb constructions" (1985:25). Many compounds involving directional verbs work this way: V1 tells us how the agents moved the patient, and V2 tells us in what direction the patient was moved.

(8.35)

(i) ʔəy caŋwaŋkawə
ʔəy+ caŋ=waŋkaʔ-wə
3E+ hit=turn_over-COM
'He knocked him over.' (ZOH1R18 309)

(ii) bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk ʔəy hupwanakkə ʔəy tuhkuyʔ
bi mecaŋ maŋkuyʔ+pəʔk ʔəy+ hup=wanak-wə ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ
DEF two foot+REL 3E+ pull=go_down-COM 3E+ gun
'The two-legged one drew his gun.' (ZOH1R26 122)

(iii) ʔəy nakšhuhšukpa
ʔəy+ nakš=huh-šuk-pa
3E+ hit_w_stick=lay_eggs-3PL-INC
'They were beating it (a turtle) to make it lay eggs.' (ZOH1R20 008)

In some compound verb constructions formed with ʔiš-, 'to see', the patient of the 'see' event is the agent or actor of the V2 event. So, in example (8.36 i), the boy sees the man and the man is fishing[7].

(8.36)

(i) ʔəy ʔišmakkə bi ha:yʔune bi pən
ʔəy+ ʔiš=mak-wə bi haya=ʔuneʔ bi pən

[7] ʔiš- also appears in several idiosyncratic compounds, such as ʔiš=tuk- (see=finish) 'to wait', and ʔiš=pək- (see=get) 'to recognize'. In these cases, both verbs share the same agent.

3E+ see=fish-COM DEF male=child DEF man
'The boy saw the man fishing.'
(elicited)

(ii) ʔəy ʔokkišnəkkəyyəy manak
ʔəy+ ʔok.ʔiš=nək.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ manak
3E+ DOWN.see.go.SUF-COM 3E+ son
'She stayed, watching her son leave.' (ZOH1R26)

(iii) ʔəy ʔištəkkəyšukkə
ʔəy+ ʔiš=tək.ʔəy-šuk-wə
3E+ see=house.VERS2-3PL-COM
'They saw her go inside.' (ZOH1R24 730)

Finally, in compounds with ko.coŋ-, 'to help', as the V2 component, V1 can be a transitive verb with its own patient argument. The helper and the helpee (agent and patient of ko.coŋ-) are both the agents of the V1 event. These two constructions - see+V2 and V1+help - are extreme examples of core junctures, in which the two verbs do share an argument, but that argument fills a different role for each verb.

(8.37)
(i) ʔən cekocoŋŋə ʔən mama bi yoteʔ
ʔən+ ceʔ=ko.coŋ-wə ʔən+ mama bi yoteʔ
1E+ wash=OTHR.join-COM 1E+ mother DEF clothes
'I helped my mother wash the clothes.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔəm yukpəkkocoŋpa bi yo:mʔuney cikwít
ʔəm+ yuk.pək=ko.coŋ-pa bi yoməʔ=ʔuneʔ ʔəy+ cikwiit
2E+ UP.get=OTHR.join-INC DEF female=child 3E+ basket
'You're going to help the girl lift up her basket.' (elicited)

Chaper 9: Noun Phrases

In this chapter, I set forth the components of noun phrases (9.1) with a description of possible orderings amoung these parts. I then describe the function of each part. The definite article and the issue of definiteness in general are discussed in section 9.2. Modification with adjectives is described in section 9.3. Nominal compounds are described in section 9.4. The set of MIG Zoque quantifiers, including the plural clitic +haaʔ (NPL2), is discussed in section 9.5. Coordination and comparison in noun phrases are described in section 9.6. Possessed nouns are described in section 9.7. Although relative clauses are properly components of noun phrases, they are discussed in chapter 11 because they share characteristics with other kinds of subordinate clauses.

9.1. Components of a noun phrase

The components of a MIG Zoque noun phrase are quantifiers, deictics, the definite article bi, adjectives, nouns (which may be compounded), possessed nouns, relative clauses, and postpositions such as locatives and ʔəɣtiʔ, 'of; about'. The noun phrases found in the corpus are usually simple in terms of structure and number of components, most commonly including only a deictic and a noun. Deictics are vastly more common than the definite article. Relative clauses seem to be the preferred means of supplying additional information about characters and objects in Zoque narratives, so quantifiers and adjectives are rare.

While the order of noun phrases in a clause is free, the order of components within a noun phrase is not. The general schema is shown below:

	Quantifier					Relative clause
Negative -	Deictic	- Adjective -	Mod Noun -	**Head Noun** -	Plural -	Possessed noun
	Definite					Postposition

I use the term *head noun* to refer to the noun that is required, the one that is filling an argument role of a verb. In RRG terms, this is the nucleus of the noun phrase. The following examples were elicited to illustrate this order when most of the possible elements are included.

(9.1)

(i) minpa hemhi bi komi papəndəkka
0 min-pa hemhiʔ bi komiʔ papən+dəkka
3A come-INC all DEF big devil+NPL

bi hehšukpáʔ camkuyhoʔ
bi 0 heh-šuk-pa+Vʔkcamkuyʔ+hoʔ
DEF 3A live-3PL-INC+REL forest+LOC2
'All the big devils that live in the forest are coming.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔən huyyə hemhi capac yəkwihdəkka´
ʔən+ huy-wə hemhiʔ capac yəkwih+dəkka
1E+ buy-COM all red shirt+NPL

ʔəy təppə ʔəm ʔawin bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
ʔəy+ təp-wə ʔəm+ ʔawinʔ bi ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+VʔkCOM 2E+ sibling DEF MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC-REL
3E+ sew-
'I bought all the red shirts that your sister the teacher sewed.' (elicited)

9.2. Definiteness

Nouns are not obligatorily marked as to definiteness, but can be marked as definite with the article bi or a deictic. Nouns not marked as definite are not necessarily interpreted as indefinite. There is no morpheme to mark indefiniteness. tum 'one' may be used as an indefinite article, perhaps on analogy with Spanish *uno/a* 'one; an'.

(9.2) definite

(i) bi wit ʔawin lusyo ʔi rromáŋ
bi wit=ʔawin lusyo ʔi rromáŋ
DEF walk=brother lucio and román
'the friends Lucio and Román' (ZOH1R18 018)

(ii) bi kumkuy hentedəkka ʔəy nəkšukkə
bi kum.kuyʔ hente+dəkka ʔəy+ nək-šuk-wə
DEF bury.INSTR1 people+NPL 3E+ go-3PL-COM
'The townspeople went.' (ZOH1R18 150)

(iii) nəmpa bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ
0 nəm-pa bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa +VʔkV
3A say-INC DEF MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC +REL
'The mayor says...' (ZOH1R24 033)

(9.3) unmarked, indefinite

(i) yəʔ dəššən ʔiššóʔ
yəʔ dəš ʔən+ ʔiš-wə+VʔkV
this 1Prn 1E+ see-COM+REL

gagə ʔamintə kwandu tihhə rebolusyóŋ
gagə ʔamintə kwandu 0 tih-wə rebolusyóŋ
that year when 3A go-COM revolution
'This that I saw in that year when there was a revolution' (ZOH1R24 001)

(ii) behcha cəmmoba
behcha 0 cəm.ʔoy-pa
horse 3A carry.ANTIP-INC
'Horses will carry (them).' (ZOH1R24 090)

(9.4) unmarked, definite
(i) nəmmə gobyernu ʔən cidampa
0 nəm-wə gobyernu ʔən+ ciʔ-tam-pa
3A say-COM government 1E+ give-1/2PL-INC
The goverment said, "We're going to let them have it.". (ZOH1R24 010)

(ii) toto ye?cpa bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ ʔaŋhi
toto? 0 ye?c-pa bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk+ʔaŋhiʔ
paper 3A arrive-INC DEF MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL+LOC3

ʔi kocunuʔaŋhiʔ
ʔi kocunu+ʔaŋhiʔ
and soldier+LOC3
'A letter arrived to where the commander and the soldiers were.'
(ZOH1R24 038-9)

(9.5) marked indefinite with 'one'
(i) ʔən pəkcoŋŋə tum totoʔ
ʔən+ pək=coŋ-wə tum totoʔ
1E+ get=join-COM one paper
'I received a letter.' (ZOH1R24 060)

(ii) nəkpa tum tenyente hosé ʔəy nəhi
0 nək-pa tum tenyente hosé ʔəy+ nəhi
3A go-INC one lieutenant josé 3E+ name
'A lieutenant named José goes.' (ZOH1R24 098)

(iii) gaʔ ʔokmaŋŋə tum tukšiʔ
gaʔ ʔok.maŋ-wə tum tukšiʔ
that DOWN.step-COM one fight
'That started a fight.' (ZOH1R24 003)

9.3. Modification with adjectives

Adjectives appear before the nouns that they modify. Descriptive phrases are rare in Zoque narratives, so there are very few 'live' examples of adjective-noun phrases. The following examples are taken from the lexicon or from elicitation sessions.

(9.6)

(i) wayay nəʔ
'cold water (soft drink)'

(ii) home yaŋke
'young gringo'

(iii) čik cikin kahaŋ
'small spotted jaguar

(iv) ʔapu pən
'old man'

(v) capac ʔaša
'red blouse'

(vi) yakku hahcuku
'poor ants'

(vii) kupi pən
'lazy man'

(viii) cuway pən
'foolish man'

(ix) niŋki yəkwih
'thick shirt'

(x) waha naš
'hard earth'

Adjectival or existential relative clauses appear after the nouns that they modify. There are two alternate forms of the relative clause marker: +**V**ʔk and +pəʔk. The vowel-initial alternate follows words or phrases that end in vowels (as all verb complexes do, since all the inflectional suffixes are vowel-final). The consonant-initial alternate follows words that end in consonants, and thus appears with many of the adjectives. Relative clauses are discussed further in section 11.1.

(9.7)

(i) komiʔk kuy ʔokoš
komiʔ+**V**ʔk kuy ʔokoš
large+REL tree shrub
'large tree'

(ii) meša komíʔ
meša komiʔ+**V**ʔk
table large+REL
'large table'

(iii) ʔaša capacpəʔ
ʔaša capac+pəʔk
blouse red+REL
'red blouse'

(iv) yəkwih homéʔ
yəkwih home+**V**ʔk
shirt new+REL
'new shirt'

The existential relative clause construction is always employed when modifying a noun with a deverbal adjective derived with the NOM3 suffix, **-E** (and less frequently, the NOM2 suffix, **-A**). The relative marker is required for these forms whether they appear before or after the noun. Note that the stress in the second example of each of the pairs shown below is on the final syllable of the relative clause, as expected, since a vowel has been contracted (section 3.3.8). Stress falls on the first syllable in the first example of each pair, possibly because there is some aesthetic constraint preventing two primary stresses from occurring right next to each other. Nouns typically have only one or two syllables, unless they are formed from complex verb stems.

(9.8)

(i) haše?k šiš
haš.E+V?k šiš
roast.NOM3+REL meat
'roasted meat'

(ii) šiš hašé?
šiš haš.E+V?k
meat roast.NOM3+REL
'roasted meat'

(iii) ʔumiʔk kəši
ʔum.E+Vʔkkəš.E+Vʔk
spill.NOM3+REL food.NOM3+REL
'spilled food'

(iv) kəši ʔumíʔ
kəšɪ ʔum.E+VʔkV
food spill.NOM3+REL
'spilled food'

(v) hapeʔk pici
hap.E+Vʔkpic.E+Vʔk
crush.NOM3+REL soak_corn.NOM3_REL
'crushed nixtamal'

(vi) pici hapéʔ
pici hap.E+VʔkV
nixtamal crush.NOM3+REL
'crushed nixtamal'

(vii) hipšəʔk šək
hipš.A+Vʔkšək
burn.NOM2+REL bean
'burned beans'

(viii) šək hipšóʔ
šək hipš.A+VʔkV
bean burn.NOM2+REL
'burned beans'

(ix) hokeʔk neaʔ
hok.E+VʔkV neaʔ
smoke.NOM3+REL wall
'smoky wall'

(x) neaʔ hokéʔ
neaʔ hok.E+VʔkV
wall smoke.NOM3+REL
'smoky wall'

9.4. Noun compounds

Noun-noun compounds are vastly more common in the corpus than Adjective-Noun phrases. Many names of plants and animals are nominal compounds, and it seems to be a common way to add new terms to the language. The syntax of nominal compounds is analogous to that in English: the first noun modifies the second.

(9.9)

(i) hoho tək
'palm house'

(ii) nəc pak
'armadillo shell'

(iii) tuh nəʔ
'rain water'

(iv) limeta ʔaŋhap
'bottle cap'

(v) ʔašuš poh
'garlic vine'

(vi) kocək muʔk
'hill grass'

It can be difficult to determine if a compound is actually one word or two. Stress is the only clue, and if both parts have more than one syllable, it will not be a definite guide. Some compounds are formed from nouns that no longer appear independently in the language; these can be safely assumed to be one word.

(9.10)

(i) papən
pa=pən
wild=man
'devil'

(ii) ʔaŋwayʔ
ʔaŋ=wayʔ
mouth=hair
'beard'

In the following example, primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the compound, indicating that it is a single phonological word. (This is the only example with this stress pattern in the corpus.)

(9.11)

hamatin
hama=tin
sun=shit
'money'

In the next set of examples, stress falls on the penultimate syllable of each part of the compound, or, in the case of a one-syllable component, on that single syllable. The primary, strongest, stress for the whole is the primary stress of the second component. This is the normal case for compounds with components of more than one syllable.

(9.12)

(i) kape ʔaŋkəi
kape ʔaŋ=kəy.E
reed MOUTH=carry_in_hand.NOM7
'door made of reeds'

(ii) maca šohoʔk
macaʔ šohoʔk
star grass
a type of grass

In compounds of two monosyllabic nouns, which are very common, stress is roughly equal for each component (examples i-iii). Stress on the second syllable indicates that we have two phonological words (examples iv-v).

(9.13)

(i) hamcaʔ
ham=caʔ
lime=stone
'limestone'

(ii) mənnaš
mən=naš
yam=earth
'yam farm'

(iii) kuytəm
kuy=təm
tree=fruit
'avocado'

(iv) kuy ʔaŋkaš
kuy ʔaŋ.kaš.0
tree MOUTH.step.NOM6
'tree branch'

(v) hama mok
hama mok
day corn
'spring corn planting'

9.5. Quantification

The set of quantifying terms in MIG Zoque can be formally divided into two groups: the quantity words, such as məhmə, 'a lot'; and the clitic morphemes +háʔ (NPL2) and +štáʔ (ONLY), which have quantifying effects on the phrases to which they attach.

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔičíŋ	few; a little	poco
ʔoméŋ	a little	poquito
məhmə	many; a lot	mucho; bastante
meši	few	poco
hemhiʔ	all	todo
šəhəʔ	several; a lot; many	varios; bastante; mucho
+háʔ	each	cada quien
+štáʔ	only; just; no more	no más

Table 9.1: MIG Zoque quantifiers

9.5.1 Quantity words

There is some overlap in meaning among the six quantity words. ʔičíŋ, ʔoméŋ, and meši all specify a small quantity, 'few; a little'. məhmə and šəhəʔ both specify a large quantity, 'many; a lot'. Syntactically, məhmə, šəhəʔ, and meši exhibit the same behavior: they can either quantify nouns or function as pronouns, and all can be made into verbs with the versive .ʔa. There are no versive forms of either hemhiʔ or ʔičíŋ. hemhiʔ is unique in its ability to co-occur with the definite article. ʔičíŋ functions most commonly as an adverb, limiting the scope of the action (e.g., "hurry a little"), but it can also be used to limit a quantity of objects. ʔoméŋ may no longer be in common use - I found no example of it in the corpus, apart from its entry in the lexicon.

məhmə and šəhəʔ are very similar in most respects, except that šəhəʔ can not be used to quantify mass entities, such as water or salt. məhmə can be used of any kind of object, and appears much more frequently in the corpus. It can also be used as an intensifier with adverbs (example 9.14 i) and verbs (ii). Both words appear as pronouns (iii and iv), as quantifiers of noun phrases (v and vi), and with the versive (vii and viii).

(9.14)

(i) hoŋho ʔokcunəmpa komo gaʔ cawowo ʔi məhmə hoŋhoʔ
hoŋhoʔ 0 ʔok.cuʔ.ʔɑ-Anəm-pa komo gaʔ caʔ=wowo
inside 3A DOWN.night.VERS1-INDEF-INC like that rock=hole

ʔi məhmə hoŋhoʔ
ʔi məhmə hoŋhoʔ
and a_lot inside
'It's dark inside since it's a cave and very far inside.' (ZOH1R15 050)

(ii) si məhmə ʔəy kašti:gcəkpám ʔəy mama
si məhmə ʔəy+ kastigar=cək-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ mama
if a_lot 3E+ hurt=do-INC+NOW 3E+ mother
'If it's hurting its mother a lot' (ZOH1R36 942)

(iii) tihtammə məhmə
tih-tam-wə məhmə
go&return-COM many[1]
'Many of us went.' (ZOH1R18 005)

(iv) šəhə tehidammə yəhi yədə ʔotelhoʔ
šəhəʔ tehi.ʔa-tam-wə yəhiʔ yədə ʔotel +hoʔ
many there_are.VERS1-1/2PL-COM here this hotel +LOC2
'There are a lot of us here in this hotel.' (ZOH1R55 113)

(v) miš ciwə məhmə kopaktoe
miš+ ciʔ-wə məhmə kopak=toy.E
2>1+ give-COM many head=hurt.NOM3
'You gave me a lot of headaches.' (ZOH1R14 059)

(vi) tomás ʔəy ʔaŋwitcoŋŋə šəhə poŋ katemako
tomás ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.wit=coŋ-wə šəhəʔ poŋ katemako
tomás 3E+ MOUTH.walk=join-COM many time catemaco
'Tomás visited Catemaco many times.' (elicited)

(vii) yahakháʔ gə hamatin məhməʔám gaʔ
yahakhaaʔ gə hamatin 0 məhmə.ʔa-wə+ʔam gaʔ
long_ago that money 3A a_lot.VERS1-COM+NOW that
'Long ago, that was a lot of money, that was.' (ZOH1R18 257)

(viii) porke dedəkka šəhəsukkə
porke deʔ +dəkka 0 šəhəʔ.ʔa-šuk-wə
because that +NPL 3A many.VERS1-3PL-COM
'Because there are a lot of them.' (ZOH1R25 089)

[1] It doesn't seem to be necessary to use the first person agreement marker də in these clauses with quantifiers referencing the subject.

ʔičíŋ, ʔoméŋ, and meši can all refer to the same sorts of objects, both countable and mass entities. meši behaves syntactically just like šəhəʔ: it can appear as a pronoun (9.15 i), quantify a noun phrase (ii), or appear with the versive (iii).

(9.15)

(i) tey yeʔčukkə mas meši
tey 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə mas meši
now 3A arrive-3PL-COM more few
'Now fewer arrived.' (ZOH1R18 010)

(ii) meši cušpən kəmaŋŋəyyə karruhoʔ
meši cuš=pən 0 kə.maŋ.ʔəy-wə karru +hoʔ
few green=man 3A AWAY.*step.SUF-COM bus +LOC2
'A few soldiers got onto the bus.' (elicited)

(iii) ʔen bes de ke də šəhadampa pinək
ʔen bes de ke də+ šəhə.ʔa-tam-pa pinək
in time of that 1A+ a_lot.VERS1-1/2PL-INC CONFAC

mas də meššadampa
mas də meši.ʔa-tam-pa
more 1A few-VERS1-1/2PL-INC
'Instead of perhaps becoming more we are becoming fewer.'
(ZOH1R16 079)

ʔičíŋ has the most varied syntactic behavior of the quantity words. It appears to be most commonly used as a lessening adverb, parallel with the intensifiers hakke and wenu (examples 9.16 i-iii). It can also quantify a noun phrase (iv). Unlike the other quantity words, it can also appear with the plural clitic +haaʔ, when it means something like 'little by little' (v and vi).

(9.16)

(i) nəmpa rromáŋ ʔištamə gahi ʔičíŋ
0 nəm-pa rromáŋ ʔiš-tam-Aʔ gahiʔ ʔičiiŋ
3A say-INC román see-1/2PL-IMPV there a_little
'Román says, "Look over there a little way."' (ZOH1R18 159)

(ii) para ke ʔičíŋ pinək ʔəy meho:rcəkpa kumkuyʔ
para ke ʔičiiŋ pinək ʔəy+ mehorar=cək-pa kumkuyʔ
for that a_little CONFAC 3E+ improve=do-INC town
'So that he improves the town a little.' (ZOH1R28 372)

(iii) pero ʔičíŋ həʔkštamə
pero ʔičiiŋ həʔkš-tam-Aʔ
but a_little hurry-1/2PL-IMPV
'But hurry up a little.' (ZOH1R25 036)

(iv) ʔəy šoššə ʔičíŋ šək
ʔəy+ šoš-wə ʔičiiŋ šək
3E+ cook-COM a_little bean
'She cooked a few beans.' (elicited)

(v) də ʔotoŋpa ʔaŋpən ʔičiŋháʔ
də+ ʔotoŋ-pa ʔaŋpən ʔičiiŋ +haaʔ
1A+ speak-INC zoque a_little +NPL2
'Little by little, I'm speaking Zoque.' (elicited)

(vi) ʔəy ha:mcəkpa bəše ʔičiŋháʔ
ʔəy+ ham(V)[2]=cək-pa bəše ʔičiiŋ +haaʔ
3E+ *mind=do-INC SEEM a_little +NPL2
'He seems to be remembering little by little.' (ZOH1R12 724)

[2] The form, class and meaning of this morpheme are obscure. It seems to mean something like 'mind', and possibly was at some stage of the language a noun with a final vowel. MAR Zoque has a verb haməh, 'to remember it' (Kaufman, p.c.). The MIG Zoque form appears in this construction, compounded or incorporated with cək- and in another likely incorporation construction, hamV=ʔoktokoy-, (*mind=DOWN.get_lost), 'to go crazy'.

hemhiʔ, 'all', can be used as a pronoun (9.17 i and ii) or to quantify noun phrases (ii). It is the only quantity word that co-occurs with the definite article bi (iii). It exhibits the most freedom of position of the quantity words, appearing both before and after the noun phrase that it quantifies (iv - vi). There is no versive form of this word.

(9.17)

(i) dedə pəndəkka wichukpa komo numšukpa hemhiʔ
dedə pən+dəkka 0 wit-šuk-pa komo 0 num-šuk-pa hemhiʔ
that men+NPL 3A walk-3PL-INC like 3A steal-3PL-INC all
'Those men went around stealing everything.' (ZOH1R24 007)

(ii) gadə papən hemhi pəʔtpa ʔəy nəkə́ʔ ʔəy yakkapa
gadə pa=pən hemhiʔ pəʔt-pa ʔəy+ nək.E+Vʔkʔəy+ yak.ka-pa
that devil all pass-INC 3E+ go.dINC+REL 3E+ CAUS.die-INC
'That devil, all who go passing by, he kills.' (ZOH1R18 034-5)

(iii) ʔəy wehšukkə hemhi bi hentedəkka gadə kumkuyhoʔ
ʔəy+ weh-šuk-wə hemhiʔ bi hente+dəkka gadə kumkuyʔ+hoʔ
3E+ call-3PL-COM all DEF people+NPL that town +LOC1
'They called all the people in that town.' (ZOH1R18 141)

(iv) ga meru ʔəy ʔaŋkimpa bi kocunudəkka hemhiʔ
gaʔ meru ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.kim-pa bi kocunu+dəkka hemhiʔ
that exactly 3E+ MOUTH.mount-INC DEF soldier+NPL all
'That very one commands all the soldiers.' (ZOH1R24 048)

(v) hemhi ga bencecəkkə
hemhiʔ gaʔ 0 bencer=cək-wə
all that 3A be_beaten=do-COM
'They were all beaten.' (ZOH1R24 375)

(vi) gay mahpa ga hemhiʔ
gaʔ ʔəy+ mah-pa gaʔ hemhiʔ
that 3E+ water-INC that all
'He waters them all.' (ZOH1R24 458)

The related form hemhiʔok means 'all over'. All the examples that I have of this word come from the interview with the healer, in which it always refers to the body (example 9.18). This is the only occurrence of this **.**ʔok morpheme (not the same as the prefix DOWN) in MIG Zoque, but MAR Zoque has an affix **.**ʔok that means 'the end of beginning of a thing' (Kaufman, p.c.).

(9.18)

nakacə ʔəm kwerpuho hemhiʔok
naka**ʔ**c-A**ʔ** ʔəm+ kwerpu+ho**ʔ** hemhi**.**ʔok
crush-IMPV 2E+ body+LOC2 all.X
'Crush it (tobacco leaves) all over your body.' (ZOH1R36 319)

9.5.2. Quantifying clitics

+há**ʔ** (NPL2) has related functions: (a) plural-marking first and second person discourse participants; (b) set distribution (an 'each' function); (c) and creating plural forms of question words[3]. I am perhaps guilty of excessive lumping by grouping these together in a single morpheme, rather than splitting them into three phonologically identical ones, but there seems to be a continuum of related function here.

As a plural-marker, +há**ʔ** applies to pronouns (9.19 i, iii, and iv), noun phrases (ii and iii), and predicative adjectives (iv and v). Examples (vi and vii) are included in this set to show the contrast between the use of +há**ʔ** and +dəkkay, the third person plural marker.

[3] MAR Zoque has hate**ʔ** (Kaufman, p.c.).

(9.19)

(i) dəšhá? də yaŋkehá?
dəš+haa? də+ yaŋke+haa?
1Prn+NPL2 1A+ yankee+NPL2
'We're gringos.' (ZOH1R17 026)

(ii) ?um nəmtammə ke yam ?aŋpən pənhá?
?u ?əm+ nəm-tam-wə ke ya ?əm+ ?aŋpən pən+haa?
NEGimpv 2E+ say-1/2PL-COM that NEG 2A+ zoque man+NPL2
'Don't say that you're not people who speak Zoque.' (ZOH1R57 041)

(iii) mišhá? kumkuypənhá? me?ctamə
miš+haa? kumkuy? pən+haa? me?c-tam-A?
2Prn+NPL2 town man+NPL2 look_for-1/2PL-IMPV

bi šeme pəndəkkay
bi šem.E pən+dəkkay
DEF play.NOM3 men+NPL
'You townspeople look for the musicians.' (ZOH1R18 187)

(iv) dəšhá? komo də našmaŋkuyhá? də našnəktampa
dəš+haa? komo də+ naš=maŋkuy?+haa? də+ naš=nək-tam-pa
1Prn+NPL2 since 1A+ earth=foot+NPL2 1A+ earth=go-1/2PL-INC
'We, since we were on foot, we were walking.' (ZOH1R15 028)

(v) neywin ban cuwayhá?
neywin ban cuway+haa?
we very foolish+NPL2
'We are very foolish.' (ZOH1R16 110)

(vi) hehanəmpa ban cuway ney hente
0 heh-Anəm-pa ban cuway ney hente
3A live-INDEF-INC very foolish IE people
'Our people lived very foolishly.' (ZOH1R3 040)

(vii) kumkuypəndəkka cunšukpa
kumkuyʔ pən+dəkka 0 cun-šuk-pa
town man+NPL 3A be_happy-3PL-INC
'The people of the town are happy.' (ZOH1R18 194)

When +háʔ appears with a third person entity, it adds a distributive meaning. It is used with number words to mean 'one by one', 'two by two', etc., as shown in example (9.20 i). tumháʔ, 'one+NPL2' is also translated 'each' in the appropriate context (ii)[4]. It is used with measure nouns to mean 'unit by unit', as shown in example (iii). Examples (iv and v) illustrate the distributional meaning most clearly. In (iv), the men are worried about their families, since they're far away from home working on an endless dictionary project. But each man is concerned about his own family, not about all the families as a unified set. In (v), a group of students is about to enter a dark cave, so each gets his or her own lamp.

(9.20)
(i) tumháʔ nəkšukpa
tum+haaʔ 0 nək-šuk-pa
one+NPL2 3A go-3PL-INC
'They went one by one.' (ZOH1R25 137)

(ii) piceŋhoʔ tumháʔ ʔən ʔaŋmaytammə
piceŋhoʔ tum.haaʔ ʔən+ ʔaŋ=may-tam-wə
because one.NOM4 1E+ MOUTH=count-1/2PL-COM
'For this reason, we each taught one of them.' (ZOH1R57 033)

[4] MAR Zoque has the form hateʔ, 'each' (Kaufman, 1996).

(iii) cunnenháʔ wanakpám
cun.neeŋ+haaʔ 0 wanak-pa+ʔam
drip.MEAS+NPL2 3A go_down-INC+NOW
'It falls drop by drop.' (ZOH1R36 538)

(iv) yan muštammə hunaŋ tehiʔawə bi dən familyaháʔ
ya ʔən+ muš-tam-wə hunaŋ tehi.ʔa-wə bi dən familya+haaʔ
NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-COM how there_is.VERS-COM DEF XE family+NPL2
'We don't know how our families are.' (ZOH1R10 517)

(v) ʔən pəktammən lamparaháʔ dəšháʔ
ʔən+ pək-tam-wə ʔən+ lampara+haaʔ dəš+haaʔ
1E+ get-1/2PL-COM 1E+ lamp+NPL2 1Prn+NPL2
'We got our lamps.' (ZOH1R15 049)

Finally, +háʔ is used to form plural interrogatives, shown in the examples in (9.21). These have a somewhat distributional flavor[5].

(9.21)
(i) ʔiyaŋháʔ də mintammə yəhi katemako berakrus
ʔiwə.ʔaŋ+haaʔ də+ min-tam-wə yəhi katemako berakrus
who.X+NPL2 1A+ come-1/2PL-COM here catemaco veracruz
'Who all of us came here to Catemaco, Veracruz' (ZOH1R18 002)

(ii) tiyaŋháʔ ʔəm ʔokupcəkpa
ti.ʔaŋ+haaʔ ʔəm+ ʔokupar=cək-pa
what.X+NPL2 2E+ use=do-INC
'What all do you use?' (ZOH1R36 014)

(iii) gay ʔokcamməba hunaŋháʔ ʔəy pəʔthayyə
gaʔ ʔəy+ ʔok.cam.ʔəy-pa hunaŋ+haaʔ ʔəy+ pəʔt.hay-wə
that 3E+ DOWN.chat.SUF-INC how+NPL2 3E+ pass.APPL-COM
'He tells them how it went with him.' (ZOH1R18 290)

[5] Actually, these forms are reminiscent of a use of the plural marker 'all' in my own dialect, which also applies to interrogatives. For example: "What all'd y'all get for Christmas?" and "Where all'd y'all go in Europe?"

9.5.3. Only

The clitic +štáʔ can attach to any word class in MIG Zoque, except probably the intensifiers. Its general meaning is the same in all cases: it limits the set or extent or scope of the action. It attaches outside (to the right of) a plural clitic (9.22 i) or postposition (v amd viii), but inside the adverbial clitic +ʔam (NOW), shown in example (ii). Example (iii) shows that even when attached to the verb complex, it can serve to delimit one of the verb's arguments. In (iv), +štáʔ is limiting the scope of the action: they just sit, they don't work. Example (v) shows the clitic limiting a noun phrase to one out of a possible two, and example (vi) shows it setting a precise limit, when attached to a number. Examples (vii and viii) show +štáʔ with a locative deictic and a postpositional phrase.

(9.22)

(i) gaʔ komo nəmtampa cəhən kokedəkkaštáʔ
gaʔ komo (ʔən+) nəm-tam-pa cəhən koke+dəkka+štaaʔ
that like (1E+) say-1/2PL-INC X fish +NPL +ONLY
'He is, as we say, just the big fish[6].' (ZOH1R28 258)

(ii) ʔawindəkka ʔən hamcəktampaštám de rromáŋ
ʔawinʔ+dəkka ʔən+ ham**(V)**=cək-tam-pa+štaaʔ+ʔam de rromáŋ
sibling+NPL 1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC+ONLY+NOW of román
'Brothers, now we only remember Román.' (ZOH1R18 292)

[6] cəhən koke is a type of large fish. The local idiom 'the big fishes' means 'the powerful ones'.

(iii) cənnəštám ʔəy manakdəkka
0 cən-wə+štaaʔ+ʔam ʔəy+ manak+dəkka
3A sit-COM+ONLY+NOW 3E+ child+NPL
'Now only his sons are seated.' (ZOH1R24 543)

(iv) pic nəkpaštán cəntammə
pic nək-pa+štaaʔ ʔən+ cən-tam-wə
thus go-INC+ONLY 1E+ sit-1/2PL-COM
'That's why we just go to sit.' (ZOH1R28 275)

(v) tum caŋkuypiʔtštáʔ ʔən nukkə
tum caŋkuyʔ+piʔt+štaaʔ ʔən+ nuk-wə
one hand+INSTR+ONLY 1E+ grab-COM
'I grabbed it with just one hand.' (ZOH1R25 187)

(vi) nəntiam hak cənkuyʔ ʔapena tuwaŋštáʔ ʔašta həšho
nəntiam hakke cən.kuyʔ ʔapena tuwaŋ+štaaʔ ʔašta həš.hoʔ
there_isn't very sit.INSTR1 hardly three+ONLY until BACK.LOC2
'There weren't many seats, barely just three in the back.' (ZOH1R10 451)

(vii) yəhištáʔ wanaktáŋ
yə.hi+štaaʔ wanak-taaŋ
DCT1.LOC1+ONLY go_down.HORT
'Let's get down right here.' (ZOH1R10 272)

(viii) šišhoštáʔ ʔəy pəkkə
šiš+hoʔ+štaaʔ ʔəy+ pək-wə
meat+LOC2+ONLY 3E+ get-COM
'They got her just in the flesh (a flesh wound).' (ZOH1R24 750)

9.7. Coordination and comparison

Noun phrases or parts of noun phrases can be coordinated by means of the Spanish conjunction *y*, 'and' (transcribed ʔi in Zoque), or by simply juxtaposing the conjoined elements. The Spanish conjunction method is the most common.

(9.23)

(i) ʔən huyyə mecaŋ ʔaša tumə capacpəʔ ʔi tumə yəkyək
ʔən+ huy-wə mecaŋ ʔaša tumə capac+pəʔk ʔi tumə yəkyək
1E+ buy-COM two huipil one red+REL and one black
'I bought two huipils, one red and one black.' (elicited)

(ii) məhmə yo:mʔune tihhə ʔi məhmə ha:yʔuneʔ
məhmə yoməʔ=ʔuneʔ 0 tih-wə ʔi məhmə haya=ʔuneʔ
many female=child 3A go&return-COM and many male=child
'Many girls went and many boys.' (ZOH1R15 043)

(iii) ʔəm wattoba ʔəm kəškuy moŋkuy hemhiʔ
ʔəm+ wat.ʔoy-pa ʔəm+ kəš.kuyʔ moŋ.kuyʔ hemhiʔ
2E+ earn.ANTIP-INC 2E+ eat.INSTR1 sleep.INSTR1 all
'You'll earn your food, lodging, everything.' (ZOH1R18 292)

Comparison in noun phrases, as in verb phrases, is done by means of the Spanish comparative *mas*, 'more', and follows the Spanish syntactic pattern. I find no hints in the corpus as to how this might have been done before the invasion, but Suarez (1983:110) observes that in Tlahuitoltepec Mixe "comparison of superiority is rendered by two clauses, one asserting the quality for the item compared, the other negating it for the term of comparison". This would produce phrases like "he is tall, I am not so tall".

(9.24)

(i) de bi mas triste
deʔ bi mas triste
that DEF more sad
'That's the saddest.' (ZOH1R18 363)

(ii) ʔəy ceʔkpa mas pən
ʔəy ceʔk-pa mas pən
3E ask-INC more man
'He asked for more men.' (ZOH1R24 015)

(iii) yoya bi mas šaša ʔəy kəšpa mas mok
yoya bi mas šašaʔ ʔəy+ kəš-pa mas mok
pig DEF more fat 3E+ eat-INC more corn
'The fattest pig eats the most corn' (elicited)

(iv) tehi mas wəhə ke miš
tehi.ʔa-wə mas wəhə ke miš
there_is.VERS-COM more good that 2Prn
'There is one better than you.' (ZOH1R26 021)

(v) mas de kuk cakkəmpa pa gaʔ
mas de kuk 0 cak.ʔəm-pa para gaʔ
more of center 3A leave.PASS-INC for that
'More than half remained for him.' (ZOH1R28 334)

9.7. Possession

The ergative set of person agreement markers is used to mark possessors of nouns. Possessed nouns can be further specified with the definite article or a deictic, as shown in examples (9.25 iv - vi).

(9.25)

(i) ʔən hatoŋ
1E+ father
'my father'

(ii) ʔəm yəkwih
2E+ shirt
'your shirt'

(iii) ʔəy mačete
3E+ machete
'his machete'

(iv) ya toyyám bim cek
ya 0 toy-wə+ʔam bi ʔəm+ cek
NEG 3A hurt-COM+NOW DEF 2E+ belly
'Now your belly doesn't hurt.' (ZOH1R36 022)

(v) gahi tehiʔawə dəš bi dən məʔ
gahi 0 tehi.ʔa-wə dəš bi dən məʔ
there 3A there_is.VERS1-COM 1Prn DEF XE wife
'There is my wife.' (ZOH1R12 200)

(vi) dəš mama ʔən pəkpám den tuŋ
dəš mama ʔən+ pək-pa+ʔam deʔ ʔən+ tuŋ
1Prn mama 1E+ get-INC+NOW that 1E+ road
'I, mama, now I'll take my road.' (ZOH1R26 011)

The syntax of a phrase in which both possessor and possessee are referenced by nouns (rather than merely by agreement markers) is:

Possessor Noun - Ergative marker - Possessed Noun
agreeing with Possessor

(9.26)

(i) bi kocunu ʔəy ʔaŋkimpáʔ
DEF soldier 3E+ leader
'the leader of the soldiers' (ZOH1R24 034)

(ii) rrančo ʔəy nəhi kahaŋ
ranch 3E+ name jaguar
'a little town called Jaguar' (ZOH1R18 106)

(iii) našey paʔčukkə bi rromán bi ʔokpən ʔəy təkhoʔ
naše ʔəy+ paʔt-šuk-wə bi rromán bi ʔoko=pən ʔəy+ tək+hoʔ
truth 3E+ find-3PL-COM DEF román DEF old_woman=man 3E+ house+LOC2
'In fact they found the Román in the old woman's house.'
(ZOH1R18 143)

There are possessive pronouns for each of the three discourse persons: tənti?, 'mine', minti?, 'yours', and ʔəyti?, 'hers/his/its/theirs'. They may be used redundantly with the possessive agreement marker, as seen in examples (9.26 ii and iii). A chain of possessive noun phrases is shown in example (vi).

(9.27)

(i) mišš̈əm cəkə minti neʔ
miš ʔəm+ cək-Aʔ minti? neʔ
2Prn 2E+ do-IMPV 2PosN also
'You do yours too.' (ZOH1R24 401)

(ii) təntin kopakho ʔən ʔaŋnitpa
tənti? ʔən+ kopak+hoʔ ʔən+ ʔaŋnit-pa
1PSN 1E+ head+LOC2 1E+ have-INC
'I have it in my head (the knowledge).' (ZOH1R32 119)

(iii) təntin yo:mmanak ʔən cipa
tənti? ʔən+ yomə?=manak ʔən+ ci-pa
1PosN 1E+ female=child 1E+ give-INC
'I'll give my daughter.' (ZOH1R18 232)

(iv) ʔəy həšhuppə ʔəy mačete romáŋʔəytiʔ
ʔəy+ həš.hup-wə ʔəy+ mačete romáŋ +ʔəytiʔ
3E+ BACK=pull-COM 3E+ machete román +3PosN
'Román pulled out his machete.' (ZOH1R18 090)

(v) pəʔtpa moso bi ʔalegria santa wani:tʔəytiʔ
0 pəʔt-pa moso bi ʔalegria santa wanita +ʔəytiʔ
3A pass-INC beautiful DEF happiness saint juanita +3PSN
'The festivities of Santa Juanita pass beautifully.' (ZOH1R32 065)

(vi) ʔəy wəthayyə ʔəy yəkwih ʔən hatoŋʔəyti
ʔəy+ wət.hay-wə ʔəy+ yəkwih ʔən+ hatoŋ +ʔəytiʔ
3E+ tear.APPL-COM 3E+ shirt 1E+ father +3PSN
'He tore my father's shirt.' (elicited)

The third person possessive ʔəytiʔ can also mean 'about', just as 'of' in English can be used to indicate possession or topic. The Spanish preposition *de*, 'of', may also be used for this purpose. In example (9.27 i), both the Spanish and the Zoque morphemes appear, bracketing the noun phrase between them[7].

[7] This redundant construction, with the Spanish function word on the left and the Zoque function morpheme on the right, is a particular favorite of this speaker, Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel. Text ZOH1R36 is a 90-minute interview with him about traditional medicine (he's a curandero); this text is the source of most of my examples of the pairing of Spanish and Zoque function words because he is so consistent about using them together.

(9.28)

(i) de nəpin tiniʔəyti ʔən campa
de nəpinʔ tin.E +ʔəytiʔ ʔən+ cam-pa
of blood shit.NOM3 +3PSN 1E+ talk-INC
'I'm going to talk about dysentery.' (ZOH1R36 002)

(ii) ʔən campa tum kwentu soldaoʔəyti ʔi satornino
ʔən+ cam-pa tum kwentu soldao +ʔəytiʔ ʔi satornino
1E+ talk-INC one story soldier +3PSN and satornino
'I'm going to tell you a story about the soldiers and Satornino.'

(ZOH1R11 001)

Chapter 10: Noun Incorporation

In noun incorporation (NI) constructions, an argument of the verb is compounded with the verb stem, thus appearing inside the agreement markers and forming part of the whole verb complex. This is a highly productive process in MIG Zoque. The incorporated noun usually fills the patient role, but other arguments can be incorporated as well. Adjectives may also be incorporated (example 10.1 iii; further discussion below). Modifiers of the incorporated noun can be stranded outside the verb complex, provided they also are non-specific, such as adjectives or relative clauses (iv; further discussion below). NI in MIG Zoque is an example of type I incorporation, according to Mithun's hierarchy (Mithun, 1984).

(10.1)

(i) də šəkwištammə
də+ šək=wiš-tam-wə
1A+ bean=uproot-1/2PL-COM
'We were uprooting bean plants.' (ZOH1R7 010)

(ii) kəškuymeʔcpay wittə
0 kəš.kuyʔ=meʔc-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
3A eat.INSTR1=look_for-INC 3E+ walk.dINC
'He's walking along looking for food.' (ZOH1R26 062)

(iii) ʔəy malʔaŋcoŋŋə
ʔəy+ mal=ʔaŋ.coŋ-wə
3E+ bad=MOUTH.join-COM
'He answered badly.' (ZOH1R24 581)

(iv) nəkpay kuytəŋŋə rrama
nək-pa ʔəy+ kuy=təŋ-wə rrama
go-INC 3E+ tree=cut_w_machete-dINC branch
'They're going to cut tree branches.' (ZOH1R22 020)

The incorporated argument is most commonly the patient, in which case the verb complex is made intransitive and marked with one of the absolutive agreement markers. The incorporated noun does not function as a classifier, as in classificatory NI (Mithun, 1984), so no additional, more-specific noun may appear in the role of patient. Incorporated patients are non-specific: you can say "I was tree-cutting", but not "I was that-tree-cutting" with reference to a particular tree.

(10.2)
(i) dəš dey də mokpəkminpa
dəš dey də+ mok=pək=min-pa
1Prn now 1A+ corn=get=come-INC
'I'm carrying corn now.' (ZOH1R28 047)

(ii) dəš ya də tukšmeca
dəš ya də+ tukši?=me?c-A
1Prn NEG 1A+ fight=look_for-nINC
'I'm not looking for a fight.' (ZOH1R18 340)

(iii) ʔaybeses porke hakkem niwikəšpa
ʔay beses porke hakke ʔəm+ niwi?=kəš-pa
there_are times because a_lot 2A+ chile=eat-INC
'Sometimes (it's) because you eat a lot of chile.' (ZOH1R36 067)

(iv) našhecpa
0 naš=hec-pa
3A earth=scratch-INC

'He's scratching the ground (a bull).' (ZOH1R25 116)

(v) cəwihuyšukpa
0 cəwiʔ=huy-šuk-pa
3A tobacco=buy-3PL-INC
'They buy tobacco.' (ZOH1R17 008)

As mentioned in chapter 8, when NI occurs inside a dependent verb construction, the agreement marker is ergative, even though the construction as a whole is intransitive. This is the result of the ergative shift that occurs in these dependent constructions.

(10.3)
(i) minnə ʔəy koyoškuymece
min-wə ʔəy+ ko.yoš.kuyʔ=meʔc-E
come-COM 3E+ SOC.work.INSTR1=look_for-dCOM
'He came to look for a job.' (ZOH1R18 206)

(ii) nəmmən kahwecəktammə
nəmmə ʔən+ kahwe=cək-tam-wə
PROG 1E+ coffee=do-1/2PL-COM
'We were making coffee.' (ZOH1R7 017)

(iii) nəkpay šošʔanecakhayšukkə
nək-pa ʔəy+ šoš=ʔane=cak.hay-šuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ bean=tortilla=leave.APPL-3PL-dINC
'They go to leave bean tamales for him.' (ZOH1R22 026)

It is possible to incorporate patient arguments that refer to human entities, although most patients tend to be non-human.

(10.4)

(i) nəkkəy hentepəki
nək-wə ʔəy+ hente=pək-E
go-COM 3E+ people-get-dCOM
'He went to get some people.' (ZOH1R24 643)

(ii) ʔəm ʔawinmeʔcpa pam ʔekpa
ʔəm+ ʔawinʔ=meʔc-pa para ʔəm+ ʔek-pa
2A+ sibling=look_for-INC for 2E+ harvest-INC
'You look for a friend so you can harvest (corn).' (ZOH1R13 051)

It isn't always possible to tell if the single argument of an unaccusative verb has been incorporated or not, since the third person absolutive marker is **0**. One way of testing this is to make the expression negative, in which case the incorporated noun will appear inside the negative marker (10.5 i). In example (ii), phonological evidence suggests that the noun hama 'day' has been incorporated, because it has been shortened to a single syllable. Examples (iv) and (v) may or may not be incorporation constructions, thought it seems likely that they are, especially (iv) which is probably lexicalized.

(10.5)

(i) ya ʔaŋpənʔotowa
ya 0 ʔaŋpən=ʔotoŋ-A
NEG 3A zoque=speak-nINC
'She doesn't speak Zoque.' (elicited)

(ii) ya təmʔəwə
ya 0 təm=ʔəŋ-A
NEG 3A fruit=fall-nINC
'Fruit isn't falling (because of the cold).' (elicited)

(iii) ʔən ʔəkšpan mok para ha:mpəʔtpa
ʔən+ ʔəkš-pa ʔən+ mok para 0 hama=pəʔt-pa
1E+ shell-INC 1E+ corn for 3A day=pass-INC
'I shell my corn so the day passes (well).' (ZOH1R53 048)

(iv) cu:muknəmpa
cuʔ muk-Anəm-pa
night fall-IMPERS-INC
'Night falls.' (ZOH1R36 057)

(v) ʔašta ke təmtukpa
ʔašta ke təm=tuk-pa
until that fruit finish-INC
'Until the fruit sets' (ZOH1R13 048)

The incorporated noun phrase can be modified by elements external to the verb complex; that is, modifiers may be stranded. These must be non-specific sorts of modifiers, such as relative clauses. The examples in (10.6) illustrate the contrast between modification of an incorporated noun (i) and of an unincorporated noun (ii). Notice that in (i) the modifying adjective has been relativized: "He builds houses that are big."

(10.6)
(i) təkcəkpa komíʔ
0 tək=cək-pa komiʔ+**V**ʔk
3A house=do-INC big+REL
'He builds big houses.' (elicited)

(ii) ko:mtək ʔəy cəkpa
komiʔ=tək ʔəy+ cək-pa
big=house 3E+ do-INC
'He builds big houses.' (elicited)

Non-existential relative clauses are also allowed as stranded modifiers (10.7 i-v). These can be full clauses, with no restrictions on mood, polarity, valency, etc.

(10.7)
(i) təkcəkpa syempre humpáʔ
0 tək=cək-pa syempre **0** hum-pa+**V**ʔk
3A house=do-INC always 3A crumble-INC+REL
'He builds houses that always fall down.' (elicited)

(ii) təkcəkpa šəŋŋanəmpahi
0 tək=cək-pa **0** šəŋ.ʔa-**A**nəm-pa+hi
3A house=do-INC 3A fiesta.VERS1-INDEF-INC+LOCREL
'He builds houses where they have parties.' (elicited)

(iii) yotekommə ʔəy pəkminhawáʔ bi hente
0 yoteʔ=kom-wə ʔəy+ pək=min.hay-wə+**V**ʔk bi hente
3A clothes=mend-COM 3E+ get=come.APPL-COM+REL DEF people
'She mends clothes that people bring her.' (elicited)

(iv) yotekommə yakki yay kommušššáʔ
0 yoteʔ=kom-wə yakki ya ʔəy+ kom=muš-wə+**V**ʔk
3A clothes=men-COM nobody NEG 3E+ mend=know-COM+REL
'She mends clothes that nobody can mend.' (elicited)

(v) ga təmyukpiŋŋəy mini ʔəŋŋáʔ
gaʔ 0 təm=yuk.piŋ-wə ʔəy+ min-E **0** ʔəŋ-wə+**V**ʔk
that 3A fruit=UP.pick_up-COM 3E+ come-dCOM 3A fall-COM+REL
'She came along picking up fallen fruit.' (elicited)

Other kinds of stranded modifiers that are allowed are possessive nouns (i), an indefinite quantifier like mas, 'more' (ii), and a modifying noun (iii).

(10.8)

(i) də yotekommə ʔən manakʔəytiʔ
də+ yoteʔ=kom-wə ʔən+ manak+ʔəytiʔ
1A+ clothes=mend-COM 1E+ child+3PSN
'I mended my children's clothes.' (elicited)

(ii) nəkkəy pənpəki mas
nək-wə ʔəy+ pən=pək.E mas
go-COM 3E+ man=get.dCOM more
'He went to get more men.' (ZOH1R24 644)

(iv) nəkpay kuytəŋŋə rrama
nək-pa ʔəy+ kuy=təŋ-wə rrama
go-INC 3E+ tree=cut_w_machete-dINC branch
'They're going to cut tree branches.' (ZOH1R22 020)

The incorporated patient must be non-specific; that is, it must be an uncounted, indefinite, entity. I can say that I am going to 'tree-cut', but I can't point to a particular tree and then say "I will tree-cut (that one)". Example (10.9 i) is ungrammatical: determiners, deictics, and definite quantifiers can not be stranded, because they would make the incorporated noun specific.

(10.9)

(i) * də yotekommə yədə
də+ yoteʔ=kom-wə yədə
1A+ clothes=mend-COM this
* 'I clothes-mended these'

NI thus serves as a means of modifying the verb, narrowing its denotation to a particular subtype of action. In example (10.10 i), 'to coffee-drink' is actually the common idiom for 'to eat breakfast'. While it generally involves drinking coffee, it doesn't specify one cup or two, and most likely includes eating a piece of bread as well. In texts, NI can be a way of describing the action that is being performed without introducing an essentially irrelevant entity into the discourse context (ii). The beans have nothing to do with the story told in this text; the narrator is just setting up the background by explaining what they were doing at the beginning of the story.

(10.10)

(i) həʔ də kahweʔukpaštám
həʔ də+ kahwe=ʔuk-pa+štaaʔ+ʔam
yes 1A+ coffee=drink-INC+ONLY+NOW
'Yes, I'm just going to drink some coffee.' (ZOH1R10 150)

(ii) də šəkyuhtammə wayay nəhoʔ
də+ šək=yuh-tam-wə wayay nəʔ+hoʔ
1A+ bean=clear-1/2PL-COM cold water+LOC2
'We were clearing a bean field in Agua Fria.' (ZOH1R7 002)

When the verb complex has three arguments, whether because the root is bivalent (like ciʔ-, 'to give') or because affixation has increased its valency, the third argument is typically a human recipient or benefactor. If the patient argument is incorporated, the complex remains transitive. The recipient (or benefactor, etc.) argument can not be incorporated, so you can't say, for example, "He girl-gave flowers." This type of NI resembles Mithun's type II (1984:856-

859), in that the presence of the third argument allows the incorporating verb complex to remain transitive.

(10.11)

(i) ʔən cənkuycišukkə ʔi cənšukkə
ʔən+ cən.kuyʔ=ciʔ-šuk-wə ʔi 0 cən-šuk-wə
1E+ sit.INSTR1=give-3PL-COM and 3A sit-3PL-COM
'I gave them seats and they sat down.' (ZOH1R10 023-4)

(ii) dey čanitu ya nəmmo miš ʔanecidammám
dey čanitu ya nəm.ʔoy-A miš+ʔane=ciʔ-tam-wə+ʔam
now chanito NEG DO.ANTIP-nINC 1>2+ tortilla=give-1/2PL-dINC+NOW
'Now, Chanito, we can't give you tortillas anymore.' (ZOH1R27 007)

(iii) peru syempre yakkə də yoškuyciʔ
peru syempre yakkə də+ yoškuyʔ=ciʔ-Aʔ
but always VOL 1A+ work=give-iOPT
'But let her always give work to me.' (ZOH1R14 053)

(iv) tigó miš maŋkuykənəkkeppəba
ti+gooʔ miš+ maŋkuyʔ=kə.nək=kep.ʔəy-pa
what+BNF 2>1+ foot=AWAY.go=kick.SUF-INC
'Why do you stick your foot out at me?' (ZOH1R18 323)

(v) gay mašantəkhoʔ ʔəy təmpəhayšukpa
gay mašan=tək+hoʔ ʔəy+ təm=pəʔ.hay-šuk-pa
then church=house+LOC2 3E+ fruit=put.APPL-3PL-INC
'Then they put fruit for them in the church.' (ZOH1R21 030)

(vi) ʔəy pamacəkhayšukpa
ʔəy+ pama=cək.hay-šuk-pa
3E+ bed=do.APPL-3PL-INC
'They make the bed for themselves.' (ZOH1R22 007)

Arguments other than the patient may be incorporated, although such constructions are considerably less common. In (10.12 i), the incorporated argument is the goal. (Note that the additional conjuncts are stranded outside the verb complex.) In (ii-iv), the incorporated noun is a location (iv means literally "It hurt me in the head'). In example (v), a location is incorporated into an intransitive verb of motion. I was unable to elicit sentences with other sorts of incorporated arguments, such as instruments.

(10.12)

(i) ʔəy koke?aŋyohpa wece kana
ʔəy+ koke=ʔaŋ.yoh-pa wece kana
3E+ fish=MOUTH.pay-INC shrimp salt
'They trade it for fish, shrimp, and salt.' (ZOH1R2 072)

(ii) ʔən huku:tnekkəŋŋəypa
ʔən+ hukutə=nek=kəŋ.ʔəy-pa
1E+ fire=stack=burn.SUF-INC
'I stack it up near the fire.' (ZOH1R53 003)

(iii) gay də ʔornohuku:ttəba
gay də+ ʔorno=hukutək.ʔəy-pa
then 1A+ oven=fire.VERS2-INC
'Then I make a fire in the oven.' (ZOH1R31 013)

(iv) bweno də kopaktoyyə
bweno də+ kopak=toy-wə
good 1A+ head=hurt-COM
'I had a lot of headaches.' (ZOH1R14 076)

(v) də našnəktampa
də+ naš=nək-tam-pa
1A+ earth=go-1/2PL-INC
'We're going on foot.' (ZOH1R15 028)

Adjectives can also be incorporated. (Strictly speaking, they are then functioning as adverbs, since they are modifying the verb, rather than some noun.) This naturally has no effect on the transitivity of the verb complex. Examples (10.13 i) and (ii) illustrate the difference between an non-incorporated adverbial modifier and an incorporated one.

(10.13)

(i) pwes wəhəm cəkkə
pwes wəhə ʔəm+ cək-wə
well good 2E+ do-COM
'Well, you did well.' (ZOH1R18 178)

(ii) nəmmə ʔəy wə:hcəkšukkə
nəmmə ʔəy+ wəhə=cək-šuk-wə
PROG 3E+ good=do-3PL-dINC
'They were repairing it.' (ZOH1R25 064)

(iii) ʔəy malʔaŋcoŋŋə
ʔəy+ mal=ʔaŋ.coŋ-wə
3E+ bad=MOUTH.join-COM
'He answered badly.' (ZOH1R24 581)

(iv) nəmmoba ʔəy kuktəŋšukkə
nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ kuk=təŋ-šuk-wə
DO.ANTIP-INC 3E+ center=cut_w_machete-3PL-dINC
'They can cut it in half.' (ZOH1R29 077)

Chapter 11: Multi-clause Expressions

In this chapter we'll look at the various types of sentences that can be composed of more than one clause. Relative clauses are discussed in section 11.1. In section 11.2, we look at coordinated clauses. Section 11.3 has a discussion of comparative constructions. These are formed on the model of Spanish grammar, using connectives borrowed from Spanish. We return to MIG Zoque connectives in sections 11.4 and 11.5, to discuss purpose clauses and 'if' clauses, respectively. Section 11.6 contains a discussion of clauses using Spanish subordinators. In section 11.7, we look at 'that' clauses, which appear with verbs of speaking, perceiving, and wanting. Section 11.8 contains a description of locative clauses.

In general, MIG Zoque syntax does not entail requirements on the referent of third person agreement markers in subordinate clauses. The referents of subject or object agreement markers are determined pragmatically. The following two examples illustrate this point.

(11.1)

(i) bi pən ʔəy caŋŋə bi yomáʔ ʔi yowə
bi pən ʔəy+ caŋ-wə bi yomaaʔ ʔi 0 yo-wə
DEF man 3E+ hit_w_fist-COM DEF woman and 3A fall-COM
'The man hit the woman and she fell;
The man hit the woman and he fell.' (elicited)

(ii) bi hayʔune ʔəy šuʔkkə bi yomʔune ʔi yukpoyyə
bi haya=ʔuneʔ ʔəy+ šuʔk-wə bi yomə=ʔuneʔ ʔi 0 yuk.poy-wə
DEF male=child 3E+ kiss-COM DEF girl=child and 3A UP.flee-COM

'The boy kissed the girl and he ran away;
The boy kissed the girl and she ran away.' (elicited)

My consultant preferred the first translation given for each of the examples above; that is, it was the woman who fell down and the boy who ran away. He said that it was logical: if you hit someone, they're more likely to fall than you are, and a boy who kisses a girl is liable to be so embarassed by his act that he runs away. He also accepted the opposite interpretation for both sentences - the man falling and the girl running away - but thought that although they were acceptable as sentences, they were less plausible as events.

In English, the syntax admits only one interpretation of such sentences: the elided subject of the second clause must refer to the same entity as the subject of the preceding clause. It must be the man who falls and the boy who runs away. The subject is the *syntactic pivot*: the "syntactic argument [that] bears the privileged grammatical function in the construction" (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997:275). In MIG Zoque, it is neither the syntactic subject nor the semantic role (in both the examples, agent) that controls the interpretation of the second clause, but the pragmatics of the situation; thus, MIG Zoque can be said to have a *pragmatic pivot*.

Another general feature of subordinate clauses in MIG Zoque is the importation of Spanish subordinators expressing the relation of the subordinate clause to the superordinate one. There are three native subordinators: the relative clause clitic +**V**ʔk, the purpose clause marker góʔ, and the 'if' clause marker biʔt. Other kinds of clauses are introduced by Spanish loan words, such as ʔoŋke,

aunque, 'although', and kom kwando, *como cuando*, 'as if'. The native subordinators co-exist in ordinary discourse with their Spanish counterparts: *que*, 'that', *para*, 'in order to', and *si*, 'if'. (Actually, *para* and *si* appear more frequently in the corpus than gó? and bi?t.) Over the course of a single narrative produced by a single speaker, we find examples of both the MIG Zoque forms and the Spanish forms. It is common to find them both together in single clause, with the Spanish morphemes on the left and the Zoque ones on the right. The infiltration of Spanish function words is a characteristic of many Mesoamerican languages (Thompson & Longacre, 1985; Kaufman & Thomason, 1988).

(11.2)

(i) hemhi de lo ken pəkwitpá?
hemhi de lo ke ?ən+ pək=wit-pa+**V**?k
all of it that 1E+ get=walk-INC+REL
'Everything that I carry' (ZOH1R10 133)

(ii) pa ?awin dəkka goʔ pəʔtpám
para ?awin+dəkka gooʔ 0 pəʔt-pa+ʔam
so_that brother+NPL BNF 3A pass-INC+NOW
'so that our fellows can pass (there) now.' (ZOH1R18 089)

(iii) si ?əʔkšiam biʔt ?ən pəknəkpa
si ?əʔkš.E+ʔam biʔt ?ən+ pək=nək-pa
if shell.NOM3+NOW IF 1E+ get=go-INC
'If it's shelled, I'll take it.' (ZOH1R27 053)

11.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are ubiquitous in MIG Zoque narratives, bearing most of the burden of description or elaboration of discourse entities. For convenience, I'll refer to the relative clause as S_{REL}, and use the term *head noun* to refer to the noun phrase being modified by S_{REL}. When I need to distinguish the head noun in its capacity as an argument of the S_{REL}, I'll call it the NP_{REL} (following Keenan, 1985). There are two ways to form a relative clause, by attaching a clitic marker to the end of the S_{REL} verb complex (section 11.1.1.), or by simply heading the S_{REL} with the definite article bi (section 11.1.2). The second method is used only for clauses of the general form Pronoun (is) bi S_{REL} (That is the one that S...).

11.1.1. Basic relative clauses

This is most common and most general form of relative clause. This type is marked by a clitic that attaches to the right edge of the verb complex. As noted in section 9.3, there are two forms of this clitic: +**V**ʔk and +pəʔk. The first form appears with vowel-final words and the second with consonant-final words. Since most verb complexes end in vowels (because the inflectional suffixes are all vowel-final), the examples in this section will generally show the +**V**ʔk form. The clitic syllable contracts with the preceding syllable, producing a stressed final syllable. The final stress on relative clauses is usually highly salient, and in emphatic or especially careful speech, the final /ʔk/ can be heard.

The head noun always precedes the S_{REL} verb complex, and there may be other arguments or adverbs between it and the verb. There is no relative pronoun in MIG Zoque, nor are personal pronouns or deictics used to delimit the relative clause. Since word order is restricted in relative clauses, whereas it is free in the general case, it seems reasonable to refer to MIG Zoque relative clauses as externally-headed. Subjects and objects are marked on both the matrix and subordinate verbs by the person agreement markers, and the head noun of the relative clause is simply construed with both of them.

There are no restrictions on which of the verb's arguments can be relativized. Similarly, any argument in the matrix clauses can be modified by a relative clause. In the vast majority of the examples in the texts, NP_{REL} is the S_{REL} patient (11.3), but there are a few with actors (11.4). I was able to elicit sentences with relativized recipients (11.5 i, ii), sources (iii), possessed nouns (iv) and accompaniments (v). Clauses in which NP_{REL} is an agent tend to be used in a slightly different fashion, which will be discussed below.

(11.3) $\underline{NP_{REL} = \text{patient}}$

(i) ʔəy nikpakkəyyə deʔše nəʔ taʔkšpáʔ

ʔəy+ nik.pak.ʔəy-wə de.ʔše nəʔ **0** taʔkš-pa+**V**ʔk

3E+ SURF.sprinkle.SUF-COM DCT2.SIM water 3A burn-INC+REL

'They poured out the gasoline.' (ZOH1R24 212)

(ii) hu pəpa ʔəm nəkkə dedə hamatin ʔəm pəkcoŋpáʔ
huʔ pəʔ-pa ʔəm+ nək-wə dedə hamatin ʔəm+ pək=coŋ-pa+**V**ʔk
donde put-INC 2E+ go-dINC that money 2E+ get=join-INC+REL
'Where are you putting that money that you receive?' (ZOH1R28 105)

(11.4) $\underline{NP_{REL}}$ = actor
(i) hemhi nəktəpáʔ nəmpa
hemhi **0** nək=təʔ-pa+**V**ʔk 0 nəm-pa
all 3A go=want-INC+REL 3A say-INC
'All who want to go, say (so).' (ZOH1R24 169)

(ii) nəmpa tum tenyente ʔiwə ʔotoŋpáʔ
0 nəm-pa tum tenyente ʔiwə **0** ʔotoŋ-pa+**V**ʔk
3A say-INC one lieutenant who 3A speak-INC+REL
'A lieutenant says, "Who is it who speaks?"' (ZOH1R24 063)

(11.5) $\underline{NP_{REL}}$ = other
(i) ʔən meʔcpa bi yomáʔ ʔəm ciwáʔ ʔəm yəkwih
ʔən+ meʔc-pa bi yomaaʔ ʔəm+ ciʔ-wə+**V**ʔk ʔəm+ yəkwih
1E+ look_for-INC DEF woman 2E+ give-COM+REL 2E+ shirt
'I'm looking for the woman you gave your shirt to.' (elicited)

(ii) ga ʔən ceʔkhayyáʔ tum koke yay ʔaŋnittə
gaʔ ʔən+ ceʔk.hay-wə+**V**ʔk tum koke ya ʔəy+ ʔaŋʔit-wə
that 1E+ ask.APPL-COM+REL one fish NEG 3E+ have-COM
'The woman that I asked for a fish didn't have any.' (elicited)

(iii) bi yomáʔ ʔəm huyhayyáʔ ʔəm yəkwih
bi yomaaʔ ʔəm+ huy.hay-wə+**V**ʔk ʔəm yəkwih
DEF woman 2E+ buy.APPL-COM+REL 2E+ shirt

də huyciwə tum nišuy
də+ huy=ciʔ-wə tum nišuyʔ
1A+ buy=give-COM one blanket
'The woman you bought your shirt from sold me a blanket.' (elicited)

(iv) ʔən ʔišpəkpa bi yomáʔ ʔəy ʔune kawáʔ
ʔən+ ʔiš=pək-pa bi yomaaʔ ʔəy+ ʔuneʔ **0** ka-wə+**V**ʔk
1E+ see=get-INC DEF woman 3E+ child 3A die-COM+REL
'I know the woman whose baby died.'
(elicited)

(v) də hayhayyə tum toto
də+ hay.hay-wə tum totoʔ
1A+ write.APPL-COM one paper

ʔən witʔawin ʔən ʔaŋmayyáʔhənaŋ
ʔən+ wit=ʔawinʔ ʔən+ ʔaŋ.may-wə+**V**ʔk+hənaŋ
1E+ walk=sibling 1E+ MOUTH.count-COM-REL+ACC
'I wrote a letter to my friend that I studied with.' (elicited)

The last example has a postposition marking the entire relative clause as an accompaniment (oblique) phrase. These elicited examples are the only ones of their kind in the corpus, so although they are acceptable, they are certainly not commonly used. When I tried to elicit instrumental relative clauses, I got mixed judgements. Sr. Miguel considered the first example shown in (11.6) grammatical, but Sr. Sánchez hated it, and offered example (ii) in its place[1]. My conclusion is that relativizing oblique arguments of verbs is at best a rare and at worst a marginal construction in this language.

(11.6)
(i) ʔən meʔcpa bi cahənaŋ ʔən noʔccáʔ bi limeta
ʔən+ meʔc-pa bi caʔ+hənaŋ ʔən+ noʔc-wə+**V**ʔk bi limeta
1E+ look_for-INC DEF rock+ACC 1E+ break-COM+REL DEF bottle
'I'm looking for the rock that I used as a breaking tool.' (elicited)

[1] Note that this example includes an incorporated instrument noun, another very unusual construction (see chapter 10 for further discussion of noun incorporation).

(ii) ʔən meʔcpa bi caʔ ʔən noʔckuycəkkáʔ
ʔən+ meʔc-pa bi caʔ ʔən+ noʔc.kuyʔ=cək-wə+**V**ʔk
1E+ look_for-INC DEF rock 1E+ break.INSTR1=do-COM+REL
'I'm looking for the rock that I broke the bottle with.' (elicited)

Relative clauses whose head nouns are the agents of a transitive verb are very common, but they tend to be treated simply as noun phrases; that is, they can be pluralized with the clitic +dəkka, and they often appear as modifiers of another noun (most commonly pən, 'man'). Many of these clauses are lexicalized, especially those that identify some occupation, such as mayor, teacher, or fisherman. The first examples in (11.7) are of this kind. The line between stable lexicalization and productive morphology is impossible to draw in a language like this one - some examples that are probably not lexicalized are shown in the later examples.

(11.7)
(i) də yeʔctammə bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔk yomáʔaŋhiʔ
də+ yeʔc-tam-wə bi ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+**V**ʔk yomaaʔ+ʔaŋhiʔ
1A+ arrive-1/2PL-COM DEF MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC-REL woman+LOC3
'We arrived at the woman teacher's house.' (ZOH1R10 195)

(ii) gə ʔora toto yeʔcpa bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ
gə ʔora totoʔ 0 yeʔc-pa bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+**V**ʔk
that hour paper 3A arrive-INC DEF MOUTH.go_up.ANTIP-INC+REL
'At that hour, a letter came for the commander.' (ZOH1R24 039)

(iii) bi makpáʔk pən ʔəy ʔišmuššə
bi mak-pa+**V**ʔk pən ʔəy+ ʔiš=muš-wə
DEF fish-INC+REL man 3E+ see=know-COM
'The fisherman saw them.' (ZOH1R20 009)

(iv) ʔəy kobracəkpa bi kəšimaʔʔəbádəkkay
ʔəy+ kobrar=cək-pa bi kəš.**E**=maʔ.ʔəy-pa+**V**ʔk+dəkka
3E+ charge=do-INC DEF food.NOM3=sale.SUF-INC+REL+NPL
'He charges the food vendors.' (ZOH1R28 058)

(v) ʔəy ʔoŋceʔkkəyyə
ʔəy+ ʔoŋceʔk.ʔəy-wə
3E+ ask.SUF-COM

gadəkkay bi kapnəkkošukpádəkkay
gaʔ+dəkkay bi kap=nək.ʔoy-šuk-pa+**V**ʔk+dəkkay
that+NPL DEF carry_on_shoulder=go.ANTIP-3PL-INC+REL+NPL
'He asked the ones that were carrying (a coffin).' (ZOH1R27 028)

Relative clauses may also be formed on the Spanish model, using the Spanish relative pronoun ke, *que*, 'that', after the head noun and before the S_{REL}, in accordance with Spanish syntax. While hardly rare, these are much less common in the corpus than the MIG Zoque relatives.

(11.8)
(i) ʔel ke də meʔcpa dəššən cipa
ʔel ke də+ meʔc-pa dəš ʔən+ ciʔ-pa
he that 1A+ look_for-INC 1Prn 1E+ give-INC
'The one that looks for me, I'll hit him.' (ZOH1R18 339)

(ii) nəmmoba ʔən cəktammə de lo ke ʔən cəktədampa
nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔən+ cək-tam-wə de lo ke ʔən+ cək=təʔ-tam-pa
DO.ANTIP-INC 1E+ do-1/2PL-dINC of it that 1E+ do=want-1/2PL-INC
'We could do what we want to do.' (ZOH1R16 058)

(iii) ʔəy kompo:ncəkpa hemhi lo ke ʔəy ceʔkcoŋšukpa
ʔəy+ komponer=cək-pa hemhi lo ke ʔəy+ ceʔk=coŋ-šuk-pa
3E+ fix=do-INC all it that 3E+ ask=join-3PL-INC
'She cured everything that they asked for.' (ZOH1R32 057)

11.1.2. Relative clauses with bi

Another type of relative clause is marked only by the definite article bi, without the final clitic. The matrix clause in this case is always an existential clause, and the head noun is always a pronoun, a deictic or the interrogative ti, 'what'. The general form here is Pronoun (is) bi S_{REL}, 'That is the one that S...'.

(11.9)

(i) de bin ʔaŋheʔkpa dəš
de.ʔ bi ʔən+ ʔaŋheʔk-pa dəš
DCT2.NOM1 DEF 1E+ be_afraid-INC 1Prn
'That's what I'm afraid of.' (ZOH1R25 200)

(ii) deʔš deʔ biy təpa
de.ʔšə de.ʔ bi ʔəy+ tə-pa
DCT2.SIM DCT2.NOM1 DEF want-INC
'That is how he wants it.' (ZOH1R18 313)

(iii) dəš bin sufricəkkə
dəš bi ʔən+ sufri=cək-wə
1Prn DEF 1E+ suffer=DO-COM
'I'm the one that suffered.' (ZOH1R14 043)

(iv) yakkəy ʔiššukkam gadəkka ti biy cəkšukpa
yakkə ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə+ʔam gaʔ+dəkka ti bi ʔəy+ cək-pa
VOL 3E+ see-3PL-COM+NOW that+NPL what DEF 3E+ do-INC
'Now let them see what it is that they will do.' (ZOH1R11 111)

(v) gaʔše bi ʔokmaŋŋə
ga.ʔše bi **0** ʔok.maŋ-wə
DCT3.SIM DEF 3A DOWN.*step-COM
'That's how it began.' (ZOH1R10 229)

11.2 Coordination and disjunction

Clauses are usually conjoined by means of the Spanish connective ʔ**i**, (*y*, 'and'), as shown in example (11.10 i). They can also be coordinated by simple juxtaposition, with no connective, as shown in example (ii). This was probably the standard form of coordination prior to the invasion, although it appears infrequently now in the corpus. The intonation pattern in such constructions is like that used in a list of nouns: each conjunct has its own rising-falling contour, with a slight pause between the two. The drop in pitch in the first conjunct is not as steep as it would be if it were truly the end of the utterance.

(11.10)

(i) ʔən cənkuycišukkə ʔi cənšukkə
ʔən+ cən.kuyʔ=ciʔ-šuk-wə ʔi 0 cən-šuk-wə
1E+ sit.INSTR1=give-3PL-COM and 3A sit-3PL-COM
'I gave them seats and they sat down.' (ZOH1R10 023-4)

(ii) para dey cəkpa ʔəy pəkkeʔtpa
para de.y ʔəy+ cək-pa ʔəy+ pək.keʔt-pa
so_that DCT2.TMP 3E+ do-INC 3E+ get.REPET-INC
'So that he does it and gets it again.' (ZOH1R24 349)

There is no restriction on conjuncts with respect to aspect, mood, or polarity. In example (11.11 i) completive clauses are conjoined with an incompletive (which indicates an ongoing action in the past, in this case). In (ii), an incompletive clause with future reference is conjoined with a present perfect clause. In (iii), an incompletive clause (a purpose clause) is conjoined with a

volitive clause. Example (iv) shows the conjunction of positive and negative incompletive clauses.

(11.11)

(i) gay tumə čikha:yʔune wehhə ʔi wehhə
gay tumə čik=haya=ʔuneʔ **0** weh-wə ʔi **0** weh-wə
now one little=male=child 3A shout-COM and 3A shout-COM

ʔi wehecəkpa
ʔi 0 weh.E=cək-pa
and 3A shout.NOM3=do-INC
'And a little boy shouted and shouted and he was making a great noise.'
(ZOH1R24 466)

(ii) mecaŋ šepeštám pa picəmšukpa
mecaŋ šepe+štaaʔ+ʔam para 0 picəm-šuk-pa
two month+ONLY+NOW for 3A leave-3PL-INC

ʔi yakti yoškuy yampay cəkə
ʔi yakti yoškuyʔ yampa ʔəy+ cək-A
and nothing work nPERF 3E+ do-nINC
'Now it's only two months until they leave and they haven't done any work.'
(ZOH1R28 098-100)

(iii) para ken nəmhaba ʔi hu də nəkpa dəš
para ke ʔən+ nəm.hay-pa ʔi huʔ də+ nək-pa dəš
for that 1E+ say.APPL-INC and where 1A+ go-INC 1Prn

ʔi yakkəy nipə ʔən yuhkuyʔ ʔəy ʔacihənaŋ
ʔi yakkə ʔəy+ nip-**A**ʔ ʔən+ yuhkuyʔ ʔəy+ ʔaci+hənaŋ
and VOL 3E+ sow-iOPT 1E+ field 3E+ uncle+ACC
'so I can tell him where I'm going and that he should sow my field with his uncle.' (ZOH1R10 091-2)

(iv) si nəmmobam nippən yuhkuy də nəkpa
si nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔəm+ nip-wə ʔən+ yuhkuyʔ də+ nək-pa
if DO.ANTIP-INC 2E+ sow-COM 1E+ field 1A+ go-INC

ʔi si nəʔtti ya də nəkə
ʔi si nəʔtti ya də+ nək-A
and if no NEG 1A+ go-nINC
'If you can sow my field, I'll go, and if not, I won't go.' (ZOH1R10 077)

Duplicate arguments may be omitted from the conjoined clause. The examples in 11.12 show constructions in which patient arguments are omitted from the second conjunct. Example (iii), in which the antipassive is used in the second conjunct to supress the patient, was not considered as felicitous as (ii), in which the patient was simply omitted. Both sentences are grammatical - my consultants just said that the version without the antipassive sounded better. This could be because the antipassive is normally used to express general actions, like cooking or doing some mending, rather than to supress reference to a specific object that is known in the discourse context.

(11.12)
(i) ʔən šaŋŋə bi yuhkuy ʔi ʔən poŋŋə
ʔən+ šaŋ-wə bi yuhkuy ʔi ʔən+ poŋ-wə
1E+ cut_w_machete-COM DEF field and 1E+ burn-COM
'I cleared the field with a machete and I burned (it).' (elicited)

(ii) ʔən huyyə bi koke ʔi ʔən šeʔttə
ʔən+ huy-wə bi koke ʔi ʔən+ šeʔt-wə
1E+ buy-COM DEF fish and 1E+ fry-COM
'I bought the fish and I fried (it).' (elicited)

(iii) ʔən huyyə bi koke ʔi ʔən šeʔttoyyə
ʔən+ huy-wə bi koke ʔi ʔən+ šeʔt.ʔoy-wə
1E+ buy-COM DEF fish and 1E+ fry.ANTIP-COM
'I bought the fish and I fried (it).' (elicited)

The examples in (11.13) were constructed to test the possible interpretations for conjoined clauses in which the second clause lacks a specific NP indicating the agent. If both the agent and patient (or recipient) of the first conjunct are human and thus equally capable of filling either role, which will be construed as the agent of the second conjunct? The determination is made pragmatically, not syntactically. In the first example, it's the woman who burns the letter, because (as it was explained to me) if the man wrote it, he sent it, and once he'd sent it, he couldn't very well burn it. In the second example, it's the mayor who reads the letter, because he's the one who sent for it. In the fourth example, it could be the man who falls down, but it's more sensible that it be the woman. In the fifth example, it could similarly be the woman who leaves, but the favored interpretation is always that the man leaves. There is a clear preference for the agent of the first conjunct also being considered the agent of the second, although this is not strictly required.

(11.13)
(i) ʔəy hayhayyə bi pən bi yomáʔ tum toto ʔi ʔəy poŋŋə
ʔəy+ hay.hay-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ tum totoʔ ʔi ʔəy+ poŋ-wə
3E+ write.APPL-COM DEF man DEF woman one paper and 3E+ burn-COM
'The man wrote a letter to the woman and she burned it.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔəy yakpəkminnə bi toto bi huštiša bi pən
ʔəy+ yak.pək=min-wə bi toto**ʔ** bi huštiša bi pən
3E+ CAUS.carry=come-COM DEF paper DEF mayor DEF man

ʔi ʔəy howannə
ʔi ʔəy+ ho.wan-wə
and 3E+ INTO.sing-COM

'The mayor told the man to bring the paper and he read it.' (elicited)

(iii) ʔəy paʔttə bi pən bi yomáʔ
ʔəy+ paʔt-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ
3E+ meet-COM DEF man DEF woman

ʔi ʔəy nəmhayyə ke yak nəkə
ʔi ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə ke yakkə nək -Aʔ
and 3E+ say.APPL-COM that VOL go-iOPT

'The man met the woman and she told him to go.' (elicited)

(iv) ʔəy caŋŋə bi pən bi yomáʔ ʔi yowə
ʔəy+ caŋ-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ ʔi **0** yo-wə
3E+ hit-COM DEF man DEF woman and 3A fall-COM
'The man hit the woman and she fell down.' (elicited)

(v) ʔəy ʔotoŋhayyə bi pən bi yomáʔ ʔi nəkwə
ʔəy+ ʔotoŋ.hay-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ ʔi **0** nək-wə
3E+ speak.APPL-COM DEF man DEF woman and 3A go-COM
'The man spoke to the woman and he went away.' (elicited)

The Spanish disjunctives *o* 'or' and *pero* 'but' are also used. Their behavior parallels that of the conjunctive expressions.

(11.14)

(i) dəš də nəkpa pero də nippanam
dəš də+ nək-pa pero də+ nip-pa+namʔ
1Prn 1A+ go-INC but 1A+ sow-INC+STILL
'I'll go but I'm still going to sow (my corn).' (ZOH1R10 043)

(ii) dəš də ʔotoŋhašukpa ʔo də nəmhašukpa
dəš də ʔotoŋ.hay-šuk-pa ʔo də nəm.hay-šuk-pa
1Prn 1A speak.APPL-3PL-INC or 1A say.APPL-3PL-INC
'They will talk to me or they will tell me.' (ZOH1R10 012)

11.3 Comparative clauses:

Comparative clauses are constructed on the Spanish model, using *mas*, 'more'. The standard of comparison, if there is one, is introduced with the Spanish comparative ke (*que*, 'than').

(11.15)

(i) mas ʔaŋheʔkpa bi ʔawindəkka
mas 0 ʔaŋheʔk-pa bi ʔawinʔ+dəkka
more 3A be_afraid_INC DEF sibling+NPL
'The companions were more afraid.' (ZOH1R24 328)

(ii) gaʔ mas ʔəy yəkhuppəyyə bi yomáʔ
gaʔ mas ʔəy+ yək.hup.ʔəy-wə bi yomaaʔ
that more 3E+ INSTR2.pull.SUF-COM DEF woman
'He blamed the woman more.' (ZOH1R28 087)

(iii) tehiwám mas kawám ke hehpa
0 tehi.ʔa-wə+ʔam mas 0 ka-wə+ʔam ke 0 heh-pa
3A there_is.VERS1-COM+NOW more 3A die-COM+NOW that 3A live-INC
'Now he was more dead than alive.' (ZOH1R24 708)

(iv) ʔen bes de ke də šəhadampa pinək
ʔen bes de ke də+ šəhə.ʔa-tam-pa pinək
en time of that 1A+ a_lot.VERS1-1/2PL-INC CONFAC

mas də meššadampa
mas də+ meši.ʔa-tam-pa
more 1A+ few-VERS1-1/2PL-INC
'Instead of becoming more we are becoming fewer.' (ZOH1R16 079)

(v) pok yəʔ ʔəy cəkkə mas ke čik woyneŋpəʔk parkehoʔ
porke yəʔ ʔəy+ cək-wə mas ke čik woy.neeŋ+pəʔk parke+hoʔ
because this 3E+ do-COM more that little roll.MEAS+REL park+LOC2
'Because this one built more than a little gazebo in the park.'
(ZOH1R28 351)

11.4. Purpose clauses

The subordinator góʔ (PURP) marks a purpose clause. While it most typically appears immediately after the verb complex, it may also appear after the first word or noun phrase in the clause. The Spanish subordinator *para*, 'in order to', is also used to construct purpose clauses; in fact, both may appear together, with the Spanish subordinator at the beginning of the clause and the Zoque subordinator somewhere inside the clause. In the corpus, *para* alone (11.16 i - ii) is more common than *para* together with góʔ (iii - v), which in turn is more common than just góʔ (v-vii).

(11.16)

(i) yakkoknəkkə dedə tuŋ pa nəkpa san diyunisyu
yakkə 0 ʔok.nək-wə dedə tuŋ para 0 nək-pa san diyunisyu
VOL 3A DOWN.go-cOPT that road so_that 3A go-INC san dionisio
'They should follow that road to go to San Dionisio.' (ZOH1R24 105)

(ii) ʔəy mandacəkkə bi hamatin pay yoššukpa
ʔəy+ mandar=cək-pa bi hamatin para ʔəy+ yoš-šuk-pa
3E+ send=do-INC DEF money so_that 3E+ work-3PL-INC
'They sent them the money so they could work.' (ZOH1R28 067)

(iii) ʔən hayhayyám
ʔən+ hay.hay-wə+ʔam
1E+ write.APPL-COM+NOW

pan nəktampa góʔ ʔən yoštammə
para ʔən+ nək-tam-pa gooʔ ʔən+ yoš-tam-wə
so_that 1E+ go-1/2PL-INC PURP 1E+ work-1/2PL-COM

'I've already written to him so that we can go work.' (ZOH1R10 174)

(iv) nəki ʔištáŋ deʔunabés pa tempran góʔ cəkkəmpa
nək-i ʔiš+taaŋ deʔunabés para tempranu gooʔ 0 cək.ʔəm-pa
go-IMPV see+VOL at_once so_that early PURP 3A do.PASS-INC
'Let's go see (him) at once so that it's done early.' (ZOH1R10 365)

(v) rromáŋ nəmmə ʔən yakkapa
rromáŋ 0 nəm-wə ʔən+ yak.kaʔ-pa
román 3A say-COM 1E+ CAUS.die-INC

pa ʔawin dəkka góʔ pəʔtpám
para ʔawin+dəkka gooʔ 0 pəʔt-pa+ʔam
so_that brother+NPL PURP 3A pass-INC+NOW
'Román said, "I'll kill him so our fellows can pass now.' (ZOH1R18 088-9)

(vi) də kahʔukpaštám də nəkpam góʔ
də+ kahwe=ʔuk-pa+štaaʔ +ʔam də+ nək-pa+ʔam gooʔ
1A+ coffee=drink-INC+ONLY+NOW 1A+ GO-INC+NOW PURP
'I'll just drink some coffee now so I can go.' (ZOH1R10 151)

(vii) rroberto ʔəy nummə totoʔ
rroberto ʔəy+ num-wə totoʔ
roberto 3E+ steal-COM paper

ʔuy howanə góʔ bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ
ʔu ʔəy+ ho.wan-A goo ʔ bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+VʔkNEGimpv 3E+ IN.sing-IMPV PURP DEF MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL

'Roberto stole the letter so the director couldn't read it.' (elicited)

There are a few examples in which góʔ means 'because'. Predictably, in these cases it often appears in tandem with the Spanish *porque*.

(11.17)
(i) ʔo porke yahə góʔ bi yoškuyʔ
ʔo porke yahə gooʔ bi yoš.kuyʔ
or because far PURP DEF work.INSTR1
'Or because the work is far away' (ZOH1R10 036)

(ii) de gahi ʔəy ʔammatəpa góʔ də golpeacəkšukkə
de gahi ʔəy+ ʔamma=təʔ-pa gooʔ də+ golpear=cək-šuk-pa
from there 3E+ look=want-INC PURP 1A+ hit=do-3PL-INC
'Then, because they wanted to see it, they were hitting me.' (ZOH1R32 041)

(iii) deʔše ʔəy nəmhayyə góʔ
de.ʔše ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə gooʔ
DCT2.SIM 3E+ say.APPL-COM PURP

mas kiŋkapa gadə ha:yʔuneʔ
mas kiŋka-pa ga.də haya=ʔuneʔ
more be_angry-INC DCT3.XDEM male=child

'Because he said that to him, the boy got angrier.' (ZOH1R18 329-30)

(iv) pork kwandum ʔaŋnitpa yam pəʔttə trabaho
porke kwandu ʔəm+ ʔaŋʔit-pa ya ʔəm+ pəʔt-wə trabaho
because when 2E+ have-INC NEG 2E+ pass-COM work
'Because when you have (enough), you don't have to work.' (ZOH1R13 105)

11.5. 'If' clauses

Both the MIG Zoque subordinator biʔt and the Spanish *si* are used to form 'if' clauses. Their use conforms with that described for subordinate clauses in general. The examples in (11.18) show *si* alone (i-ii), *si* and biʔt marking the same clause (iii-iv), and biʔt alone (v-vi).

(11.18)

(i) sim cəkpa mal kon mal ʔəm yohpa neʔ
si ʔəm+ cək-pa mal kon mal ʔəm+ yoh-pa neʔ
if 2E+ do-INC bad with bad 2E+ pay-INC also
'If you do evil, with evil you will be paid.' (ZOH1R20 048)

(ii) pero sim nəktəpám mišš̈əm mušpa
pero si ʔəm+ nək=təʔ-pa+ʔam miš ʔəm+ muš-pa
but if 2A+ go=want-INC+NOW 2Prn 2E+ know-INC
'But if you want to go now, you know (best).' (ZOH1R18 248)

(iii) sim hamatinnəyyə biʔt ti bi meʔcpa yəhiʔ
si ʔəm+ hamatin.ʔəy-wə biʔt ti bi ʔəm+ meʔc-pa yəhiʔ
IF 2E+ money.VERS2-COM IF what DEF 2E+ look_for-INC here
'If you have money, what are you looking for here?' (ZOH1R19 064-5)

(iv) sim tədampa biʔt cidamə dedə ʔo:kcawi
si ʔəm+ təʔ-tam-pa biʔt ciʔ-tam-Aʔ dedə ʔoko=cawiʔ
IF 2E+ want-1/2PL-INC IF give-1/2PL-IMPV that old_woman=monkey
'If you want them (the babies), shoot the mother monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 034)

(v) yam tə biʔt picəmə yəhə́ŋ
ya ʔəm+ təʔ-A biʔt picəm-Aʔ yə.həəŋ
NEG 2E+ want-nINC IF leave-IMPV DCT1.DIR1
'If you don't like it, leave here.' (ZOH1R18 324-5)

(vi) ʔəy kobracəkkə bi kəši maʔʔəpá dəkkay
ʔəy+ kobra=cək-wə bi kəš-E=maʔ.ʔəy-pa+Vʔk+dəkkay
3E+ charge=DO-COM DEF eat-NOM3=sale.VERS2-INC+REL+NPL

wakaš yakkanəmpa biʔt
0 wakaš=yak.ka-Anəm-pa biʔt
3A cow =CAUS.die-IMPERS-INC IF

'They charge the food vendors if someone butchers cattle.' (ZOH1R28 197)

(vii) nəmmam biʔt həʔ nəmmə́m
0 nəm-wə+ʔam biʔt həʔ 0 nəm-wə+ʔam
3A say-COM+NOW IF yes 3A say-COM+NOW
'If he's said yes, he's said it.' (ZOH1R10 109)

11.6. Locative clauses

Loacative clauses can be formed with the postverbal clitic +hi, following the same pattern as relative clauses. Like relative clauses, these are nominalizations.These constructions rarely appear in the texts, although they are easy to elicit. Since they are nominals, they can be preceded by the definite article bi, as shown in example (11.19 ii). The ergative markers that precede the locative nominals in examples (i-iii) are possessives: the train is arriving at its passing place (i); we go to the man's sleeping place (ii); and I glue the pot at its broken place (iii).

The Spanish relative/interrogative pronoun *donde*, 'where', is more commonly used for locative clauses, appearing in a variety of forms in MIG Zoque, sometimes compounded with the Zoque word for 'where', huʔ. Examples of this type of locative clause are shown in (11.19 iv-vi).

(11.19)

(i) yeʔcpám bi tren ʔəy pəʔtpahi
0 yeʔc-pa+ʔam bi tren ʔəy+ pəʔt-pa+hi
3A arrive-INC+NOW DEF train 3E+ pass-INC+LOCREL
'Now the train is arriving where it passes.' (ZOH1R25 109)

(ii) mehor də nəktampa ʔašta gaha biy moŋŋəhi
mehor də+ nək-tam-pa ʔašta gaha bi ʔəy+ moŋ-wə+hi
better 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC until there DEF 3E+ sleep-COM+LOCREL
'Better that we should go to where he's sleeping.' (ZOH1R36 171)

(iii) ʔən ʔaŋcahpan šuyu ʔəy noʔccəmməhi
ʔən+ ʔaŋ.cah-pa ʔən+ šuyuʔ ʔəy+ noʔc.ʔəm-wə+hi
1E+ MOUTH.glue-INC 1E+ pot 3E+ break.PASS-COM+LOCREL
'I'm going to glue my pot where it was broken.' (elicited)

(iv) ʔadondhu toyhaypa ʔəy kwerpu
ʔadonde=huʔ **0** toy.hay-pa ʔəy+ kwerpu
where=where 3A hurt.APPL-INC 3E+ body
'Where their body hurts.' (ZOH1R32 107)

(v) gay gagə dolór ʔəy ʔaŋnitpám yəhi donde ʔəy paktukkə
gay gagə dolór ʔəy+ ʔaŋnit-pa+ʔam yəhi donde ʔəy+ pak=tuk-wə
then that pain 3E+ have-INC+NOW here where 3E+ grab=end-COM
'Then that pain that he now has here where he pulled it out.'
(ZOH1R36 220)

(vii) ʔadondhu ʔaŋmaypa bi ʔunedəkka
ʔadonde=huʔ **0** ʔaŋ.may-pa bi ʔuneʔ+dəkka
where=where 3A MOUTH.count-INC DEF child+NPL
'where the children study' (ZOH1R28 070)

11.7. Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are most commonly constructed on the Spanish model, using the subordinators la ʔora ke (*la hora que*, '(at) the time when'), kwando (*cuando*, 'when') and myentras (*mientras*, 'while').

(11.20)

(i) la ʔora ke tayna nəkkə ʔəy nipenwakkə ʔəy mačete
la ʔora ke tay.na nək-wə ʔəy ni.pen=wak-wə ʔəy mačete
the hour that X.STAT go-COM 3E PURP.grasp=empty-COM 3E machete
'When he went over on his back, he pulled out his machete.'(ZOH1R18 076)

(ii) ʔən ha:mcəktampa kwando də ʔokcamhadammə
ʔən+ hamV=cək-tam-pa kwando də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC when 1A+ DOWN.talk.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'We remember when he told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)

(iii) yakki ya pətə myentras ke dəš də tehiʔawə
yak=ʔiwə ya 0 pəʔt-A myentras ke dəš də+ tehi.ʔa-wə
no_one NEG 3A pass-nINC while that 1Prn 1A+ there_is.VERS1-COM
'Nobody passes while I am here.' (ZOH1R18 022)

The Spanish word *hora*, 'hour', has also been borrowed as a MIG Zoque subordinator. It appears immediately after the verb complex, syntactically parallel to the relative and locative clitic subordinators. This one isn't a clitic, since if it were the initial syllable would contract with the final syllable of the preceding word. I believe this is the only case in MIG Zoque of a borrowed Spanish function word being used in accordance with the Zoque syntax, rather than importing the Spanish syntax along with the word[2].

[2] Terrence Kaufman points out that the Zapotec of Juchitán also uses *hora* in this way, but it is a right-branching construction in that language.

(11.21)

(i) našey yaknikpoyyoba ʔora ʔəy ciwə ʔašta gahán̓
naše+ʔəy yak.nik.poy.ʔoy-pa ʔora ʔəy ciʔ-wə ʔašta ga.haaŋ
truth+3E CAUS.SURF.flee.ANTIP-INC hour 3E give-COM up_to DCT3.DIR1
'In fact when he jumped on top of him he knocked him over there.'
(ZOH1R18 333-4)

(ii) ʔəy pəʔtpa ʔora caŋʔonpəšukkə
ʔəy pəʔt-pa ʔora caŋ =ʔon.pəʔ-šuk-wə
3E pass-INC hour hit_w_hand=X.put-3PL-COM
'When he passed, they (jaguars) gave it (a serpent) a blow.'
(ZOH1R12 421)

(iii) minnən ʔawin də yotecepa ʔora
min-wə+ʔən ʔawinʔ də+ yoteʔ=ceʔ-pa ʔora
come-COM+1E brother 1A+ clothes=wash-INC hour
'My brother came while I was washing clothes.' (elicited)

(iv) ʔəm wannə təkkəwə bi hente dəkka ʔora
ʔəm wan-wə **0** tək.ʔəy-wə bi hente dəkka ʔora
2E sing-COM 3A house.VERS2-COM DEF people NPL hour
'You were singing when the people entered.' (elicited)

11.8. Spanish subordinators

Spanish, like English, has a large set of subordinators, all of which are available to MIG Zoque speakers. Examples of some of those that are most frequently used are given in this section: ʔoŋke (*aunque*, 'although'); kom kwando (*como cuando*, 'as if'); and koŋ pa (*con para*, 'with the result that').

(11.22)

(i) pwes hehpa ʔoŋke yay tehimotə dəšhahənaŋ
pwes 0 heh-pa ʔoŋke ya ʔəy+ tehi.ʔa.mot-A dəšhaaʔ+hənaŋ
well 3A live-INC although NEG 3E+ exist.VERS1.WITH-nINC we+ACC

'Well he's alive, even though he's not here with us.' (ZOH1R18 365-6)

(ii) ʔen bes de ke picəmpa
ʔen bes de ke 0 picəm-pa
in stead of that 3A leave-INC

mas kom kwando ʔəy nicənnawə bi pən
mas komo kwando ʔəy+ ni.cən.ʔa-wə bi pən
more like when 3E+ INSTR3.sit.VERS1-COM DEF man
'Instead of getting out (of the water), more as if she sat up on the man.'
(ZOH1R15 065)

(iii) ʔi dehi minkeʔttammən yoškeʔttammə yəhə
ʔi dehi min.keʔt-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš.keʔt-tam-wə yəhə
and there come.REPET-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work.REPET-1/2PL-COM here

konh pa də nəktamp por ʔokhonaŋ
kon para də+ nək-tam-pa por ʔokhonaŋ
with so_that 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC for down
"And here we came again, we worked again here
with the result that we went down (in the town).' (ZOH1R32 023)

11.9. 'That' clauses: verbs of speaking, perception and cognition

The Zoque ke, 'that', is borrowed from the Spanish *que*. It appears between the two clauses that it conjoins. Examples i and ii in this section were elicited.

11.9.1 Speaking

There are three verb roots for acts of speaking in MIG Zoque: nəm-, 'to say'; ʔotoŋ-, 'to speak'; and cam-, 'to chat; to converse; to tell'. There are also many derived forms, such as ho.nəm- (INTO.say), 'to translate'. ʔotoŋ- is an

intransitive root that is rarely accompanied by a report of what was said. One example of its use is given in (11.23 i). cam- (ii) means to converse together, or more commonly, to tell a story. It is also not used to introduce reported speech.

nəm- is the root that's used for reporting speech, and it is ubiquitous in the corpus. The preferred syntax is: nəm- Speaker Speech. If it is introducing dialog (iii-iv), no connective or special marker is used. The Spanish complementizer ke (*que*, 'that') is used to present indirect quotes (v-vi).

(11.23)

(i) həšhóŋ ʔotoŋŋə
həšhooŋ 0 ʔotoŋ-wə
from_behind 3A speak-COM
'She spoke backwards.' (lexicon)

(ii) ʔən campa tum came
ʔən+ cam-pa tum cam.E
1E+ tell-INC one tell.NOM3
'I'm going to tell a story.' (lexicon)

(iii) ʔəy nəmhašukkə minnə miššən cidame awsilyo
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə min-wə miš ʔən+ ciʔ-tam-E awsilyo
3E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM come-COM 1>2 1E+ give-1/2PL-dCOM help
'They said to them, "We came to give you some help."' (ZOH1R24 030)

(iv) nəmmə benigno ʔiwə miš meʔcha tumə
nəm-wə benigno ʔiwə miš meʔc.hay-Aʔ tumə
say-COM benigno who 2>1 look_for.APPL-IMPV one
'Benigno said, "Who? Find one for me."' (ZOH1R10 007)

(v) nəmšukpa ke numpay wičukkə
0 nəm-šuk-pa ke num-pa ʔəy+ wit-šuk-wə
3A say-3PL-INC that steal-INC 3E+ walk-3PL-COM
'They say that they went around stealing.' (ZOH1R24 012)

(vi) ʔum nəmmə miš ke yakki ya mi nəmhayyə
ʔu ʔəm+ nəm-wə miš ke yak=ʔiwə ya mi nəm.hay-wə
NEGimpv 2A+ say-COM 2Prn that nobody NEG 3>2 say.APPL-nCOM
'Don't you say that nobody told you.' (ZOH1R18 040)

11.9.2. Perception

There are two verb roots of visual perception in Zoque: ʔiš- and ʔamma-. The first is the most generally used, meaning 'to see'; the second generally means 'to watch' or 'to observe'. ʔamma- appears infrequently, and is not used to introduce subordinate clauses describing the situation being observed. Examples of its use are shown in (11.24 i-ii). ʔiš- is extremely common - as an unadorned root, as a derived stem, and as a member of a pair of compound roots. Its behavior in compounds is discussed in chapter 8. As an underived root, it can be used to simply present an act of seeing (example iii), or to introduce a clause describing the perceived situation (examples iv-vi). As example (iv) illustrates, this can be an abstract situation perceived with the mind.

(11.24)

(i) yəhə́ŋ kaháŋ ʔammapa
yə.həəŋ ka.haaŋ 0 ʔamma-pa
DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1 3A look-INC
'He's looking over here and over there.' (ZOH1R24 492)

(ii) ʔən ʔammawə kwanduy təŋŋə bi pən bi kuy
ʔən+ ʔamma-wə kwandu ʔəy+ təŋ-wə bi pən bi kuy
1E+ watch-COM when 3E+ cut_w_machete-COM DEF man DEF tree
'I watched while the man cut down the tree with the machete.' (elicited)

(iii) nəkpan ʔiššə ʔən hatoŋ ʔən mama
nək-pa ʔən+ ʔiš-wə ʔən+ hatoŋ ʔən+ mama
go-INC 1E+ see-dINC 1E+ father 1E+ mother
'I'm going to see my father and my mother.' (ZOH1R18 254)

(iv) gahim ʔištampa si miš ʔo dəš ney nəmhašukəpa
gahiʔ ʔəm+ ʔiš-tam-pa si miš ʔo dəš ney nəm.hay-šuk-A-pa
there 2E+ see-1/2PL-INC if 2Prn or 1Prn RECIP say.APPL-3PL-RECIP-INC
'Then we'll see if you or I will say to one another...' (ZOH1R24 044)

(v) kay ʔən ʔištampám ke mas həšhóŋ minnəmpa
kay ʔən+ ʔiš-tam-pa+ʔam ke mas həšhooŋ 0 min-Anəm-pa
then 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC+NOW that more from_behind 3A come-INDEF-INC
'Then we see that more is coming farther back (inside the cave).'
(ZOH1R15 054)

(vi) gadəkka ʔiššošukpa kwandu nənti?awə
gaʔ+dəkka 0 ʔiš.ʔoy-šuk-pa kwandu 0 nənti.ʔa-wə
that+NPL 3A see.ANTIP-3PL-INC when 3A there_isn't.VERS1-COM
'They see when there isn't any.' (ZOH1R28 234)

The verb root that means 'to hear' is matoŋ-. It occurs only rarely in the corpus, but elicitation sessions revealed that the syntax of its use parallels that of

ʔiš-, 'to see'. It can introduce a subordinate clause described the perceived event, with or without the borrowed complementizer ke.

(11.25)
(i) ʔən matoŋŋə wannə kamilo
ʔən+ matoŋ-wə 0 wan-wə kamilo
1E+ hear-COM 3A sing-COM camilo
'I heard Camilo sing.' (elicited)

(ii) ʔən+ matoŋŋə ke rroberto koʔkšə ʔaŋmaykuytəkhoʔ
ʔən+ matoŋ-wə ke rroberto 0 koʔkš-wə ʔaŋmaykuytək+hoʔ
1E+ hear-COM that roberto 3A snore-COM school+LOC2
'I heard that Roberto was snoring in the schoolhouse.' (elicited)

11.9.3. Cognition

In this section, we look at an assortment of verbs that express cognitive events, such as wanting, knowing, and thinking.

təʔ- means 'to want'. As an independent root it can be used transitively (example i) or to introduce a subordinate clause, with or without ke (ii-iii). təʔ- is most commonly used as the second root in a compound verb construction, which will be discussed in chapter 8. In those constructions it means 'to want X to V'.

(11.26)
(i) dəš hamatin təpa
dəš (də+) hamatin=təʔ-pa
1Prn (1A+) money=want-INC
'I want some money.' (ZOH1R28 142)

(ii) dəššən təpa yakcənnə kastro lo krus
dəš ʔən+ təʔ-pa yak.cən-wə kastro lo krus
1Prn 1E+ want-INC CAUS.sit-COM castro lo cruz
'I want Castro lo Cruz to be elected.' (ZOH1R24 357)

(iii) ʔən təpa ke miš wehhaypa ʔaŋnamcuʔ
ʔən+ təʔ-pa ke miš+ weh.hay-pa ʔaŋnamcuʔ
1E+ want-INC that 2>1+ shout.APPL-INC morning
'I want you to call me early.' (elicited)

The verb root muš-, 'to know', is a member of the set of auxiliary verbs, and as such can appear in three types of constructions: as an independent root, in the auxiliary construction, and in a verb root compound. The meaning of the morpheme shifts slightly in each case. When it is used independently, it means 'to know', and it may be used with ke, 'that' (11.27 i-iii). When it is used in the auxiliary construction, it means 'to know how to V' (iv). In compound constructions, muš- means 'to succeed in V-ing'; this is discussed in chapter 8.

(11.27)
(i) gay muššukpám ke nəkpay tukši?ašukkə
gay 0 muš-šuk-pa+ʔam ke nək-pa ʔəy+ tukšiʔ.ʔa-šuk-wə
then 3A know-3PL-INC+NOW that go-INC 3E+ fight.VERS1-3PL-dINC
'Now they know that they're going to fight.' (ZOH1R24 088)

(ii) den muštampa ke hehpa
dey ʔən+ muš-tam-pa ke 0 heh-pa
now 1E+ know-1/2PL-INC that 3A live-INC
'Now we know that he's alive.' (ZOH1R18 367)

(iii) ʔi netu komo muššoba ʔəy pənəkpa totoʔ
ʔi netu komo 0 muš.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ pəʔ=nək-pa totoʔ
and neto since 3A know.ANTIP-INC 3E+ put=go-INC paper
'And since Neto knows how (to read), he carries the documents.'
(ZOH1R24 564)

(iv) pwes kom dəšháʔ mušpan yuntammə
pwes komo dəšhaaʔ muš-pa ʔən+ yun-tam-wə
well since we know-INC 1E+ swim-1/2PL-dINC

nəktampa hoŋhonaŋ
(də+) nək-tam-pa hoŋ+honaŋ
(1A+) go-1/2PL-INC inside+DIR3
'Well, since we know how to swim, we're going inside.' (ZOH1R15 045)

Only one of my consultants, Sr. Agripino Sánchez Gutiérrez (Sr. Germán Sánchez's father), used any non-Spanish terms to refer to believing, using an expression that means 'put it in one's heart.' (examples 11.28 i-ii). Sr. Germán Sánchez felt that this sounded peculiar in elicitation sessions, although he is the one that translated them in the first place. Sr. Agripino Sánchez was the oldest of my gifted storytellers, and may have learned these very old-fashioned expressions along with the stories.

Other verbs of mentation are formed with a morpheme that is no longer used independently in MIG Zoque; that is, it only appears in derived verb stems. It has the form ham**(V)** or hamin, and appears to have once been a noun meaning something like 'mind'. It now appears in derived forms that mean 'remember' (iii-iv), and 'to go mad'. The verb stem ʔok.hoŋ- 'to forget' is based on a root that means 'to get dizzy' (v). The stem yək.təʔ-, 'to understand' (vi), is formed from

the root 'to want' and a prefix whose function in derived verb stems is unclear (it is homophonous with an instrumental prefix). All of these forms take clauses as arguments.

The last example (vii) shows an idiom that occurs only once in the corpus. The narrator of this text, Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez, is the youngest of my consultants and one of the youngest fluent speakers in the community. He is both a man who identifies very strongly with his culture and a very creative person, musically and verbally gifted. He may have made this expression up on the spur of the moment to avoid using a Spanish loan word.

(11.28)

(i) ga pəʔoyyə komo nəkwám
gaʔ **0** pəʔ.ʔoy-wə komo 0 nək-wə+ʔam
that 3A put.ANTIP-COM how 3A go-cOPT+NOW
'He thought how he should go now.' (ZOH1R24 483)

(ii) yay pə ʔəy cokoyhoʔ
ya ʔəy+ pəʔ-**A** ʔəy+ cokoyʔ+hoʔ
NEG 3E+ put-nINC 3E+ heart+LOC2
'He doesn't believe it.' (ZOH1R25 247)

(iii) ʔən hamcəktampa kwando də ʔokcamhadammə
ʔən+ ham**(V)**=cək-tam-pa kwando də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC when 1A+ DOWN.tell.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'We remember when he told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)

(iv) ʔəy nihaminnəyyə ke ga bi papən
ʔəy+ ni.hamin.ʔəy-wə ke gaʔ bi papən
3E+ PSE.*mind.SUF-COM that that DEF devil

ka yakki ya yakpətáʔ
ke yakki ya ʔəy+ yak.pəʔt-A+VʔkA
that nobody NEG 3E+ CAUS.pass-nINC+REL
'He remembered that that is the devil that doesn't let anyone pass.'
(ZOH1R18 087)

(v) piceŋho dey por rratu ʔən ʔokhoŋŋədampa de pensyamento
piceŋhoʔ dey por rratu ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔəy-tam-pa deʔ pensyamento
thus now for time 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.SUF-1/2PL-INC that thought
'That's why, for a while, we forget that thought.' (ZOH1R10 575)

(vi) ʔəy yəktəbám hemhi de lo ke nəmhabáʔ
ʔəy+ yək.təʔ-pa+ʔam hemhi de lo ke ʔən+ nəm.hay-pa+VʔkA
3E+ X.want-INC+NOW all of it that 1E+ say.APPL-INC+REL
'Now she understands everything that I say.' (ZOH1R14 024)

(vii) pwes ʔaber hunaŋ bi kopak si yošmušpa
pwes ʔaber hunaŋ bi kopak si 0 yoš=muš-pa
well let's_see how DEF head if 3A work=know-INC
'Well, let's see how he thinks, if he knows how to work.' (ZOH1R28 115)

Chapter 12: Questions

There are three types of questions in MIG Zoque that will be discussed in this chapter: yes-no questions (section 12.1), question-word or information questions (section 12.2), and indirect questions (section 12.3). There is also a small set of modals that apply only to questions, which are discussed in section 12.4.

12.1. Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are marked by rising intonation, with no special markers or changes in word order. The first example in (12.1 i) is a common morning greeting amongst intimates[1]. In texts, yes-no questions usually occur within bits of dialog, and are introduced with a word that means 'to ask' (example ii). Example (iii) illustrates the syntactic identity between a yes-no question and a declarative statement. The line spoken by Sr.Germán Sánchez Morales has rising question intonation, while the answer spoken by Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel (the curandero) has falling declarative intonation: otherwise, the two expressions are identical.

[1] A common greeting in public is 'hum nəkpa?' ('Where are you going?'). Conventional responses are (in Spanish) '*a un mandado*' ('on an errand') or 'gahanaŋ' ('over there').

(12.1)

(i) ʔəm ciŋŋ́ám
ʔəm+ ciŋ-wə+ʔam
2E+ bathe-COM+NOW
'Have you bathed?'

(ii) "yakti yam sencəkə rromáŋ?"
yakti ya ʔəm+ sentir=cək-A rromáŋ
nothing NEG 2E+ feel=do-nINC román

yakʔoŋceʔkkoba ʔəy hatoŋ. "ŋəʔtti, yakti."
0 yak.ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ hatoŋ **nəʔtti yakti**
3A CAUS.DOWN.MOUTH.ask.ANTIP-INC 3E+ father no nothing

"'Don't you feel anything Roma*n", his father asked him.
"No, nothing.'" (ZOH1R18 278-80)

(iii) Don Germán asks: ʔəm nihiʔtpam win?
ʔəm+ ni.hiʔt-pa ʔəm+ win
2E+ PSE.smear-INC 2E+ REFL
'Do you smear it on yourself?'

Don Omobono answers: ʔəm nihiʔtpam win
ʔəm+ ni.hiʔt-pa ʔəm+ win
2E+ PSE.smear-INC 2E+ REFL
'You smear it on yourself.' (ZOH1R36 359-360)

(iv) "ʔən huppa?" ʔən nəmhayyə
ʔən+ hup-pa ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə
1E+ pull-INC 1E+ say.APPL-COM
"'Should I pull it?", I said to him.'

"hə, hupəʔ!" nəmmə bi pən
həʔ hup-Aʔ 0 nəm-wə bi pən
yes pull-IMPV 3A say-COM DEF man
"Yes, pull!", said the man.' (ZOH1R25 153-4)

12.2. Question-word questions

There are eleven question words in MIG Zoque, shown in table 12.1. These always appear at the beginning of the question. This type of question also has rising intonation.

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔiwəʔ	who	quien
tiʔ	what	que
hutiʔ	which	cual
huceŋ	how many	cuantos
tigoʔ	why	porque
hutiyaʔ	when	cuando
hunaŋ	how	como
huʔ	where	donde
hutɨ́ŋ	from where	de adonde
hutéŋ	in what direction	en cual dirección
hutə́ŋ	from where	por donde

Table 12.1: MIG Zoque question words

Spanish question words appear occasionally in the corpus, but are not nearly as commonly used as the MIG Zoque words. One example of such usages will be given at the end of each of the example sets in this section.

ʔiwə 'who' can be used to question any argument that references a human being. In texts, it typically refers to the actor, as shown in examples (12.2 i-ii). Example (iii) can be interpreted two ways: **ʔiwə** can refer to either the giver or the recipient. In example (iv) it refers to the patient argument. Examples (v-vi) show that the question word can refer to an argument in a subordinate clause. In (v), **ʔiwə** refers to the recipient of 'tell' and in (vi) to the agent of 'close'.

(12.2)

(i) ʔiwə də təpa
ʔiwə də+ təʔ-pa
who 1A+ want-INC
'Who loves me?' (ZOH1R56 014)

(ii) ʔiwə ʔəy manak ciʔoba para yədə pən
ʔiwə ʔəy+ manak 0 ciʔ.ʔoy-pa para yədə pən
who 3E+ child 3A give.ANTIP-INC for this man
'Who will give his daughter for this man?[2]' (ZOH1R18 221)

(iii) ʔiwəy ciwə bi pən bi totoʔ
ʔiwə ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə bi pən bi totoʔ
who 3E+ give-COM DEF man DEF paper
'Who gave the letter to the man?' or
'Who did the man give the letter to?' (elicited)

(iv) ʔiwəm meʔcpa
ʔiwə ʔəm+ meʔc-pa
who 2E+ look_for-INC
'Who are you looking for?' (ZOH1R10 199)

[2] This looks like an antipassive form with an expressed object (the daughter), but the stem ciʔ.oy- seems to be a lexicalized form meaning 'to give as a gift'. It thus does not obey the normal rules for antipassive constructions.

(v) ʔiwə ceʔkhayyə rrosa bi yomʔune
ʔiwə ʔəy+ ceʔk.hay-wə rrosa bi yomə=ʔuneʔ
who 3E+ ask.APPL-COM rosa DEF female=child

ke yakkəy nəmhayə ke ʔəy cetannə bi yote
ke yakkə ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə ke ʔəy+ ceʔ=tan-wə bi yoteʔ
that VOL 3E+ say.APPL-COM that 3E+ wash=finish-COM DEF clothes
'Who did Rosa ask the girl to tell that she finished washing the clothes?'
(elicited)

(vi) ʔiwə nəmmə rrosa key mušpa bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
ʔiwə 0 nəm-wə rrosa ke ʔəy+ muš-pa bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
who 3A say-COM rosa that 3E+ know-INC DEF teacher

ke bi ʔaŋmaykuytək ʔəy yaŋkampa hohi
ke bi ʔaŋmaykuytək ʔəy+ yak.ʔaŋ.kam-pa hohi
that DEF school-house 3E+ CAUS.MOUTH.get_stuck-INC tomorrow
'Who did Rosa say that the teacher knows will close the school tomorrow?'
(elicited)

(vii) kyen sab syan huptukə nəmmə
kyen sabe si ya ʔən+ hup=tuk-A 0 nəm-wə
who(*quien*) knows if NEG 1E+ pull=cut-nINC 3A say-COM
'"Who knows if I might not break it?", he said.' (ZOH1R25 155)

ti 'what' is also general in reference. As might be expected, in the texts it most commonly refers to a patient (12.3 i-iii), but it can also refer to an actor, if the actor is thought not to be human (iv). It can refer to abstractions, such as the potential events implied in examples (vi). **ti** is also used with postpositions to reference non-core arguments (vii). It can be used to specify a noun phrase, as shown in example (viii). It can be pluralized with the clitic **+háʔ** (NPL2) (ix).

Finally, it can refer to arguments in subordinate clauses, as in example (x), where it references the patient of 'buy'.

(12.3)

(i) tim tədampa
ti ʔəm+ təʔ-tam-pa
what 2E+ want-1/2PL-INC
'What do y'all want?' (ZOH1R25 072)

(ii) ti satom wehpa
ti sato ʔəm+ weh-pa
what sato 2E+ shout-INC
'What are you shouting at Sato?' (ZOH1R25 084)

(iii) ti bi pəʔthayyə
ti bi 0 pəʔt.hay-wə
what DEF 3A pass.APPL-COM
'What is it that happened to him?' (ZOH1R18 348)

(iv) ti bi yaknukkoyyə bi hayaʔa:nmál
ti bi 0 yak.nuk.ʔoy-wə bi haya=ʔa:nmál
what DEF 3A CAUS.grab.ANTIP-COM DEF male=animal
'What is it that grabbed (got into) that bull?' (ZOH1R25 110)

(v) tin yaknəmpa tuhkuyʔ
ti ʔən+ yak.nəm-pa tuhkuyʔ
what 1E+ CAUS.DO-INC gun
'What do I want with a gun?'
(lit. 'What would I make a gun do?') (ZOH1R25 231)

(vi) tim ʔofrecəkpa ʔamigo
ti ʔəm+ ʔofrecer=cək-pa ʔamigo
what 2E+ offer=do-INC friend
'What can we do for you, friend?' (ZOH1R12 195)

(vii) tihənaŋ ʔəm preparcəkpa
ti+hənaŋ ʔəm+ preparar=cək-pa
what+ACC 2E+ prepare=do-INC
'With what do you prepare that?' (ZOH1R36 250)

(viii) **ti** coy ʔəm cəkhaba
ti coyʔ ʔəm+ cək.hay-pa
what medicine 2E+ do.APPL-INC
'What remedy do you make for that?' (ZOH1R36 214)

(ix) tiyaŋhám ʔoku:pcəkpa gahi
ti.ʔaŋ+haaʔ ʔəm+ ʔokupar=cək-pa gahiʔ
what.X+NPL2 2E+ use=do-INC there
'What all do you use there?' (ZOH1R36 190)

(x) ti ʔəy mušpa rrosa ke nəmmə bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔ
ti ʔəy+ muš-pa rrosa ke 0 nəm-wə bi ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+VʔkV
what 3E+ know-INC rosa that 3A say-COM DEF teacher

ke nəkpa ʔəy huyyə bi huštiša hohi
ke nək-pa ʔəy+ huy-wə bi huštiša hohi
that go-INC 3E+ buy-COM DEF mayor tomorrow
'What does Rosa know that the teacher said that the mayor is going to buy tomorrow?' (elicited)

huti? 'which' selects from a set of possible alternatives. It appears alone (example 12.4 i), but also appears with the clitic **+hate?** (ii). This is a relative of the pluralizing clitic **+há?** that was discussed in section 9.5, which also has a set-selection connotation[3]. This clitic only appears attached to the question word **huti?** in MIG Zoque.

(12.4)

(i) huti šoh naka - yəkšoh ʔo po:pšoh
huti? šoh naka - yəkyək=šoh ʔo popo=šoh
which encino bark - black=encino or white=encino
'The bark of which encino - black encino or white encino?' (ZOH1R36 564)

(ii) "hu:thate ʔəm təpaʔ" "ga mecaŋpəʔ."
huti?+hate? ʔəm+ təʔ-pa gaʔ mecaŋ+pəʔk
which+NPL2 2E+ want-INC that two+REL
'"Which ones do you want?" "Those two."' (elicited)

[3] In MAR Zoque, +hateʔ means 'each'.

huceŋ 'how many' only appears a few times in the text corpus, but its meaning and syntax are clear. It is simply used to elicit a specific quantity. The idiom for asking the price of something is shown in example (12.5 iii). Like the quantifiers discussed in section 9.5, **huceŋ** can be made into a verb with the versive suffix (iv). There is also the form **huceti** (possibly **huceŋ=ti**, how_many=what) that can be used with a noun phrase to indicate an unknown (questioned) quantity (v).

(12.5)

(i) huceŋ ʔune ʔəm ʔaŋnitpa
huceŋ ʔuneʔ ʔəm+ ʔaŋnit-pa
how_many children 2E+ have-INC
'How many children do you have?' (ZOH1R53 037)

(ii) ʔən nəmhayyə huceŋ hama də haytampa
ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə **huceŋ** hama də+ hay-tam-pa
1E+ say.APPL-COM how_many day 1A+ tarry-1/2PL-INC
'I said to him, "How many days will we stay?"' (ZOH1R10 055)

(iii) **huceŋhoʔ**
'How much is it?' (elicited)

(iv) nəmmə ʔəy yomáʔ həʔ ʔəm huceŋŋadammə
0 nəm-wə ʔəy+ yomaaʔ həʔ ʔəm+ **huceŋ**.ʔa-tam-wə
3A say-COM 3E+ woman yes 2E+ how_many.VERS1-1/2PL-COM
'It's lady (owner) said, "Yes, and how many are you?"' (ZOH1R10 306)

(v) sim təpa miš neycipa pam kəššoba huceti hama
si ʔəm+ təʔ-pa miš ney=ciʔ-pa ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-pa **hutceti** hama
if 2E+ want-INC 2Prn self=give-INC 2E+ eat.ANTIP-INC how_many day
'If you want, I'll give it to you so you can eat for a few days.'
(ZOH1R27 048)

The adverbial question words - **tigóʔ** 'why' (12.6 i-ii), **hutiyaʔ** 'when' (iii), and **hunaŋ** 'how' (iv-v) - behave as one might expect, referring to adverbial phrases in the usual fashion. **tigóʔ** is actually the question word **ti** with the benefactive clitic **+góʔ** attached: 'for what'. **hunaŋ** admits the pluralizing clitic **+háʔ** to elicit a set of means or methods (vi). **hutiyaʔ** rarely appears in the corpus; it seems to have been replaced almost entirely by the Spanish interrogative *cuando* (**kwando** in the MIG Zoque orthography).

(12.6)

(i) də nəmpa tigó yakki ya pətə
də+ nəm-pa **ti+gooʔ** yak=ʔiwə ya 0 pəʔt-A
1A+ say-INC what+BNF nobody NEG 3A pass-nINC
'I say, "Why doesn't anyone pass?"' (ZOH1R18 033)

(ii) senyor tigó yam ʔoknukə
senyor **ti+gooʔ** ya ʔəm ʔok.nuk-A
señor what+BNF NEG 2E+ DOWN.grab-nINC
'Señor, why don't you let him go?' (ZOH1R36 185)

(iii) hutiya nəkpam ʔaŋwitcoŋŋə ʔəm ma:mʔoko
hutiyaʔ nək-pa ʔəm+ ʔaŋ.wit=coŋ-wə ʔəm+ mama=ʔoko
when go-INC 2E+ MOUTH.walk=join-COM 2E+ mother=old_woman
'When are you going to visit your grandmother?' (elicited)

(iv) ʔəy nəmhašukkə ha:ymanak hunaŋ ʔəm pəʔttə
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə haya=manak **hunaŋ** ʔəm+ pəʔt-wə
3E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM male=child how 2E+ pass-COM
'They said to him, "Son, how did you get by?"' (ZOH1R18 108)

(v) nəmpa miš hunaŋ ʔəm tihhə
0 nəm-pa miš **hunaŋ** ʔəm+ tih-wə
3A say-INC 2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM

kwandum tihhə ha:yʔuneʔ
kwandu ʔəm+ tih-wə haya=ʔuneʔ
when 2A+ go&return-COM male=child
'He says, "You, what were you like when you were a boy?"'(ZOH1R25 058-9)

(vi) hunaŋháʔ ʔəm prepa:rcəkpam coy
hunaŋ=haaʔ ʔəm+ preparar=cək-pa ʔəm+ coy
how=NPL2 2E+ prepare=do-INC 2E+ medicine
'How all do you prepare your medicines?' (ZOH1R36 648)

huʔ 'where' appears by itself to ask about a location (examples 12.7 i-ii). It also takes a small set of directional suffixes. These are similar but not identical to the suffixes used with the ZOH1R58 bases (Appendix D). **-təəŋ** can indicate either motion towards (iii) or motion away from (iv), whereas the ZOH1R58 forms distinguish the two directions. **-hutənaŋ** indicates a general or vague direction, 'whereabouts' (v).

(12.7)
(i) ʔi hum kəššoba miš yəhiʔ
ʔi **huʔ** ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-pa miš yəhiʔ
and where 2E+ eat.ANTIP-INC 2Prn here
'And where do you eat here?' (ZOH1R10 294)

(ii) ʔəy nəmhayyə hum nəkpa miš
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə **huʔ** ʔəm+ nək-pa miš
3E+ say.APPL-COM where 2E+ go-INC 2Prn
'He said to him, "Where are you going?"' (ZOH1R18 050)

(iii) də nəmhašukkə hutə́ŋ ʔəm nəkpa
də+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə **hutəəŋ** ʔəm+ nək-pa
1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM to_where 2A+ go-INC

ʔi ʔən nəmhašukkə də nəkpa təkhoʔ
ʔi ʔən+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə də+ nək-pa tək+hoʔ
and 1E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM 1A+ go-INC house+LOC2
'They asked me "Where are you going to?" and I said to them
"I'm going to my house."' (ZOH1R58 001)

(iv) də ʔoŋceʔkkə hutə́ŋ ʔəm minnə
də+ ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk-wə **hutəəŋ** ʔəm+ min-wə
1A+ DOWN.MOUTH.ask-COM from_where 2E+ come-COM

ʔi də nəmhašukkə wahakahonaŋ
ʔi də+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə wahaka+honaŋ
and 1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM oaxaca+DIR3
'They asked me, "Where are you coming from?" and
I said to them, "From Oaxaca."' (ZOH1R58 008)

(v) də ʔoŋcekšukkə hutənaŋ nəkpam yoššə
də+ ʔok.ʔaŋ.cek-šuk-wə **hutənaŋ** nək-pa ʔəm+ yoš-wə
1A+ DOWN.MOUTH.ask-3PL-COM whereabouts go-INC 2E+ work-dINC

ʔi ʔən nəmhašukkə dəš gaha tuŋhoʔ
ʔi ʔən+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə dəš gaha tuŋ+hoʔ
and 1E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM 1Prn there road+LOC2
'They asked me "Where are you going to work?", and
I said to them, "There in the road."' (ZOH1R58 006)

12.3. Indirect questions

Indirect questions are essentially the same as direct ones, except that they are usually introduced by verbs that can take clauses as arguments, like 'to know' and 'to remember'.

(12.8)

(i) saber ʔiwə de pəʔoyyə
saber **ʔiwə deʔ 0 pəʔ.ʔoy-wə**
know who that 3A put.ANTIP-COM
'Who knows who put it there?' (ZOH1R12 125)

(ii) hamcəktamə tin cəkmintammə
ham(V)=cək-tam-Aʔ **ti ʔən+ cək=min-tam-wə**
*mind=do-1/2PL-IMPV what 1E+ do=come-1/2PL-COM
'Remember what we came to do.' (ZOH1R18 003)

(iii) dey yan muštamə hutiya də nəktampa
dey ya ʔən+ muš-tam-A **hutiyaʔ də+ nək-tam-pa**
now NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC when 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC
'Now we don't know when we're going.' (ZOH1R10 622)

(iv) yan ʔiššám huy pəwə
ya ʔən+ ʔiš-wə+ʔam **huʔ ʔəy+ pəʔ-wə**
NEG 1E+ see-COM+NOW where 3E+ put-COM
'Now I haven't seen where they put him.' (ZOH1R26 143)

(v) təntin kopakhoʔ ʔən ʔaŋnitpa
tənti ʔən+ kopak+hoʔ ʔən+ ʔaŋnit-pa
1PSN 1E+ head+LOC2 1E+ have-INC

hunaŋ ʔən cəktampa bi rremedyo
hunaŋ ʔən+ cək-tam-pa bi rremedyo
how 1E+ do-1/2PL-INC DEF remedy
'I have it in my head, how we will make the medicine.' (ZOH1R36 119-20)

12.4. Question modals

There are three MIG Zoque modals that apply only to questions, **bəʔ** (DUBIT), **geta** (DIS), and **moʔ** (IRR). The Spanish loan word **ʔaber** (*aver*, 'let's see') is also used with question words.

12.4.1. Dubitative bəʔ

bəʔ expresses doubt about the thing being questioned; that is, the questioner thinks they know what the answer is, but aren't perfectly certain. It most commonly appears with **həʔ**, 'yes', where it essentially has the same communicative effect as a tag question. In the first example (12.9 i), the son-in-law has been eavesdropping during a tall-tale-swapping session between two old rascals. Some of the tales are wildly implausible, but others are almost possible, so he isn't sure they're really just kidding. In example (ii), the devil is offering Román his secret weapon, but Román isn't sure that it might not be a trick of some kind. In example (iii), **bəʔ** is used to bring a discourse entity (the baby) back into the foreground, since the prior conversation had digressed somewhat.

(12.9)

(i) meːr nəmmən ʔaŋmekkəytammə həbəʔ
meru nəmmə ʔən+ ʔaŋ.mek.ʔəy-tam-wə **həʔ+bəʔ**
exactly PROG 1E+ MOUTH.deceive.SUF-1/2PL-dINC yes+DUBIT

nəmpa bi muʔt
0 nəm-pa bi muʔt
3A say-INC DEF son_in_law
"'You're just fooling, aren't you?", said the son-in-law.' (ZOH1R25 256)

(ii) nəmpa rromán tim pəkwitpa bəʔ
0 nəm-pa rromán ti ʔəm+ pək=wit-pa **bəʔ**
3A say-INC román what 2E+ get=come-INC DUBIT
'Román says, "So what are you carrying, then?"' (ZOH1R18 101)

(iii) bi ʔune həbəʔ winnomwakpa
bi ʔuneʔ **həʔ+bəʔ** (ʔəm+) win.ʔom=wak-pa
DEF child yes+DUBIT (2E+) FACE.smoke=*empty-INC
'The baby, right? You cense[4] it.' (ZOH1R36 137)

12.4.2. Disbelief geta

When used in questions, as it most usually is, **geta** expresses unequivocal disbelief - even outrage. It could be perfectly translated in English as 'the hell' or 'on earth', as in "Why the hell are you leaving now?" or "Where on earth did you get that hat?" The questions it marks are thus a little confrontational, as shown in examples (12.10 i-ii). It also appears in indirect questions or occasionally in declarative clauses, where it expresses simple doubt (iii-iv).

[4] You pass the baby through the smoke from an herbal preparation to cure it of ghost sickness.

(12.10)

(i) tigo geta yam ʔokcəkkəy

tigoʔ geta ya ʔəm+ ʔok.cək.ʔəy-A

why DIS NEG 2E+ DOWN.do.SUF-nINC

'Why in heaven's name don't you have time?' (ZOH1R10 333)

(ii) hutigetam hepkeʔtpa si miš mas ʔəm wəhə

hutiʔ geta ʔəm+ hep.keʔt-pa si miš mas ʔəm+ wəhə

which DIS 2E+ strip_maguey.REPET-INC if 2Prn more 2A+ good

pam tukši?apa

para ʔəm tukši?.ʔa-pa

for 2E+ fight.VERS1-INC

'Surely you're not going to strip rope fibers, when you're the best at fighting!" (ZOH1R39 091)

(iii) ʔamintəhi saber ʔiwə geta ya yeca ʔo desfaydcəkkə

ʔamintəhi saber **ʔiwə geta** ya 0 yeʔc-A ʔo 0 desfadar=cək-pa

next_year know who DIS NEG 3A arrive-nINC or 3A die=do-INC

'Next year who knows who won't arrive or is going to die.' (ZOH1R18 374)

(iv) gahíŋ haykeʔttə ʔotro šepe tum šepe geta

gahíŋ 0 hay.keʔt-wə ʔotro šepeʔ tum šepeʔ **geta**

from_there 3A tarry.REPET-COM another month one month DIS

'Then another month went by, it might have been a month.'(ZOH1R32 011-2)

12.4.3. Irrealis moʔ

This modal suggests that the thing or event in question might not exist or transpire; hence its designation as an irrealis. It is often translated with the Spanish future tense, which can be used for conjectures. **moʔ** is also used as a softener to make a question more polite, as shown in examples (12.11 iii-iv)[5].

(12.11)

(i) nəmpa bweno tigó moʔ ʔən hatoŋ
0 nəm-pa bweno **ti+gooʔ moʔ** ʔən+ hatoŋ
3A say-INC good what+BNF IRR 1E+ father

ya də yakʔaŋmayyə
ya də+ yak.ʔaŋ.may-wə
NEG 1A+ CAUS.MOUTH.count-COM
'He says, "All right, I wonder why, my father, didn't you send me to school?"' (ZOH1R56 009)

(ii) tigó moʔ deʔše ʔəy cəkšukpa
ti+gooʔ moʔ deʔše ʔəy+ cək-šuk-pa
what+BNF IRR thus 3E+ do-3PL-INC
'I wonder why would they act that way?' (ZOH1R56 029)

(iii) ti poh moʔ
ti poh **moʔ**
what vine IRR
'What vine might that be?' (ZOH1R36 524)

[5] In this text, Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales is interviewing Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel about traditional medicine. They have known each other since childhood, of course, but are here acting in their professional roles: linguistic consultant and healer. Sr. Sánchez Morales often played the interviewer, as a way of getting people to talk more and to flesh out their stories or explanations; if I did it, they would politely accommodate to my language problems by switching to Spanish.

(iv) ti ʔa:nmál moʔ də waštampa paran cəktampa
ti ʔa:nmál **moʔ** də+ waš-tam-pa para ʔən+ cək-tam-pa
what animal IRR 1A+ bite-1/2PL-INC so_that 1E+ do-1/2PL-INC

de waykay toya
deʔ waykay toy.A
that malaria be_sick.NOM2
'What animal might it be that bites us so we get that malaria disease?'
(ZOH1R36 633)

12.4.4. Generalizing ʔaber

The Spanish loan word *aver* is used to generalize a question word, similarly to the use of the English suffix -ever.

(12.12)
(i) de yəhama pa winhonaŋ ʔaber ʔiwə ʔəy wə:hcəkpa
de yə.hama para winhonaŋ **ʔaber ʔiwə** ʔəy+ wəhə=cək-pa
from DCT1.day toward in_front let's_see who 3E+ good=do-INC
'From this day on, whoever she cures...' (ZOH1R32 198)

(ii) ʔaber ti də nəmhaba
ʔaber ti də+ nəm.hay-pa
let's_see what 1A+ say.APPL-INC
'Whatever he says to me...' (ZOH1R18 135)

(iii) ʔitiho? ʔu ʔaber hu nəkpam yoššə
ʔiti?+ho? ʔu **ʔaber hu?** nək-pa ʔəm+ yoš-wə
town+LOC2 or let's_see where go-INC 2E+ work-dINC
'In the town or wherever you go to work.' (ZOH1R36 550)

Chapter 13: Aspect and Mood

The main indicators of aspect or mood in MIG Zoque are the mutually exclusive set of suffixes that may appear in position 10 of the verb complex, as shown in table 2.1. These suffixes offer two choices for aspect: completive (section 13.1.1) or incompletive (13.1.4). There are syntactic means for constructing perfects (13.1.2), a remote perfect (13.1.3.), and progessives (13.1.5). Satellite forms that contribute to the aspect of a particular expression include a small set of adverbial suffixes (13.1.6.1), two clitic morphemes (13.1.6.2), a small set of verbs used in compound verb constructions (13.1.6.3), and temporal adverbs, deictics and clauses (13.1.6.4). The position 10 suffixes offer four choices for mood (other than the declarative): imperative (13.2.1), negative imperative (13.2.2), hortative (13.2.3), or optative (13.2.4). There are also three modal morphemes expressing different degrees of possibility (13.2.5-6).

MIG Zoque does not have a system of inflection for tense. Location of an event at a particular time is done by means of temporal adjuncts. This is typical of MesoAmerican languages, areally speaking (Campbell, et al. 1986).

13.1. Aspect

The aspectual system of MIG Zoque offers a choice of two viewpoints, the perfective and the imperfective. These are termed the completive and

incompletive, respectively, in MesoAmerican linguistics, to avoid confusion with the terms 'perfective' and 'imperfective' used in the Spanish tense system (and others). The choice of one of these viewpoints is obligatory. Both the completive and incompletive inflectional suffixes can be used with any type of verb. There are also two syntactic constructions for forming the perfect and the progressive.

13.1.1. Completive

Completive aspect "present[s] a situation as a single whole" (Smith, 1991:103), including both endpoints of a situation. Verbs with completive aspect are consistently translated with the Spanish preterite tense. The completive is the most usual choice in narrative texts; since it presents the endpoint of a situation, it is used to move the events of the story forward in time.

(13.1)

(i) tum poŋ nəkkəy koyoše tum rrančo
tum poŋ **nək-wə ʔəy+ ko.yoš-E** tum rrančo
one time go-COM 3E+ SOC.work-dCOM one ranch
'Once he went to seek work on a ranch.' (ZOH1R18 023)

(ii) kwando ye?ccə sena ʔora
kwando **0 ye?c-wə** sena ʔora
when 3A arrive-COM dinner hour

tihhə ʔəy yakse:ncəki
tih-wə ʔəy+ yak.senar=cək-E
go&return 3E+ CAUS.dine=do-dCOM
'When dinner time came, she went to give him his dinner.'(ZOH1R12 248,50)

Existential predicates can be presented as completed (past) situations by using the verb root **tih-** with completive aspect[1].

(13.2)
(i) nəmpa miš hunaŋ ʔəm tihhə
0 nəm-pa miš hunaŋ **ʔəm+ tih-wə**
3A say-INC 2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM

kwandum tihhə ha:yʔuneʔ
kwandu **ʔəm+ tih-wə** haya=ʔuneʔ
when 2A+ go&return-COM male=child
'He says, "You, what were you like when you were a boy?"'(ZOH1R25 058-9)

(ii) si dəš tihhə de beras ha:ymanak
si dəš **(də+) tih-wə** de beras haya=manak
yes 1Prn (1A+) go&return-COM of really male=child
'Yes, I was really a manly lad.' (ZOH1R25 061)

tehi.ʔa-, 'there is', with completive aspect, means 'to be located' or 'to be present with' (similar to Spanish *estar*), as shown in examples (13.3 i-ii). Incompletive aspect seems to be used only to present the situation of being somewhere for an indeterminate period of time in the past. The contrast is illustrated by a few lines from a text about a fellow who didn't get along well with the other consultants on the MALDP project. At first, he went around with them and was together with them (iii), but later he 'went over to the other side[2]' and

[1] Remember that existential predicates do not employ a verb to convey a present situation (section 6.6). There is no copular verb in Zoque analogous to the Spanish verb *ser*, 'to be', that appears with incompletive aspect.
[2] This is a pun: *el otro lado*, 'the other side' is slang for 'the United States' (the other side of the border), and it also refers to the other end of the long dinner table in Catemaco. We generally

would only associate with his linguist, spurning the company of his fellow Indians (iv).

(13.3)

(i) tey də tehidammə katemako
tey **də+ tehi.ʔa-tam-wə** katemako
now 1A+ there_is.VERS1-1/2PL-COM catemaco
'Now we were in Catemaco.' (ZOH1R18 015)

(ii) gahi ʔotoŋpa bi papən yəhi yakki ya pətə
gahiʔ 0 ʔotoŋ-pa bi papən yəhiʔ yak=ʔiwə ya 0 pəʔt-A
there 3A speak-INC DEF devil here nobody NEG 3A pass-nINC

myentras ke dəš də tehiʔawə
myentras ke dəš **də+ tehi.ʔa-wə**
while that 1Prn 1A+ there_is.VERS1-COM
'There the devil speaks: "Nobody passes here, while I'm here.'
(ZOH1R18 052-3)

(iii) kwando yeʔccə witpa dəšhahənaŋ
kwando 0 yeʔc-wə 0 wit-pa dəšhaaʔ+hənaŋ
when 3A arrive-COM 3A walk-INC we+ACC

tehiʔapa dəšhahənaŋ
0 tehi.ʔa-pa dəšhaaʔ+hənaŋ
3A there_is.VERS1-INC we+ACC
'When he arrived, he was going around with us, he was with us.'
(ZOH1R19 002-4)

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segregated at meals, so the (mostly American) linguists could talk in English about linguistics (is there another topic?), and the Indians could get a break from the endless lexical inquiry.

(iv) ʔadyo **tehidammə** komo mecaŋ šemana
ʔadyo 0 tehi.ʔa-tam-wə komo mecaŋ šemana
later 3A there_is.VERS1-1/2PL-COM like two week

kay ʔeyahóŋ nəkpám
kay ʔeyahooŋ 0 nək-pa+ʔam
then elsewhere 3A go-INC+NOW
'Later, we had been here around two weeks, now he's going over to the other side.' (ZOH1R19 005-6)

13.1.2. Perfect

There are two forms of the perfect in MIG Zoque, one negative and one positive. The negative form is discussed below. The positive perfect is formed by adding the clitic **+ʔam** (NOW) to a verb complex with completive aspect. Expressions in this form are generally translated with morphological accuracy as 'now' with the Spanish preterite tense; for example, (13.4) was translated 'Román, well, now he died.'

(13.4)
rromáŋ pwes kawám
rromáŋ pwes **0 kaʔ-wə+ʔam**
román well 3A die-COM+NOW
'Román, well, he has died.' (ZOH1R18 019)

However, an examination of the uses of this construction in texts reveals that it clearly meets the definitional criteria for the perfect given in Smith (1991:146): "(a) the situation precedes reference time; (b) the construction has a resultant stative viewpoint; and (c) a special property is ascribed to the subject, due to participation in the situation." Perfects, in general, really perform two functions in a tense/aspect system: they situate an event in the past, thus ordering

the event temporally, and they present a state, which tends to be the result of the past event (Smith, p.c.). Perfectives in MIG Zoque conforms to this two-part definition. They present the result of a past event as an on-going state of affairs, but do not move the narrative forward.

(13.5)

(i) dey də minnám miš ʔiškete
dey **də+ min-wə+ʔam** miš+ ʔiš.keʔt-E
now 1A+ come-COM+NOW 1>2+ see.REPET-dCOM
'Now I've come to see you again.' (ZOH1R26 138)

(ii) ʔəm ʔukpa despwes ke ʔəm ʔaŋhomuyyám
ʔəm+ ʔuk-pa despwes ke **ʔəm+ ʔaŋ.ho.muy-wə+ʔam**
2E+ drink-INC after that 2E+ MOUTH.IN.get_wet-COM+NOW
'You drink it after you have soaked it.' (ZOH1R36 052)

(iii) rrikotukkám
0 rriko=tuk-wə+ʔam
3A rich=finish-COM+NOW
'Now he has become very rich.' (ZOH1R20 056)

(iv) ya ken kəyuhtammám puŋŋəba gə mok
ya ke **ʔən+ kə.yuh-tam-wə+ʔam** 0 puŋ.ʔəy-pa gə mok
now that 1E+ AWAY.clear-1/2PL-COM+NOW 3A ear.VERS2-INC that corn
'Now that we've weeded, the corn sets ears.' (ZOH1R13 028)

(v) pwes wan komo ʔəy muššám
pwes wan komo **ʔəy+ muš-wə+ʔam**
pues juan like 3E+ know-COM+NOW

nakšhoŋhoŋŋəba ʔokmula ʔəy kopak
(ʔəy+) nakš=hoŋ.hoŋ.wəy-pa ʔok=mula ʔəy+ kopak
(3E+) hit_w_stick=get_dizzy.get_dizzy.ITER2-INC old_woman=mule 3E+ head
'Well, Juan, since he knew[3], was beating the heck out of the
old mule's head.' (ZOH1R12 368)

The example in (13.6) appears to be a future perfect. Having learned that two of his friends from the previous summer did not return to the project (one had died and the other couldn't come), Sr. Sánchez Morales is speculating about what changes the year ahead might bring about.

(13.6)
tey nəmpa yədə ʔawindəkka ʔamintəhi
tey 0 nəm-pa yədə ʔawinʔ+dəkka ʔamintəhi
now 3A say-INC this sibling+NPL next_year

yan muštamə ʔiwə ya minnám
ya ʔən+ muš-tam-A ʔiwə **ya 0 min-wə+ʔam**
NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC who NEG 3A come-nCOM+NOW
'Now he says, "These friends, next year, we don't know
who won't have come."' (ZOH1R18 356-8)

[3] He knew that the mule was a sorceress in disguise, having been warned by the Princess.

13.1.2.1. Negative perfect

The negation of the perfect has a special marker, **yampa** (nPERF), that precedes the verb complex in the same position as the negative marker **ya**. It appears to be a polymorpheme composed of the negative **ya** and the incompletive suffix **pa**, but the middle portion is unidentifiable[4]. It denotes a situation that failed to obtain in the past and continues to fail to obtain in the present. The verb complex is marked with the incompletive suffix.

(13.7)

(i) yampa yecay ʔora pa picəmpa bi karru
yampa 0 yeʔc-A ʔəy+ ʔora para 0 picəm-pa bi karru
nPERF 3A arrive-nINC 3E+ hour for 3A leave-INC DEF bus
'The time for the bus to leave hasn't arrived.' (ZOH1R10 180)

(ii) ʔi yakti yampay yoššukə
ʔi yakti **yampa ʔəy+ yoš-šuk-A**
and nothing nPERF 3E+ work-3PL-nINC
'And they haven't done any work.' (ZOH1R25 006)

(iii) ʔəy pəkpam ʔəy nəkkə porke yampa kambyacəkə
ʔəy+ pək-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ nək-wə porke **yampa ʔəy+ kambiar=cək-A**
3E+ get-INC+NOW 3E+ go-dINC because nPERF 3E+ change=do-nINC

ʔeyáʔ yakʔaŋmayyobáhənaŋ
ʔeyaaʔk yak.ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+VʔkV+hənaŋ
other CAUS.MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL+ACC
'Now she's getting it, because she hasn't changed to another teacher.'
(ZOH1R14 032)

[4] It looks like the clitic +ʔam (NOW), but this never attaches to any other function morphemes.

(iv) ya naše meka porke yampan ištamə
ya naše mek.A porke **yampa ʔən+ ʔiš-tam-A**
NEG truth lie.NOM3 because nPERF 1E+ see-1/2PL-nINC
'It's not certain to be a lie, because we haven't seen it.' (ZOH1R43 113-4)

(v) tey bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ pən
tey bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+VʔkpənnowDEFMOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+RELman

yampan ʔaŋceʔkhadamə
yampa ʔən+ ʔaŋ.ceʔk.hay-tam-A
nPERF 1E+ MOUTH.ask.APPL-1/2PL-nINC
'We haven't asked the boss yet.' (ZOH1R10 625)

13.1.3. Remote perfect

maeʔ (REM) indicates a state of affairs that used to obtain, but no longer does. It refers to a situation that is wholly in the past, with no effects carrying over into the present. This contrasts with the perfective discussed in 13.1.2, in which the perfective event did have some effect that persists to the time of speaking. The morpheme can appear anywhere in the clause. In example (13.8 i), the woman was there (in office) with them, but isn't any longer. In (ii), Yermo almost drowns, but doesn't, when he goes to rescue Roberta, which he also doesn't do. It appears with both incompletive (ii) and completive (i,iii) aspects. maeʔ can also indicate a potential state of affairs that fails to obtain, as in (iv) and (v).

(13.8)
(i) gahi tehiamottə maeʔ
gahiʔ 0 tehi.ʔa.mot-wə **maeʔ**
there 3A there_is.VERS1.WITH-COM REM
'She was there with them.' (ZOH1R28 042)

(ii) haʔkkapa maeʔ yermo lopes
0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa maeʔ yermo lopes
3A drown=die-INC REM yermo lopez

porke nəkpay həšpəkkə mae gə rroberta
porke nək-pa ʔəy+ həš.pək-wə **maeʔ** gə rroberta
because go-INC 3E+ BACK.get-dINC REM that roberta
'Yermo Lopez almost died drowning because he tried
to go get Roberta out.' (ZOH1R15 076)

(iii) ʔi tumə nəkkə maeʔ yaŋkame bi tək
ʔi tumə nək-wə **maeʔ** ʔəy+ yak.ʔaŋ.kam-E bi tək
and one go-COM REM 3E+ CAUS.MOUTH.get_stuck-dCOM DEF house
'And one of them tried to go close up the house.' (ZOH1R24 593)

(iv) dəšháʔ šuktampa maeʔ
dəš+haaʔ (də+) šuk-tam-pa **maeʔ**
1Prn+NPL2 (1A+) finish-1/2PL-INC REM
'We were going to finish.' (ZOH1R24 147)

(v) ʔentonses bi hamatin ʔəy ʔaŋkimpa maeʔ
ʔentonses bi hamatin ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.kim-pa **maeʔ**
then DEF money 3E+ MOUTH.mount-INC REM

piceŋho ʔentonse bi həšpəkšukkə
piceŋhoʔ ʔentonses bi həš.pək-šuk-wə
therefore then DEF BACK.get-3PL-COM
'Then the money that they might send, therefore it's just what
they take out (take for themselves).' (ZOH1R28 282-3)

13.1.4. Incompletive

Incompletive "viewpoints present part of a situation with no information about its endpoints" (Smith, 1991:111). The incompletive is used to refer to ongoing situations in the past, to habitual or present situations, to generic situations, and to situations that will obtain in the future. It is translated with the Spanish imperfect or present tense, depending on the discourse context. (The Spanish present tense is also covers habitual, ongoing, and future situations.)

In the narrative texts in the corpus, the imperfect is used to describe ongoing background situations, like the waterfall in example (13.9 i), or to set the scene by describing situations that were ongoing at the time the story begins. It is also used to present the immediate context of some specific situation, appearing in a subordinate clause (iii-v).

(13.9)

(i) ye?čukkə rroyo čorro dondhutəŋ wanakpa bi nə?
0 ye?c-šuk-wə rroyo čorro donde hutəŋ **0 wanak-pa bi nə?**
3A arrive-3PL-COM arroyo waterfall where where 3A go_down-INC DEF water
'They arrived at the waterfall canyon, where the water goes down'
(ZOH1R11 027)

(ii) kwandu tihhə rebolusyóŋ [...]
kwandu 0 tih-wə rebolusyóŋ [...]
when 3A go&return-COM revolution [...]

yəhi bi rrebeldedəkka numpay wittə
yəhi? bi rrebelde+dəkka **num-pa ?əy+ wit-wə**
here DEF rebel+NPL steal-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
'When there was a revolution [...], here there were the rebels
that go around stealing' (ZOH1R24 002,4)

(iii) porkey təpa picəmmə
porke **ʔəy+ təʔ-pa** 0 picəm-wə
because 3E+ want-INC 3A leave-COM
'Because he wanted to, he left.' (ZOH1R24 311)

(iv) numcənšukkə pəndəkka pork minpa
0 num=cən-šuk-wə pən+dəkka porke **0 min-pa**
3A hide=sit-3PL-COM man+NPL because 3A come-INC
'The men hid because he was coming.' (ZOH1R24 463)

(v) ʔəy həšpəkšukpa kwandu minnə bi ʔapu
ʔəy+ həš.pək-šuk-pa kwandu 0 min-wə bi ʔapu
3E+ BACK.get-3PL-INC when 3A come-COM DEF old_man
'They were getting him out when the old man arrived.' (ZOH1R24 612)

In many of the texts in the corpus, the narrator is describing his or her work or daily life. Since these are descriptions of habitual activities, the incompletive is used. The examples in (13.10) are taken from a text by Sra. Teófila Sánchez Morales (Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales's sister), in which she describes the typical work day of a Zoque housewife (which begins an hour before dawn and continues until ten o'clock at night.)

(13.10)
(i) ʔən huku:tnekkəŋŋəypa
ʔən+ hukutək=nek=kəŋ.ʔəy-pa
1E+ fire=stack=burn.SUF-INC
'I stack up the firewood.' (ZOH1R53 003)

(ii) ʔən cepan piciʔ
ʔən+ ceʔ-pa ʔən+ pic.Eʔ
1E+ wash-INC 1E+ put_corn_in_lime.NOM3
'I wash my nixtamal.' (ZOH1R53 004)

(iii) də nəkpa molinu
də+ nək-pa molinu
1A+ go-INC mill
'I go to the corn-grinder.' (ZOH1R53 005)

The incompletive is used for situations in the present. This usage generally occurs in dialogs when characters tell each what they're doing, as shown in examples (13.11 i-ii). There are a few texts in which Sr. Sánchez Morales is describing his current situation and thus uses the incompletive with present reference. Example (iii) comes from a text that he recorded shortly after hearing about the death of one of the consultants from the previous summer's project. Example (iv) is from a text describing Sr. Sánchez's trip to the project and the work he was doing there. He ends the account by wondering when it will be over so we can all go home.

(13.11)
(i) nəmpa "tim cəkpa?"
0 nəm-pa ti **ʔəm+ cək-pa**
3A say-INC what 2E+ do-INC
'He says, "What are you doing?"' (ZOH1R10 017)

(ii) dəš nəmpa "ʔən muʔt tey yəhi tehiʔawə
dəš (də+) nəm-pa ʔən+ muʔt tey yəhiʔ 0 tehi.ʔa-wə
1Prn (1A+) say-INC 1E+ son_in_law now here 3A there_is.VERS1-COM

kahi šikpa"
gahiʔ **0 šik-pa**
there 3A laugh-INC
'I say now my son_in_law is here. He's laughing over there.'(ZOH1R25 244,6)

(iii) piceŋho dey ʔən hamcəktampa
piceŋhoʔ dey **ʔən+ ham(V)=cək-tam-pa**
that's_why now 1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC
'That's why we remember him now.' (ZOH1R18 013)

(iv) yan muštamə hutiyáʔ də tuktampa
ya ʔən+ muš-tam-A hutiyaʔ **də+ tuk-tam-pa**
NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC when 1A+ finish-1/2PL-INC
'We don't know when we'll finish.' (ZOH1R10 624)

The incompletive is also used to present future situations. Again, these generally appear in dialogs, but the last example in (13.12) describes a situation that is in the future relative to the time of narration.

(13.12)
(i) ʔəm yoštampa dehənaŋ yəhiʔ
ʔəm+ yoš-tam-pa deʔ+hənaŋ yəhiʔ
2A+ work-1/2PL-INC that+ACC here
'You'll work with him here.' (ZOH1R10 038)

(ii) pwes yey n ʔištampa si naše ya də pətə
pwes yey **ʔən+ ʔiš-tam-pa** si naše ya də+ pəʔt-A
well now 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC if truth NEG 1A+ pass-nINC
'Well, now we'll see if I'm not going to pass.' (ZOH1R18 073)

(iii) minpa de ʔən ʔokwaktammə
min-pa dey ʔən+ ʔok.wak-tam-wə
come-INC now 1E+ DOWN.*empty-1/2PL-dINC

pa də nəktampa də təkyeʔctampa
para **də+ nək-tam-pa də+ tək=yeʔc-tam-pa**
for 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC 1A+ house=arrive-1/2PL-INC
'We'll come to finish this, so we can go, we can arrive at home.'
(ZOH1R10 628-9)

Future tense can be indicated by an auxiliary verb construction with the directional verb root **nək-** 'to go', similar to the periphrastic future constructions in English and Spanish. But in MIG Zoque, **nək-** always adds its directional sense to the meaning of the utterance; that is, it is only used when the actor will actually move through space to perform the act in question. This constrasts with the usage in English and Spanish, in which 'go' can be used for a future situation that does not involve motion. If I say "I'm going to finish this chapter today", I will do so by remaining seated at my desk. In Zoque, I could only say that if I had to move to the desk to sit down and start writing.

(13.13)
(i) nəkpay kumšukkə
nək-pa ʔəy+ kum-šuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ bury-3PL-dINC
'They're going to bury him.' (ZOH1R27 023)

(ii) nəkpam cammə bi ney ʔaŋpən
nək-pa ʔəm+ cam-wə bi ney ʔaŋpən
go-INC 2E+ talk-dINC DEF our zoque
'You're going to speak our Zoque.' (ZOH1R10 030)

(iii) nəmpa bi ʔokpən pwes dəš nəkpan nəmhayyə huštiša
0 nəm-pa bi ʔokpən pwes dəš **nək-pa ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə** huštiša
3A say-INC DEF old_woman well 1Prn go-INC 1E+ say.APPL-dINC mayor
'The old woman says, "I'm going to tell the mayor."' (ZOH1R18 122)

13.1.5. Progressive

The progressive in MIG Zoque is an auxiliary verb construction with the auxiliary **nəmmə** (PROG). Neither the beginning nor the end of a situation is visible from the progressive viewpoint, which "focus on the internal stages of non-stative events" (Smith, 1991: 112). In narratives, the progressive is generally used to present a background situation, one that is ongoing when the event of importance occurs.

(13.14)
(i) nəmmən kahuʔukkə kwando yeʔccə benigno
nəmmə ʔən+ kahwe=ʔuk-wə kwando 0 yeʔc-wə benigno
PROG 1E+ coffee=drink-dINC when 3A arrive-COM benigno
'I was having breakfast when Benigno arrived.' (ZOH1R10 147)

(i) yəhi nəmmən cammə familyahənaŋ
yə.hiʔ **nəmmə ʔən+ cam-wə** familya+hənaŋ
DCT1.LOC1 PROG 1E+ chat-dINC family+ACC
'I'm here chatting with the family.' (ZOH1R10 018)

(iii) nəmpa bi huštiša tigó? ?əm nəkpa
0 nəm-pa bi huštiša ti+goo? ?əm+ nək-pa
3A say-INC DEF mayor what+BNF 2A+ go-INC

si yakki ya nəmmə mi poykekkə
si yak=?iwə **ya nəmmə mi+ poy=kek-wə**
if nobody NEG PROG 3>2+ flee=jump-dINC
'The mayor says, "Why are you going, if nobody is kicking you out?"' (ZOH1R18 243-4)

(iv) nəmməy ?okcamməyyə
nəmmə ?əy+ ?ok.cam.?əy-wə
PROG 3E+ DOWN.tell.SUF-dINC
'He is telling the story.' (ZOH1R25 098)

(v) kwand tumə gay nəmmə ?əy kuhhə
kwando tumə gay **nəmmə ?əy+ kuh-wə**
when one then PROG 3E+ push-dINC

?əy yakwanakšukkə
?əy+ yak.wanak-šuk-wə
3E+ CAUS.go_down-3PL-COM
'Then while one was pushing, they brought him down.' (ZOH1R24 602-3)

Progressive viewpoint is a subset of the incompletive viewpoint, which can also be used to present a situation that is ongoing. The progressive, however, cannot be used for future or habitual situations. The overlapping reference of the two viewpoints is illustrated by the following pair of examples. In this text, a fisherman comes upon a group of boys who are beating a sea turtle with clubs, to make it lay its eggs. (The fisherman saves the turtle who turns out to be magical and grants him his every wish.)

(13.15)

(i) nəmməy nakškaššukkə
nəmmə ʔəy+ nakš=kaʔ-šuk-wə
PROG 3E+ hit_w_stick=die-3PL-dINC
'They were beating it to death.' (ZOH1R20 007)

(ii) ʔəy nakšhuhšukpa
ʔəy+ nakš=huh-šuk-pa
3E+ hit_w_stick=lay_eggs-3PL-INC
'They were beating it to make it lay eggs.' (ZOH1R20 008)

13.1.6. Temporal modifiers

Modifiers that serve to focus the aspectual viewpoint or temporal reference of a clause are found at every level of the grammar: verbal affixes, clitics, verb roots in compound constructions, words such as deictics and temporal adverbs, and temporal subordinate clauses.

13.1.6.1. Adverbial suffixes

There are five verbal affixes that affect aspect: the prefix **yuk-** 'to begin V-ing'; the suffix **-keʔt**, 'to V once again'; the complex suffix **-(pak)pə**, 'to V rapidly; all at once'; and the iterative suffixes **-wəy** and **-ney**, 'to V repeatedly; with force'.

yuk- is a verbal prefix that can indicate an upward direction with verb roots that involve motion, holding, or carrying, as illustrated in examples (13.16 i-ii). It can also appear with any kind of verb root to mean 'to begin V-ing' (iii). This prefix is also discussed in section 7.1.1.10.

(13.16)

(i) ʔaŋnamcu yuktenpa
ʔaŋnamcuʔ 0 **yuk**.ten-pa
morning 3A UP.stand-INC
'He gets up early in the morning.' (ZOH1R53 002)

(ii) ʔəy yukpəkkə tum həkaŋ tumə tum həkaŋ
ʔəy+ **yuk**.pək-wə tum həkaŋ tuməʔ tum həkaŋ
3E+ UP.get-COM one side one one side
'One lifted up one side and the other the other side.' (ZOH1R25 093)

(iii) yukkotoŋŋə bi kahaŋdəkka
0 **yuk**.ʔotoŋ-wə bi kahaŋ+dəkka
3A UP.speak-COM DEF jaguar+NPL
'The jaguars began to speak.' (ZOH1R12 070)

The suffix **-keʔt** means "to do V once again". This is not an iterative: the action is repeated only once. It can also refer to a second actor performing some act, rather than the same actor re-performing the act, as shown in example (v).

(13.17)
(i) ʔəy kapnəkkeʔtšukkə panteoŋhoʔ
ʔəy+ kap=nək.**keʔt**-šuk-wə panteoŋ+hoʔ
3E+ carry_on_shoulder=go.REPET-3PL-COM cemetery+LOC2
'They carried him to the cemetery again.' (ZOH1R27 059)

(ii) ʔəy šomkeʔtšukkə wan
ʔəy+ šom.**keʔt**-šuk-wə wan
3E+ jail.REPET.3PL-COM juan
'They jailed Juan again.' (ZOH1R12 332)

(iii) nəmmən hopəʔtkeʔttammə
nəmmə ʔən+ ho.pəʔt.**keʔt**-tam-wə
PROG 1E+ IN.pass.REPET-1/2PL-dINC

de lo ken yoštammə gə ʔamintəʔ
de lo ke ʔən+ yoš-tam-wə gə ʔamintəʔ
of it that 1E+ work-1/2PL-COM that year
'We're reviewing what we worked on that year.' (ZOH1R14 081)

(iv) cuhiam ʔəy ʔukkeʔtpa ʔotro tumə
cuhiʔ+ʔam ʔəy+ ʔuk.**keʔt**-pa ʔotro tuməʔ
afternoon+NOW 3E+ drink.REPET-INC other one
'Now in the afternoon he drinks another one again.' (ZOH1R36 273)

(v) picəmgeʔttə ʔot tumaʔ
0 picəm.**keʔt**-wə ʔotro tumaʔ
3A leave-REPET-COM other one
'Another one left.' (ZOH1R18 319)

The celeritive suffix appears most commonly with verbs of motion or carrying and has the meaning 'rapidly' or 'all at once'. It has two phonological shapes: **-pəʔ** or **-pakpəʔ**. The second is obviously compositional, but I have no idea what the **pak** morpheme might be. The celeritive appears only very rarely in the corpus.

(13.18)
(i) kašpəpəwə təkʔaŋhéʔ
0 kaš=pəʔ.pəʔ-wə təkʔaŋhəʔ+VʔkV
3A step=put.CEL-COM san_miguel+REL
'A Migeleño quickly took a step.' (ZOH1R24 172)

(ii) ʔəy yukcəmpəwə
ʔəy+ yuk.cəm.**pəʔ**-wə
3E+ UP.load.CEL-COM
'He loaded it up rapidly.' (lexicon)

(iii) ʔəy wenpəwə
ʔəy+ wen.**pəʔ**-wə
3E+ divide.CEL_COM
'She divided it all at once.' (lexicon)

Verb complexes with the suffixes -ney (ITER1) and **-wəy** (ITER2) contain reduplicated verb roots, and have an iterative or emphatic meaning. These never appear with any other prefixes or suffixes. In the **-ney** constructions,

the verb root that bears the central meaning of the complex is reduplicated, as shown in the following examples, all but the first taken from the lexicon.

(13.19)

(i) yəŋyəŋneyba
0 **yəŋ.yəŋ.ney**-pa
3A tremble.tremble.ITER1-INC
'He started to tremble.' (ZOH1R24 178)

(ii) nemnemneba
0 **nem.nem.ney**-pa
3A flame.flame-ITER1-INC
'It is flaming a lot.'

(iii) camcamneba
0 **cam.cam.ney**-pa
3A chat.chat.ITER1-INC
'He's talking nonsense.'

(iv) cuncunneba
0 **cun.cun.ney**-pa
3A drip.drip.ITER1-INC
'It's dripping constantly'

(v) yumyumneba
0 **yum.yum.ney**-pa
3A boil.boil.ITER1-INC
'It's boiling vigorously.'

In the **-wəy** constructions, the verb root that contributes the central meaning of the complex is followed by a second, reduplicated, root. This second root is most commonly one that means something like 'to cut', but 'to get' and others also appear[5]. I don't know what the criteria for choosing one of these roots over another might be; perhaps it's a function of assonance or some subtle semantic feature.

[5] Note that in example (13.19 iii), only the second syllable of the emphasizing root is repeated. There are very few two-syllable verb roots in this language, and no others that mean a kind of forceful action, so I can't conclusively state that this conforms to a reduplication rule or not.

(13.20)

(i) ʔi gə montura ʔəm nakštuktukwəba
ʔi gə montura ʔəm+ **nakš=tuk.tuk.wəy**-pa
and that saddle 2E+ hit_w_stick=cut.cut.ITER2-INC
'And you beat on that saddle several times.' (ZOH1R12 347)

(ii) ʔi naše če ʔəy yukpəkpəkwəyšukkə
ʔi naše če ʔəy+ **yuk.pək.pək.wəy**-šuk-wə
and truth INTENS 3E+ UP.get.get.ITER2-3PL-COM
'And in fact they really got them up fast (the boards).' (ZOH1R25 092)

(iii) ʔim cihnakaʔckaʔcwəypa ʔi tum cima nəʔ
ʔi ʔəm+ **cih=nakaʔc.kaʔc.wəy**-pa ʔi tum cimaʔ nəʔ
and 2E+ throw_rock=crush.crush.ITER2-INC and one gourd water
'And you crush it really well and (add) one gourd of water.'(ZOH1R36 334)

(iv) gaʔ ʔəy təŋtuktukwəypa por pedasitu
gaʔ ʔəy+ **təŋ=tuk.tuk.wəy**-pa por pedasitu
that 3E+ cut_w_machete=cut.cut.ITER2-INC for little_piece
'He cuts that into tiny tiny pieces.' (ZOH1R36 389)

13.1.6.2. Clitics

+**ʔam** with the incompletive simply means 'now'.

(13.21)

(i) tey nəmmoban wittammám
tey nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔən+ wit-tam-wə+**ʔam**
now DO.ANTIP-INC 1E+ walk-1/2PL-COM+NOW
'Now we can walk (there).' (ZOH1R18 132)

(ii) kay minpám bi hentedəkkay ʔiššukkə bi santu
kay min-pa+**ʔam** bi hente+dəkka ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə bi santu
then come-INC+NOW DEF people+NPL 3E+ see-3PL-dINC DEF saint
'Now the people are coming to see the saint.' (ZOH1R32 044)

(iii) ʔəy poŋpa gay nippám bi ʔapiʔ
ʔəy+ poŋ-pa ga? ʔəy+ nip-pa+**ʔam** bi ʔapiʔ
3E+ burn-INC that 3E+ sow-INC+NOW DEF chayote
'He burns it (the field), now he sows the chayote.' (ZOH1R53 015)

+namʔ, (STILL) only appears with the incompletive (i-ii). It can appear attached to nouns in existential predicates (iii-iv).

(13.22)
(i) nəkpanam tuwaŋ hama
0 nək-pa+**namʔ** tuwaŋ hama
3A[illegible]-INC+STILL three day
'It goes on for three days.' (ZOH1R32 159)

(ii) dəš də nəkpa pero də nippanamʔ
dəš də+ nək-pa pero də+ nip-pa+**namʔ**
1Prn 1A+ go-INC but 1A+ sow-INC+STILL
'I'll go but I'm still going to sow.' (ZOH1R10 043)

(iii) nəʔtti mokpaknamʔ
nəʔtti mok=pak+**namʔ**
no corn=shell+STILL
'No, it's still unshelled.' (ZOH1R27 051)

(iv) nəktáŋ ʔištáŋ si kaynam šiš
nək-taaŋ ʔiš-taaŋ si kay+**namʔ** šiš
go-HORT see-HORT if then+STILL meat
'Let's go see if there's still any meat.' (ZOH1R23 925)

13.1.6.3. Verb compounds

Super-lexical morphemes "modulate the focus of a situation rather than determining the situation itself" (Smith, 1991:76). In MIG Zoque, super-lexicals that focus on one of the endpoints of a situation are verb stems used in compound verb constructions.

Two of these stems focus the initial endpoint of a situation: **ʔokmaŋ-** [6]'to begin to V' and **tək.ʔəy-** 'to enter into V-ing'. **ʔokmaŋ-** can be used with any verb, but **tək.ʔəy-** has a directional sense as well, and so really means 'to go in somewhere and start V-ing'.

(13.23)

(i) wan kəššokmaŋŋoyyə
wan 0 kəš=**ʔokmaŋ**.ʔoy=wə
juan 3A eat=begin.ANTIP-COM
'Juan began to eat.' (ZOH1R12 129)

(ii) ʔəy nukkokmaŋŋə
ʔəy+ nuk=**ʔokmaŋ**-wə
3E+ grab=begin-COM
'He started to grab him.' (ZOH1R18 079)

(iii) ʔən camtəkhašukpa
ʔən+ cam=**tək.ʔəy**.hay-šuk-pa
1E+ talk=house.VERS2.APPL-3PL-INC
'I'm going to chat with them.' (ZOH1R10 386)

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[6] ʔok.maŋ is a derived stem: DOWN.*step. I treat it as a single form because the compositional semantics are not obvious, unless you can remember that one generally starts a journey from San Miguel Chimalapa by going down from the mountains.

(iv) ʔən yoštəkkawə tum yaŋkeʔ
ʔən+ yoš=**təkʔa**-wə tum yaŋkeʔ
1E+ work=enter-COM one yankee
'I started to work with a gringa.' (ZOH1R14 005)

There are a variety of stems that focus the final endpoint of a situation. **tuk-** 'to finish' and **šuk-** 'to finish' are virtually identical, although **tuk-** is much more common (examples 13.24 i-ii). My consultants say that the two are interchangeable and can each be used with any sort of verb, but they always use **tuk-** in their stories. **ko.wak-** is a stem derived from the root ***wak-**, which no longer can be used independently in MIG Zoque. Its meaning is something like 'to be empty', and it appears in many compounds and derived forms with the connotation of emptying or clearing something out (iii). **ʔok.wak-** also means 'to end', but I didn't find any examples of it in compound constructions. **tan-** means specifically 'to complete', and is generally used in situations involving quantities, such as payments for services rendered (iv). **cak-** means 'to leave off or stop V-ing', before the natural or expected termination of the situation (v).

(13.24)
(i) den kənakštuktampa
dey ʔən+ kə.nakš=**tuk**-tam-pa
then 1E+ AWAY.hit_w_stick=finish-1/2PL-INC
'Then we finish clearing.' (ZOH1R13 006)

(ii) yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš
ya ʔəy+ kəš=**šuk**-šuk-wə bi šiš
NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-COM DEF meat
'They didn't finish eating the meat.' (ZOH1R12 077)

(iii) ʔəŋkowakkə yə ʔokoš ʔəy təm
0 ʔəŋ=ko.wak-wə yəʔ ʔokoš ʔəy+ təm
3A fall=SOC.*empty-COM this shrub 3E+ fruit
'This tree's fruit is through falling.' (lexicon)

(iv) yohtanšukkə
ʔəy+ yoh=**tan**-šuk-wə
3E+ pay=complete-3PL-COM
'They paid him in full.' (ZOH1R18 264)

(v) syempre yam kowitcakə
syempre ya ʔəm+ ko.wit=**cak**-A
always NEG 2A+ SOC.walk=leave-nINC
'Never leave off going to visit (your cornfield).' (ZOH1R13 047)

Finally, **poy-**, 'to flee', specifies the duration of the situation as being very brief. (Perhaps, as in the second example, one only wishes that it be very brief.)

(13.25)
(i) poycənšukkə
0 **poy**=cən-šuk-wə
3A flee=sit-3PL-COM
'They sat down for a little while.' (ZOH1R23 539)

(ii) si ya poytakkənam
si ya 0 **poy**=tak-A+namʔ
if NEG 3A flee=rain-nINC+STILL

ʔən ʔištuktampa ʔašta kwan takpa
ʔən+ ʔiš=tuk-tam-pa ʔašta kwan 0 tak-pa
1E+ see=finish-1/2PL-INC until when 3A rain-INC
'If it still doesn't rain, we wait until it rains' (ZOH1R13 013)

13.1.6.4. Temporal adverbs, deictics, and clauses

These elements have all been discussed in other places - adverbs and deictics in chapter 4, and temporal subordinate clauses in chapter 11. Appendix B contains a list of words pertaining to time in MIG Zoque (parts of the day, etc.). This section will just provide some examples of the way they are used to sequence narrative events and locate events in time.

Since MIG Zoque lacks tense, temporal adjuncts are used to specify the time of events. In examples (13.26 i-ii), the events are located at exact times with respect to the time of speaking. In (iii), the temporal adjunct specifies the sequence of events in the narrative, indicating the passage of time in the story itself. In (iv-v), the temporal clauses sequence link events in the world of the narrative: when(ever) the serpent comes burbling out, you run away; the farmer always burns the field after he clears it.

(13.26)

(i) yəha:m byernes də kə:šcəktampa
yə.hama byernes də+ kəš.E=cək-tam-pa
DCT1.day friday 1A+ eat.NOM3=do-1/2PL-INC
'Today, Friday, we're going to make food.' (ZOH1R29 065)

(ii) ʔamintəʔk də tihtammə ʔən yoštame fortín de las flores
ʔamintəʔk də+ tih-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš-tam-E fortín
last_year 1A+[7] go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM fortín
'Last year we went to work in Fortín.' (ZOH1R18 004)

[7] I don't know why this extra agreement marker is here. There are not quite enough of these examples in the corpus to declare it a sub-pattern of agreement, but they do appear in texts from many speakers. It could be that the speaker started to just say "we went" and then decided in mid-utterance to make it an auxiliary phrase.

(iii) hoypiʔt bwen ʔora də yukkoŋtammə
hoypiʔt bwen ʔora də+ yuk.koŋ-tam-wə
next_day good hour 1A+ UP.crawl-1/2PL-COM
'The next day, very early, we got up.' (ZOH1R10 430)

(iv) **la ʔora ke** huʔupa ʔəy minnə miš poy yahəʔ
la ʔora ke 0 huʔu-pa ʔəy+ min-wə miš poy-Aʔ yahəʔ
the hour that 3A make_noise-INC 3E+ come-dINC 2Prn flee-IMPV far
'When it(the serpent)comes rumbling along, you run away.'(ZOH1R12 387-8)

(v) ʔəy ʔapiʔ despwés de ʔəy yuhpa gay ʔəy poŋpa
ʔəy+ ʔapiʔ **despwes de** ʔəy+ yuh-pa **gay** ʔəy+ poŋ-pa
3E+ chayote after of 3E+ clear-INC then 3E+ burn-INC
'His chayote field, after he clears it, then he burns it.' (ZOH1R53 014)

13.2. Mood

The morphologically marked moods of MIG Zoque are all types of imperatives: the imperative, the negative imperative, the exhortative, and the volitive or optative. There are also two modal words that characterize the probability or possibility of an event: a contrafactual and a word that means 'seems'.

13.2.1. Imperative

This is a simple second person imperative, marked by the suffix **-Aʔ** (IMPV). It applies to all types of verb roots, apart from pragmatic constraints (you can't order it to rain, for example). It appears frequently in dialogs in the

texts, where it is used between peers or family members, or from a superior to a subordinate.

(13.27)

(i) yey mama yukpəktamə
yey mama **yuk.pək-tam-A?**
now mama UP.get-1/2PL-IMPV
'Now, mama, (y'all) put it up.' (ZOH1R18 276)

(ii) ʔay nəmpa rromáŋ ʔištamə gahi ʔičíŋ
ʔay 0 nəm-pa rromáŋ **ʔiš-tam-A?** gahiʔ ʔičiiŋ
later 3A say-INC román see-1/2PL-IMPV there a_little
'Then Román says, "Look over there a little way!"' (ZOH1R18 159)

(iii) yoššám miš pam kəššoba
yoš-A?+ʔam miš para ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-pa
work-IMPV+NOW 2Prn for 2A+ eat.ANTIP-INC
'Now you work so you can eat!' (ZOH1R27 009)

(iv) ʔəy nəmhayyə ʔamma
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə **ʔamma-A?**
3E+ say.APPL-COM look-IMPV
'He said to him, "Watch it!"' (ZOH1R18 321)

13.2.2. Negative imperative

The negative imperative has its own negative morpheme, **ʔu** (NEGimpv), followed by a person agreement marker in its cliticized form. The verb is inflected with the negative imperative suffix **-wə** (nIMPV). In the second person, it simply means "Don't do X!", illustrated in example (13.28 i-iii). In the first or third persons, however, it has a more subjunctive quality: "that I (he/she/they/it) shouldn't do X". The remaining examples in (13.28) illustrate this usage.

(13.28)

(i) ʔəy nəmhayyə ʔum nəkkə
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə **ʔu** **ʔəm+ nək-wə**
3E+ say.APPL-COM NEGimpv 2A+ go-nIMPV
He said to him, "Don't go." (ZOH1R18 029)

(ii) ʔum ʔukkə
ʔu **ʔəm+ ʔuk-wə**
NEGimpv 2E+ drink-nIMPV
'Don't drink it!' (ZOH1R12 115)

(iii) gə frenu ʔum huppə
gə frenu **ʔu** **ʔəm+ hup-wə**
that rein NEGimpv 2E+ pull-nIMPV
'Don't pull on those reins!' (ZOH1R12 348)

(iv) deʔše də nəmhašukkə gaha winhóŋ
deʔše də+ nəm.hay-šuk-wə gaha winhooŋ
thus 1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM there in_front

ke ʔun minnə
ke **ʔu** **ʔən+ min-wə**
that NEGimpv 1E+ come-nIMPV
'That's how they told me there before, that I shouldn't come.'
(ZOH1R18 113-4)

(v) tigó ʔun ʔokhoŋŋədammə
tigooʔ **ʔu ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔəy-tam-wə**
why NEGimpv 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.SUF-1/2PL-nIMPV
'Why must we not forget?' (ZOH1R57 038)

(vi) pa ʔuy təkkəyyə ʔəm cokoyho gagə mal
para **ʔu ʔəy+ tək.ʔəy-wə** ʔəm+ cokoyʔ+hoʔ gagə mal
for NEGimpv 3E+ house.SUF-COM 2E+ heart+LOC2 that bad
'So that that poison won't enter into your heart.' (ZOH1R36 350)

(vii) wəttəba gə mok
0 wətiʔ.ʔəy-pa gə mok
3A large.VERS2-INC that corn

pa ʔuy yakmolescəkkəyyə gə cammə
para **ʔu ʔəy+ yak.molestar=cək.ʔəy-wə** gə cammə
for NEGimpv 3E+ CAUS.bother=do.SUF-COM that weed
'The corn gets bigger so the weeds won't bother it.' (ZOH1R13 027)

13.2.3. Exhortative

The suffix **-taaŋ** (HORT) indicates the exhortative mood, which is a first person plural imperative: "Let's do it!". nəki is an irregular first person imperative used only with this particular verb root.

(13.29)
(i) nəki ʔištáŋ nəmpa huštiša
nək-i **ʔiš-taaŋ** 0 nəm-pa huštiša
go-IMPV3 see-HORT 3A say-INC mayor
'"Let's go see!", says the mayor.' (ZOH1R18 140)

(ii) ʔaŋmaytáŋ ney ʔawindəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən
ʔaŋ.may-taaŋ ney ʔawinʔ+dəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən
MOUTH.count-HORT IE brother+NPL DEF IE zoque
'Let's teach our language to our brothers.' (ZOH1R57 010)

(iii) camtáŋ
cam-taaŋ
talk-HORT
'Let's talk.' (ZOH1R25 054)

13.2.4. Volitive / Optative

The volitive or optative mood is marked by the volitive morpheme **yakkə** (VOL) which precedes the verb complex, and by one of the the inflectional suffixes: **-wə** (cOPT, completive optative) or **-Aʔ** (iOPT, incompletive optative). The person agreement markers appropriate for the verb follow **yakkə**. The second syllable of **yakkə** is often elided, making it easy to confuse with the causative.

It is used as a third-person imperative in reported speech ("He said that they should V"), as shown in examples (13.30 i-ii). It is also used as an indirect imperative ("Let her V"), as shown in examples (iii-iv), as a very polite second-person imperative (v-vi), and as an expression of a desired or potential state of affairs ("That it should V"), as shown in examples (vii-ix).

(13.30)

(i) nəmmə ga ʔaŋkimmobáʔ
0 nəm-wə gaʔ ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+VʔkA
3A say-COM that MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL

yaknəkkə kuk
yakkə 0 nək-wə kuk
VOL 3A go-COM center
'That commander said that they should go to the center.'(ZOH1R24)

(ii) dəššən ceʔkkə yak də kumšukə
dəš ʔən+ ceʔk-wə **yakkə də+ kum-šuk-Aʔ**
1Prn 1E+ ask-COM VOL 1A+ bury-3PL-iOPT
'I asked them to bury me.' (ZOH1R27 042)

(iii) yakkəy pəʔ tum kašnáŋ winhoŋ
yakkə ʔəy+ pəʔ-Aʔ tum kaš.naaŋ win+hoŋ
VOL 3E+ put-iOPT one step.MEAS FACE+DIR1
'Let him take one step forward.' (ZOH1R24 170)

(iv) yakkəy meʔčukə bi totoʔ
yakkə ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-Aʔ bi totoʔ
VOL 3E+ look_for-3PL-iOPT DEF paper
'Let them look for paper.' (ZOH1R29 089)

(v) yakkə miš cəmkəmaŋŋədamə
yakkə miš+ cəm=kə.maŋ.ʔəy-tam-Aʔ
VOL 2>1+ carry=AWAY.*step.SUF-1/2PL-iOPT
'Please carry me up.' (ZOH1R12 197)

(vi) təpa ke yakkə miš cəkhadamə tum fabor
(ʔən+) təʔ-pa ke **yakkə miš+ cək.hay-tam-Aʔ** tum fabor
(1E+) want-INC that VOL 2>1+ do.APPL-1/2PL-iOPT one favor
'I'd like you to do me a favor.' (ZOH1R12 210)

(vii) ʔən ʔištuktampa yaktakə tuh
ʔən+ ʔiš=tuk-tam-pa **yakkə 0 tak-Aʔ tuh**
1E+ see=finish-1/2PL-INC VOL 3A rain-iOPT rain
'We wait for it to rain.' (ZOH1R13 012)

(viii) ʔəm ʔawinmeʔcpa yak mi cəmha goʔ ʔəm mok
ʔəm+ ʔawinʔ=meʔc-pa **yakkə mi+ cəm.hay-Aʔ** gooʔ ʔəm+ mok
2A+ sibling=look_for-INC VOL 3>2+ carry.APPL-iOPT PURP 2E+ corn
'You look for a friend that he should carry your corn.' (ZOH1R13 052)

(ix) cəktáŋ yakkə ʔəy ʔamma goʔ dyos
cək-taaŋ **yakkə ʔəy+ ʔamma-Aʔ** gooʔ dyos
do-HORT VOL 3E+ look-iOPT PURP god

ke neywin də yoštampa
ke neywin də+ yoš-tam-pa
that we 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC
'Let's do it so that God should see that we are working.' (ZOH1R13 088)

13.2.5. Contrafactual

The contrafactual **pinək** (CONFAC), comparable to **ʔinək** in the Zoque of Copainalá, Chiapas (Kaufman, 1996), expresses a desired, but non-existent, state of affairs. It can appear anywhere within the clause. **pinək** is often immediately preceded by the Spanish words *malaya*, or *ojalá*, which appear to mean much the same thing: 'I hope so!', or 'I wish it were!'. Example (13.31 iv) shows the use of **pinək** to form an extremely polite request.

(13.31)

(i) ke malay pinək ʔən ʔaŋnittampa hemhi ney təkhoʔ
ke malay **pinək** ʔən+ ʔaŋʔit-tam-pa hemhiʔ ney tək+hoʔ
that one_hopes CONFAC 1E+ have-1/2PL-INC all IE house+LOC2
'That hopefully we'll have everything in our house.' (ZOH1R13 090)

(ii) piceŋhoʔ neywin yan ʔokhoŋŋodam pinək
piceŋhoʔ neywin ya ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔoy-tam-wə **pinək**
because we NEG 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.ANTIP-1/2PL-nINC CONFAC
'Therefore, may we not forget.' (ZOH1R57 022)

(iii) pwes ʔohalá pinək nəmpa ke həʔ də yoštampa təkʔaŋhəʔ
pwes ʔohalá **pinək** 0 nəm-pa ke həʔ də+ yoš-tam-pa təkʔaŋhəʔ
well I_hope CONFAC 3A say-INC that yes 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC san_miguel
'Well, I hope she says that, yes, we're going to work in San Miguel.'
(ZOH1R14 061)

(iv) ʔən nəmhayyə de kaswalidád ya mušə hunaŋ
ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə de kaswalidád ya ʔəm+ muš-A hunaŋ
1E+ say.APPL-COM of accident NEG 2E+ know-nINC how

bi número de teléfono miš cipa pinək
bi número de telēfono miš+ ciʔ-pa **pinək**
DEF number of telephone 2>1+ give-INC CONFAC
'I said to her, "You wouldn't happen by chance to know the telephone number? Could you perhaps give it to me?"' (ZOH1R10 204-5)

13.2.6. 'Seems' clauses

bəšeʔ (SEEM) means 'seemingly; apparently'. It can appear anywhere in the clause after the first word, with either incompletive (examples 13.32 i-iii) or completive aspect (iv-v), but it always has a present tense force.

(13.32)
(i) gahi ʔəy nəmhayyə tey nəntiam bəšeʔ
gahiʔ ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə tey nənti +ʔam **bəšeʔ**
there 3E+ say.APPL-COM now there_isn't+NOW SEEM
'Then he told them that now there don't seem to be any.' (ZOH1R24 287)

(ii) nəmpa dəš komo bəše dəš yan ʔokcəkə dey
0 nəm-pa dəš komo **bəše** dəš ya ʔən+ ʔok.cək-A dey
3A say-INC 1Prn like SEEM 1Prn NEG 1E+ DOWN.do-nINC now
'I'm saying that it looks like now I don't have time.' (ZOH1R10 331)

(iii) kay ʔičiŋháʔ bəše ʔəy hamcəkpám
kay ʔičiiŋ+haaʔ **bəše** ʔəy+ ham(V)=cək-pa+ʔam
then a_little+NPL2 SEEM 3E+ *mind=do-INC+NOW
'Now he seems to be remembering little by little.' (ZOH1R12 719)

(iv) tey komo də wəttədammám
tey komo də+ wəti.ʔəy-tam-wə+ʔam
now how 1A+ big.VERS2-1/2PL-COM+NOW

komo de bəše ney hatoŋ yay pəʔttə trabaho
komo de **bəše** ney hatoŋ ya ʔəy+ pəʔt-wə trabaho
how of SEEM IE father NEG 3E+ pass-COM work

'Now that we've grown up it seems that our fathers didn't work hard.'
(ZOH1R13 121)

(v) ʔay nəmpa yeʔccám bəše ʔəy ʔora
ʔay 0 nəm-pa 0 yeʔc-wə+ʔam **bəše** ʔəy+ ʔora
later 3A say-INC 3A arrive-COM+NOW SEEM 3E+ hour
'Later he says, "Now it looks like the time has come."' (ZOH1R10 217)

Chapter 14: Discourse

In this chapter, I will give a description of some features of MIG Zoque narrative styles and strategies. After a brief survey of the kinds of texts in the corpus, I will give summaries of the four texts that provided the data for this chapter. In section 14.2, I discuss the appearance of noun phrases that cross-reference core arguments, making generalizations about word order and the presentation of new and given information. In section 14.3, I describe the various sorts of discourse markers and their functions in structuring narratives. This set consists chiefly of a variety of terms for 'then' or 'thence', both MIG Zoque native words and Spanish loan words.

14.1. The text corpus

The texts in the corpus range from two or three minutes to ninety minutes in length. Most of them were recorded by Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales[1], my principal consultant, but there are texts narrated by ten other people - five men and five women. Most of the texts are personal narratives, about the narrator's work or daily life, or about some notable event such as a wedding or the way in which their family's household saint was found. There are a few fables, including a few that were adapted from Spanish stories; descriptions of local customs or history; a couple of humorous stories; and two stories about a well-known

[1] Sr. Sánchez liked to record texts by himself in his hotel room at the MALDP project. Although he is a wonderful story-teller, he didn't like to have an audience.

raconteur of the previous generation, Satornino. There are also two long interviews conducted by Sr. Sánchez: one with a *curandero*, a healer, about traditional medicine, and one with a *regidor*, a city council member, about the workings of local government.

All the texts were elicited, in the sense that Sr. Sánchez and I made appointments with people in advance and I paid them for their time. He always accompanied me so that he could make introductions and explain the process to each narrator in Zoque. We did this in an effort to keep people from constantly translating their words into Spanish for my benefit; being polite and hospitable people, their natural inclination was to accommodate to my linguistic handicap.

There is not a strong tradition of story-telling in San Miguel Chimalapa, and what there may once have been has been replaced by television and radio. People looked puzzled when I asked for "traditional" stories or stories their parents might have told them. The women were particularly uncomfortable with the task, and their texts are among the shortest in the corpus. Only two speakers were comfortable with telling long stories: Sr. Sánchez and his father, Sr. Agripino Sánchez Guitiérrez. Sr. Sánchez Guitiérrez loves to tell stories, and was apparently one of the few fathers who regaled his children with tales at night around the fire (in the days before electricity).

For the analysis presented in this chapter, I chose four medium-length texts by four different speakers. The first is a local-hero story called 'Satornino and the Soldiers', narrated by Sr. Sánchez (tape ZOH1R11). Satornino was a real person, a member of the generation previous to Sr. Sánchez Guitiérrez, from whom Sr. Sánchez learned this story. Satornino was a well-known teller of tall

tales, all about himself and his adventures. This story took place (if it is true) during the time of the Mexican Revolution in the 1920's. Satornino guides a group of Mexian soldiers into the jungle to capture some baby monkeys. The plan is to shoot some mother monkeys down from the trees, and then take away the babies that they are carrying on their backs. The Mexican soldiers try in vain to shoot the monkeys with their rifles. Finally, they ask Satornino to help, and he immediately kills two of them with two shots from his *bola*[2]. They all head back to town and recount the story to the mayor, and then to Satornino's wife.

The second story was told by Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez, who translated it on the fly from a Spanish children's story. It is called 'The Two-Legged One' (tape ZOH1R26). This story is about a little spotted jaguar, who goes forth into the jungle to seek his own prey. He is searching for the Two-Legged One, a creature that he has only heard about and desires to confront to prove his prowess as a hunter. He encounters several animals along the way, whom he questions, kills, and eats. Finally, he meets a man - the Two-Legged One. They agree to a duel, and count off the paces. The little jaguar turns and leaps at the man, who pulls out his gun and shoots him. The little jaguar manages to return to his mother, but then he dies.

The third text was narrated by Sra. Teófila Sánchez Morales (Sr. Sánchez's sister). It is called 'A Housewife's Day' (tape ZOH1R53), and is an account of her daily routine. She begins by describing her husband's work -

[2] This is a rope with a leather pocket at the end used for hurling rocks. Bolas are still used today to chase birds out of the cornfield.

clearing a planting a *chayote*[3] field. Then she details her work: grinding corn, preparing food, washing clothes, tending her children, etc.

The last text was narrated by Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel[4], a local practioner of traditional medicine. The title of this text is 'The Appearance of Santa Juanita' (tape ZOH1R32). It tells the story of how he found his patron saint, Santa Juanita de los Arcos, from whom his gift as a healer derives. He was working on the crew that built the road up to San Miguel (sometime in the early 1960's), when he was assigned to work on a hillside not far from town. He pried loose a large boulder, and there behind it was a small hole, with the plaster figure of Santa Juanita tucked inside. This was indeed a great miracle, and he brought the saint home and began to celebrate her fiesta every year. She taught him the healing arts, and people would come from all around to be cured by her powers.

The first two texts are third person narratives, and consist chiefly of the main character moving from place to place and talking with other characters. The central action of the story - the killing of the monkeys or the finding of the two-legged one - is repeated in dialog several times. All stages of motion are mentioned, typically following the pattern of plan ("let's go"), movement (they went), and completion (they arrived). Dialog constitutes the bulk of a third person narrative.

The second two texts are first person narratives, and contain little or no dialog. Since these are accounts of daily events or things that happened (usually

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[3] Known in English as a 'mirleton', this is a mildly-flavored squash-like vegetable.

[4] The astute reader will have noticed that everyone seems to have similar last names. This is because they are all cousins, of some degree or another. Since Sr. Sánchez arranged our taping consultations, we tended to work with his neighbors and relatives.

at home) in the past, there is less description of the movements of the main character (the narrator). There is more discussion of plans and results: "I wait for my children to come home from school so I can feed them".

14.2. Word order and the presentation of information

Core arguments are marked on the verb in MIG Zoque (section 6.1), so noun phrases that cross-reference these arguments are syntactically optional. (Henceforth I will refer to such noun phrases as 'overt NPs'.) Thus, many clauses in a Zoque text have no overt NPs whatsoever, and many more have fewer than the valency of the verb allows (only the object of a transitive verb, for example). When overt NPs do appear, their order with respect to one another and to the verb is free, except that when there is a possibility of confusion the subject must precede the object (section 6.4).

In this section, I will give some statistics based on the four texts described above, identifying the types of clauses and numbers of arguments that appear in various possible orders. I will also examine the presentation of new and given information in each of the four texts more closely, discussing the patterns of usage that appear.

14.2.1. Clauses by type

For the purposes of this chapter I identified four types of clauses: transitive, intransitive, existential, and speaking. I lump verbs that allow two or more arguments together into the transitive class, since there are very rarely more

than two overt NPs in any clause. Intransitive verbs allow one argument. Existential clauses in MIG Zoque have no verb on which to mark arguments, so the subject and predicate NPs appear overtly by necessity. They do not therefore figure in to calculations of word order or number of overt arguments.

The speaking verbs nəm-, 'to say', and nəm.hay- (say.APPL), 'to say to someone', are singled out because their behavior is somewhat different from that of other verbs, including other verbs of speaking (such as cam.hay- (tell.APPL), 'to tell someone', commonly used to introduce a story). The nəm- verbs are used to introduce dialog, which, as mentioned above, often carries the bulk of a third person narrative. They may appear twice, bracketing a single quoted clause.

(14.1)

ʔəy nəmhayyə ke bwen soldadu miš ciwə
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə ke bwen soldadu miš+ ciʔ-wə
3E+ say.APPL-COM that good soldier 2>1+ give-COM

ʔəy nəmhayyə
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə
3E+ say.APPL-COM
'He said to him, "What a good soldier you gave us", he said to him.
(ZOH1R11 080)

nəm- verbs don't obey the same rules for aspect as other verbs. Normally, the aspect of a verb is directly related to the factual temporal character of the event described: completive if the event is over and done with, incompletive if it is on-going. There are other factors, such as the use of the incompletive in a narrative set in the past to create a more vivid enactment of events, but generally, choice of aspect obeys orderly discourse rules. The use of nəm-, however, seems

to lie outside this orderly domain, alternating between incompletive and completive with no discernible pattern. The two clauses shown in (14.2) are consecutive in the text. The first 'he' refers to the lieutenant, who has not yet been specifically introduced, but whose presence can be inferred from the fact that a group of soldiers (who have been mentioned) must have a leader. The mysterious aspect alternation shown in these two examples continues throughout the narrative.

(14.2)

(i) nəmpa ke cawi ʔəy təšukpa ʔune cawi pwes
0 nəm-pa ke cawiʔ ʔəy+ təʔ-šuk-pa ʔuneʔ cawiʔ pwes
3A say-INC that monkey 3E+ want-3PL-INC baby monkey well
'He says that they want monkeys, well, baby monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 005)

(ii) ʔentonses nəmmə huštiša
ʔentonses **0** nəm-wə huštiša
then 3A say-COM mayor

ʔi ʔiwə nəkpay yakwinwitušukkə camkuyhoʔ
ʔi ʔiwə nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.win.witu?-šuk-wə camkuyʔ+hoʔ
and who go-INC 3E+ CAUS.FACE.return-3PL-COM jungle+LOC2
'Then the mayor said, "And who will go guide them into the jungle?"'
(ZOH1R11 006)

Finally, the syntax of nəm- clauses is nearly invariant. When the speaker is explicitly mentioned, the order is VSO. The object, which is the quoted expression, always appears, and it always appears after the verb[5].

[5] Terrence Kaufman notes that in Epi-Olmec the order of such expressions was S V quote.

Table 14.1 gives the number of each of the four types of clauses and the percentage of the total for each type. These numbers include all four texts.

	Number	Percentage
Transitive	440	61.5
Intransitive	173	24.2
Existential	54	7.6
Speaking	48	6.7
Total	715	100

Table 14.1: Number of clauses

The vast majority of clauses, not surprisingly, are transitive or intransitive (86.7%). The remainder of this section will be concerned only with these clauses.

14.2.2. Intransitive clauses

We'll look first at intransitive clauses, the simpler case. Table 14.2 divides the set of intransitive clauses into those with no argument, those with a subject (almost always an actor - there are very few passive verbs in these texts), imperatives, and verbs that are intransitive because the object was incorporated.

	Number	Percentage
0 arguments	105	60.7
Subject	56	32.4
Imperative	6	3.5
Incorporated object	6	3.5
Total	173	100

Table 14.2: Intransitive clauses

Imperatives, of course, imply a second-person subject, which is rarely overtly mentioned. Clauses with incorporated objects never appear with overt NP subjects in these four texts. Incorporating the object serves to generalize the activity denoted by the verb+object construction, de-emphasizing the patient argument.

(14.3)
(i) naštahtampám
(də+) naš=tah-tam-pa+ʔam
(1A+) earth=dig-1/2PL-INC+NOW
'Now we're digging the dirt.' (ZOH1R32 017)

(ii) tihhən cawimeʔctame
tih-wə ʔən+ cawiʔ=meʔc-tam-E
go&return-COM 1E+ monkey=look_for-1/2PL-dCOM
'We went monkey-hunting.' (ZOH1R11 102)

The vast majority of intransitive clauses have no overt NP argument. Most intransitive verbs in texts are verbs of motion, indicating the movements of the principal characters in the story. In 'The Two-Legged One', for example, the movement of the little spotted jaguar around the forest in search of his nemesis is the principal theme of the story, and his motion forward is mentioned repeatedly. The extract shown in (14.4) is a part of the basic frame of this story, repeated after every encounter with a new animal.

(14.4)
nəkkeʔttə
0 nək.keʔt-wə
3A go.REPET-COM
'He went again.' (ZOH1R26 058)

tuŋŋawə ʔəy nəki
tuŋ.ʔa-wə ʔəy+ nək.E
road.VERS1-COM 3E+ go.dCOM
'He went walking along.' (ZOH1R26 059)

The listener certainly knows that it isn't the bird that was just killed and eaten who is walking along, so it isn't necessary to mention the little jaguar explicitly in these clauses. In first person narratives, the subject is unambiguously marked on the verb, so when the first person pronoun is used, I count it as an

overt NP[6]. It normally appears before the verb, as do pronouns in second and third person.

(14.5)

para ke dəš də yošpa
para ke dəš də+ yoš-pa
for that 1Prn 1A+ work-INC
'So that I could work' (ZOH1R32 085)

When an overt NP subject does appear, it appears slightly more frequently after the verb than before it, as shown in table 14.3.

	Number	**Percentage**
SV	25	44.6
VS	31	55.4
Total (of intransitives)	56	100

Table 14.3: Word order in intransitive clauses

[6] My sense is that the use of the first person pronoun is somewhat emphatic, since it is, strictly speaking, redundant, but that it is not as markedly emphatic as the use of the first person pronoun in a similar Spanish sentence. This judgement is based on the observation that first person pronouns appear more frequently in Zoque texts than in Spanish conversations.

When a discourse entity is first mentioned in an intransitive clause, it is most likely to appear after the verb. This is true regardless of whether or not the entity is human, inanimate, or an abstraction, such as a unit of time.

(14.6)

(i) minnə bi ʔapupən
0 min-wə bi ʔapuʔ=pən
3A come-COM DEF old=man
'The old man came.' (ZOH1R32 007)

(ii) haykeʔttə ʔotro šepe
0 hay.keʔt-wə ʔotro šepe
3A delay.REPET-COM another month
'Another month went by.' (ZOH1R32 011)

(iii) toyhaypay kopak
0 toy.hay-pa ʔəy+ kopak
3A hurt.APPL-COM 3E+ head
'His head hurts.' (ZOH1R32 108)

(iv) kwando ya gay minpam bi weltu
kwando ya gay 0 min-pa+ʔam bi weltu
when now then 3A come-INC+NOW DEF money
'When now the money is coming' (ZOH1R32 047)

A common pattern used when introducing a new discourse entity is to present a pair of clauses: in the first, the new information follows the verb; in the second, the clause is essentially repeated, but with the now known information preceding the verb (14.7 i-ii). This pattern is also used when the first clause is transitive, and the new entity is the object of the transitive verb. Examples iii-iv are Sra. Sánchez's answer to the question "How many children do you have?"

(14.7)

(i) ʔentonse yeʔccə soldaodəkka
ʔentonse 0 yeʔc-wə soldao+dəkka
then 3A arrive-COM soldier+NPL
'Then the soldiers arrived.' (ZOH1R11 002)

(ii) ʔentonse yəʔ soldaodəkka yeʔčukkə
ʔentonse yəʔ soldao+dəkka 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə
then this soldier+NPL 3A arrive-3PL-COM
'Then these soldiers arrived.' (ZOH1R11 004)

(iii) ʔən pəwə ʔeste tuhtáŋ
ʔən+ pəʔ-wə ʔeste tuhtaaŋ
1E+ bear-COM um six
'I bore, um, six.' (ZOH1R53 038)

(iv) hə tuhtáŋ hehpa
həʔ tuhtaaŋ 0 heh-pa
yes six 3A live-INC
'Yes, six living.' (ZOH1R53 039)

14.2.3. Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses allow two arguments: an agent and a patient. There are also some verb roots, like ciʔ-, 'to give', that allow a third argument (a recipient), and several valency-increasing affixes that add a recipient, benefactor, or causer. Since the overt mention of any third argument is extremely rare (0.7% of transitive clauses) , I counted trivalent clauses in with the simple transitives.

Table 14.4 shows the distribution of overt NPs in transitive clauses. The percentage given refers to the total number of transitive clauses. The term Dative subsumes all the roles of the third argument - recipient, benefactor, etc. In

imperative clauses the subject is known to be the second person, so these are counted separately.

	Number	Percentage
0 arguments	94	21.4
Subject only	21	4.8
Object only	130	29.5
Subject & Object	18	4.1
Dative (third argument)	3	0.7
Imperative w/Object	4	0.9
Total	440	100

Table 14.4: Transitive clauses

The most frequent type of clause includes an overt object NP (29.5%); subjects are infrequently mentioned (4.8%). This makes sense, given that there tend to be few characters in these stories, and the principal characters are usually introduced with an intransitive (motion) verb. Objects provide the details of a story: props, weapons, opponents, etc.

(14.8)

(i) ʔentonse yəʔ soldaddəkka yeʔčukkə
ʔentonse yəʔ soldado+dəkka 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə
then this soldier+NPL 3A arrive-3PL-COM
'Then these soldiers arrived.' (ZOH1R11 004)

(ii) nəmpa ke cawi ʔəy təšukpa ʔunecawi pwes
0 nəm-pa ke cawiʔ ʔəy+ təʔ-šuk-pa ʔuneʔ=cawiʔ pwes
3A say-INC that monkey 3E+ want-3PL-INC child=monkey well
'He says that monkeys, well, they want some baby monkeys.'
(ZOH1R11 005)

(iii) nəkwə bi ʔu:nkahaŋ
0 nək-wə bi ʔuneʔ=kahaŋ
3A go-COM DEF child=jaguar
'The little jaguar went.' (ZOH1R26 041)

(iv) winhóŋ ʔəy paʔttə bi məaʔ
winhooŋ ʔəy+ paʔt-wə bi məaʔ
in_front 3E+ find-COM DEF deer
'Up ahead he met a deer.' (ZOH1R26 043)

The next most frequent type of transitive clause has no overt NPs (21.4%). Once a discourse entity is known, it doesn't need to be repeated explicitly unless some other object intervenes. Also, in dialog, first and second person entities are unambiguously referenced by the pronominal agreement markers on the verb, so independent pronouns are not necessary. The examples in (14.9) are taken from 'The Two-Legged One'. The little jaguar meets a bird (a two-legged creature) on line 063, and converses with it. The bird NP appears again in line 067, in one of the few explicit mentions of a dative argument found in these texts. They continue to talk, and no other entities appear on the scene, so that the transitive clauses without overt object NPs in lines 075 and 076 are unambiguous. This section of the tale is closed with a final mention of the bird NP in line 078. The fact that this explicit mention is unnecessary for interpretation suggests that it has

an aesthetic purpose, that of marking the conclusion of an episode within the story.

(14.9)

(i) winhóŋ ʔəy paʔttə bi cənhon
winhooŋ ʔəy+ paʔt-wə bi cən=hon
in_front 3E+ find-COM DEF sit=bird
'Up ahead he met a bird.' (ZOH1R26 063)

(ii) "miš ʔəm nəhi kacitʔok" ʔəy nəmhaba
miš ʔəm+ nəhiʔ kacitʔok ʔəy+ nəm.hay-pa
2Prn 2E+ name hunter 3E+ say.APPL-INC

bi cikin kahaŋ bi cənhon
bi cikin kahaŋ bi cənhon
DEF spotted jaguar DEF bird
'"Your name is 'hunter",said the spotted jaguar to the bird.'(ZOH1R26 067)

(iii) dey ke miš paʔttám miš kəšpa
dey ke miš+ paʔt-wə+ʔam miš+ kəš-pa
now that 1>2+ find-COM+NOW 1>2+ eat-INC
'"Now that I've met you, I'll eat you."' (ZOH1R26 075)

(iv) ʔəy caŋkageʔttə
ʔəy+ caŋ=kaʔ.keʔt-wə
3E+ hit_w_fist=kill.REPET-COM
'He killed it with a blow.' (ZOH1R26 077)

(v) ʔəy kəššə bi hon
ʔəy+ kəš-wə bi hon
3E+ eat-COM DEF bird
'He ate the bird.' (ZOH1R26 078)

The vast majority of overt object NPs appear after the verb (83.8%), as shown in table 14.5. This supports the idea that the post-verbal slot is the preferred position for introducing new information (or re-newed information, as I believe is the case in examples 14.9 (ii) and (v), above).

	Number	**Percentage**
OV	21	16.2
VO	109	83.8
Total	130	100

Table 14.5: Transitive clauses with only an overt object NP

The only case of an overt object preceding the verb in 'The Two-Legged One' occurs on line 134; notably, this object is a relative clause - a heavy NP. Similarly, in 'The Appearance of Santa Juanita', only clausal object NPs precede the verb (14.10 ii).

(14.10)

(i) miš nəmhayyə́ʔ came yan yəktəʔəy
miš nəm.hay-wə+**V**ʔk cam.**E** ya ʔən+ yək.təʔ.ʔəy-A
2>1+ say.APPL-COM+REL tell.NOM3 NEG 1E+ INSTR2.want.SUF-nINC
'The words you told me, I didn't believe.' (ZOH1R26 134)

(ii) hemhi dedə grande milagro ʔəy ʔaŋnitpáʔ də cipa
hemhi dedə grande milagro ʔəy+ ʔaŋnit-pa+**V**ʔk də+ ciʔ-pa
all that great miracle 3E+ have-INC+REL 1A+ give-INC
'All that great miracle that she has, she gives to me.' (ZOH1R32 092-3)

Sr. Sánchez places the object NP before the verb for rhetorical effect, in two sets of parallel clauses. The first (14.11 i) is the narrator's account of the dramatic peak of the story, when Satornino shoots two monkeys down from the trees with his little bola. The second set (ii) appears in the lieutenant's recounting of this event in the mayor's office. Placing the object before the verb highlights it; using three such clauses in a parallel series highlights the whole scene.

(14.11)

(i) ʔotro ʔəy ciwə de gahi
ʔotro ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə de gahi
another 3E+ give-COM from there
'He hit another one (down) from there.' (ZOH1R11 070)

mecaŋ ʔo:kcawi ʔəy yakkawə
mecaŋ ʔoko=cawiʔ ʔəy+ yak.kaʔ-wə
two old_woman=monkey 3E+ CAUS.die-COM

ʔi mecaŋ ʔune ʔəy pəkminšukkə
ʔi mecaŋ ʔuneʔ ʔəy+ pək=min-šuk-wə
and two child 3E+ get=come-3PL-COM
'Two mother monkeys he killed, and two babies they brought.'
(ZOH1R11 071)

(iii) ʔin kambyo deʔ mecaŋ poŋ ʔəy ciwə
ʔin kambyo deʔ mecaŋ poŋ ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə
in change that two time 3E+ hit-COM

ʔi mecaŋ cawi ʔəy yakkawə
ʔi mecaŋ cawiʔ ʔəy+ yak.kaʔ-wə
and two monkey 3E+ CAUS.die-COM

ʔi dey mecaŋ ʔune ʔən pəkmintammə
ʔi dey mecaŋ ʔuneʔ ʔən+ pək=min-tam-wə
and now two child 1E+ get=come-1/2PL-COM

'In contrast that one, two times he shot, and two monkeys he killed,
and two babies we brought back.' (ZOH1R11 087-8)

Transitive clauses with only an overt subject NP are infrequent (only 4.8% of all transitive clauses). When overt subjects do appear, they most frequently appear before the verb, as shown in table 14.6.

	Number	**Percentage**
SV	17	81
VS	4	19
Total	21	100

Table 14.6: Transitive clauses with only an overt subject NP

As noted earlier, independent subject pronouns typically precede the verb. This conforms nicely with the principal that new information follows the verb and old information precedes it, since an independent subject pronoun just repeats the information encoded on the verb by the agreement marker.

(14.12)

(i) pwes dey dəššən ʔišpa hunaŋ də ha:mpəʔtpa
pwes dey dəš ʔən+ ʔiš-pa hunaŋ də+ hama=pəʔt-pa
well now 1Prn 1E+ see-INC how 1A+ day=pass-INC
'Well, now I'll see how I'm going to get through the day.' (ZOH1R53 047)

(ii) kay ga nəkpay maʔəyyə ʔitihoʔ
kay gaʔ nək-pa ʔəy+ maʔ.əy-wə ʔitiʔ+hoʔ
then that go-INC 3E+ sale.VERS2-COM town+LOC2
'Then she (a daughter) will go selling (fruit) in the town.' (ZOH1R53 035)

Pronouns account for the vast majority of overt subject NPs in transitive clauses, particularly when the object is not also mentioned (see below). Other kinds of NPs tend to appear in speaking clauses that use verbs other than nəm- (which I counted separately). An example of this usage is shown in (14.13 i). In verbs of speaking and perception, the preferred position for the subject is after the verb, regardless of its newness as information. In the next example (ii-iii), the discourse entity "the people" is introduced in a VSO clause on line 044[7]. The subsequent stretch of texts details the complaints that people may bring to the saint for curing, with no further explicit mention of "the people". The discourse entity is then refreshed on line 059, with the NP positioned before the transitive verb. The next section is topically different: now Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel describes the planning for the saint's fiesta and all the fine things the people do to celebrate her miracles.

[7] I count an NP that appears between the auxiliary and the main verb as an instance of VS order, to distinguish it from cases in which the NP precedes the whole auxiliary phrase.

(14.13)

(i) nəʔtti ʔəy ʔaŋcoŋŋəyyə bi cənhon
nəʔtti ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.coŋ.ʔəy-wə bi cənhon
no 3E+ MOUTH.join.SUF-COM DEF bird
'"No", the bird answered him.' (ZOH1R26 068)

(ii) kay minpam bi hentedəkkay ʔiššukkə bi santu
kay min-pa+ʔam bi hente+dəkka ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə bi santu
then come-INC+NOW DEF people+NPL 3E+ see-3PL-dINC DEF saint
'Now the people are coming to see the saint.' (ZOH1R32 044)

(iii) ʔi gahíŋ gay bi hentedəkkay ʔəy meʔčukpám
ʔi gahiiŋ gay bi hente+dəkkay ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-pa+ʔam
and thence then DEF people+NPL 3E+ look_for-3PL-INC+NOW
'And from there now the people seek her out.' (ZOH1R32 059)

Transitive clauses with both subject and object NPs are quite rare - only 4.1% of all transitive clauses. Table 14.7 shows the relative frequency of the possible orderings of these NPs with respect to the verb[8].

	Number	**Percentage**
SOV	3	16.7
SVO	11	61.1
VSO	4	22.2
Total	18	100

[8] Technically, it is grammatical for object NPs to precede subjects when there is no possibility of confusing the roles, such as when the object is inanimate and the verb requires an animate agent. I elicited positive grammaticality judgements for examples of this kind (see Appendix F), but they don't seem to appear in the texts. (I haven't made an exhaustive search for them.)

Table 14.7: Transitive clauses with both subject and object NPs

SVO order is the most frequent in this category, with 61.1% of transitive clauses with both subject and object NPs appearing in this order. It is reasonable to suppose that the preference for SV order when only subject NPs appear and VO order when there is only an object NP is a reflection of this same preferred pattern. Again, in many of these the subject NP is a pronoun, as shown in (14.14 i). Example (ii) is the climax of 'The Two-Legged One', when the little jaguar finally has his showdown with the hunter, who shoots him fatally.

(14.14)

(i) ʔi dəššən cipa bi ʔaydəkkay
ʔi dəš ʔən+ ciʔ-pa bi ʔayʔ+dəkkay
and 1Prn 1E+ give-INC DEF leaf+NPL
'And I will give him the herbs.' (ZOH1R32 153)

(ii) bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk ʔəy hupwanakkə ʔəy tuhkuyʔ
bi mecaŋ maŋkuyʔ+pəʔk ʔəy+ hup=wanak-wə ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ
DEF two foot+REL 3E+ pull=go_down-COM 3E+ gun
'The two-legged one drew his gun.' (ZOH1R26 122)

There are only three examples of SOV clauses in this sub-corpus. Two of them appear in 'Satornino and the Soldiers', where I believe Sr. Sánchez is again fronting the object NPs for rhetorical effect. It appears to be part of his performance of the pompous style of speech adopted by the two authority figures in the story, the mayor and the lieutenant. The example in (14.15) occurs during the lieutenant's retelling of the main events of the story. Note that the object NP is repeated after the verb as well.

(14.15)

porke yə ʔən pəktihtammə́
porke yəʔ ʔən+ pək=tih-tam-wə+VʔkV
because this 1E+ get=go&return-COM+REL

de meci ʔəy yakkawə bi ʔokcawi
deʔ meciʔ ʔəy+ yak.kaʔ-wə bi ʔokcawiʔ
that both 3E+ CAUS.die-COM DEF mother_monkey
'Because that one that we brought, he killed them both,
the mother monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 081)

There are only four VSO clauses in this set of texts. Three of them are verbs of speaking or seeing, illustrated in (14.16 i). The other is part of the most dramatic section of 'Satornino and the Soldiers', and I assume this unusual order was used to heighten the excitement of the scene. (This is the scene in which the soldiers repeatedly miss their targets, with mounting frustration on the part of the lieutenant.)

(14.16)

(i) yakkə ʔiššukkám gadəkka ti bi cəkšukpa
yakkə ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə+ʔam ga+dəkka ti bi cək-šuk-pa
VOL 3E+ see-3PL-COM+NOW that+NPL what DEF do-3PL-INC
'Now let them see what it is that they will do.' (ZOH1R11 111)

(ii) ʔəy pəkkə tenyentey tuhkuyʔ
ʔəy+ pək-wə tenyente ʔəy+ tuh.kuyʔ
3E+ get-COM lieutenant 3E+ shoot.INSTR1
'The lieutenant grabbed his rifle.' (ZOH1R11 047)

Interrogative pronouns, whether subjects (14.14 i) or objects (ii), always appear at the beginning of their clauses.

(14.17)

(i) ʔentonses nəmmə huštiša
ʔentonses 0 nəm-wə huštiša
then 3A say-COM mayor

ʔi ʔiwə nəkpay yakwinwitušukkə
ʔi ʔiwə nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.win.witu?-šuk-wə
and who go-INC 3E+ CAUS.FACE.return-3PL-dINC
'Then the mayor said, "And who will go guide them?"' (ZOH1R11 006)

(ii) tin cəkhaban nəpinʔ
ti ʔən+ cək.hay-pa ʔən+ nəpinʔ
what 1E+ do.APPL-INC 1E+ blood
'What will I do for my blood?' (ZOH1R32 152)

Dative arguments are rarely mentioned in overt NPs: there are only three such clauses in these texts. This argument is usually the one being spoken to, and is thus easily inferred from the context. When an overt third argument does appear, it generally appears directly after the verb.

(14.18)

(i) ʔəy ceʔkcoŋŋə ʔəy santu milagru
ʔəy+ ceʔk=coŋ-wə ʔəy+ santu milagru
3E+ ask=join-COM 3E+ saint miracle
'They asked their saint for a miracle.' (ZOH1R32 075)

14.3. Discourse markers

Schiffrin (1987) defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk", which can be understand as including whole narrative texts, as well as bits of dialog inside such texts. MIG Zoque discourse markers can be divided into three sub-classes: sequencing terms, which are mostly variants of 'then' or 'thence'; markers that appear only in dialog; and narrative beginners and enders. These sets are shown in table 14.8.

This section will look at each of the sub-classes in turn, attempting to distinguish among their members and to provide a general characterization of their use in narrative. There is some overlap among the classes; for example, bweno is both a narration beginner and a turn-taking marker in dialog. There is also some individual variation in the choice of markers, particularly from the many members of the sequencing set; for example, Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel is the only speaker who uses gahíŋ, 'thence', regularly. I will draw on texts from the whole corpus for the description in this section.

Zoque	English	Spanish
dey	now; then (DCT2.TMP)	ya; entonces (DCT2.TMP)
gay (kay)	now; then (DCT3.TMP)	ya; entonces (DCT3.TMP)
gahíŋ	thence (DCT3.DIR2)	de ahí (DCT3.DIR2)
de gahi	thence (of DCT3.DIR1)	de ahí (de DCT3.DIR1)
ʔentonses	then	entonces
ʔadyo	then; later	entonces; luego
mas cuhiam	later	luego
bweno	OK	bueno
deʔše deʔ	that's that	así es
gaʔše gaʔ	that's that	that's that
pwes	well	pues
həʔ	yes	sí
nəʔtti	no	no

Table 14.8: Discourse markers

14.3.1. Sequencing markers

There are many ways to say 'then', 'thence', and 'later' in MIG Zoque, with some subtle differences in the use of the various options in structuring a narrative. The first two in the list are the temporal adverbs formed from the deictic bases:

[9] This word has many variant forms: ʔentonse, ʔenton, ʔanto, etc. The most common is probably ʔentonse.

dey and gay (kay utterance-initially), the neutral and distal forms, respectively[10]. Both of these are used for sequencing events within the narrative - not for structuring sections of the narrative itself. The distal gay places an event in a narrative time that is more distant from the present time of narration, while the neutral dey refers to a time somewhat closer to the present. Since stories often begin at the beginning of an important event, such as the finding of Santa Juanita, and continue up to the recent past, there is often a preponderance of gay's at the beginning of a narrative that are gradually displaced by dey's as the story approaches the present. Sr. Sánchez makes particularly skillful use of the contrast in 'Satornino and the Soldiers'. The examples in (14.19) come from the end of the narrative, and provide a clear illustration. Satornino has just told his wife about the events of the day. He told her that he took some soldiers monkey-hunting, that they were unable to shoot any but that he shot two down with his bola. She asks if they paid him, and he assures her that they did. In example (i), she is asking him what happened next in the story - what did the soldiers do after they paid Satornino. His reply (ii) refers to that past time: they stayed at the mayor's. In (iii), he brings his story-within-a-story up to the present, saying that now he is back, and now they can see what they will do with themselves (he doesn't know or care). Example (iv) also shows the use of proximal yey to refer to the near future, contrasting with the present time reference of dey.

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[10] yey, the proximal temporal adverb, means 'right away' or 'soon', and is only used in dialog:

ʔentonse yey də witupa nəmmə satornino
ʔentonse yey də+ wituʔ-pa 0 nəm-wə satornino
then now 1A+ return-INC 3A say-COM satornino
'Then, "I'll be right back", said Satornino.' (ZOH1R11 018)

(14.19)

(i) pwes ʔi kay
pwes ʔi kay
well and then
'"Well, and then?"' (ZOH1R11 109)

(ii) pwes kay huštiša ʔaŋhi cakkəmšukkə
pwes kay huštiša+ʔaŋhiʔ 0 cak.ʔəm-šuk-wə
well then mayor+LOC3 3A leave.PASS-3PL-COM
'"Well, then they stayed at the mayor's."' (ZOH1R11 110)

(iii) ʔi dey də minnám
ʔi dey də+ min-wə+ʔam
and now 1A+ come-COM+NOW
'"And now I've come back."' (ZOH1R11 113)

(iv) tey yakkə ʔiššukkám huʔ si nəkpa yey ʔo hohi
tey yakkə ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə+ʔam huʔ si 0 nək-pa yey ʔo hohi
now VOL 3E+ see-3PL-COM+NOW where if 3E go-INC now or tomorrow
'"Now let them see where, if they go right away or tomorrow."'
(ZOH1R11 114)

The neutral dey is also used to refer to the recent past in dialog, where it necessarily refers to the time of the story, rather than the time of narration. In the following pair of examples, gay places the event in the remote past - the time when the little jaguar finally meets the two-legged one. In the subsequent bits of dialog, dey refers to the immediate past (ii) and the immediate future (iii), nicely illustrating the flexibility of the neutral deictic. I'm not sure why he doesn't use yey, the proximal form, in (iii): perhaps because the jaguar doesn't, in fact, eat the man?

(14.20)

(i) mas winhóŋ gay paʔttám bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk
mas winhooŋ gay ʔəy+ paʔt-wə+ʔam bi mecaaŋ maŋkuy+pəʔk
more in_front then 3E+ find-COM+NOW DEF two foot+REL
'Farther ahead then he has found the two-legged one.' (ZOH1R26 094)

(ii) ʔa pwes dey ke miš paʔttám
ʔa pwes dey ke miš+ paʔt-wə+ʔam
ah well now that 1>2+ find-COM+NOW
'"Ah, well, now that I've found you," (ZOH1R26 100)

(iii) dey tehi ke miš kəššə
dey tehi ke miš+ kəš-wə
now there_is[11] that 1>2+ eat-dINC
'now I'll have to eat you."' (ZOH1R26 101)

The next five words in table 14.8 are used to sequence sections of narrative. They are more or less interchangeable, and the choice seems to be a matter of personal taste. All speakers use ʔentonses, 'then', which is the most frequent choice from this set. Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel is the only speaker who regularly uses gahíŋ, 'thence' (literally 'from there', DCT3.DIR2). All the speakers use de gahi, 'thence' (also literally 'from there', and a calque on the Spanish *de ahí*). Most speakers use ʔadyo, 'later', but mas cuhiam ('more night.LOC1.NOM1.NOW') appears only once, in Sr. Sánchez Miguel's 'The Appearance of Santa Juanita', and I believe it was prompted by his desire to speak the purest Zoque for the tape recorder and the alert ears of Sr. Sánchez Morales.

[11] Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez is the only speaker that uses this construction: tehi ke V, 'have to V'. I believe it is a consequence of the fact that he is translating from a Spanish story as he speaks.

These markers appear only at the beginnings of clauses, whereas dey and gay always appear closer to the verbs they modify; that is, inside locatives or other discourse markers. They can even appear in the same clause, demonstrating clearly that they perform different functions. In the example in (14.21), gay is locating the event of seeking in the remote past of the narrative (this sentence comes from the beginning of the text). Note that the clause is in the incompletive: the time is years ago (probably in the mid-1960's), but the event is one that is ongoing with respect to the surrounding story. The gahíŋ is used to mark a transition in the narrative. Sr. Sánchez Miguel has just been describing the curing miracles that Santa Juanita performs, and is now starting a section describing her fiesta.

(14.21)
ʔi gahíŋ gay bi hentedəkkay ʔəy meʔčukpám
ʔi gahiiŋ gay bi hente+dəkkay ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-pa+ʔam
and thence then DEF people+NPL 3E+ look_for-3PL-INC+NOW
'And from there now the people seek her out.' (ZOH1R32 059)

Sr. Sánchez Morales uses ʔentonses as a scene-divider in 'Satornino and the Soldiers'. Its general function is to bring characters onto the scene, and to signal a change in speaker.

(14.22)
(i) ʔanto yeʔccə witupa pwes bi satornino
ʔentonses 0 yeʔc-wə 0 wituʔ-pa pwes bi satornino
then 3A arrive-COM 3A return-INC well DEF satornino
'Then he arrived. Well, that Satornino came back.' (ZOH1R11 020-1)

(ii) ʔentonse nəmpa tenyente ke bwen soldadu pinək miš
ʔentonses 0 nəm-pa tenyente ke bwen soldadu pinək miš
then 3A say-INC lieutenant what good soldier CONFAC 2Prn
'Then the lieutenant says, "What a good soldier you would be!"'
(ZOH1R11 072)

ʔentonses is also frequently used to begin a story. Although it is always translated *ya* 'now' in Spanish, a more apt translation in English would be 'once upon a time'.

(14.23)
(i) ʔentonse yeʔccə soldaodəkka
ʔentonse 0 yeʔc-wə soldado+dəkka
then 3A arrive-COM soldier+NPL
'Once upon a time, some soldiers arrived.' (ZOH1R11 002)

(ii) ʔentonses ga tum ha:yʔune ʔəy ʔaŋnitpa tum nuʔ
ʔentonses gaʔ tum haya=ʔuneʔ ʔəy+ ʔaŋnit-pa tum nuʔ
then that one male=child 3E+ have-INC one dog
'Once upon a time, there was a boy that had a dog.' (ZOH1R46 003)

14.13.2. Discourse markers in dialog

The next set of markers appears only in dialogs. həʔ, 'yes', and nəʔtti, 'no', signal agreement and disagreement, respectively. Since they always appear at the beginning of an utterance, they also serve to signal a change of speaker. In (14.26 i), the lieutenant has just tried to give Satornino a rifle to shoot the monkeys with. Example (ii) uses bweno to mark a change of speaker and simultaneously signal agreement or approval of the situation in general. Here, the lieutenant has just finished his lengthy speech to the mayor, in which he rather pompously sings Satornino's praises.

(14.24)

(i) nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehin tuhkuyʔ
nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehi.ʔa-pa ʔən+ tuhkuyʔ
no lieutenant 1Prn there_is.VERS1-INC 1E+ weapon

ʔən nəmhayyə
ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə
1E+ say.APPL-COM
'"No, lieutenant, I have my weapon", he said to him.' (ZOH1R11 057)

(ii) bweno mi tenyente dəš nəkpám
bweno mi tenyente deš nək-pa+ʔam
ok my lieutenant 1Prn go-INC+NOW
'"Ok, my lieutenant, I'm going now."' (ZOH1R11 092)

The marker pwes, 'well', ubiquitous in Mexican speech, most commonly appears in MIG Zoque texts in dialog. An example of this is shown in (14.27 i), from a portion of the story in which the leader is rallying the men to go and fight the rebels. This is a normal, garden-variety use of the marker. pwes also appears in non-dialog portions of texts to signal a description of the internal state of a character. Example (ii) is from 'Satornino and the Soldiers'. Here, the soldiers have just tried to shoot the monkeys four times and failed each time. This passage is spoken very rapidly, all in one breath, expressing the intense frustration of the lieutenant.

(14.25)

(i) pwes pickó? də mintammə gahi
pwes pickó? də+ min-tam-wə gahi
well that's_why 1A+ come-1/2PL-COM there
"'Well, that's why we came there.'" (ZOH1R24 068)

(ii) ?i pwes bi tenyente pwes ?aflisyón pwes
?i pwes bi tenyente pwes ?aflisyón pwes
and well DEF lieutenant well affliction well

porke cawi pwes ?əy pa?čukkám
porke cawi? pwes ?əy+ pa?t-šuk-wə+?am
because monkey well 3E+ find-3PL-COM+NOW

?i nyay tuhšukkə
?i ni ya ?əy+ tuh-šuk-wə
and nor NEG 3E+ shoot-3PL-COM

'And the lieutenant, well, he's frustrated, well, because the monkeys, well, they found them but they didn't shoot them.' (ZOH1R11 050)

14.13.3. Beginners and enders

We've just seen the use of ?entonses as a story beginner, meaning something like 'once upon a time.' Speakers often literally begin to speak by saying either "I'm going to tell you a story about X", or by simply saying bweno, 'ok'. Some speakers also use bweno to restart the narrative after a digression. In (14.26 ii), Sr. Sánchez is returning to the events in the narrative, after a section of dialog in which the lieutenant tries to persuade Satornino to join his band of soldiers. (All the speakers occasionally slip into first person, even when telling a third-person narrative. This example refers to the group of Satornino and the soldiers.)

(14.26)

(i) bweno matoŋtamə
bweno matoŋ-tam-Aʔ
ok listen-1/2PL-IMPV
'"OK, listen."' (ZOH1R32 001)

(ii) bweno də nəktammə
bweno də+ nək-tam-wə
ok 1A+ go-1/2PL-COM
'Ok, we went.' (ZOH1R11 076)

Many stories end with question about what the main characters will do next (Sr. Sánchez is particularly fond of this technique). But personal narratives don't admit this sort of wrap-up, and they are often terminated by saying "Well, that's that". This expression, shown in (14.27), is formed on the neutral deictic. The example is the end of 'A Housewife's Day'. Paired with its distal counterpart, it is a normal way to signal the end of a section of conversation as well. (Example (ii) is from my memory of such conversations.)

(14.27)

(i) pwes deʔše deʔ tey ya də minha ti bi nəmkeʔtpa
pwes deʔše deʔ tey ya də+ min.hay-A ti bi nəm.keʔt-pa
well thus that now NEG 1A+ come.APPL-nINC what DEF say.REPET-INC
'"Well, that's that. Now it doesn't come to me what to say next."'
(ZOH1R53 054-5)

(ii) deʔše de ʔi gaʔše gaʔ
deʔše deʔ ʔi gaʔše gaʔ
thus that and thus that
'That's that and that's that.'

Appendix A: The MIG Zoque lexicon

A MIG Zoque lexicon with around 4500 entries can be accessed on-line at http://www.albany.edu/anthro/maldp/. This database was produced mainly by me, but significant numbers of entries were made by Terrence Kaufman, and all entries have been reviewed by him. The primary consultant for the lexicon was Germán Sánchez Morales, although most of the entries were reviewed with other speakers.

Lexicons for this and other MesoAmerican languages were developed by the MesoAmerican Languages Documentation Project using Shoebox 2.0 databases. They are gradually being made available as on-line databases; currently, those of MIG Zoque and Oluta Mixe (Roberto Zavala Maldonado) are accessible at the MALDP web site, and the Santa María Chimalapa Zoque lexicon (Terrence Kaufman) will appear soon.

An entry in the database is composed of many labelled fields, each of which contains a line of textual information about the lexeme. Many of these fields can be used as search criteria, in accordance with the instructions on the web page. Unfortunately, the system requires some prior knowledge of how the entries are composed and what sorts of information can be found in a given field; providing that information is the object of this appendix.

Table A.1 gives the complete list of field names and with descriptions of their contents. Not all of these fields are used in every lexical entry, and some of

them are peculiar to my lexicon. Entries are keyed by the *lexeme*, which is entered in its underlying form.

Field	Description
lex	The lexeme. The key field of the database.
PSH	The phonological shape (surface form) of the lexeme.
UND	The underlying morpheme breakdown of a polymorphemic lexeme.
MB	Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses (in Spanish) of the UND field.
VAR	Phonological variants of the lexeme.
GRAM	The grammatical code of the lexeme.
USE	Note about the usage of the lexeme; only used for bound morphemes.
SPG	Spanish translation of the lexeme.
ENG	English translation of the lexeme.
SPL	A supplemental form, used to determine the grammatical class of a verb. This will be one of: passive, antipassive, causative, assumptive, or perseverative.
SLGR	The morpheme gloss code of the supplemental form.
SLGL	Glosses of the supplemental form: Spanish // English
EXU	An example, in underlying morpheme-breakdown form.
XPSH	The 'phonological shape' of the example - written as it sounds.
XSP	Spanish translation of the example.
XEN	English translation of the example.
SYN	Synonymous entries.

SEMF	The semantic code for this root.
ASP	The aspectual class of the root.
ARG	The role of an argument that is specifically entailed by this root.
NOM	Nominalized forms of this root.
SUB	Subordinate entries - lexemes with this verb as root.
ETYM	Word in the donor language - used for loan words.
ETL	Language from which the lexeme was borrowed.
ROOT	The root verb for this lexeme.
RTGR	The grammatical code of the root: (verbs) T, I, or P.
DSRC	Initials of the linguist who collected the data and the year it was collected.
CMTS	Comments - information that didn't fit anywhere else.
DATE	Date that the entry was last modified.

Table A.1: Lexical database fields

The orthography used in the lexicons is different from that employed in this grammar. We use an ASCII-compatible orthography to simplify data entry, and to provide the speaker communities with orthographies that can be used on typewriters as well. The alphabet is listed at the top of the lexicon's web page, but some additional notes on the characters used are useful. Characters that may be unfamiliar are shown in table A.2. @ represents the 'sixth vowel' in the lexical databases. This is a high mid vowel in the other MZ languages, but a mid mid vowel in MIG Zoque. So, although I use ə for this vowel in the grammar, it will appear as ü in the pretty-printed lexical entries retrieved by the search.

MALDP	IPA
@	ə
7	ʔ
nh	ŋ
x	š
j	h
ch	č
tz	c

Table A.2: MALDP orthographic conventions

Lexical entries are written in their underlying forms; that is, the morpheme breaks are indicated by the appropriate morpheme break symbol. For example, the entry for ʔaŋkimmobáʔ, 'leader', is 7anh=kim.'oy.pa+a7k, essentially the morpheme breakdown of the word. The character ' is used to indicate a glottal

stop that gets deleted or that induces gemination of the preceding consonant, as is the case with the initial glottal stop of the antipassive suffix 7oy.

Similarly, W is used to indicate a /w/ that induces gemination in the preceding syllable. Such a W is found in the entry for ʔaŋmayyə́ʔk, 'student': 7anh=may-W@+V7k (MOUTH.count.COM+REL). Another symbol intended to provide information about historical connections among these languages is H, which indicates a glottal fricative that does not appear on the surface in some languages. These H's never appear on the surface in MIG Zoque, which is why I don't use them in the morpheme breakdown lines in my examples. An entry with this symbol is 7anh=kuk.'aH (ʔaŋkukka-, 'to collect').

These orthographic conventions are used in all the fields that represent the underlying form of the entry: lex, PHO, UND, VAR, and EXU (an example of the entry's use).

The next field that might of interest as a search term is GRAM, used for a grammatical code describing the entry. Some of these codes are shown in table A.3. The codes are based on Spanish words, and may be combined into strings reflecting the components of the lexical entry. For example, the code *sms* indicates a noun (sustantivo) modifying another noun. This is not a constrained set of items, and thus would be difficult to exploit in a fine-tuned search, but one could use it to find all the transitive verbs, for example.

Code	Spanish	English
vt	verbo transitivo	transitive verb
vi	verbo intransitivo	intransitive verb
s	sustantivo	noun
av	adverbo	adverb
a	adjectivo	adjective
pron	pronombre	pronoun
indef	indefinitivo	indefinite

Table A.3: Grammatical codes

Below is the entry for the verb root təŋ-, 'to cut with a machete'. The lexeme comes first, written as it appear in the lex field of the database. Next is the grammatical code: vt for *verbo transitivo*. Then comes the Spanish translation, followed by the English translation. Next will come the example sentences, if there are any. If there is more than one example, they will be numbered. Each example gets four fields: the underlying form (EXU), the surface form (XPSH), the Spanish translation (XSP) and the English translation (XEN). Supplemental forms follow the examples. These only appear in the entries for verb roots, and are the derived forms that were used in classifying those roots: the antipassive, passive, assumptive, perseverative, and sometimes causative forms. (Only the antipassive and the assumptive turned out to produce useful classifications, of T3 and P verbs, respectively.) Next, the root verb of the lexeme

is given, indicated with the symbol % and followed by its classification code in parentheses. The underlying form of the lexeme comes last, written between //.

> tünh **vt** cortar, con una machete o fierro // to cut, with a machete or iron tool. Ex: 7üy+ tünh.ten-Wü. [7üy tünhtennü]. Lo tiene cortado. // He had it all cut. Sup: 1 tünh.7oy %tünh (T3). Underlying form: //tünh//.

The semantic field (SEMF) may also be of interest for searches. Entries for the names of plants and animals use this field to indicate the ethno-biological group to which the lexeme belongs, such as ʔokoš, 'shrub', for short leafy plants. These items can be found by entering EZ or EB in the semantic field box. I have also used the SEMF field to make a rough lexical categorization of verb roots. The categories are listed in table A.4. Some roots may belong to more than one category; for example, caŋ-, 'to hit with the fist', is categorized as both *hit* and *hand*. ʔan-, 'to warm by the fire', belongs to all of the categories *fire*, *temp*, *cook*, and *body*.

animal	condition	light	spread
aspect	cook	move	temp
bite	corn	nature	touch
body	cover	perception	trade
break	emit	pick	water
build	fall	pick_up	
carry	farm	plant	
catch	fire	quantity	
change	hand	scrape	
clean	hit	sew	
cognitive	hunt	size	
color	keep	sound	

Table A.4: Semantic fields for verb roots

Appendix B: MIG Zoque time words

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔamintəhi	next year	el año que viene
ʔamintəʔ	year	año
ʔamintəʔk	last year	el año pasado
ʔaŋnamcuʔ	very early; in the morning	muy temprano; en la mañana
ʔaŋcahi	in the evening	en la nochecita
ʔoraytannəʔk	noon	medio día
hama	day	día
hohi	tomorrow	mañana
hoypiʔt	the next day	el otro día
maktukəhi	in four days	en cuatro días
məhmə cuhiʔ	very late at night	muy de noche
neyey	in a moment; right away	al momento; ahorita
ney kaynaʔ	a long time ago	"andenante"; hace rato
təhəʔk	yesterday	ayer
cayhəʔ	last night	anoche
cuʔ	night	noche
cuhiʔ	at night	de noche
cuhiam	afternoon	tarde
winhoʔ	first	primero
winhoháʔ	last time	la vez pasada
wəštəkhiʔ	the day after tomorrow	pasado mañana
šepe	month	mes
šəŋkehanəmmə	it dawned	amaneció
yahaʔ	before	antes
yahaʔkpəʔ	the past; antiquity; from before	anterior; antiguo; de antes
yeynamʔ	in a while; later	al rato; despues
yəhama/gəhama	today	hoy

Appendix C: MIG Zoque locatives and directionals

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔaka	edge	orilla
+ʔaŋhiʔ	LOC3 (at)	LOC3 (en)
+ʔaŋhəʔ	DIR5 (over to where X is)	DIR5 (ontal X)
+ʔaŋhənaŋ	DIR6 (over to X)	DIR6 (ontal X)
+ʔaŋhə́ŋ	DIR7 (over by X)	DIR7 (por allá por X)
ʔaŋkechoʔ	on the side	en la ladera
ʔaŋkechonaŋ	along the slope; up the slope	para la ladera
ʔaŋkechóŋ	down the slope	de la ladera
ʔaŋkechənaŋ	at the bottom of the slope	abajo de la ladera
ʔaŋkə	outside; under	afuera; abajo
ʔaŋkəhoʔ	outside	afuera
ʔaŋkəhóŋ	outside	afuera
ʔaŋpechoʔ	to the right	a la derecha
ʔaŋpechóŋ	towards the right; to the right side	por la derecha; al lado derecho
ʔaŋtomeʔ	near	cerca de
ʔeyahóŋ	on one side; elsewhere	a un lado; a otro lado
gahaʔk wintuʔk	across the river	al otro lado del río
+gəši	LOC4 (on; over)	LOC4 (en; sobre)
+hoʔ	LOC2 (at; in; to)	LOC2 (en; a)
+honaŋ	DIR3 (to; towards)	DIR3 (para)
hoŋhoʔ	inside	adentro
+hóŋ	DIR4 ((out) from)	DIR4 (de)
+hənaŋ	DIR2 (towards)	DIR2 (para)
həmney	north	norte
həšhoʔ	back; behind	atrás
həšhonaŋ	towards the rear	para atrás

[1] This word only appears in the lexicon, in the phrase **həmney tuh**, 'rain from the north'. It contrasts with the expression **ʔoktuh**, 'rain from the south.

həšhóŋ	behind; from behind	atrás; por atrás
həšpiʔt	backwards; inside out	al revés
həštəkhóŋ	behind	atrá de
kináŋ	limit - from, up to, over to	limite - de, por
kowitíŋ	around	alrededor
kukhoʔ	in the middle; in the center	en medio; en el centro
kukkináŋ	by half; in half	por mitad
kəhiʔ	down a little ways	abajito
kəhihoʔ	below	bajito
kəhəʔ	under	debajo de
kəhənaŋ	down there	para allá abajo
kəhóŋ	under; to/from under	debajo; por/de abajo
kətəkhəʔ	outside the house near the wall; at the edge of the house near the path	afuera de la casa pegado a la pared; orilla de la casa cerca del pasillo
kətəkhóŋ	out from under	de abajo
kəšənaŋ	up there (only in SMC)	para arriba (solo en SMC)
kəšóŋ	from up there	de allá arriba
neyhuʔ	somewhere	en alguna parte
neyhutóŋ	wherever	dondequiera
caphi	over; on top; on the outside	encima; por encima
caphəʔ	above	arriba
caphənaŋ	to up there; on the top side	para (allá) arriba; el lado de arriba
caphóŋ	from up there	de arriba
winhoʔ	in front of	adelante; enfrente de
winhonaŋ	front; in front	adelante; por adelante
winhóŋ	ahead; from in front	por delante; de frente
yakhuʔ	nowhere	en ninguna parte

Appendix D: MIG Zoque deictics

Zoque	English	Spanish
yə	**DCT1**	**DCT1**
yədə	this	este/a
yəhi	here	aquí
yəhə	here	aquí
yəhənaŋ	towards here	por acá/aquí
yəhə́ŋ	over here; towards here	por aquí
yəhíŋ	to this point, no farther	a este punto no más
yey	soon; right now	pronto; ahorita
yeʔše	thus; so	así
de	**DCT2**	**DCT2**
dedə	that	ese/a
dehi	here; there	ahí
dehéŋ	towards there	por ahí
dehíŋ	from there; thence	de ahí
dey	now; then	ahora
ga	**DCT3**	**DCT3**
gadə	that	aquel/la
gahaʔ	there	allá
gahi	there	allá; ahí
gaháŋ	over there; from one side	por allá; de un lado
gahanaŋ	over there; somewhere else	por allá; en otro lado
gahíŋ	to there (and no further)	de ahí (y no más allá)
kay	then	entonces

Appendix E: MIG Zoque numbers

1	tumə
2	mecáŋ
3	tuwáŋ
4	maktaššaŋ
5	moššaŋ
6	tuhtáŋ
7	wəštuhtáŋ
8	tuguruhtáŋ
9	maktuhtáŋ
10	makkanh
11	maktumə
12	makmecáŋ
13	maktuwáŋ
14	makmaktaššaŋ
15	makmoššaŋ
16	maktuhtáŋ
17	makwəštuhtáŋ
18	maktuguruhtáŋ
19	makmaktuhtáŋ
20	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
21	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ tumə
22	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ mecáŋ
23	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ tuwáŋ
24	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ maktaššaŋ
25	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ moššaŋ
26	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ tuhtáŋ
27	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ wəštuhtáŋ
28	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ tuguruhtáŋ
29	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ maktuhtáŋ
30	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ makkanh
31	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komaktumə
32	ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmecáŋ

33 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komaktuwáŋ
34 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmaktaššaŋ
35 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmoššaŋ
36 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komaktuhtáŋ
37 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakwəštuhtáŋ
38 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komaktuguruhtáŋ
39 ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komakmaktuhtáŋ
40 mecaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
41 mecaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ kotumə
60 tuwaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
80 maktaššaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
100 moššaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
120 tuhtaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
140 wəštuhtaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
160 tuguruhtaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
180 maktuhtaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
200 makkanh ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
220 maktum ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
240 makmecaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
260 maktuwaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
280 makmaktaššaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ
300 makmoššaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ

Appendix F: Word order examples

All of the examples in this appendix were created by me and judged grammatical by my Zoque consultants.

1. Intransitive verb with Subject NP

bi nuʔ moŋpa parkehoʔ
bi nuʔ 0 moŋ-pa parke+hoʔ
DEF dog 3A sleep-INC park+LOC2
'The dog is sleeping in the park.'

bi nuʔ moŋpa parkehoʔ
moŋpa parkehoʔ bi nuʔ
moŋpa bi nuʔ parkehoʔ

2. Transitive verb with both Subject and Object NPs

When the patient is inanimate, and thus not a plausible candidate for the subject of the verb, the NPs can appear in any order, as shown in the (a) set of examples. When both NPs are equally plausible as actors, the actor NP must precede the patient NP, as shown in the (b) examples.

(a) bi pən ʔəy təŋŋə bi kuy
bi pən ʔəy+ təŋ-wə bi kuy
DEF man 3E+ cut_w_machete-COM DEF wood
'The man cut the wood (with a machete).'

bi pən ʔəy təŋŋə bi kuy
bi kuy ʔəy təŋŋə bi pən

bi pən bi kuy ʔəy təŋŋə
bi kuy bi pən ʔəy təŋŋə

ʔəy təŋŋə bi pən bi kuy
ʔəy təŋŋə bi kuy bi pən

(b) bi nuʔ ʔəy waššə bi mištuʔ
bi nuʔ ʔəy+ waš-wə bi mištuʔ
DEF dog 3E+ bite-COM DEF cat
'The dog bit the cat.'

bi nuʔ ʔəy waššə bi mištuʔ	Actor = dog
bi mištuʔ ʔəy waššə bi nuʔ	Actor = cat
bi nuʔ bi mištuʔ ʔəy waššə	Actor = dog
bi mištuʔ bi nuʔ ʔəy waššə	Actor = cat
ʔəy waššə bi nuʔ bi mištuʔ	Actor = dog
ʔəy waššə bi mištuʔ bi nuʔ	Actor = cat

3. Transitive verbs with three overt NPs

The three arguments are Actor, Patient, and Dative, a term that covers recipient, benefactor, or causer roles. Since in these cases the patient is always inanimate, fixed word order is only required to disambiguate the Actor and Dative arguments. Actor NPs must precede Dative NPs; Patient NPs can go anywhere. (I should note that there are very few examples in texts of clauses with an overt NP for the Dative argument, and even fewer with all three arguments expressed by NPs.)

(a) bi pən ʔəy ciwə bi toto bi yomáʔ
bi pən ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə bi totoʔ bi yomaaʔ
DEF man 3E+ give-COM DEF paper DEF woman
'The man gave the letter to the woman.'

bi pən ʔəy ciwə bi toto bi yomáʔ Actor = man
bi pən ʔəy ciwə bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ Actor = man
bi pən bi toto ʔəy ciwə bi yomáʔ Actor = man
bi pən bi yomáʔ ʔəy ciwə bi totoʔ Actor = man
bi toto ʔəy ciwə bi pən bi yomáʔ Actor = man
bi toto bi pən ʔəy ciwə bi yomáʔ Actor = man

bi pən bi toto bi yomáʔ ʔəy ciwə Actor = man
bi pən bi yomáʔ bi toto ʔəy ciwə Actor = man
bi toto bi pən bi yomáʔ ʔəy ciwə Actor = man

ʔəy ciwə bi pən bi toto bi yomáʔ Actor = man
ʔəy ciwə bi toto bi pən bi yomáʔ Actor = man
ʔəy ciwə bi pən bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ Actor = man

ʔəy ciwə bi toto bi yomáʔ bi pən Actor = woman
ʔəy ciwə bi yomáʔ bi pən bi totoʔ Actor = woman
ʔəy ciwə bi yomáʔ bi toto bi pən Actor = woman

(b) ʔəy yaktəŋŋə bi pən bi ha:yʔune bi kuy
ʔəy+ yak.təŋ-wə bi pən bi haya=ʔuneʔ bi kuy
3E+ CAUS.cut_w_machete=COM DEF man DEF male=child DEF wood
'The man ordered the boy to cut the wood.'

ʔəy yaktəŋŋə bi pən bi ha:yʔune bi kuy Actor = man
ʔəy yaktəŋŋə bi pən bi kuy bi ha:yʔune Actor = man

ʔəy yaktəŋŋə bi ha:yʔune bi pən bi kuy Actor = boy

4. Transitive verb with four overt NPs

This argument structure can arise when the causative is used with a trivalent root like ciʔ- 'to give', or when both the causative prefix and the

applicative suffix are used. The causer NP must precede the causee NP, which must precede the recipient NP.

(a) bi huštiša ʔəy yakciwə bi pən bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ
bi huštiša ʔəy+ yak.ciʔ-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ bi totoʔ
DEF mayor 3E+ CAUS.give-COM DEF man DEF woman DEF paper
'The mayor told the man to give the woman the letter.'

bi huštiša ʔəy yakciwə bi pən bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ
bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy yakciwə bi yomáʔ bi totoʔ

(b) bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy yakcəkhayyə bi yomáʔ tum tək
bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy+ yak.cək.hay-wə bi yomaaʔ tum tək
DEF mayor DEF man 3E+ CAUS.do.APPL-COM DEF woman one house
'The mayor told the man to build a house for the woman.'

bi huštiša bi pən ʔəy yakcəkhayyə bi yomáʔ tum tək
bi huštiša tum tək bi pən ʔəy yakcəkhayyə bi yomáʔ
ʔəy yakcəkhayyə bi huštiša bi pən bi yomáʔtum tək

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