

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. naʃe yeʔccə gahi.
ʔentonses rromán tuŋ=pək-wə 0 nək-wə naʃe 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 verbs¹ 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 cəpən pici

ʔən+ cəʔ-pa ʔən+ pic.E

1E+ wash-INC 1E+ put_corn_in_lime.NOM3

'I'll wash my corn.'

(ZOH1R53 004)

(ii) experiencer - see

nəkpan ʔiʃʃə ʔən haton ʔən mama

0 nək-pa ʔən+ ʔiʃ-wə ʔən+ haton 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 ʔapi?
 ʔəy+ poŋ-pa gay ʔəy+ nip-pa+ʔam bi ʔapi?
 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 šuyu?
 ʔən+ ceʔ-tam-pa bi šuyu?
 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+dəkkay ʔən+ ʔiš=tuk-pa
 1Pm 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=?okmaŋ-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) yeʔčukkə tum noaho?
 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə tum noaʔ+ho?
 3A arrive-3PL-COM one canyon+in
 'They arrived in a canyon.' (ZOH1R12 025)
- (iv) porke tuŋhoʔ picəmpa tum papən
 porke tuŋ+hoʔ 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) ʔəy pəkkə ʔəy wekaʔ
 ʔəy+ pək-wə ʔəy+ wekaʔ
 3E+ grab-COM 3E+ horn
 'He (a bull) grabbed it (a train) on his horn.' (ZOH1R25 126)
- (vi) wekahoʔ ʔəy yukpaccə
 wekaʔ+hoʔ ʔəy+ 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 *ciʔ-*, '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 yoškuy? mi cipa ?ən haton*
de? yoš.kuy? mi+ ci?-pa ?ən+ haton
 that work.INSTR1 3>2+ give-INC 1E+ father
 'My father gives you that work.' (ZOH1R12 256)
- (ii) *?əy pəhayyə ?əy ca?*
?əy+ pə?.hay-wə ?əy+ ca?
 3E+ put.APPL-COM 3E+ rock
 'He put its rock in it (a sling).' (ZOH1R11 062)
- (iii) *yə? pən yan yakyoštamə*
yə? pən ya ?ən+ 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) *?i tigó dey miš yakpə?thadampa*
?i ti+goo? dey miš+ yak.pə?t.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 ?əy yakciwə bi pən bi yomá? bi toto?*
bi huštiša ?əy+ yak.ci?-wə bi pən bi yomaa? bi toto?
 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 ?əy yakcəkhayyə bi yomá? tum tək*
bi huštiša bi pən ?əy+ yak.cək.hay-wə bi yomaa? 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 kəʃcəkʔampa

yə.hama byernes də+ kəʃ.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+həŋ

1A+ leave-1/2PL-COM juchitán+DIR1

'We left Juchitán.'

(ZOH1R10 248)

(iii) instrument

tum caŋkuypitʔtʔtáʔ ʔən nukka

tum caŋkuyʔ+piʔt+ʔtaaʔ ʔən+ nuk-wə

one hand+INSTR+ONLY 1E+ grab-COM

'I grabbed it with just one hand.'

(ZOH1R25 187)

(iv) accompaniment

tihhən yoʃe yaŋkedəkhənaŋ

tih-wə ʔən+ yoʃ-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_maria+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 ʔiʃpəkpáʔk hentedəkka ʔən ʔotoŋŋəyyə
ʔən+ ʔiʃ=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 šoʃpa bi ʔayʔ
 ʔəm+ šoʃ-pa bi ʔayʔ
 2E+ cook-INC DEF leaf
 'You boil the leaves.' (ZOH1R36 026)
- (iii) 3>3
 ʔəy pəʃukkə tum kahaho?
 ʔəy+ pəʔ-šuk-wə tum kaha+ho?
 3E+ put-3PL-COM one box -in
 'They put him in a box (a coffin).' (ZOH1R27 020)
- (iv) 3>1
 yakkə nəkkə 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 hu? 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+ʔən 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 ʔanecitədammmám
 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 explicitly 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 context². 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 *?əy+* 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 *?əy+* 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 ?əy sekretu də ciwə
 dəš gadə pa=pən ?əy+ sekretu də+ ci?-wə
 1Prn that wild=man 3E+ secret 1A+ give-COM
 'That devil gave me his secret.' (ZOH1R18 286)
- (iii) də ?okcamhadammə
 də+ ?ok.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+?am
 then 3>2+ call-3PL-INC+NOW
 'Then they will call you.' (ZOH1R29 120)
- (v) mi cišukpám bweltu
 mi+ ci?-šuk-pa+?am bweltu
 3>2+ give-3PL-INC+NOW money
 'Now they'll give you the money.' (ZOH1R29 121)
- (vi) de yoškuy mi cipan haton
 de? yoš.kuy? mi+ ci?-pa ?ən+ haton
 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+Vʔk pən yampa ʔən+ ʔaŋceʔk.hay-tam-wə
 DEF MOUTH.go_up.ANTIP-INC-REL man nPERF 1E+ ask.APPL-1/2PL-COM
 'We haven't asked the boss.' (ZOH1R10 625)

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

- (iii) ʔəyahónʒ cənpa komo ke ya də ʔiʃpəktamə
 ʔəya+hoonʒ 0 cən-pa komo ke ya də+ ʔiʃ=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) dəʃ ʔən manakdəkka ʔən təʃukpa hemhi
 dəʃ ʔən+ manak+dəkka ʔən+ təʔ-ʃuk-pa hemhi
 1Pm 1E+ child+NPL 1E+ want-3PL-INC all
 'I love all my children.' (ZOH1R56 049)

- (v) miʃ ʔayudcəktamə
 miʃ+ ʔayudar=cək-tam-Aʔ
 2>1+ help=make-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Help us.' (addressee is one person, Saturnino) (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 *-Anəm*.

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 yakpətəʔ
 ke yakkiʔ ya ʔəy+ yak.pəʔt-Aʔ+Vʔk
 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 yakcəkşuki
min-wə ʔəy+ yak.cək-şuk-E
come-COM 3E+ CAUS.do-3PL-dCOM
'They came to order it done.' (ZOH1R28 095)
- (iii) bi ʔuneʔ nəkpay yakhayşukkə
bi ʔuneʔ nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.hay-şuk-wə
DEF child go-INC 3E+ CAUS.write-3PL-COM
'He goes to make them record the babies (births).' (ZOH1R28 151)
- (iv) ʔaber ti yoşkuy ʔəy yakcəktəpay kumkuyhoʔ
ʔaber ti yoş.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 yakpahaʔkwəhpa gə wayʔ
ga bi+ʔəy yak.pahaʔk=wəh-pa gə wayʔ
DCT3 DEF+3E CAUS.sweet=smell-INC DEM hair
'That gives a sweet odor to the hair.' (ZOH1R3 034)
- (ii) bi kae ʔəy yakwə:cəkpa
bi kae ʔəy+ yak.wəhə=cək-pa
DEF street 3E CAUS.good=do-INC
'They have the streets cleaned.' (ZOH1R28 168)
- (iii) bi huštiša ʔəy yaktamnəpəkkə bi pən
bi huštiša ʔəy+ yak.tam=nəʔ=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 ʔəm+ yak.ʔaŋ.wak.ʔoy-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.teŋ=tuk.ʔoy-wə
in_fact 3A CAUS.FACE.stand=finish.ANTIP-COM
'In fact, he stopped right in front.' (ZOH1R18 049)

- (iii) nəmpa yaknəmmoyyə tuŋho?
 0 nəm-pa 0 yak.nəm.ʔoy-wə tuŋ+ho?
 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 nəkpəy yakkocoŋŋoʃukkə
 para nək-pa ʔəy+ yak.ko.coŋ.ʔoy-ʃuk-wə

- so_that go-INC 3E+ CAUS.SOC.join.ANTIP-3PL-COM
'So that they could go help.' (ZOH1R24 016)
- (iv) yey yakkištukkošukpa yəhə?
yəy 0 yak.ʔiʃ=tuk.ʔoy-šuk-pa yəhə?
now 3A CAUS.see=finish.ANTIP-3PL-INC here
'Now they'll wait here.' (ZOH1R24 226)
- (v) ʔəy yakkokwittoypá?
ʔəy+ yak.ʔok.wit.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk
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 yəhi?
 0 yak.cak.ʔəm-wə yəhi?
 3A CAUS.leave.PASS-COM here
 'She was told to stay here.' (ZOH1R15 105)

- (ii) gahi wakaš yakkanəmpa
 gahi? wakaš 0 yak.kaʔ.Anəm-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) ?əy pəhayyəy tza?
 ?əy+ pə?.hay-wə ?əy+ tza?
 3E+ put.APPL-COM 3E+ rock
 'He loaded its rock into it (a bola).' (ZOH1R11 062)
- (iii) ?último yoškuy? miš cəkhaba
 ?último yoš.kuy? miš+ cək.hay-pa
 last work.INSTR1 2>1+ do.APPL-INC
 'the last job you'll do for me' (ZOH1R12 392)
- (iv) ?əm cəkhəbam win
 ?əm+ cək.hay-pa ?əm+ win
 2E+ do.APPL-INC 2E+ REFL
 'You hurt yourself.' (ZOH1R36 101)
- (v) ?um nəmmə miš ke yakki ya mi nəmhayyə
 ?u ?əm+ nəm-wə miš ke yakki? 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) ?əy kənəkkephayyəy poho?k
 ?əy+ kə.nək=kep.hay-wə ?əy+ poho?k
 3E+ AWAY.go=kick.APPL-COM 3E+ egg
 'He went and kicked him in the balls.' (ZOH1R18 074)
- (vii) miš me?chadammə
 miš+ me?c.hay-tam-A?
 2>1+ find.APPL-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Find me one.' (ZOH1R18 215)
- (viii) ?ən nəmhayyə dəš benigno
 ?ən+ 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 ?ən pə?thayyá wayay nəho?
 tum kaso ?ən+ pə?t.hay-wə+V?k wayay nə?+ho?
 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 həyə?
 min-pa də+ cak.hay-tam-wə mesa+ho? tum bandeha de həyə?
 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) ?əy wə:hcəkhaba hoŋho bi toypá?
 ?əy+ wəhə=cək.hay-pa hoŋho? bi toy-pa+V?k
 3E+ good=do.APPL-INC inside DEF be_sick-INC+REL
 '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 ?əy.

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 yəkwiħ
də wət.hay-wə ʔən+ yəkwiħ
1A tear.APPL-COM 1E+ shirt
'He tore my shirt.' (elicited)
- (ii) ʔən wəttən yəkwiħ
ʔən+ wət-wə ʔən+ yəkwiħ
1E+ tear-COM 1E+ shirt
'I tore my shirt.' (elicited)
- (iii) wəttəmmən yəkwiħ
0 wət.ʔəm-wə ʔən+ yəkwiħ
3A tear.PASS-COM 1E+ shirt
'My shirt was torn.' (elicited)
- (iv) də wəttəmhayyən yəkwiħ
də+ wət.ʔəm.hay-wə ʔən+ yəkwiħ
1A+ tear.PASS.APPL-COM 1E+ shirt
'My shirt was torn.' (elicited)

- (v) də cakkəmhayyə tum yoškuy?
 də+ cak.ʔəm.hay-wə tum yoš.kuy?
 1A+ leave.PASS.APPL-COM one work.INSTR1
 'One job remained to me.' (elicited)
- (vi) ʔəy wəthayyəy yəkwiʔ ʔən hatə ʔəyti
 ʔəy+ wət.hay-wə ʔəy+ yəkwiʔ ʔən+ hatə+ʔəyti
 3E+ tear.APPL-COM 3E+ shirt 1E+ father+POSS
 'He tore my father's shirt.' (elicited)
- (vii) gaha də ʔuchašukkən tareya
 gahaʔ də ʔuc.hay-šuk-wə ʔən+ tareya
 there 1A+ measure.APPL-3PL-COM 1E+ work
 'They measured out my work for me there.' (ZOH1R32 026)
- (xi) ʔən cəhaypan ʔune yote dəkkay
 ʔən+ ceʔ.hay-pa ʔən+ 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 text⁴.

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 ne? ye?chayyám ?ummə
ga yakku? pən bweno ne? 0 ye?c.hay-wə+?am ?ummə
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 ye?chabám dedə mal
kwandu ?əm+ ye?c.hay-pa+?am 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+ho? nək-pa ?ən+ 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 ?əm

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+ totoʔ 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 gahanə
 0 kep.ʔəm-wə bi pelota ga+hanə
 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 hiʔp-, '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 pəknekəmšukkám bi froylan dəkhənaŋ
 ya ʔəy+ pək=nək.ʔəm-šuk-wə+ʔam bi froylan +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 təʔʔəmmə 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 *Anəm*

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.*Anəm*-pa
 bean=shell.INDEF-INC
 'People are shelling beans.' (lexicon)

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

- (iii) cumuknəmpám
cuʔ=muk.ʌnəm-pa+ʔam
night=fall.INDEF-INC-NOW
'Now night is falling.' (ZOH1R10 358)
- (iv) naše wen yeʔcnəmmám
naše wenu yeʔc.ʌnəm-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.ʌnəm-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 nu? ʔəy waššə bi mištu? SVO Agent = dog
bi nu? ʔəy+ waš-wə bi mištu?
DEF dog 3E+ bite-COM DEF cat
'The dog bit the cat.'
- (ii) bi mištu? ʔəy waššə bi nu? SVO Agent = cat
- (iii) bi nu? bi mištu? ʔəy waššə SOV Agent = dog
- (iv) bi mištu? bi nu? ʔəy waššə SOV Agent = cat
- (v) ʔəy waššə bi nu? bi mištu? VSO Agent = dog
- (vi) ʔəy waššə bi mištu? bi nu? 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 ʔičiŋ də tristehá?
 hemhi dós+haa? komo ʔičiŋ 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 ʔune?
 ni.ket.E ʔune?
 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 ʔaŋpən pənhá?
 ke də ʔaŋ=pən pən+haa?
 that 1A MOUTH=man man+NPL2
 'that yes, we are men who speak Zoque.' (ZOH1R57 024)
- (vii) ʔum nəmtammə ke yam ʔaŋpən pənhá?
 ʔu ʔəm+ nəm-tam-wə ke ya+ʔəm ʔaŋ=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 *tiḥ-* '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 hunəṇ ʔəm tihhə
 miš hunəṇ ʔəm+ tih-wə
 2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM

 kwandum tihhə hayʔune?
 kwandu ʔəm+ tih-wə haya=ʔune?
 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', *nənti*. 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 naštun
 yə.hi tehi.ʔa-wə tum naš=tun
 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) tehišukkām gaha gay nikopakho?
 tehi.ʔa-šuk-wə+ʔam ga.ha ga.y ni.kopak+ho?
 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 hu? 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 tuŋho?
 de.də pa=pən tehi.ʔa-wə tuŋ+ho?
 DCT2.XDEM wild=man there_is.VERS1-COM camino+LOC1
 'That devil is in the road.' (ZOH1R18 112)

- (ix) puro kopak pak tehi?awə
 puro kopak pak tehi.?a-wə
 purely head bone there_is.VERS1-COM
 'There were just skulls.' (ZOH1R18 162)
- (x) hunəḡhá? tehi?awə bi nombradudəkkayhənaḡ
 hunəḡ+haa? tehi.?a-wə bi nombradu+dəkkay+hənaḡ
 how+NPL2 there_is.VERS1-COM DEF named +NPL +ACC
 'How it is with the officials' (ZOH1R28 005)
- (xi) gahi tehiamottə mae? ?ən nəmhadampa
 gahi tehi.?a.mot-wə mae? ?ən+ nəm.hay-tam-pa
 there there_is.VERS1-WITH REM 1E+ say.APPL-1/2PL-INC
 rehidora de ?edukasyon
 rehidora de ?edukasyon
 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+?am libre
 DCT2.TMP there_is-1/2PL-COM+NOW free
 'Now we're free.' (ZOH1R18 228)
- (ii) pwes rromán tehi?awə nesyo
 pwes rromán tehi.?a-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, nəntiya?. 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
 nəntiya? 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 həbǎ?
 te.y 0 nəm-pa nənti huštiša həʔ.bǎ?
 DCT2.TMP 3A say-INC there_isn't authority yes.DUB
 'Now he says, "There's no mayor, right?"' (ZOH1R24 342)