

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 Karttunen, 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
ʔaŋ=naka
MOUTH=skin
'cheek' | (ii) | ʔaŋnəʔ
ʔaŋ=nəʔ
MOUTH=water
'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 ?aŋ.coŋ.ʔoy-wə
 3A MOUTH.meet.ANTIP-COM
 'She answered.'

0 ?aŋ.wit-wə
 3A MOUTH.walk-COM
 'He went visiting.'

There are many constructions with no clearly compositional meaning:

(7.4)

(i) ?əy ʔaŋpenŋə
 ?əy+ ʔaŋ.pen-wə
 3E+ MOUTH.plant-COM
 'It sprouted.'

(ii) ?əy ʔaŋyohhə kakawhəŋə
 ?əy+ ʔaŋ.yoh-wə kakao-həŋə
 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) ʔokhonəŋpəʔ
 ʔok+honəŋ+pəʔ
 DOWN+DIR3+REL
 'lowlander'

(ii) ?əy ʔoknukkəyyə
 ?əy+ 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 ʔokšeʔpšhayyə
ʔəy+ ʔok.šeʔpš.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 yakʔonʔeʔkkoba ʔəy haton
ʔəy+ yak.ʔok.ʔaŋ.ceʔk.ʔoy-pa ʔəy+ haton
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)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(i) ʔəy hoʔiššə
 ʔəy+ ho.ʔiš-wə
 3E+ INTO.see-COM
 'She examined it.'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔəy honəmmə
 ʔəy+ ho.nəm-wə
 3E+ INTO.say-COM
 'He translated it.'</p> |
| <p>(iii) hokehtukkoba
 0 ho.keh=tuk.ʔoy-pa
 3A INTO.see=finish-INC
 'It is transparent.'</p> | <p>(iv) ʔəy hopiŋŋə
 ʔəy+ ho.piŋ-wə
 3E+ INTO.collect-COM
 'She chose it.'</p> |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(v) ʔəy hoʔukkə
 ʔəy+ ho.ʔuk-wə
 3E+ INTO.drink-COM
 'He drank all of it, to the last drop.'</p> | <p>(vi) hohehhə
 0 ho.heh-wə
 3A INTO.live-COM
 'She lived with other people
 (because she didn't have her
 own house).'</p> |
|--|---|

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 həʃciwə
 ʔəy+ həʃ.ciʔ-wə
 3E+ BACK.give-COM
 'He turned his back on someone.' (lexicon)
- (iv) ʔəy həʃwəkʃəy tuhkuyʔ
 ʔəy+ həʃ.wəkʃ-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) ?əy kohuššə
?əy+ ko.huš-wə
3E+ SOC.roast-COM
'She re-heated it.' | (iv) ?əy konippə
?əy+ ko.nip-wə
3E+ SOC.sow-COM
'He re-seeded it.' |
| (v) ?əy kohuyyə
?əy+ ko.huy-wə
3E+ SOC.buy-COM
'She bought another little thing besides.' | (vi) ?əy koʔiššə
?əy+ ko.ʔiš-wə
3E+ SOC.see-COM
'He looked at it to see if
he wanted it' |
| (vii) košəŋŋadamə yədə ʔawin?
ko.šəŋ.ʔa-tam-A? yədə ʔawin?
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) ?əy kəʔaŋheʔkkə
 ?əy+ kə.ʔaŋheʔk-wə
 3E+ AWAY.be_afraid-COM
 'She discouraged him.'
- (ii) ?əy kəməʔccə
 ?əy+ kə.məʔc-wə
 3E+ AWAY.look_for-COM
 'He found out something.'
- (iii) ?əy yakkəwakkəy hacə
 ?əy+ yak.kə.wak-wə haʔc.E
 3E+ CAUS.AWAY.*empty-COM borrow.NOM3
 'He paid off his debt.'
- (iv) ?əy kəcəkkəyyə ?əy haya
 ?əy+ kə.cək.ʔəy-wə ?əy+ haya
 3E+ AWAY.do.SUF-COM 3E+ man
 'She deceived her husband.'
- (v) kəhawayyəy šah
 0 kə.haway-wə ?əy+ 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 + ?əy**. The frame is generally glossed 'completely' or 'a lot', and seems to create an emphatic version of the action of Verbing.

(7.11)

- (i) ?əy kənəkənəmməyyə
 ?əy+ kə.nək=nəm.ʔəy-wə
 3E+ AWAY.go=say.SUF-COM
 'He spoke suddenly.'
- (ii) kənəkkəkšəyyə taʔkšə
 0 kə.nək=ʔokš.ʔəy-wə taʔkš.E
 3A AWAY.go=go_out.SUF-COM burn.NOM3
 'All the lights went out.'
- (iii) ?əy kənəkkəkšəyyəy mok

ʔəy+ kə.nək=ʔəkš.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ mək
 3E+ AWAY.go=shell.SUF-COM 3E+ corn
 'She shelled all of her corn.'

- (iv) ʔəy kənəkwiɰjəyyə
 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)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(i) ʔəy nihiʔttə
 ʔəy+ ni.hiʔt-wə
 3E+ PSE.stain-COM
 'She stained it.'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔəy nipəʔttə
 ʔəy+ ni.pəʔt-wə
 3E+ PSE.pass-COM
 'He overtook her.'</p> |
| <p>(iii) ʔəy nipəkwaɰkə
 ʔəy+ ni.pək=wak-wə
 3E+ PSE.grasp=*empty-COM
 'She took it from him.'</p> | |

- (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 embarrassment, since it apparently is used in a number of off-color terms. *nik-* always co-occurs with the suffix *-ʔəy*.

(7.13)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) nikkohhəyyə
 0 nik.ʔoh.ʔəy-wə
 3A SURF.cough.SUF-COM
 'He coughed on her.'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔəy nikcuhhəyyə
 ʔəy+ nik.cuh.ʔəy-wə
 3E+ SURF.spit.SUF-COM
 'She spit at him.'</p> |
| <p>(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.'</p> | |
| <p>(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).'</p> | |
| <p>(v) ʔəy yaknikpoyyəba ʔora ʔəy ciwə ʔaxta gahán
 ʔəy+ yak.nik.poy.ʔəy-pa ʔora ʔəy+ ciʔ-wə ʔašta ga+haan
 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.'</p> | |

(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)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(i) winhonaŋ
win+honaŋ
FACE+DIR3
'from in front'</p> | <p>(ii) winmanak
win=manak
FACE=child
'first-born child'</p> |
| <p>(i) ʔəy winʔiʃʃə
ʔəy+ win.ʔiʃ-wə
3E+ FACE.see-COM
'He saw it from over there.'</p> | <p>(ii) winhuptukkuyʔ
win.hup=tuk.kuyʔ
FACE.pull=finish.INSTR1
'apron'</p> |
| <p>(iii) winnəktenwəyyə
0 win.nək=ten.wəy-wə
3A FACE.go=stand.DEPOS-COM
'She stood in front of him.'</p> | <p>(iv) winpakcoŋŋə
0 win.pak=coŋ-wə
3A FACE.tighten=meet-COM
'He met her.'</p> |
| <p>(v) gə winnawəʔ
gə win.ʔa-wə+Vʔk
DCT3 FACE.VERS1-COM+REL
'he who got ahead'</p> | <p>(ZOH1R24 112)</p> |

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)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) ʔəy yukkiʔttə
 ʔəy+ yuk.kiʔt -wə
 3E+ UP.put_finger_in-COM
 'He picked it up with one finger.'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔəy yukkeššə
 ʔəy+ yuk.ʔeš-wə
 3E+ UP.pin-COM
 'She pinned it up.'</p> |
| <p>(iii) yukhehhə
 0 yuk.heh-wə
 3A UP.live-COM
 'He was resurrected.'</p> | <p>(iv) yukkeccə
 0 yuk.ʔec-wə
 3A UP.dance-COM
 'She began to dance.'</p> |
- (v) gaʔ ʔəy yukpəkpəy 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 ?une?
 0 ket.ney-pa bi ?une?
 3A cover.ASSUM1-INC DEF child
 'The child is covered up.' (lexicon)
- (iii) pahneyyám bi tək ?əy kohom
 0 pah.ney-wə+?am bi tək ?əy+ 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 -?əy. 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)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(i) hummāccəyyə
 0 hum=māc.wəy-wə
 3A tumble_down.X.DEPOS-COM
 'It swung.'</p> | <p>(ii) hiʔppəyyə
 0 hiʔp.wəy-wə
 3A move.DEPOS-COM
 'It was set on one side'</p> |
| <p>(iii) winnāktenwəyyə
 0 win.nāk=ten.wəy-wə
 3A FACE.go=finish.DEPOS-COM
 'He stood in front of her.'</p> | |
| <p>(iv) ʔəy paŋŋəyyə deʔše
 ʔəy+ paŋ.wəy-wə de.ʔše
 3E+ *lean.DEPOS-COM DCT2.SIM
 'He leaned it like that.'</p> | |
| <p>(v) si kummə ʔo ney gahi ʔəy paccəycakkə
 si 0 kum-wə ʔo ney gahiʔ ʔəy+ pac.wəy=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)</p> | |

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)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(i) hapna moŋŋə
 0 hap.na moŋ-wə
 3A *face_down.STAT sleep-COM
 'She slept face down.'</p> | <p>(ii) tayna moŋŋə
 0 tay.na moŋ-wə
 3A *face_up.STAT sleep-COM
 'He slept face up.'</p> |
| <p>(iii) ceŋna tennə
 0 ceŋ.na ten-wə
 3A be_on_one_side.STAT stand-COM
 'She stood sideways.'</p> | <p>(iv) hapna yowə
 0 hap.na yoʔ-wə
 3A *face_down.STAT fall-COM
 'He fell face down.'</p> |
| <p>(v) cəŋna wanakkə
 0 cən.na wanak-wə
 3A sit.STAT go_down-COM
 'She sat down.'</p> | <p>(vi) cəŋna moŋŋə
 0 cən.na moŋ-wə
 3A sit.STAT sleep-COM
 'He slept sitting up.'</p> |
| <p>(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.'</p> | |

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 kap.tennən toto?
 ʔən+ kap.ten-wə ʔən+ toto?
 1E+ carry_on_shoulder.PRSV-COM 1E+ paper
 'I've got my notebook set on my shoulder.' (elicited)
- (ii) ʔəy mama ʔəy kettennə bi ʔune?
 ʔəy+ mama ʔəy+ ket.ten-wə bi ʔune?
 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 mək
ʔəy+ ʔuc.ten-wə ʔəy+ mək
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 huʔttenə 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+ho?
 1A+ AWAY.*step.SUF-1/2PL-COM bus+LOC1
 'We got on the bus' (ZOH1R10 170)

- (iv) ʔən ʔiʃpəkpaʔk hente dəkka ʔən ʔotonɲəyyə
 ʔən+ ʔiʃ=pək-pa+Vʔk hente +dəkka ʔən+ ʔoton.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 miʃ maŋkuy kənəkkeppəba
 tigoʔ miʃ+ 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)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(i) ʔaŋnopša
 ʔaŋ.ʔopš.a
 NEG speak.NOM2
 'mute'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔinəʔ
 ʔin.əʔ
 get_cloudy.NOM2
 'cloud'</p> |
| <p>(iii) wiki cowaʔ
 wiki coŋ.aʔ
 finger join.NOM2
 'knuckle'</p> | <p>(iv) hokəwəʔ
 ho.kəŋ.əʔ
 INTO.burn.NOM2
 're-burned'</p> |
| <p>(v) keta de totoʔ
 ket.a de totoʔ
 cover.NOM2 of paper
 'book cover'</p> | <p>(vi) hacə
 hac.ə
 get_into_debt.NOM2
 'debt'</p> |
| <p>(vii) nisotaʔ
 nisoʔt.aʔ
 bud.NOM2
 'bud'</p> | <p>(viii) šawəʔ
 šaŋ.əʔ
 cut_w_machete.NOM2
 'cut with a machete'</p> |

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)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) hape
 haʔp.e
 break.NOM3
 'broken'</p> | <p>(ii) ʔoheʔ
 ʔoh.eʔ
 cough.NOM3
 '(a) cough'</p> |
| <p>(iii) šiš haše
 šiš haš.e
 meat roast.NOM3
 'roasted meat'</p> | <p>(iv) kukweneʔ
 kuk=wen.eʔ
 middle=divide.NOM3
 'divided in the middle'</p> |
| <p>(v) təwi
 təŋ.i
 cut_w_machete.NOM3
 'a thing cut with a machete'</p> | <p>(vi) ʔəwiʔ
 ʔəŋ.iʔ
 fall_from_above.NOM3
 'fallen fruit'</p> |
| <p>(vii) huki
 huk.i
 smoke.NOM3
 'cigarette'</p> | <p>(viii) ʔaŋwitiʔ
 ʔaŋ.wit.iʔ
 MOUTH.walk.NOM3
 'visitor'</p> |

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. *kuy?*

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 *-kuy?*. 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 *-kuy?* are usually instrumental, sometimes locative, and sometimes purely idiosyncratic. The gloss for this morpheme is INSTR1.

(7.26) Simple forms

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) <i>ʔukkuy?</i>
<i>ʔuk.kuy?</i>
drink.INSTR1
'drunkenness' | (ii) <i>ʔuckuy?</i>
<i>ʔuc.kuy?</i>
measure.INSTR1
'measure' |
| (iii) <i>haykuy?</i>
<i>hay.kuy?</i>
write.INSTR1
'pen' | (iv) <i>hununkuy?</i>
<i>hunun.kuy?</i>
tickle.INSTR1
'ticklish' |
| (v) <i>kumkuy?</i>
<i>kum.kuy?</i>
X.INSTR1
'town' | (vi) <i>kəŋkuy?</i>
<i>kəŋ.kuy?</i>
paint.INSTR1
'color' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(vii) maŋkuy?
 maŋ.kuy?
 *step.INSTR1
 'foot'</p> | <p>(viii) caŋkuy?
 caŋ.kuy?
 hit_w_fist.INSTR1
 'hand'</p> |
| <p>(ix) ʔammakuy?
 ʔamma.kuy?
 look.INSTR1
 'vision; the eyes'</p> | <p>(x) ʔaŋheʔkkuy?
 ʔaŋheʔk.kuy?
 be_afraid.INSTR1
 'fear'</p> |

(7.27) Antipassive stem

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) pennokuy?
 pen.ʔoy.kuy?
 tighten.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'squeeze'</p> | <p>(ii) monnoykuy?
 mon.ʔoy.kuy?
 wrap.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'wrapper'</p> |
| <p>(iii) kənəkhuppokuy?
 kə.nək=hup.ʔoy.kuy?
 AWAY.go=pull.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'whip'</p> | <p>(iv) huʔccokuy?
 huʔc.ʔoy.kuy?
 puncture.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'arrow'</p> |
| <p>(v) ʔaŋŋunnokuy?
 ʔaŋ.ʔun.ʔoy.kuy?
 MOUTH.deceive.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'gossip'</p> | <p>(vi) ʔiššokuy?
 ʔiš.ʔoy.kuy?
 see.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'the eye'</p> |

(7.28) Other derived stems, compounds, and incorporation structures

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(i) ʔanecaŋkuyʔ
 ʔane=caŋ.kuyʔ
 tortilla.hit_w_fist.INSTR1
 'tortilla maker'</p> | <p>(ii) hampoŋkuyʔ
 ham=poŋ.kuyʔ
 lime=burn.INSTR1
 'oven for cooking lime'</p> |
| <p>(iii) honcihhokuyʔ
 hon=cih.ʔoy.kuyʔ
 bird=throw_rock.ANTIP.INSTR1
 'bola'</p> | <p>(iv) kocahkuyʔ
 ko.cah.kuyʔ
 SOC.stick.INSTR1
 'paste'</p> |
| <p>(v) koyoškuyʔ
 ko.yoš.kuyʔ
 SOC.work.INSTR1
 'work (done) for someone else'</p> | <p>(vi) numcənkuyʔ
 num=cən.kuyʔ
 steal=sit.INSTR1
 'hiding place'</p> |

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)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(i) yəkyum
 yək.yum
 INSTR2.boil
 'copper pot'</p> | <p>(ii) yəkwəc
 yək.wəc
 INSTR2.comb
 'comb'</p> |
| <p>(iii) yəkhəpš
 yək.həpš
 INSTR2.scoop
 'shovel'</p> | <p>(iv) yəkhup
 yək.hup
 INSTR2.pull
 'bucket'</p> |

- | | |
|--|--|
| (v) yəkkep
yək.kep
INSTR2.kick
'shoe; huarache' | (vi) yəkmoŋ
yək.moŋ
INSTR2.sleep
'bed' |
| (vii) yəkkukkuy?
yək.ʔuk.kuy?
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)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) muynán
 muy.naaŋ
 have_in_mouth.MEAS
 'mouthful'</p> | <p>(ii) waʔkšnán
 waʔkš.naaŋ
 divide_load.MEAS
 'a load (one side of
 the burro)'</p> |
| <p>(iii) cukšnéŋ
 cukš.neeŋ
 pinch.MEAS
 'a little piece'</p> | <p>(iv) cunnéŋ
 cun.neeŋ
 drip.MEAS
 'drop'</p> |
| <p>(v) yucnán
 yuc.naaŋ
 grab_w_fist.MEAS
 'handful'</p> | <p>(vi) cacnéŋ
 cac.neeŋ
 tear.MEAS
 'strip (of paper)'</p> |
| <p>(vii) kiʔtnán
 kiʔt.naaŋ
 put_finger.MEAS
 'the amount of (food) that you
 can pick up with one finger'</p> | <p>(viii) hecnán
 hec.naaŋ
 scratch.MEAS
 'the amount you can
 scratch up with one hand'</p> |

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)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) kašnán
 kaš.naaŋ
 step.MEAS
 '(a) step'</p> | <p>(ii) keknán
 kek.naaŋ
 hop.MEAS
 '(a) hop'</p> |
| <p>(iii) šuʔknán
 šuʔk.naaŋ
 kiss.MEAS
 '(a) kiss'</p> | <p>(iv) nemnán
 nem.naaŋ
 cut_w_scissors.MEAS
 '(one) snip'</p> |

- | | |
|--|---|
| (v) neŋnán
neŋ.naaŋ
make_waves.MEAS
'(a) wave' | (vi) hatikšnán
hatikš.naaŋ
sneeze.MEAS
'(a) sneeze' |
| (vii) hinnán
hin.naaŋ
scrub.MEAS
'(a) scrub' | (viii) hotnán
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) ʔomnán
ʔom.naaŋ
cense.MEAS
'a censing (ritual)' | (ii) həʔtnán
həʔt.naaŋ
flood.MEAS
'one flooding' |
| (iii) kehnán
keh.naaŋ
appear.MEAS
'one sighting' | (iv) meʔcnán
meʔc.naaŋ
look_for.MEAS
'a search' |
| (v) šomnán
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) tannénŋ
tan.neeŋ
complete.MEAS
'completed' |
| (iii) ʔonnénŋ
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 *consigues* and *apruebes*.

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 ʔeɲfwa:dcəkkə rromán
 de gahiʔ 0 ʔenfadar=cək-wə rromán
 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 ?əy guʃcəkkə lugar
ga? bi ?əy+ 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 pahaʔk, 'sweet'.

(7.36)

- (i) ?əy pahaʔkcəkkə
?əy+ pahaʔk=cək-wə
3E+ sweet=do-COM
'He sweetened it.'
- (ii) nəmməy wə:hcəkʃukkə
nəmmə ?əy+ wəhə=cək-ʃuk-wə
PROG 3E+ good=do-3PL-COM
'They were repairing it.' (ZOH1R25 064)
- (iii) nəkpay macəkʃukkə
nək-pa ?əy+ maʔ=cək-ʃuk-wə
go-INC 3E+ sale=do-3PL-COM
'They went to sell.' (ZOH1R2 030)
- (iv) ha:mcəktamə tin cəkmintammə
hamV=cək-tam-A? ti? ?ən+ 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 tummaŋcəkəkə
 ʔəy+ tummaŋ=cək-wə
 3E+ aligned=do-COM
 'He straightened (or levelled) it.'
- (vi) gay rrwidocəkprám ʔəy təkho?
 gay 0 ruido=cək-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ tək+ho?
 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.kuy?=cək-pa
 2E+ sleep.INSTR1=do-INC
 'You go to bed.' (ZOH1R36 076)
- (ii) topacəkəkə
 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 yuhkuycəkəkə
 ʔəy+ yuh.kuy?=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 *nəntiʔ*, 'there isn't' (example x).

(7.38)

(i) *pahaʔkkawə*

0 *pahaʔk.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 winnawóʔ*

gə 0 *win.ʔa-wə+Vʔk*

DEM 3A FACE.VERS1-COM+REL

'He who got ahead'

(ZOH1R24 112)

(iv) *ʔəm hucenɲadammə*

ʔəm+ *hucenɲ.ʔa-tam-wə*

2E+ how_many.VERS1-1/2PL-COM

'How many are you?'

(ZOH1R10 306)

- (v) mecaŋŋadamməštá?
 mecaŋ.ʔa-tam-wə+štāa?
 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 1Pm 1A+ exist.VERS1-COM
 'While I am here' (ZOH1R18 053)
- (x) porken manak nəntiʔawə tey təkho?
 porke ʔən+ manak nəntiʔ.ʔa-wə tey tək+ho?
 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) *rromán komo ʔanimoʔəyyə*
rromán komo 0 ʔanimo.ʔəy-wə
román how 3A courage.VERS2-COM
 'Since Román had courage' (ZOH1R18 060)

- (iii) *ʔəy yəkmanʔəyyə*
ʔəy+ yək.man.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 təkəʃukkə*
ga.hiʔ 0 tək.ʔəy-ʃuk-wə
DCT3.LOC1 3A house.VERS2-3PL-COM
 'There they entered.' (ZOH1R24 009)

- (vi) təkəkədamə hoŋho?
 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)