

Chapter 8: Dependent Verb Constructions

In MIG Zoque, one verb root can be dependent on another in two ways: morphologically or syntactically. Morphological dependency obtains when two verb stems are compounded in a single verb complex. These constructions are the most varied, and so are discussed last, in section 8.3.

Syntactically dependent verb constructions consist of a sequence of two verb complexes in which the second (V2) is dependent on the first (V1). V1 is inflected for aspect or mood as it would be if it were the only verb in the clause, using one of the eight aspect/mood suffixes shown in Table 5.2. V2 is inflected with one of the two dependent suffixes: **-E** if V1 has completive aspect, and **-wə** if it is in the incompletive or a non-declarative mood. Only V2 is marked for agreement with the subject (and object), and the agreement marker is always selected from the ergative set, regardless of V2's transitivity. The whole construction has only one argument structure.

(8.1) šuššən nipin mok

šuš-wə ?ən+ nip-**E** ?ən+ mok

whistle-COM 1E+ sow-dCOM 1E+ corn

'I whistled while I sowed my corn.'

(elicited)

The auxiliary verbs defined in section 4.1.5. can appear in a dependent construction with any other verb (*pace* pragmatic obstacles, as in, for instance, 'the mangoes hurried to rot'). A complete description of auxiliary verb constructions is given in section 8.1. Other dependent verb constructions are

generally translated 'to V1 while V2-ing' (as in example 8.1), and are more limited in terms of acceptable combinations. These are discussed in section 8.2.

8.1. Auxiliary verb constructions

There are six auxiliaries in MIG Zoque, all intransitive roots of motion, manner, or aspect:

(8.2)

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (i) Motion | (ii) Manner |
| nək- 'go' | həʔkš- 'hurry' |
| min- 'come' | muš- 'know' |
| tih- 'go & return' | |
| | |
| (iii) Aspect | |
| ʔokmaŋ- 'begin' | |

An example of each one is given in (8.3). nək-, 'to go', and min-, 'to come', are far and away the most commonly used. tih-, 'to go and return', is used when the round-trip character of the motion is relevant. Both muš-, 'to know', and ʔokmaŋ-, 'to begin', appear most commonly in verb root compound constructions; in fact, I found no examples of ʔokmaŋ- in the dependent verb construction in the texts. həʔkš-, 'to hurry', is extremely rare in any form. Relative frequency in the corpus notwithstanding, it is easy to elicit examples of any of the auxiliaries, while other likely suspects¹ (such as tuk-, 'to finish') are roundly rejected.

¹ Sierra Popoluca, an Gulf (Veracruz) Zoquean language, has yah-, 'to finish' in its set of auxiliary verbs (Himes 1997).

(8.3)

- (i) hemhi gahi nəkpəy pəkcoŋŋə
 hemhi gahi? nək-pa ?əy+ pək=coŋ-wə
 all there go-INC 3E+ get=join-dINC
 'They all go there to receive them.' (ZOH1R21 032)
- (ii) rranču minnə mi ?aŋŋunnədame
 rranču min-wə mi+ ?aŋ.ʔun.ʔəy-tam-E
 rancho come-COM 3>2+ MOUTH.deceive.SUF-1/2PL-dCOM
 'The (people of the) rancho came to deceive you.' (ZOH1R16 070)
- (iii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
 tih-tam-wə ?ən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke+dək+hənaŋ
 go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this gringo+NPL+ACC
 'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)
- (iv) hə?kšpay minnə hugay
 hə?kš-pa ?əy+ min-wə hu? ga?
 hurry-INC 3E+ come-dINC where that
 'He comes hurrying to where it is.' (ZOH1R42 067)
- (v) pwes kom dəšhá? mušpan yuntammə
 pwes komo dəšhaa? muš-pa ?ən+ yun-tam-wə
 well since we know-INC 1E+ swim-1/2PL-dINC

 nəktampa hoŋhonaŋ
 (də+) nək-tam-pa hoŋ+honaŋ
 (1A+) go-1/2PL-INC inside+DIR3
 'Well, since we know how to swim, we're going in.' (ZOH1R15 045)
- (vi) ?okmaŋŋə wan ?əy caŋŋoy
 ?okmaŋ-wə wan ?əy+ caŋ.ʔoy-E
 begin-COM juan 3E+ cut_w_machete.ANTIP-dCOM
 'Juan began to clear (brush with a machete).' (lexicon)

The following examples show the inflectional possibilities of auxiliary verb constructions. Examples (i) and (v) demonstrate the use of ergative agreement markers even though the valency of the whole construction is intransitive. In (i), V2 is made intransitive by the addition of the antipassive suffix; in (v), it is intransitive because the patient - *tuhkuyʔ*, 'gun' - has been incorporated. The absolutive *də+* (1A) appears in example (ii) because the clause is in the inverse: the third person agents of V2 are searching for a first person patient, so the more important first person argument must be explicitly marked. In example (vii), both the auxiliary and V2 are inflected directly for mood. Double marking only occurs with this particular construction: the auxiliary *nək-* and the hortative mood. It is a very common way to say "Let's go do something!".

(8.4)

(i) completive aspect - intransitive V2

minnən muššoydame

min-wə ʔən+ muš.ʔoy-tam-E

come-COM 1E+ know.ANTIP-1/2PL-dCOM

'We came to know (about it).'

(ZOH1R23 172)

(ii) completive aspect - inverse marking

minnə də meʔčuki

min-wə də+ meʔc-šuk-E

come-COM 1A+ look_for-3PL-dCOM

'They came to look for me.'

(ZOH1R30 001)

(iii) incompletive aspect

minpa ʔəy cakkə ʔəy wakašdəkkay

min-pa ʔəy+ cak-wə ʔəy+ wakaš+dəkkay

come-INC 3E+ leave-dINC 3E+ cow+NPL

'They come to leave their cattle.'

(ZOH1R32 072)

- (iv) imperative mood
 haʔá minəm ʔammawə
 haʔá min-Aʔ ʔəm+ ʔamma-wə
 Ha! come-IMPV 2E+ look-dINC
 'Ha! Come look at it!' (ZOH1R25 031)
- (v) volitive mood
 ʔaŋkimmobáʔ ʔəy nəmhayyə pwes
 ʔaŋkimmobáʔ ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə pwes
 leader 3E+ say.APPL-COM well

 yakkə minno ʔəy tuhkuypəkšukkə
 yakkə min-ʔo ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ=pək-šuk-wə
 VOL come-IMPV2 3E+ gun=get-3PL-COM
 'The leader said to them, well, that they should come get their guns.'
 (ZOH1R24 390)
- (vi) negative
 si dəš ya də minnən tukšiʔay
 si dəš ya də+ min-wə ʔən+ tukšiʔ.ʔa-E
 if 1Prn NEG 1A+ come-nCOM 1E+ fight.VERS1-dCOM
 'If I didn't come to fight' (ZOH1R18 056)
- (vii) hortative mood
 nəmmə bi yošʔawindəkka nəktán kumtán
 0 nəm-wə bi yoš=ʔawinʔ+dəkka nək-taan kum-taan
 3A say-COM DEF work=sibling+NPL go-HORT bury-HORT
 'The work friends said, "Let's go bury him!"' (ZOH1R27 017)

The plural can be marked on either or both verbs, though there seems to be a preference for marking V2 (which determines the argument structure of the whole).

(8.5)

- (i) *kay nəkšukpam ʔəy cakšukkə*
 kay nək-šuk-pa+ʔam ʔəy+ cak-šuk-wə
 then go-3PL-INC+NOW 3E+ leave-3PL-dINC
 'Now they go to leave it.' (ZOH1R23 141)
- (ii) *nəkpəy həšpəkšukkam bi came*
 nək-pa ʔəy+ həš.pək-šuk-wə+ʔam bi cam.E
 go-INC 3E+ BACK.get-3PL-dINC+NOW DEF talk.NOM3
 'Now they go to get the agreement.' (ZOH1R23 142)
- (iii) *nəktammən huy boleto*
 nək-tam-wə ʔən+ huy-E boleto
 go-1/2PL-COM 1E+ buy-dCOM ticket
 'We went to buy tickets.' (ZOH1R10 475)

V2 determines the valency of the whole construction. Affixes that affect argument structure will thus appear only on V2. Actually, the causative is the only valency-changing affix that could potentially apply to any of the auxiliaries, since they are generally intransitive in their independent forms². The causative usually affects only the semantic structure of V2, as shown in examples (8.6 i) - 'you go to cause it to be filled' - and (ii) - 'they went to cause him to see'. But a

² *muš-* 'to know' is the only exception, but its meaning and argument structure are slightly different in the auxiliary form - 'to know how to V2' - so it wouldn't accept the antipassive or passive suffixes anyway.

causative on V2 can apply to the whole auxiliary construction, as in (iii) - 'he caused him to come speak Zoque'.

(8.6)

(i) causative

tey si nəkpam yaktaššə

tey si nək-pa ?əm+ yak.taš-wə

now if go-INC 2E+ CAUS.be_filled-COM

'Now if you go to fill it up.'

(ZOH1R23 586)

(ii) causative

pwes nəkkəy yakkiššuki

pwes nək-wə ?əy+ yak.ʔiš-šuk-E

well go-COM 3E+ CAUS.see-3PL-dCOM

'Well, they went to show him.'

(ZOH1R12 232)

(iii) causative

yeʔccə təkʔaŋhə benigno helasyo ?əy təkho?

0 yeʔc-wə təkʔaŋhə? benigno helasyo ?əy+ tək+ho?

3A arrive-COM san_miguel benigno gelasio 3E+ house+LOC2

para ke minpa ?əy yakcammə bi ?aŋpən

para ke min-pa ?əy+ yak.cam-wə bi ?aŋpən

for that come-INC 3E+ CAUS.talk-dINC DEF zoque

'Benigno arrived in San Miguel at Gelasio's house to get him to

come speak Zoque (on the project).'

(ZOH1R10 001-2)

(iv) passive

peru ti minpay cəkkəmmə

peru ti min-pa ?əy+ cək.ʔəm-wə

but what come-INC 3E+ do.PASS-dINC

'But what's happening? (lit. What comes to be done?)' (ZOH1R43 098)

- (v) applicative
 nəmpa rromán si nəkpam nəmhayyə
 0 nəm-pa rromán si nək-pa ?əm+ nəm.hay-wə
 3A say-INC román if go-INC 2E+ say.APPL-dINC
 'Román says, "If you're going to go tell him"' (ZOH1R18
 125)
- (vi) antipassive
 ?eyahón ga nəkkam ?əy nukoe
 ?eya?+hoon ga? nək-wə+?am ?əy+ nuk.?oy-E
 elsewhere that go-COM+NOW 3E+ grab.ANTIP-dCOM
 'He went to get something elsewhere.' (ZOH1R25 010)

Derivational affixes that affect the meaning of the verb stem appear, naturally, on V2, as shown in examples (8.7 i-ii). V2 can be any sort of derived or compounded stem. In example (ii), V2 consists of the root cən- 'to sit' compounded with the derived stem ?ok.heh-, 'to rest'. Derivational affixes that affect the meaning of the event as a whole, such as time adverbials, may appear on the auxiliary or on V2 or on both. Examples of these are shown in (iii-v).

- (8.7)
- (i) tihpay kocənke?čukkə
 tih-pa ?əy+ ko.cən.ke?t-šuk-wə
 go&return-INC 3E+ SOC.sit.REPET-3PL-dINC
 'They'll go to guard it again.' (ZOH1R45 080)
- (ii) mintammə yəhənaŋ cənnokhehtame parkeho?
 min-tam-wə yəhənaŋ (?ən+) cən=?ok.heh-tam-E parke+ho?
 come-1/2PL-COM to_here (1E+) sit=DOWN.live-1/2PL-dCOM park+LOC2
 'We came over here to sit and rest in the park.' (ZOH1R10 212)

- (iii) dey minnám miš ʔiškete
 dey min-wə+ʔam miš+ ʔiš.keʔt-E
 now come-COM+NOW 1>2+ see.REPET-dCOM
 'Now I've come to see you again.' (ZOH1R26 138)
- (iv) minnom pəkcoŋtammám hašakehá?
 min-ʔo ʔəm+ pək=coŋ-tam-wə+ʔam hašake+haa?
 come-IMPV2 2E+ get=join-1/2PL-dINC+NOW female_in_law+NPL2
 'Now come meet your mothers-in-law.' (ZOH1R23 432)
- (v) tum domiŋgo tihhən witkeʔttame kuyho?
 tum domiŋgo tih-wə ʔən+ wit.keʔt-tam-E kuy+ho?
 one sunday go&return-COM 1E+ walk.REPET-1/2PL-dCOM tree+LOC2
 'One Sunday we went to walk in the bush again.' (ZOH1R10 591)

Other constituents of the clause can appear between the auxiliary and V2, provided that they are not too long. This isn't common: there is a clear preference to put any noun phrases or adverbials after the auxiliary construction, as in examples (8.7 iv-v), above. The modal operator *pinək* is shown inside the auxiliary construction in (8.8 iii), but this is not required (iv). A noun phrase that appears between the ergative marker and V2 is incorporated. Examples (v) and (vi) illustrate this contrast.

(8.8)

- (i) kay minpam bi hentedəkkay ʔiššukkə bi santu
 kay min-pa+ʔam bi hente+dəkka ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə bi santu
 then come-INC+NOW DEF people+NPL 3E+ see-3PL-dINC DEF saint
 'Now the people are coming to see the saint.' (ZOH1R32 044)

- (ii) *nəktampa dehi ?ən ?ištammə dedə cawowo*
nək-tam-pa dehi? ?ən+ ?iš-tam-wə dedə ca?=?owo
 go-1/2PL-INC there 1E+ see-1/2PL-dINC that rock=hole
 'We're going there to see that cave.' (ZOH1R15 037)
- (iii) *ya minə pinək ?əm koyoššə*
ya min-A pinək ?əm+ ko.yoš-wə
 NEG come-nINC CONFAC 2E+ SOC.work-dINC
 'You wouldn't come to work for others.' (ZOH1R19 067)
- (iv) *ney de?še pinək nəkpam yoštammə ?eya?ho?*
ney de?še pinək nək-pa ?əm+ yoš-tam-wə ?eya?k+ho?
 same thus CONFAC go-INC 2E+ work-1/2PL-dINC other+LOC2
 'The same way maybe you'd go to work elsewhere.' (ZOH1R10 040)
- (v) *pic bi nək-pay hamatinpəkšukkə kada šepe*
pic bi nək-pa ?əy+ hamatin=pək-šuk-wə kada šepe
 because DEF go-INC 3E+ money=get-3PL-dINC each month
 'Because he goes to get money every month.' (ZOH1R28 331)
- (vi) *ga hamatin nəkpa ?əy pəkšukkə? kada šepe*
ga? hamatin nək-pa ?əy+ pək-šuk-wə+V?k kada šepe
 that money go-INC 3E+ get-3PL-dINC+REL each month
 'That money that he goes to get each month.' (ZOH1R28 332)

The irregular form *nəmmo-* 'to be able to' also appears in the dependent verb construction and functions as an auxiliary verb. I treat it as an unanalyzed stem and gloss it 'be_able' because although it is a derived stem, it is clearly lexicalized. Its analysis is *nəm.ʔoy-*, 'DO.ANTIP'. The root *nəm-* with this meaning appears, though rarely, in compound verb constructions (an example is shown in 8.9 v); otherwise it exists only in this special collocation. *nəmmo-* clauses always have incompletive aspect. The progressive *nəmmə-* (PROG) also

behaves syntactically like an auxiliary verb. One example of this form is given in (vi); it is discussed further in chapter 14.

(8.9)

- (i) *tujho ya nəmmom yakpəʔttə gadə papən*
tuj+hoʔ ya nəmmo-A ʔəm+ yak.pəʔt-wə gadə pa=pən
 road+LOC2 NEG be_able-nINC 2E+ CAUS pass-dINC that wild=man
 'That devil doesn't allow you to pass in the road.' (ZOH1R18 043)
- (ii) *yəhənaŋ nəmmobam tukšiʔawə kon məhmə hente*
yə+hənaŋ nəmmo-pa ʔəm+ tukšiʔ.ʔa-wə kon məhmə hente
 DCT1+ACC be_able-INC 2E+ fight.VERS1-dINC with many people
 'With this you can fight with many people' (ZOH1R18 097)
- (iii) *ya nəmmoy minnə ni kamilo*
ya nəmmo-A ʔəy+ min-wə ni kamilo
 NEG be_able-nINC 3E+ come-dINC nor camilo
 'Camilo can't come either.' (ZOH1R10 006)
- (iv) *nəmmoban nəktammám de tujhoʔ*
nəmmo-pa ʔən+ nək-tam-wə+ʔam deʔ tuj+hoʔ
 be_able-INC 1E+ go-1/2PL-dINC+NOW that road+LOC2
 'Now we can go on that road.' (ZOH1R18 133)
- (v) *nəmnəmhayəʔ*
nəm=nəm.hay-Aʔ
 DO=say.APPL-IMPV
 'Go tell him!' (ZOH1R18 126)
- (vi) *nəmmən koʃəŋŋadammə yədə pən*
nəmmə ʔən+ ko.ʃəŋ.ʔa-tam-wə yədə pən
 PROG 1E+ SOC.fiesta.VERS1-1/2PL-dINC this man
 'We're having a fiesta for this man.' (ZOH1R18 204)

There is one syntactic construction that is peculiar to the two most common auxiliaries - *nək-* 'to go' and *min-* 'to come' - and to the verb root *wit-*,

'to walk'. Attempts at eliciting wit- in the basic auxiliary verb construction were unsuccessful, although it is a plausible candidate for the auxiliary set, since other Zoquean languages have a 'walk' auxiliary (Himes, 1997).

In this construction, the auxiliary follows the main verb. The main verb is directly inflected for aspect, while the auxiliary bears the dependent suffix. The main verb is marked for agreement with whichever set of markers is appropriate, absolutive or ergative, and an ergative marker appears between the two. The syntax follows this template:

<Agreement marker> - <V1-Infl> - <Ergative marker> - <AuxV-depInfl>

(8.10)

- (i) hemhi ʔəy pəkpay nəkkə
 hemhi ʔəy+ pək-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə
 all 3E+ get-INC 3E+ go-dINC
 'He goes around grabbing everyone.' (ZOH1R18 199)
- (ii) hemhi pəʔtpa ʔəy nəkkəʔ
 hemhi 0 pəʔt-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə+Vʔk
 all 3A pass-INC 3E+ go-dINC+REL
 'Everyone who goes passing by' (ZOH1R18 034)

Verbs in this construction have a clearly continuative aspectual force, whether they are in the incomplete or the complete. This construction means 'to go/come/walk around doing V1'. The meaning of nək-, 'to go', is somewhat bleached semantically, as can be seen in examples (8.11 i) and (ii). In (i), the little jaguar doesn't actually go anywhere until after he grows up. The semantic force of wit-, 'to walk', is very evident, however; it only appears in this construction when the V1 event is something that can be done while walking

around (iii-iv). The clear literalness of the motion of the action in these constructions perhaps explains why *tih-*, 'to go and return', doesn't appear in them: it would mean 'to go back and forth V1-ing', which perhaps would seem too disturbed for Zoque sensibilities.

(8.11)

- (i) wəttəyyəy nəki bi čik cikin kahaŋ
 0 wəti.ʔəy-wə ʔəy+ nək-E bi čik cikin kahaŋ
 3A big.VERS2-COM 3E+ go-dCOM DEF small spotted jaguar
 'The little spotted jaguar went on growing up.' (ZOH1R26 007)
- (ii) pa gahi yopa ʔəy nəkkə bi čik hamatin
 para gahi? 0 yoʔ-pa ʔəy+ nək-wə bi čik hamatin
 for there 3A fall-INC 3E+ go-dINC DEF small money
 'Because there goes falling a little tax' (ZOH1R28 195)
- (iii) ʔəy ʔaŋpakpay wittə
 ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.pak-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
 3E+ MOUTH.grasp-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
 'He walks around inviting them.' (ZOH1R22 023)
- (iv) yəhi bi rebeldedəkka numpay wittə
 yəhi? bi rebelde+dəkka 0 num-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə
 here DEF rebel+NPL 3A steal-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
 'The rebels went around stealing here.' (ZOH1R24 004)
- (v) wehpa ʔəy minnə wišidəkka busbusbusbus
 0 weh-pa ʔəy+ min-wə wiši+dəkka busbusbusbus
 3A shout-INC 3E+ come-dINC buzzard+NPL busbusbusbus
 'The buzzards come crying, "Busbusbusbus!"' (ZOH1R12 079)

- ### 8.3. Dependent verb constructions

There are also dependent verb constructions in which neither V1 nor V2 is an auxiliary. There are a few examples in which V1 has an aspectual meaning, as shown in examples (8.12 i) and (ii), and perhaps example (iii). There are also some examples in which V1 indicates direction of motion, as shown in (iv). In these cases, V1 functions as an auxiliary. In RRG terms, it is a nuclear operator modifying the aspectual or directional character of the event denoted by V2. The only surprising thing about these constructions is that there aren't more of them, since there are many examples of compounds that include a root with aspectual or directional meaning.

- (8.12)
(i) ʔokwakkəy ʔotowe
ʔok.wak-wə ʔəy+ ʔotoŋ-E
DOWN.*empty-COM 3E+ speak-dCOM
'He finished speaking.'
(ZOH1R43)

- (ii) tukpa kahʔukwə
 0 tuk-pa (ʔəy+) kahwe=ʔuk-wə
 3A finish-INC (3E+) coffee=drink-dINC
 'They finish having breakfast.' (ZOH1R29
 092)
- (iii) poccám ʔən ʔanecidame
 poc-wə+ʔam ʔən+ ʔane=ciʔ-tam-E
 get_tired-COM+NOW 1E+ tortilla=give-1/2PL-dCOM
 'Now we've gotten tired of giving him tortillas.' (ZOH1R27 035)
- (iv) yukpoypay kəmaŋŋəyyə kocəkhoʔ
 yuk.poy-pa ʔəy+ kə.maŋ.ʔəy-wə kocək+hoʔ
 UP.flee-INC 3E+ AWAY.*step.SUF-dINC hills+LOC2
 'They are running up into the hills.' (ZOH1R58 137)

More commonly, the events denoted by the two verbs must be simultaneous -V1 while V2 - which makes these constructions more limited than verb compounding. There are very few examples of this construction in the texts, and examples for eliciting judgements had to be crafted very carefully to get the pragmatics right. It seems there are not that many things that can be done with the strict simultaneity required by this construction. The most acceptable were those in which the actor was somehow vocalizing while performing the action.

(8.13)

- (i) həypan ʔeccə
 həy-pa ʔən+ ʔec-wə
 cry-INC 1E+ dance-nINC
 'I'm crying while dancing.' (elicited)

- (ii) rroberto šušpay kapnəkə de kuy
 rroberto šuš-pa ʔəy+ kap=nək-wə deʔ kuy
 roberto whistle-INC 3E+ carry_on_shoulder=go-dINC that tree
 'Roberto is whistling and carrying that wood.' (elicited)
- (iii) hatikšpay moʔccə dedə niwiʔ
 hatikš-pa ʔəy+ moʔc-wə dedə niwiʔ
 sneeze-INC 3E+ grind-dINC that chile
 'She sneezes while grinding that chile.' (elicited)
- (iv) wannən šošən šək
 wan-wə ʔən+ šoš-E ʔən+ šək
 sing-COM 1E+ cook-dINC 1E+ bean
 'I sang while cooking my beans.' (elicited)

Either or both verb roots can be transitive in these constructions. There is only one argument structure, however, and thus there can only be one actor and one patient. This is why it's easier to construct these with verbs of speaking: they are generally T1 roots, that only optionally take patient arguments. If both roots are T3, one of them must be intransitivized by means of the antipassive suffix.

- (8.14) kəššoban hayyən totoʔ
 kəš.ʔoy-pa ʔən+ hay-wə ʔən+ totoʔ
 eat.ANTIP-INC 1E+ write-dINC 1E+ paper
 'I'm eating while writing my letters.' (elicited)

8.3. Verb compounds

Verb complexes with compound stems are ubiquitous in MIG Zoque discourse. Compounding stems is the most common means of expressing adverbial modification, such as manner, means, and direction of motion. In this section, I will first describe the morphosyntax of compounds, and then the many functions that they serve.

8.3.1. Morphosyntax of verb compounds

The most common sort of compound consists of two unadorned roots. Three-root compounds are rare. The last example shown below (8.15 v), is debatably a three-root compound in MIG Zoque. The root *təʔ-*, 'to want', is cognate with a frustrative affix in other Zoquean languages (Wichmann, 1995; Kaufman, 1996), and thus might be classified as an affix in MIG Zoque as well. I analyze it as a verb root in this grammar, because that analysis seems simpler, given the power of verb compounding in this language, than proposing that some roots are actually affixes.

(8.15)

- (i) *de gahi makkokmaŋŋə bi pən*
 de gahiʔ 0 mak=ʔokmaŋ-wə bi pən
 from there 3A fish=begin-COM DEF man
 'Then the man began to fish.'

(ZOH1R20 015)

- (ii) ʔən wakaš ʔəy pacwaŋkawə tren
 ʔən+ wakaš ʔəy+ pac=waŋka-wə tren
 1E+ cow 3E+ throw=turn_over-COM train
 'My bull threw over a train.' (ZOH1R25 261)
- (iii) gə tyempu mae haʔkkapa rroberta
 gə tyempu maeʔ 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa rroberta
 that time REM 3A drown=die-INC roberta
 'That time Roberta nearly died by drowning.' (ZOH1R15 075)
- (iv) miš ʔišpəkpa
 miš+ ʔiš=pək-pa
 1>2+ see=get-INC
 'I know you.' (ZOH1R26 103)
- (v) bi nuʔ ʔəy wašnumtəpa bi cinu ʔəy tək
 bi nuʔ ʔəy+ waš=num=təʔ-pa bi cinuʔ ʔəy+ tək
 DEF dog 3E+ bite=steal=want-INC DEF bee 3E+ house
 'The dog wanted to sneak up and bite the bee hive.' (ZOH1R46 057)

Derived stems can be combined in a compound construction. These "inner stems" can be composed of a root and a directional prefix (8.16 i-ii), a root, a directional prefix, and the suffix -ʔəy (iii-iv), or sometimes an antipassive that applies only to one of the compounds (v). Brackets are placed in the examples that follow to indicate the morpho-syntactic constituent structure.

(8.16)

- (i) den kənakštuktampa
 dey ʔən+ [[kə.nakš]=tuk]-tam-pa
 now 1E+ [[AWAY.hit_w_stick]=finish]-1/2PL-INC
 'We finish clearing (the field).' (ZOH1R13 006)

- (ii) kwandu ?əy həšmu?kkoktukkáam kay ney yopa
 kwandu ?əy+[[həš.mu?k]=[?ok.tuk]]-wə+?am kay ney 0 yo?-pa
 when 3E+ [[BACK.suck]=[DOWN.cut]]-COM+NOW then self 3A fall-INC
 'When he finishes sucking it out, it falls out by itself.' (ZOH1R36
 443)
- (iii) yəhi pəkkəmaŋŋədán yədə kuydəkka
 yəhi? [[pək=[kə?.maŋ.ʔəy]]-taaŋ yədə kuy+dəkka
 here [[get=[AWAY.*step.SUF]]-HORT this tree+NPL
 'Let's lift up these boards here!' (ZOH1R25 075)
- (iv) ?əy nikkekəkətəwə bi mecaŋ maŋkuypə?k pən
 ?əy+ [[nik.kek.ʔəy]=tə?]-wə bi mecaŋ maŋkuypə?k pən
 3E+ [[SURF.jump.SUF]=want]-COM DEF two legged man
 'He wanted to jump on the two-legged man.' (ZOH1R26 120)
- (v) de?še bim wattotədampa
 de?se bi ?əm+ [[wat.ʔoy]=tə?]-tam-pa
 thus DEF 2E+ [[earn.ANTIP]=want]-1/2PL-INC
 'This is how you want to be earning.' (ZOH1R25 029)

It is also possible for prefixes and suffixes to be applied to a compound stem; that is, for the verb stems to be linked in series and then affixed. The causative always applies to the whole compound stem, as illustrated in (8.17 i), as does the applicative suffix (ii). In example (iii), tuk-, 'to finish', is an aspectual modifier of ?ek-, 'to harvest', which is a T3 verb that requires an antipassive suffix in order to suppress its patient. So, the antipassive pertains to the whole root compound. In example (iv), the actor is passing by stepping; the prefix nik- adds the sense both of repetition and of spreading the legs to step across something (since it has to do generally with spreading or scattering); hence, it applies to the

complex action denoted by both compound roots. In (v), the actor ends up facing forward, the fundamental action conveyed by the two verb stems. The causative is used because he does this deliberately - he causes himself to face forward. The antipassive is added to defeat the transitivity of the causative - he's not causing someone else to face forward, he's moving himself. Finally, in (vi), the repetitive suffix applies to the action of killing a deer with a blow (it's the second deer). The jaguar doesn't repeatedly swipe his paw at the deer to kill it.

(8.17)

- (i) ʔəy yakyumtəcpa
 ʔəy+ [yak.[yum=təc]]-pa
 3E+ [CAUS.[boil=be_dry]]-INC
 'He boils it dry.' (ZOH1R36 405)
- (ii) ʔəy wəktukhayyə ʔəy wintuʔ
 ʔəy+ [[wək=tuk].hay]-wə ʔəy+ wintuʔ
 3E+ [[cut_w_knife=cut].APPL]-COM 3E+ neck
 'He cut his neck for him.' (ZOH1R18 091)
- (iii) də ʔektukodampa
 də+ [[ʔek=tuk].ʔoy]-tam-pa
 1A+ [[harvest=finish].ANTIP]-1/2PL-INC
 'We finish harvesting.' (ZOH1R13 095)
- (iv) ʔəy nikkaʃpəʔtkeʔtpa ʔaʃta ke ʔokwakpa
 ʔəy+ [nik.[kaʃ=pəʔt]].keʔt-pa ʔaʃta ke 0 ʔok.wak-pa
 3E+ [SURF.[step=pass]].REPET-INC until that 3A DOWN.*empty-INC
 'He steps across it again until it's done³.' (ZOH1R36 206)
- (v) ʔentonse naʃe yakwintentukkoyyə
 ʔentonse naʃe 0 [[yak.[[win.ten]=tuk]].ʔoy]-wə
 then truth 3A [[CAUS.][[FACE.stand]=finish]].ANTIP]-COM

³ As part of the cure for ghost sickness, the affected person has to step across the grave of the one that's haunting him several times while the healer prays and burns incense.

'Then, in fact, he stopped himself right in front.' (ZOH1R18 049)

- (vi) ʔəy caŋkageʔttə
 ʔəy+ [caŋ=kaʔ].keʔt-wə
 3E+ [hit_w_fist=die].REPET-COM
 'Again, he killed it with one blow of his paw.' (ZOH1R26
 077)

Verbs derived from nouns or adjectives can be included in a compound construction (8.18 i-ii), as can stems formed from a verb with an incorporated argument (iv-v).

(8.18)

- (i) hemhi piŋŋaŋkukkadamə
 hemhiʔ piŋ=[ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa]-tam-Aʔ
 all pick_up=[MOUTH.center.VERS1]-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Gather them all up!' (ZOH1R24 200)

- (ii) porke ʔamintəʔk ʔən tehitəkkadammə gahaʔ
 porke ʔamintəʔk ʔən+ tehi=[tək.ʔa]-tam-wə gahaʔ
 because last_year 1E+ there_are=[house.VERS1]-1/2PL-COM there
 'Because last year we were together there.' (ZOH1R18 288)

- (iii) ʔəy poyyahəyyə
 ʔəy+ poy=[yahəʔ.ʔəy]-wə
 3E+ flee=[far.VERS2]-COM
 'He threw them aside.' (ZOH1R24 630)

- (iv) ʔəy camcokoypowə
 ʔəy+ cam=[cokoy=poʔ]-wə
 3E+ talk=[heart=be_born]-COM
 'He consoled her.' (lexicon)

- (v) də kahʔuktukkə
 də+ [kahwe=ʔuk]=tuk-wə
 1A+ [coffee=drink]=finish-COM

'I finished drinking coffee.'

(ZOH1R10 162)

When a verb compound construction is negated, it is the action denoted by V2 that is negated, not that denoted by V1. In example (8.19 i), Roberto comes but doesn't bring the paper. In (ii), my mother washed the clothes, but without my help. The translations for the rest of the examples clarify which part of the complex action is negated.

(8.19)

- (i) rroberto yay pəkminnən toto?
 rroberto ya ʔəy+ pək=min-wə ʔən+ toto?
 roberto NEG 3E+ get=come-COM 1E+ paper
 'Roberto didn't bring my paper.' (elicited)
- (ii) yan cekocoŋə ʔən mama bi yote?
 ya ʔən+ ceʔ=ko.coŋ-wə ʔən+ mama bi yote?
 NEG 1E+ wash=SOC.join-COM 1E+ mother DEF clothes
 'I didn't help my mother wash the clothes.' (elicited)
- (iii) yay caŋwaŋkawə
 ya ʔəy+ caŋ=waŋka-wə
 NEG 3E+ hit_w_fist=turn_over-COM
 'He didn't knock him over (but he hit him).' (elicited)
- (iv) čik ha:yʔunedəkka yay cihnoʔccə bi limeta
 čik haya=ʔuneʔ+dəkka ya ʔəy+ cih=noʔc-wə bi limeta
 small male=child+NPL NEG 3E+ throw_rock=break-COM DEF bottle
 'The little boys didn't break the bottle by throwing rocks at it
 (but they did throw the rocks).' (elicited)
- (v) ya də witpoccə
 ya də+ wit=poc-wə
 NEG 1A+ walk=get_tired-COM
 'I didn't get tired from walking (but I did walk).' (elicited)

8.3.2. Functions of the components of verb compounds

Foley & Olson (1985) present a set of characteristics of serial verb constructions (SVCs) as part of their argument that such constructions constitute single clauses. Their discussion centers around serial verbs in West African languages, but they include compound constructions from languages like Yimas (Papua-New Guinea) that are very much like the MIG Zoque data described in this section. The description of the various functions served by MIG Zoque verb compound constructions will be organized around the Foley & Olson characteristics.

They present three fundamental arguments in favor of the single clause analysis of SVCs: that in some languages they are a single word, that the meaning of one of the components may be different in a series than in isolation, and that one of the components may actually be ungrammatical in isolation. Verb compounds in MIG Zoque are uncontroversially a single word, since they take only one agreement marker and one inflectional suffix.

There are several roots that appear frequently in compounds with shifted meanings, as shown in the examples in (8.20). The root *poy-* means 'to flee' when used by itself, generally referring to animals. In compounds, it means 'briefly; for/in a minute' (i-ii). *num-* by itself means 'to steal'; in compounds, it means 'secretly' (iii). *yoh-* by itself means 'to pay'; in compounds, it indicates reciprocity or repetition (iv-v). *witu?* by itself means 'to turn around'; in compounds, it can mean 'all around; around and around' (vi).

(8.20)

- (i) poycəntamə
 0 poy=cən-tam-A?
 3A flee=sit-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Sit down for a while.' (ZOH1R10 065)
- (ii) miš poyʔištuktamə
 miš+ poy=ʔiś=tuk-tam-A?
 2>1+ flee=see=finish-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Wait for me a minute.' (ZOH1R10 309)
- (iii) ʔi ga pəndəkka numcənšukkə
 ʔi gaʔ pən+dəkka 0 num=cən-šuk-wə
 and that man+NPL 3A steal=sit-3PL-COM
 'And those men hid themselves.' (ZOH1R24 461)
- (iv) hucenʔ poŋ ʔən nəmhoyohkeʔttə
 hucenʔ poŋ ʔən+ nəm=ho.yoh.keʔt-wə
 how_many time 1E+ say=IN.pay.REPET-COM
 'How many times did I repeat it?'⁴ (ZOH1R14 056)
- (v) yohciʔošukkə
 0 yoh=ciʔ.ʔoy-šuk-wə
 3A pay=give.ANTIP-3PL-COM
 'They exchanged greetings.' (ZOH1R17 022)
- (vi) ʔəm heywitupa
 ʔəm+ hey=wituʔ-pa
 2E+ beat=return-INC
 'You stir it all around.' (ZOH1R32 130)

⁴ This sentence comes from a text in which Sr. Sánchez is talking about how much work he has done to teach me Zoque, and the construction actually indicates tremendous repetition. First, he chooses the root yoh- in its repetitive sense. Then he prefixes it with ho-, which indicates IN when used directionally, but can also be used to express repetition. Finally, he adds the repetitive suffix, giving the whole thing the sense of him saying things over and over and over again.

There are many compounds in MIG Zoque in which one of the roots would be ungrammatical in isolation because it is no longer a living morpheme in the language. In the examples in (8.21), the underlined root does not occur independently.

(8.21)

- (i) ʔəy nɪpenwakkəy mačete
 ʔəy+ nɪ.pen=wak-wə ʔəy+ mačete
 3E+ PSE.grasp.*empty.COM 3E+ machete
 'He pulled his machete out of it's scabbard.' (ZOH1R18 077)
- (ii) ʔəm winnomwakpa
 ʔəm+ win.ʔom=wak-pa
 2E+ FACE.emit_smoke=*empty-INC
 'You cense it out.' (ZOH1R36 117)
- (iii) ʔəy maŋnakaʔccə
 ʔəy+ maŋ=nakaʔc-wə
 3E+ *step=crush-COM
 'He crushed it with his foot.' (lexicon)
- (iv) ʔəy paŋhaššə
 ʔəy+ paŋ=haš-wə
 3E+ *lean=toast-COM
 'She toasted it.' (by leaning it against the griddle) (lexicon)

Foley and Olson propose a cross-linguistic hierarchy of the classes from which the second verb (V2) in a series can be drawn. The hierarchy ranges from the most common class, the directional verbs 'to come' and 'to go', to the least common, in which V2 is a transitive verb. MIG Zoque verb compounds span the hierarchy, with many different functions served by transitive V2s.

8.3.2.1. V2 is a directional verb

The most common type of SVC cross-linguistically is that in which V2 is one of the directionals 'to come' or 'to go'. These are the auxiliary verbs *min-* and *nək-* in MIG Zoque, along with the round-trip directional *tih-*. All of these appear as V2 in compound constructions, as illustrated in examples (8.22 i-iii).

(8.22)

- (i) ʔəy pəkminnáam bi čik morral
 ʔəy+ pək=min-wə+ʔam bi čik morral
 3E+ get=come.-COM+NOW DEF little bag
 'He has brought the little bag.' (ZOH1R11 022)
- (ii) ʔəy pənəkšukkám kay bi cawi?
 ʔəy+ pəʔ=nək-šuk-wə+ʔam kay bi cawi?
 3E+ put=go.3PL-COM+NOW then DEF monkey
 'Now they've brought the monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 078)
- (iii) yə ʔən pəktihtammó?
 yəʔ ʔən+ pək=tih-tam-wə+Vʔk
 this 1E+ get=go&return-1/2PL-COM+REL
 'This one that we brought along.' (ZOH1R11 081)
- (iv) hamcəktamə tin cəkmintammə
 ham(V)=cək-tam-Aʔ ti ʔən+ cək=min-tam-wə
 *mind=do-1/2PL-IMPV what 1E+ do=come-1/2PL-COM
 'Remember what we came to do.' (ZOH1R18 003)
- (v) wakaš tin ʔəy koʔcnəkpa
 wakaš tin ʔəy+ koʔc=nək-pa
 cow shit 3E+ carry_in_hand=go-INC
 'She goes carrying the cow patty in her hand.' (ZOH1R21 070)

In keeping with its character as an almost-auxiliary verb, *wit-*, 'to walk', appears frequently in verb compounds to indicate motion, but with no particular direction specified. It generally appears with verbs of carrying, as shown in examples (8.23 i-ii), but also with other sorts of verbs, where it means 'going around V1-ing' (iii).

(8.23)

- (i) *bi nu? ney gaʔše ʔəy cəmwitpa bi bote ʔəy kopakho?*
bi nu? ney gaʔše ʔəy+ cəm=wit-pa bi bote ʔəy+ kopak+ho?
 DEF dog same thus 3E+ cart=walk-INC DEF boot 3E+ head+LOC2
 'Just like that the dog went along with the boot on his head.' (ZOH1R46 038)

- (ii) *miš pəkə yə? dəššən pəkwiťpá?*
miš pək-A? yə? dəš ʔən+ pək=wit-pa+Vʔk
 2Prn get-IMPV this 1Prn 1E+ get=walk-INC+REL
 'You take this that I'm carrying.' (ZOH1R18 095)

- (iii) *nəkšukpa ʔi minšukpa ʔi ya nəmsukə*
0 nək-šuk-pa ʔi 0 min-šuk-pa ʔi ya 0 nəm-šuk-A
 3A go-3PL-INC and 3A come-3PL-INC and NEG 3A say-3PL-nINC

ti bi cəkwiťšukpa
ti bi ʔəy+ cək=wit-šuk-pa
 what DEF 3E+ do=walk-3PL-INC
 'They go and they come and they don't say what it is that they're
 going around doing.' (ZOH1R28 051)

The other directional roots in MIG Zoque are not part of the set of auxiliary verbs, but they do appear frequently in compound constructions. Syntactically, the examples in (8.24) are a mixed bag. In (i-iii), V1 and the motion verb share the same actor: the water cuts going down, the jaguar turns as it

jumps, and the man stands stock-still. In (iv-vii), the subject of the intransitive V2 motion verb is actually the object (undergoer) of the transitive V1. They are all included here to illustrate the range of possibilities in directional verbs.

(8.24)

- (i) dondhutəŋ təŋwanakpa bi nə?
 donde+hutəŋ 0 təŋ=wanak-pa bi nə?
 where+to_where 3A cut_w_iron=go_down-INC DEF water
 'Where the waterfall cuts down.' (ZOH1R15 008)
- (ii) kekwiwə bi kahaŋ
 0 kek=witu?-wə bi kahaŋ
 3A jump=turn-COM DEF jaguar
 'The jaguar turned and jumped.' (ZOH1R26 119)
- (iii) bi pən tencəyyə
 bi pən 0 ten=cəy-wə
 DEF man 3A stand=get_stuck-COM
 'The man stopped still.' (ZOH1R27 027)
- (iv) ?əy caŋwaŋkawə
 ?əy+ caŋ=waŋka-wə
 3E+ hit_w_fist=turn_over-COM
 'He knocked him over with a blow.' (ZOH1R18 309)
- (v) ?əy pəktəkkəyyə tum caŋkuy?
 ?əy+ pək=tək.?əy-wə tum caŋkuy?
 3E+ get=house.VERS2⁵-COM one hand
 'He put in a hand.' (ZOH1R24 589)
- (vi) yəhi pəkkəmaŋŋədāŋ yədə kuydəkka
 yəhi? pək=kə?.maŋ.?əy-taŋ yədə kuy+dəkka
 here get=AWAY.*step.SUF-HORT this tree+NPL
 'Let's lift up these boards here!' (ZOH1R25 075)

⁵ This construction means 'to enter'.

- (vii) de gahi ?əy kapyeʔčukkə
 de gahi? ?əy+ kap=yɛʔc-šuk-wə
 from there 3E+ carry_on_shoulder=arrive-3PL-COM
 'Then they arrived, carrying him on their shoulders.' (ZOH1R27 060)

At the next level in the hierarchy appear what Foley and Olson call 'postural verbs', which are termed positional verbs in this grammar. A compound with a positional verb root as the V2 component is shown in example (8.25 i). Positional verbs more commonly appear as the V1 component (ii-iv).

(8.25)

- (i) numcənnə pakpakho?
 0 num=cən-wə pakpak+ho?
 3A steal=sit-COM shrubbery+LOC2
 'He hid in the shrubbery.' (ZOH1R46 076)
- (ii) ?əy mukšwanakkə ?əy kohap
 ?əy+ mukš=wanak-wə ?əy+ kohap
 3E+ *be_folded=go_down-COM 3E+ hat
 'He turned down the brim of his hat.' (lexicon)
- (iii) cənnokhehtammə parkeho?
 cən=?ok.heh-tam-wə parke+ho?
 sit=DOWN.live-1/2PL-COM park+LOC1
 'We sat and rested in the park.' (ZOH1R10 212)
- (iv) ?əy paŋhaššə
 ?əy+ paŋ=haš-wə
 3E+ lean=toast-COM
 'She toasted it.' (by leaning it against the griddle) (lexicon)

- (v) ʔəy kutpəkkə cəmigəši
 ʔəy+ kut=pək-wə cəm.E+gəši
 3E+ walk_on_knees=get-COM carry.NOM3+LOC4
 'He got his knee on the load (to steady it).' (ZOH1R25 161)

8.3.2. V2 is an aspectual verb

Foley and Olson don't mention aspectual roots in their hierarchy, but since they are nuclear operators on the level of directionals in the RRG framework, it seems reasonable to consider them as being at more or less the same level in the hierarchy. The auxiliary ʔokmaŋ-, 'to begin', only appears in the texts as the second root in a compound construction. The various roots that mean 'to end' or 'to finish' also appear as V2, as does the root cak- 'to leave', which means 'to stop doing V1' in compound constructions.

(8.26)

- (i) dəš də nəmpa ke də nippokmaŋpanam hohi
 dəš də nəm-pa ke də nip=ʔokmaŋ-pa+nam? hohi
 1Prn 1A say-INC that 1A sow=begin-INC+STILL tomorrow
 'I say that I'm still going to begin sowing tomorrow.' (ZOH1R10 047)
- (ii) ʔən yoštəkkawə tum yaŋke?
 ʔən+ yoš=tək.ʔa-wə tum yaŋke?
 1E+ work=enter-COM one yankee
 'I started to work with a gringa.' (ZOH1R14 005)
- (iii) də wəʔttukkodampa
 də+ wəʔt=tuk.ʔoy-tam-pa
 1A+ fell_trees=finish.ANTIP-1/2PL-INC
 'We finish cutting down trees.' (ZOH1R13 008)

- (iv) ʔəy yoh̄tanšukkə
 ʔəy+ yoh̄=tan-šuk-wə
 3E+ pay=finish-3PL-COM
 'They paid him in full.' (ZOH1R18
 264)
- (v) yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš
 ya ʔəy+ kəš=šuk-šuk-wə bi šiš
 NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-COM DEF meat
 'They didn't finish eating the meat.' (ZOH1R12 077)
- (vi) ʔəy ʔokcəkakkobám bi kuyhóʔk yoškuy?
 ʔəy+ ʔok.cək=cak.ʔoy-pa+ʔam bi kuy+hoʔ+Vʔk yoš.kuy?
 3E+ DOWN.do=leave.ANTIP-INC+NOW DEF tree+LOC2+REL work.INSTR2
 'Now they stop doing the work of the fields.' (ZOH1R13 075)

8.3.3. V2 is a stative or process verb

The second level in the Foley & Olson hierarchy consists of SVCs in which the second component is a stative or process verb.

- (8.27)
- (i) təkkəyyə cokohoʔ huʔtkammə
 0 tək.ʔəy-wə cokoʔ+hoʔ 0 huʔt=kam-wə
 3A house.VERS2-COM mud+LOC2 3A stir=get_stuck-COM
 'It went into the mud. It got stuck.' (ZOH1R25 182-3)
- (ii) ney camkehšukəpám
 ney cam=keh-šuk-A-pa+ʔam
 RCP tell=appear-3PL-RCP-INC+NOW
- ke mecaṇpə pəʔtpa kom yaṇke
 ke mecaṇ+pəʔk 0 pəʔt-pa komo yaṇke
 that two+REL 3A pass-INC like gringo
 'Now they were revealing that the two were passing as gringos.'

(ZOH1R17 047)

- (iii) ʔəy koʔantəccə
 ʔəy+ ko.ʔan=təc-wə
 3E+ SOC.warm_up=get_dry-COM
 'He dried it by the fire.' (lexicon)
- (iv) witcunnə
 0 wit=cun-wə
 3A walk=be_happy-COM
 'She walked around with her nose in the air.' (lexicon)
- (v) šiŋhəttám bi šiwi?
 0 šiŋ=hət-wə+ʔam bi šiŋ.E?
 3A swell=reduce-COM+NOW DEF swell.NOM3
 'Now the swelling has gone down.' (lexicon)

8.3.4. V2 is a transitive verb

At the highest level of the Foley & Olson hierarchy (the least-common, cross-linguistically), V2 is a transitive verb. In MIG Zoque, transitive verbs can appear as either V1, or V2, or both, performing a variety of functions.

The most common of these functions is manner modification, in which V1 denotes the manner in which V2 is performed or happens. The simplest function is to amplify the action: V1 and V2 mean essentially the same thing.

(8.28)

- (i) ʔəy poŋkəŋʃukpa dondhu ʃaŋŋoʃukkə
 ʔəy+ poŋ=kəŋ-ʃuk-pa donde=hu? 0 ʃaŋ.ʔoy-ʃuk-wə
 3E+ burn=burn-3PL-INC where=where 3A cut_w_machete.ANTIP-3PL-COM
 'They're burning (the fields) where they cleared.' (ZOH1R60 012)

- (ii) bi pahak ?əy yakhəthummə bi tək
 bi pahak ?əy+ yak.hət=hum-wə bi tək
 DEF river 3E+ CAUS.reduce=crumble-COM DEF house
 'The river tumbled down the house.' (ZOH1R60 079)
- (iii) ?əy hupnukkə məyə
 ?əy+ hup=nuk-wə məyə
 3E+ pull=grab-COM thunder
 'He grabbed a lightning bolt.' (ZOH1R25 215)

Another form of manner modification exploits the instrument entailed by many of the verb roots in MIG Zoque. All of the verbs of cutting specify a particular instrument, for example: nəm- 'to cut with scissors', wək-, 'to cut with a knife', təŋ-, 'to cut with a machete', etc. Compounds formed with these verbs as the first component mean 'to V2 by V1-ing', with an emphasis on the instrument employed.

(8.29)

- (i) ?ən cahcoŋpa ?ən toto?
 ?ən+ cah=coŋ-pa ?ən toto?
 1E+ glue=join-INC 1E paper
 'I'm going to glue my paper together.' (elicited)
- (ii) ?əy hi?ppaŋkukkawə
 ?əy+ hi?p=?aŋ.kuk.ʔa-wə
 3E+ move_w_stick=gather-COM
 'She pushed them into a heap with a stick.' (lexicon)
- (iii) čik ha:y?unedəkka ?əy cihno?ccə bi limeta
 čik haya=?une?+dəkka ?əy+ cih=no?c-wə bi limeta
 small male=child+NPL 3E+ throw_rock=break-COM DEF bottle
 'The little boys broke the bottle with a rock.' (elicited)

The most common form of manner modification expressed by verb compounds is 'to V2 by V1-ing'. Since I think it's been well-established that transitive verbs can appear in the V2 slot, I can shift the focus of this section to the variety of functions performed by the first verb in a compound construction. The remainder of the examples in this section will include both transitive and intransitive verbs in either position. The last two examples in (8.30) illustrate the sub-genre 'to die or kill by V1-ing'.

(8.30)

(i) də witpoc̥tampa

də+ wit=poc-tam-pa

1A+ walk=get_tired-1/2PL-INC

'We get tired from walking.'

(ZOH1R13 070)

(ii) kyen sab syan huptukə

kyen sabe si ya ʔən+ hup=tuk-A

who knows if NEG 1E+ pull=cut-nINC

'Who knows if I won't break it by pulling on it?'

(ZOH1R25 155)

(iii) bi nuʔ ʔəy šuʔkmecpay wittə

bi nuʔ ʔəy+ šuʔk=mec-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə

DEF dog 3E+ smell=look_for-INC 3E+ walk-dINC

'The dog walked along searching for it by sniffing.' (ZOH1R46 028)

- (iv) ya nəmmon huyʔokpoynuktammám
 ya nəmmo ʔən+ huy=ʔok.poy=nuk-tam-wə+ʔam
 NEG be_able 1E+ buy=DOWN.flee=grab⁶-1/2PL-COM+NOW
 porke hakke yohám
 porke hakke yoh.A+ʔam
 because very pay.NOM2+NOW
 'Now we can't afford them because they're so expensive.' (ZOH1R45 106)
- (v) ʔəm mactuʔppa yədə ʔayʔ
 ʔəm+ mac=tuʔp-pa yədə ʔayʔ
 2E+ rub=crumble-INC this leaf
 'You crumble this leaf by rubbing it.' (ZOH1R36 081)
- (vi) ʔi wehhaŋkukkawə
 ʔi 0 weh=ʔaŋ.kuk.ʔa-wə
 and 3A shout=MOUTH.center.VERS1-COM
 'And he called the people together.' (ZOH1R24 023)
- (vii) gə tyempu mae haʔkkapa rroberta
 gə tyempu maeʔ 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa rroberta
 that time REM 3A drown=die-INC roberta
 'That time Roberta nearly died by drowning.' (ZOH1R15 075)
- (viii) nəmməy nakškašukkə
 nəmmə ʔəy+ nakš=kaʔ-šuk-wə
 PROG 3E+ hit_w_stick=die-3PL-COM
 'They were beating it to death.' (ZOH1R25 232)

There are a few cases in which V1 seems to serve as the patient of V2. While the first example (8.31) could be analyzed as 'she spoke, lying' or 'she lied while speaking', the other examples don't conform nicely to the 'V2 by V1-ing'

⁶ This is indeed a compound with a compound as one of its components (V2 is itself a compound form). But it's not that exciting, because ʔokpoynuk- is a clearly lexicalized construction meaning 'to reach' or 'to catch up to'.

template. It doesn't make sense to interpret (ii), for instance, as 'it lost its color by being painted.'

(8.31)

- (i) ʔaŋŋunnotoŋŋə
 0 ʔaŋ.ʔun=ʔotoŋ-wə
 3A MOUTH.deceive=speak-COM
 'She told a little lie.' (lexicon)
- (ii) kəŋkowakkə
 0 kəŋ=ko.wak-wə
 3A paint=OTHR.empty-COM
 'It lost its color.' (lexicon)
- (iii) ʔəy ʔaŋkimcakkə yakkəy cəkkə neyti?
 ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.kim=cak-wə yakkə ʔəy+ cak-wə neyti?
 3E+ MOUTH.mount=leave-COM VOL 3E+ do-COM something
 'He left word that she should do something.' (elicited)
- (iv) kaʃpəpəwə təkʔaŋhəʔ
 0 kaʃ=pəʔ.pəʔ-wə tək+ʔaŋhəʔ+Vʔk
 3A step=put.CEL-COM house+LOC3+REL
 'A Migeleño quickly took a step forward.' (ZOH1R24 172)

Another common function of compound verb constructions is to describe compactly two actions that are performed or occur simultaneously. The compounds with directional verbs and a common actor described above fall into this group, but they can be composed of other sorts of roots as well.

(8.32)

- (i) ʔəy macpəkkə
 ʔəy+ mac=pək-wə
 3E+ massage=grab-COM
 'He grabbed it, rubbing it.' (ZOH1R25 170)

- (ii) ʔəŋmukpa
 0 ʔəŋ=muk-pa
 3A fall(fruit)=fall(people)-INC
 'He's nodding out (falling asleep sitting up).' (lexicon)

Another type of compound construction involves the transitive verbs ʔaŋmay-, 'to learn', and təʔ-, 'to want' as the V2 component. V1 is then the clausal complement of V2: 'learn to V1' or 'want to V1'.

(8.33)

- (i) ney komo ʔu:ndəkka kwandu ʔotonʔaŋmayʂukkə
 ney komo ʔune+dəkka kwandu 0 ʔoton=ʔaŋ.may-ʂuk-wə
 same like child+NPL when 3A speak=learn-3PL-COM
 'Just like children when they learn to walk.' (ZOH1R14 048)

- (ii) picəŋho dəʂ də mintəgeʔtpa
 picəŋhoʔ dəʂ də+ min=təʔ.keʔt-pa
 thus 1Prn 1A+ come=want.REPET-INC
 'That's why I want to come back again.' (ZOH1R15 121)

- (iii) də ʂəŋʔatədampa
 də+ ʂəŋ.ʔa=təʔ-tam-pa
 1A+ fiesta.VERS1=want-1/2PL-INC
 'We want to have a party.' (ZOH1R15 133)

There are a few constructions in which the two actions denoted by the components of the compound verb can be interpreted as happening sequentially.

This only works if each root denotes one part of what is essentially a single continuous motion on the part of the actor. I was not able to elicit expressions such as *ʔən šaŋ=poŋ-wə bi yuhkuyʔ, 'we cleared the fields and burned them'.

(8.34)

- (i) miš tennaŋwaktamə
 miš ten=ʔaŋ.wak-tam-Aʔ
 2>1 stand=clear_out-1/2PL-IMPV
 'Stand back!' (ZOH1R11 063)
- (ii) də nitenwitudamapa
 də ni.ten=wituʔ-tam-A-pa
 1A PSE.stand=return-1/2PL-RECIP-INC
 'We'll turn and stand (facing each other).' (ZOH1R26 112)
- (iii) čik hayʔune dəkka ʔəy cihnoʔccə bi limeta
 čik haya=ʔune+dəkka ʔəy+ cih=noʔc-wə bi limeta
 small male=child+NPL 3E+ throw_rock.break.COM DEF bottle
 'The boys threw a rock at the bottle and broke it.' (elicited)

8.3.5. V1 Object is V2 Subject

In most of the examples that have been discussed so far, V1 and V2 have been nuclear junctures; that is, they are linked in the nucleus of the clause and thus share precisely the same arguments. In (8.34 ii) above, both the jaguar and the man turn and they both stand facing each other - they are the mutual actors of the clause. MIG Zoque compound verb constructions also allow core junctures in which "two cores, each with their own nucleus and corresponding arguments, are joined together to form a larger complex core" (Foley & Olson, 1985:47).

The two cores are constrained to share an argument, which Foley & Olson claim must be either the actor or the undergoer. A common form of core juncture

in Zoque is one in which the undergoer of a transitive V1 is the undergoer of an intransitive V2, as shown in the examples in (8.35). Foley & Olson refer to these as "causative serial verb constructions" (1985:25). Many compounds involving directional verbs work this way: V1 tells us how the agents moved the patient, and V2 tells us in what direction the patient was moved.

(8.35)

- (i) ʔəy caŋwaŋkawə
 ʔəy+ caŋ=waŋka?-wə
 3E+ hit=turn_over-COM
 'He knocked him over.' (ZOH1R18 309)
- (ii) bi mecaŋ maŋkuypəʔk ʔəy hupwanakkə ʔəy tuhkuy?
 bi mecaŋ maŋkuy?+pəʔk ʔəy+ hup=wanak-wə ʔəy+ tuhkuy?
 DEF two foot+REL 3E+ pull=go_down-COM 3E+ gun
 'The two-legged one drew his gun.' (ZOH1R26 122)
- (iii) ʔəy nakšhuhšukpa
 ʔəy+ nakš=huh-šuk-pa
 3E+ hit_w_stick=lay_eggs-3PL-INC
 'They were beating it (a turtle) to make it lay eggs.' (ZOH1R20 008)

In some compound verb constructions formed with ʔiš-, 'to see', the patient of the 'see' event is the agent or actor of the V2 event. So, in example (8.36 i), the boy sees the man and the man is fishing⁷.

(8.36)

- (i) ʔəy ʔišmakkə bi ha:yʔune bi pən
 ʔəy+ ʔiš=mak-wə bi haya=ʔune? bi pən

⁷ ʔiš- also appears in several idiosyncratic compounds, such as ʔiš=tuk- (see=finish) 'to wait', and ʔiš=pək- (see=get) 'to recognize'. In these cases, both verbs share the same agent.

3E+ see=fish-COM DEF male=child DEF man

'The boy saw the man fishing.'

(elicited)

(ii) ?əy ?əkkɪʃnəkkəy?əy manak

?əy+ ?ək.ʔiʃ=nək.ʔəy-wə ?əy+ manak

3E+ DOWN.see.go.SUF-COM 3E+ son

'She stayed, watching her son leave.'

(ZOH1R26)

(iii) ?əy ?iʃtəkkəyʃukkə

?əy+ ?iʃ=tək.ʔəy-ʃuk-wə

3E+ see=house.VERS2-3PL-COM

'They saw her go inside.'

(ZOH1R24 730)

Finally, in compounds with *ko.coŋ-*, 'to help', as the V2 component, V1 can be a transitive verb with its own patient argument. The helper and the helpee (agent and patient of *ko.coŋ-*) are both the agents of the V1 event. These two constructions - *see+V2* and *V1+help* - are extreme examples of core junctures, in which the two verbs do share an argument, but that argument fills a different role for each verb.

(8.37)

(i) ?ən cekocoŋŋə ?ən mama bi yote?

?ən+ ceʔ=ko.coŋ-wə ?ən+ mama bi yote?

1E+ wash=OTHR.join-COM 1E+ mother DEF clothes

'I helped my mother wash the clothes.'

(elicited)

(ii) ?əm yukpəkkocoŋpa bi yo:mʔuney cikwít

?əm+ yuk.pək=ko.coŋ-pa bi yoməʔ=ʔuneʔ ?əy+ cikwiit

2E+ UP.get=OTHR.join-INC DEF female=child 3E+ basket

'You're going to help the girl lift up her basket.'

(elicited)