

Chapter 5: Inflectional Morphology

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

5.1. Person agreement markers

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

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

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

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

Table 5.1. Pronouns and person agreement markers.

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

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

(5.1) Ergative paradigm

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

(5.2) Absolutive paradigm

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

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

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

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

(5.4)

- (i) *yay yakkašukkə*
 ya ʔəy+ yak.kaʔ-šuk-wə
 NEG 3E+ CAUS.die-3PL-COM
 'They didn't kill it.' (ZOH1R12 051)
- (ii) *ʔum ʔukkə*
 ʔu ʔəm+ ʔuk-wə
 nIMPV 2A+ drink-nIMPV
 'Don't drink it.' (ZOH1R12 115)

- (iii) nyay tannə
 ni **ya** ʔəy+ tan-wə
 ni NEG 3E+ complete-COM
 'He didn't kill it either.'
 (ZOH1R11 049)
- (iv) yakkəy kəššukə
 yakkə ʔəy+ kəš-šuk-Aʔ
 VOL 3E+ eat-3PL-iOPT
 'So they could eat.'
 (ZOH1R12 064)
- (v) sim yeʔcmušpa
 si ʔəm+ yeʔc=muš-pa
 if 2E+ arrive=know-INC
 'if you manage to get there'
 (ZOH1R12 162)
- (vi) hemhi de lo kem təpa
 hemhiʔ de lo ke ʔəm+ təʔ-pa
 all of it that 2E+ want-INC
 'everything that you want'
 (ZOH1R12 110)
- (vii) pəkə yəʔ pam refresko
 pək-əʔ yəʔ para ʔəm+ refresko
 grasp-IMPV this for 2E+ soda
 'Take this for your soda.'
 (ZOH1R11 093)
- (viii) ʔən cəktammən čik hakalháʔ
 ʔən+ cək-tam-wə ʔən+ chik hakal+haaʔ
 1E+ do-1/2Pl-COM 1E+ small shelter+EACH
 'We each built our own little shelter.'
 (ZOH1R7 011)

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

5.2. Aspect and mood

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

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

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

Table 5.2. Negation and inflection.

5.2.1. Completive aspect

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

(5.6)

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

(ZOH1R10 194)

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

kwandu tihhə rebolusyón

kwandu 0 tih-wə rebolusyón

when 3A go&return¹-COM revolution

'This is what I saw that year when there was a revolution.' (ZOH1R24 001-

2)

5.2.2. Incompletive aspect

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

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

(5.7)

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

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

5.2.3. Imperative mood

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

(5.8)

- (i) pəkə yəʔ pam refresko
 pck-Aʔ yəʔ para ʔəm+ refresko
 grasp.IMPV this for 2E+ soda
 'Take this for your soda.'

(ZOH1R11 093)

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

(ZOH1R12 345)

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

(ZOH1R12 301)

- (iv) miš ciʔ ʔən mačete
 miš ciʔ-Aʔ ʔən+ mačete
 2Prn give.IMPV 1E+ machete
 'Give me my machete.'

(ZOH1R12

401)

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

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

(5.9)

- (i) *nəmmən ʔawin ke həʔ nəkkə*
nəm-wə ʔən+ ʔawinʔ ke həʔ nək-ʔo
 say-COM 1E+ brother that yes go-IMPV
 'My brother said, "Yes, go."' (ZOH1R10 079)
- (ii) *nəkkom iššə gaha*
nək-ʔo ʔəm+ ʔiš-wə gaha
 go-IMPV 2E+ see-dINC there
 'Go see over there.' (ZOH1R24 183)
- (iii) *ʔəy nəmhayyə pwes yakkə minno ʔəy tuhkuy pəkšukkə*
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə pwes yakkə min-ʔo ʔəy+ tuhkuyʔ pək-šuk-wə
 3E+ say.APPL-COM well VOL come-IMPV 3E+ weapon get-3PL-dINC
 'He told them, well, they should come get their weapons.' (ZOH1R24 390)

5.2.4. Volitive

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

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

(5.10)

- (i) *hemhi nəktəpá? nəmpa*
hemhi 0 nək=tə?-pa+V?k 0 nəm-pa
 all 3A go=want-INC+REL 3A say-INC

yakkə ?əy pə? tum kašnáŋ winhón
yakkə ?əy+ pə?-A? tum kaš.naəŋ winhoŋ
 VOL 3E+ put-IMPV one step.MEAS in_front
 'All those who want to go, he says, let them take a step forward.'
(ZOH1R24 169-70)
- (ii) *yakkəy nípə ?ən yuhkuy ?əy ?acihənaŋ*
yakkə ?əy+ níp-A? ?ən+ yuh.kuy? ?əy+ ?aci +hənaŋ
 VOL 3E+ sow-IMPV 1E+ clear.INSTR1 3E+ uncle +ACC
 'that he should sow my cornfield with his uncle' (ZOH1R10 092)
- (iii) *?entonses ?ištuktamə yakkə yeca*
?entonses ?iš=tuk-tam-A? yakkə 0 ye?c-A?
 then see=finish-1/2PL-IMPV VOL 3A arrive-IMPV

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

5.2.5. Exhortative

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

(5.11)

(i) *nəktán kəššodán*
nək-taan kəš.ʔoy-taan
 go-HORT eat.ANTIP-HORT
 'Let's go eat!' (ZOH1R10 178)

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

(iii) *nəki ʔištán bi karro*
nək-i ʔišt-taan bi karro
 go-IMPV see-HORT DEF bus
 'Let's go see the bus.' (ZOH1R10 219)

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

5.3. Reciprocal

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

(5.12)

- (i) *ney meʔkšukəwə*
ney meʔkš-šuk-A-wə
 RCP hug-3PI-RCP-COM
 'They hugged each other.' (lexicon)
- (ii) *yəhə yə kumkuyho san diunisyu də ʔišuktamapa*
yəhə yəʔ kumkuy+hoʔ san diunisyu də+ ʔiš=tuk-tam-A-pa
 this DCT1 town +LOC2 san dionisio 1A+ see=finish-1/2PL-RCP-INC
 'Here in this town we'll wait for each other.' (ZOH1R24 061)
- (iii) *ney cišukəpa*
ney ciʔ-šuk-A-pa
 RCP give-3PL-RCP-INC
 'They were hitting each other.' (ZOH1R18 062)

5.4. Reflexive

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

(5.13)

- (i) ʔəy komacpay win
 ʔəy+ ko.mac-pa ʔəy+ win
 3E+ OTHR.message-INC 3E+ REFL
 'One cleanses oneself?' (ZOH1R36 083)
- (ii) ʔaŋcahi ʔəm monpa ʔəm win
 ʔaŋcahi ʔəm+ mon-pa ʔəm+ win
 evening 2E+ wrap-INC 2E+ REFL
 'In the evening you wrap yourself up.' (ZOH1R36 075)
- (iii) mukkə ʔəy golpyacəkkəy win
 muk-wə ʔəy+ golpya=cək-wə ʔəy+ win
 fall-COM 3E+ hit=DO-COM 3E+ REFL
 'He falls and he hurts himself.' (ZOH1R36 217)

5.5. Negation

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

5.5.1. *ya*

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

(5.14)

- (i) *ya nəmmoy minnə ni kamilo*
ya nəm-ʔoy-a ʔəy+ min-wə ni kamilo
 NEG be_able-ANTIP-nINC 3E+ come-dINC nor camilo
 'Camilo can't come either.' (ZOH1R10 006)
- (ii) *ʔi mišháʔ yam ʔokcəkkədamə ʔaŋkóʔ*
ʔi miš+haaʔ ya ʔəm+ ʔok.cək.ʔəy-tam-A ʔaŋkooʔ
 and 2Prn+NPL2 NEG 2E+ DOWN.do.SUF-1/2PL-nINC well
 'And you, well, don't you have time?' (ZOH1R10 032)
- (iii) *yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš*
ya ʔəy+ kəš=šuk-šuk-wə bi šiš
 NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-nCOM DEF meat
 'They didn't finish eating the meat' (ZOH1R12 077)

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

(5.15)

- (i) gaʔ bi mas ʔenkantadáʔ ya bi ʔa:prey
 gaʔ bi mas ʔenkantada+Vʔk ya bi ʔapu=reɣ
 DCT3 DEF more enchanted+REL NEG DEF old=king
 'She is the most enchanted, not the old king.' (ZOH1R12 308)
- (ii) dəʃ bi də yoʃpáʔ ya miʃ
 dəʃ bi də+ yoʃ-pa+Vʔk ya miʃ
 1Prn DEF 1A+ work-INC+REL NEG 2Prn
 'I'm the one that will work, not you.' (ZOH1R12 259)
- (ii) porke naʃe deʔ ya tummaŋháʔ
 porke naʃe deʔ ya tummaŋ+haaʔ
 because truth DCT2 NEG equal +NPL2
 'Because the fact is we're not all equal.' (ZOH1R28 117)

5.5.2. ʔu

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

(5.16)

- (i) ʔun kinkadammə
 ʔu ʔən+ kinkaʔ-tam-wə
 NEGimpv 1E+ get_mad-1/2PL-nIMPV
 'Let's not get mad at each other.' (ZOH1R28 015)
- (ii) ʔu ney poycaktamawə
 ʔu ney poy=cak-tam-A-wə
 NEGimpv RCP flee=leave-1/2PL-RCP-nIMPV
 'Let's not leave each other.' (ZOH1R28 016)

- (iii) gəʔ frenu ʔum huppə
 gəʔ frenu ʔu ʔəm+ hup-wə
 DEM rein NEGimpv 2A+ pull-nIMPV
 'Don't pull on those reins.' (ZOH1R12 348)
- (iv) ʔumiš meʔkšə ʔumiš šukə
 ʔu miš+ meʔkš-wə ʔu miš+ šuk-wə
 NEGimpv 2>1+ hug-nIMPV NEGimpv 2>1+ kiss-nIMPV
 'Don't hug me and don't kiss me.' (ZOH1R12 663-4)

5.5.3. Spanish negatives

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

- (5.17)
- (i) nyay tuhšukkə
 ni ya ʔəy+ tuh-šuk-wə
 nor NEG 3E+ throw-3PL-COM
 'They didn't hit it either.' (ZOH1R11 039)
- (ii) noy šomšukkə yakku wan
 no ʔəy+ šom-šuk-wə yakku wan
 no 3E+ jail-3PL-COM poor Juan
 'They didn't jail poor Juan.' (ZOH1R12 489)

