

## **Chapter 13: Aspect and Mood**

The main indicators of aspect or mood in MIG Zoque are the mutually exclusive set of suffixes that may appear in position 10 of the verb complex, as shown in table 2.1. These suffixes offer two choices for aspect: completive (section 13.1.1) or incompletive (13.1.4). There are syntactic means for constructing perfects (13.1.2), a remote perfect (13.1.3.), and progressives (13.1.5). Satellite forms that contribute to the aspect of a particular expression include a small set of adverbial suffixes (13.1.6.1), two clitic morphemes (13.1.6.2), a small set of verbs used in compound verb constructions (13.1.6.3), and temporal adverbs, deictics and clauses (13.1.6.4). The position 10 suffixes offer four choices for mood (other than the declarative): imperative (13.2.1), negative imperative (13.2.2), hortative (13.2.3), or optative (13.2.4). There are also three modal morphemes expressing different degrees of possibility (13.2.5-6).

MIG Zoque does not have a system of inflection for tense. Location of an event at a particular time is done by means of temporal adjuncts. This is typical of MesoAmerican languages, areally speaking (Campbell, et al. 1986).

### **13.1. Aspect**

The aspectual system of MIG Zoque offers a choice of two viewpoints, the perfective and the imperfective. These are termed the completive and

incompletive, respectively, in MesoAmerican linguistics, to avoid confusion with the terms 'perfective' and 'imperfective' used in the Spanish tense system (and others). The choice of one of these viewpoints is obligatory. Both the completive and incompletive inflectional suffixes can be used with any type of verb. There are also two syntactic constructions for forming the perfect and the progressive.

### 13.1.1. Completive

Completive aspect "present[s] a situation as a single whole" (Smith, 1991:103), including both endpoints of a situation. Verbs with completive aspect are consistently translated with the Spanish preterite tense. The completive is the most usual choice in narrative texts; since it presents the endpoint of a situation, it is used to move the events of the story forward in time.

(13.1)

- (i) tum poŋ nəkkəy koyoše tum rrančo  
tum poŋ **nək-wə** ?əy+ **ko.yoš-E** tum rrančo  
one time go-COM 3E+ SOC.work-dCOM one ranch  
'Once he went to seek work on a ranch.' (ZOH1R18 023)
- (ii) kwando ye?ccə sena ?ora  
kwando **0 ye?c-wə** sena ?ora  
when 3A arrive-COM dinner hour  
  
tɪhhə ?əy yakse:ncəki  
**tɪh-wə** ?əy+ **yak.senar=cək-E**  
go&return 3E+ CAUS.dine=do-dCOM  
'When dinner time came, she went to give him his dinner.' (ZOH1R12 248,50)

Existential predicates can be presented as completed (past) situations by using the verb root **tiḥ-** with completive aspect<sup>1</sup>.

(13.2)

- (i) nəmpa miš hunəŋ ʔəm tihhə  
 0 nəm-pa miš hunəŋ ʔəm+ **tiḥ-wə**  
 3A say-INC 2Prn how 2A+ go&return-COM

kwandum tihhə ha:yʔune?

kwandu ʔəm+ **tiḥ-wə** haya=ʔune?

when 2A+ go&return-COM male=child

'He says, "You, what were you like when you were a boy?"'(ZOH1R25 058-

9)

- (ii) si dəš tihhə de beras ha:ymanak  
 si dəš (**də+**) **tiḥ-wə** de beras haya=manak  
 yes 1Prn (1A+) go&return-COM of really male=child  
 'Yes, I was really a manly lad.'

(ZOH1R25

061)

**tehi.ʔa-**, 'there is', with completive aspect, means 'to be located' or 'to be present with' (similar to Spanish *estar*), as shown in examples (13.3 i-ii). Incompletive aspect seems to be used only to present the situation of being somewhere for an indeterminate period of time in the past. The contrast is illustrated by a few lines from a text about a fellow who didn't get along well with the other consultants on the MALDP project. At first, he went around with them and was together with them (iii), but later he 'went over to the other side<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Remember that existential predicates do not employ a verb to convey a present situation (section 6.6). There is no copular verb in Zoque analogous to the Spanish verb *ser*, 'to be', that appears with incompletive aspect.

<sup>2</sup> This is a pun: *el otro lado*, 'the other side' is slang for 'the United States' (the other side of the border), and it also refers to the other end of the long dinner table in Catemaco. We generally

(13.3)

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- (iv) ʔadyo **tehidammə** komo mecaŋ šemana  
 ʔadyo 0 tehi.ʔa-tam-wə komo mecaŋ šemana  
 later 3A there\_is.VERS1-1/2PL-COM like two week  
  
 kay ʔeyahónə nəkpám  
 kay ʔeyahoon 0 nək-pa+ʔam  
 then elsewhere 3A go-INC+NOW  
 'Later, we had been here around two weeks, now he's going over  
 to the other side.' (ZOH1R19 005-6)

### 13.1.2. Perfect

There are two forms of the perfect in MIG Zoque, one negative and one positive. The negative form is discussed below. The positive perfect is formed by adding the clitic **+ʔam** (NOW) to a verb complex with completive aspect. Expressions in this form are generally translated with morphological accuracy as 'now' with the Spanish preterite tense; for example, (13.4) was translated 'Román, well, now he died.'

- (13.4)  
 rromán pwes kawám  
 rromán pwes 0 **kaʔ-wə+ʔam**  
 román well 3A die-COM+NOW  
 'Román, well, he has died.' (ZOH1R18 019)

However, an examination of the uses of this construction in texts reveals that it clearly meets the definitional criteria for the perfect given in Smith (1991:146): "(a) the situation precedes reference time; (b) the construction has a resultant stative viewpoint; and (c) a special property is ascribed to the subject, due to participation in the situation." Perfects, in general, really perform two functions in a tense/aspect system: they situate an event in the past, thus ordering

the event temporally, and they present a state, which tends to be the result of the past event (Smith, p.c.). Perfectives in MIG Zoque conforms to this two-part definition. They present the result of a past event as an on-going state of affairs, but do not move the narrative forward.

(13.5)

- (i)    dey də minnám miš ʔišketē  
       dey **də+ min-wə+ʔam** miš+ ʔiš.keʔt-E  
       now 1A+ come-COM+NOW 1>2+ see.REPET-dCOM  
       'Now I've come to see you again.' (ZOH1R26 138)

- (ii)   ʔəm ʔukpa despwes ke ʔəm ʔaŋhomuyyám  
       ʔəm+ ʔuk-pa despwes ke **ʔəm+ ʔaŋ.ho.muy-wə+ʔam**  
       2E+ drink-INC after that 2E+ MOUTH.IN.get\_wet-COM+NOW  
       'You drink it after you have soaked it.' (ZOH1R36 052)

- (iii)   rrikotukkám  
       **0 rriko=tuk-wə+ʔam**  
       3A rich=finish-COM+NOW  
       'Now he has become very rich.' (ZOH1R20 056)

- (iv)   ya ken kəyuh-tammám puŋŋəba gə mək  
       ya ke **ʔən+ kə.yuh-tam-wə+ʔam** 0 puŋ.ʔəy-pa gə mək  
       now that 1E+ AWAY.clear-1/2PL-COM+NOW 3A ear.VERS2-INC that corn  
       'Now that we've weeded, the corn sets ears.' (ZOH1R13 028)

(v) pwes wan komo ?əy muššám  
 pwes wan komo **?əy+ muš-wə+?am**  
 pues juan like 3E+ know-COM+NOW

nakšhoŋhoŋəba ?okmula ?əy kopak  
 (?əy+) nakš=hoŋ.hoŋ.wəy-pa                      ?ok=mula                      ?əy+ kopak  
 (3E+) hit\_w\_stick=get\_dizzy.get\_dizzy.ITER2-INC old\_woman=mule 3E+ head  
 'Well, Juan, since he knew<sup>3</sup>, was beating the heck out of the  
 old mule's head.' (ZOH1R12 368)

The example in (13.6) appears to be a future perfect. Having learned that two of his friends from the previous summer did not return to the project (one had died and the other couldn't come), Sr. Sánchez Morales is speculating about what changes the year ahead might bring about.

(13.6) tey nəmpa yədə ?awindəkka ?amintəhi  
 tey 0 nəm-pa yədə ?awin?+dəkka ?amintəhi  
 now 3A say-INC this sibling+NPL next\_year  
  
 yan muštamə ?iwə ya minnám  
 ya ?ən+ muš-tam-A ?iwə ya 0 min-wə+?am  
 NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC who NEG 3A come-nCOM+NOW  
 'Now he says, "These friends, next year, we don't know  
 who won't have come."' (ZOH1R18 356-8)

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<sup>3</sup> He knew that the mule was a sorceress in disguise, having been warned by the Princess.

### 13.1.2.1. Negative perfect

The negation of the perfect has a special marker, **yampa** (nPERF), that precedes the verb complex in the same position as the negative marker **ya**. It appears to be a polymorpheme composed of the negative **ya** and the incomplete suffix **pa**, but the middle portion is unidentifiable<sup>4</sup>. It denotes a situation that failed to obtain in the past and continues to fail to obtain in the present. The verb complex is marked with the incomplete suffix.

(13.7)

- (i) yampa yecay ?ora pa picəmpa bi karru  
**yampa 0 ye?c-A** ?əy+ ?ora para 0 picəmpa bi karru  
 nPERF 3A arrive-nINC 3E+ hour for 3A leave-INC DEF bus  
 'The time for the bus to leave hasn't arrived.' (ZOH1R10 180)
- (ii) ?i yakti yampay yoššukə  
 ?i yakti **yampa ?əy+ yoš-šuk-A**  
 and nothing nPERF 3E+ work-3PL-nINC  
 'And they haven't done any work.' (ZOH1R25 006)
- (iii) ?əy pəkpaṃ ?əy nəkkə porke yampa kambyacəkə  
 ?əy+ pək-pa+?am ?əy+ nək-wə porke **yampa ?əy+ kambiar=cək-A**  
 3E+ get-INC+NOW 3E+ go-dINC because nPERF 3E+ change=do-nINC  
 ?eyá? yak?əṃmayyobáhənaṃ  
 ?eyaa?k yak.?əṃ.may.?oy-pa+V?k+hənaṃ  
 other CAUS.MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL+ACC  
 'Now she's getting it, because she hasn't changed to another teacher.'  
 (ZOH1R14 032)

<sup>4</sup> It looks like the clitic +?am (NOW), but this never attaches to any other function morphemes.



- (iv) ya naše meka porke yampan ištamə  
 ya naše mek.A porke **yampa ?ən+ ?iš-tam-A**  
 NEG truth lie.NOM3 because nPERF 1E+ see-1/2PL-nINC  
 'It's not certain to be a lie, because we haven't seen it.' (ZOH1R43 113-4)

- (v) tey bi ?aŋkimmobá? pən  
 tey bi ?aŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk pən  
 now DEF MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL man

yampan ?aŋceʔkhadamə  
**yampa ?ən+ ?aŋ.ceʔk.hay-tam-A**  
 nPERF 1E+ MOUTH.ask.APPL-1/2PL-nINC  
 'We haven't asked the boss yet.' (ZOH1R10 625)

### 13.1.3. Remote perfect

**mae?** (REM) indicates a state of affairs that used to obtain, but no longer does. It refers to a situation that is wholly in the past, with no effects carrying over into the present. This contrasts with the perfective discussed in 13.1.2, in which the perfective event did have some effect that persists to the time of speaking. The morpheme can appear anywhere in the clause. In example (13.8 i), the woman was there (in office) with them, but isn't any longer. In (ii), Yermo almost drowns, but doesn't, when he goes to rescue Roberta, which he also doesn't do. It appears with both incompletive (ii) and completive (i,iii) aspects. **mae?** can also indicate a potential state of affairs that fails to obtain, as in (iv) and (v).

(13.8)

- (i) gahi tehiamottə mae?  
 gahi? 0 tehi.ʔa.mot-wə **mae?**  
 there 3A there\_is.VERS1.WITH-COM REM  
 'She was there with them.' (ZOH1R28 042)

- (ii) haʔkkapa maeʔ yermo lopes  
 0 haʔk=kaʔ-pa maeʔ yermo lopes  
 3A drown=die-INC REM yermo lopez  
 porke nəkpəy həʃpəkkə mae gə rroberta  
 porke nək-pa ʔəy+ həʃ.pək-wə **maeʔ** gə rroberta  
 because go-INC 3E+ BACK.get-dINC REM that roberta  
 'Yermo Lopez almost died drowning because he tried  
 to go get Roberta out.' (ZOH1R15 076)
- (iii) ʔi tumə nəkkə maeʔ yaŋkame bi tək  
 ʔi tuməʔ nək-wə **maeʔ** ʔəy+ yak.ʔaŋ.kam-E bi tək  
 and one go-COM REM 3E+ CAUS.MOUTH.get\_stuck-dCOM DEF house  
 'And one of them tried to go close up the house.' (ZOH1R24 593)
- (iv) dəʃháʔ ʃuktampa maeʔ  
 dəʃ+haaʔ (də+) ʃuk-tam-pa **maeʔ**  
 1Prn+NPL2 (1A+) finish-1/2PL-INC REM  
 'We were going to finish.' (ZOH1R24 147)
- (v) ʔentonses bi hamatin ʔəy ʔaŋkimpa maeʔ  
 ʔentonses bi hamatin ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.kim-pa **maeʔ**  
 then DEF money 3E+ MOUTH.mount-INC REM  
 piceŋho ʔentonse bi həʃpəkʃukkə  
 piceŋhoʔ ʔentonses bi həʃ.pək-ʃuk-wə  
 therefore then DEF BACK.get-3PL-COM  
 'Then the money that they might send, therefore it's just what  
 they take out (take for themselves).' (ZOH1R28 282-3)

#### 13.1.4. Incompletive

Incompletive "viewpoints present part of a situation with no information about its endpoints" (Smith, 1991:111). The incompletive is used to refer to ongoing situations in the past, to habitual or present situations, to generic situations, and to situations that will obtain in the future. It is translated with the Spanish imperfect or present tense, depending on the discourse context. (The Spanish present tense is also covers habitual, ongoing, and future situations.)

In the narrative texts in the corpus, the imperfect is used to describe ongoing background situations, like the waterfall in example (13.9 i), or to set the scene by describing situations that were ongoing at the time the story begins. It is also used to present the immediate context of some specific situation, appearing in a subordinate clause (iii-v).

(13.9)

- (i) yeʔčukkə rroyo čorro dondhutəŋ wanakpa bi nə?  
 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə rroyo čorro donde hutəŋ 0 **wanak-pa bi nə?**  
 3A arrive-3PL-COM arroyo waterfall where where 3A go\_down-INC DEF water  
 'They arrived at the waterfall canyon, where the water goes down'  
 (ZOH1R11 027)

- (ii) kwandu tihhə rebolusyón [...]
   
kwandu 0 tih-wə rebolusyón [...]
   
when 3A go&return-COM revolution [...]
   
  
 yəhi bi rrebeldedəkka numpay wittə
   
yəhi? bi rrebelde+dəkka **num-pa ʔəy+ wit-wə**
  
here DEF rebel+NPL steal-INC 3E+ walk-dINC
   
'When there was a revolution [...], here there were the rebels
   
that go around stealing' (ZOH1R24 002,4)

- (iii) porkey təpa picəmmə  
 porke ʔəy+ təʔ-pa 0 picə-m-wə  
 because 3E+ want-INC 3A leave-COM  
 'Because he wanted to, he left.' (ZOH1R24 311)
- (iv) numcənšukkə pəndəkka pork minpa  
 0 num=cən-šuk-wə pən+dəkka porke 0 min-pa  
 3A hide=sit-3PL-COM man+NPL because 3A come-INC  
 'The men hid because he was coming.' (ZOH1R24 463)
- (v) ʔəy həšpəkšukpa kwandu minnə bi ʔapu  
 ʔəy+ həš.pək-šuk-pa kwandu 0 min-wə bi ʔapu  
 3E+ BACK.get-3PL-INC when 3A come-COM DEF old\_man  
 'They were getting him out when the old man arrived.' (ZOH1R24 612)

In many of the texts in the corpus, the narrator is describing his or her work or daily life. Since these are descriptions of habitual activities, the incompletive is used. The examples in (13.10) are taken from a text by Sra. Teófila Sánchez Morales (Sr. Germán Sánchez Morales's sister), in which she describes the typical work day of a Zoque housewife (which begins an hour before dawn and continues until ten o'clock at night.)

(13.10)

- (i) ʔən huku:tnekkəŋəypa  
 ʔən+ hukutək=nek=kəŋ.ʔəy-pa  
 1E+ fire=stack=burn.SUF-INC  
 'I stack up the firewood.' (ZOH1R53 003)

- (ii)    ʔən cəpən pici?  
           ʔən+ cəʔ-pa ʔən+ pic.Eʔ  
           1E+ wash-INC 1E+ put\_corn\_in\_lime.NOM3  
           'I wash my nixtamal.' (ZOH1R53 004)
- (iii)   də nəkpa molinu  
           də+ nək-pa molinu  
           1A+ go-INC mill  
           'I go to the corn-grinder.' (ZOH1R53 005)

The incomplete is used for situations in the present. This usage generally occurs in dialogs when characters tell each what they're doing, as shown in examples (13.11 i-ii). There are a few texts in which Sr. Sánchez Morales is describing his current situation and thus uses the incomplete with present reference. Example (iii) comes from a text that he recorded shortly after hearing about the death of one of the consultants from the previous summer's project. Example (iv) is from a text describing Sr. Sánchez's trip to the project and the work he was doing there. He ends the account by wondering when it will be over so we can all go home.

- (13.11)
- (i)    nəmpa "tim cəkpa?"  
           0 nəm-pa ti ʔəm+ cək-pa  
           3A say-INC what 2E+ do-INC  
           'He says, "What are you doing?"' (ZOH1R10 017)

- (ii) dəš nəmpa "ʔən muʔt tey yəhi tehiʔawə  
 dəš (də+) nəm-pa ʔən+ muʔt tey yəhiʔ 0 tehi.ʔa-wə  
 1Prn (1A+) say-INC 1E+ son\_in\_law now here 3A there\_is.VERS1-COM  
 kahi šikpa"  
 gahiʔ 0 šik-pa  
 there 3A laugh-INC  
 'I say now my son\_in\_law is here. He's laughing over there.'(ZOH1R25  
 244,6)
- (iii) picenho dey ʔən hamcəktampa  
 picenhoʔ dey ʔən+ ham(V)=cək-tam-pa  
 that's\_why now 1E+ \*mind=do-1/2PL-INC  
 'That's why we remember him now.' (ZOH1R18 013)
- (iv) yan muštamə hutiyáʔ də tuktampa  
 ya ʔən+ muš-tam-A hutiyaʔ də+ tuk-tam-pa  
 NEG 1E+ know-1/2PL-nINC when 1A+ finish-1/2PL-INC  
 'We don't know when we'll finish.' (ZOH1R10 624)

The incomplete is also used to present future situations. Again, these generally appear in dialogs, but the last example in (13.12) describes a situation that is in the future relative to the time of narration.

(13.12)

- (i) ʔəm yoštampa dehənaŋ yəhiʔ  
 ʔəm+ yoš-tam-pa deʔ+hənaŋ yəhiʔ  
 2A+ work-1/2PL-INC that+ACC here  
 'You'll work with him here.' (ZOH1R10 038)
- (ii) pwes yey n ʔištampa si naše ya də pətə  
 pwes yey ʔən+ ʔišt-tam-pa si naše ya də+ pət-A  
 well now 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC if truth NEG 1A+ pass-nINC  
 'Well, now we'll see if I'm not going to pass.' (ZOH1R18 073)

- (iii) minpa de ʔən ʔokwaktammə  
 min-pa dey ʔən+ ʔok.wak-tam-wə  
 come-INC now 1E+ DOWN.\*empty-1/2PL-dINC
- pa də nəktampa də təkʏeʔctampa  
 para də+ nək-tam-pa də+ tək=yeʔc-tam-pa  
 for 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC 1A+ house=arrive-1/2PL-INC  
 'We'll come to finish this, so we can go, we can arrive at home.'  
 (ZOH1R10 628-9)

Future tense can be indicated by an auxiliary verb construction with the directional verb root **nək-** 'to go', similar to the periphrastic future constructions in English and Spanish. But in MIG Zoque, **nək-** always adds its directional sense to the meaning of the utterance; that is, it is only used when the actor will actually move through space to perform the act in question. This contrasts with the usage in English and Spanish, in which 'go' can be used for a future situation that does not involve motion. If I say "I'm going to finish this chapter today", I will do so by remaining seated at my desk. In Zoque, I could only say that if I had to move to the desk to sit down and start writing.

(13.13)

- (i) nəkpay kumʃukkə  
 nək-pa ʔəy+ kum-ʃuk-wə  
 go-INC 3E+ bury-3PL-dINC  
 'They're going to bury him.'  
 (ZOH1R27 023)
- (ii) nəkpam cammə bi ney ʔanpən  
 nək-pa ʔəm+ cam-wə bi ney ʔanpən  
 go-INC 2E+ talk-dINC DEF our zoque  
 'You're going to speak our Zoque.'  
 (ZOH1R10 030)

- (iii) nəmpa bi ʔokpən pwes dəʃ nəkpan nəmhayyə huʃtiʃa  
 0 nəm-pa bi ʔokpən pwes dəʃ **nək-pa ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə** huʃtiʃa  
 3A say-INC DEF old\_woman well 1Prn go-INC 1E+ say.APPL-dINC mayor  
 'The old woman says, "I'm going to tell the mayor."' (ZOH1R18 122)

### 13.1.5. Progressive

The progressive in MIG Zoque is an auxiliary verb construction with the auxiliary **nəmmə** (PROG). Neither the beginning nor the end of a situation is visible from the progressive viewpoint, which "focus on the internal stages of non-stative events" (Smith, 1991: 112). In narratives, the progressive is generally used to present a background situation, one that is ongoing when the event of importance occurs.

(13.14)

- (i) nəmmən kahuʔukkə kwando yeʔccə benigno  
**nəmmə ʔən+ kahwe=ʔuk-wə** kwando 0 yeʔc-wə benigno  
 PROG 1E+ coffee=drink-dINC when 3A arrive-COM benigno  
 'I was having breakfast when Benigno arrived.' (ZOH1R10 147)
- (i) yəhi nəmmən cammə familyahənaŋ  
 yə.hi? **nəmmə ʔən+ cam-wə** familya+hənaŋ  
 DCT1.LOC1 PROG 1E+ chat-dINC family+ACC  
 'I'm here chatting with the family.' (ZOH1R10 018)



- (iii) *nəmpa bi huštiša tigó? ʔəm nəkpa*  
 0 *nəm-pa bi huštiša ti+goo? ʔəm+ nək-pa*  
 3A say-INC DEF mayor what+BNF 2A+ go-INC  
*si yakki ya nəmmə mi poykekkə*  
*si yak=ʔiwə ya nəmmə mi+ poy=kek-wə*  
 if nobody NEG PROG 3>2+ flee=jump-dINC  
 'The mayor says, "Why are you going, if nobody is kicking you out?"'  
 (ZOH1R18 243-4)
- (iv) *nəmməy ʔokcamməyyə*  
*nəmmə ʔəy+ ʔok.cam.ʔəy-wə*  
 PROG 3E+ DOWN.tell.SUF-dINC  
 'He is telling the story.'  
 (ZOH1R25 098)
- (v) *kwand tumə gay nəmmə ʔəy kuhhə*  
*kwando tumə gay nəmmə ʔəy+ kuh-wə*  
 when one then PROG 3E+ push-dINC  
*ʔəy yakwanakšukkə*  
*ʔəy+ yak.wanak-šuk-wə*  
 3E+ CAUS.go\_down-3PL-COM  
 'Then while one was pushing, they brought him down.' (ZOH1R24 602-3)

Progressive viewpoint is a subset of the incomplete viewpoint, which can also be used to present a situation that is ongoing. The progressive, however, cannot be used for future or habitual situations. The overlapping reference of the two viewpoints is illustrated by the following pair of examples. In this text, a fisherman comes upon a group of boys who are beating a sea turtle with clubs, to make it lay its eggs. (The fisherman saves the turtle who turns out to be magical and grants him his every wish.)

(13.15)

(i) nəmməy nakškaššukkə

nəmmə ʔəy+ nakš=kaʔ-šuk-wə

PROG 3E+ hit\_w\_stick=die-3PL-dINC

'They were beating it to death.'

(ZOH1R20 007)

(ii) ʔəy nakšhuhšukpa

ʔəy+ nakš=huh-šuk-pa

3E+ hit\_w\_stick=lay\_eggs-3PL-INC

'They were beating it to make it lay eggs.'

(ZOH1R20 008)

### 13.1.6. Temporal modifiers

Modifiers that serve to focus the aspectual viewpoint or temporal reference of a clause are found at every level of the grammar: verbal affixes, clitics, verb roots in compound constructions, words such as deictics and temporal adverbs, and temporal subordinate clauses.

#### 13.1.6.1. Adverbial suffixes

There are five verbal affixes that affect aspect: the prefix **yuk-** 'to begin V-ing'; the suffix **-keʔt**, 'to V once again'; the complex suffix **-(pak)pə**, 'to V rapidly; all at once'; and the iterative suffixes **-wəy** and **-ney**, 'to V repeatedly; with force'.

**yuk-** is a verbal prefix that can indicate an upward direction with verb roots that involve motion, holding, or carrying, as illustrated in examples (13.16 i-ii). It can also appear with any kind of verb root to mean 'to begin V-ing' (iii). This prefix is also discussed in section 7.1.1.10.

(13.16)

(i) ʔaŋnamcu yuktenpa

ʔaŋnamcuʔ 0 **yuk**.ten-pa

morning 3A UP.stand-INC

'He gets up early in the morning.'

(ZOH1R53 002)

(ii) ʔəy yukpəkkə tum həkaŋ tumə tum həkaŋ

ʔəy+ **yuk**.pək-wə tum həkaŋ tuməʔ tum həkaŋ

3E+ UP.get-COM one side one one side

'One lifted up one side and the other the other side.' (ZOH1R25 093)

- (iii) yukkotonŋə bi kahaŋdəkka  
 0 yuk.ʔoton-wə bi kahaŋ+dəkka  
 3A UP.speak-COM DEF jaguar+NPL  
 'The jaguars began to speak.' (ZOH1R12 070)

The suffix **-keʔt** means "to do V once again". This is not an iterative: the action is repeated only once. It can also refer to a second actor performing some act, rather than the same actor re-performing the act, as shown in example (v).

(13.17)

- (i) ʔəy kapnəkkeʔtsukkə panteonho?  
 ʔəy+ kap=nək.keʔt-šuk-wə panteon+ho?  
 3E+ carry\_on\_shoulder=go.REPET-3PL-COM cemetery+LOC2  
 'They carried him to the cemetery again.' (ZOH1R27 059)

- (ii) ʔəy šomkeʔtsukkə wan  
 ʔəy+ šom.keʔt-šuk-wə wan  
 3E+ jail.REPET.3PL-COM Juan  
 'They jailed Juan again.' (ZOH1R12 332)

- (iii) nəmmən hopəʔtkeʔttammə  
 nəmmə ʔən+ ho.pəʔt.keʔt-tam-wə  
 PROG 1E+ IN.pass.REPET-1/2PL-dINC  
 de lo ken yoštammə gə ʔamintə?  
 de lo ke ʔən+ yoš-tam-wə gə ʔamintə?  
 of it that 1E+ work-1/2PL-COM that year  
 'We're reviewing what we worked on that year.' (ZOH1R14 081)

- (iv) cuhiam ʔəy ʔukkeʔtpa ʔotro tumə  
 cuhiʔ+ʔam ʔəy+ ʔuk.keʔt-pa ʔotro tumə?  
 afternoon+NOW 3E+ drink.REPET-INC other one  
 'Now in the afternoon he drinks another one again.' (ZOH1R36 273)

- (v)    picəmgeʔttə ʔot tuməʔ  
       0 picəm.**keʔ**t-wə ʔotro tuməʔ  
       3A leave-REPET-COM other    one  
       'Another one left.'  
(ZOH1R18 319)

The celeritive suffix appears most commonly with verbs of motion or carrying and has the meaning 'rapidly' or 'all at once'. It has two phonological shapes: **-pəʔ** or **-pakpəʔ**. The second is obviously compositional, but I have no idea what the **pak** morpheme might be. The celeritive appears only very rarely in the corpus.

- (13.18)
- (i) kaʃpəpəwə təkʔaŋhəʔ  
0 kaʃ=pəʔ.pəʔ-wə təkʔaŋhəʔ+Vʔk  
3A step=put.CEL-COM san\_miguel+REL  
'A Migeleño quickly took a step.'  
(ZOH1R24 172)
- (ii) ʔəy yukcəmpəwə  
ʔəy+ yuk.cəm.pəʔ-wə  
3E+ UP.load.CEL-COM  
'He loaded it up rapidly.'  
(lexicon)
- (iii) ʔəy wenpəwə  
ʔəy+ wen.pəʔ-wə  
3E+ divide.CEL\_COM  
'She divided it all at once.'  
(lexicon)

Verb complexes with the suffixes **-ney** (ITER1) and **-wəy** (ITER2) contain reduplicated verb roots, and have an iterative or emphatic meaning. These never appear with any other prefixes or suffixes. In the **-ney** constructions,

the verb root that bears the central meaning of the complex is reduplicated, as shown in the following examples, all but the first taken from the lexicon.

(13.19)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(i)    <i>yəŋyəŋneyba</i><br/>             0 <i>yəŋ.yəŋ.ney-pa</i><br/>             3A tremble.tremble.ITER1-INC<br/>             'He started to tremble.' (ZOH1R24 178)</p> | <p>(iii) <i>camcamneba</i><br/>             0 <i>cam.cam.ney-pa</i><br/>             3A chat.chat.ITER1-INC<br/>             'He's talking nonsense.'</p> |
| <p>(ii) <i>nemnemneba</i><br/>             0 <i>nem.nem.ney-pa</i><br/>             3A flame.flame-ITER1-INC<br/>             'It is flaming a lot.'</p>                        | <p>(v) <i>yumyumneba</i><br/>             0 <i>yum.yum.ney-pa</i><br/>             3A boil.boil.ITER1-INC<br/>             'It's boiling vigorously.'</p> |
| <p>(iv) <i>cuncunneba</i><br/>             0 <i>cun.cun.ney-pa</i><br/>             3A drip.drip.ITER1-INC<br/>             'It's dripping constantly'</p>                      |   |

In the **-wəy** constructions, the verb root that contributes the central meaning of the complex is followed by a second, reduplicated, root. This second root is most commonly one that means something like 'to cut', but 'to get' and others also appear<sup>5</sup>. I don't know what the criteria for choosing one of these roots over another might be; perhaps it's a function of assonance or some subtle semantic feature.

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<sup>5</sup> Note that in example (13.19 iii), only the second syllable of the emphasizing root is repeated. There are very few two-syllable verb roots in this language, and no others that mean a kind of forceful action, so I can't conclusively state that this conforms to a reduplication rule or not.

(13.20)

- (i) ʔi gə montura ʔəm nakštuktukwəba  
ʔi gə montura ʔəm+ **nakš=tuk.tuk.wəy**-pa  
and that saddle 2E+ hit\_w\_stick=cut.cut.ITER2-INC  
'And you beat on that saddle several times.' (ZOH1R12 347)
- (ii) ʔi naše če ʔəy yukpəkpəkəwəyšukkə  
ʔi naše če ʔəy+ **yuk.pək.pək.wəy**-šuk-wə  
and truth INTENS 3E+ UP.get.get.ITER2-3PL-COM  
'And in fact they really got them up fast (the boards).' (ZOH1R25 092)
- (iii) ʔim cihnakaʔckaʔcwəypa ʔi tum cima nəʔ  
ʔi ʔəm+ **cih=nakaʔc.kaʔc.wəy**-pa ʔi tum cimaʔ nəʔ  
and 2E+ throw\_rock=crush.crush.ITER2-INC and one gourd water  
'And you crush it really well and (add) one gourd of water.' (ZOH1R36 334)
- (iv) gaʔ ʔəy təŋtuktukwəypa por pedasitu  
gaʔ ʔəy+ **təŋ=tuk.tuk.wəy**-pa por pedasitu  
that 3E+ cut\_w\_machete=cut.cut.ITER2-INC for little\_piece  
'He cuts that into tiny tiny pieces.' (ZOH1R36 389)

#### 13.1.6.2. Clitics

+ʔam with the incompleted simply means 'now'.


(13.21)

- (i) tey nəmmoban wittammám  
tey nəm.ʔəy-pa ʔən+ wit-tam-wə+ʔam  
now DO.ANTIP-INC 1E+ walk-1/2PL-COM+NOW  
'Now we can walk (there).' (ZOH1R18 132)
- (ii) kay minpám bi hentedəkkay ʔiššukkə bi santu  
kay min-pa+ʔam bi hente+dəkkə ʔəy+ ʔiš-šuk-wə bi santu  
then come-INC+NOW DEF people+NPL 3E+ see-3PL-dINC DEF saint  
'Now the people are coming to see the saint.' (ZOH1R32 044)

- (iii) ʔəy poŋpa gay nippám bi ʔapi?  
 ʔəy+ poŋ-pa gaʔ ʔəy+ nip-pa+**ʔam** bi ʔapi?  
 3E+ burn-INC that 3E+ sow-INC+NOW DEF chayote  
 'He burns it (the field), now he sows the chayote.' (ZOH1R53 015)

**+nam?**, (STILL) only appears with the incompletive (i-ii). It can appear attached to nouns in existential predicates (iii-iv).

(13.22)

- (i) nəkpanam tuwaŋ hama  
 0 nək-pa+**nam?** tuwaŋ hama  
 3<sup>↑</sup>  INC+STILL three day  
 'It goes on for three days.' (ZOH1R32 159)
- (ii) dəš də nəkpa pero də nippanam?  
 dəš də+ nək-pa pero də+ nip-pa+**nam?**  
 1Prn 1A+ go-INC but 1A+ sow-INC+STILL  
 'I'll go but I'm still going to sow.' (ZOH1R10 043)
- (iii) nəʔtti mokpaknam?  
 nəʔtti mok=pak+**nam?**  
 no corn=shell+STILL  
 'No, it's still unshelled.' (ZOH1R27 051)
- (iv) nəktáŋ ʔištáŋ si kaynam šiš  
 nək-taŋ ʔišt-taŋ si kay+**nam?** šiš  
 go-HORT see-HORT if then+STILL meat  
 'Let's go see if there's still any meat.' (ZOH1R23 925)



### 13.1.6.3. Verb compounds

Super-lexical morphemes "modulate the focus of a situation rather than determining the situation itself" (Smith, 1991:76). In MIG Zoque, super-lexicals that focus on one of the endpoints of a situation are verb stems used in compound verb constructions.

Two of these stems focus the initial endpoint of a situation: **ʔokmaŋ-** 'to begin to V' and **tək.ʔəy-** 'to enter into V-ing'. **ʔokmaŋ-** can be used with any verb, but **tək.ʔəy-** has a directional sense as well, and so really means 'to go in somewhere and start V-ing'.

(13.23)

- (i) wan kəššokmaŋŋoyyə  
 wan 0 kəš=ʔokmaŋ.ʔoy=wə  
 juan 3A eat=begin.ANTIP-COM  
 'Juan began to eat.' (ZOH1R12 129)

- (ii) ʔəy nukkokmaŋŋə  
 ʔəy+ nuk=ʔokmaŋ-wə  
 3E+ grab=begin-COM  
 'He started to grab him.' (ZOH1R18 079)

- (iii) ʔən camtəkhašukpa  
 ʔən+ cam=tək.ʔəy.hay-šuk-pa  
 1E+ talk=house.VERS2.APPL-3PL-INC  
 'I'm going to chat with them.' (ZOH1R10 386)

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<sup>6</sup> ʔok.maŋ is a derived stem: DOWN.\*step. I treat it as a single form because the compositional semantics are not obvious, unless you can remember that one generally starts a journey from San Miguel Chimalapa by going down from the mountains.

- (iv) ʔən yoštəkkawə tum yaŋke?  
 ʔən+ yoš=**tək.ʔa**-wə tum yaŋke?  
 1E+ work=enter-COM one yankee  
 'I started to work with a gringa.' (ZOH1R14 005)

There are a variety of stems that focus the final endpoint of a situation. **tuk-** 'to finish' and **šuk-** 'to finish' are virtually identical, although **tuk-** is much more common (examples 13.24 i-ii). My consultants say that the two are interchangeable and can each be used with any sort of verb, but they always use **tuk-** in their stories. **ko.wak-** is a stem derived from the root **\*wak-**, which no longer can be used independently in MIG Zoque. Its meaning is something like 'to be empty', and it appears in many compounds and derived forms with the connotation of emptying or clearing something out (iii). **ʔok.wak-** also means 'to end', but I didn't find any examples of it in compound constructions. **tan-** means specifically 'to complete', and is generally used in situations involving quantities, such as payments for services rendered (iv). **cak-** means 'to leave off or stop V-ing', before the natural or expected termination of the situation (v).

(13.24)

- (i) den kənakštuktampa  
 dey ʔən+ kə.nakš=**tuk**-tam-pa  
 then 1E+ AWAY.hit\_w\_stick=finish-1/2PL-INC  
 'Then we finish clearing.' (ZOH1R13 006)
- (ii) yay kəššukšukkə bi šiš  
 ya ʔəy+ kəš=**šuk**-šuk-wə bi šiš  
 NEG 3E+ eat=finish-3PL-COM DEF meat  
 'They didn't finish eating the meat.' (ZOH1R12 077)

- (iii) ʔəŋkowakkə yə ʔokoš ʔəy təm  
 0 ʔəŋ=ko.wak-wə yəʔ ʔokoš ʔəy+ təm  
 3A fall=SOC.\*empty-COM this shrub 3E+ fruit  
 'This tree's fruit is through falling.' (lexicon)
- (iv) yohtanšukkə  
 ʔəy+ yoh=**tan**-šuk-wə  
 3E+ pay=complete-3PL-COM  
 'They paid him in full.' (ZOH1R18  
 264)
- (v) syempre yam kowitcakə  
 syempre ya ʔəm+ ko.wit=**cak**-A  
 always NEG 2A+ SOC.walk=leave-nINC  
 'Never leave off going to visit (your cornfield).' (ZOH1R13 047)

Finally, **poy-**, 'to flee', specifies the duration of the situation as being very brief. (Perhaps, as in the second example, one only wishes that it be very brief.)

(13.25)

- (i) poycənšukkə  
 0 **poy**=cən-šuk-wə  
 3A flee=sit-3PL-COM  
 'They sat down for a little while.' (ZOH1R23 539)
- (ii) si ya poytakkənam  
 si ya 0 **poy**=tak-A+nam?  
 if NEG 3A flee=rain-nINC+STILL

ʔən ʔištuktampa ʔašta kwan takpa  
 ʔən+ ʔiš=tuk-tam-pa ʔašta kwan 0 tak-pa  
 1E+ see=finish-1/2PL-INC until when 3A rain-INC  
 'If it still doesn't rain, we wait until it rains' (ZOH1R13 013)

#### 13.1.6.4. Temporal adverbs, deictics, and clauses

These elements have all been discussed in other places - adverbs and deictics in chapter 4, and temporal subordinate clauses in chapter 11. Appendix B contains a list of words pertaining to time in MIG Zoque (parts of the day, etc.). This section will just provide some examples of the way they are used to sequence narrative events and locate events in time.

Since MIG Zoque lacks tense, temporal adjuncts are used to specify the time of events. In examples (13.26 i-ii), the events are located at exact times with respect to the time of speaking. In (iii), the temporal adjunct specifies the sequence of events in the narrative, indicating the passage of time in the story itself. In (iv-v), the temporal clauses sequence link events in the world of the narrative: when(ever) the serpent comes burbling out, you run away; the farmer always burns the field after he clears it.

(13.26)

- (i) yəha:m byernes də kə:šcəktampa  
**yə.hama byernes** də+ kəš.E=cək-tam-pa  
DCT1.day friday 1A+ eat.NOM3=do-1/2PL-INC  
'Today, Friday, we're going to make food.' (ZOH1R29 065)

- (ii) ?amintə?k də tihtammə ?ən yoštame fortín de las flores  
**?amintə?k** də+ tih-tam-wə ?ən+ yoš-tam-E fortín  
last\_year 1A+<sup>7</sup> go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM fortín  
'Last year we went to work in Fortín.' (ZOH1R18 004)

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<sup>7</sup> I don't know why this extra agreement marker is here. There are not quite enough of these examples in the corpus to declare it a sub-pattern of agreement, but they do appear in texts from many speakers. It could be that the speaker started to just say "we went" and then decided in mid-utterance to make it an auxiliary phrase.

- (iii) **hoypiʔt bwen ʔora də yukkoŋtammə**  
**hoypiʔt bwen ʔora də+ yuk.koŋ-tam-wə**  
 next\_day good hour 1A+ UP.crawl-1/2PL-COM  
 'The next day, very early, we got up.' (ZOH1R10 430)
- (iv) **la ʔora ke huʔupa ʔəy minnə miš poy yahəʔ**  
 la ʔora ke 0 huʔu-pa ʔəy+ min-wə miš poy-Aʔ yahəʔ  
 the hour that 3A make\_noise-INC 3E+ come-dINC 2Prn flee-IMPV far  
 'When it(the serpent)comes rumbling along, you run away.' (ZOH1R12 387-8)
- (v) **ʔəy ʔapiʔ despwəs de ʔəy yuhpa gay ʔəy poŋpa**  
 ʔəy+ ʔapiʔ **despwes de** ʔəy+ yuh-pa **gay** ʔəy+ poŋ-pa  
 3E+ chayote after of 3E+ clear-INC then 3E+ burn-INC  
 'His chayote field, after he clears it, then he burns it.' (ZOH1R53  
 014)

## 13.2. Mood

The morphologically marked moods of MIG Zoque are all types of imperatives: the imperative, the negative imperative, the exhortative, and the volitive or optative. There are also two modal words that characterize the probability or possibility of an event: a contrafactual and a word that means 'seems'.

### 13.2.1. Imperative

This is a simple second person imperative, marked by the suffix **-Aʔ** (IMPV). It applies to all types of verb roots, apart from pragmatic constraints (you can't order it to rain, for example). It appears frequently in dialogs in the

texts, where it is used between peers or family members, or from a superior to a subordinate.

(13.27)

- (i) yey mama yukpəktamə  
yey mama **yuk.pək-tam-A?**  
now mama UP.get-1/2PL-IMPV  
'Now, mama, (y'all) put it up.' (ZOH1R18 276)

- (ii) ʔay nəmpa rromán ʔištamə gahi ʔičín  
ʔay 0 nəm-pa rromán **ʔiš-tam-A?** gahi? ʔičiin  
later 3A say-INC román see-1/2PL-IMPV there a\_little  
'Then Román says, "Look over there a little way!"' (ZOH1R18 159)

- (iii) yoššám miš pam kəššoba  
**yoš-A?+ʔam** miš para ʔəm+ kəš.ʔoy-pa  
work-IMPV+NOW 2Prn for 2A+ eat.ANTIP-INC  
'Now you work so you can eat!' (ZOH1R27 009)

- (iv) ʔəy nəmhayyə ʔamma  
ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə **ʔamma-A?**  
3E+ say.APPL-COM look-IMPV  
'He said to him, "Watch it!"' (ZOH1R18 321)

### 13.2.2. Negative imperative

The negative imperative has its own negative morpheme, **ʔu** (NEGimpv), followed by a person agreement marker in its cliticized form. The verb is inflected with the negative imperative suffix **-wə** (nIMPV). In the second person, it simply means "Don't do X!", illustrated in example (13.28 i-iii). In the first or third persons, however, it has a more subjunctive quality: "that I (he/she/they/it) shouldn't do X". The remaining examples in (13.28) illustrate this usage.

(13.28)

- (i) ʔəy nəmhayyə ʔum nəkkə  
 ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə ʔu ʔəm+ nək-wə  
 3E+ say.APPL-COM NEGimpv 2A+ go-nIMPV  
 He said to him, "Don't go." (ZOH1R18 029)
- (ii) ʔum ʔukkə  
 ʔu ʔəm+ ʔuk-wə  
 NEGimpv 2E+ drink-nIMPV  
 'Don't drink it!' (ZOH1R12 115)
- (iii) gə frenu ʔum huppə  
 gə frenu ʔu ʔəm+ hup-wə  
 that rein NEGimpv 2E+ pull-nIMPV  
 'Don't pull on those reins!' (ZOH1R12 348)
- (iv) deʔše də nəmhaʃukkə gaha winhóŋ  
 deʔše də+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə gaha winhoon  
 thus 1A+ say.APPL-3PL-COM there in\_front  
 ke ʔun minnə  
 ke ʔu ʔən+ min-wə  
 that NEGimpv 1E+ come-nIMPV  
 'That's how they told me there before, that I shouldn't come.'  
 (ZOH1R18 113-4)

- (v)    **tigó ʔun ʔokhoŋədammə**  
**tigooʔ ʔu ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔəy-tam-wə**  
 why    NEGimpv 1E+ DOWN.get\_dizzy.SUF-1/2PL-nIMPV  
 'Why must we not forget?' (ZOH1R57 038)
- (vi)    **pa ʔuy təkkəyyə ʔəm cokoyho gagə mal**  
**para ʔu        ʔəy+ tək.ʔəy-wə ʔəm+ cokoyʔ+hoʔ gagə mal**  
 for    NEGimpv 3E+ house.SUF-COM 2E+ heart+LOC2 that bad  
 'So that that poison won't enter into your heart.' (ZOH1R36 350)
- (vii)    **wəttəba gə mək**  
**0 wətiʔ.ʔəy-pa gə mək**  
 3A large.VERS2-INC that corn
- pa ʔuy yakmolescəkkəyyə gə cammə**  
**para ʔu        ʔəy+ yak.molestar=cək.ʔəy-wə gə cammə**  
 for    NEGimpv 3E+ CAUS.bother=do.SUF-COM that weed  
 'The corn gets bigger so the weeds won't bother it.' (ZOH1R13 027)

### 13.2.3. Exhortative

The suffix **-taaŋ** (HORT) indicates the exhortative mood, which is a first person plural imperative: "Let's do it!". **nəki** is an irregular first person imperative used only with this particular verb root.

(13.29)

- (i)    **nəki ʔištán nəmpa huštiša**  
**nək-i    ʔišt-taaŋ 0 nəm-pa huštiša**  
 go-IMPV3 see-HORT 3A say-INC mayor  
 "'Let's go see!", says the mayor.' (ZOH1R18 140)



- (ii) ʔaŋmaytáŋ ney ʔawindəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən  
**ʔaŋ.may-taŋ** ney ʔawinʔ+dəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən  
 MOUTH.count-HORT IE brother+NPL DEF IE zoque  
 'Let's teach our language to our brothers.' (ZOH1R57 010)
- (iii) camtáŋ  
**cam-taŋ**  
 talk-HORT  
 'Let's talk.' (ZOH1R25 054)

### 13.2.4. Volitive / Optative

It is used as a third-person imperative in reported speech ("He said that they should V"), as shown in examples (13.30 i-ii). It is also used as an indirect imperative ("Let her V"), as shown in examples (iii-iv), as a very polite second-person imperative (v-vi), and as an expression of a desired or potential state of affairs ("That it should V"), as shown in examples (vii-ix).

(13.30)

(i) nəmmə ga ʔaŋkimmobáʔ

0 nəm-wə gaʔ ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk

3A say-COM that MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL

yaknəkkə kuk

**yakkə 0 nək-wə** kuk

VOL 3A go-COM center

'That commander said that they should go to the center.'(ZOH1R24 )

(ii) dəššən ceʔkkə yak də kumšukə

dəš ʔən+ ceʔk-wə **yakkə də+ kum-šuk-Aʔ**

1Prn 1E+ ask-COM VOL 1A+ bury-3PL-iOPT

'I asked them to bury me.'

(ZOH1R27 042)

(iii) yakkəy pəʔ tum kašnáŋ winhoŋ

**yakkə ʔəy+ pəʔ-Aʔ** tum kaš.naŋ win+hoŋ

VOL 3E+ put-iOPT one step.MEAS FACE+DIR1

'Let him take one step forward.'

(ZOH1R24 170)

(iv) yakkəy meʔčukə bi totoʔ

**yakkə ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-Aʔ** bi totoʔ

VOL 3E+ look\_for-3PL-iOPT DEF paper

'Let them look for paper.'

(ZOH1R29 089)

(v) yakkə miš cəmkəmaŋŋədamə

**yakkə miš+ cəm=kə.maŋ.ʔəy-tam-Aʔ**

VOL 2>1+ carry=AWAY.\*step.SUF-1/2PL-iOPT

'Please carry me up.'

(ZOH1R12 197)

(vi) təpa ke yakkə miš cəkhadamə tum fabor

(ʔən+) təʔ-pa ke **yakkə miš+ cək.hay-tam-Aʔ** tum fabor

(1E+) want-INC that VOL 2>1+ do.APPL-1/2PL-iOPT one favor

'I'd like you to do me a favor.'

(ZOH1R12 210)

- (vii) ?ən ?ištuktampa yaktakə tuh  
 ?ən+ ?iš=tuk-tam-pa **yakkə 0 tak-A?** tuh  
 1E+ see=finish-1/2PL-INC VOL 3A rain-iOPT rain  
 'We wait for it to rain.' (ZOH1R13 012)
- (viii) ?əm ?awinme?cpa yak mi cəmha go? ?əm mok  
 ?əm+ ?awin?=me?c-pa **yakkə mi+ cəm.hay-A?** goo? ?əm+ mok  
 2A+ sibling=look\_for-INC VOL 3>2+ carry.APPL-iOPT PURP 2E+ corn  
 'You look for a friend that he should carry your corn.' (ZOH1R13 052)
- (ix) cəktán yakkə ?əy ?amma go? dyos  
 cək-taan **yakkə ?əy+ ?amma-A?** goo? dyos  
 do-HORT VOL 3E+ look-iOPT PURP god  
 ke neywin də yoštampa  
 ke neywin də+ yoš-tam-pa  
 that we 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC  
 'Let's do it so that God should see that we are working.' (ZOH1R13 088)

### 13.2.5. Contrafactual

The contrafactual **pinək** (CONFAC), comparable to **ʔinək** in the Zoque of Copainalá, Chiapas (Kaufman, 1996), expresses a desired, but non-existent, state of affairs. It can appear anywhere within the clause. **pinək** is often immediately preceded by the Spanish words *malaya*, or *ojalá*, which appear to mean much the same thing: 'I hope so!', or 'I wish it were!'. Example (13.31 iv) shows the use of **pinək** to form an extremely polite request.

(13.31)

- (i) ke malay pinək ʔən ʔaŋnittampa hemhi ney təkho?  
ke malay **pinək** ʔən+ ʔaŋʔit-tam-pa hemhi? ney tək+ho?  
that one\_hopes CONFAC 1E+ have-1/2PL-INC all IE house+LOC2  
'That hopefully we'll have everything in our house.' (ZOH1R13 090)
- (ii) piceŋho? neywin yan ʔokhoŋnodam pinək  
piceŋho? neywin ya ʔən+ ʔok.hoŋ.ʔoy-tam-wə **pinək**  
because we NEG 1E+ DOWN.get\_dizzy.ANTIP-1/2PL-nINC CONFAC  
'Therefore, may we not forget.' (ZOH1R57 022)
- (iii) pwes ʔohalá pinək nəmpa ke hə? də yoštampa təkʔaŋhə?  
pwes ʔohalá **pinək** 0 nəm-pa ke hə? də+ yoš-tam-pa təkʔaŋhə?  
well I\_hope CONFAC 3A say-INC that yes 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC san\_miguel  
'Well, I hope she says that, yes, we're going to work in San Miguel.'  
(ZOH1R14 061)

- (iv) ʔən nəmhayyə de kaswalidád ya mušə hunəŋ  
 ʔən+ nəm.hay-wə de kaswalidád ya ʔəm+ muš-A hunəŋ  
 1E+ say.APPL-COM of accident NEG 2E+ know-nINC how
- bi número de telēfono miš cipa pinək  
 bi número de telēfono miš+ ciʔ-pa **pinək**  
 DEF number of telephone 2>1+ give-INC CONFAC  
 'I said to her, "You wouldn't happen by chance to know the telephone  
 number? Could you perhaps give it to me?"' (ZOH1R10 204-5)

### 13.2.6. 'Seems' clauses

**bəšeʔ** (SEEM) means 'seemingly; apparently'. It can appear anywhere in the clause after the first word, with either incompletive (examples 13.32 i-iii) or completive aspect (iv-v), but it always has a present tense force.

(13.32)

- (i) gahi ʔəy nəmhayyə tey nəntiam bəšeʔ  
 gahiʔ ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə tey nənti +ʔam **bəšeʔ**  
 there 3E+ say.APPL-COM now there isn't+NOW SEEM  
 'Then he told them that now there don't seem to be any.' (ZOH1R24 287)
- (ii) nəmpa dəš komo bəše dəš yan ʔokcəkə dey  
 0 nəm-pa dəš komo **bəše** dəš ya ʔən+ ʔok.cək-A dey  
 3A say-INC 1Prn like SEEM 1Prn NEG 1E+ DOWN.do-nINC now  
 'I'm saying that it looks like now I don't have time.' (ZOH1R10 331)
- (iii) kay ʔičiŋháʔ bəše ʔəy hamcəkprám  
 kay ʔičiŋ+haaʔ **bəše** ʔəy+ ham(V)=cək-pa+ʔam  
 then a\_little+NPL2 SEEM 3E+ \*mind=do-INC+NOW  
 'Now he seems to be remembering little by little.' (ZOH1R12 719)

- (iv)   tey komo də wəttədammám  
          tey komo də+ wəti.ʔəy-tam-wə+ʔam  
          now how   1A+ big.VERS2-1/2PL-COM+NOW

komo de bəše ney haton̄ yay pəʔttə trabaho  
 komo de **bəše** ney haton̄ ya ʔəy+ pəʔt-wə trabaho  
 how   of SEEM IE father NEG 3E+ pass-COM work

'Now that we've grown up it seems that our fathers didn't work hard.'  
 (ZOH1R13 121)

- (v)   ʔay nəmpa yeʔccám bəše ʔəy ʔora  
          ʔay 0 nəm-pa 0 yeʔc-wə+ʔam **bəše** ʔəy+ ʔora  
          later 3A say-INC 3A arrive-COM+NOW SEEM 3E+ hour  
          'Later he says, "Now it looks like the time has come."' (ZOH1R10 217)