

Chapter 11: Multi-clause Expressions

In this chapter we'll look at the various types of sentences that can be composed of more than one clause. Relative clauses are discussed in section 11.1. In section 11.2, we look at coordinated clauses. Section 11.3 has a discussion of comparative constructions. These are formed on the model of Spanish grammar, using connectives borrowed from Spanish. We return to MIG Zoque connectives in sections 11.4 and 11.5, to discuss purpose clauses and 'if' clauses, respectively. Section 11.6 contains a discussion of clauses using Spanish subordinators. In section 11.7, we look at 'that' clauses, which appear with verbs of speaking, perceiving, and wanting. Section 11.8 contains a description of locative clauses.

In general, MIG Zoque syntax does not entail requirements on the referent of third person agreement markers in subordinate clauses. The referents of subject or object agreement markers are determined pragmatically. The following two examples illustrate this point.

(11.1)

- (i) bi pən ʔəy caŋŋə bi yomáʔ ʔi yowə
 bi pən ʔəy+ caŋ-wə bi yomaaʔ ʔi 0 yo-wə
 DEF man 3E+ hit_w_fist-COM DEF woman and 3A fall-COM
 'The man hit the woman and she fell;
 The man hit the woman and he fell.' (elicited)
- (ii) bi hayʔune ʔəy šuʔkkə bi yomʔune ʔi yukpoyyə
 bi haya=ʔuneʔ ʔəy+ šuʔk-wə bi yomə=ʔuneʔ ʔi 0 yuk.poy-wə
 DEF male=child 3E+ kiss-COM DEF girl=child and 3A UP.flee-COM

'The boy kissed the girl and he ran away;
The boy kissed the girl and she ran away.' (elicited)

My consultant preferred the first translation given for each of the examples above; that is, it was the woman who fell down and the boy who ran away. He said that it was logical: if you hit someone, they're more likely to fall than you are, and a boy who kisses a girl is liable to be so embarrassed by his act that he runs away. He also accepted the opposite interpretation for both sentences - the man falling and the girl running away - but thought that although they were acceptable as sentences, they were less plausible as events.

In English, the syntax admits only one interpretation of such sentences: the elided subject of the second clause must refer to the same entity as the subject of the preceding clause. It must be the man who falls and the boy who runs away. The subject is the *syntactic pivot*: the "syntactic argument [that] bears the privileged grammatical function in the construction" (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997:275). In MIG Zoque, it is neither the syntactic subject nor the semantic role (in both the examples, agent) that controls the interpretation of the second clause, but the pragmatics of the situation; thus, MIG Zoque can be said to have a *pragmatic pivot*.

Another general feature of subordinate clauses in MIG Zoque is the importation of Spanish subordinators expressing the relation of the subordinate clause to the superordinate one. There are three native subordinators: the relative clause clitic +Vʔk, the purpose clause marker góʔ, and the 'if' clause marker biʔt. Other kinds of clauses are introduced by Spanish loan words, such as ʔonʔke,

aunque, 'although', and *kom kwando*, *como cuando*, 'as if'. The native subordinators co-exist in ordinary discourse with their Spanish counterparts: *que*, 'that', *para*, 'in order to', and *si*, 'if'. (Actually, *para* and *si* appear more frequently in the corpus than *góʔ* and *biʔt*.) Over the course of a single narrative produced by a single speaker, we find examples of both the MIG Zoque forms and the Spanish forms. It is common to find them both together in single clause, with the Spanish morphemes on the left and the Zoque ones on the right. The infiltration of Spanish function words is a characteristic of many Mesoamerican languages (Thompson & Longacre, 1985; Kaufman & Thomason, 1988).

(11.2)

- (i) *hemhi de lo ken pəkwiṭpáʔ*
 hemhi de lo ke ʔən+ pək=wit-pa+Vʔk
 all of it that 1E+ get=walk-INC+REL
 'Everything that I carry' (ZOH1R10 133)
- (ii) *pa ʔawin dəkka goʔ pəʔṭpám*
 para ʔawin+dəkka gooʔ 0 pəʔṭ-pa+ʔam
 so_that brother+NPL BNF 3A pass-INC+NOW
 'so that our fellows can pass (there) now.' (ZOH1R18 089)
- (iii) *si ʔəʔkšiam biʔt ʔən pəknekpa*
 si ʔəʔkš.E+ʔam biʔt ʔən+ pək=nək-pa
 if shell.NOM3+NOW IF 1E+ get=go-INC
 'If it's shelled, I'll take it.' (ZOH1R27 053)

11.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are ubiquitous in MIG Zoque narratives, bearing most of the burden of description or elaboration of discourse entities. For convenience, I'll refer to the relative clause as S_{REL} , and use the term *head noun* to refer to the noun phrase being modified by S_{REL} . When I need to distinguish the head noun in its capacity as an argument of the S_{REL} , I'll call it the NP_{REL} (following Keenan, 1985). There are two ways to form a relative clause, by attaching a clitic marker to the end of the S_{REL} verb complex (section 11.1.1.), or by simply heading the S_{REL} with the definite article *bi* (section 11.1.2). The second method is used only for clauses of the general form Pronoun (is) *bi* S_{REL} (That is the one that S...).

11.1.1. Basic relative clauses

This is most common and most general form of relative clause. This type is marked by a clitic that attaches to the right edge of the verb complex. As noted in section 9.3, there are two forms of this clitic: $+Vʔk$ and $+pəʔk$. The first form appears with vowel-final words and the second with consonant-final words. Since most verb complexes end in vowels (because the inflectional suffixes are all vowel-final), the examples in this section will generally show the $+Vʔk$ form. The clitic syllable contracts with the preceding syllable, producing a stressed final syllable. The final stress on relative clauses is usually highly salient, and in emphatic or especially careful speech, the final $/ʔk/$ can be heard.

The head noun always precedes the S_{REL} verb complex, and there may be other arguments or adverbs between it and the verb. There is no relative pronoun in MIG Zoque, nor are personal pronouns or deictics used to delimit the relative clause. Since word order is restricted in relative clauses, whereas it is free in the general case, it seems reasonable to refer to MIG Zoque relative clauses as externally-headed. Subjects and objects are marked on both the matrix and subordinate verbs by the person agreement markers, and the head noun of the relative clause is simply construed with both of them.

There are no restrictions on which of the verb's arguments can be relativized. Similarly, any argument in the matrix clauses can be modified by a relative clause. In the vast majority of the examples in the texts, NP_{REL} is the S_{REL} patient (11.3), but there are a few with actors (11.4). I was able to elicit sentences with relativized recipients (11.5 i, ii), sources (iii), possessed nouns (iv) and accompaniments (v). Clauses in which NP_{REL} is an agent tend to be used in a slightly different fashion, which will be discussed below.

(11.3) NP_{REL} = patient

- (i) ?əy nikpakkəyyə deʔše nəʔ taʔkšpá?
 ?əy+ nik.pak.ʔəy-wə de.ʔše nəʔ 0 taʔkš-pa+Vʔk
 3E+ SURF.sprinkle.SUF-COM DCT2.SIM water 3A burn-INC+REL
 'They poured out the gasoline.' (ZOH1R24 212)

- (ii) hu pəpa ?əm nəkkə dedə hamatin ?əm pəkcoŋpá?
 hu? pə?pa ?əm+ nək-wə dedə hamatin ?əm+ pək=coŋ-pa+V?k
 donde put-INC 2E+ go-dINC that money 2E+ get=join-INC+REL
 'Where are you putting that money that you receive?' (ZOH1R28
 105)

(11.4) NP_{REL} = actor

- (i) hemhi nəktəpá? nəmpa
 hemhi 0 nək=tə?pa+V?k 0 nəm-pa
 all 3A go=want-INC+REL 3A say-INC
 'All who want to go, say (so).' (ZOH1R24 169)

- (ii) nəmpa tum tenyente ?iwə ?otoŋpá?
 0 nəm-pa tum tenyente ?iwə 0 ?otoŋ-pa+V?k
 3A say-INC one lieutenant who 3A speak-INC+REL
 'A lieutenant says, "Who is it who speaks?"' (ZOH1R24 063)

(11.5) NP_{REL} = other

- (i) ?ən me?cpa bi yomá? ?əm ciwó? ?əm yəkwiħ
 ?ən+ me?c-pa bi yomaa? ?əm+ ci?-wə+V?k ?əm+ yəkwiħ
 1E+ look_for-INC DEF woman 2E+ give-COM+REL 2E+ shirt
 'I'm looking for the woman you gave your shirt to.' (elicited)

- (ii) ga ?ən ce?khayyá? tum koke yay ?əŋnittə
 ga? ?ən+ ce?k.hay-wə+V?k tum koke ya ?əy+ ?əŋ?it-wə
 that 1E+ ask.APPL-COM+REL one fish NEG 3E+ have-COM
 'The woman that I asked for a fish didn't have any.' (elicited)

- (iii) bi yomá? ?əm huyhayyá? ?əm yəkwiħ
 bi yomaa? ?əm+ huy.hay-wə+V?k ?əm yəkwiħ
 DEF woman 2E+ buy.APPL-COM+REL 2E+ shirt
 də huyciwə tum nišuy
 də+ huy=ci?-wə tum nišuy?
 1A+ buy=give-COM one blanket
 'The woman you bought your shirt from sold me a blanket.' (elicited)

- (iv) ?ən ?iʃpəkpa bi yomá? ?əy ?une kawó?
 ?ən+ ?iʃ=pək-pa bi yomaa? ?əy+ ?une? 0 ka-wə+V?k
 1E+ see=get-INC DEF woman 3E+ child 3A die-COM+REL
 'I know the woman whose baby died.'
 (elicted)
- (v) də hayhayyə tum toto
 də+ hay.hay-wə tum toto?
 1A+ write.APPL-COM one paper
- ?ən wit?awin ?ən ?aŋmayyó?hənaŋ
 ?ən+ wit=?awin? ?ən+ ?aŋ.may-wə+V?k+hənaŋ
 1E+ walk=sibling 1E+ MOUTH.count-COM-REL+ACC
 'I wrote a letter to my friend that I studied with.' (elicted)

The last example has a postposition marking the entire relative clause as an accompaniment (oblique) phrase. These elicited examples are the only ones of their kind in the corpus, so although they are acceptable, they are certainly not commonly used. When I tried to elicit instrumental relative clauses, I got mixed judgements. Sr. Miguel considered the first example shown in (11.6) grammatical, but Sr. Sánchez hated it, and offered example (ii) in its place¹. My conclusion is that relativizing oblique arguments of verbs is at best a rare and at worst a marginal construction in this language.

(11.6)

- (i) ?ən me?cpa bi cahənaŋ ?ən no?ccó? bi limeta
 ?ən+ me?c-pa bi ca?+hənaŋ ?ən+ no?c-wə+V?k bi limeta
 1E+ look_for-INC DEF rock+ACC 1E+ break-COM+REL DEF bottle
 'I'm looking for the rock that I used as a breaking tool.' (elicted)

¹ Note that this example includes an incorporated instrument noun, another very unusual construction (see chapter 10 for further discussion of noun incorporation).

- (ii) ʔən meʔcpa bi caʔ ʔən noʔckuycəkkəʔ
 ʔən+ meʔc-pa bi caʔ ʔən+ noʔc.kuyʔ=cək-wə+Vʔk
 1E+ look_for-INC DEF rock 1E+ break.INSTR1=do-COM+REL
 'I'm looking for the rock that I broke the bottle with.' (elicited)

Relative clauses whose head nouns are the agents of a transitive verb are very common, but they tend to be treated simply as noun phrases; that is, they can be pluralized with the clitic +dəkka, and they often appear as modifiers of another noun (most commonly pən, 'man'). Many of these clauses are lexicalized, especially those that identify some occupation, such as mayor, teacher, or fisherman. The first examples in (11.7) are of this kind. The line between stable lexicalization and productive morphology is impossible to draw in a language like this one - some examples that are probably not lexicalized are shown in the later examples.

(11.7)

- (i) də yeʔctammə bi ʔaŋmayyobáʔk yomáʔaŋhiʔ
 də+ yeʔc-tam-wə bi ʔaŋ.may.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk yomaaʔ+ʔaŋhiʔ
 1A+ arrive-1/2PL-COM DEF MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC-REL woman+LOC3
 'We arrived at the woman teacher's house.' (ZOH1R10 195)
- (ii) gə ʔora toto yeʔcpa bi ʔaŋkimmobáʔ
 gə ʔora totoʔ 0 yeʔc-pa bi ʔaŋ.kim.ʔoy-pa+Vʔk
 that hour paper 3A arrive-INC DEF MOUTH.go_up.ANTIP-INC+REL
 'At that hour, a letter came for the commander.' (ZOH1R24 039)
- (iii) bi makpáʔk pən ʔəy ʔišmuššə
 bi mak-pa+Vʔk pən ʔəy+ ʔiš=muš-wə
 DEF fish-INC+REL man 3E+ see=know-COM
 'The fisherman saw them.' (ZOH1R20 009)

- (iv) ?əy kobracəkpa bi kəšima?əbádəkkay
 ?əy+ kobrar=cək-pa bi kəš.E=ma?.?əy-pa+V?k+dəkkay
 3E+ charge=do-INC DEF food.NOM3=sale.SUF-INC+REL+NPL
 'He charges the food vendors.' (ZOH1R28 058)

- (v) ?əy ?oŋce?kkəyyə
 ?əy+ ?oŋce?k.?əy-wə
 3E+ ask.SUF-COM

gadəkkay bi kapnəkkəšukpádəkkay
 ga?+dəkkay bi kap=nək.?oy-šuk-pa+V?k+dəkkay
 that+NPL DEF carry_on_shoulder=go.ANTIP-3PL-INC+REL+NPL
 'He asked the ones that were carrying (a coffin).' (ZOH1R27 028)

Relative clauses may also be formed on the Spanish model, using the Spanish relative pronoun *ke*, *que*, 'that', after the head noun and before the S_{REL}, in accordance with Spanish syntax. While hardly rare, these are much less common in the corpus than the MIG Zoque relatives.

(11.8)

- (i) ?el ke də me?cpa dəššən cipa
 ?el ke də+ me?c-pa dəš ?ən+ ci?-pa
 he that 1A+ look_for-INC 1Prn 1E+ give-INC
 'The one that looks for me, I'll hit him.' (ZOH1R18 339)

- (ii) nəmmoba ?ən cəktammə de lo ke ?ən cəktədampa
 nəm.?oy-pa ?ən+ cək-tam-wə de lo ke ?ən+ cək=tə?-tam-pa
 DO.ANTIP-INC 1E+ do-1/2PL-dINC of it that 1E+ do=want-1/2PL-INC
 'We could do what we want to do.' (ZOH1R16 058)

- (iii) ?əy kompo:ncəkpa hemhi lo ke ?əy ce?kcoŋšukpa
 ?əy+ komponer=cək-pa hemhi lo ke ?əy+ ce?k=coŋ-šuk-pa
 3E+ fix=do-INC all it that 3E+ ask=join-3PL-INC
 'She cured everything that they asked for.' (ZOH1R32 057)

11.1.2. Relative clauses with bi

Another type of relative clause is marked only by the definite article bi, without the final clitic. The matrix clause in this case is always an existential clause, and the head noun is always a pronoun, a deictic or the interrogative ti, 'what'. The general form here is Pronoun (is) bi S_{REL}, 'That is the one that S...'.

(11.9)

- (i) de bin ʔaŋheʔkpa dəʃ
de.ʔ bi ʔən+ ʔaŋheʔk-pa dəʃ
DCT2.NOM1 DEF 1E+ be_afraid-INC 1Pm
'That's what I'm afraid of.' (ZOH1R25 200)

- (ii) deʔʃ deʔ biy təpa
de.ʔʃə de.ʔ bi ʔəy+ tə-pa
DCT2.SIM DCT2.NOM1 DEF want-INC
'That is how he wants it.' (ZOH1R18 313)

- (iii) dəʃ bin sufricəkkə
dəʃ bi ʔən+ sufri=cək-wə
1Pm DEF 1E+ suffer=DO-COM
'I'm the one that suffered.' (ZOH1R14 043)

- (iv) yakkəy ʔiʃʃukkam gadəkka ti biy cəkʃukpa
yakkə ʔəy+ ʔiʃ-ʃuk-wə+ʔam gaʔ+dəkka ti bi ʔəy+ cək-pa
VOL 3E+ see-3PL-COM+NOW that+NPL what DEF 3E+ do-INC
'Now let them see what it is that they will do.' (ZOH1R11 111)

- (v) gaʔʃe bi ʔokmaŋŋə
ga.ʔʃe bi 0 ʔok.maŋ-wə
DCT3.SIM DEF 3A DOWN.*step-COM
'That's how it began.' (ZOH1R10 229)

11.2 Coordination and disjunction

Clauses are usually conjoined by means of the Spanish connective *ʔi*, ('and'), as shown in example (11.10 i). They can also be coordinated by simple juxtaposition, with no connective, as shown in example (ii). This was probably the standard form of coordination prior to the invasion, although it appears infrequently now in the corpus. The intonation pattern in such constructions is like that used in a list of nouns: each conjunct has its own rising-falling contour, with a slight pause between the two. The drop in pitch in the first conjunct is not as steep as it would be if it were truly the end of the utterance.

(11.10)

- (i) ʔən cənkuycišukkə ʔi cənšukkə
 ʔən+ cən.kuyʔ=ciʔ-šuk-wə ʔi 0 cən-šuk-wə
 1E+ sit.INSTR1=give-3PL-COM and 3A sit-3PL-COM
 'I gave them seats and they sat down.' (ZOH1R10
 023-4)

- (ii) para dey cəkpa ʔəy pəkkeʔtpa
 para de.y ʔəy+ cək-pa ʔəy+ pək.keʔt-pa
 so_that DCT2.TMP 3E+ do-INC 3E+ get.REPET-INC
 'So that he does it and gets it again.' (ZOH1R24 349)

There is no restriction on conjuncts with respect to aspect, mood, or polarity. In example (11.11 i) completive clauses are conjoined with an incompleted (which indicates an ongoing action in the past, in this case). In (ii), an incompleted clause with future reference is conjoined with a present perfect clause. In (iii), an incompleted clause (a purpose clause) is conjoined with a

volitive clause. Example (iv) shows the conjunction of positive and negative in-completive clauses.

(11.11)

- (i) gay tumə čikha:y?une wehhə ?i wehhə
 gay tumə čik=haya=?une? 0 weh-wə ?i 0 weh-wə
 now one little=male=child 3A shout-COM and 3A shout-COM
 ?i wehecəkpa
 ?i 0 weh.E=cək-pa
 and 3A shout.NOM3=do-INC
 'And a little boy shouted and shouted and he was making a great noise.'
 (ZOH1R24 466)

- (ii) mecaŋ šepeštám pa picəmšukpa
 mecaŋ šepe+štaa?+?am para 0 picəm-šuk-pa
 two month+ONLY+NOW for 3A leave-3PL-INC
 ?i yakti yoškuy yampay cəkə
 ?i yakti yoškuy? yampa ?əy+ cək-A
 and nothing work nPERF 3E+ do-nINC
 'Now it's only two months until they leave and they haven't done any
 work.'
 (ZOH1R28 098-100)

- (iii) para ken nəmhaba ?i hu də nəkpa dəš
 para ke ?ən+ nəm.hay-pa ?i hu? də+ nək-pa dəš
 for that 1E+ say.APPL-INC and where 1A+ go-INC 1Prn
 ?i yakkəy nipə ?ən yuhkuy? ?əy ?acihənaŋ
 ?i yakkə ?əy+ nip-A? ?ən+ yuhkuy? ?əy+ ?aci+hənaŋ
 and VOL 3E+ sow-iOPT 1E+ field 3E+ uncle+ACC
 'so I can tell him where I'm going and that he should sow my field
 with his uncle.'
 (ZOH1R10 091-2)

- (iv) si nəmmobam nippən yuhkuy də nəkpa
 si nəm.ʔoy-pa ʔəm+ nip-wə ʔən+ yuhkuy? də+ nək-pa
 if DO.ANTIP-INC 2E+ sow-COM 1E+ field 1A+ go-INC
- ʔi si nəʔtti ya də nəkə
 ʔi si nəʔtti ya də+ nək-A
 and if no NEG 1A+ go-nINC
 'If you can sow my field, I'll go, and if not, I won't go.' (ZOH1R10 077)

Duplicate arguments may be omitted from the conjoined clause. The examples in 11.12 show constructions in which patient arguments are omitted from the second conjunct. Example (iii), in which the antipassive is used in the second conjunct to suppress the patient, was not considered as felicitous as (ii), in which the patient was simply omitted. Both sentences are grammatical - my consultants just said that the version without the antipassive sounded better. This could be because the antipassive is normally used to express general actions, like cooking or doing some mending, rather than to suppress reference to a specific object that is known in the discourse context.

(11.12)

- (i) ʔən ʃaŋŋə bi yuhkuy ʔi ʔən poŋŋə
 ʔən+ ʃaŋ-wə bi yuhkuy ʔi ʔən+ poŋ-wə
 1E+ cut_w_machete-COM DEF field and 1E+ burn-COM
 'I cleared the field with a machete and I burned (it).' (elicited)
- (ii) ʔən huyyə bi koke ʔi ʔən ʃeʔttə
 ʔən+ huy-wə bi koke ʔi ʔən+ ʃeʔt-wə
 1E+ buy-COM DEF fish and 1E+ fry-COM
 'I bought the fish and I fried (it).' (elicited)

- (iii) ʔən huyyə bi koke ʔi ʔən ʃeʔttoyyə
 ʔən+ huy-wə bi koke ʔi ʔən+ ʃeʔt.ʔoy-wə
 1E+ buy-COM DEF fish and 1E+ fry.ANTIP-COM
 'I bought the fish and I fried (it).' (elicited)

The examples in (11.13) were constructed to test the possible interpretations for conjoined clauses in which the second clause lacks a specific NP indicating the agent. If both the agent and patient (or recipient) of the first conjunct are human and thus equally capable of filling either role, which will be construed as the agent of the second conjunct? The determination is made pragmatically, not syntactically. In the first example, it's the woman who burns the letter, because (as it was explained to me) if the man wrote it, he sent it, and once he'd sent it, he couldn't very well burn it. In the second example, it's the mayor who reads the letter, because he's the one who sent for it. In the fourth example, it could be the man who falls down, but it's more sensible that it be the woman. In the fifth example, it could similarly be the woman who leaves, but the favored interpretation is always that the man leaves. There is a clear preference for the agent of the first conjunct also being considered the agent of the second, although this is not strictly required.

(11.13)

- (i) ʔəy hayhayyə bi pən bi yomáʔ tum toto ʔi ʔəy poŋŋə
 ʔəy+ hay.hay-wə bi pən bi yomaaʔ tum totoʔ ʔi ʔəy+ poŋ-wə
 3E+ write.APPL-COM DEF man DEF woman one paper and 3E+ burn-COM
 'The man wrote a letter to the woman and she burned it.' (elicited)

- (ii) ʔəy yakpəkminnə bi toto bi huštiša bi pən
 ʔəy+ yak.pək=min-wə bi toto? bi huštiša bi pən
 3E+ CAUS.carry=come-COM DEF paper DEF mayor DEF man
 ʔi ʔəy howannə
 ʔi ʔəy+ ho.wan-wə
 and 3E+ INTO.sing-COM
 'The mayor told the man to bring the paper and he read it.' (elicited)
- (iii) ʔəy paʔttə bi pən bi yomá?
 ʔəy+ paʔt-wə bi pən bi yomaa?
 3E+ meet-COM DEF man DEF woman
 ʔi ʔəy nəmhayyə ke yak nəkə
 ʔi ʔəy+ nəm.hay-wə ke yakkə nək -A?
 and 3E+ say.APPL-COM that VOL go-iOPT
 'The man met the woman and she told him to go.' (elicited)
- (iv) ʔəy caŋŋə bi pən bi yomá? ʔi yowə
 ʔəy+ caŋ-wə bi pən bi yomaa? ʔi 0 yo-wə
 3E+ hit-COM DEF man DEF woman and 3A fall-COM
 'The man hit the woman and she fell down.' (elicited)
- (v) ʔəy ʔotoŋhayyə bi pən bi yomá? ʔi nəkwə
 ʔəy+ ʔotoŋ.hay-wə bi pən bi yomaa? ʔi 0 nək-wə
 3E+ speak.APPL-COM DEF man DEF woman and 3A go-COM
 'The man spoke to the woman and he went away.' (elicited)

The Spanish disjunctives *o* 'or' and *pero* 'but' are also used. Their behavior parallels that of the conjunctive expressions.

(11.14)

- (i) dəʃ də nəkpa pero də nippanam
 dəʃ 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 (my corn).' (ZOH1R10 043)

- (ii) dəʃ də ʔotoŋhaʃukpa ʔo də nəmhaʃukpa
 dəʃ də ʔotoŋ.hay-ʃuk-pa ʔo də nəm.hay-ʃuk-pa
 1Prn 1A speak.APPL-3PL-INC or 1A say.APPL-3PL-INC
 'They will talk to me or they will tell me.' (ZOH1R10 012)

11.3 Comparative clauses:

Comparative clauses are constructed on the Spanish model, using *mas*, 'more'. The standard of comparison, if there is one, is introduced with the Spanish comparative *ke* (*que*, 'than').

(11.15)

- (i) mas ʔaŋheʔkpa bi ʔawindəkka
 mas 0 ʔaŋheʔk-pa bi ʔawinʔ+dəkka
 more 3A be_afraid_INC DEF sibling+NPL
 'The companions were more afraid.' (ZOH1R24 328)

- (ii) gaʔ mas ʔəy yəkhuppəyyə bi yomáʔ
 gaʔ mas ʔəy+ yək.hup.ʔəy-wə bi yomaaʔ
 that more 3E+ INSTR2.pull.SUF-COM DEF woman
 'He blamed the woman more.' (ZOH1R28 087)

- (iii) tehiwám mas kawám ke hehpa
 0 tehi.ʔa-wə+ʔam mas 0 ka-wə+ʔam ke 0 heh-pa
 3A there_is.VERS1-COM+NOW more 3A die-COM+NOW that 3A live-INC
 'Now he was more dead than alive.' (ZOH1R24 708)
- (iv) ʔen bes de ke də šəhadampa pinək
 ʔen bes de ke də+ šəhə.ʔa-tam-pa pinək
 en time of that 1A+ a_lot.VERS1-1/2PL-INC CONFAC
 mas də meššadampa
 mas də+ meši.ʔa-tam-pa
 more 1A+ few-VERS1-1/2PL-INC
 'Instead of becoming more we are becoming fewer.' (ZOH1R16 079)
- (v) pok yəʔ ʔəy cəkkə mas ke čik woynəŋpəʔk parkeho?
 porke yəʔ ʔəy+ cək-wə mas ke čik woy.neəŋ+pəʔk parke+ho?
 because this 3E+ do-COM more that little roll.MEAS+REL park+LOC2
 'Because this one built more than a little gazebo in the park.'
 (ZOH1R28 351)

11.4. Purpose clauses

The subordinator góʔ (PURP) marks a purpose clause. While it most typically appears immediately after the verb complex, it may also appear after the first word or noun phrase in the clause. The Spanish subordinator *para*, 'in order to', is also used to construct purpose clauses; in fact, both may appear together, with the Spanish subordinator at the beginning of the clause and the Zoque subordinator somewhere inside the clause. In the corpus, *para* alone (11.16 i - ii) is more common than *para* together with góʔ (iii - v), which in turn is more common than just góʔ (v-vii).

(11.16)

- (i) yakkoknəkkə dedə tuŋ pa nəkpa san diyunisyu
yakkə 0 ʔok.nək-wə dedə tuŋ para 0 nək-pa san diyunisyu
VOL 3A DOWN.go-cOPT that road so_that 3A go-INC san dionisio
'They should follow that road to go to San Dionisio.' (ZOH1R24 105)
- (ii) ʔəy mandacəkkə bi hamatin pay yoššukpa
ʔəy+ mandar=cək-pa bi hamatin para ʔəy+ yoš-šuk-pa
3E+ send=do-INC DEF money so_that 3E+ work-3PL-INC
'They sent them the money so they could work.' (ZOH1R28 067)
- (iii) ʔən hayhayyám
ʔən+ hay.hay-wə+ʔam
1E+ write.APPL-COM+NOW

pan nəktampa góʔ ʔən yoštammə
para ʔən+ nək-tam-pa gooʔ ʔən+ yoš-tam-wə
so_that 1E+ go-1/2PL-INC PURP 1E+ work-1/2PL-COM

'I've already written to him so that we can go work.' (ZOH1R10 174)
- (iv) nəki ʔištán deʔunabés pa tempran góʔ cəkkəmpa
nək-i ʔišt+taaŋ deʔunabés para tempranu gooʔ 0 cək.ʔəm-pa
go-IMPV see+VOL at_once so_that early PURP 3A do.PASS-INC
'Let's go see (him) at once so that it's done early.' (ZOH1R10 365)
- (v) rromán ʔəmmə ʔən yakkapa
rromán 0 nəm-wə ʔən+ yak.kaʔ-pa
román 3A say-COM 1E+ CAUS.die-INC

pa ʔawin dəkka góʔ pəʔtəpám
para ʔawin+dəkka gooʔ 0 pəʔt-pa+ʔam
so_that brother+NPL PURP 3A pass-INC+NOW
'Román said, "I'll kill him so our fellows can pass now."' (ZOH1R18 088-9)
- (vi) də kahʔukpaštám də nəkpam góʔ
də+ kahwe=ʔuk-pa+štəaʔ +ʔam də+ nək-pa+ʔam gooʔ
1A+ coffee=drink-INC+ONLY+NOW 1A+ GO-INC+NOW PURP
'I'll just drink some coffee now so I can go.' (ZOH1R10 151)

- (vii) rroberto ?əy nummə toto?
 rroberto ?əy+ num-wə toto?
 roberto 3E+ steal-COM paper
- ?uy howanə gó? bi ?aŋkimmobá?
 ?u ?əy+ ho.wan-A goo? bi ?aŋ.kim.?oy-pa+V?k
 NEGimpv 3E+ IN.sing-IMPV PURP DEF MOUTH.mount.ANTIP-INC+REL
- 'Roberto stole the letter so the director couldn't read it.' (elicited)

There are a few examples in which gó? means 'because'. Predictably, in these cases it often appears in tandem with the Spanish *porque*.

- (11.17)
- (i) ?o porke yahə gó? bi yoškuy?
 ?o porke yahə goo? bi yoš.kuy?
 or because far PURP DEF work.INSTR1
 'Or because the work is far away' (ZOH1R10 036)
- (ii) de gahi ?əy ?ammatəpa gó? də golpeacəkšukkə
 de gahi ?əy+ ?amma=tə?-pa goo? də+ golpear=cək-šuk-pa
 from there 3E+ look=want-INC PURP 1A+ hit=do-3PL-INC
 'Then, because they wanted to see it, they were hitting me.' (ZOH1R32 041)
- (iii) de?še ?əy nəmhayyə gó?
 de.ʔše ?əy+ nəm.hay-wə goo?
 DCT2.SIM 3E+ say.APPL-COM PURP
- mas kiŋkapa gadə ha:y?une?
 mas kiŋka-pa ga.də haya=?une?
 more be_angry-INC DCT3.XDEM male=child
- 'Because he said that to him, the boy got angrier.' (ZOH1R18 329-30)

- (iv) pork kwandum ?aɲnitpa yam pəʔttə trabaho
 porke kwandu ?əm+ ?aɲʔit-pa ya ?əm+ pəʔt-wə trabaho
 because when 2E+ have-INC NEG 2E+ pass-COM work
 'Because when you have (enough), you don't have to work.' (ZOH1R13 105)

11.5. 'If' clauses

Both the MIG Zoque subordinator *biʔt* and the Spanish *si* are used to form 'if' clauses. Their use conforms with that described for subordinate clauses in general. The examples in (11.18) show *si* alone (i-ii), *si* and *biʔt* marking the same clause (iii-iv), and *biʔt* alone (v-vi).

(11.18)

- (i) sim cəkpa mal kon mal ?əm yohpa ne?
 si ?əm+ cək-pa mal kon mal ?əm+ yoh-pa ne?
 if 2E+ do-INC bad with bad 2E+ pay-INC also
 'If you do evil, with evil you will be paid.' (ZOH1R20 048)
- (ii) pero sim nəktəpám miššəm mušpa
 pero si ?əm+ nək=təʔ-pa+?am miš ?əm+ muš-pa
 but if 2A+ go=want-INC+NOW 2Pm 2E+ know-INC
 'But if you want to go now, you know (best).' (ZOH1R18 248)
- (iii) sim hamatinnəyyə biʔt ti bi meʔcpa yəhi?
 si ?əm+ hamatin.ʔəy-wə biʔt ti bi ?əm+ meʔc-pa yəhi?
 IF 2E+ money.VERS2-COM IF what DEF 2E+ look_for-INC here
 'If you have money, what are you looking for here?' (ZOH1R19 064-5)
- (iv) sim tədampa biʔt cidamə dedə ?o:kawi
 si ?əm+ təʔ-tam-pa biʔt ciʔ-tam-A? dedə ?oko=cawi?
 IF 2E+ want-1/2PL-INC IF give-1/2PL-IMPV that old_woman=monkey
 'If you want them (the babies), shoot the mother monkeys.' (ZOH1R11 034)

- (v) yam tə biʔt picəmə yəhəŋ
 ya ʔəm+ təʔ-A biʔt picəmə-Aʔ yə.həəŋ
 NEG 2E+ want-nINC IF leave-IMPV DCT1.DIR1
 'If you don't like it, leave here.' (ZOH1R18 324-5)
- (vi) ʔəy kobracəkkə bi kəši maʔʔəpá dəkkay
 ʔəy+ kobra=cək-wə bi kəš-E=maʔ.ʔəy-pa+Vʔk+dəkkay
 3E+ charge=DO-COM DEF eat-NOM3=sale.VERS2-INC+REL+NPL

 wakaš yakkanəmpa biʔt
 0 wakaš=yak.ka-Anəm-pa biʔt
 3A cow =CAUS.die-IMPERS-INC IF

 'They charge the food vendors if someone butchers cattle.' (ZOH1R28 197)
- (vii) nəmmam biʔt həʔ nəmmám
 0 nəm-wə+ʔam biʔt həʔ 0 nəm-wə+ʔam
 3A say-COM+NOW IF yes 3A say-COM+NOW
 'If he's said yes, he's said it.' (ZOH1R10 109)

11.6. Locative clauses

Locative clauses can be formed with the postverbal clitic +hi, following the same pattern as relative clauses. Like relative clauses, these are nominalizations. These constructions rarely appear in the texts, although they are easy to elicit. Since they are nominals, they can be preceded by the definite article bi, as shown in example (11.19 ii). The ergative markers that precede the locative nominals in examples (i-iii) are possessives: the train is arriving at its passing place (i); we go to the man's sleeping place (ii); and I glue the pot at its broken place (iii).

The Spanish relative/interrogative pronoun *donde*, 'where', is more commonly used for locative clauses, appearing in a variety of forms in MIG Zoque, sometimes compounded with the Zoque word for 'where', *hu?*. Examples of this type of locative clause are shown in (11.19 iv-vi).

(11.19)

- (i) ye?cpám bi tren ?əy pə?tpahi
0 ye?c-pa+?am bi tren ?əy+ pə?t-pa+hi
3A arrive-INC+NOW DEF train 3E+ pass-INC+LOCREL
'Now the train is arriving where it passes.' (ZOH1R25 109)

- (ii) mehor də nəktampa ?ašta gaha biy moŋŋəhi
mehor də+ nək-tam-pa ?ašta gaha bi ?əy+ moŋ-wə+hi
better 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC until there DEF 3E+ sleep-COM+LOCREL
'Better that we should go to where he's sleeping.' (ZOH1R36 171)

- (iii) ?ən ?aŋcahpan šuyu ?əy no?ccəmməhi
?ən+ ?aŋ.cah-pa ?ən+ šuyu? ?əy+ no?c.?əm-wə+hi
1E+ MOUTH.glue-INC 1E+ pot 3E+ break.PASS-COM+LOCREL
'I'm going to glue my pot where it was broken.' (elicited)

- (iv) ?adondhu toyhaypa ?əy kwerpu
?adonde=hu? 0 toy.hay-pa ?əy+ kwerpu
where=where 3A hurt.APPL-INC 3E+ body
'Where their body hurts.' (ZOH1R32 107)

- (v) gay gagə dolór ?əy ?əŋnitpám yəhi donde ?əy paktukkə
gay gagə dolór ?əy+ ?əŋnit-pa+?am yəhi donde ?əy+ pak=tuk-wə
then that pain 3E+ have-INC+NOW here where 3E+ grab=end-COM
'Then that pain that he now has here where he pulled it out.'
(ZOH1R36 220)

- (vii) ?adondhu ?əŋmaypa bi ?unedəkka
?adonde=hu? 0 ?əŋ.may-pa bi ?une?+dəkka
where=where 3A MOUTH.count-INC DEF child+NPL
'where the children study' (ZOH1R28 070)

11.7. Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are most commonly constructed on the Spanish model, using the subordinators *la ?ora ke* (*la hora que*, '(at) the time when'), *kwando* (*cuando*, 'when') and *myentras* (*mientras*, 'while').

(11.20)

- (i) *la ?ora ke tayna nəkkə ?əy nıpenwakkə ?əy mačete*
la ?ora ke tay.na nək-wə ?əy ni.pen=wak-wə ?əy mačete
the hour that X.STAT go-COM 3E PURP.grasp=empty-COM 3E machete
'When he went over on his back, he pulled out his machete.' (ZOH1R18 076)
- (ii) *?ən ha:mcəktampa kwando də ?okcamhadammə*
?ən+ hamV=cək-tam-pa kwando də+ ?ok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC when 1A+ DOWN.talk.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'We remember when he told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)
- (iii) *yakki ya pətə myentras ke dəs də tehi?awə*
yak=?iwə ya 0 pə?t-A myentras ke dəs də+ tehi.?a-wə
no_one NEG 3A pass-nINC while that 1Prn 1A+ there_is.VERS1-COM
'Nobody passes while I am here.' (ZOH1R18 022)

The Spanish word *hora*, 'hour', has also been borrowed as a MIG Zoque subordinator. It appears immediately after the verb complex, syntactically parallel to the relative and locative clitic subordinators. This one isn't a clitic, since if it were the initial syllable would contract with the final syllable of the preceding word. I believe this is the only case in MIG Zoque of a borrowed Spanish function word being used in accordance with the Zoque syntax, rather than importing the Spanish syntax along with the word².

² Terrence Kaufman points out that the Zapotec of Juchitán also uses *hora* in this way, but it is a right-branching construction in that language.

(11.21)

- (i) našey yaknikpoyyoba ?ora ?ay ciwə ?ašta gahan
naše+?ay yak.nik.poy.ʔoy-pa ?ora ?ay ci?-wə ?ašta ga.haan
truth+3E CAUS.SURF.flee.ANTIP-INC hour 3E give-COM up_to DCT3.DIR1
'In fact when he jumped on top of him he knocked him over there.'
(ZOH1R18 333-4)

- (ii) ?ay pəʔtpa ?ora caŋʔonpəšukkə
?ay pəʔt-pa ?ora caŋ =ʔon.pəʔ-šuk-wə
3E pass-INC hour hit_w_hand=X.put-3PL-COM
'When he passed, they (jaguars) gave it (a serpent) a blow.'
(ZOH1R12 421)

- (iii) minnən ?awin də yotecepa ?ora
min-wə+?ən ?awinʔ də+ yoteʔ=ceʔ-pa ?ora
come-COM+1E brother 1A+ clothes=wash-INC hour
'My brother came while I was washing clothes.' (elicited)

- (iv) ?əm wannə təkkəwə bi hente dəkka ?ora
?əm wan-wə 0 tək.ʔay-wə bi hente dəkka ?ora
2E sing-COM 3A house.VERS2-COM DEF people NPL hour
'You were singing when the people entered.' (elicited)

11.8. Spanish subordinators

Spanish, like English, has a large set of subordinators, all of which are available to MIG Zoque speakers. Examples of some of those that are most frequently used are given in this section: ?onke (*aunque*, 'although'); kom kwando (*como cuando*, 'as if'); and koŋ pa (*con para*, 'with the result that').

(11.22)

- (i) pwes hehpa ?onke yay tehimotə dəšhahənan
pwes 0 heh-pa ?onke ya ?ay+ tehi.ʔa.mot-A dəšhaaʔ+hənan
well 3A live-INC although NEG 3E+ exist.VERS1.WITH-nINC we+ACC

'Well he's alive, even though he's not here with us.' (ZOH1R18 365-6)

- (ii) ʔen bes de ke picəmpa
 ʔen bes de ke 0 picəṁ-pa
 in instead of that 3A leave-INC

mas kom kwando ʔəy nicənnawə bi pən
 mas komo kwando ʔəy+ ni.cən.ʔa-wə bi pən
 more like when 3E+ INSTR3.sit.VERS1-COM DEF man
 'Instead of getting out (of the water), more as if she sat up on the man.'
 (ZOH1R15 065)

- (iii) ʔi dehi minkeʔttammən yoškeʔttammə yəhə
 ʔi dehi min.keʔt-tam-wə ʔən+ yoš.keʔt-tam-wə yəhə
 and there come.REPET-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work.REPET-1/2PL-COM here

konh pa də nəktamp por ʔokhonaŋ
 kon para də+ nək-tam-pa por ʔokhonaŋ
 with so_that 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC for down
 'And here we came again, we worked again here
 with the result that we went down (in the town).' (ZOH1R32 023)

11.9. 'That' clauses: verbs of speaking, perception and cognition

The Zoque *ke*, 'that', is borrowed from the Spanish *que*. It appears between the two clauses that it conjoins. Examples i and ii in this section were elicited.

11.9.1 Speaking

There are three verb roots for acts of speaking in MIG Zoque: *nəm-*, 'to say'; *ʔotoŋ-*, 'to speak'; and *cam-*, 'to chat; to converse; to tell'. There are also many derived forms, such as *ho.nəm-* (INTO.say), 'to translate'. *ʔotoŋ-* is an

intransitive root that is rarely accompanied by a report of what was said. One example of its use is given in (11.23 i). *cam-* (ii) means to converse together, or more commonly, to tell a story. It is also not used to introduce reported speech.

nəm- is the root that's used for reporting speech, and it is ubiquitous in the corpus. The preferred syntax is: *nəm-* Speaker Speech. If it is introducing dialog (iii-iv), no connective or special marker is used. The Spanish complementizer *ke* (*que*, 'that') is used to present indirect quotes (v-vi).

(11.23)

- (i) *həʃhónʔ ʔotoŋŋə*
 həʃhoonʔ 0 ʔotoŋ-wə
 from_behind 3A speak-COM
 'She spoke backwards.' (lexicon)

- (ii) *ʔən campə tum came*
 ʔən+ cam-pa tum cam.E
 1E+ tell-INC one tell.NOM3
 'I'm going to tell a story.' (lexicon)

- (iii) *ʔəy nəmhaʃukkə minnə mišʃən cidame awsilyo*
 ʔəy+ nəm.hay-ʃuk-wə min-wə miš ʔən+ ciʔ-tam-E awsilyo
 3E+ say.APPL-3PL-COM come-COM 1>2 1E+ give-1/2PL-dCOM help
 'They said to them, "We came to give you some help."' (ZOH1R24 030)

- (iv) nəmmə benigno ?iwə miš me?cha tumə
 nəm-wə benigno ?iwə miš me?c.hay-A? tumə
 say-COM benigno who 2>1 look_for.APPL-IMPV one
 'Benigno said, "Who? Find one for me."' (ZOH1R10 007)
- (v) nəmšukpa ke numpay wičukkə
 0 nəm-šuk-pa ke num-pa ?əy+ wit-šuk-wə
 3A say-3PL-INC that steal-INC 3E+ walk-3PL-COM
 'They say that they went around stealing.' (ZOH1R24 012)
- (vi) ?um nəmmə miš ke yakki ya mi nəmhayyə
 ?u ?əm+ nəm-wə miš ke yak=?iwə ya mi nəm.hay-wə
 NEGimpv 2A+ say-COM 2Prn that nobody NEG 3>2 say.APPL-nCOM
 'Don't you say that nobody told you.' (ZOH1R18 040)

11.9.2. Perception

There are two verb roots of visual perception in Zoque: ?iš- and ?amma-. The first is the most generally used, meaning 'to see'; the second generally means 'to watch' or 'to observe'. ?amma- appears infrequently, and is not used to introduce subordinate clauses describing the situation being observed. Examples of its use are shown in (11.24 i-ii). ?iš- is extremely common - as an unadorned root, as a derived stem, and as a member of a pair of compound roots. Its behavior in compounds is discussed in chapter 8. As an underived root, it can be used to simply present an act of seeing (example iii), or to introduce a clause describing the perceived situation (examples iv-vi). As example (iv) illustrates, this can be an abstract situation perceived with the mind.

(11.24)

- (i) yəhəŋ kaháŋ ʔammaɸa
yə.həəŋ ka.haaŋ 0 ʔamma-ɸa
DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1 3A look-INC
'He's looking over here and over there.' (ZOH1R24 492)
- (ii) ʔən ʔammawə kwanduy təŋŋə bi ɸən bi kuy
ʔən+ ʔamma-wə kwandu ʔəy+ təŋ-wə bi ɸən bi kuy
1E+ watch-COM when 3E+ cut_w_machete-COM DEF man DEF tree
'I watched while the man cut down the tree with the machete.' (elicited)
- (iii) nəkɸan ʔiʃʃə ʔən hatəŋ ʔən mama
nək-ɸa ʔən+ ʔiʃ-wə ʔən+ hatəŋ ʔən+ mama
go-INC 1E+ see-dINC 1E+ father 1E+ mother
'I'm going to see my father and my mother.' (ZOH1R18 254)
- (iv) gahim ʔiʃtampa si miʃ ʔo dəʃ ney nəmhaʃukəɸa
gahiʔ ʔəm+ ʔiʃ-tam-ɸa si miʃ ʔo dəʃ ney nəm.hay-ʃuk-A-ɸa
there 2E+ see-1/2PL-INC if 2Prn or 1Prn RECIP say.APPL-3PL-RECIP-INC
'Then we'll see if you or I will say to one another...' (ZOH1R24 044)
- (v) kay ʔən ʔiʃtampám ke mas həʃhəŋ minnəɸa
kay ʔən+ ʔiʃ-tam-ɸa+ʔam ke mas həʃhoəŋ 0 min-Anəm-ɸa
then 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC+NOW that more from_behind 3A come-INDEF-INC
'Then we see that more is coming farther back (inside the cave).' (ZOH1R15 054)
- (vi) gadəkka ʔiʃʃoʃukɸa kwandu nəntiʔawə
gaʔ+dəkka 0 ʔiʃ.ʔoy-ʃuk-ɸa kwandu 0 nənti.ʔa-wə
that+NPL 3A see.ANTIP-3PL-INC when 3A there_isn't.VERS1-COM
'They see when there isn't any.' (ZOH1R28 234)

The verb root that means 'to hear' is *matəŋ-*. It occurs only rarely in the corpus, but elicitation sessions revealed that the syntax of its use parallels that of

ʔiš-, 'to see'. It can introduce a subordinate clause described the perceived event, with or without the borrowed complementizer *ke*.

(11.25)

- (i) ʔən matonŋə wannə kamilo
 ʔən+ maton-wə 0 wan-wə kamilo
 1E+ hear-COM 3A sing-COM camilo
 'I heard Camilo sing.' (elicited)
- (ii) ʔən+ matonŋə ke rroberto koʔkšə ʔaŋmaykuytəkho?
 ʔən+ maton-wə ke rroberto 0 koʔkš-wə ʔaŋmaykuytək+ho?
 1E+ hear-COM that roberto 3A snore-COM school+LOC2
 'I heard that Roberto was snoring in the schoolhouse.' (elicited)

11.9.3. Cognition

In this section, we look at an assortment of verbs that express cognitive events, such as wanting, knowing, and thinking.

təʔ- means 'to want'. As an independent root it can be used transitively (example i) or to introduce a subordinate clause, with or without *ke* (ii-iii). *təʔ-* is most commonly used as the second root in a compound verb construction, which will be discussed in chapter 8. In those constructions it means 'to want X to V'.

(11.26)

- (i) dəš hamatin təpa
 dəš (də+) hamatin=təʔ-pa
 1Prn (1A+) money=want-INC
 'I want some money.' (ZOH1R28 142)

- (ii) dəššən təpa yakcənnə kastro lo krus
 dəš ?ən+ tə?-pa yak.cən-wə kastro lo krus
 1Prn 1E+ want-INC CAUS.sit-COM castro lo cruz
 'I want Castro lo Cruz to be elected.' (ZOH1R24 357)

- (iii) ?ən təpa ke miš wehhaypa ?aṇnamcu?
 ?ən+ tə?-pa ke miš+ weh.hay-pa ?aṇnamcu?
 1E+ want-INC that 2>1+ shout.APPL-INC morning
 'I want you to call me early.' (elicited)

The verb root muš-, 'to know', is a member of the set of auxiliary verbs, and as such can appear in three types of constructions: as an independent root, in the auxiliary construction, and in a verb root compound. The meaning of the morpheme shifts slightly in each case. When it is used independently, it means 'to know', and it may be used with ke, 'that' (11.27 i-iii). When it is used in the auxiliary construction, it means 'to know how to V' (iv). In compound constructions, muš- means 'to succeed in V-ing'; this is discussed in chapter 8.

(11.27)

- (i) gay muššukpám ke nəkpay tukši?ašukkə
 gay 0 muš-šuk-pa+?am ke nək-pa ?əy+ tukši?.?a-šuk-wə
 then 3A know-3PL-INC+NOW that go-INC 3E+ fight.VERS1-3PL-dINC
 'Now they know that they're going to fight.' (ZOH1R24 088)

- (ii) den muštampa ke hehpa
 dey ?ən+ muš-tam-pa ke 0 heh-pa
 now 1E+ know-1/2PL-INC that 3A live-INC
 'Now we know that he's alive.' (ZOH1R18 367)

- (iii) ?i netu komo muššoba ?əy pənəkpa toto?
 ?i netu komo 0 muš.ʔoy-pa ?əy+ pəʔ=nək-pa toto?
 and neto since 3A know.ANTIP-INC 3E+ put=go-INC paper
 'And since Neto knows how (to read), he carries the documents.'
 (ZOH1R24 564)
- (iv) 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 inside.' (ZOH1R15 045)

Only one of my consultants, Sr. Agripino Sánchez Gutiérrez (Sr. Germán Sánchez's father), used any non-Spanish terms to refer to believing, using an expression that means 'put it in one's heart.' (examples 11.28 i-ii). Sr. Germán Sánchez felt that this sounded peculiar in elicitation sessions, although he is the one that translated them in the first place. Sr. Agripino Sánchez was the oldest of my gifted storytellers, and may have learned these very old-fashioned expressions along with the stories.

Other verbs of mentation are formed with a morpheme that is no longer used independently in MIG Zoque; that is, it only appears in derived verb stems. It has the form ham(V) or hamin, and appears to have once been a noun meaning something like 'mind'. It now appears in derived forms that mean 'remember' (iii-iv), and 'to go mad'. The verb stem ?ok.hoŋ- 'to forget' is based on a root that means 'to get dizzy' (v). The stem yək.təʔ-, 'to understand' (vi), is formed from

the root 'to want' and a prefix whose function in derived verb stems is unclear (it is homophonous with an instrumental prefix). All of these forms take clauses as arguments.

The last example (vii) shows an idiom that occurs only once in the corpus. The narrator of this text, Sr. Camilo Miguel Sánchez, is the youngest of my consultants and one of the youngest fluent speakers in the community. He is both a man who identifies very strongly with his culture and a very creative person, musically and verbally gifted. He may have made this expression up on the spur of the moment to avoid using a Spanish loan word.

(11.28)

- (i) ga pəʔoyyə komo nəkwám
gaʔ 0 pəʔ.ʔoy-wə komo 0 nək-wə+ʔam
that 3A put.ANTIP-COM how 3A go-cOPT+NOW
'He thought how he should go now.' (ZOH1R24 483)

- (ii) yay pə ʔəy cokoyho?
ya ʔəy+ pəʔ-A ʔəy+ cokoyʔ+ho?
NEG 3E+ put-nINC 3E+ heart+LOC2
'He doesn't believe it.' (ZOH1R25 247)

- (iii) ʔən hamcəktampa kwando də ʔokcamhadammə
ʔən+ ham(V)=cək-tam-pa kwando də+ ʔok.cam.hay-tam-wə
1E+ *mind=do-1/2PL-INC when 1A+ DOWN.tell.APPL-1/2PL-COM
'We remember when he told us a tale.' (ZOH1R18 022)

