

Chapter 4: Word Classes

I define 12 classes of words for MIG Zoque: verbs, nouns, pronouns, quantifiers (including numbers), adjectives, deictics, postpositions, adverbs, intensifiers, subordinators, modals, and discourse markers. Criteria used for determining class membership are either formal or functional.

The class of verb roots (section 4.1) is determined formally by the affixes that are required for these roots to appear in words. Verb roots are not considered words, since they never appear without at least minimal inflection (section 2.1) and an agreement marker (section 6.2) or a nominalizing affix (section 7.2). A verbal word, then, would be a verb stem with the obligatory inflection and whatever optional affixes it might have. Verb stems can also be formed from nouns and adjectives (section 7.3). A verbal word requires marking with one of the agreement markers, which are clitics that lean to the left and so form part of the phonological word preceding the verb word. The clitic's host word might be a negative or volitive morpheme, which also belongs syntactically to the verb phrase. It is clearer and simpler to refer to the whole agglomeration (shown in table 2.1) as a *verb complex*. The term *verb stem* is used in this book to refer to something more than a root but less than a complex; for example, a root with a directional prefix would be considered a stem.

The other classes are lexeme classes, some of whose members may be monomorphemes and some of which may be derived forms. Functionally, nouns (section 4.2), pronouns (section 4.3), quantifiers (section 4.4), and deictics

(section 4.6) can fill argument roles. The argument structure of verbs and the kinds of roles that are required by different verb classes is discussed in chapter 6. Adjectives (section 4.5) and intensifiers (section 4.9) appear in modifying positions in noun and verb phrases, respectively. Postpositions (section 4.7) are clitic forms that attach to the right edge of a noun phrase. Adverbs (section 4.8) indicate time, direction, or location, but are separate words that may appear in various places in the clause, which distinguishes these forms from postpositions. Subordinators (section 4.10) and modals (section 4.11) are function words with restrictions on their positions within the verb phrase. Discourse markers (section 4.12) are not morphosyntactically integral to the clauses in which they appear, serving instead to structure the discourse as a whole.

4.1. Verbs

Verbs are unambiguously classifiable as those roots that must appear with an aspect or mood suffix and an agreement marker. Verb roots may be grossly subclassified as intransitive or transitive, according to which set of pronominal agreement markers is used for the subject. Intransitive verbs appear with absolutive subject markers, and transitive verbs appear with ergative subject markers. Intransitive verbs are discussed in section 4.1.1. Transitive verbs can be further divided into three sub-classes. These are discussed in section 4.1.2.

Two smaller classes of verbs can also be defined by formal criteria: positional verbs and affective verbs. The positional class consists of those verb roots that can take the assumptive suffix *-ney*. These are discussed in section 4.1.3. Affective verbs, also known as sound symbolism verbs, take the

reduplicative suffix -ney. They are discussed in section 4.1.4. Apart from these definitional restrictions, any verbal affix may appear with any verb.

Auxiliary verbs are a small class of verbs with unique syntactic properties. The set of auxiliaries and the grounds for determining membership in this set are discussed in section 4.1.5. The inflectional morphology of auxiliary verb phrases is discussed in section 5.6. The syntactic properties of auxiliary verb phrases are discussed in chapter 8.

4.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verb roots appear with absolutive person agreement markers. In the lexicon, these roots are further divided into two groups: I1, or unergative verbs, in which the subject is the actor or agent of the verbal event; and I2, or unaccusative verbs, in which the subject is the patient or theme of the verbal event (Perlmutter & Postal, 1984). There are no formal criteria for distinguishing the two subclasses; the division was made based on the understanding of Kaufman and myself of the meanings of these roots. The label Ix was used for roots that we were unable to classify as either I1 or I2. Most verbs of speaking fall into the I1 class, as well as the verbs of motion. The distinction made in the lexicon is an artifact of the research process. Since we were unable to find any formal criteria for subdividing the class of intransitive verbs, the distinction is not carried into this grammar.

(4.1) Intransitive (unergative?) verbs

ʔaš-	'to open the mouth'	ʔotoŋ-	'to speak'
həʔkš-	'to hurry'	mek-	'to lie'
noš-	'to bathe w/out soap'	nəm-	'to say'
nək-	'to go'	woh-	'to bark'

(4.2) Intransitive (unaccusative?) verbs

ʔom-	'to emit smoke'	haʔk-	'to drown'
heh-	'to live'	moŋ-	'to sleep'
nay-	'to grow (of plants)'	nuc-	'to be hot'
poc-	'to be tired'	tuk-	'to end'

4.1.2. Transitive verbs

Transitive verb roots take two arguments. They are divided into three classes. The first division is based on the formal requirements for the appearance of these roots in clauses without an object, in which case they take absolutive agreement markers. Those that require the antipassive suffix -ʔoy to detransitivize them are designated T3 verbs. This class is by far the largest. Verb roots that do not require a detransitivizing suffix are classified as T1 or T2, according to whether the subject is construed as an agent or a patient.

T1 verbs do not require a detransitivizing affix to drop an argument. Many of the verbs in this class are verbs of perception, speaking, ingestion, cooking, and verbs expressing motions that can be expressed with objects, like ʔec- 'to dance'. (One can dance the fandango, or simply dance.) Given these semantic classes, it is not surprising that when an argument is dropped, the remaining argument is the actor. A sample of the verbs in this class is given in

(4.3) and some examples of both transitive and intransitive uses of two typical members of this class are shown in (4.4).

(4.3) T1 unergative transitive

ʔamma-	'to look at; to see'	ʔuk-	'to drink'
haʔc-	'to go into debt'	kek-	'to hop'
num-	'to steal'	pen-	'to plant'
cam-	'to chat; to talk'	wan-	'to sing'

(4.4)

- (i) ʔən ʔammawə pa caphənaŋ
 ʔən+ ʔamma-wə para cap+hənaŋ
 1E+ look-COM for up+DIR1
 'I looked up (at something).' (lexicon)
- (ii) də ʔamma pa yəhəŋ kahəŋ
 də+ ʔamma-pa yə.həŋ ka.haŋ
 1A+ look-INC DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1
 'I'm looking here and there (all around).' (lexicon)
- (iii) tɪm cəkpa yə hama? də šeʔpšpa
 ti ʔəm+ cək-pa yə hama də+ šeʔpš-pa
 what 2E+ do-INC DCT1 day 1A+ make_rope-INC
 'What are you doing today? I'm making rope.' (lexicon)
- (iv) ʔəy šeʔpšə šackuyhənaŋ
 ʔəy+ šeʔpš-wə šac.kuyʔ+hənaŋ
 3E+ make_rope-INC twist.INSTR1+ACC
 'He twisted the rope with a screw.' (lexicon)

T2 verbs can also appear with only one argument without any detransitivizing suffix. These roots generally indicate things that can happen naturally (like a mud house crumbling down of old age) but that can also be done by human agents. They correspond to intransitive verbs of natural processes (like *puc-*, 'to rot'), but they can appear with ergative subject agreement markers without being transitivized by the causative prefix. There are very few T2 verbs, all of which are presented in the data shown below in (4.5). Examples of two of these verbs used both transitively and intransitively are given in (4.6).

(4.5) T2 unaccusative transitive

	<i>ʔum-</i>	'to spill'	<i>hum-</i>	'to crumble'
	<i>həm-</i>	'to make drowsy'	<i>kum-</i>	'to bury'
	<i>muy-</i>	'to dent'	<i>noŋ-</i>	'to spring'
back'	<i>wiʔt-</i>	'to twist'	<i>xiʔt-</i>	'to tangle'

(4.6)

- (i) *ʔəy ʔumməy kafé*
ʔəy+ ʔum-wə ʔəy+ kafé
 3E+ spill-COM 3E+ coffee
 'She spilled her coffee.'

(lexicon)

- (ii) *ʔummə*
0 *ʔum-wə*
 3A spill-COM
 'It spilled'.

(lexicon)

- (iii) *tək ʔəy humšukpa*
tək ʔəy+ hum-šuk-pa
 house 3E+ crumble-3PL-INC
 'They're tearing down the house.'

(lexicon)

- (iv) də haššoba
 də+ haš.ʔoy-pa
 1A+ roast.ANTIP-INC
 'I'm roasting (something).' (lexicon)

4.1.3. Positional verbs

Positional verb roots are those that can take the assumptive suffix *-ney*. Roots in this class are typically T3 transitives, although there are a few intransitives. Positional roots express very abstract notions of shape, position, or spatial extension, such as 'wrapped around and around' or 'stretched out'. The range of meanings expressed by MIG Zoque positional roots is similar to that described for the Mayan language Mam (England, 1983).

When positionals appear as the only root in a verbal complex, the meaning is usually a concretization of the abstract sense, along the lines of *pit-* 'to roll a cigar' (by wrapping the tobacco leaf around and around), or *hup-* 'to pull' (a long thing like a rope, so that it ends up stretched out). In constructions with compound verb roots, the abstract sense will usually predominate. Further discussion of this phenomenon appears in chapter 8.

The glosses given in (4.9) are those that pertain to the verb root functioning by itself in the verbal complex. The examples given in (4.10) show that it is the resulting shape or position of the patient that matters, not the specific means of achieving that position or the nature of the patient itself.

(4.9) Positional verbs

ʔəʔp-	'to lever'	heken-	'to wrap'
hup-	'to pull'	pakš-	'to fold'
naŋ-	'to spread'	wat-	'to fasten'
šom-	'to imprison'	cəm-	'to load'
kap-	'to carry on the shoulders'		

(4.10)

- (i) hohopeʔttə
 0 hoho=peʔt-wə
 3A palm=weave-COM
 'She wove palm strips.' (lexicon)
- (ii) maŋkuypeʔttə
 0 maŋkuyʔ=peʔt-wə
 3A foot=weave-COM
 'He crossed his legs.' (lexicon)
- (iii) hekennəmmə cahin
 0 heken.ʔəm-wə cahin
 3A coil.PASS-COM snake
 'The snake coiled around itself.' (lexicon)
- (iv) našhoʔ pacneyyə lašu ʔəy hekennə
 naš+hoʔ 0 pac.ney-wə lašu ʔəy+ heken-wə
 earth+LOC2 3A throw.ASSUM-COM rope 3E+ coil-COM
 'The rope was thrown on the ground; she rolled it up.' (lexicon)

4.1.4. Affective verbs

Affective, or sound-symbolic, verbs rarely appear in texts but are easily elicited. Affective verbs in MIG Zoque are examples of imitative sound symbolism (Hinton, et.al. 1994). They typically represent rhythmic motions (like shoes slapping or water dripping) or animal sounds. These words sometimes include speech sounds that are not part of the native MIG Zoque phoneme inventory, like /s/ and /l/. They are always reduplicated and marked with the reduplicative suffix -ney. They can be used with either completive or incompletive aspect.

(4.11) Affective verbs

sumsumneba	maw?maw?neba
sum.sum.ney-pa	maw?.maw?.ney-pa
X.X.REDUP1-INC	X.X.REDUP1-INC
the sound of buzzing	what the cat says
ko?kško?kšneba	lepšlepšneba
ko?kš.ko?kš.ney-ba	lepš.lepš.ney-pa
X.X.REDUP1-INC	X.X.REDUP1-INC
the sound of shoes slapping on the floor	the flapping udder of a bitch

4.1.5. Auxiliary verbs

Dependent verb constructions consist of a sequence of two verb complexes in which the second is syntactically dependent on the first. The first verb is inflected for aspect or mood using one of the eight independent suffixes (see table 5.2). The second verb is inflected with one of the two dependent

suffixes: **-E** if the first verb has completive aspect, and **-wə** if it is in the incomplete or a non-declarative mood. Only the second verb is marked for agreement with the subject (and object), and the agreement marker is always selected from the ergative set, regardless of the transitivity of the verb root. This ergative shift is discussed further in Chapter 8. Example (4.9 i) shows a dependent construction with incomplete aspect, and (ii) shows a dependent construction with completive aspect.

(4.12)

- (i) karreta nəkpa ?əy huppəkkoyyə
karreta nək-pa ?əy+ hup=pək. ?əy-wə
cart go-INC 3E+ pull=get.ANTIP-dINC
'A cart goes to haul them.' (ZOH1R22 020)
- (ii) 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
'He went to work in a small farming village.' (ZOH1R18 023)

Generally, dependent verb constructions can be translated "V1 while V2-ing" (e.g., 'whistle while working'). Auxiliary verbs are consistently translated as "Aux to V1" (e.g., 'begin to sow', 'know how to speak Zoque'). As a set, they meet Steele's cross-linguistic criteria for auxiliary verbs (1981): they are a small, closed set; they are constituents (contrasted with verb root compounds, section 8.3); and some of them mark tense and mood. The two most frequently used auxiliary verbs, *nək-*, 'to go', and *min-*, 'to come', indicate the direction of motion of the dependent verb. Direction is considered an operator of equal syntactic status as tense in RRG (Van Valin & La Polla, 1997:42-3).

The set of auxiliaries consists of six intransitive verbs of motion, aspect or manner. All of these also function as independent verbs and appear in compound verb constructions. Other verbs that occasionally behave like auxiliaries (such as tuk-, 'to finish') are discussed in chapter 8.

(4.13)

(i) **Motion**
nək- 'go'
min- 'come'
tih- 'go & return'

(ii) **Manner**
həʔkš- 'hurry'
muš- 'know'

(iii) **Aspect**
ʔokmaŋ- 'begin'

4.2. Nouns

Nouns are those words that can appear with the definite article *bi*, or similarly, with one of the deictics. This is not strictly a root class, since there are many derivational suffixes that form nouns from verb roots or from adjectives (section 7.2). Noun compounding is common, although it can be difficult to determine whether the result is a word or a phrase (section 9.4). Relative clauses may also be headed by the definite article (section 11.1), in which case they are functioning simply as nouns.

(4.14)

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) kuy
'tree' | (ii) hukutək
'fire' |
| (iii) kumkuyhá?
kum.kuyʔ.haaʔ
bury.INSTR1.NOM4
'townspeople' | (iv) kašnáŋ
kaš.naaŋ
step.MEAS
'step' |
| (v) hoho tək
hoho tək
palm house
'palm house' | (vi) hamatin
hama=tin
day=shit
'money' |
| (vii) nəmpa bi ʔanhmayyobáʔk yo:mʔune maryalena
0 nəm-pa bi ʔanh.may.ʔoy-a+Vʔk yoməʔ=ʔuneʔ maryalena
3A say-INC DEF MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL female=child marialena
'says the young woman teacher Marialena' (ZOH1R15 021) | |

There is no set of nouns in MIG Zoque that is obligatorily possessed, as is the case in some MesoAmerican languages (Suarez, 1983). There are no nouns

for which possession is ungrammatical, although certainly some such collocations are pragmatically absurd (ʔən ʔinəʔ, 'my cloud', for example).

Plurals are formed by means of the plural clitic +dəkkay (NPL), which usually appears in one of its reduced forms: +dək (usually phrase-medial) or +dəkka. The unreduced form appears most often in careful speech and at the ends of phrases.

(4.15)

(i) kuydəkka
kuy+dəkka
tree+NPL
'trees'

(ii) gadək
ga.ʔ+dəkkay
DCT3.NOM1+NPL
'they; them'

(iii) ʔaŋmayyobáʔkdəkkay
ʔaŋ.may.ʔoypa+Vʔk+dəkkay
MOUTH.count.ANTIP-INC+REL+NPL
'teachers'

4.3. Pronouns

Pronouns and deictics overlap in the set of words that refer to the third person. Since the third person roots participate in a wider system of suffixes than the first and second person pronouns, I separate them into a distinct class, which is discussed in detail in section 4.6. So, only the first and second person forms are included in the pronoun class.

Pronouns accept the nominal plural clitic +háʔ, which can also appear with nouns that refer in some way to a group of people (like the word kumkuyháʔ, 'townspeople', in example 4.16 iii)¹. A table listing all of the first

¹ This clitic also has a quantifying function and is discussed further in section 9.5.

and second person pronouns is shown below. First person plural pronouns are divided into two sets: exclusive (X) forms refer to the speaker and some other person(s), but not everyone present, while the inclusive (I) forms refer to all persons present together.

	Singular	Plural	Possessive (singular)	Possessive (plural)
X	dəš	dəšhá?	tənti?	təntihá?
I		neyhá? neywin	neyti?	neytihá? ney
2	miš	mišhá?	minti?	mintihá?

Table 4.1. Pronouns

The exclusive forms are the ones that are in general use. The exclusive plural dəšhá? appears abundantly in texts, in any context involving the speaker and someone else. The inclusive forms are rarely used, except for ney, which is the form most commonly used to mean 'our'. There are no cases in which the contrast between exclusive and inclusive plural is deliberately exploited. There are two texts in which the inclusive forms appear frequently, both exhortations made by Sr. Sánchez to his fellow Zoques (on tape, not in person) to preserve and remember the ways of their ancestors. Examples from this text are shown in (4.16).

(4.16)

- (i) neywin komo ken ?okhoŋŋədampám
neywin komo ke ?ən+ ?ok.hoŋ. ?əy-tam-pa+?am
IPL komo ke 1E+ DOWN.get_dizzy.SUF-1/2PL-INC+NOW

'we, since we're forgetting' (ZOH1R57 003)

- (ii) ʔaŋmaytáŋ ney ʔawin dəkka bi ney ʔaŋpən
 ʔaŋ.may-taŋ ney ʔawinʔ+dəkkay bi ney ʔaŋ=pən
 MOUTH.count-HORT IPoss brother+NPL DEF IPoss MOUTH=man
 'Let's teach our brothers our language.' (ZOH1R57 010)

- (iii) yakku neyháʔ yuhkuyhoʔ də yoštampáʔ
 yakkuʔ ney+haaʔ yuh.kuyʔ+hoʔ də+ yoš-tam-pa+Vʔk
 poor I.NPL2 raze.INSTR1+LOC2 1A+ work-1/2PL-INC+REL
 'poor us, the farmers' (ZOH1R16 001)

ney participates in many pronominal constructions with various sorts of endings, suffixes or other pronouns². (Note that when two nouns or pronouns are juxtaposed in the speech stream, there is no phonological evidence, such as stress, to indicate whether or not the two are compounded or simply neighboring forms. The simplest assumption is that they are two distinct words.) Table 4.2 lists all the ney collocations with their English and Spanish translations. Semantically, they fall into three groups: first person plurals, reflexives, and 'some (thing/one/time)' words. These are not necessarily all cases of the same morpheme, but reflect different stages of the development of MIG Zoque (Kaufman, p.c.). The original meaning is 'self', still apparent in the reciprocal morpheme. The meaning shifted to 'same' in a variety of uses. The first person plural sense of ney is a relatively recent innovation of MIG Zoque.

² Kaufman proposes that ney should be considered a clitic or affix that occupies a position immediately to the right of the person agreement markers. I only have one example of ney with an agreement marker (4.14 ii), and none with the negative ya or causative yak-, so I'm unable to determine conclusively how it might relate to these neighboring elements. In the example, the absolutive first person agreement marker appears because this is an inverse construction (section 6.2.2).

Zoque	English	Spanish
ney	RECIP	RECIP
ney	same; self; only	mismo; nada más
ney dəʃ	I myself	yo mismo
ney miʃ	you yourself	tu mismo
ney gaʔ	he/she him/herself	el/ella su mismo
ney	some; any	algun(a)
ney ʔiwəʔ	someone	alguien
ney tumə	alone	solo
ney huʔ	somewhere	en alguna parte
ney hutəŋ	anywhere	dondequiera
ney kayna	in a while	hace rato
ney	we; our	nosotros; nuestro/a
neywin	we	nosotros
neytiʔ	ours	nuestro/a
neytiháʔ	ours	nuestro/a
neyháʔ	we	nosotros

Table 4.2. The many uses of ney.

The pronominal form of ney also appears in a few idiomatic constructions such as those shown in (4.17). ney=ciʔ- is a lexicalized form that means 'to give as a gift, free and clear'. Since it appears as an ordinary verb stem with pronominal agreement markers outside the ney, it isn't reasonable to attempt to squeeze this idiom into the rest of the pattern.

(4.17)

- (i) ney kəʃʃoyyə
ney kəʃ.ʔoy-wə
self eat.ANTIP-COM

'She ate without paying' (at someone else's expense) (lexicon)

- (ii) də neyɕiʃukkə yədə hamatin
 də+ ney=ciʔ-ʃuk-wə yə.də hamatin
 1A+ self=give-3PL-COM DCT1.DEM money
 'They gave me this money as a gift.' (ZOH1R18 275)

4.4. Quantifiers

The set of MIG Zoque quantifiers are shown in table 4.3. Note that the set includes two clitics, +háʔ and +štáʔ.

Zoque	English	Spanish
ʔičín	few; a little	poco
ʔoméŋ	a little	poquito
məhmə	many; a lot	mucho; bastante
meši	few	poco
hemhiʔ	all	todo
šəhəʔ	several; a lot; many	varios; bastante; mucho
+háʔ	each	cada quien
+štáʔ	only; just; no more	no más

Table 4.3: MIG Zoque quantifiers

The distribution of quantifiers in noun phrases is described in detail in section 9.5. They also appear independently as arguments in clauses, thus functioning as pronouns. Unlike pronouns, quantifiers and numbers appear with the versive suffix -ʔa, as shown in example (4.18 iii and iv).

(4.18)

- (i) tey yeʔčukkə mas meši

tey 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə mas meši
 now 3A arrive-3PL-COM more few
 'Now fewer arrived.'
 (ZOH1R18 010)

(ii) dey yeʔčukkə ʔiʔpšanʔ ʔəy komecán
 dey 0 yeʔc-šuk-wə ʔiʔpšanʔ ʔi ko.mecaan
 now 3A arrive-3PL-COM twenty and SOC.two
 'Now twenty-two arrived.'
 (ZOH1R18 011)

(iii) mecaṇṇadamməštáʔ
 mecaṇ.ʔa-tam-wə+štáaʔ
 two.VERS1-1/2PL-COM+ONLY
 'We're just two.'
 (ZOH1R10 308)

(iv) yahakháʔ gə hamatin məhməʔam gaʔ
 yahakhaaʔ gə hamatin məhmə.ʔa-wə+ʔam gaʔ
 long_ago that money many.VERS1-COM+NOW that
 'Long ago, that was a lot of money.'
 (ZOH1R18 257)

4.4.1. Numbers

MIG Zoque numbers operate on a base twenty system, as do virtually all MesoAmerican languages (Campbell, et al., 1986). There are words for the numbers from one to ten, shown in (4.18) (examples of the rest of the system up to 300 are shown in Appendix E).

(4.18)

1	tumə	6	tuhtán
2	mecán	7	wəštuhtán
3	tuwán	8	tugurután
4	maktaššán	9	maktuhtán
5	moššan	10	makkan

There is evidently a suffix in common marking the numbers from 2 through 10. This suffix is probably -ʔan, although it never appears on the surface in any other environments. It is probably cognate with a suffix in neighboring MAR Zoque -iʔin/-eʔen, which creates a unit of measure or unitary event (Kaufman, p.c.). This in turn is clearly related to the MIG Zoque measure suffix -nán/-né, discussed in section 7.2.3. We can reasonably deduce that the MIG Zoque numeral suffix is -ʔan by the fact that there are geminate consonants in the forms maktaššan (4), moššan (5), and makkan (10). This gemination would be regularly produced by a glottal-stop initial suffix in accordance with the rule discussed in 3.3.1. Note further that the final syllable in these two forms is not stressed, although in all the other forms it is stressed. Final stress generally indicates that a syllable has been deleted (section 3.3.8). We can thus deduce that the other forms had a final vowel, although we can not know precisely which vowel it was.

The counting system is illustrated in example (4.19) with the numbers for something-two. Numbers from 10 to 19 are formed by prefixing the basic numbers with mak-. (Note that mak- is also used to mark the numbers 4, maktaššan, and 9, maktuhtán.) Number twenty is a new morpheme, ʔiʔpšanʔ.

Numbers 21 through 30 are formed with *ʔiʔpšaŋʔ* followed by the numbers from 1 to 10. At 31, we begin adding the prefix *ko-* to the second part of the number. (This *ko-* is not to be confused with the verbal prefix discussed in section 7.1.1). 40 is two twenties, 60 is three twenties, and so on.

(4.19)	2	<i>mecáŋ</i>
	12	<i>makmecáŋ</i>
	22	<i>ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komamecáŋ</i>
	42	<i>mecaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komamecáŋ</i>
	62	<i>tuwaŋ ʔiʔpšaŋʔ komamecáŋ</i>

It should be noted that only the first three Zoque numbers are commonly heard; for larger figures, Spanish is invariably used. It is something of an accomplishment these days to be able to count to ten in Zoque, and it was a major feat for Sr. Sánchez to summon up the complete system for us from the depths of his memory.

4.5. Adjectives

Adjectives specify a quality or dimension of the nouns that they modify. Physical description is rare in MIG Zoque texts, so they appear but seldom. There are about 45 adjectives in the dictionary, with the following sorts of meanings: quantity, dimensions/directions, physical characteristics, personal characteristics, and colors. Representatives from each set are shown below, along with all five color words. (The color terms in Zoque conform perfectly with the hierarchy of color terms defined in Berlin and Kay, 1969.)

(4.20) ʔičín 'little'	məhmə 'a lot'	komi? 'large'
yajə? 'far'	hoa? 'deep'	wayay 'cold'
kica? 'thin'	pəmi? 'strong'	cuway 'foolish'
wəhə 'good'	ʔapu? 'old (man)'	home 'young'
popo? 'white'	yəkyək 'black'	capac 'red'
cuš 'green'	puʔcpuʔc 'yellow'	

Adjectives can appear either before or after the noun, but in the postnominal case the adjective is marked with the relativizer +Vʔk (+pəʔk after a

consonant). This vowel-initial syllable elides, leaving an irregular final stress. The final /k/ of the relativizer is rarely audible in utterance-final position.

(4.21)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(i) peka yote?
 peka yote?
 worn_out clothes
 'used clothes'</p> | <p>(ii) yote peká?
 yote? peka+V?k
 clothes worn_out+REL?
 'used clothes'</p> |
| <p>(iii) tuwaŋ pən
 'three men'</p> | <p>(iv) pən tuwaŋpə?k
 pən tuwaŋ+pə?k
 man three+REL
 'three men'</p> |
| <p>(v) haše?k šiš
 haš.E+V?k šiš
 roast.NOM7+REL meat
 'roast meat'</p> | <p>(vi) šiš haše?
 šiš haš.E+V?k
 meat roast.NOM7+REL
 'roast meat'</p> |

Paragraph about how description is accomplished.

4.6. Deictics

This class includes words that function as pronouns (third person) and as adverbs (time, space and manner). I consider them a distinct class because all the words are formed from three roots, forming a system of deixis with three axes: proximal, neutral and distal.

Proximal yə- (DCT1) means closer to the speaker: 'this' in English; *este/a* in Spanish. Neutral de- (DCT2) deictics indicate a vague middle ground rather than closeness to the listener; they are glossed with the Spanish neutral, *ese/a*, 'that', but the temporal form is generally glossed *ahora*, 'now', rather than

entonces, 'then'. Distal *ga-* (DCT3) deictics are distant from both the speaker and the hearer and may in fact not be visible at all. These are glossed with the Spanish distal, *aquel/aquella*, 'that'.

A concrete description may help to clarify the system. Don Germán and I were sitting at a table in the patio, in adjacent chairs. To refer to his chair, or a hat sitting right in front of him (which he touched as he spoke), he used DCT1. To refer to a hat hanging on the back of a chair on the opposite side of the table (no nearer to me than to him), or a shrub near our table, he used DCT2. To refer to a shrub near the wall surrounding the patio, or the street outside the garden wall (not visible to us) he used DCT3.

Gloss code	Suffix	Proximal yə (DCT1)	Neutral te (DCT2)	Distal ka (DCT3)
NOM1	ʔ	this	this	that
DEM	də	this	this	that
TMP	y	right now; soon	now	then
LOC1	hiʔ	here	here	there
LOC1	hə	here		
LOC1	ha			there
DIR1	hənaŋ	to here		
DIR1	həŋ	to here		
DIR1	heŋ		to(wards) there	
DIR1	həŋ			to there; on the side
DIR1	hanaŋ			to there; on the other side; elsewhere
DIR2	hiŋ	to this point and no further	from there; thence	up to there
SIM	ʔše	like this	like this/that	like that

Table 4.4. The deictic system

NOM1 is identified as a suffix to make this system work. It is possibly also a nominalizing suffix that appears in a few deverbal forms (e.g., šaŋ.ʔ, 'wind', perhaps derived from the root šaŋ-, 'to cut with a machete' or more generally, 'to make a swinging/swishing/whooshing motion'). DEM is a suffix that yields a pronominal form from the deictic root. There is no apparent system or rule for choosing to use this suffix. The variant DEM form -gə occasionally appears with DCT3: gagə, 'that', and even sometimes alone.

(4.22)

- (i) yəʔ pən pwes nəktəpa hohi
 yə.ʔ pən pwes 0 nək=təʔ-pa hohi
 DCT1.NOM1 man well 3A go=want-INC tomorrow
 "'This man wants to go tomorrow.'" (ZOH1R10 046)
- (ii) ʔəm nəkpa yədə ʔawinhənaŋ benigno
 ʔəm+ nək-pa yə.də ʔawinʔ +hənaŋ benigno
 2A+ go-INC DCT1.DEM sibling +ACC benigno
 "'You'll go with this fellow, Benigno.'" (ZOH1R10 029)
- (iii) ʔi de ti meʔčukpa
 ʔi de.ʔ ti ʔəy+ meʔc-šuk-pa
 and DCT2.NOM1 what 3E+ look_for-3PL-INC
 "'And those guys, what are they looking for?'" (ZOH1R10 097)
- (iv) hum pəpa ʔəm nəkkə dedə hamatin ʔəm pəkcoŋpáʔ
 hu ʔəm+ pəʔ-pa ʔəm+ nək-wə de.də hamatin ʔəm+ pək=coŋ-pa
 where 2E+ put-INC 2E+ go-dINC DCT2.DEM money 2E+ get=join-INC
 'Where are you putting that money you're receiving?'
 (ZOH1R28 105)
- (v) gadək ʔəy muššukpa
 ga.ʔ +dəkka ʔəy+ muš-šuk-pa
 DCT3.NOM1 +NPL 3E+ know-3PL-INC
 'They know.' (ZOH1R10 264)

- (vi) pəʔttammə gadə nəhoʔ pwentehoʔ pwes
 (də) pəʔt-tam-wə ga.də nəʔ +hoʔ pwente +hoʔ pwes
 (1A) pass-1/2PL-COM DCT3.DEM water +LOC2 bridge +LOC2 well
 'Well, we passed on that river on the bridge.' (ZOH1R10 269)

There is a limited sort of vowel harmony operating in the LOC1 and DIR1 sets of alternate forms, such that the vowel of the suffix is matched to the vowel of the deictic root. This can be seen in the set of forms using the DIR1 postposition: yəhəŋ, dehəŋ, and gahəŋ. There is also some redundancy among the forms, with variant ways of saying the basic things: yəhə, yəhiʔ 'here'; gaha, gahiʔ 'there'; yəʔ, yədə 'this', etc.

The initial consonants of the neutral de- and distal ga- are undoubtedly underlyingly voiceless, given the phoneme inventory of this language (section 3.1), although they rarely appear unvoiced in the corpus. There are a few such cases, however, usually at the beginning of an utterance. The distal temporal form usually appears as kay instead of as gay. A distal directional also appears in a common idiom with a voiceless initial consonant, as shown in example (4.23 iii).

(4.23)

- (i) yəhi nəmmən cammə familyahənaŋ
 yə.hiʔ nəmmə ʔən+ cam-wə familya +hənaŋ
 DCT1.LOC1 PROG 1E+ chat-COM family +ACC
 'I'm here chatting with the family.' (ZOH1R10 018)
- (ii) yəhəŋ hehpa tum tal lewteryo gaʔ
 yə.həŋ 0 heh-pa tum tal lewteryo ga.ʔ
 DCT1.DIR1 3A live-INC one such leuterio DCT3.NOM1
 'That fellow Eleuterio lives over here.' (ZOH1R10 273)

- (iii) ?ən me?cpanam ney dəʃ yəhəŋ kahán
 ?ən+ me?c-pa+nam? ney dəʃ yə.həəŋ ka.haaŋ
 1E+ look_for-INC+STILL self 1Pm DCT1.DIR1 DCT3.DIR1
 'I'm still looking myself, here and there' (ZOH1R23 465)
- (iv) dehi ney pa?ttamapa
 de.hi? ney pa?t-tam-A-pa
 DCT2.LOC1 RECIP find-1/2PL-RECIP-INC
 'We'll meet each other there.' (ZOH1R10 159)
- (v) ?ən tək tehi?apa dehén
 ?ən+ tək tehi.?a-pa de.heeŋ
 1E+ house there_is.VERS1-INC DCT2.DIR1
 'My house is over there.' (ZOH1R58 087)
- (vi) de?še pə?ttə ?əy nəki bi šepe
 de.?še pə?t-wə ?əy+ nək.E bi šepe
 DCT2.SIM pass-COM 3E+ go.dCOM DEF month
 'That's how the months passed.' (ZOH1R28 033)
- (vii) nəmmə yey gaha miš ?ištukpa
 0 nəm-wə yə.y ga.ha miš ?iš=tuk-pa
 3A say-COM DCT1.TMP DCT3.LOC1 1>2 see=finish-INC
 'He says, "I'll wait for you there."' (ZOH1R10 154)
- (viii) də minnə kumkuy gahán
 də+ min-wə kumkuy? ga.haaŋ
 1A+ come-COM town DCT3.DIR1
 'I'm coming from the other side of town.' (ZOH1R58 122)
- (ix) ?entonses cakkəmdammə ga?še ke də nəktampa
 ?entonses cak.?əm-tam-wə ga.?še ke də+ nək-tam-pa
 then leave.PASS-1/2PL-COM DCT3.SIM that 1A+ go-1/2PL-INC
 'Then we were left like that, that (yes) we were going.' (ZOH1R10 128)

4.7. Postpositions

Postpositions are clitics that attach to a preceding noun. This constraint on their position formally distinguishes the postpositions from the spatial adverbs, which can appear independently from the noun phrase to which they are relevant. The two sets or lexemes perform the same function, of locating objects in space or directing the motion of an object through space.

The postpositions appear at the end of a noun phrase, which may consist of a phrase or compound (4.24 i), a noun with the plural clitic (ii), or a possessive noun phrase (iii).

(4.24)

- (i) komo ke ney ?iwəhənaŋ də tukʃitəpa
komo ke ney ?iwə+hənaŋ də+ tukʃi=tə?-pa
like what some who +ACC 1A+ fight=want-INC
'As if I wanted to fight with someone.' (ZOH1R18 202)
- (ii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
tih-tam-wə ?ən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke +dəkka+hənaŋ
go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this yankee +NPL +ACC
'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)
- (iii) yədə ?anmal makimaki witpa yədə tək ?əy kohapho?
yədə ?anmal makimaki 0 wit-pa yədə tək ?əy+ kohap+ho?
this animal spider 3A walk-INC this house 3E+ hat +LOC2
'This animal the spider is walking on the ceiling of this house.' (ZOH1R58 12)

All of the spatial terms (except the deictics) are listed together in a table in Appendix C, with both English and Spanish glosses. Postpositions are marked in the table with preceding +. Since the entries are listed alphabetically, it is easy to

see that most of the spatial terms in MIG Zoque are based on five morphemes, shown in the following table.

Zoque	English Gloss Code	Spanish Gloss Code
ʔaŋ	MOUTH	BOCA
həš	BACK	ATRAS
kə	AWAY	AFUERA
cap	on	encima
win	FACE	CARA

Table 4.5: Root morphemes of spatial adverbs and postpositions

ʔaŋ-, həš-, and win- also appear as verbal prefixes, whence their gloss codes³. These three forms appeared as independent words at an earlier stage of the language (Kaufman, p.c.; see section 7.1.1 for more discussion). Because of this historical independence and because of the clear relatedness amongst the forms, I'm inclined to class all of the lexemes based on these morphemes as adverbs, rather than postpositions, whether I have direct evidence of their current independent status or not. However, there is a small subset of the ʔaŋ- forms (ʔaŋhiʔ, ʔaŋhəʔ, ʔaŋhənaŋ, and ʔaŋhón) that consistently behave like postpositions, in that they only appear immediately after the noun phrase to which they pertain, and they often seem to affect the stress of the preceding noun, which an independent lexeme would not do. For example, in the phrase huštišʔaŋhiʔ,

³ This kə- is not the same as the verbal prefix kə-, AWAY. Historically, this one is kəʔ, roughly meaning 'lower part' (Wichman, 1995).

'at the mayor's office', as it appears in ZOH1R11 003, the primary stress falls on ʔaŋ-, and only a very weak secondary stress falls on the syllable huš, which would receive full primary stress if there were no postposition.

The following examples illustrate the problem of assigning lexemes to the right class. +hoʔ (i) is uncontroversially a postposition, while the appearance of kowitíŋ (ii) after the verb places it decisively in the adverb class. Examples (iii) and (iv) show a fuzzier case, that of kəhəŋ, 'below'. In example (iii) it follows immediately after the noun phrase, like a normal postposition. There are many examples of kəhəŋ in this position in the corpus. In example (iv), however, it appears independently, as part of the predicate 'to be below'.

(4.25)

- (i) yeʔccə ʔana hermán ʔəy təkhoʔ
 yeʔc-wə ʔana hermán ʔəy+ tək+hoʔ
 arrive-COM ana germán 3E+ house+LOC2
 'Ana arrived at Germán's house.' (ZOH1R55 001)
- (ii) yədə tək ʔəy ʔaŋpahšukkə kowitíŋ
 yədə tək ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.pah-šuk-wə kowitiŋ
 this house 3E+ MOUTH.nail-3PL-COM around
 'They fenced all around this house.' (ZOH1R58 021)
- (iii) də tuŋŋapa yədə nɪpəʔt kəhəŋ
 də+ tuŋ.ʔa-pa yədə nɪ.pəʔt kəhəŋ
 1A+ road.VERS1-INC this INSTR3.pass below
 'I'm going to walk under this bridge.' (ZOH1R58 105)
- (iv) ʔən tək tehiʔawə kəhəŋ
 ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə kəhəŋ
 1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM below
 'My house is down below.' (ZOH1R58 086)

There is also a small set of entries in the table (hoʔ, hón, honaŋ, and hənəŋ) that are similar in phonological form, but probably not derived from the same root morpheme. These are uncontroversially postpositions: they appear frequently in the corpus, always immediately after a noun phrase, and never appear independently. +hoʔ is the only unstressed monosyllabic form in the set. When it is postposed to a noun, stress appears on the final syllable of that noun: kócək => kocákhoʔ.

The indeterminacy between these two word classes is certainly not unique to MIG Zoque - the English word 'down' exhibits the same behavior. Generally, if a word appears in an independent position even once, I class it with the adverbs, and if most of the words based on a root morpheme (like cap-) are adverbs, I put the rest of the similarly-based lexemes in the adverb class, too. The exception to this algorithm are the four stress-altering ʔaŋ- lexemes mentioned above.

(4.26)

- (i) yečukkə təkʔaŋhə huštišʔaŋhiʔ
0 yec-šuk-wə təkʔaŋhəʔ huštiš+ʔaŋhiʔ
3A arrive-3PL-COM San Miguel mayor +LOC3
'They arrived in San Miguel at the mayor's office.' (ZOH1R11 003)
- (ii) nəkpa gaʔše mario lopes ʔaŋhəʔ ʔən cakkəmmə
nək-pa ga.ʔše mario lopes+ʔaŋhəʔ ʔən+ cak.ʔəm-wə
go-INC DCT3.SIM mario lopez +DIR5 1E+ leave.PASS-COM
'I'll go stay over at Mario Lopez.' (ZOH1R55 007)
- (iii) ʔən tək tehiʔawə mašantəkʔaŋhón
ʔən+ tək tehi.ʔa-wə mašan=tək+ʔaŋhəəŋ
1E+ house there_is.VERS1-COM holy=house +DIR7
'My house is next to the church.' (ZOH1R58 078)

- (iv) tennə bi mištu našho?
0 ten-wə bi mištu? naš+ho?
3A stand-COM DEF cat earth+LOC2
'The cat is standing on the ground.'
(ZOH1R58 059)
- (v) də nəkpan təkho?
də nək-pa ?ən+ tək +ho?
1A go-INC 1E+ house +LOC2
'I'm going home.'
(ZOH1R58 092)
- (vi) də təkəkəba camkuyho?
də tək. ?əy-pa camkuy?+ho?
1A house.VERS2-INC mountain +LOC2
'I'm going into the mountains.'
(ZOH1R58 096)
- (vii) də nəkpa camkuyhonaŋ
də nək-pa camkuy?+honaŋ
1A go-INC mountain +DIR3
'I'm going towards the mountains.'
(ZOH1R58 095)
- (viii) də nəkpa parkehonaŋ
də nək-pa parke+honaŋ
1A go-INC park +DIR3
'I'm going to the park.'
(ZOH1R58 003)
- (ix) də minnə təkhoŋ
də min-wə tək +hoon
1A come-COM house+DIR4
'I'm coming from home.'
(ZOH1R58 117)
- (x) də picəmpam təkhoŋhoŋ
də picəm-pa +?am tək=hoŋ +hoon
1A leave-INC +NOW house=inside+DIR4
'I'm going out from inside the house.'
(ZOH1R58 098)

- (xi) ʔəy pəwə meʃgəʃi hemhi bi ʔayʔdəkka
 ʔəy+ pəʔ-wə meʃa +gəʃi hemhi bi ʔayʔ +dəkka
 3E+ put-COM table +LOC4 all DEF leaf +NPL
 'He put all the leaves on the table.' (ZOH1R10 614)

There are three non-spatial postpositions, shown in table 4.5. If MIG Zoque had a complete case system, these would simply be a part of that. +hənaŋ, ACC, is usually translated by *con*, 'with', and shows the same ambiguity as the English and Spanish equivalents: it can indicate either an instrument or a companion.

Form	English	Spanish	Gloss code
goʔ	<i>beneficiary</i>	<i>beneficiario</i>	BNF
hənaŋ	<i>accompaniment</i>	<i>acompañamiento</i>	ACC
piʔt	<i>instrument</i>	<i>instrumento</i>	INSTR

Table 4.6. Non-spatial postpositions.

+góʔ (BNF) and +piʔt (INSTR) are historically the same morphemes as the subordinators góʔ (PURP) and biʔt (IF) (Kaufman, p.c.). I have split them into two separate classes because their syntactic behavior is different in MIG Zoque. Postpositions mark the function of a non-argument noun phrase; subordinators mark the relation of a subordinate clause to a superordinate clause. The benefactive postposition is only used in the '(good) for a headache' sense shown in example (4.27 i), never in the 'on behalf of a person' sense. The Spanish loan word *para* is always used to convey the latter meaning, as shown in example (v). Actually, both +piʔt and +góʔ, in the postposition forms, are rarely used in

the corpus. +gó? appears only in the text about traditional healing practices (t18a1, an interview with Sr. Omobono Sánchez Miguel) and there are many other ways to express the instrument relation, including the use of +hənaŋ.

(4.27)

- (i) de? pa kopak toe? ?əytiɡó?
 de.? para kopak toɣ.E? ?əyti?+ɡoo?
 DCT2.NOM1 for head hurt.NOM3 3PosN +BNF
 'That is for headache.' (ZOH1R36 086)
- (ii) yədə mansana ?əy kohtenʃukkə təŋkuyhənaŋ
 yədə mansana ?əy+ koh.ten-ʃuk-wə təŋ.kuy? +hənaŋ
 this apple 3E+ punch.PRSV-3PL-COM cut_w_machete.INSTR1 +ACC
 'They speared this apple with an iron (an arrow).' (ZOH1R58 033)
- (iii) tihtammən yoštame yədə yaŋkedəkhənaŋ
 tih-tam-wə ?ən+ yoš-tam-E yədə yaŋke +dəkka+hənaŋ
 go&return-1/2PL-COM 1E+ work-1/2PL-dCOM this yankee +NPL +ACC
 'We went to work with these gringos.' (ZOH1R18 009)
- (iv) ?i ney mismo ?aypi?t nəmmobam ?ommə
 ?i ney mismo ?ay?+pi?t nəmmo-pa ?əm+ ?om-wə
 and same same leaf +INSTR be_able_to-INC 2E+ cense-dINC
 'And you can cense with the same leaf.' (ZOH1R36 115)
- (v) ke ?iwə ?əy manak ci?oba para yədə pən
 ke ?iwə ?əy+ manak 0 ci?.?oy-pa para yədə pən
 that who 3E+ child 3A give.ANTIP-INC for this man
 'Who will give his daughter to this man?' (ZOH1R18 221)

4.8. Adverbs

Adverbs are words that indicate time, direction, or location. (There also are a very few words that express manner, such as *ponhi*, 'softly; slowly'.) Their semantic function is thus similar to that of the postpositions, but syntactically their behavior is different. These elements are words, not clitics, and are thus not constrained to follow immediately after a noun.

4.8.1. Direction and location adverbs

MIG Zoque has sets of adverbs relating a figure to a ground in a common pattern: above, below, in front of and behind. There are also a few adverbs referring to position on a slope, and three adverbs that are only used to refer to locations in the town of San Miguel.

(4.28)

- (i) *yədə nu tehi?awə ?aŋkəho de ?əy tək*
yədə nu? 0 tehi.?a-wə ?aŋkəho? de ?əy+ tək
this dog 3A there_{is}.VERS-COM outside of 3E+ house
'This dog is outside of his house.' (ZOH1R58 057)
- (ii) *bi kuy?okoš tennə ?aŋkecho?*
bi kuy=?okoš 0 ten-wə ?aŋkec+ho?
DEF tree=shrub 3A stand-COM on_{the} side
'The tree is standing on the side (of the hill). (ZOH1R58 152)
- (iii) *də nəkpa mašantək ?aŋtome?*
də nək-pa mašan=tək ?aŋtome?
1A go-INC holy=house near
'I'm going over near the church.' (ZOH1R58 106)

- (iv) yədə təm tehi?awə yədə šuyu hoŋho?
yədə təm 0 tehi.?a-wə yədə šuyu? hoŋho?
this fruit 3A there_is.VERS1-COM this pot inside
'This fruit is inside this bowl.'
(ZOH1R58 051)
- (v) ya komo dey həšhón mi nukpa
ya komo dey həšhoon mi+ nuk-pa
NEG like now from_behind 3>2+ grab-INC
'Not like now, they grab you from behind.'
(ZOH1R24 041)
- (vi) gə winnawá? ?i nəkpa həšho?
gə 0 win.?a-wə+V?k ?i 0 nək-pa həšho?
DCT3 3A FACE.VERS1.COM+REL and 3A go-INC behind
'He who got ahead and he who got behind.'
(ZOH1R24 113)
- (vii) də nəkpa gaha ?ičiŋ kəhənaŋ
də+ nək-pa gaha? ?ičiŋ kəhənaŋ
1A+ go-INC there little down_there
'I'm going a little way down there.'
(ZOH1R58 100)
- (viii) yə cənkuy kəhə? tehi?awə tum pelota
yə? cən.kuy? kəhə? tehi.?a-wə tum pelota
this sit.INSTR1 below there_is.VERS1-COM one ball
'There's a ball under this chair.'
(ZOH1R58 022)
- (ix) dəš də ?aŋpahpa ?ašta kocək kətəkhə
dəš də+ ?aŋ.pah-pa ?ašta kocək kətəkhə
1Pm 1A+ MOUTH.nail-INC until hill from_under
'I'm going to fence to just under the hills.'
(ZOH1R58 005)
- (x) mištu yukpoyyə picəmi kuy?okoš kətəkhəŋ
mištu 0 yuk.poy-wə picəm.E kuy=?okoš kətəkhəŋ
cat 3A UP.flee-COM leave.NOM3 tree=shrub from_under
'The cat ran out from under the bush.'
(ZOH1R58 074)

- (xi) tehiʔawə tum toto caphi pənnám
 0 tehi.ʔa-wə tum totoʔ caphi 0 pən-wə+ʔam
 3A there_are.VERS1-COM one paper on 3A be_placed-COM+NOW
 'There is a book. It is set on top (of the shelf).' (ZOH1R58 013)
- (xii) mištu kəmaŋŋəyyə tum kuyʔokošgəši
 mištu 0 kə.maŋ.ʔəy-wə tum kuy=ʔokoš+gəši
 cat 3A AWAY.*step⁴.SUF-COM one tree=shrub+on
- ʔi kay caphə tennə
 ʔi kay caphəʔ 0 ten-wə
 and now on_top 3A stand-COM
 'The cat went up in the tree and now it's standing up there.' (ZOH1R58 062)
- (xiii) tək ʔəy ʔaŋtuŋ winhoʔ tennə bi mištuʔ
 tək ʔəy+ ʔaŋ.tuŋ winhoʔ 0 ten-wə bi mištuʔ
 house 3E+ MOUTH.road in_front 3A stand-COM DEF cat
 'The cat is standing in front of the door.' (ZOH1R58 065)
- (xiv) yakkə ʔəy pəʔ tum kašnaŋ winhón
 yakkə ʔəy+ pəʔ-Aʔ tum kaš.naŋ winhoon
 VOL 3E+ put-IMPV one step.MEAS from_in_front
 'Let him take a step forward.' (ZOH1R24 170)

There are three spatial adverbs that refer only to directions or locations in San Miguel Chimalapa. The river Espíritu Santo runs from north to south, downhill from the Chimalapa wilderness. The road to Santa María Chimalapa begins at the northernmost, uppermost edge of town, and the road to Juchitán begins at the southernmost, lowest edge of town. Uphill towards Santa María can

⁴ The * indicates a verb root that never appears independently (without some derivational affixes) in the modern MIG Zoque lexicon. So, for example, you can't say də maŋpa, 'I will step'. Many of these roots, like maŋ-, appear so frequently in derived stems that it is possible to deduce their meaning and provide a gloss, but the * is used to remind us that this gloss is my guess, and not a native speaker translation.

be indicated with *kəʃənaŋ*, and downhill can be indicated by *ʔokhonaŋ*. These terms only apply within the town - if you want to say 'up into the mountains', you have to use another term. The third term, *gahaʔk wintuʔk*, 'across the river', refers only to the neighborhood on the other side of the Espíritu Santo river from the main part of town (where the church is).

(4.29)

- (i) *ʔən tək tehiʔawə kəʃənaŋ*
ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə kəʃənaŋ
 1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM up_there
 'My house is up there.'
 (ZOH1R58 084)
- (ii) *də nəkpə ʔaʃta gaha ʔokhonaŋ*
də+ nək-pa ʔaʃta gaha ʔokhonaŋ
 1A+ go-INC until there down_there
 'I'm going over to the downhill side of town.'
 (ZOH1R58 110)
- (iii) *ʔən tək tehiʔawə pahak gahaʔk wintuʔk*
ʔən+ tək 0 tehi.ʔa-wə pahak gahaʔk wintuʔk
 1E+ house 3A there_is.VERS1-COM river across
 'My house is across the river.'
 (ZOH1R58 039)

It should be noted that this language provides many means of adding directional and positional information directly to the verb, in the form of directional prefixes, positional suffixes, and compounds including a motion verb. So, for example, although there is no adverb that means 'through', this sense can be conveyed in different ways depending on what is passing or has passed through what. In the following examples, (i) is a description of a drawing of a piece of paper on a spindle; the spike passed through the paper. Example (ii) shows the common formulation for expressing the directional 'through', as in

walking through water or through the town. In example (iii), *kuk* 'center' appears again, expressing the notion of cutting directly across the street.

(4.30)

- (i) *yədə toto kohtennə*
yədə totoʔ 0 koh.ten-wə
 this paper 3A punch.PRSV-COM
 'This paper is punched through.' (ZOH1R58 029)

- (ii) *də tunŋapan nəkkə nəy kuk*
də+ tun.ʔa-pa ʔən+ nək-wə nəʔ ʔəy+ kuk
 1A+ road.VERS1-INC 1E+ go-dINC water 3E+ center
 'I'm going to walk through the water.' (ZOH1R58 042)

- (iii) *ʔən kukkaptukpa tun*
ʔən+ kuk=kəp=tuk-pa tun
 1E+ center=carry=cut-INC road
 'I'm going across the street.' (ZOH1R58 044)

4.8.2. Time adverbs

All of the MIG Zoque time words are listed in Appendix B. The language divides the day into five parts: morning, noon, afternoon, evening, and night. There are words for day, month and year. Words for hour and minute are, not surprisingly, borrowed from Spanish. There are also words for next year and last year, and for four days into the future.

There are three time adverbs formed from the deictic roots. The proximal one indicates a time in the immediate future: 'right now', 'soon', 'in a minute'. The neutral and distal time adverbs are both regularly translated with *ahora*, 'now', but their specific reference depends on subtle characteristics of the events in the

narrative. They are much used as discourse markers, and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 14.

The narrative texts in the corpus are generally structured sequentially with respect to time, so I don't see phrases along the lines of "before X, they Y'ed". If this sort of expression is required, the Spanish loan word *antes*, 'before', is used, as shown in example (4.31 vii), below. Example (vi) shows the most commonly used expression for advancing to the next day in a story. This expression appears in virtually every text whose story spans more than one day.

(4.31)

- (i) yey də witupa
 yə.y də+ witu?-pa
 DCT1.TMP 1A+ return-INC
 'I'll be right back.'
(ZOH1R10 066)

- (ii) dəš dey də me?čukkə
 dəš de.y də+ me?c-šuk-wə
 1Pm DCT2.TMP 1A+ look_for-3PL-COM
 'Now they looked for me.'
(ZOH1R10 072)

- (iii) gay hemhi dəšhá? də həšpəktədapám
 ga.y hemhi dəšhá? də+ həš.pək=tə?-tam-pa +?am
 DCT3.TMP all we 1A+ BACK.get=want-1/2PL-INC +NOW
 'Now he wants to kick out all of us.'
(ZOH1R28 054)

- (iv) yecpa yəhə winhohá?
 0 yec-pa yəhə winho?+haa?
 3A arrive-INC here in_front +NPL2
 'You arrive here in earlier years.'
(ZOH1R24 075)

- (v) wanakpa mecaŋ winho?
 0 wanak-pa mecaŋ winho?
 3A go_down-INC two in_front
 'Two went down first.' (ZOH1R24 450)
- (vi) hoypiʔt šəŋkehanəmmə
 hoypiʔt 0 səŋ=keh-Anəm-wə
 next_day 3A fiesta=appear-INDEF-COM
 'The next day dawned.' (ZOH1R10 143)
- (vii) ʔentonse bi matumu de tuwaŋ hama ʔantes
 ʔentonse bi matumu de tuwaŋ hama ʔantes
 then DEF mayordomo of three day before
 ʔəy nukcəyšukpa
 ʔəy+ nuk=cəy-šuk-pa
 3E+ grab=get_stuck-3PL-INC
 'Then the mayordomos, three days before, they have sex.' (ZOH1R22 006)

4.9. Intensifiers

There are three intensifiers in MIG Zoque: wenu (we:n), bayun (ban) and hakke (hak). These are frequently shortened to the forms given in parentheses. They all mean the same thing - 'very; a lot'. All three intensifiers can modify either verbs or adjectives. The corpus shows a preference for hakke with verbs and ban with adjectives; wenu is considerably rarer. The examples in (4.32) were taken from the lexicon or elicited.

(4.32)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(i) ban toppa
 bayun 0 top-pa
 very 3A be_hot-INC
 'It's very hot.'</p> | <p>(iii) bayun toya?
 bayun 0 toy.A?
 very 3A hurt.NOM2
 'very sick'</p> |
|--|--|

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(ii) <i>hakke ʔaŋheʔkkə</i>
 <i>hakke 0 ʔaŋ.heʔk-wə</i>
 very 3A be_afraid-COM
 'He was very scared.'</p> | <p>(iv) <i>hak hununkuyʔ</i>
 <i>hakke 0 hunun.kuyʔ</i>
 very tickle.INSTR1
 'very ticklish'</p> |
| <p>(v) <i>wen hayyə</i>
 <i>wenu 0 hay-wə</i>
 very 3A be_late-COM
 'She was very late.'</p> | <p>(vi) <i>wenum wittə</i>
 <i>wenu ʔəm+ wit-wə</i>
 very 2A+ walk-COM
 'You walked a lot.'</p> |
| <p>(vii) <i>hakke də kuytəŋpa</i>
 <i>hakke də+ kuy=təŋ-pa</i>
 very 1A+ tree=cut_w_machete-INC
 'I'm going to cut a lot of trees.'</p> | |
| <p>(viii) <i>wenu də kuytəŋŋə</i>
 <i>wenu də+ kuy=təŋ-wə</i>
 very 1A+ tree=cut_w_machete-COM
 'I cut a lot of trees.'</p> | |

4.10. Subordinators

Subordinators mark subordinate clauses, which are discussed in detail in chapter 11. A list of these forms is shown in table 4.7. The relativizers +Vʔk (REL) and +hi (LOC_REL) are included in this class even though they are clitics, not words, because (a) they share the function of subordinating clauses, and (b) they alternate with Spanish subordinators (*que*, 'that', and *donde*, 'where', respectively) like the other members of this class.

Zoque	English	Spanish	Gloss code
+Vʔk	relativizer	relativizador	REL
+hiʔ	locative relative	relativizador locativo	LOC_REL
ʔora	temporal relative	relativizador temporal	TEM_REL
biʔt	if	si	IF
goʔ	for; in order to	para	PURP
ʔoŋke	even though	aunque	
porke	because	porque	
kom kwando	as if	como cuando	

Table 4.7. Subordinators

Spanish subordinators have been freely borrowed into MIG Zoque, as is the case in many MesoAmerican languages (Thompson and Longacre, 1985). Three of the most common ones are included in the table. Zoque subordinators appear at the right edge of the verbal complex⁵; Spanish ones, in accordance with the rules of Spanish grammar, appear at the left edge of the subordinate clause. The Zoque forms *góʔ* and *biʔt* appear much less frequently than their Spanish equivalents, *para* and *si*; when they do occur, they are often paralleled by the Spanish term at the beginning of the clause (examples iii and iv).

(4.33)

- (i) minpa biʔt lusyo yoštán gahənaŋ
0 min-pa biʔt lusyo yoš-taəŋ ga.hənaŋ
3A come-INC IF lusyo work-HORT DCT3.ACC
'If Lucio comes, let's work with him.' (elicited)

⁵ *goʔ* and *biʔt* show a tiny degree of flexibility with respect to position, as shown in examples (4.31 i and ii). See chapter 11 for further discussion of this variability.

- (ii) minpa lusyo biʔt yoštán gahənaŋ
 0 min-pa lusyo biʔt yoš-taŋ ga.hənaŋ
 3A come-INC lusyo IF work-HORT DCT3.ACC
 'If Lucio comes, let's work with him.' (elicited)
- (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) si nəkpan ʔištampa biʔt
 si nək-pa ʔən+ ʔišt-tam-pa biʔt
 if go-INC 1E+ see-1/2PL-INC IF
 'If we go see him' (ZOH1R10 357)

ʔora, (*hora*, 'hour') has been partially grammaticalized as a temporal relative, parallel to the locative relative +hi. It thus sometimes appears in the Zoque subordinator position, immediately after the verb complex, as shown in example (4.34 i). It is also used in the expression la ʔora ke (*la hora que*, 'the hour that') in the Spanish subordinator position at the beginning of the clause, as shown in example (ii). The common term for introducing a when clause is kwando (*cuando*, 'when'), is shown in example (iii).

(4.34)

- (i) našey yaknikpoyyoba ?ora ?ay ciwə ?ašta gahán
 naše ?ay+ yak.nik.poy.ʔoy-pa ?ora ?ay+ ciʔ-wə ?ašta gahán
 truth 3E+ CAUS.SURF.flee.ANTIP-INC when 3E+ give-COM until there
 'In fact, when he jumped on top of him, he knocked him over there.'
 (ZOH1R18 334)

- (ii) la ?ora ke tayna nəkkə
 la ?ora ke tay.na nək-wə
 the hour that be_face_up.STAT-COM
 ?ay nipenwakkə ?ay mačete
 ?ay+ ni.pen=wak-wə ?ay+ mačete
 3E+ PSE.grasp-*empty-COM 3E+ machete
 'When he went over on his back, he pulled out his machete.' (ZOH1R18 077)

- (iii) kwando ?ay nihaminnəyyə ke ga bi papən
 kwando ?ay+ ni.hamin.ʔay-wə ke ga? bi papən
 when 3E+ PSE.X.SUF-COM that DCT3 DEF devil
 'When he remembered that that was the devil.'
 (ZOH1R18 085)

4.11. Modals

Modals affect the mood or aspectual interpretation of the clause in which they appear. The complete set is shown in table 4.8. *geta* and *moʔ* are used only in questions, and they are discussed further in chapter 12. They appear after the question word, but not necessarily immediately after, as shown in example (4.35 i). The other modals are discussed in chapter 13. *bəše* and *pinək* exhibit considerable freedom with respect to position, often appearing at the beginning of the clause, as shown in example (ii).

Form	English	Spanish	Gloss code
bəʔ	"isn't it?"	"¿no?"	DUBIT
bəʃe	as if; seems like	parece	SEEM
geta	"the hell!"	"¡onde!"	DIS
moʔ	I wonder	será	IRR
pinək	I wish; would that it were	malaya	CONFAC

Table 4.8. Modals

(4.35)

- (i) hucéŋ karro moʔ picəmpa hohi
huceeŋ karro moʔ 0 picə-m-pa hohi
how_many bus IRR 3A leave-INC tomorrow
'I wonder how many buses will leave tomorrow?' (elicited)
- (ii) ke malay pinək ʔən ʔaŋnittampa hemhi ney təkhoʔ
ke malay pinək ʔən+ ʔaŋnit-tam-pa hemhi ney tək +hoʔ
that i_wish CONFAC 1E+ have-1/2PL-INC all IERG house+LOC2
'That hopefully we'd have everything in our house.' (ZOH1R13 090)

4.12. Discourse markers

This class contains the words that are often labelled *particles* in other grammars. Since I agree with Zwicky (1985) that the term particle is of no analytical value, and since I find these little words to appear as structuring elements in texts, I believe it is more useful to group them together in this super-syntactic category.

Conversation words, such as həʔ, 'yes', and nəʔtti, 'no', belong in this class (4.36 i). Words that indicate summation or reflection on a preceding

passage, like *piceŋho?*, 'therefore', and *naše*, 'truth', are also included (ii). The deictic time words *dey*, 'now', and *kay*, 'then' are commonly used to structure narratives, as are some related expressions like *de gahi*, 'from there', shown in (iii). There are also several Spanish imports in the set of discourse markers, such as *bweno* (*bueno*, 'good; ok'), *pwes*, (*pues*, 'well'), and *?entonses* (*entonces*, 'then') (iv).

(4.36)

- (i) *nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehin tuhkuy?*
nəʔtti tenyente dəš tehi ?ən+ tuh.kuy?
 no lieutenant 1Prn there_is 1E+ shoot.INSTR1
 "'No, lieutenant, I have my weapon.'" (ZOH1R11 057)
- (ii) *piceŋho dəšhá? məhmə kaštigo ?ən pəʔttampa*
piceŋho? dəšhá? məhmə kaštigo ?ən+ pəʔt-tam-pa
 thus we a_lot grief 1E+ pass-1/2PL-INC
 'That's why we have so much grief.' (ZOH1R13 015)
- (iii) *de gahi nəmpa benigno yəhištá? wanaktán*
de ga.hi? 0 nəm-pa benigno yə.hi? +štaa? wanak-taan
 from DCT3.LOC1 3A say-INC benigno DCT1.LOC1 +ONLY go_down-HORT
 'Then Benigno says, "Let's get down right here."' (ZOH1R10 272)
- (iv) *bweno də nəktammə*
bweno də+ nək-tam-wə
 ok 1A+ go-1/2PL-COM
 'OK, we went.' (ZOH1R11 076)