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PRONOMINAL REFERENCE IN ZOQUEAN

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0. Introduction. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the person marking systems in some of the Zoquean languages and dialects, to attempt to set up the proto-Zoquean person marking system, and to trace some of the development in the various languages. It appears that the latter may be accomplished by setting up successive stages of development in the system. There appear to be two developments so that proto-Mixè and proto-Zoque are set up and then compared with each other.

The Zoquean languages encompass the various dialects of Zoque, spoken in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, the various dialects of Mixe, spoken in the State of Oaxaca, and the Popoluca languages, spoken in the State of Veracruz. These languages are clearly related to each other, but mutually unintelligible, as are some of the dialects within the Zoque and Mixe groups themselves.

In this paper data from seven dialects are used. These represent a broad geographical and, so far as is known, the most divergent forms of the family: They are Copainalá Zoque (CZ), Magdalena Zoque (MZ), Isthmus Mixe (IM), Totontepec Mixe (TM), Sierra Popoluca (SiP), Sayula Popoluca (SaP), and Oluta Popoluca (OP).

The plan of the paper is to present paradigms from each language which involve the pronominal systems. Within each

language differences in the use of the person marking sets are involved in marking noun possession, person of ~~trans~~ ^{of subject + object} subject + object intransitive verbs, ^{of subject + object} transitive verbs, and both of these in subordinate situations. From the paradigmatic material sets of person marking affixes are found. Those that are found to work most similarly are compared with each other and a proto system set up (e.g. proto-Mixe). ~~this~~ This proto system is then compared with the proto-Zoque system and an attempt is made to reconstruct the proto Zoquean ^{-Mix-} system as a whole. During this process various developments are discussed.

The focus of the paper is on the pronominal prefixes although in some of the languages additional markers are present and will be taken into consideration ~~when~~ they may ~~be~~ ~~be~~ be ~~additional~~ of help in explaining certain developments.

For the purposes of this paper, persons involved in transitive verbs are referred to in the following way: 1-3 (first subject, third object), 2-3, and 3-4 as the straight system, and 3-1, 3-2, and 4-3 (where the latter occurs) as the reversed system. 1-2 and 2-1 is termed ^{the} mixed system, since in many of the languages combinations of prefixes are involved.

~~in xxxxxxxx the xxxxxxxx studied xxxxxxxx basic xxxxxxxx prefixes xxxxxxxx~~
may xxxxxxxx abstracted

~~in xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx first~~

In all languages studied two basic ~~sets~~ sets of prefixes may be seen, one occurs with nouns to indicate possession and with transitive verbs (straight system), while the other occurs with intransitive verbs and, where I have data, with nouns indicating stative verbs (e.g. I am a man). Differences between languages occur mainly in the reversed ~~stx~~ system of transitive verbs and in dependent situations.

1. Zoque dialects. ~~The following~~ The Zoque dialects appear to be CZ, MZ, and SiP.

1.1. Copainalá Zoque (CZ). The CZ person marking ~~system~~ prefixes consist of but three overt forms.

(1) Possessed nouns:

(ʔʌs) ndʌk my house
(mis) ndʌk your house
 tyʌk his house

The homophonous forms for "my" and "your" may be distinguished optionally by the use of the free pronouns. Because the phonemic form of the prefix may be /n/, /m/, /ñ/, or /ɲ/ depending upon the following phoneme, the prefix is written N-. The infix -y- is analyzed by Wonderly³ as a metathesized prefix.

(2) Transitive verbs (straight system):

(ʔʌs) ɲgenu I saw it
(mis) ɲgenu you saw it
 kyenu he saw it

(3) Intransitive verbs:

(ʔAs) hɔyɔ I wept
(mɪs) nhyɔyɔ you wept
(tiyɔ) hɔyɔ he wept

Two sets of prefixes can be determined from the above
paradigms:

Set I	Set II
N-	Ø
N-	Ny-
y-	Ø

In any paradigm the ~~forms~~ forms may have accompanying
nouns or pronouns. These help remove ambiguity where homophonous
forms are involved.

The same forms occur throughout the rest of the
system.

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

kenu he ~~was~~ saw me
ŋgyenu he saw you

(5) Transitive verbs (mixed system):

ŋgenu I saw you
ŋgenu you saw me

(6) Intransitive verbs in a dependent situation:

~~manba mboyu~~⁴ I am going to run
~~manba mbyoyu~~ you are going to run
manba mboyu I am going to run
manba mbyoyu you are going to run
manba pyoyu he is going to run

As may be seen in this situation all overt forms are used, so
a combination of the two sets results.

*In addition to the above there is a first person plural
for tɔh which occurs as a free pronoun.*

Ocotepec Zoque, a closely related dialect, has a system very similar to CZ. It differs only in that there are obligatory first person suffixes which occur with verbs. These suffixes indicate whether ~~subject~~ first person is subject or object:

(Ahtsi) poyuʔtsi I ran
(mihtsi) mbyoyu you ran
(teʔ) poyu he ran

Transitive verbs have a different suffix:

(Aht) ndzAhkisut I tasted it
(miht) ndzAhkisu you tasted it
(teʔ) ěAhkisu he tasted it

Transitive verbs indicating first person object have the same suffix as the intransitive:

Ahtsi tsakmbaʔtsi teʔis he hits me

1.2. Magdalena Zoque (MZ). The MZ system is similar to CZ though the phonemic representation of N- and Ny- is much more complicated.³

(1) Possessed nouns:

(A) nduku my clothes
(mi) nduku your clothes
tyuku his clothes

(2) Transitive verbs (straight system):

(Ats) nduhu I shot it
(mits) nduhu or (mits) mi nduhu you shot it
tyuhu he shot it

(2) Intransitive verbs:

(ʌtsi) tuʔyu I got tired

(mitsi) ñdyuʔyu you got tired

txʌxʌ he got tired
tuʔyu

Two sets can be determined from the above paradigms:

Set I

N-
N-
y-

Set II

∅
Ny-
∅

These sets are used in other situations as follows:

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

(hiʔkis) tuhu he shot me

(hiʔkis) ñdyuhu he shot you

(5) Transitive verb (mixed system):

(ʌts) nduhu or (ʌts) mi nduhu I shot you

mi ndʌ nduhu you shot me

(6) Intransitive verbs ~~wʌxʌxʌxʌ~~ in a dependent situation:

nʌ tuʔyu I am getting tired

nʌ ñdyuʔyu you are getting tired

nʌ tyuʔyu he is getting tired

Note that suffixes accompany the free pronouns as in Ocotepec, and particles, undoubtedly related to the pronouns, ndʌ and mi ~~axʌ~~ occur. Note, too, that the forms with ~~axʌ~~ intransitive verbs in dependent situations differ from CZ.

1.3. Sierra Popoluca (SiP). SiP has a much more complete system of forms than the two Zoque dialects, but has much in common with them.

(1) Possessed nouns:

antak my house

tantak your and my house

iñtʰak your house

it^yak his house

(2) Transitive verbs (straight system):

anko'cum I hit him

tanko?cum you and I hit him

inko?cum you hit him

iko?cum he hit him

(3) Intransitive verbs:

apoyum I ran

tapoyum you and I ran

mi poyum you ran

poyum he ran

Two sets may be determined from the above data:

Set I

{ an-
tan-
iñ-
i-

Set II

{ a-
ta-
mi-
Ø

The same two sets are used throughout the rest of the system.

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

ako?cum he hit me
tako?cum he hit you and me
miko?cum he hit you

(5) Transitive verbs (mixed system):

maŋko?cum I hit you [mi + aŋ → maŋ]
aŋko?cum you hit me [a + iŋ → aŋ]

(6) Intransitive verbs in subordinate situations:

mu ampoy when I ran
mu tampoy when you and I ran
mu impoy when you ran
mu ipoy when he ran

1.4. Probable Proto-Zoque forms. With certain exceptions in (5) and (6) these three systems seem to work very similarly. We therefore set up here the probable correspondences involved.

	CZ	MZ	SiP	PZ
Set I				
1-3	N-	N-	aN- / taN-	*aN-
2-3	N-	N-	iN-	*iN-
3-4	y-	y-	i-	*i-
Set II				
1	∅	∅	a- / ta-	*a-
2	Ny-	Ny-	mi-	M *mi-
3	∅	∅	∅	∅

In assuming ~~that~~SiP essentially the SiP system for PZ, we ~~assume that~~ posit two developments in the Zoque dialects: (1) loss of initial vowels, and (2) consonantalization of final (in the prefix) i-.

1.4. Isthmus Mixe (IM). In general Mixe ^{dialects} ~~systems~~ exhibit ^{some} ~~some~~ differences ^{from the Zoque dialects} ~~from the Zoque systems~~.
a different indicator of second person

(1) Possessed nouns:

ndah^ʔač my mother
mdah your mother
tyah his mother

(2) Intransitive verbs:

nīkšpāč I go
mnīkšp you go
nīkšp he goes

Two sets may also be deduced from the data of IM:

Set I

n-

m-

y-

Set II

∅- -ač

m-

∅-

The sets roughly correspond to those already posited for the Zoque material.

(3) Transitive verbs (straight system):

n^ʔihš^ypāč I see him
m^ʔihš^yp you see him
y^ʔihš^yp he sees him

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

š^y ^ʔihšpāč he sees me

šʷʔihšp He sees you

nʔihšpəč I see you

šʷʔihšpəč you see me

3-1	šʷ-əč
3-2	šʷ-
1-2	n-əč
2-1	šʷ-əč

The IM reversed system adds an additional morpheme not found in any of the Zoque dialects or in SiP, namely,

šʷ-. ~~This form will be found to occur in all the Zoque dialects.~~
Using the paradigm a third set of affixes may be pointed. As may be observed most of these involve morpheme combinations.

(5) ~~Dependent~~ Intransitive verbs in dependent situations:

ko·č	nnikšʷ	when I go
ko·	mnikšʷ	when you go
ko·	ñikšʷ	when he goes

Transitive verbs in dependent situations use the same affixual sets, but have different stem shapes:

ko·č	nʔišʷ	when I see him
ko·	mʔišʷ	when you see him
ko·	yʔišʷ	when he sees him

It may be seen that the distribution of ~~sets~~ the two sets of pronominal forms parallels that which has been seen in the Zoque forms. *Note also that šʷ- does not occur in the dependent systems.*

1.5. Totontepec Mixe (TM). The system is quite similar to the ~~SiP~~ IM system presented above.

(1) Possessed nouns:

ndahk	my house
mdahk	your house
tyahk	his house

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~~The system seems to be that in the~~
~~reversed~~ the morpheme \dot{S} - is used
in the reversed system whenever

If ~~we~~ in ~~the~~ person system we term
the low members "higher" (i.e. first person
is "higher" than 2nd second, etc.) then in
the IM reversed system \dot{S} - occurs whenever
the second member is higher than the
first. Resulting ambiguity is eliminated partly
by additional morphemes.

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In TM the \dot{S} - occurs only when
first person is object.

On the other hand in the dependent Transitive
 \dot{S} - occurs in second person

(2) Intransitive verbs:

nm nə:mp I run

mnə:mp you run

nə:mp he runs

As with IM two sets of prefixes may be observed

set I

set II

n-

∅-

m-

m-

y-

∅-

(3) Transitive verbs (straight system):

nvahp I hit him

mvahp you hit him

vyahp he hits him

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

svohp he hits me

mvohphup he hits you

nvahp I hit you

svohp you hit me

3-1 s-
3-2 m-
1-2 n-
2-1 s-

*As with IM an additional s- morpheme
it is in the reversed system and in the dependent
occurs in the reversed system.
~~system of transitive verbs that the differences between
IM and IM occur.~~*

(5) Intransitive verbs in dependent situations:

nnum I run

mnum you run

nyum he runs

[Handwritten signature]

(6) Transitive verbs in dependent situations:

nvap I hit him
 şvav you hit him
 dlvav he hits him

a morpheme further *is used in dependent Transitive situation.*
 1.6. Sayula Popoluca (SaP).

(1) Possessed nouns:

tanway my son
 inway your son
 iway his son

(2) Intransitive verbs:

tama.p I sleep
 mima.p you sleep
 ma.p he sleeps

We may here recognize again two basic sets

Set I	Set II
tan-	ta-
in-	mi-
i-	ø-

But as with other Mixe dialects there are additional morphemes in the reversed and dependent systems.

(3) Transitive verbs (straight system):

tanmoyp I give to him
 inmoyp you give to him
 imoyp he gives to him

(4) Transitive verbs (reversed system):

tašmoyp he gives to me

*In SaP there is a plural first person form na-
 which occurs with both transitive and intransitive sets.
 nama.papue sleep namoyap*

~~It~~ It must always occur with the plural
suffix -ga and indicates exclusive 1st person).

(he) išmoyp he gives to you
 igimoyp the other gives to him
 tamoyp I give to you
 (Λ·h) išmoyp you give to me

In this paradigm three additional forms occur:

tΛš-

iš-

igi-

(5) Intransitive dependent verb:

hem tΛmá? there I sleep
 hem inmá? there you sleep
 hem imá? there he sleeps

(6) Transitive dependent verbs:

hem tΛšmo? there I give it to him
 hem išmo? there you give it to him
 hem igimo? there you give it to him

~~xxxxxx~~ The Intransitive dependent verbs have, except for the first person form, the same set as the ~~xxxxxx~~ that occurs with the transitive in the straight system, while dependent transitive verbs have the markers of the independent reversed system.

1.7. Oluta Popoluca(OP)

(1) Possessed nouns:

tΛntΛkΛ my house
 mintΛkΛ your house
 itΛkΛ his house

(2) Intransitive verbs:

tamimpa I come
mimimpa you come
mimpa he comes

(3) Transitive verbs (straight system):

tanmoype I give it to him
minmoype you give it to him
imoype he gives it to him

From the above data two sets may be ^babstracted:

Set I	Set II
tan-	ta-
min-	mi-
i-	∅-

(4) Transitive verbs(reversed system)

tamoypa he gives it to me
mimoypa he gives it to you
tašmoypa I give it to you
tašmoypa?k you give it to me

(5) Intransitive ~~verbs independent~~ dependent verbs: ~ ~

hatpa tanmi?n I can come
hatpa minmi?n you can come
hatpa imi?n he can come

(6) Transitive dependent verbs (straight system)

tanwampe taškepa?n I want to speak to him
minwampe miškepa?n you want to speak to him
iwampe taškepa he wants to speak to him

