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## Atzingo Popoloca active-passive verbs

The majority of verbs in Popoloca form active passive pairs which share the same root. The tense-aspect inflection differs for each verb of the pair depending on the nature of the preposed element. The first part of the paper describes the morphology of these sets of active passive verb pairs. The second part discusses the syntactic use of the passive.

## 1.1. Active verb stems with initial -h-

The -h- changes to š- in the formation of the passive.

## (a) wash clothes

* (i <sup>2</sup> )-h- he <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I will wash clothes
(i <sup>2</sup> )-t- he <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I do wash clothes
(i <sup>2</sup> )-k <sup>w</sup> -he <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I did wash clothes
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -k- he <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I have washed clothes
ʃo <sup>2</sup> -še <sup>4</sup>	passive	clothes will be washed
(i <sup>2</sup> )-še <sup>4</sup>	passive	clothes were washed
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -še <sup>4</sup>	passive	clothes have been washed

## (b) teach

h-ha <sup>4</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I will teach [him]
t-ha <sup>4</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I do teach [him]
k <sup>w</sup> -ha <sup>4</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I did teach [him]
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -k-ha <sup>4</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I have taught [him]
ʃo <sup>3</sup> -ša <sup>2</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup>	passive	[he] will be taught
ša <sup>2</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup>	passive	[he] is, was being taught
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -ša <sup>2</sup> ko <sup>4</sup> ?e <sup>4</sup>	passive	[he] has been taught

## 1.2. Active-passive verb pairs with root initial -?-

Active verbs begin with -?e-; corresponding passive verbs begin with -?i-.

## (a) buy

h-?e <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I will buy
t-?e <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I do buy
k <sup>w</sup> -?e <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I did buy
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -k-?e <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	active	I had bought
h-?i <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup>	passive	will be bought
k <sup>w</sup> -?i <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup>	passive	was bought
ʃi <sup>1</sup> -k-?i <sup>1</sup> na <sup>1</sup>	passive	had been bought

\* Note: The word pattern of the Popoloca language spoken in San Juan Atzingo requires a minimum of two syllables. Words with a single syllable semantic root add an epenthetic i<sup>2</sup>, i<sup>3</sup>- syllable which carries no semantic meaning. The language has four lexical tones, marked by <sup>1</sup> high, <sup>2</sup> mid-high, <sup>3</sup> mid-low, <sup>4</sup>low.

I<sup>3</sup>hīe<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> the<sup>2</sup>te<sup>1</sup> to<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>4</sup>te<sup>4</sup>, ʒha<sup>3</sup>ča<sup>3</sup>-ʔya<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> ʒʔe<sup>4</sup>na<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> tho<sup>4</sup>.  
 now very expensive sandals, able - not-I will-buy- I leathers  
 Sandals cost a lot now, so I'm not able to buy any.

ʒ-ʔi<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> nke<sup>2</sup>ʔe<sup>2</sup> ʒ-ʔa<sup>1</sup>ya<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> nta<sup>4</sup>.  
 will -be-bought something will-carry-inside-of-I water.  
 Something will be bought that I will carry the water in.

(b) plant, put into

<u>ʒ-ʔe<sup>4</sup>nka<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>2</sup></u>	<i>active</i>	I will plant, put into
t-ʔe <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I am planting, putting into
k <sup>w</sup> -ʔe <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I did plant, put into
ʒi <sup>1</sup> -k-ʔe <sup>4</sup> nka <sup>4</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I had planted, put into
<u>ʒ-ʔi<sup>2</sup>nka<sup>2</sup></u>	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be put into
t-ʔi <sup>2</sup> nka <sup>2</sup>	<i>passive</i>	[it] is contained
k <sup>w</sup> -ʔi <sup>1</sup> nka <sup>2</sup>	<i>passive</i>	[it] is inside of
ʒi <sup>1</sup> -k-ʔi <sup>2</sup> nka <sup>2</sup>	<i>passive</i>	[it] had been put into

ʒ-ʔe<sup>4</sup>nka<sup>4</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> no<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> ʒo<sup>3</sup>-tha<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> ʒʔe<sup>1</sup>šj<sup>4</sup>.  
 will-plant - I corn then will-harvest-I later.  
 I will plant the corn and harvest it later.

ʒ-ʔe<sup>4</sup>nka<sup>4</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> kha<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>2</sup>te<sup>14</sup>nʒo<sup>4</sup> tha<sup>4</sup>.  
 will-put-into-I head goat barbecue-pit  
 I will put the head of the goat into the barbecue pit.

t-ʔi<sup>2</sup>nka<sup>2</sup> no<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>ša<sup>3</sup> a<sup>3</sup>.  
 is-in corn that basket there  
 Corn is-inside-of that basket.

1.3. Bound passive verb stems which use future prefix ʒo<sup>3</sup>- and are changed to active by causative morpheme ʒʔo<sup>1</sup>-.  
 Passive stems use perfect prefix ʒi<sup>1</sup>-. The initial consonant of the active prefix changes according to tense: ʒʔo<sup>1</sup>- (future), tʔo<sup>1</sup>- (present), and kʔo<sup>1</sup>- (past).

(a) break (dishes, pottery, hard round vegetables, etc.)

<u>ʒo<sup>3</sup>-čhe<sup>3</sup>nka<sup>2</sup></u>	<i>passive</i>	will be broken
ʒi <sup>1</sup> -čhe <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>2</sup>	<i>passive</i>	is broken
<u>ʒʔo<sup>1</sup>-čhe<sup>3</sup>nka<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup></u>	<i>active</i>	I will break
tʔo <sup>1</sup> -čhe <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I am breaking
kʔo <sup>1</sup> -čhe <sup>3</sup> nka <sup>2</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I did break

ʒi<sup>1</sup>-čhe<sup>3</sup>nka<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2</sup>či<sup>4</sup>, me<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>4</sup> ši<sup>2</sup>tha<sup>2</sup>ʔya<sup>2</sup> ʒi<sup>4</sup>ki<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>4</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> nta<sup>4</sup>.  
 Is broken pot, therefore can't will-fill it- I water.  
 The pot is broken, so I can't fill it with water.

ʒʔo<sup>1</sup>-čhe<sup>3</sup>nka<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> čo<sup>3</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> si<sup>2</sup>nče<sup>2</sup>-čha<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup>  
 will-make-broken-I the squash then will-make-cooked-I  
 I will make-broken-up the squash and then I will make it to be cooked.

## (b) untie

$\text{ʃo}^3\text{-}\text{ʃi}^2\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2$	<i>passive</i>	will be untied
$\text{ʃi}^1\text{-}\text{ʃi}^2\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2$	<i>passive</i>	has been untied
$\text{ʃ?o}^1\text{-}\text{ʃi}^1\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I will untie
$\text{t?o}^1\text{-}\text{ʃi}^1\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I am untying
$\text{k?o}^1\text{-}\text{ʃi}^1\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I did untie

$\text{ʃo}^3\text{-}\text{ʃinta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2$   $\text{ko}^2\text{lo}^1\text{č}o^2$   $\text{sa}^1\text{ʃhi}^2\text{-k?i}^2$   $\text{wa}^2$   $\text{nta}^4$ .  
 Will-be untied donkey will go-drink animal water.  
 The donkey should be untied so that it can go to drink water.

$\text{ʃ?o}^1\text{-}\text{ʃi}^1\text{nta}^4\text{nke}^4\text{?e}^2\text{-ni}^2$   $\text{ko}^2\text{lo}^1\text{č}o^2$   $\text{ki}^1\text{ʃj}^2$   $\text{sa}^1\text{ʃhi}^2\text{-k?i}^2$   $\text{wa}^2$   $\text{nta}^4$ .  
 Will-make -untied - I donkey so that will-go-drink animal water  
 I'm going to untie the donkey so it can go and drink water.

1.4. Passive prefix  $\text{ʃo}^4\text{-}$  and causative morpheme  $\text{nče}^2\text{-}$ 

Certain free adjectives and bound adverbial stems are changed into passive verbs with the addition of the prefix set  $\text{ʃo}^4\text{-}$  (future),  $\text{to}^1\text{-}$  (present), and  $\text{ko}^1\text{-}$  (past). The same stems are changed into active verbs with the causative morpheme  $\text{nče}^2\text{-}$ . This morpheme takes a future prefix  $\text{si}^2\text{-}$ , a past prefix  $\text{k}^{\text{v}}\text{hi}^1\text{-}$ , and a perfect prefix  $\text{ʃi}^1\text{khi}^2\text{-}$ . The morpheme  $\text{nče}^2\text{-}$ , without a prefix, is used for the present tense and for the imperative mode.

## (a) be enlarged

$\text{ʃo}^4\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be enlarged
$\text{to}^1\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] is being enlarged
$\text{ko}^1\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] was enlarged
$\text{ʃi}^1\text{ko}^1\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] had been enlarged
$\text{si}^2\text{nče}^2\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I will make [it] enlarged
$\text{nče}^2\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I am making [it] enlarged
$\text{k}^{\text{v}}\text{hi}^1\text{nče}^2\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I did make [it] enlarged
$\text{ʃi}^1\text{khi}^1\text{nče}^2\text{-h}^1\text{e}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I had made [it] enlarged

## (b) be filled up [liquid]

$\text{ʃo}^4\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be filled up
$\text{to}^1\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] is being filled up
$\text{ko}^1\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] was filled up
$\text{ʃi}^1\text{ko}^1\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] has been filled up
$\text{si}^2\text{nče}^2\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I will make [it] filled up
$\text{nče}^2\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I am making [it] filled up
$\text{k}^{\text{v}}\text{hi}^1\text{nče}^2\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I did make [it] filled up
$\text{ʃi}^1\text{khi}^1\text{nče}^2\text{-ka}^2\text{q}^1\text{-ni}^2$	<i>active</i>	I had made [it] filled up

1.5. The causative morpheme  $n\check{c}e^2-$  with non-active verbs

The causative morpheme  $n\check{c}e^2-$  combines with certain non-active verbs to change them into active verbs. These are verbs which have the tense-aspect prefixes  $\phi-$  (future),  $t-$  (present),  $k^w-$  (past), and  $\phi i^1-$  (perfect).

## (a) be fixed

$\phi-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2$	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be fixed
$t-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2$	<i>passive</i>	[it] is being fixed
$k^w-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2$	<i>passive</i>	[it] was fixed
$si^2n\check{c}e^2-k-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I will make [it] get fixed
$n\check{c}e^2-k-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I am making [it] get fixed
$k^whi^1n\check{c}e^2-k-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I made [it] get fixed
$\phi i^1khi^2n\check{c}e^2-k-ha^1\phi^4\eta^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I had made [it] get fixed

## (b) melt

$\phi-a^2ta^2nka^2$	<i>non-active</i>	[it] will melt
$t-a^2ta^2nka^2$	<i>non-active</i>	[it] is melting
$k^w-a^1ta^2nka^2$	<i>non-active</i>	[it] melted
$si^2n\check{c}e^2-k-a^2ta^2nka^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I will make [it] melt
$n\check{c}e^2-k-a^2ta^2nka^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I am making [it] melt
$k^whi^1n\check{c}e^2-k-a^2ta^2nka^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I did make [it] melt
$\phi i^1khi^2n\check{c}e^2-k-a^2ta^2nka^2-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I had made [it] melt

1.6. Class six: prefix pairs  $\phi?i^2\check{s}i^2-$  (passive) and  $\phi hi^3-$  (active)  
These prefixes are used with another set of bound adverbial stems.

## (a) exchange

$\phi?i^2\check{s}i^2-nki^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be exchanged
$k^w?i^2\check{s}i^2-nki^1$	<i>passive</i>	[it] was exchanged
$\phi hi^3-nki^1-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I will exchange [it]
$k^whi^3-nki^1-ni^2$	<i>active</i>	I did exchange [it]

$I^2?no^4 \quad \phi?i^2\check{s}i^2-nki^1 \quad no^3a^3$   
Rope will-be-exchanged corn  
Rope will be exchanged for corn.

$Ti^1 \quad sj^1 \quad \check{c}ha^3sj^2 \quad k^w?e^1-khi^2nki^1 \quad sj^1 \quad i^2?no^4 \quad no^3a^3.$   
The people village had - exchanged they rope corn.  
The people of the village used to exchanged rope for corn.

(b) mix

ʔi <sup>2</sup> ʃi <sup>2</sup> -nki <sup>1</sup> khə <sup>3</sup>	<i>passive</i>	[it] will be mixed
kʷʔi <sup>2</sup> ʃi <sup>2</sup> -nki <sup>1</sup> khə <sup>3</sup>	<i>passive</i>	[it] was mixed

ʔhi <sup>3</sup> -nki <sup>1</sup> khə <sup>3</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I will mix [it]
k <sup>2</sup> hi <sup>3</sup> -nki <sup>1</sup> khə <sup>3</sup> -ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	I did mix [it]

ʔi<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>2</sup>-nki<sup>1</sup>khə<sup>3</sup> cemento la<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> nče<sup>3</sup>se<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>ʃi<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>2</sup>te<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>1</sup> nči<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup>.  
 Will be-mixed cement and sand so that will-be-constructed house.  
 Sand and cement will be mixed together so that a house can be constructed.

ʔhi<sup>3</sup>-nki<sup>1</sup>khə<sup>3</sup>-ʃi<sup>2</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> nče<sup>3</sup>se<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> nte<sup>3</sup>so<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>ʃi<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>2</sup>te<sup>2</sup>ʃi<sup>1</sup> nto<sup>4</sup>e<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 will mix-INSTR- I sand and lime so that will-be-constructed house-my  
 I will mix sand and lime so that my house will be constructed.

1.7. Active-stative verb pairs "put singular object", and verb "be singular subject". These forms are suppletive to those of 1.8.

(a) "put" (singular object)

ʔha <sup>3</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>future</i>
tha <sup>3</sup> ke <sup>1</sup>	<i>imperative</i>
k <sup>w</sup> ha <sup>3</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>past</i>

(b) "be" (singular subject)

ʔha <sup>2</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>future</i>
k <sup>w</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	<i>past</i>
tha <sup>2</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup>	<i>imperative</i>
i <sup>3</sup> the <sup>3</sup>	<i>suppletive free third person present stem</i>
the <sup>3</sup> -	<i>suppletive bound third person present stem</i>

In the sentences in example (c), active "put" has singular subject, "I" and singular object "book"; stative "be" has singular subject "book".

(c)

ʔha <sup>2</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup>	ʃo <sup>3</sup> o <sup>2</sup> či <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup> me <sup>2</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> .	<i>stative</i>	The book will be on the table.
ʔha <sup>3</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>3</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	ʃo <sup>3</sup> o <sup>2</sup> či <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup> me <sup>2</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> .	<i>active</i>	I will put the book on the table.

In the sentences in (d), active "put-away" has singular subject, "he" and singular object, "book"; stative "be-put-away" has singular subject, "book".

(d)

ʔha <sup>4</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>4</sup> -či <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup> tí ʃo <sup>3</sup> o <sup>2</sup>	<i>active</i>	He will put-away the book.
ʔha <sup>2</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup> -či <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	tí ʃo <sup>3</sup> o <sup>2</sup>	<i>stative</i>	The book will be put-away.
the <sup>3</sup> - či <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	tí ʃo <sup>3</sup> o <sup>2</sup>	<i>stative</i>	The book is put-away.

In the sentences in (e), active "put-away" has plural subject "they" and singular object "him"; stative "be-put-away" has singular subject "he".

(e)

ʃha <sup>4</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>4</sup> -čhi <sup>4</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	si <sup>1</sup> čʔa <sup>1</sup>	active	They will put-away him [in jail].
ʃha <sup>2</sup> k <sup>7</sup> e <sup>2</sup> -čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup>	stative	He will be-put-away [in jail].
the <sup>3</sup> - čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup>	stative	He is put-away [in jail].

1.8. Active-stative verb pairs "put plural objects", and "be plural subjects"

(a) "put" (plural objects)

ʃʔe <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	future
the <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	present
k <sup>w</sup> ʔe <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	past

(b) "be" (plural subject)

ʃʔe <sup>2</sup> ho <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	future
the <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	present
k <sup>w</sup> ʔe <sup>1</sup> ho <sup>1</sup> ni <sup>2</sup>	past

In the sentences in example (c), active "put (gather)" has singular subject, "he", and plural object "papers"; stative "be" has plural subject "papers".

(c)

ʃʔe <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup>	šq <sup>3</sup> q <sup>2</sup>	active	He will gather the papers.
ʃʔe <sup>2</sup> ho <sup>1</sup>		šq <sup>3</sup> q <sup>2</sup>	stative	The papers will be [there].

In the sentences in (d), active "put-away" has singular subject "he" and plural object "papers"; stative "be-put-away" has plural subject "papers".

(d)

ʃʔe <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup> -čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup>	šq <sup>3</sup> q <sup>2</sup>	active	He will put-away the papers.
ʃʔe <sup>2</sup> ho <sup>1</sup> -čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>		šq <sup>3</sup> q <sup>2</sup>	stative	The papers will be put-away.

In the sentences in (e), active "put-away [in jail]" has singular subject "he", and plural object "them"; stative "be-put-away [in jail]" has plural subject, "they".

(e)

ʃʔe <sup>3</sup> ho <sup>2</sup> -čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	čʔa <sup>1</sup>	si <sup>1</sup>	active	He will put-away them [in jail].
ʃʔe <sup>2</sup> ho <sup>1</sup> -čhi <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>		si <sup>1</sup>	stative	They will be-put-away [in jail].

## Part 2: Syntax of Atzingo Popoloca passive verbs

2. In Popoloca the cultural norm tends to be lexical under-specification. Noun classifiers are often used instead of specific nouns, e.g.:

(1)

to<sup>3</sup> fruit  
 to<sup>3</sup>-sa<sup>1</sup> "fruit sour" (orange)  
 to<sup>3</sup>-fo<sup>12</sup>i<sup>2</sup> nanche (small, cherry-like fruit)

O<sup>1</sup> kʔo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> to<sup>3</sup>fo<sup>12</sup>i<sup>2</sup> no<sup>4</sup>nte<sup>4</sup>e<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> la<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2</sup>nče<sup>2</sup>khi<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> to<sup>2</sup> i<sup>3</sup>hīe<sup>3</sup>.  
 now grew nanches land - my and will-make-sell-I fruit today  
 Nanches grew on my land and I will sell them today.

(2)

šo<sup>4</sup> stone, glass  
 šo<sup>4</sup>-še<sup>1</sup> "glass-sweet" (soft drink bottles)

I<sup>3</sup>hīe<sup>3</sup> phi<sup>2</sup>ko<sup>3</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> šo<sup>4</sup> I<sup>3</sup>hnki<sup>3</sup>.  
 today will-take-with-I glass Chilac.  
 Today I'll take the soft drink bottles to Chilac.

Lexical underspecification is also shown by the frequent avoidance of the use of personal names.

(3)

čʔi<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>pha<sup>3</sup>  
 man tree-mesquite  
 the man living at mesquite tree area

(4)

ti<sup>1</sup> tha<sup>3</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ha<sup>3</sup>tho<sup>14</sup>e<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>  
 the woman godparent-my  
 the woman my godparent

## 2.1. Use of passive verbs in simple sentences.

Sentences with a definite implied agent.

(5)

kʔi<sup>3</sup>hi<sup>2</sup> i<sup>3</sup>he<sup>1</sup> čhe<sup>3</sup>.  
 were-lowered many cactus-fruits  
 Many cactus fruits were picked.

(6)

ʔo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>o<sup>3</sup> so<sup>1</sup>so<sup>2</sup>.  
 will-be-made tortillas toasted  
 The toasted tortillas will be made.

## 2.1.2. Sentences with an indefinite implied agent.

(7)

I<sup>3</sup>he<sup>1</sup> nči<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup> ʔi<sup>1</sup>kʔo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ka<sup>3</sup>hni<sup>3</sup> čha<sup>3</sup>se<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 many houses have-been-made-of palm village-my  
 Many houses are made of palm in my village.

(8)

ka<sup>4</sup>nta<sup>4</sup>ka<sup>4</sup>ši<sup>4</sup> ʔo<sup>3</sup>ča<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>2</sup> to<sup>4</sup>te<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> ʔi<sup>1</sup>čhe<sup>3</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>.  
 herb will-be-heated-by foot-of animal was-broken  
 The broken foot of the animal will be heated (stimulated) with this herb.



2.1.3. Passive used as a polite request as an alternate way of expressing an imperative.

(9)

ʔa<sup>1</sup>khe<sup>2</sup>      šo<sup>3</sup>i<sup>3</sup>.  
 will-be-turned-on light  
 Please turn on the light.

(10)

ʔo<sup>3</sup>ši<sup>2</sup>te<sup>4</sup>ʔe<sup>4</sup> puerta.  
 will-be-opened door  
 Please open the door.

2.2. Use of passive verbs in complex sentences.

Passives are used in purpose clauses, preparation clauses and in other complex sentences where they may occur in either clause of a juxtaposed sentence or sentence medially between active clauses.

2.2.1. Use of passive in purpose clauses.

Purpose clauses usually require passive morphology and can be translated by infinitives, gerunds or other nominal verb forms.

(11)

kʷʔe<sup>4</sup>nka<sup>4</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> čʔa<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>3</sup>čo<sup>2</sup>ha<sup>4</sup>      ʔo<sup>1</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>  
 transplanted he agave will-be-made fence  
 He transplanted agave cactus to make a fence.

(12)

To<sup>2</sup>te<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>2</sup> čʔa<sup>1</sup> puerta ki<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>2</sup>      ʔo<sup>4</sup>ši<sup>2</sup>te<sup>4</sup>ʔe<sup>4</sup>.  
 pushes he door so-that will-be-opened.  
 He is pushing the door to open it.

(13)

kʷʔe<sup>4</sup>na<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> nte<sup>3</sup>so<sup>3</sup>      ʔi<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>      nto<sup>4</sup>e<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 bought-I lime will-be-painted house-my  
 I bought lime with which to paint my house.

If a sequential connective nta<sup>1</sup> is added between the juxtaposed clauses or replaces the link ki<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>2</sup> "so that" then the second clause may be made into an active clause.

(14)

kʷʔe<sup>4</sup>na<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> nte<sup>3</sup>so<sup>3</sup> nta<sup>1</sup>      si<sup>2</sup>nče<sup>2</sup>kʔi<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>      nto<sup>4</sup>e<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 bought-I lime then will-paint-I house-my  
 I bought lime and now I will paint my house.

2.2.2. Use of passive in preparation clauses.

(a) Passive may be used in the first clause where the agent in the active clause is not the same as the implied agent of the first clause.

- (15) ʔo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> ni<sup>3o3</sup> so<sup>1so2</sup> si<sup>2ne2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>4</sup>-ni<sup>1ʔi2</sup>.  
 will-be-made tortillas toasted will-eat that one-sick  
 Tortillas will be made for the sick one to eat.

- (16) ʔo<sup>3</sup>ča<sup>1</sup> nio<sup>4te4</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>ʔhi<sup>2</sup>ko<sup>3ni2</sup> nte<sup>4he4</sup>.  
 will-be-made tortillas-thick will-take-I mountain  
 Thick tortillas will be made for me to take to the mountain.

In the following sentence the intransitive verb i<sup>3cʔe2</sup> "will-die" in the first clause is used in a manner similiar to the passive verbs found in succeeding clauses. In this sentence which describes the activities in preparation for a wedding fiesta, there is a series of non-active verbs followed by an active clause.

- (17) I<sup>3</sup>ʔe<sup>2</sup> hnko<sup>2</sup> ko<sup>2te14</sup>nʔo<sup>4</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ʔe<sup>2</sup> - to<sup>2</sup>e<sup>4</sup> wa<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>ša<sup>3</sup>  
 will-die a goat and will-be-put-across animal the basket  
 We will kill a goat and it will be laid across the basket
- la ʔi<sup>2</sup>nka<sup>2</sup> nio<sup>4tha4</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>ša<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ʔo<sup>3</sup>-ča<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>4</sup>ša<sup>2</sup>  
 and will-be-put-into bread the basket and will-be-cooked hot-sauce  
 in which the bread will be put, and hot sauce will be cooked
- si<sup>2ne2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> ši<sup>4ne2</sup> na<sup>3</sup> si<sup>2ne2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup> k<sup>v</sup>ha<sup>3</sup>  
 will-eat those they uncles and will-eat those they aunts  
 that the uncles and aunts (of the bride) will eat.

(b) Complex sentences in which the implied agent in the passive clause is the same as the agent of the main clause.

In sentences in which the implied agent is the same as that of the following active clause, it is normal to use passives or other anti-agentive verbs. Sentences (18), (19), and (20) follow a common pattern: the verbs in the first and final clauses are active and in the medial clause the agent is defocused and a passive verb is used.

- (18) Sa<sup>1</sup>ʔhi<sup>2</sup>khe<sup>3ya1ni1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup>ča<sup>4te2</sup> nte<sup>4he4</sup>  
 will-go-look-for-I wasps mountain  
 I will go look for wasps in the mountain,
- nta<sup>1</sup> ʔo<sup>3</sup>šo<sup>1te2</sup> si<sup>2ne2ni2</sup>.  
 then will-be-boiled will-eat-I  
 then they will be boiled and I will eat them.

- (19) ʔhi<sup>2ka2kha3ni2</sup> ka<sup>4</sup>ša<sup>4ti2</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> ʔo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> i<sup>2ʔno4</sup>  
 will-go-get-I maguey-leaves then will-be-made rope  
 I will go get maguey leaves then rope will be made
- sa<sup>1</sup>ʔhi<sup>2</sup>-khi<sup>2nče2</sup>khi<sup>2ni2</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>si<sup>3</sup>.  
 will-go- sell - I market  
 which I will go sell in the market.

(20)

Si<sup>2</sup>nče<sup>2</sup>ša<sup>12</sup>ye<sup>4</sup>e<sup>4</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>-to<sup>3</sup>ɸo<sup>1</sup>i<sup>2</sup>  
 will-shake - I tree-fruit-nanchi  
 I will shake the nanchi fruit tree

nta<sup>1</sup> ɸo<sup>3</sup>še<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup> i<sup>3</sup>ɸhe<sup>1</sup> to<sup>3</sup> ɸhe<sup>3</sup>na<sup>2</sup>hi<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 then will-be-lowered many fruit I-will-gather  
 then many fruit will come down which I will gather.

Sentence (21) is similiar to the above except it has the instrumental morpheme -šj<sup>1</sup>- in the final verb so that the object of the first clause is the implied instrument of the final clause.

(21)

ɸi<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup>hnko<sup>2</sup> č<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>3</sup>šha<sup>3</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>šj<sup>2</sup> ɸi<sup>2</sup>ki<sup>2</sup>a<sup>2</sup> nta<sup>4</sup>  
 will-be-bought another bowl so-that will-be-put-into water  
 I will buy another bowl to put water in

ɸo<sup>1</sup>nti<sup>2</sup>-šj<sup>1</sup>-ni<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>3</sup>ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 will-wash-INSTR-I hands-my  
 where I will wash my hands.

In (22) active clause is followed by a purpose clause which is itself complex. The first purpose clause has a stative verb and the second has a passive.

(22)

ɸha<sup>1</sup>ča<sup>3</sup>-ɸya<sup>2</sup> tɸo<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>2</sup>ya<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> to<sup>14</sup>ye<sup>4</sup> ɸo<sup>3</sup>še<sup>2</sup>nka<sup>2</sup>-šj<sup>1</sup> nta<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>1</sup>čhi<sup>4</sup>  
 able -not dig-I this hole will-be-put-INSTR post  
 I'm not able to dig this hole to put the post into

ɸo<sup>12</sup>na<sup>2</sup> nči<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>.  
 will-be-made house  
 to make the house.

Sentence (23) begins and ends with active verbs with different subjects. The intervening clauses are non-agentive and have the same implied agent as the first clause.

(23)

Ko<sup>2</sup>čho<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup> ɸi<sup>1</sup>-ša<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ɸe<sup>4</sup>na<sup>2</sup> tha<sup>3</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> ɸo<sup>4</sup>-so<sup>1</sup>so<sup>2</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> ɸo<sup>3</sup>-ɸi<sup>2</sup>nka<sup>1</sup>  
 shrimp dried will-buy she then will-be-toasted then will-be-ground  
 She will buy dried shrimp and then it will be toasted and it will be ground

nta<sup>1</sup> ɸhi<sup>2</sup>-ko<sup>3</sup> ko<sup>4</sup>ha<sup>4</sup> nta<sup>1</sup> ɸo<sup>3</sup>-čha<sup>1</sup> si<sup>2</sup>ne<sup>2</sup> - šj<sup>1</sup> - ni<sup>2</sup>.  
 then will-go-with eggs then will-be-cooked will-eat-INSTR-we  
 and then eggs will be put with it and it will be cooked and we will eat it.

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