DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 287 302 FL 016 958

AUTHOR Stark, Thomas C. Smith; Garcia, Fermin Tapia
TITLE The Active-Static Nature of Amuzgo (Otomanguean).
PUB DATE 29 Dec 86
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America (New York, NY, December 27-30, 1986).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Languages; Articulation (Speech); Contrastive Linguistics; Descriptive Linguistics; Foreign Countries; *Language Classification; Language Patterns; Linguistic Theory; Morphemes; *Morphology (Languages); Phonology; *Pronouns; Syntax; Tone Languages; Uncommonly Taught Languages; *Verbs
IDENTIFIERS *Amuzgo; Chocho; *Mexico

ABSTRACT

An analysis of Amuzgo, a language within the Otomanguean family of Mexico, suggests that it is an active-static language with patterns similar but not parallel to those of Chocho. In the report, data on the characteristics of Chocho are summarized, theory and research on active-static languages is reviewed, and the data on Amuzgo are presented. The specific subareas of person-number inflection, pronouns, grammatical analysis of static verbs and their arguments, fluid subject marking, the absence of passive voice, and the application of the Universal Alignment Hypothesis to Amuzgo are considered. Further attention to the issues of morphosyntactic case-marking typology as a unifying theme for the study of Otomanguean languages, adoption of an areal perspective for the study of these languages, and enhancement of the empirical data base are recommended. (MSE)

[Paper prepared for the 1986 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, "Syntax/Typology" session, New York Hilton, Room C, 9:00AM, New York, New York, 29 December 1986]

THE ACTIVE-STATIC NATURE OF AMUZGO (OTOMANGUEAN)

Thomas C. Smith Stark
Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios
El Colegio de México

Fermín Tapia García
Programa de Lenguaje y Sociedad
Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores
en Antropología Social

0. Introduction

Carol C. Mock (1982) has recently shown that Chocho, a language spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico which belongs to the Popolocan branch of the Otomanguean family, is an active-static language. We will present evidence here that Amuzgo, a language from a distinct branch of that same highly diversified family is also an active-static language, though in not an entirely parallel way. While our goal is primarily descriptive, we will also consider some general issues posed by active-static languages and the light thrown upon them by the Amuzgo data.

1. Chocho

We will begin by presenting a summary of Mock's data. Chocho has a set of dependent pronouns which, in the first person and in the second person informal, distinguish two forms which Mock calls active and inactive. These are shown in (1) on the handout. (We have substituted numbers for her tone diacritics; 1 is a low tone, 2 is a mid tone, and 3 is a high tone. A hyphen indicates an affix, and an equal sign indicates a clitic.)

(1) Dependent pronouns of Chocho

	active	inactive
1 exclusive	-(n)a³	=ma³
1 inclusive	-(n)i³	=mi³
2 informal	-a²	=mi²
2 formal	ia²	
3 human kin formal	ni²	
3 human kin female	nu²	
3 human kin male	ga³	
3 human formal	ri¹	
3 human informal female	ʸi³	
3 human informal male	ri³	
3 domestic animal	ba²	
3 fruit	ru¹	
3 object	ga¹	

The active forms are used to represent the subject of a transitive verb, as in (2) on the handout, as well as the subject of an intransitive verb when the subject controls the action voluntarily, as in (3).

(2) bi³-kʸu'²-a³=mi² 'I saw you'
asp-SEE-1exclact=2infinact

(3) d-a¹sǫ²-a³ 'I arrive'
asp-ARRIVE-1exclact

The inactive forms are used to represent the direct object of a transitive verb, again as in (2), or the subject of an intransitive verb which expresses an involuntary action or process, as in (4).

(4) d-ą³θe²=ma³ 'I fall'
asp-ARRIVE-1exclinact

With some intransitive verbs, as in (5) on the handout, it is possible to form contrastive pairs which distinguish the control exercised by the subject over the action, depending on whether they are used with active or inactive pronouns.

(5) a. d-a³ʔxi³-a³ 'I descend' (controlled action)
asp-DESCEND-1exclact

b. d-a²ʔxi²=ma³ 'I descend; I am lowered'
asp-DESCEND=1exclinact (involuntary action)

Intransitive verbs thereby fall into three groups -- those which take active pronouns to mark their subjects, those which take inactive pronouns to mark their subjects and those which can take pronouns of either type, with a corresponding difference in meaning. Examples of some translations of the verbs in these classes are given in (6) on the handout.

(6) a. <u>active intransitives</u> -- arrive, sleep, sing, cry, be (located), dance, come, go, whistle, fight, run, stand up, change, get out of the middle, come with, be cold, be thirsty, feel lazy, be afraid, be happy, be sick, find oneself
b. <u>inactive intransitives</u> -- fall, cough, be (located), shiver, burn, slide, die, stay, be/exist, howl, get drunk, get stuck, be hidden, yawn, be sleepy, faint, fall from above, get lost, stay quiet, be consumed, boil, fall apart, sneeze, exit
c. <u>ambivalent intransitives</u> -- descend, grow, get well, move aside, wash one's head

2. <u>Active-static languages</u>

The characteristics just described for Chocho identify it as an active-static language, or what is also sometimes called an active-stative language, an active-inactive language, an agentive-nonagentive language, or simply an active or agentive language. That is, it is one of several possible types of language according to a classification which has generated considerable interest, not to mention far-flung speculation, for nearly one hundred years, and which includes among its better known types nominativeaccusative languages and ergative-absolutive languages. Furthermore, it is an example of a particularly interesting and rare type of active language which possesses, to use Dixon's (1979, p. 80) terminology, fluid subject marking.

At the beginning of this century, this classification, which we will refer to as a morphosyntactic case-marking typology, was a topic of great interest with regard to both the origin of language -- ergative languages were thought by some to be more primitive in an evolutionary sense -- and what Sapir called ethnopsychology -- people speaking ergative languages were supposed to have a passive vision of the world. Sapir (1917), in his brilliant review of Uhlenbeck which appeared in the inaugural issue of IJAL, wisely counseled that such speculation was premature and advocated in

its stead a concentration of effort on the morphological and diachronic aspects of the typology. In this same review, he also made an important contribution to our understanding of the case-marking typology by including a table where he distinguished, non-exhaustively, five types of language based on the relative marking of subjects and objects in transitive and intransitive clauses. A slightly modified version of his table is reproduced as (7) on the handout.

(7) Sapir's case-marking typology (slightly modified)

type	transitive object	intranstive inactive	subject active	transitive subject	example
ergative-absolutive	A		A	B	Chinook
active-static	A	A	B	B	Dakota
objective-agentive-subjective	A		B	C	Takelma
nominative-accusative	A		B	B	Paiute
undifferentiated	A		A	A	Yana

Sapir, at least, clearly considered this typology of fundamental importance for the characterizing of a language, part of its "structural genius". For example, in his famous Enclyclopædia Britannica article in 1929, he gives a brief sketch of each of his six North American superstocks, and in five cases includes information on morphosyntactic case-marking -- Eskimo-Aleut and Penutian are ergative, Nadene and Hokan-Siouan are active, and Aztec-Tanoan is accusative; only Algonkin-Wakashan is not so classified. However, interest in such issues seems to have waned during nearly half a century, at least in the United States, not reappearing until the beginning of the seventies as an area of theoretical concern. This renewed interest has focused especially on the syntactic implications of the typology, which had previously been discussed in primarily morphological terms. There was also much improved descriptive material produced and resulting conceptual advances, such as Silverstein's clarification of the nature of the antipassive voice and his analysis of various types of split ergativity (cf. Silverstein 1976).

However, this recent flurry of activity has been concerned above all with ergative languages. Active languages are still relatively unexplored; and to the extent that they have been discussed, they have generally been treated as manifesting a kind of split ergativity based on the semantic nature of the verb. For example, such is Dixon's position in his excellent review article on ergativity (1979), in spite of the fact that Sapir, in the aforementioned review, considered a similar position to be the weakest part of Uhlenbeck's paper.

On the other hand, interest in active-static languages per se has been stimulated recently by relational grammar in general and particularly by the Unaccusative Hypothesis, whereby Perlmutter and Postal (Perlmutter 1978, Perlmutter and Postal 1984) have proposed that the initial stratum of all languages has an active-static structure. That is, they argue that some intransitive verbs occur with initial subjects (what they call an unergative stratum) and others occur with initial direct objects (what they call an unaccusative stratum). This view is more akin to Sapir's (1917, p. 85) proposed analysis of active languages, whereby he suggests that such languages have some intransitive verbs without subjects but with direct or indirect objects. Perlmutter and Postal (1984) have also adopted provisionally what they call the Universal Alignment Hypothesis, which claims that the distinction between unergative clauses and unaccusative

clauses is universally predictable from the meaning of a clause.

In the light of Mock's findings in Chocho, then, and these rather general remarks on active-static languages, let's turn now to the situation in Amuzgo.

3. Amuzgo

Amuzgo, like Chocho, is an Otomanguean language; it is spoken by some 15,000-25,000 people, the majority monolinguals, in the states of Guerrero and Oaxaca, Mexico. Amuzgo is sometimes included as part of the Mixtecan branch of Otomanguean, but in most recent work, it has been treated as an independent branch of the family. The dialect described here is that spoken in San Pedro Amuzgos, Oaxaca by Fermin Tapia.

Amuzgo has a complex phonological system, which is summarized in (8) on the handout.

(8)

Consonants

	labial	lamino-dental	apicoden-tialveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	(p)	t	ty			k	'
voiced stops		d	dy			g	
africates		tz		ch			
fricatives		s		x			j
nasals	m	n	ñ				
lateral		(l)					
rhotic tap		r					
rhotic trill		(rr)					
semiconsonants					y	w	

Vowels

	Oral		Nasal	
	palatal	velar	palatal	velar
closed	i	u		
half closed	e	o	en	on
half open	ë	ö	ën	ön
open	a		an	

Tones

high controlled	5
high ballistic	53
rising controlled	35
mid controlled	34
mid ballistic	3
falling ballistic	31
low controlled	12
low ballistic	1

Syllables: (t)(t)Cβ(V)V(')t

Note: Phonemes in parentheses appear to be marginal or limited to loan words.

It is a basically monosyllabic language in the sense that each syllable typically includes a single lexical root morpheme, though words are often formed by compounding roots in such a way that the first root in a compound represents a generic category which is then further specified by the root which follows. There is also a tendency to simplify non-final syllables so that initial syllables tend to become brief and semantically empty, somewhat obscuring the monosyllabic nature of the language as we have described it. Word inflection consists of a small number of categories which are simplistically summarized in (9) on the handout.

(9) noun inflection: plural - NOUN STEM - possessor
verb inflection: tense/aspect/mood - VERB STEM - subject

Number and tense/aspect/mood are prefixed and person is suffixed. However the formal expression of these categories involves a great deal of suppletion and morphologically conditioned internal modification and

fusion, resulting in an extreme degree of irregularity. Indeed, Amuzgo morphology is so irregular that we have been tempted to call it a lexical language; that is, a language where the ideal seems to be for each form to have an idiosyncratic individuality rather than for it to be productively generatable. Derivation is virtually non-existent, being limited to versives and causatives, which are illustrated in (10) and which in fact might be best analyzed as compounds or relatively tightly knit syntactic constructions.

(10) a. versive formation

ndi^{5}jan^{5} 'darken'	< jan^{5}	'dark'
ndi^{5}jndye^{3} 'abound'	< jndye^{3}	'many'
ndi^{5}wi'^{12} 'get sick'	< wi'^{12}	'be sick'
ndi^{5}kje'^{5} 'wake up'	< kje'^{5}	?
ndi^{5}si^{1} 'wrinkle'	< ki^{1}si^{1}	'wrinkled'

b. causative formation

tzi^{5}xua^{5} ~ nan'^{1}xua^{5} 'shout'	< xua^{5}	?
tzi^{5}ki^{5}të^{5} ~ nan'^{1}ki^{5}të^{5} 'sharpen'	< të^{5}	'sharp'
tzkui'^{3} ~ nan'^{1}kui'^{3} 'empty'	< wi'^{3}	'empty'
tzko^{3} ~ nan'^{1}ko^{3} 'burn'	< ko^{3}	'burn'

There are, however, a number of phonologically and semantically similar roots which seem to attest to some non-systematic, residual or frozen derivational processes. Some examples are given in (11).

(11) a.	jndë^{1}	'grass'	jndë^{12}	'woods, wilds'
b.	jnda^{3}	'lake'	jnda^{5}	'(big) river'
	nda^{5}	'water'	nda'^{5}	'get wet'
	nta^{3}	'liquor'	nda^{12}/nda'^{1}	'bathe (1/2 sg)'
c.	tyio^{3}	'put (on top)'	tyion^{3}	'put (inside)'
d.	ndui^{34}	'come loose'	ndui'^{1}	'leave, exit'

In Sapirean terms, Amuzgo could be called a simple mixed-relational symbolic-fusional mildly synthetic language (12), and syntactically, it belongs to Greenberg's Zapotec type, presented in (13).

(12) Sapir's typology: simple mixed-relational symbolic-fusional mildly synthetic

(13) Greenberg's typology: VSO/Prep/NG/NA (= Zapotec type) (numN, Ndem, NRel)

Speaking impressionistically as descriptive linguists, Amuzgo has been the hardest language we've had the good fortune to work on. Furthermore, we have seen no signs of complications in one area being compensated for by simplifications in other areas. The phonology is extremely challenging, the morphology defies coherent analysis in a most stubborn way, and from what little we've seen of the syntax, it is not especially simple.

At the beginning of this century, one of Mexico's pioneer linguists, Francisco Belmar (1901), published the first known grammar of Amuzgo, where he notes that (pp. 32-33)

> El verbo en el idioma Amuzgo comprende dos grandes divisiones.
> 1º Verbos neutros cuya significación primordial es evolutiva, esto es, verbos que expresan hacerse, verificarse, volverse ó suceder algo independientemente de una acción determinada y ajena de la voluntad ó acción del sujeto, ya sea este determinado o indeterminado...

2º Verbos activos cuya acción depende de la voluntad ó conocimiento del sujeto.

[The Amuzgo verb has two great divisions.
1st. Neuter verbs whose basic meaning is evolutionary, that is, verbs that express that something is to be made, to take place, to become or to happen independently of a determined action and beyond the will or action of the subject, whether this be determined or undetermined...
2nd. Active verbs whose action depends on the will or knowledge of the subject.]

Though Belmar's description suffers from an inadequate control of Amuzgo phonology, this insight into the grammar seems to be correct. Our main goal today is to describe certain facts about Amuzgo that will put Belmar's observation on a sounder empirical basis, and that will demonstrate that Amuzgo is an active-static language. First we will describe person-number agreement in verbs; second, we will describe the various series of personal pronouns; third we will discuss the grammatical interpretation of the static verbs and their arguments; fourth, we will look at possible cases of fluid subject marking; fifth, we will consider certain facts possibly related to the absence of a passive voice in Amuzgo; and finally we will examine the Universal Alignment Hypothesis in the light of the Amuzgo data.

3.1. Person-number inflection

Both some nouns and some verbs can be inflected for person and number categories which refer to an associated noun phrase. In the case of nouns, the associated noun phrase referred to is generally an inalienable possessor, as in (14).

(14) tzjon^{B} 'town'

tzjön^{33}	'my town'	tzjön^{31}	'our (excl) town'
		tzjön^{B}=ön^{B}	'our (incl) town'
tzjon'^{31}	'your (sg) town'	tzjon^{B} o'^{3}	'your (pl) town'
tzjon'^{B}	'his/her/its town'	tzjon^{B} jo^{B}	'their town'

If a noun is alienably possessed, then it is not inflected directly, but rather it is possessed indirectly via an inflected auxiliary noun. There are two such auxiliary nouns which function as possessive classifiers, one for animals, shown in (15), and another for inanimate objects, shown in (16).

(15) ki^{B}so^{1} 'horse'

ki^{B}so^{1} tzjuën'^{33}=ën'^{3}	'my horse'	ki^{B}so^{1} jn'uën^{31}	'our (ex) horse'
		ki^{B}so^{1} jn'uën^{32}=ën^{B}	'our (in) horse'
ki^{B}so^{1} tzjuen'^{1}	'your (sg) horse'	ki^{B}so^{1} njuen'^{1} o'^{3}	'your (pl) horse'
ki^{B}so^{1} tzjuen'^{3}	'his/her/its horse'	ki^{B}so^{1} njuen'^{1} jo^{B}	'their horse'

(16) tzon'^{31} 'drum'

tzon'^{31} njan^{3}	'my drum'	tzon'^{31} njan^{31}	'our (excl) drum'
		tzon'^{31} njan^{34}=an^{B}	'our (incl) drum'
tzon'^{31} 'nan'^{31}	'your drum'	tzon'^{31} 'nan^{34} o'^{3}	'your (pl) drum'
tzon'^{31} 'nan'^{34}	'his/her/its drum'	tzon'^{31} 'nan^{34} jo^{B}	'their drum'

In the case of verbs, the associated noun phrase referred to by the inflection for person and number under discussion is the subject; some examples of inflected verbs are given in (17) on the handout.

(17) a. ka¹ 'sweep'

	past	present	subjunctive	future
1sg	tka^{53}	ma^{3}ka^{53}	ka^{53}	n^{3}tka^{53}
2sg	tka'^{53}	ma^{3}ka'^{53}	ka'^{53}	n^{3}tka'^{53}
3sg	tka^{1}	'^{3}ka^{1}	ka^{1}	n^{3}tka^{1}
1plex	ta^{31}	ko^{3}ta^{31}	ki^{3}ta^{31}	n^{3}gi^{3}ta^{31}
1plin	ta^{34}	ko^{3}ta^{34}	ki^{3}ta^{34}	n^{3}gi^{3}ta^{34}
2pl	ta^{3} o'^{3}	ko^{3}ta^{3} o'^{3}	ki^{3}ta^{3} o'^{3}	n^{3}gi^{3}ta^{3} o'^{3}
3pl	ta^{3}	ko^{3}ta^{3}	ki^{3}ta^{3}	n^{3}gi^{3}ta^{3}

b. ndyia'^{35} 'see'

	past	present	subjuntive	future
1sg	jndy'ia^{53}	ma^{3}ndy'ia^{53}	ki^{3}ndy'ia^{53}	n^{3}dy'ia^{53}
2sg	jndyia'^{1}	ma^{3}ndyia'^{1}	ki^{3}ndyia'^{1}	n^{3}dyia'^{1}
3sg	jndyia'^{35}	n^{3}dyia'^{35}	ki^{3}ndyia'^{35}	n^{3}dyia'^{35}
1plex	jndy'ia^{31}	ko^{3}jndy'ia^{31}	ki^{3}jndy'ia^{31}	n^{3}jndy'ia^{31}
1plin	jndy'ia^{3}=a^{3}	ko^{3}jndy'ia^{3}=a^{3}	ki^{3}jndy'ia^{3}=a^{3}	n^{3}jndy'ia^{3}=a^{3}
2pl	jndy'ia^{12} o'^{3}	ko^{3}jndy'ia^{12} o'^{3}	ki^{3}jndy'ia^{12} o'^{3}	n^{3}jndy'ia^{12} o'^{3}
3pl	jndy'ia^{12}	ko^{3}jndy'ia^{12}	ki^{3}jndy'ia^{12}	n^{3}jndy'ia^{12}

c. wa^{3} 'enter'

	past	present	subjunctive	future
1sg	tua^{53}	ma^{3}wa^{53}	kua^{53}	n^{3}gua^{53}
2sg	tua'^{53}	ma^{3}wa'^{53}	kua'^{53}	n^{3}gua'^{53}
3sg	tua^{3}	'^{3}wa^{3}	kua^{3}	n^{3}gua^{3}
1plex	tua^{31}	ko^{3}wa^{31}	kua^{31}	n^{3}gua^{31}
1plin	tua^{12}	ko^{3}wa^{12}=a^{3}	kua^{12}=a^{3}	n^{3}gua^{12}
2pl	tua^{1} o'^{3}	ko^{3}wa^{1} o'^{3}	kua^{1} o'^{3}	n^{3}gua^{1} o'^{3}
3pl	tua^{1}	ko^{3}wa^{1}	kua^{1}	n^{3}gua^{1}

d. tzan^{34} 'sneeze'

	past	present	subjunctive	future
1sg	tzan^{53}	ma^{3}tzan^{53}	ki^{3}tzan^{53}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{53}
2sg	tzan'^{53}	ma^{3}tzan'^{53}	ki^{3}tzan'^{53}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan'^{53}
3sg	tzan^{34}	'^{3}tzan^{34}	ki^{3}tzan^{34}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{34}
1plex	tzan^{31}	ko^{3}tzan^{31}	ki^{3}tzan^{31}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{31}
1plin	tzan^{12}=an^{3}	ko^{3}tzan^{12}=an^{3}	ki^{3}tzan^{12}=an^{3}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{12}=an^{3}
2pl	tzan^{12} o'^{3}	ko^{3}tzan^{12} o'^{3}	ki^{3}tzan^{12} o'^{3}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{12} o'^{3}
3pl	tzan^{12}	ko^{3}tzan^{12}	ki^{3}tzan^{12}	n^{3}gi^{3}tzan^{12}

e. 'on^{35} 'be (located), exist'

	past	present	subjunctive	future
1sg	t'ön^{53}	m'an^{53}	k'ön^{53}	n^{3}g'ön^{53}
2sg	t'on'^{53}	m'an'^{53}	k'on'^{53}	n^{3}g'on'^{53}
3sg	t'on^{35}	m'an^{35}	k'on^{35}	n^{3}g'on^{35}
1plex	t'ön^{31}	m'an^{31}	k'ön^{31}	n^{3}g'ön^{31}
1plin	t'ön^{12}	m'an^{12}	k'ön^{12}	n^{3}g'ön^{12}
2pl	t'on^{1} o'^{3}	m'an^{1} o'^{3}	k'on^{1} o'^{3}	n^{3}g'on^{1} o'^{3}
3pl	t'on^{1} jo^{3}	m'an^{1} jo^{3}	k'on^{1}	n^{3}g'on^{1} jo^{3}

The details of this person-number inflection are quite complex and will not be dealt with here. The important thing to note is that there are also verbs which do not show such person-number inflection. Typically such verbs are appropriate for inanimate subjects only; however some can occur naturally with first or second person subjects, but nonetheless the verb remains invariant. An example is shown in (18) where it can be seen that differences in person and number can be signaled by pronouns, but that there is no corresponding change in the verb form.

(18) tz'i^{38} 'move'

s'i^{38} ja^{3} 'I moved'
s'i^{38} 'u^{3} 'you (sg) moved'
s'i^{38} en^{8} 'he/she (human) moved'
s'i^{38} en^{3} 'he/she (respected) moved'
s'i^{38} o'^{8} 'it/they (animal) moved'
s'i^{38} an'^{1} 'it/they (inanimate) moved'

s'i^{38} ja^{31} 'we (ex) moved'
s'i^{38} ja^{8}=a^{8} 'we (in) moved'
s'i^{38} 'o^{3} 'you (pl) moved'
s'i^{38} en^{3} 'they (human) moved'
s'i^{38} an^{34} 'they (resp) moved'

3.2. Pronouns

The pronouns which occur in (18) belong to one of several sets of Amuzgo pronouns, whose distributions are correlated with distinct syntactic functions. One set, shown in (19) on the handout, is used to represent transitive subjects, as in the examples of (20). They are also used to refer to the possessors of nouns.

(19) Pronouns used to represent transitive subjects, subjects of inflected intransitives, and noun possessors

	sg	pl
1 exclusive	Ø ~ =V$_{r}^{3}$	
1 inclusive		Ø ~ =V$_{r}^{8}$
2	Ø	o'^{3}
3 human	ju^{8}	jo^{8}
3 respected	jon^{83}	an^{34}
3 animal	o'^{8}	
3 inanimate	an'^{1}	

(20) a. t-ja'^{1} jon^{83} yu^{8}-chjö^{8}=ö'^{3} 'He/she (resp) hit the child.'
past-HIT(3sg) 3sgresp PERSON-SMALL=the(sg)

b. t-ja'^{83}=a^{3} yu^{8}-chjö^{8}=ö'^{3} 'I hit the child.'
past-HIT(1sg)=1ex PERSON-SMALL=the(sg)

A largely distinct set of pronouns, shown in (21), is used to refer to direct objects; these are exemplified in (22).

(21) Pronouns used to represent transitive direct objects and subjects of predicate nouns

	sg	pl
1 exclusive	ja^{3}	ja^{31}
1 inclusive		ja^{8}=a^{8}
2	'u^{3}	'o^{3}
3 human	en^{8}	en^{3}
3 respected	en^{3}	an^{34}
3 animal	o'^{8} ~ an'^{8}	
3 inanimate	an'^{31}	

(22) a. t-ja'^{1} yu^{8}-chjö^{8}=ö'^{3} en^{3} 'The child hit him/her (resp).'
past-HIT(3sg) PERSON-SMALL=the(sg) 3sgresp

b. t-ja'^{1} yu^{8}-chjö^{8}=ö'^{3} ja^{3} 'The child hit me.'
past-HIT(3sg) PERSON-SMALL=the(sg) 1sg

In the case of intransitive constructions, those intransitive verbs which are inflected for person and number take the same pronouns as those used to refer to transitive subjects, as can be seen in the examples of (23).

(23) a. ma^{3}nd'ui^{31}=i^{3} 'I am exiting.'
b. '^{B}ki^{3}ndui'^{1} jon^{B3} 'She (respected) is exiting.'

On the other hand, those intransitive verbs which are not inflected for person and number take the pronouns shown in (24), which are identical to the pronouns, given above in (21), used to mark transitive objects except in the case of third person inanimates. Some examples are given in (25).

(24) Pronouns used to represent subjects of uninflected intransitives, and predicate adjectives

	sg	pl
1 exclusive	ja^{3}	ja^{31}
1 inclusive		ja^{B}=a^{B}
2	'u^{3}	'o^{3}
3 human	en^{B}	en^{3}
3 respected	en^{3}	an^{34}
3 animal	o'^{B} ~ an'^{B}	
3 inanimate	an'^{1}	

(25) a. ko^{3}-w'a^{3} an'^{1} 'It's burning.'
present-BURN 3inan

b. ko^{3}-ndui^{34} ja^{3} 'I'm slipping out.' (involuntarily)
present-COME.OUT 1sg

This same set is used to refer to the subject of a predicate adjective, as shown in (26).

(26) a. ndye^{1} ja^{3} 'I'm tall.'
TALL 1sg

b. t'uan^{1} an'^{1} 'It's big.'
BIG 3inan

In the case of a predicate noun, the subject pronouns are identical to those used to refer to a transitive object, given in (21), even in the third person inanimate, as can be seen in (27) and (28).

(27) a. tzan^{34}-sku^{1} ja^{3} 'I'm a woman.'
PERSON-FEMALE 1sg

b. juan^{31}=an'^{3} tzan^{34}-s'a^{1} en^{B} 'John is a man.'
JOHN=the(sg) PERSON-MALE 3humsg

(28) tzke^{B} wa'^{3} njan^{3} an'^{31} 'That basket is mine.'
BASKET that THING(1sg) 3inan

Finally, to complete the presentation of pronoun sets, the independent pronouns, used as the object of a preposition, or when a pronoun is focused or topicalized, are given in (29).

(29) Pronouns used for objects of prepositions, topicalization and focus

	sg	pl
1 exclusive	ja^{3}	ja^{31}
1 inclusive		ja^{B}=a^{B}
2	'u^{3} ~ 'u'^{3}	'o^{3} ~ 'o'^{3}
3 human	ju^{B} ~ ju^{B}ju^{B}	jo^{B}
3 respected	jon^{B3} ~ ju^{B}jon^{B3}	jo^{B}an^{34}
3 animal	ju^{B}o'^{B} ~ jo^{B}o'^{B}	jo^{B}o'^{B}
3 inanimate	ju^{B}an'^{1}	jo^{B}an'^{1}

The situation just described is that of an active-static language. Some

intransitive subjects, those of the inflected verbs, are treated like transitive subjects, whereas other intransitive subjects, those of the uninflected verbs, are treated like transitive direct objects. However, this system of case marking is limited to first person, second person, third person human, and third person singular respect pronouns. Third person plural respect pronouns and third person animal pronouns are undifferentiated, possibly because they seem to be reduced forms of full nouns, as indicated in (30); and in Amuzgo, full noun phrases are also undifferentiated for case.

(30)	a.	n'an^{53}	'persons'
		nan^{34}-	'persons' (reduced pretonic form)
		an^{34}	3rd person plural respect pronoun
	b.	kio'^{5}	'animal(s)'
		ki^{5}-	'animal(s)' (reduced pretonic form)
		o'^{5}	3rd person animal pronoun
	c.	'nan^{3}	'thing(s)'
		nan'^{1}- ~ nan^{3}-	'thing(s)' (reduced(?) pretonic form)
		an'^{1} ~ an'^{31}	3rd person inanimate pronoun

Third person inanimate pronouns are marked nominative-accusatively, and also may be derived from an independent noun, as suggested in (30c). Note that this split system of case marking seems to violate the case-marking hierarchy identified by Silverstein (1976) since his study would predict that nominative-accusative marking should be found minimally in first and/or second person pronouns, and lastly among inanimates. At the moment, we have no explanation for this apparent anomaly.

3.3. The grammatical analysis of static verbs and their arguments

Based on the distribution of pronominal forms, it seems reasonable to call the uninflected verbs static verbs and the verbs inflected for person-number, active verbs. We would now like to consider the formal properties of static verbs. In particular, we would like to consider Sapir's suggestion that static verbs may well have direct or indirect objects with a dummy third person subject, as in the German construction mich hungert 'I am hungry'.

The first relevant fact is illustrated in (31). The present forms of many static verbs, irrespective of the person and number of the accompanying noun phrase, are marked by the prefix ko^{3}-. This is the form of the present marker found with plural subjects in the inflection of active verbs as can be seen by referring back to (17) on the handout. The presence of this prefix suggests that the verb is formally plural and that there is absolutely no concord with the accompanying noun phrase.

(31)	ko^{3}kio^{35} ja^{3}	I am falling
	ko^{3}kio^{35} 'u^{3}	you (sg) are falling
	ko^{3}kio^{35} en^{3}	he/she (human) is falling
	ko^{3}kia^{5} ja^{31}	we (excl) are falling
	ko^{3}kia^{5} ja^{5}=a^{5}	we (incl) are falling
	ko^{3}kia^{5} 'o^{3}	you (pl) are falling
	ko^{3}kia^{5} en^{3}	they (human) are falling

There are also cases of static verbs, illustrated in (32), where the present prefix shows normal concord with the accompanying noun phrase, as if it were the subject, though the verb stem itself remains invariant as if the accompanying noun phrase were not the subject. We do not yet understand why some verbs behave like the example in (31) and others like the example in (32), though the latter class seems to be normal for derived causatives.

(32) ma³tzi³tz'i³³ ja³ I am moving
ma³tzi³tz'i³³ 'u³ you (sg) are moving
'³tzi³tz'i³³ en³ he/she (human) is moving
ko³nan'¹tz'i³³ ja³¹ we (excl) are moving
ko³nan'¹tz'i³³ ja³=a³ we (incl) are moving
ko³nan'¹tz'i³³ 'o³ you (pl) are moving
ko³nan'¹tz'i³³ en³ they (human) are moving

Now consider the fact that there are a number of verbs which can be used either actively or statically, and whose static form appears to be identical to the third person plural of the active form, as in (33).

(33) a. '³jndyi'³³ 'he peels' b. '³ju³³ 'she is grinding'
ko³jndyi'³³ 'they peel' ko³tua¹ 'they are grinding'
ko³jndyi'³³ 'it is peeled' ko³tua¹ 'it is being ground'

Such forms suggest that the static verbs are formally third person plural verbs being used impersonally. However, the situation is not so simple. In Amuzgo, it is quite common for active verbs to employ the past tense form of a verb as a plural stem in non past tense forms. Examples can be found in the sample paradigms given in (17a) and (17b). As illustrated in (34), when some of these verbs are used statically, the static form also uses the past stem, as if there were a plural subject. However, the tone of the static form is distinct from the tone of the third person plural form; rather, it is identical to the tone of the third person singular active form.

(34) a. '³'ue¹ 'he is massaging' b. '³ka¹ 'she is sweeping'
ko³ty'ue³ 'they are massaging' ko³ta³ 'they are sweeping'
ko³ty'ue¹ 'it is being massaged' ko³ta¹ 'it is being swept'

There are also cases where the stem of the static form is clearly identical to the stem of the third person singular active form, though the present prefix is that which is used with plural subjects, as in (35).

(35) a. '³non'³ 'he is planting' b. '³'ñen¹ 'he is digging'
ko³non¹ 'they are planting' ko³'ñen³ 'they are digging'
ko³non'³ 'it is being planted' ko³'ñen¹ 'it is being dug'

Finally, there are some verbs for which the static form, though clearly related to the active form, involves a slight modification of the active stem, generally a nasal prefix, as in (36).

(36) a. '³k'io¹ 'he is pulling up' b. '³jñon³³ 'he is sticking on'
ko³tye³ 'they are pulling up' ko³jñon¹ 'they are sticking on'
ko³ndye¹² 'it is being pulled up' ko³ñon³³ 'it is being stuck on'

Curiously, the plural prefix used with nouns is also a nasal, and is occasionally employed with verbs to form a plural stem, as in (36.5). Once again the impression is given that static verbs are being marked for plurality.

(36.5) a. tz'a³³ (sg), nd'a¹ (pl) 'do'
b. ch'ue³³ (sg), ndy'ue³³ (pl) 'rob'
c. chiu'³³ (sg), ndy'iu¹² (pl) 'urinate'
d. ti'³⁴ (sg), nt'i¹² (pl) 'defecate'

Our third set of remarks involves those verbs which have suppletive

singular and plural stems. This is a very common feature of Amuzgo active verbs. Some examples are given in (37).

(37)

singular stem	plural stem	gloss
ʼu^{B} ~ ʼua^{3} ~ ʼua^{ʼB3}	we^{1}	drink
ju^{B3}	jue^{12}	oblige
w'i^{3B}	wje^{3B}	be fierce
t'io^{3B}	tyue^{3B}	cry
tzo^{B}	nda^{1}	sleep
ndyo^{1}	nkyo^{3}	come
ku'^{31}	tye'^{3}	shell, thresh
chu^{B}	cho^{1}	carry
ko'^{1}	ta'^{3}	put, stand
we'^{3} ~ w'iö^{1} ~ w'io'^{3}	wje^{3}	die

Overwhelmingly, the suppletion refers to the number of the subject, not the direct object, though there are a couple of cases of the latter given in (38).

(38)

singular object	plural object	gloss
tzkue'^{B}	tzkwje^{B}	kill (sg subj)
nan'^{1}kue'^{B}	nan'^{1}kwje^{B}	kill (pl subj)
y'on^{3B}	wja^{3}	seize

Such suppletion is much less frequent with static verbs, but we do have two examples, given in (39).

(39) a. kio^{3B} (sg), kia^{B} (pl) 'fall'
b. ntykwi^{B} (sg), ndyue^{3} (pl) 'finish, be all gone'

The present forms of (39a) are given in (31) on the handout where it can be seen that the stem agrees with the accompanying noun phrase in number, even though the present prefix is invariably plural and there is no person number agreement of the sort normally found with active verbs. In addition, some, though not all verbs which distinguish singular and plural stems in the active form and which can be used statically, continue to distinguish the number of the static noun phrase. An example of this has already been given in (32).

The data that we have just reviewed concerning the grammatical analysis of static verbs and their arguments is rather typical of Amuzgo. One has the impression that there is a limited number of parameters which can vary but that all possible combinations are apt to occur. Furthermore, the conditions for determing which particular combination will be used are far from obvious. In most cases they appear to be purely morpholexical; and when phonological factors or semantic factors might intervene, the relation of these to the particular parameters chosen appears to be wholly arbitrary. In the present instance, the static stem varies between being third person singular and third person plural, manifesting various intermediate possibilities as well. We have tried to summarize this behavior schematically in (39.3).

(39.3) Formal properties of the static stem

3sg	3pl	example
+	−	ron'^{3} 'sow'
+	+	jndyi'^{35} 'peel'
−	+	ju^{35} ~ tua^{1} 'grind'
−	−	
+tone, −segments	−tone, +segments	'ue^{1} ~ ty'ue^{3} 'rub, massage'
−	−tone, n+segments	k'io^{1} ~ tye^{3} 'pull up, pluck'
+tone, n+segments	−tone, n+segments	ñon^{35} 'stick on'

As for the argument which accompanies the static verb, its behavior is also variable, ranging from total lack of agreement to agreement in number with the verb stem and in person and number with the present tense prefixes, with at least one intermediate possibility. This behavior is summarized in (39.6).

(39.6) Agreement with static noun phrase

present prefix	stem number	example
−	−	'ue^{1} ~ ty'ue^{3} 'rub'
−	+	kio^{35} ~ kia^{5} 'fall'
+	−	(no examples)
+	+	tzi^{5}- ~ nan'^{1}- (causative)

Given these circumstances, no definitive conclusion concerning the grammatical rôle of the static noun phrase and the grammatical form of the static verb seems possible until further types of evidence are uncovered.

3.4. Fluid subject marking

As noted earlier, Chocho was shown by Mock to have fluid subject marking. That is, certain intransitive verbs can be used both actively and statically with a corresponding difference in meaning. According to Dixon, there are just a few such languages; he lists Bats, Eastern Pomo, Crow and Choctaw as examples, to which Chocho can now be added. Amuzgo also seems to have fluid subject marking. However, the clearest examples we have found are cases where an active verb which is generally transitive can be used statically with a passive like meaning. Such cases are well illustrated in (33) through (36) on the handout. In favor of these examples, it might be pointed out that transitivity is not overtly marked in Amuzgo verbs, so it is not strictly relevant to distinguish between fluid subject marking with transitive or intransitive verbs.

It should be noted that the semantic effect of using an active verb statically is not necessarily to distinguish controlled and uncontrolled actions. In some cases static verbs can contrast in this regard. Consider the example in (40).

(40) a. s'i^{35} ja^{3} 'I moved (due to some exterior force)'
b. si^{5}tz'i^{53} 'I moved (s.t.)'
c. si^{5}tz'i^{35} ja^{3} 'I moved (under my own power)'

(40a) is a static verb whose associated noun phrase is a patient. From it, a causative verb can be formed via the prefix tz(i)^{5}-. The resulting causative can be used actively as in (40b) or statically as in (40c). When it is used statically, it seems to refer to willed, voluntary movement where the associated noun phrase is simultaneously both agent and patient,

in contrast to the original static verb.

Cases of fluid subject marking are much harder to find with typically intransitive verbs. The best examples we have are given in (40.5).

(40.5) a. n^{s}dui'^{1} 'he/she/it is exiting (person or animal)'
ko^{3}ndui'^{1} 'it is exiting (f.ex. gas escaping from a tank, water coming out of a faucet or out of the ground)'
b. 'ski^{s}ndyi'^{34} 'he/she/it is inside (person or animal)'
ko^{3}ndyi'^{34} 'it is inside (but did not enter under its own power)'

In other cases, active verbs are used irrespective of whether the subject controls the action or not. For example, the active verb in (41) is used to mean 'it's whistling', whether it's a person who is willfuly whistling or a teapot whistling because the water it contains is boiling.

(41) 'stiu^{1} 'he/she/it is whistling'

If Amuzgo does indeed have fluid subject marking, it is difficult to understand why it is not exploited in cases such as this one.

3.5. The absence of a passive voice in Amuzgo

We would next like to consider briefly the possibility of a relation between the active-static properties of Amuzgo and the apparent absence of a passive voice. We have already shown how the fluid subject marking permitted in Amuzgo produces the semblance of active-passive pairs, as in (33) to (36). Indeed, due to the complications in the formation of the static forms described earlier, one might wonder whether the static form shouldn't be considered a type of passive voice rather than the result of fluid subject marking. We have not opted for such an analysis given the non-systematic properties of the construction, the clear relations to third person verb forms, the fact that many static verbs do not have active uses and some active verbs do not have static uses, and the fact that semantically, the static use of an active verb does not necessarily have a passive meaning, as in (40c). However, it does seem that the static forms of active verbs do occupy functional space akin to that occupied by the passive voice in languages which have one. In addition, there are two other characteristic features of the language which help to make a passive voice unneccesary. For one thing there are a fair number of stems which seem to have a basically passive sense, from which an active form can be derived via the causative prefix. This is reminiscent of the situation described by Boas and Deloria (1941) for Dakota, another active-static language (this passage was brought to our attention by Perlmutter 1978, p. 165 and Perlmutter and Postal 1984, p. 99):

> There is a fundamental distinction between verbs expressing states and those expressing actions. The two may be designated as neutral and active. The language has a marked tendency to give a strong preponderance to the concept o state. All our adjectives are included in this group, which embraces also almost all verbs that result in a state. Thus a stem like "to sever" is not active but expresses the concept of "to be in a severed condition", the active verb being derived from this stem.

That is, in Amuzgo, as also in Dakota, the passive sense tends to be unmarked and the active sense marked, in contrast to the English or Spanish equivalents, where the overt marking is often just the reverse, though admittedly English verbs are in fact often ambivalent. Some examples are given in (42).

(42)	a.	tiu^{38}	'break/romperse'	tzi^{5}tiu^{38}	'break/romper'
	b.	tzu^{5}	'get lost/perderse'	tzi^{5}ki^{3}tzu^{5}	'lose/perder'
	c.	kwe^{5}	'get dressed/verstirse'	tzkwe^{5}	'dress/vestir'
	d.	nuen'^{38}	'be spread/tenderse'	tzi^{5}nuen'^{38}	'spread out/tender'
	e.	ntju'^{3}	'get clean/limpiarse'	tzi^{5}ntju'^{3}	'clean/limpiar'

A third feature of Amuzgo which seems to be related to the absence of a passive is the frequency of lexical pairs which express meanings which might be expressable with active-passive pairs in a language with a passive. Some examples are given in (43).

(43)	a.	kwja'^{1}	'hit'	chu'^{53}	'be hit'
	b.	ta'^{53}	'begin (s.t.)'	tye'^{53}	'begin (i.v.)'
	c.	tzia^{31}	'make, construct'	ndë^{1}	'be made, be constructed'
	d.	kwji'^{3}	'take out'	ndui'^{1}	'exit'
	e.	kwji^{34}	'write'	ndui^{34}	'be written'

We would like to suggest that these features may be all interrelated and that therefore the absence of a passive voice can be seen as a structural feature correlated with active-static case marking. Naturally, many more active-static languages will need to be examined before the plausibility of this proposal can be fairly judged. We are also fully aware that a similar relation was once suspected for ergative languages though it is now known that at least some strongly ergative languages, and here we have in mind the Mayan family, can also have well developed passives.

3.6. The Universal Alignment Hypothesis

The final topic that we would like to treat here today is the relation between the active/static distinction in Amuzgo on the one hand, and the unergative/unaccusative distinction recognized by the Universal Alignment Hypothesis on the other hand. To a great extent, the two divisions correspond. In (44) on the handout, a representative sample of active verbs is given which includes verbs which would presumably be expected to be unergative according to the Universal Alignment Hypothesis.

(44) Active verb

a. physical manipulations - 'ua^{1} 'cut', 'ue^{1} 'rub', 'ndyi^{12} 'squeeze', 'man^{34} 'clear (land)', jndyi'^{38} 'peel', jndy'e^{1} 'scratch', we'^{1} 'clean', man^{1} 'wash', men'^{1} 'hit', y'on^{38} 'grasp (sg. object)', tan'^{31} 'split', ndyui^{38} ~ ndyue^{1} 'step on, kick', nchje^{3} 'squeeze', k'io^{1} 'pull up, tear', kwja'^{1} 'hit; play (music)'

b. oral activity (consumption) - 'u^{5} ~ 'ua^{3} ~ 'ua'^{53} ~ we^{1} 'drink', ndë^{38} 'chew', kwa'^{3} 'eat', ki^{5} 'bite, eat (fruit)', ti'^{3} 'suckle', ti^{12} 'suck', wi^{38} ~ we^{12} 'lick'

c. communication - w'a^{3} 'answer', wa^{5}njon^{3} 'read', 'man^{3} 'call, communicate', kan^{1} 'pedir', ken'^{34} ~ tan'^{12} 'beckon, summon', kwji^{34} 'write, draw, choose, photograph', tkwi^{1} 'complain (about pain)'

d. manner of speaking - tiu^{1} 'whistle', ta^{3} 'sing', tzo^{3} ~ tzjö^{53} ~ tzu'^{3} ~ ndue^{3} 'say', nko^{3} 'laugh', t'io^{38} ~ tyue^{38} 'cry'

e. mental activity - wa^{3}jnan'^{5} 'know, be acquainted with', nchji^{38} ~ ngio^{1} 'know (a fact)', wa^{3}ngue'^{5} 'obey', we^{3}ndo'^{34} 'wait for', nan^{3} 'put up with, stand'

f. perception - nd'ue^{3} 'look for', ntji^{38} ~ ndio^{1} 'find, obtain', ndo^{3}njon^{12} 'look below', ndyia'^{38} 'see, look at', ndyi^{38} ~ ndye^{1} 'hear, listen', tan^{34} 'smell'

g. manner of locomotion - wa^{5}ka^{5} 'walk', ma^{3}ntyja^{3} 'fly, float', na^{3}wa^{3} 'fly', nan^{3}non^{3} 'run'

h. movement - wa^{3} 'enter', we^{3}t'io^{1} 'cross', we'^{5} ~ tzke^{3} 'arrive there', we^{3}non^{3} 'pass', wa^{5}wa^{3} 'go up', wa^{5}kue^{53} 'go down', wa^{5}ke'^{5} 'get in', ndui'^{1} 'leave', ndyo^{1} ~ nkyo^{3} 'come', kwje'^{35} ~ tzke^{1} 'arrive here', ntkwe'^{3} 'return', man^{3}non^{3} 'travel, go around'

i. involuntary bodily process - ti'^{34} ~ nt'i^{12} 'defecate', tzan^{34} 'sneeze', tzo^{5} ~ nda^{1} 'sleep', chiu'^{35} ~ ndy'iu^{12} 'urinate', tan^{3} 'vomit'

j. transfer - jndë 'sell', jñon^{3} 'send', tzko^{5}kjon^{12} ~ to'^{1}kjon^{12} 'send', nda'^{34} 'receive a gift', tziu'^{5} 'accept', nkia^{5} 'give', tyion^{3} 'pay', k'on^{1} 'distribute, give out', te^{3}jndi^{5} 'lend, help'

k. placing - jon^{35} 'stick in one's hand', tyi'^{34} 'put in', tyio^{3} 'put on', chu^{5} ~ cho^{1} 'carry, load', ke^{3}ndya'^{35} 'remove', ken^{3} 'put on', tyke'^{1} 'throw out', kwji'^{3} 'take out of'

l. body movement - wa^{35} ~ man'^{1} 'lie down', na^{3}kjo^{5} 'get up'

m. "causative" verbs formed by the prefix tz(i)^{5}- ~ nan'^{1}- - tzi^{5}ndu'^{34} 'extinguish', tzi^{5}ty'ue^{3} 'scare', tzi^{5}ntyje'^{1} 'boil', tzi^{5}'man^{1} 'show', tzi^{5}xua^{5} 'shout', tzi^{5}nen^{1} 'talk, converse', tzi^{5}tiu^{53} 'think', tzk'ui'^{35} 'bark', tzi^{5}jnon^{5} 'dance'

n. miscellaneous - ju^{53} ~ jue^{12} 'force, oblige', 'man^{34} 'smoke', ndë'^{35} ~ n^{5}da^{12} ~ n^{5}da'^{1} 'take a bath', nkyu'^{5} ~ nky'o^{12} 'play', kon'^{1}xen^{31} ~ to^{3}xen^{3} 'measure', wa^{3}ntyje'^{35} 'take care of', ndë^{1} 'copulate', ka^{1} 'sweep', ko^{3}ko^{3} 'get married', kwe^{5} 'get dressed'

However, there is also a considerable number of active verbs which appear to be unexpected; these are given in (45).

(45) "Unexpected" active verbs - '^{5}jndi^{5} ~ '^{5}jndu'^{3} ~ '^{5}jndö^{3} ~ '^{5}jndë^{3} 'be strong', jmen'^{34} 'feel hot', jndye^{12} 'be first', jnan^{3} 'come from', jndyu^{3} 'be named', jnan'^{5} 'be well studied', we^{3}ken^{3} 'turn into, turn', wi'^{12} 'feel sick', we^{3}jndya'^{5} 'get tired', wa^{3}jndye^{12} 'rest', wa^{5}kjo'^{5} 'get full (of food)', wa^{3}ndo'^{3} 'be awake, be alive; stay up late', we'^{3} ~ w'iö^{1} ~ w'io'^{3} ~ wje^{3} 'die', w'i^{35} ~ wje^{35} 'be fierce', wi^{5}kje'^{5} 'wake up', n^{5}kia'^{5} 'be afraid', m'an^{35} 'exist, be (animate)', ma^{3}yan'^{12} 'be bad', ya'^{12} 'be healthy', ten'^{34} 'feel cold', tjon^{3} 'happen to', nen'^{12} 'be happy', n'uan^{3} 'save oneself, get well', ntkwi^{1} 'wake up', ntjo^{53} 'be mounted', ndui'^{5} 'be used to', ndyi^{5} ~ ndyo^{5} ~ ndyu'^{3} ~ ndye^{5} 'get drunk', ndy'^{34} ~ to'^{5} 'be inside' (static in plural), ty'ue^{3} 'be afraid', xjen'^{5} 'have recently given birth', chu'^{53} ~ ch'o^{12} 'be hit', chui^{3}n'on^{53} 'be mistaken', ñjon^{3} 'be inside'

Consider also (45.5), where the verb 'be inside' is seen to be active in the singular and static in the plural. This would seem to indicate that the active static distinction in Amuzgo is not based entirely on semantic factors.

(45.5) ndy'i^{53}	'I am inside'	to'^{5} ja^{31}	'we (ex) are inside'
		to'^{5} ja^{5}=a^{5}	'we (in) are inside'
ndyi'^{31}	'you (sg) are inside'	to'^{5} 'o^{3}	'you (pl) are inside'
ndyi'^{34}	'he/she/it is inside'	to'^{5} en^{3}	'they (hum) are inside'

In (46) on the handout, a representat'ive sample of static verbs is given which seems to be consistent with the Universal Alignment Hypothesis.

(46) Static verbs

a. natural phenomena - wa'^{1} 'rain', nan'^{1} 'thunder, explode, be born'

b. aspectual predicates - ndë^{1} 'finish', ntykwi^{5} ~ ndyue^{3} 'be over, be all gone', +ye'^{53} 'begin'

c. duratives - ntjo^{1} 'stay'
d. predicates whose "subject" is a patient - 'ua^{35} 'be twisted (inanimate)', 'ua^{53} 'be twisted (animate)', '^{5}we^{3} 'be put away', 'on^{5} 'be born (plant)', ndui^{5} 'be born', ke^{3} 'grow (animate)', n^{5}di'^{3} 'grow (plant)', ty'iu^{35} 'cook', tyje'^{1} 'boil', kwi^{5} 'dry', kan^{5} 'dry', w'a^{3} 'burn', 'men^{5} 'get fat', wa'^{53} 'tan, brown', to'^{3} 'rot (wood, cloth)', tö'^{53} 'rot (fruit)', to'^{5} 'fill', nan'^{3} 'come untied', nan^{35} 'open', të'^{1} 'close', ton^{1} 'break, crack', non^{12} 'slip', nke^{3} 'topple', ku^{12} 'leak', kwe'^{3} 'splash', tye'^{5} 'fall in drops', ndë^{35} 'ripen'
e. "versives" formed by the prefix ndi^{5}- - ndi^{5}nkwan'^{1} 'become shady', ndi^{5}tyi'^{1}nkyo'^{12} 'appear', ndi^{5}jndye^{3} 'be plentiful', ndi^{5}si^{1} 'become wrinkled', ndi^{5}ki^{3}ndya'^{3} 'sting', ndi^{5}'^{5}jan^{3} 'become yellow', ndi^{5}jan^{5} 'get dark', ndi^{5}të^{1} 'go sour', ndi^{5}tya^{1} 'get rich', ndi^{5}ki^{1}jndy'e^{1} 'tremble', ndi^{5}k'e^{35} 'stink'

It is also surely relevant to recall that the subjects of predicate adjectives and nouns are marked like transitive objects, as illustrated above in (26), (27) and (28). These are distinct from static verbs since they are not marked for tense/aspect/mood, but nonetheless they are related in meaning.

There are also a few static verbs which on a priori grounds might be expected to be active; some of these are shown in (47).

(47) "Unexpected" static verbs - ndë^{12} 'poder', tzi^{5}tiu^{1} 'whistle at', tzi^{5}ntja'^{53} 'fight', tzi^{5}tja^{53} 'be absent, commit an error', ju'^{1} ~ tjue'^{3} 'jump (distance)' (= 'throw' when used actively)

The verb tzi^{5}tiu^{1} 'whistle at' is especially curious. It is the only verb in our sample which is static and which also takes two arguments, both of which are represented by the static pronouns, as can be seen in (48).

(48) ma^{3}-tzi^{5}-tiu^{1} ja^{3} 'u^{3} 'I'm whistling at you.'
present-causative-WHISTLE 1sg 2sg

Naturally, there is no reason for the surface forms of Amuzgo to be completely consistent with a postulated abstract distinction. It is well known that semantically based categories can become grammaticalized and thereby lose some of their original motivation. Gender classes in Indoeuropean and Bantu offer particularly notorious cases. There is no reason to doubt that the active-static distinction could also suffer such a fate, which might help explain some of the anomalies in the Amuzgo data. However, it is also possible that there are general principles at work here which we have not yet fully discovered.

4. Conclusion

We have presented data which shows Amuzgo to be an active-static language. Though our goal has been primarily descriptive, we hope to have shown that the descriptive effort can productively interact with general theoretical concerns. More specifically, we have found that the Amuzgo pronominal cases seem to contradict the predictions made by the Silverstein case-marking hierarchy; we have considered the implications of the Amuzgo data for the Uhlenbeck-Sapir debate on the proper analysis of static verbs, and found them to be contradictory; we have found a type of fluid subject marking which seems to function more like a pseudopassive than to signal the difference between controlling and non-controlling subjects; we have suggested a link between active-static structure and the absence of a passive voice; and we have noted a relatively large number of verbs which

are active though they should be static if the Universal Alignment Hypothesis should prove to be valid. Thus, the interplay of description and theory provides us with problems which will help to direct future research on Amuzgo and which indicate weak points in our theoretical apparatus that need to be clarified.

We would also like to point out that, while the descriptive enterprise properly attempts to reveal the inner structure of each language in its own terms, there are also important issues where a comparative and/or areal perspective can potentially contribute to better descriptions. For example, Jamieson (1976) has described a distinction between personal and impersonal verbs in Chiquihuitlan Mazatec, like Chocho, an Otomanguean language of the Popolocan branch. This contrast apparently corresponds to the active-static distinction described here. It seems clear that attention to the issues related to the morphosyntactic case-marking typology can provide an important unifying theme for those working on Otomanguean languages, a theme which will help define productive directions for future research and which promises to help specify the ways in which these languages are similar or distinct from one another.

An areal perspective also seems called for. For example, Waterhouse (1962, pp. 26-27) recognizes a distinction between what she calls intransitive verbs and process verbs in Lowland Chontal, a non-Otomanguean language of Oaxaca usually classified as Hokan; and Turner and Turner (1971, pp. 323-325) describe a similar distinction between what they call intransitive verbs and semitransitive verbs in the Highland dialect. In both cases, it appears that the distinction is between active and static intransitives, thereby suggesting the importance of examining the areal distribution of this phenomenon in Oaxaca and beyond. For it must be remembered that languages are not simply abstract formal entities which conform to ideal structural principles; they are also social phenomena whose speakers interact and influence one another in multiple ways. If Amuzgo deviates from our expectations with regard to active-static languages, it is not necessarily due to some peculiarity of Amuzgo or to a weakness in our theoretical understanding; it may also be due in part to the dynamics of the areal interaction in which speakers of Amuzgo have taken part for millenia.

Finally, we would like to recall that linguistic theory is in a constant need to expand its empirical data base. This need is especially pressing in the case of the many languages of the world which, for political, economic or social reasons, will probably soon be extinct. We hope that the facts beginning to emerge about the case-marking systems of Otomanguean languages will help stimulate further research in this fascinating, challenging and relatively neglected group of languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Belmar, Francisco. 1901. Investigaciones sobre el idioma amuzgo, que se habla en algunos pueblos del Distrito de Jamiltepec. Se toma para dichas investigaciones el idioma que se habla en el pueblo de Ipalapa. Lenguas del Estado de Oaxaca. Oaxaca.

Boas, Franz and Ella Deloria. 1941. Dakota grammar. Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences, vol. 23.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. "Ergativity". Language, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 59-138.

Jamieson, Carol. 1976. "Chiquihuitlan Mazatec verbs". S.I.L.-Mexico Workpapers, no. 2, pp. 85-107.

Mock, Carol C. 1982. "Los casos morfosintácticos del chocho". Anales de antropología (Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), vol. 19, tomo 2 Etnología y lingüística, pp. 345-378.

Perlmutter, David M. 1978. "Impersonal passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis". Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, University of California, Berkeley, California, pp. 157-189.

Perlmutter, David M. and Paul M. Postal. 1984. "The 1-advancement exclusiveness law". In David M. Perlmutter and Carol G. Rosen, editors, Studies in relational grammar 2, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, pp. 81-125.

Sapir, E. 1917. Review of C. C. Uhlenbeck, Het Passieve Karakter van het Verbum Transitivum of van het Verbum Actionis in Talen van Noord-Amerika in International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 82-86.

Sapir, Edward. 1929. "Central and North American languages". In Encyclopædia britannica, 14th edition, vol. 5, pp. 138-141.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. "Hierarchy of features and ergativity". In R. M. W. Dixon, editor, Grammatical categories in Australian languages, Linguistics series no. 22, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, Australia and Humanities Press, New Jersey, pp. 112-171.

Turner, Paul and Shirley. 1971. Chontal to Spanish-English Spanish to Chontal dictionary. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona.

Waterhouse, Viola Grace. 1962. The grammatical structure of Oaxaca Chontal. Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, 19; International journal of American linguistics, vol. 28, no. 2, part 2. Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

[Minor corrections made as of 14 January 1987]

* * * "I'm late! I'm late!", said the white rabbit in Amuzgo. * * *