Operators, associated movement and subject in Mazahua (Otomanguean)

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The objective of this dissertation is to show that the morphemes that encode associated movement are correlated with the morphological realization of the grammatical subject. The verbal word in Mazahua is illustrated in (1). Knapp (2013) has proposed that this language is quasi-polysynthetic. The ordering of operator-expressing affixes and clitics is very small.

A proclitic TAMP and operators like tense, aspect, modality, location, quantification and associated movement appear on the verb. These grammatical categories are treated as operators modifying different layers of the clause. Each of the clause levels may be modified by one or more operators (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2004). The information expressed by these pre-nuclear clitics has discursive implications since they are updated in the communicative interaction; consequently, its informative value may be optional. The verb operators are summarized in (1)

1 NEG/AF=PTL=QUAN2=ADV=INT/CSL=TAMP=QUAN1=VERB-OBJ/OI=LIM=E=PL/DL=PTL
   =LOC=DEM

It is only possible to find four clitics anchored to the verb on preverbal position. The proclitic TAMP always appears in an adjacent position to or close to the verb; This proclitic is exhibited, in some contexts as zero morphemes (Ø) and it is preceded by at least one or two clitics. This is illustrated in (2).

2 a. já=kʰó=ʃi=ɾò=ndɨ̃nɾĩ=ni;   já=tá=ne=Ø=ndɨ̃nɾĩ
      PTL=who=PER=3PST=answer=RPT PTL=LIM=REC=3PST=answer
      'Who was going to answer him, they say; they have already answered.'   (Txt.af.13)
   b. hò=ʃo=né=Ø=sɔ́ʔjɛ=kʼɨ;   nù=ʃùßa   ndà=mɛ́hɛ
      ASE=ADI=REC=3COP=sick=DEM.PROX2   ART.NANF=Juan AU=pozo
      'Also, that one was sick. Juan de Pozo Grande.'   (Txt.r.12)

Clitics than encode associated movement are illustrated in (3); it refers to grammatical morphemes used primarily with non-moving verbs to express that the action of the verb is associated with a displacement (Koch 1984, Guillaume 2017). The expression of the associated movement is encoded through grammatical morphemes and not lexical units.

3 a. tá=má=Ø=ŋgîtʃʼi   jò=sàn.hòse=kʷʼa
      LIM=AND=3.PST=get.in ART.PL.NANF=Saint.José=over.there.PROX2
      'They got in over there, the people from San José.'   (Txt)
   b. já=he=mì=ndʒódɨ   sà   pègɾo, mì=ndʒódɨ=ʔja=ʰnu
      PTL=DEA=3COP=walk Saint Pedro   3COP=walk=PTL=PROX3
      'I was already walking in San Pedro, they were walking there.'   (Txt)
   c. já=βì=Ø=ʧhɨ̃ntɨ.   já=mì=ɓíɓɨ   mì-màma=go=ʔja=mɨ
      PTL=VEN=3COP=marry PTL=3COP=be   1POS-mother=1E=PTL=then
      'He had already married. My mom was still alive.'   (Txt)

In this dissertation, it is proposed that associated motion morphemes are nuclear operators. Nuclear operators have scope over the core; they modify the action, the event or the state itself, without reference to the participants. The morphemes that encode associated movement are located next to the verbal root; above these is only the quantification morpheme and the TAMP morpheme. The general Mazahua operator schema is summarized in (4).

4 a. $_{\text{FI}}$DEC<$_{\text{STA}}$RE<$_{\text{NEG}}$Ø<$_{\text{MOD}}$OBL<$_{\text{ASP}}$PERF<$_{\text{DIR}}$MA<$_{\text{QUAN}}$TOT<$_{\text{EL}}$>>>>>>>>>

   b. NEG/AF=STA/MOD=ASP=QUAN$_2$=(REC/GEN/INT)=MA=(TAMP)=CUAN$_1$=VERB-$_{\text{OBJ/OI}}$ =LIM=E=PL/DL=PTL=LOC=DEM

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